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A Lethal Education: Institutionalized Negligence, Epidemiology, and Death
in Native American Boarding Schools, 1879-1934

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Preston Scott McBride

2020

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Lethal Education: Institutionalized Negligence, Epidemiology, and Death
in Native American Boarding Schools, 1879-1934

by

Preston Scott McBride

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Benjamin L. Madley, Chair

“A Lethal Education” explores the lethal consequences of United States educational policies that removed Native American children and young adults from their homes, placed them in institutions designed to destroy Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions, and supplanted them with non-Indigenous substitutes. In particular, this dissertation explores the loss of life associated with United States boarding schools for American Indians and Alaska Natives. It examines how and why off-reservation boarding schools promoted contagion and incubated infections with lethal consequences for many Native American students. Admitting ill students, substandard housing, overcrowding, forced labor, physical, mental, and sexual abuse, malnourishment, dietary insufficiencies, psychological trauma, and willful neglect compromised student immune systems leaving them vulnerable to pathogens. These factors also impaired immunological defenses, decreasing the chances of recovery once a student became infected. Diseases, including diphtheria, influenza, measles, mumps, smallpox, and trachoma, spread and epidemics swept through student populations. At the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in

Pennsylvania, Forest Grove Indian Training School in Oregon, Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, Haskell Institute in Kansas, Perris Indian School in California, and Sherman Institute in California, recurring infectious disease outbreaks then led to elevated tuberculosis rates. Such outbreaks and infections killed hundreds of Indigenous students at these schools, leaving death, shattered families, and devastated communities in their wake. Based upon newly opened archives, this study deploys a historical epidemiological approach relatively new to Native American boarding school studies. Ultimately, the findings reveal that thousands of American Indian and Alaska Native students perished at off-reservation Native American boarding schools, while officials sent thousands more home to die. These deaths were the result of dangerous local school policies, parsimonious congressional funding, and gross negligence by federal officials in the United States Office of Indian Affairs.

The dissertation of Preston McBride is approved.

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2020

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those deprived of a childhood, past, present, and future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARCIA – Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
BIA – Bureau of Indian Affairs
DOI – Department of the Interior
E- – Entry Number
GPO – Government Printing Office
LR – Letters Received
LS – Letters Sent
CCF – Central Classified Files
NARA – National Archives and Records Administration
NARADC – National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
NARAKC - National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri
NARAS – National Archives and Records Administration, Seattle, Washington
NARAR – National Archives and Records Administration, Riverside, California
ND – No date
NN – No name
NP – No page
NTL – No Tribe Listed
OIA – Office of Indian Affairs/Indian Office
RG75 – Record Group 75

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As a first-generation college student born to legacies of abuse and mental health struggles, I never believed that I would see this day. Education has long been a safe space, and I thank my colleagues, friends, family, and teachers for their support through the years. They helped to make this dissertation possible. This project began to take form during my senior year at Dartmouth College, but I did not know what it would grow into. Along the way, I came to understand just how fortunate and privileged I am to be surrounded and supported by such remarkable people.

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pushed me in new and productive ways to think critically about my research and history more generally. I thank them for their intellectual generosity.

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Valerie Szwaya, Britta Merkel, Susan Karren, and other archivists were invaluable and greatly appreciated. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Barbara Landis at the Cumberland County Historical Society. Barb knows more about Carlisle than any other living person, and her knowledge helped guide my formative years while I was writing my Dartmouth M.A. thesis on the school. George Miles at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library and Peter Blodgett at the Huntington Library provided strategic advice. I am also grateful for the work of Lorene Sisquoc and Galen Townsend at the Sherman Indian Museum as well as the important conversations that we shared. Pacific University's Eva Guggemos and scholar SuAnn Reddick contributed to the materials on Chemawa and Forest Grove.

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The research and writing experience can be isolating. Yet, I had a supportive community. I have already mentioned many of them. In addition, coming back to Dartmouth to complete the dissertation as a predoctoral fellow has been a privilege. Beyond providing space and time to write in Dartmouth's PROF Fellows program, Israel Reyes, Amy Gallagher, and Native American Studies faculty, fellows, and staff established a welcoming, productive, and healthy environment. I owe a debt of gratitude to Michelle Brown, Colin Calloway, Emilie M. Connolly, Maurice S. Crandall, N. Bruce Duthu, Laurie Furch, Shelia LaPlante, Jeremy M. Mikecz, Vera B. Palmer, Nick Reo, Melanie B. Taylor, and Michelle Thompson. Each of you has been a great colleague and mentor throughout the years.

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government to account for the destruction, both physical and cultural, in boarding schools. Many Indigenous people desire healing. Truth telling, the root of this project, is part of that important journey.

Finally, to my family, biological and extended: for being in relations with me, thank you. Without you and your unconditional support, this project never would have materialized.

Any omissions are unintentional. All errors are mine.

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Introduction: Assimilation and Death

[W]e are little less than murderers if we follow the course we are now following after the attention of those in charge has been called to its fatal results. Hundreds of boys and girls are sent home to die that a sickly sentiment may be patronized and that institutions where brass bands, foot and base ball are the principal advertisements may be maintained.¹

—William J. McConnell, Indian Inspector, October 31, 1899

On the morning of October 25, 1918, a Southern Pacific train pulled into the San Xavier Indian Reservation south of Tucson, Arizona. As the steam locomotive approached the station, the wheels screeched against the steel rails, and smoke billowed from the train's blastpipe. T.F. McCormick, the reservation superintendent, waited for the freight to be unloaded at the station. Beside McCormick, Mrs. Capon (Tohono O'odham) watched as men lowered a plain wooden coffin to the platform. Inside lay her son's body. Three years earlier, on August 5, 1915, Edward Capon enrolled himself in Southern California's Sherman Institute, an off-reservation Native American boarding school operated by the federal government, to obtain a white education. There, he contracted influenza during the Spanish Flu Epidemic of 1918. His flu rapidly developed into pneumonia, which typically exhibits symptoms of acute chest pain, elevated fever and chills, a violent cough that causes a discharge of phlegm, and troubled breathing.² "Seriously ill," Edward Capon died at Sherman Institute on October 22 at the age of twenty-one. Deeply distraught while receiving Edward's body, Mrs. Capon expressed sadness at the fact "she could

¹ William J. McConnell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 31, 1899, quoted in Diane T. Putney, "Fighting the Scourge: American Indian Morbidity and Federal Policy, 1897-1928" (Ph.D. dissertation: Marquette University, 1980), 10-11.

² Burke A. Cunha, ed., *Pneumonia Essentials* (3rd ed, Boston: Physicians' Press, 2010), 2; Tessa Wardlaw, Emily White Johansson, and Matthew Hodge, *Pneumonia: The Forgotten Killer of Children* (New York: United Nations Children's Fund/World Health Organization, 2006), 7.

not open the coffin and see her son.”³ Edward came home. Other families lacked closure. Native American boarding school administrators buried many students on campus. Boarding school cemeteries are filled with young Indigenous bodies, reminders of the boarding schools’ lethality.⁴ Indeed, by the time of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, boarding schools had imposed decades of sustained lethality. Thousands of Native American families thus suffered profound losses when their kin died in and because of these institutions.

As the violence of the United States Civil War diminished, the federal government waged another war over land, resources, and power on the Great Plains and in the Trans-Mississippi West. Some solutions to the “Indian Wars” and the “Indian Problem” proposed by United States officials and colonists included dispossessing Native Americans of their land, forcing tribal nations westward, and even the utter physical extermination of all Native Americans. In 1868, the United States Congressman James M. Cavanaugh, a Montana Democrat, publicly stated on the floor of the United States House of Representatives, “I like an Indian better dead than living. I have never in my life seen a good Indian (and I have seen thousands) except when I have seen a dead Indian.”⁵ That October, a month before being elected President of the United States,

³ T.F. McCormick to Supt. F.M. Conser, October 25, 1918, 1, in RG75, Sherman Indian High School, Student Case Files, 1903-1950, Box 55, Folder Edward Capon, NARAR [hereafter Sherman Student Files, Box #, Folder]; Conser to McCormick, Supt., October 16, 1918 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 55, Edward Capon, NARAR; Conser to McCormick, Supt., October 22, 1918 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 55, Edward Capon, NARAR. NOTE: The box numbers for Sherman Student Files throughout this dissertation are slightly off compared to NARAR’s holdings. After I went through the files, archivists reboxed them.

⁴ About two weeks before Edward died, Riverside County’s health officer informed Superintendent Conser “that he would not issue a permit for the removal of the remains from Riverside. It will therefore be necessary to bury pupils here.” (Superintendent to Rev Brendle, October 12, 1918, in Sherman Student Files, Box 109, James Escloses, NARAR).

⁵ James M. Cavanaugh, May 28, 1868, in U.S. Congress, *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session, Fortieth Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Office, 1868), 2638.

General Ulysses S. Grant proclaimed, “the settlers and emigrants must be protected, even if the extermination of every Indian tribe [is] necessary.”⁶ The following year, General Philip Sheridan allegedly said, “The only good Indians I ever saw were dead.”⁷ United States Interior Secretary, and ultimately overseer of the boarding school system, Carl Schurz concluded in 1881, Indian peoples had one of two options: “extermination or civilization.”⁸ The latter was more palatable to more liberal-minded policy makers despite its lethality.

Boarding schools became, in the minds of some policy makers, an economical alternative to extermination. For Secretary Schurz, “It is only a question of money.” He explained, “We are told that it costs little less than a million of dollars to kill an Indian in war. It costs about one hundred and fifty dollars a year to educate one at Hampton or Carlisle. If the education of Indian children saves the country only one small Indian war in the future, it will save money enough to sustain ten schools like Carlisle ... for ten years.”⁹ Six years later, Indian Affairs Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins adopted this line of reasoning, reporting to the Interior secretary, “The cost of the schools is immeasurably less than that of the wars which they supplant, to say nothing of the sacrifice of lives of both soldiers and Indians.”¹⁰ Indeed, physical containment on reservations

⁶ Grant paraphrased in “The Indian Peace Commissioners—Political Matters—Business Prospects,” *New York Times*, October 16, 1868, 1.

⁷ Sheridan quoted in Edward S. Ellis, *The History of Our Country from the Discovery of America to the Present Time*, 8 vols. (Philadelphia: The History Company, 1899), 6:1483.

⁸ Carl Schurz, “Present Aspects of the Indian Problem,” *The North American Review* 133:296 (July 1881), 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰ J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 21, 1887, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1887* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), xvii [hereafter *ARCIA, 1887*].

and off-reservation Native American boarding schools became alternatives to physical extermination. Yet the schools were still lethal.¹¹

Between 1879 and 1934, federal officials routinely took official guardianship of Native American children and young adults. They sent them to boarding schools established to ‘educate’ them in the ways of Anglo-civilization. Indeed, the battles being waged by the federal government over Native American land and autonomy increasingly shifted to the classroom. “A Lethal Education: Institutionalized Negligence, Epidemiology, and Death in Native American Boarding Schools, 1879-1934” investigates this United States Indian education policy between the opening of the first off-reservation boarding school and the 1934 Howard-Wheeler Act, which initiated the so-called Indian New Deal and major boarding school reforms. It concentrates on the health consequences of this educational policy. Assimilation was the primary objective of the boarding schools from 1879-1934. Administrators partly achieved this goal with policies that removed Indian children and young adults from their homes, placed them in institutions that aimed to destroy Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions, and then tried to supplant Indigenous lifeways with non-Indigenous ones.

Cultural annihilation was the objective of this scheme. Reservations had failed to assimilate and erase Indian identity. Boarding schools thus grew out of reservation policy as simultaneous attacks on land and sovereignty. They aimed to do what reservations could not: assimilate Indians into the non-Indian United States populace by the inculcation of white norms

¹¹ For conditions and deaths on reservations, see: Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 3-4, 189-345; Benjamin Madley, “Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods,” *The American Historical Review* 120:1 (February 2015), 98-139.

and the banning of all Indian practices in highly controlled environments.¹² “Indianness,” according to these views, was incompatible with Euro-American culture and therefore, must be destroyed before Indians could be assimilated. In 1880, the United States Army Lieutenant Richard H. Pratt, the founding superintendent of the first off-reservation boarding school and the architect of the off-reservation federal boarding school system, summed up his work at Carlisle in a letter to United States President Rutherford B. Hayes as “evolv[ing] order out of chaos[!] Civilization out of savagery! Cleanliness out of filth!”¹³ In 1889, the Indian Affairs commissioner, Thomas J. Morgan, believed that “the Indians must conform to ‘the white man’s ways,’ peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must.”¹⁴ Three years later, Pratt reaffirmed this charge at Carlisle: “All the Indian there is in a race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”¹⁵ This infamous phrase — often summarized as “Kill the Indian, save the man” — was an explicit call for school officials to perpetuate cultural genocide.¹⁶ Complete

¹² Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), 112.

¹³ R.H. Pratt, Lt. 10th Cav’y to R.B. Hayes, President of the U.S., March 9, 1880, in Richard Henry Pratt, Robert M. Utley, ed., *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indians, 1867-1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 251. The “Indian problem” was a frequent topic in nineteenth-century social and political discourse. For more on this discourse, see Dippie, *Vanishing American*, Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (2 vols., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), and Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

¹⁴ Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to The Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1889, in U.S. OIA, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 3 [hereafter *ARCIA, 1889*].

¹⁵ Captain R. H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” in Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Nineteenth Annual Session Held in Denver, Col., June 23-29, 1892* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1892), 46.

¹⁶ The jurist Raphaël Lemkin, who coined the term genocide, included cultural crimes in his original 1944 definition. (Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* [Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944], 91). In 2015, the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which investigated Canadian First Nations

assimilation and civilization, Pratt and others believed, was the only way to save the “Indian” from “inevitable extinction.”¹⁷ The idea became the basis of United States Indian policy. Schools designed to eradicate Indigenous identities developed into the federal government’s weapon of choice. The portfolio of schools operated or supported by the Office of Indian Affairs, which became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947, included twenty-five off-reservation schools, 102 on-reservation boarding schools, and 139 day schools by 1900. An additional forty-two church-run schools and twenty-one public schools educated Indigenous children and young adults with federal support.¹⁸ Indian Affairs Commissioner William A. Jones summed up his assimilationist aims that year, predicting that mandatory education “will be a stepping-stone to the final achievement of complete extinguishment of the Indian race by its absorption into the body politic of the country.”¹⁹ The following commissioner, Francis Leupp, further entrenched the institutions, writing in 1905 that an Indian child “must go to school ... whether he likes it or not.

residential schools, found that the Canadian government had engaged in crimes of “cultural genocide,” which it defined as “the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group.” The Commission explained the mechanisms: “Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly, to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next.” (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* [Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2015], 1).

¹⁷ Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 116. Others believed Indians incapable of civilization. George Ellis, a Unitarian minister and historian, wrote in 1882, “the consenting opinion and judgment of the very large majority of men of actual knowledge and practical experience of the ... Indians is that they cannot be civilized, — that the race must perish either by violence or decay. The final catastrophe, it is said, has been forecast, prepared for, and is steadily advancing to its dismal close” (Ellis, in Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 130).

¹⁸ U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (2 parts, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 1:672-684.

¹⁹ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1900, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900* (Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 49 [hereafter *ARCIA, 1900*].

And if he then still does not listen to the words of the Government, we send the policeman or the soldier to show him that we mean business.”²⁰ Although some students went voluntarily, federal officials mandated attendance and threatened to uphold it with military and police force. Culture loss was not the only result.

Incarcerated Indian children and young adults contracted lethal diseases and died in large numbers. Were the students who contracted diseases — often severe, debilitating infections — or that died at off-reservation Native American boarding schools consciously anticipated collateral damage for the United States government’s broader assimilation program?

Custody, and its multiple meanings, are a defining feature of this study. Students found themselves taken from their families and communities and shipped to schools hundreds or thousands of miles away and incarcerated for years at a time in often-dangerous conditions. Boarding school applications were contracts in which Indigenous parents or guardians provided consent to the federal government to “assum[e] the care, education, and maintenance,” of the child.²¹ In other words, the government agreed to care for the child while the child was in their custody. Students were also in their custody from the moment they left the reservations until they returned. School administrators confined these students. The terms of enrollment ranged from three to five years, but could be indefinite or last until a student’s twenty-first birthday. Administrators, police, and the Indian Office’s larger surveillance apparatus tracked them if they left without permission, arrested them, and brought them back to school, where they might be held in the school jail. Students, even adults, were not free to leave.

²⁰ U.S. OIA, *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Chilocco, OK: U.S. Indian School, 1907), 54.

²¹ See “Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, Form 5-192a” common in student files in NARA repositories.

Boarding schools have been the subject of scholarly attention for many decades, beginning with scholars of the “New Indian History,” who highlighted boarding school survivors’ testimony and investigated boarding school conditions. Nonetheless, the non-Indian United States public was largely unaware of what happened in these institutions, or that they existed at all. A first wave of scholarship advanced our understanding of assimilative techniques, student agency, and student resistance. These scholars spent the bulk of their works detailing the everyday processes of forced assimilation and how students adapted, resisted, and survived.²²

²² Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974); Sally J. McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma Indians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983); Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); 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); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); David H. DeJong, *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education in the United States* (Golden, CO, 1993); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Dorothy R. Parker, *Phoenix Indian School: The Second Half-Century* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds., *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000* (Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 2000); Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002); John Reyhner and Jeanna Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Light Books, 2004); Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008); 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); Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012); Mary Stout, *Native American Boarding*

Whether institutional case studies, tribally specific studies, or overviews, they all tend to focus on cultural violence — that is, violence enacted in the process of attempting to erase Indigenous cultures. Scholars have detailed the federal government’s multifaceted assimilation assault, including the cutting of hair, the replacement of traditional regalia with military uniforms, and forbidding Indigenous languages, among other tactics. Scholars have also detailed how the schools enforced these regulations with corporal punishment, forced labor, and military-style discipline.²³ A smaller number have explored how Indigenous children and young adults responded to these conditions in a variety of ways, including deserting in great numbers.²⁴

The work of detailing American Indian boarding school histories, from the everyday to the extraordinary, is vitally important. These institutions continue to impact Indigenous communities today. Healing the emotional, physical, spiritual, and sexual wounds resulting from the schools remains a priority for many of Native American groups. Still, while much has been written on the assimilation and cultural destruction wrought by the boarding schools, the schools’ physical toll on Indigenous bodies is far less understood.

Schools (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012); Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity since 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); John R. Gram, *Education at the Edge of Empire: Negotiating Pueblo Identity in New Mexico’s Indian Boarding Schools* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015); Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute’s Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016); Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Farina King, *The Earth Memory Compass: Diné Landscapes and Education in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2018); Cynthia Leanne Landrum, *The Dakota Sioux Experience at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019).

²³ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 79.

²⁴ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 87-95; Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1998), 209-428.

Despite the large and growing boarding school historiography, it remains riddled with large gaps. Boarding schools remain so understudied that less than half of the twenty-three off-reservation boarding schools open in 1900 have book-length monographs written about them.²⁵ Scholars have devoted even less attention to the reservation day and boarding schools. Moreover, most historians of Native American boarding schools spend little space on health. Despite sickness being such a central determinant of student experiences, little has been written on diseases in the institutions. Excepting one monograph on health — historian Jean Keller’s 2002 *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922* — boarding school scholars only devote a few sentences or, at most, a chapter to the topic. The historian Robert Trennert wrote the first case study of “assimilationist education” at an off-reservation boarding school — the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona — in 1988. He dedicated thirteen pages to disease and student deaths.²⁶ Native American Studies scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Muscogee) completed the next case study in 1994, devoting two pages to illnesses at Oklahoma’s Chilocco Indian School in her oral-history-based study that highlighted students’ “adaptation, accommodation, resistance, ... revolt [and] survival.”²⁷ The following year, the historian David Wallace Adams allotted twelve pages to diseases and their transmission in *Education for*

²⁵ Albuquerque, Carlisle, Chilocco, Flandreau, Haskell, Phoenix, Pipestone, Rapid City, Santa Fe, and Sherman have been studied in book-length historical monographs or edited collections (Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*; Parker, *Phoenix Indian School*; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933*; Keller, *Empty Beds*; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*; Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*; Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, eds., *Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*; Bahr, *Students of Sherman Indian School*; Whalen, *Native Students at Work*; Fear-Segal and Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*; Landrum, *Dakota Sioux Experience at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools*; Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment*). Work remains to be completed on Chamberlain, Chemawa, Fort Lewis, Fort Shaw, Genoa, Grand Junction, Greenville, Morris, Mt. Pleasant, Pierre, Stewart, Tomah, and Wittenberg.

²⁶ Keller, *Empty Beds*; Trennert, *Phoenix Indian School*, 76-77, 101-109, 177-178. For quotation, see: Trennert, *Phoenix Indian School*, xiii.

²⁷ Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, xv, xvi, 12, 24.

Extinction.²⁸ The historian Brenda Child (Red Lake Band of Chippewa) then cited student letters to emphasize “struggles with serious diseases such as tuberculosis,” in 1998.²⁹ Child explained that “Communicable diseases flourished in the Indian boarding schools, and many students contracted serious illnesses.... The boarding school setting was an atmosphere conducive to the spread of disease” in her chapter on “Illness and Death.”³⁰ She argued: “Historians have mostly forgotten the Indian students who died in government boarding schools — especially because the deaths occurred during a period of high mortality generally for Native Americans — but the roll call of names is shamefully long. Between 1885 and 1913, one hundred Indian students were buried in Haskell cemetery alone.”³¹

The next year, the historian Scott Riney, studying South Dakota’s Rapid City Indian School, established that “Poor health conditions had become the norm.... The school became a breeding ground for trachoma, measles, and other diseases and often did not catch incipient cases of tuberculosis.”³² In 2002, the historian Jean Keller provided the first in-depth study of Indian student health in a boarding school. Her study of the Sherman Institute between 1902 and 1922 argued that Sherman was not a “death factory,” and exhibited “a healthy living environment.”³³ Still, she documented sixty-two student deaths there and seventy-four additional deaths shortly

²⁸ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 124-135.

²⁹ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

³² Riney, *Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933*, 62-73, 71, 72.

³³ Keller, *Empty Beds*, 1, 8.

after students left the school.³⁴ Three years later, the historian Leleua Laurita Loupe (Kānaka Maoli) disagreed with Keller’s findings. Loupe held that students at Sherman — and its predecessor, the Perris Indian School — suffered from abnormally high rates of infectious and contagious diseases precipitated by “poor conditions [, the] result of mismanagement through overcrowding, and financial neglect by the Office of Indian Affairs.”³⁵ This was a trend that continued for many years. Loupe concluded, “The poverty, neglect, and illness of children at Sherman ... are the legacy of Perris School and the boarding school system.”³⁶ Though this debate remains unsettled, both historians underestimated the number of deaths at Sherman because archival restrictions, since lifted, hampered their efforts, and they studied the institution for only a fraction of its existence.

More recently, scholars have continued to build on illness as a central experience of boarding school attendance. In 2008, the American Studies and International Health scholar Myriam Vučković’s *Voices from Haskell* “paint[ed] a detailed picture of daily life at the Kansas school,” including student experiences with infections.³⁷ She discovered that “Indian schools were neither the healthiest nor the safest places.... As Haskell’s records reveal, many children suffered from tuberculosis, measles, trachoma, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and other infectious diseases.”³⁸ In 2009, the historian Margaret D. Jacobs’ *White Mother to a Dark Race* devoted

³⁴ Keller, *Empty Beds*, 103-150, 110-111, 108. Keller relied on death certificates, government records, newspapers, letters, but did not comprehensively go through the student files, thus having an incomplete picture of deaths at Sherman (Keller, *Empty Beds*, 238n1).

³⁵ Leleua Laurita Loupe, “Unhappy and Unhealthy: Student Bodies at Perris Indian School and Sherman Institute, 1897-1910” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 2005), 60-61.

³⁶ Loupe, “Unhappy and Unhealthy, 37.

³⁷ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 1, 21-22, 25, 26, 33, 49.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

more than ten pages to health in boarding schools, noting “death became a tragic constant in institutional life.”³⁹ Two years later, a short article by the historian Bryan Rindfleisch investigated diseases at the Hayward Indian School and surrounding Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation, finding “a very considerable mortality.”⁴⁰ Finally, in 2015, the sociologist Andrew Woolford concluded of two Indian boarding schools in Arizona and two Canadian residential schools in Manitoba that “European diseases ... were permitted to ravage Indigenous communities largely unchecked and with a certain degree of indifference.”⁴¹ “Disease,” Woolford reasoned, “was facilitated through a web of relations that included both human intervention and human neglect.” He concluded, “the destructive capacity of human-pathogen interactions is an empirical question that requires further future investigation.”⁴² Most of these works are case studies limited to a single school or two and devote only a few pages to diseases and death. Still, they collectively point to the supposition avowed by the historian David DeJong in his 2008 medical history of the Indian Medical Service: that boarding schools “designed to prepare youth for modern life became the cause of their morbidity.”⁴³ The extent of that morbidity remains unknown. Still, almost all agree that boarding school conditions were deplorable.⁴⁴

³⁹ Jacobs, *White Mother for a Dark Race*, 259, 207, 256-266.

⁴⁰ Bryan Rindfleisch, “‘A Very Considerable Mortality’: Federal Indian Health Policy and Disease at the Hayward Indian School and Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 94:4 (Summer 2011), 11.

⁴¹ Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*, 234.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 238. Woolford also devoted part of a chapter to the topic (*Ibid.*, 213-217, 226-228, 234-243).

⁴³ David H. DeJong, “*If You Knew the Conditions:*” *A Chronicle of the Indian Medical Service and American Indian Health Care, 1908-1955* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 19.

⁴⁴ Trennert, *Phoenix Indian School*, xiii, 76-77, 101-109, 177-178; Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, xv, xvi, 12, 24; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 7, 55-68; Riney, *Rapid City Indian School, 1898-*

Colonialism's deadly epidemiological impact on Native American peoples has also been subject to growing scholarly attention. The "Virgin Soil Hypothesis," the idea that colonial epidemics struck Indigenous communities who were immunologically defenseless and thus the massive depopulation of the Americas is the fault of disease (and Indigenous bodies) rather than human agency and colonization preoccupies literature on the colonial era. Much of it focuses on early "virgin soil epidemics" of measles and smallpox.⁴⁵ Still, the hypothesis is slowly undergoing revision. Anthropologists Alan C. Swedlund and Catherine M. Cameron and the historian Paul Kelton began their edited collection *Beyond Germs* reminding readers, "a generation of scholars [since Crosby] has significantly overemphasized disease as the cause of depopulation, downplaying the active role of Europeans in inciting wars, destroying livelihoods, and erasing identities."⁴⁶ Indeed, pathogens did not act alone. Scholars have shown how violence

1933, 62-73, 71, 72; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 1, 21-22, 25, 26, 33, 49; DeJong, "If You Know The Conditions," 19; Jacobs, *White Mother for a Dark Race*, 259, 207, 256-266; Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*, 213-217, 226-228, 234-243.

⁴⁵ Historian Alfred W. Crosby first published on virgin soil epidemics. See, for example: Alfred W. Crosby, "Notes and Documents: Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33:2 (April 1976), 289-299. For the colonial era, see: Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1784* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-1782* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Roland G. Robertson, *Rotting Face: Smallpox and the American Indian* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2001); David S. Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality Since 1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); J. Diane Pearson, "Medical Diplomacy and the American Indian: Thomas Jefferson, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the Subsequent Effects on American Indian Health and Public Policy," *Wicazo Sa Review* 19:1 (Spring 2004), 105-130; Paul Kelton, *Epidemics & Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Paul Kelton, *Cherokee Medicine, Colonial Germs: An Indigenous Nation's Fight against Smallpox, 1518-1824* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

⁴⁶ Catherine M. Cameron, Paul Kelton, and Alan C. Swedlund, eds., *Beyond Germs: Native Depopulation in North America* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 3.

and social pressures of colonialism contributed to disease.⁴⁷ By the boarding school era, “virgin soil” epidemics were no longer possible. Indigenous peoples had developed antibodies and other resistance to infectious and contagious diseases through decades of exposure to them, including the primary threat to boarding school students, tuberculosis.⁴⁸

Scholars writing about the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries have focused on tuberculosis, and despite its incidence, have largely failed to investigate tuberculosis in boarding schools.⁴⁹ For example, in his path-breaking book on smallpox and tuberculosis, the physician and medical historian David S. Jones spent only one paragraph on tuberculosis in a single boarding school.⁵⁰ Likewise, the historian Christian McMillen mentioned boarding schools but did not focus on them in work on tuberculosis.⁵¹ Tuberculosis comes in three varieties, two of

⁴⁷ Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., “Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 33:2 [April 1976], 289-99. For example, the collection *Beyond Germs* the editors do much work in undoing Crosby’s “Virgin soil hypothesis” to show that violence and social pressures of colonialism was a significant contributor to disease and mortality (Cameron, Kelton, and Swedlund, eds., *Beyond Germs*). Scholars are also writing about the role of medicine in empire, also known as imperial medicine: Pearson, “Medical Diplomacy and the American Indian”; D. Ann Herring and Alan C. Swedlund, eds., *Plagues and Epidemics: Infected Spaces Past and Present* (New York: Berg, 2010); Warwick Anderson, “The Colonial Medicine of Settler States: Comparing Histories of Indigenous Health,” *Health and History* 9:2 (2007), 144-154.

⁴⁸ For a repudiation of the “virgin soil hypothesis” in reference to tuberculosis, see: McMillen, *Discovering Tuberculosis*, 25-26.

⁴⁹ Most of the work focuses on reservations, in sanatoria, or on the Indian Medical Service, more generally. For examples, see: Clifford E. Trafzer and Robert R. McCoy, *Forgotten Voices: Death Records of the Yakima, 1888-1964* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009); Clifford E. Trafzer, *Fighting Invisible Enemies: Health and Medical Transitions among Southern California Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019); DeJong, “*If You Know The Conditions*”; Robert A. Trennert, *White Man’s Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863-1955* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998). Putney’s 1980 dissertation, “Fighting the Scourge,” is an exception. The study focusing on the federal response to tuberculosis, spends considerable space on the schools and reservations (Putney, “Fighting the Scourge”).

⁵⁰ Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 142.

⁵¹ Christian W. McMillen, “‘The Red Man and the White Plague’: Rethinking Race, Tuberculosis, and American Indians, ca. 1890-1950,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82:3 (Fall 2008), 608-645;

which — *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* and *M. bovis* — are common in the United States. Medical historians have also blamed reservation conditions for the elevated tubercular rates. David S. Jones charged the government with “mismanaged the civilizing process.” These “conditions, a mockery of civilized life, created disease.”⁵² McMillen concurred, “Poverty and all it entails — overcrowding and malnutrition, most powerfully — explains a lot. Lack of access to good health care, too, fuels the disease’s transmission. And exposure to the disease is of course more likely under these circumstances.”⁵³ The most common vectors of transmission in boarding schools were contaminated milk and direct contagion via expectorated contaminated air droplets.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, traditional practices and pressing health concerns, including diabetes, suicide, cancer, and genetic research, dominate today’s Native American health literature.⁵⁵

Christian W. McMillen, *Discovering Tuberculosis: A Global History 1900 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

⁵² Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 142.

⁵³ McMillen, *Discovering Tuberculosis*, 18.

⁵⁴ Inspectors often found Sherman’s dairy herd to be infected and ordered the animals slaughtered to stop transmitting the disease (Conser, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1917 telegram, in Sherman Institute, Letters Sent to the Commissioner, 1898-1948, Jan. 1915-Jan. 1918, Folder “Sept 18, 1916 to Jan 19, 1918 [1/2]”; Jim Phillips and Michael French, “State Regulation and the Hazards of Milk, 1900-1939” *Social History of Medicine* 12:3 [December 1999], 371). For a description of tuberculosis and its transmission, see: McMillen, *Discovering Tuberculosis*, 8-11; Katherine Ott, *Fevered Lives: Tuberculosis in American Culture since 1870* (Harvard University Press, 1996); and Helen Bynum, *Spitting Blood: The History of Tuberculosis* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-4.

⁵⁵ Works on general health challenges, and specifically cancer, diabetes, food sovereignty and traditional diets, genetic research, HIV/AIDS, substance abuse, and suicide, include: Clifford E. Trafzer and Diane Weiner, eds., *Medicine Ways: Disease, Health, and Survival Among Native Americans* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2001); Donald Warne, “The State of Indigenous America Aeries: Ten Indian health Policy Challenges for the New Administration in 2009,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 24:1 (Spring 2009), 7-23; Robert C. Holman, et al., “Disparities in Infectious Disease Hospitalizations for American Indian/Alaska Native People,” *Public Health Reports* 126:4 (July-August 2011) 508-521; James P. Watt, et al., “Invasive Pneumococcal Disease among Navajo Adults, 1989-1998,” *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 38:4 (February 15, 2004), 469-501; J.P. Watt, et al. “Measuring the incidence of adult community-acquired pneumonia in a Native American community,” *Epidemiology and Infection* 138:8 (August 2010), 1146-

Surely, COVID-19 will now join this list.⁵⁶ In sum, more studies of American Indian and Alaska Native health between the colonial period and contemporary times are needed.

1154; Eugene V. Miller, *et al.*, “Epidemiology of Invasive *Haemophilus influenzae* Type A Disease among Navajo and White Mountain Apache Children, 1988-2003,” *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 40:6 (March 15, 2005), 823-830; Charlene A. Wong, *et al.*, “Impact of hysterectomy and bilateral oophorectomy prevalence on rates of cervical, uterine, and ovarian cancer among American Indian and Alaska Native women, 1999-2004,” *Cancer Causes & Control* 22:12 (December 2011), 1681-1689; Raymond Harris, *et al.*, “Assessing Needs for Cancer Education and Support in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities in the Northwestern United States,” *Health Promotion Practice* 17:6 (November 2016), 891-898; Dina N. Paltoo and Kenneth C. Chu, “Patterns in Cancer Incidence Among American Indians/Alaska Natives, United States, 1992-1999,” *Public Health Reports* 119:4 (July-August 2004), 443-451; Lyle F. Best, *et al.*, “Association of diabetes and cancer mortality in American Indians: the Strong Heart Study,” *Cancer Causes & Control* 26:11 (November 2015), 1551-1560. Luohua Jiang, *et al.*, “Health-Related Quality of Life and Help Seeking among American Indians with Diabetes and Hypertension,” *Quality of Life Research* 18:6 (August 2009), 709-718; Mary Kay Duffié, “A Pilot Study to Assess the Health needs and Statuses among a Segment of the Adult American Indian Population of Los Angeles,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 16:1 (Spring 2001), 91-112; Jennie R. Joe and Robert S. Young, eds., *Diabetes As a Disease of Civilization: The Impact of Culture Change on Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994); Kevin A. Lombard, *et al.*, “Healthy Gardens/healthy Lives: Navajo Perceptions of Growing Food Locally to Prevent Diabetes and Cancer,” *Health Promotion Practice* 15:2 (March 2014), 223-231; Devon Mihesuah, “Indigenous Health Initiatives, Frybread, and the Marketing of Nontraditional ‘Traditional’ American Indian Foods,” *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 3:2 (2016), 45-69; Devon A. Mihesuah and Elizabeth Hoover, eds., *Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States: Restoring Cultural Knowledge Protecting Environments and Regaining Health* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019); Kim TallBear, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Rene L. Begay, *et al.*, “Weaving the Strands of Life (*linà Bitl’ool*): History of Genetic Research Involving Navajo People,” *Human Biology* 91:3 (Summer 2019), 189-208; Irene S. Vernon, “AIDS: The new Smallpox among Native Americans,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 14:1 (Spring 1999), 235-249; Irene S. Vernon and Pamela Jumper Thurman, “Native American Women and HIV/AIDS,” *American Indian Quarterly* 33:3 (Summer 2009), 352-372; Mingzhi Zhang, *et al.*, “Smoking-attributable mortality in American Indians: findings from the Strong Heart Study,” *European Journal of Epidemiology* 30:7 (May 2015), 553-561; June E. Eichner, *et al.*, “Tobacco Use among American Indians in Oklahoma: An Epidemiological View,” *Public Health Reports* 120:2 (March-April 2005), 192-199; Jean Forster, *et al.*, “Cigarette Smoking Among Urban American Indian Adults – Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, Minnesota, 2011,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* (June 3, 2016), 534-537; Lenora M. Olson and Stéphanie Wahab, “American Indians and Suicide: A Neglected Area of Research,” *Trauma, Violence & Abuse* 7:1 (January 2006), 19-33; Todd C. Luce and Clifford E. Trafzer, “The Invisible Epidemic: Suicide and Accidental Death among the Yakima Indian People, 1911-1964,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 31:2 (Fall 2016), 13-55.

⁵⁶ Jeffrey Ostler, “Disease Has Never Been Just Disease for Native Americans: Native communities’ vulnerability to epidemics is not a historical accident, but a direct result of oppressive policies and ongoing colonialism,” *The Atlantic* (April 29, 2020), <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/04/disease-has-never-been-just-disease-native-americans/610852/>.

Scholars studying Native American epidemiology have paid little attention to the boarding schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most frequently reported boarding school diseases, besides tuberculosis, have garnered little scholarly attention. Tuberculosis was but one frequent killer. Given their frequency and infection rates at boarding schools, bronchitis, diphtheria, influenza, measles, mumps, trachoma, typhoid fever, and other diseases also warrant scholarly attention.

Building on prior scholarship, “A Lethal Education” is the most comprehensive study to date of boarding school lethality and the first combined study of death and disease at four off-reservation Native American boarding schools in the United States. This study focuses on Carlisle Indian Industrial School (in Carlisle, Pennsylvania), Forest Grove/Chemawa Indian School (in Forest Grove/Salem, Oregon), Haskell Institute (in Lawrence, Kansas), and Perris Indian School/Sherman Institute (in Perris/Riverside, California) for three reasons. First, they were four of the five largest boarding schools in the federal off-reservation boarding school system by student population.⁵⁷ As such, they exhibit similar characteristics — high enrollment,

⁵⁷ Because no extant sources reveal the number of students who attended each school, I have chosen to use a substitute metric. Using information gleaned from the annual reports of the commissioner of Indian Affairs, I have calculated student-years. While this is not equivalent to students because students typically attended boarding schools for more than one year, it is the most closely related variable. The schools ranked in cumulative size from largest to smallest for the period 1879-1930 (student years in parenthesis) are: Haskell Institute (34,606), Carlisle Indian Industrial School (31,032), Phoenix Indian School (27,208), Chemawa Indian School (26,660), and Sherman Institute (22,810). The smaller schools had fewer than 5,000 student-years. See *ARCIA*, 1880, 256-257; *ARCIA*, 1881, 290-291; *ARCIA*, 1882, 326-327; *ARCIA*, 1883, 256-257; *ARCIA*, 1884, 280-281; *ARCIA*, 1885, 214, 222, 225, 230, 254; *ARCIA*, 1886, LXVI, 5, 8, 18, 464; *ARCIA*, 1887, 314-319; *ARCIA*, 1888, 372-379; *ARCIA*, 1889, 380-389; *ARCIA*, 1890, 324-330; *ARCIA*, 1891, 549, 559, 563, 569, 571, 572, 576, 582, 583, 588, 597; *ARCIA*, 1892, 2-10; *ARCIA*, 1893, 612-624; *ARCIA*, 1894, 499-509; *ARCIA*, 1895, 492-505; *ARCIA*, 1896, 504-517; *ARCIA*, 1897, 466-479; *ARCIA*, 1898, 582-595; *ARCIA*, 1899, 548-561; *ARCIA*, 1900, 622-635; *ARCIA*, 1901, 672-683; *ARCIA*, 1902, 616-627; *ARCIA*, 1903, 492-503; *ARCIA*, 1904, 580-591; *ARCIA*, 1905, 505-515; *ARCIA*, 1906, 469-479; *ARCIA*, 1907, 162-175; *ARCIA*, 1908, 168-181; *ARCIA*, 1909, 154-167; *ARCIA*, 1911, 172-180; *ARCIA*, 1912, 196-205; *ARCIA*, 1913, 167-177; *ARCIA*, 1914, 137-147; *ARCIA*, 1915, 156-164; *ARCIA*, 1916, 148-157; *ARCIA*, 1917, 152-161; *ARCIA*, 1918, 172-180; *ARCIA*, 1919, 160-169; *ARCIA*, 1920, 148-156; *ARCIA*, 1921, 55-62; *ARCIA*, 1922, 43-50; *ARCIA*, 1923, 35-42;

tribally diverse student bodies, and intensified federal surveillance. While their size creates challenges, it also presents opportunities. Boarding school enrollments varied from more than a thousand students per year for the largest schools to fewer than 100 at the smallest ones. Studying the largest schools thus provides a more representative sample. Still, it may miss differences between these large institutions and smaller ones.

These four schools are also situated in geographically diverse locations: four states (California, Kansas, Oregon, and Pennsylvania) in four regions (the Southwest, the Great Plains, the Pacific Northwest, and the Northeast). Geographic dispersion confers several advantages. The schools drew from widely varied Indigenous populations. While boarding schools typically enlisted students from local Indian nations, they also drew from Indigenous populations across the United States and its overseas territories.⁵⁸ Students in this study come from over 200 different communities.

The four schools in this study also came into existence in different periods. Indian Office officials established Carlisle and Forest Grove (the first two off-reservation boarding schools) in 1879 and 1880, respectively. The Indian Office founded Haskell Institute in 1884, a year in which they also opened three other off-reservation boarding schools, before opening Chemawa and closing Forest Grove in 1885. Finally, Indian Office policy makers created Perris Indian School in the 1893 system-wide expansion, before constructing Sherman nearby to replace the school in 1903.⁵⁹

ARCIA, 1924, 40-47; ARCIA, 1925, 45-51; ARCIA, 1926, 44-51; ARCIA, 1927, 41-47; ARCIA, 1928, 50-55; ARCIA, 1929, 33-38; ARCIA, 1930, 56-60.

⁵⁸ Carlisle, for example, had larger enrollments from New York than the other schools, but also enrolled students from Alaska, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.

Substandard living conditions, which put students at exceptionally high risk of becoming infected, were the norm at Carlisle, Forest Grove/Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris/Sherman. Institutionalized conditions incubated infections and promoted contagion. Overcrowding, forced labor, physical abuse, sexual abuse, malnourishment, dietary insufficiencies, psychological trauma, and willful neglect compromised student immune systems, leaving them vulnerable to pathogens. The state of sanitation actively worked against mitigating the risk of infection. These factors also diminished the chances of recovery once a student became infected by impairing their immunological responses. Diseases, including diphtheria, influenza, measles, mumps, smallpox, and trachoma, quickly spread, and epidemics swept through student populations. Recurring outbreaks then led to elevated tuberculosis rates. Comorbidity, the simultaneous and usually independent presence of more than one medical condition, a common occurrence in boarding schools, greatly increased the chances of death. Disease outbreaks killed thousands of Indian students, leaving death, shattered families, and shattered communities in their wake. Based on newly opened archives, this study deploys a retroactive epidemiological approach new to boarding school studies. Ultimately, its findings reveal that thousands of Native American students perished because of these schools, while officials sent thousands more home to die. These thousands of deaths were the result of dangerous policies, an inadequate environment, parsimonious congressional funding, and gross negligence incited by federal officials. It was all about the money, and following the money tells us much about the institutions.

At the time of *Education for Extinction*'s publication in 1995, this project could not have been completed. Then, as now, United States privacy laws limited Adams' investigation by

⁵⁹ Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905* (Indian Affairs, Part 1: Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1906) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1905*], 41.

blocking access to millions of pages of crucial Indian boarding school records produced and preserved by the federal government. Thus, he concluded, the schools' death rate "is surely an important question, but unfortunately an impossible one to answer."⁶⁰ Now that many of these files have been released, we can begin to work an answering this important question. Boarding school archives contain appropriation ledgers, enrollment books, letters and telegrams sent and received by the schools, diaries, government publications, photographs, and rule books, among other sources. Most importantly, the archives hold thousands of student files — an underutilized source for understanding Indian boarding schools and children's experiences in them. Student files vary by school but generally contain attendance records, classroom assignments, copies of correspondence, hospital notes, letters to and from the students, medical records, and report cards. These student files reveal a great deal of health-related data. And, the marginalia on letters, hospital scraps, school applications, hospital logs, and official correspondence can be key to determining the ultimate fate of Indigenous children and young adults. Still, missing and destroyed files complicate analysis.⁶¹ "A Lethal Education" offers a new methodological approach to boarding school students.

⁶⁰ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130.

⁶¹ The boarding school archives are various collections across the United States pertaining to these institutions. Much of the administrative records are held in the federal governments National Archives and Records Administration facilities. Colleges and county historical societies possess diaries, school newspapers, correspondence, and photographs. Boarding school museums themselves have robust collections of photographs, newspapers, correspondence, yearbooks, and school memorabilia. Photographic propaganda, including the infamous "before" and "after" photographs shot at Carlisle and other off-reservation boarding schools. These photographs become central to portraying Indian students and the Carlisle experiment as a positive benefit to Native American peoples. They were sent to influential policy makers, including Congressmen and Senators, to provide them with visual "proof" of assimilation and also to solicit more funds for the institution. For a large collection of these photographs, see: John N. Choate photographs of Carlisle Indian School, circa 1879-1902, NAA.PhotoLot.81-12, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C. and the Photo Archives at the Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Haskell Institute had a fire in 1907 at the school, which destroyed the "old portion of the school building" (H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Emma Loomis, August 10, 1907, in RG75, Haskell, Institute, Subject Correspondence Files, 1904-1941, Box 10, "Fire-1907

Medical records in the student case files are vital to any study of boarding school health, but most scholars have yet to engage with these newly available sources. Of the dozens of books on Native American boarding schools, at least three extensively cite student files.⁶² Although the files provide more specificity about health in boarding schools, using them is difficult for two reasons. Scholars have largely eschewed mining the student files because of United States privacy laws that restrict access to student files containing personal information for seventy-five years, and the sheer scale of the records.⁶³ Some of the large boarding schools average over 20,000 student files through the 1930s, and some sets contain millions of pages of records. Thus, most boarding school scholars make extensive use of the schools' annual reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and correspondence between officials in Washington, D.C. and the schools, as does this study. While these sources are vital to any boarding school study, they provide an incomplete picture of student health. Reports, for instance, fail to enumerate the number of students sent home sick — a central marker of student health. In some cases, evidence suggests that students went home sick, but their files are marked with a different explanation of their departure. Excavating mortality records is difficult. Even in an individual school, an army of clerks and nurses created various records. Thus, boarding school records are idiosyncratic, and

School,” NARAKC [hereafter Haskell SCF, Box #]). This fire destroyed most student files. Water damage is common in the letter press books of the era. Similarly, at the Albuquerque Indian School a fire in 1910 destroyed “many of the early records” (Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*, 103). Carlisle Indian Industrial School records are missing the “dead files” for all boys with last names beginning with the letters L-Z (Inventory for “Records of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” NARADC). At the National Archives branch in Seattle, water destroyed dozens of letters sent by the school. The researcher must wear protective gear to guard against dangerous mold. This archive’s finding aid for the school notes “Most volumes are illegible due to water damage” (“CH02: Letters Sent, 1881-1912,” in Joyce Justice, “Inventory of the Records of the Chemawa Indian School,” 1996). Some student files are simply missing.

⁶² Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*; Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*.

⁶³ “Exemption (b)(6)” of the Freedom of Information Act, in John W. Carlin, Archivist of the United States to Office Heads, Staff Directions, ISOO, NHPRC, OIG, NARA Directive 1601, January 10, 2002, <https://www.archives.gov/files/foia/directives/nara1601.pdf>.

employees recorded information inconsistently. Names, tribal affiliations, diagnoses, and nineteenth-century medical terminology differed across records, schools, and times. These sources often raise more questions than they answer. But, they do give us records that tell us much about how lethal these institutions were. Indeed, the smoking gun is the trail of paperwork.

Comparing annual reports to the boarding school archives suggests that boarding school superintendents routinely undercounted deaths at the schools they managed. Internal school records reveal a different story than those reported to Washington, D.C. Inconsistencies call into question the validity of statistics gathered and disseminated by the Indian Office and scholarly reliance on them. With access to the archives now possible (for records created before 1945), we can now see, for the first time, the fabrication of reports and the cover-up of morbidity and mortality. This study reveals official school tallies. Superintendents, or the Indian Office, likely never envisioned that a historian would search through these records to show the gulf between official reports and institutional records. Nevertheless, this study relies on the same government statistics that official reports refute. Sometimes, the statistics are the best we have and appeared in the public record at the time. People acted and made policies based on these figures, which were often a dramatic undercount.

This study's findings provide a shocking revision of boarding school deaths. Between 1879 and 1934, a minimum of 831 enrolled Native American boarding school students died.⁶⁴ "A Lethal Education" uses the boarding school archives to recover, give voice to, and memorialize these undocumented and erased children and young adults while providing families, scholars, and tribes with access to this information.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See Appendix 2.

Despite federal officials' complicity in creating and maintaining institutional conditions that spread disease, many Euro-Americans believed that tuberculosis was simply another tragedy in the fated extermination of Native Americans brought on by an inability to adapt to "civilized" life. This notion, which the historian Benjamin Madley called "The Myth of Inevitable Extinction," was widespread and had deep roots in United States history.⁶⁶ Officials often employed it in relation to tuberculosis. On September 10, 1885, Pine Ridge Indian Agent V.T. McGillicuddy wrote that tubercular diseases would send the Oglala Lakota to "the happy hunting grounds...in obedience to the law of the survival of the fittest." He continued, "the Sioux Nation as a people will be forced to the wall."⁶⁷ Such beliefs camouflaged apathy.

In 1897, the Ho-Chunk Agency physician Dr. W. J. Stephenson reported, "The prevailing disease is tuberculosis, which is slowly but surely solving the Indian problem."⁶⁸ Stevenson's callous commentary belittling the deaths of Ho-Chunks resulting from a federally created

⁶⁵ This project recognizes Indigenous data sovereignty and is in the process of returning the records to American Indian nations for their own archives. What remains in the archives is the skeletal remains of a robust, if inaccurate, record-keeping operation.

⁶⁶ This "Myth of Inevitable Extinction" began with early colonization. Upon invading the eastern shores and later the Great Plains of North America, European colonizers befell land largely depopulated by devastating epidemics. When painter and author George Catlin published his account of a 1832 trip through Mandan territory in 1841, he recalled, "[the Mandan], whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed; whose doom is fixed to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation" (George Catlin, *North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians ion North America, 1832-1839* [2 vols., Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart and Company, 1913], 1:107). For more on the Myth of the Vanishing Indian or the Myth of Inevitable Extinction, see: Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 32-44; Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 2; Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 185-186. For the term in Australia, see: Mark Crocker, *Rivers of Blood, Rivers of Gold: Europe's Conquest of Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Grove Press, 1998), 174-176.

⁶⁷ V.T. McGillicuddy, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 33.

⁶⁸ W.J. Stephenson, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 179.

medical tragedy is emblematic of federal employees' general apathy toward Native American lives. Seven years later, Indian Affairs Commissioner Jones concluded, "Taking pupils ... and confining them in school" was a cause of tuberculosis, and "the crowded schoolroom and dormitory, especially if the latter falls short of reasonable sanitary requirements, acts as a spark to tinder."⁶⁹ Despite knowledge of their lethal policies, many federal officials continued to believe that disease would "wipe out" Indigenous peoples.

The boarding school archives also contain contemporaneous ideas about disease, the efficacy of treatments, struggles, successes, and, ultimately, the contours of particular epidemics. The sources share how schools and students reacted to particular outbreaks and how approaches changed. While the Indian Office sent out hundreds of circulars about safeguarding health over the decades, school superintendents often ignored them. This project explores why boarding school superintendents and their employees routinely violated official government regulations and evaluates the consequences. Insufficient congressional funding, meanwhile, hampered efforts to combat disease. This project argues that Congress, the Indian Office, and local superintendents were complicit in a lethal system by maintaining parsimonious appropriations, overcrowding, unsanitary environments, and malnutrition. Despite attention called to the lethal results, they persisted, first expanding the system and then maintaining it. The level of sustained lethality suggests that ill Indigenous children and young adults were acceptable collateral damage to policy-makers in the overall federal assimilation project.

Writing a dissertation about infectious diseases during the global pandemic of the SARS-CoV-2 virus and resultant COVID-19 disease calls for some introspection about the language and context of this study. This project is couched in terms of the western, allopathic medicine

⁶⁹ W.A. Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 34, 35.

imposed upon, resisted, and adapted by Indigenous peoples.⁷⁰ It is dominated by “science” and the treating or managing symptoms. Though this study catalogs Indigenous feelings towards and responses to diseases and western medicine (from running away to submitting to grueling trachoma operations and treatments in tuberculosis sanatoria), it is not an Indigenous history of medicine or an account of Indigenous conceptions of disease in boarding schools. Instead, it is an accounting of disease in those institutions in an era before antibiotics and ever-changing medical knowledge, when under or untreated tubercular infections registered one-year case mortality rates approaching 90 percent.⁷¹

One of the most debated topics of the late-nineteenth-century was the role of microorganisms in causing sickness.⁷² The Roman architect Vitruvius proposed the miasmatic theory of disease, an idea rooted in the belief that rotting organic substances contaminated the air and caused disease, as early as the 1st century BC.⁷³ It remained a dominant theory until the late-

⁷⁰ Today, many Native peoples’ medical practices involve some combination of allopathic medicine and their traditional medicinal and spiritual practices (Lavonna Lovern and Carol Locust, *Native American Communities on Health and Disability: A Borderland Dialogues* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013]; Mary Koithan and Cynthia Farrell, “Indigenous Native American Healing Traditions,” *The Journal for Nurse Practitioners* 6:6 [June 2011], 477-478).

⁷¹ I use accounting in the sense introduced by historian Nell Irving Painter in relation to slavery (“Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully Loaded Cost Accounting,” in Nell Irvin Painter, *Southern History Across the Color Line* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002], 15-39). C.Y. Chiang, *et al.*, “Tuberculosis-related deaths without treatment,” *The International Journal of Tuberculosis and Lung Disease* 13:12 [December 2009], 1563-1565.

⁷² Jacob Steere-Williams, “The Germ Theory,” in Georgina M. Montgomery and Mark A. Larget, eds., *A Companion to the History of American Science* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 399. For more on the gradual acceptance of germ theory in America, see: John C. Burnham, *Health Care in America: A History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 162- 168.

⁷³ Vitruvius wrote in *De Architectura*: “From when the morning breezes blow toward the town at sunrise, if they bring with them mists from marshes and, mingled with the mist, the poisonous breath of the creatures of the marshes to be wafted into the bodies of the inhabitants, they will make the site unhealthy” (Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914], 17).

nineteenth century. A competing theory of disease—the one generally accepted today—germ theory is even older. Initially proposed by ancient thinkers as early as 411 BCE, it was neither a single theory nor the dominant mode of thought.⁷⁴ This began to change by the late 1850s when Dr. John Snow investigated the cause of an August 1854 cholera outbreak in the Soho suburb of London.⁷⁵ Snow’s epidemiological study tracked the source of the outbreak to a water pump on Broad Street, though many contemporaries thought his hypothesis was nonsense.⁷⁶

Further evidence for germ theory coalesced in the 1860s and 1870s when a collection of scientists and physicians used experiments to study infection processes. The experiments of Joseph Lister, Joseph Pasteur, Robert Koch, and others provided the foundations of modern germ theory and bacteriology. In 1859, Pasteur wrote, “everything indicated that contagious diseases owe their existence to [microorganisms and fermentation].”⁷⁷ His showed that organisms in the air were alive, but that heat could kill them. Pasteur sought to isolate the specific bacteria.⁷⁸ Lister’s famous 1867 paper, “On the Antiseptic Principle in the Practice of Surgery,” borrowed from Pasteur’s view that the air contained living microorganisms that could produce poisons, or

⁷⁴ Writing about the plague of Athens in *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides wrote about human-to-human contagion: “that in mutual tenderness, in taking care of one another, which communicated the infection, and made them drop like sheep.” (Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, Translated from the Greek of Thucydides, William D. Smith, trans., [Philadelphia: Edward Earle, 1818], 156). For other early examples, see: Charles and Dorothea Singer, “The Scientific Position of Girolamo Fracastoro,” *Annals of Medical History* 1:1 (Spring 1917), 14; Steere-Williams, “Germ Theory,” 399-400.

⁷⁵ John Snow, *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera* (2nd ed., London: John Churchill, 1855), 39.

⁷⁶ Snow, *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera*, 39, 56; Rosalind Stanwell-Smith, “Dr. John Snow and the Broad Street pump,” in Jamie Bartram, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Water and Health* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 664.

⁷⁷ Pasteur, in Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 31.

⁷⁸ Porter, *Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 432-436.

infections, in wounds.⁷⁹ Following Pasteur and Lister, the German physician Robert Koch in 1876 determined that *bacillus anthracis* produced the anthrax disease. In 1879, Koch wrote about the etiology, or cause, of infectious diseases, which he followed up in 1882 and 1883 with the isolation of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*, one of the causes of tuberculosis, and *Vibrio cholerae*, which causes cholera.⁸⁰ With cholera, Koch confirmed Snow's hypothesis that cholera was not liable to human-to-human contagion, but spread through contaminated water and food supplies.⁸¹ Indeed, Robert Koch solidified germ theory when he discovered the causes of anthrax, tuberculosis, and cholera, but it still had its skeptics.⁸² These revelations paved the way for vaccinations and treatments.

Vaccination against smallpox had existed since Edward Jenner's 1796 experiments with cowpox. The practice quickly spread to the United States. A Miami delegation that visited President Thomas Jefferson, led by Chief Little Turtle in 1801, was the first Indigenous contingent to get vaccinated in the United States.⁸³ A few months later, the Shawnee leader Black Hoof thanked Jefferson "for sending the Doctor to inoculate some of our young men."⁸⁴ Likewise, boarding school students should have received the smallpox vaccine upon their

⁷⁹ Joseph Lister, "On the Antiseptic Principle in the Practice of Surgery," *The British Medical Journal* 2:357 (September 21, 1867), 246-248; Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 80-82.

⁸⁰ Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 434, 437.

⁸¹ D. Lippi and E. Gotuzzo, "The greatest steps towards the discovery of *Vibrio cholerae*," *Clinical Microbiology and Infection* 20:3 (March 2014), 191-195.

⁸² Tomes, *Gospel of Germs*, 35-41.

⁸³ Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 89-90. Chief Little Turtle may have been vaccinated against smallpox in the 1790s in Philadelphia by the physician Benjamin Rush (Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg [44 vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009], 36:522.)

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 36:519.

entrance to school, but evidence suggests that this was not always completed.

All this is to say that late-nineteenth-century United States medical professionals knew that diseases could be passed from humans to other humans and through contaminated water and food supplies. They knew that germs caused disease, though they did not know which germs caused which diseases by the time Carlisle opened. This study takes place as the medical profession was undergoing information changes and professionalization, including the opening of the first modern United States medical college, Johns Hopkins, in 1893.⁸⁵ Those advances would come with the continued work of Pasteur, Koch, and others in the first decade of the off-reservation industrial school. Laboratory science had revealed important new findings to medicine. Of particular importance was Koch's determination that the *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* bacillus caused tuberculosis, then called phthisis, scrofula, or consumption. Whatever one called it, it was a scourge that plagued Native Americans in schools and on reservations. Medical advances in technology and treatments did not always reach Indigenous peoples, especially children and young adults in underfunded off-reservation boarding schools.

In some ways, this study's narrative is familiar to us today: the public health directives, physical examinations, vaccinations, medications, weighing, measuring, and quantifying of health and sickness. The practices of screening individuals for symptoms of ill health, of isolating those suspected of being infected with contagious diseases, of quarantining schools and places where people crowd, and of hospitalizing those requiring medical attention, have limited contagion and its visibility. Still, it is the very successes of those public health practices that also make this story unfamiliar, as the diseases that fill these pages no longer pose a daily threat to our lives. Vaccines, treatments, and eradication initiatives have largely removed the threat of

⁸⁵ Bruce Fetter, "Health Care and Social Change in the United States: A Mixed System, A Mixed Blessing," *Hygiea Internationalis* 4:1 (December 2004), 280.

smallpox, measles, mumps, rubella, diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis from our lives in the United States. Smallpox has been eradicated. The Bacillus Calmette-Guerin Tuberculosis Vaccine (BCG) (nonconsensually tested on Indigenous peoples), the introduction of the antibiotics penicillin by Alexander Fleming in 1928, streptomycin by Salman Waksman in 1944 and isoniazid in 1952, and improved sanitation procedures marked significant advances in the treatment of tuberculosis, a disease central to boarding school mortalities.⁸⁶ Add to this your annual flu shot, and influenza is no longer such a concern, though it still kills between 24,000 and 62,000 Americans every year.⁸⁷ Tuberculosis, still a scourge around the world, is rare in the United States.⁸⁸ For the majority of United States citizens, medical advances have lowered morbidity and increased life expectancy, which rose 39.1 years between 1880 and 2003.⁸⁹ Yet this is not true not for all Americans. Although Indigenous peoples are living longer, they have the highest mortality rates due to diabetes, pneumonia, suicide, and tuberculosis in the United States. And, as of 2017, Native American life expectancy in some states was twenty years shorter

⁸⁶ Eleanor Louise Hadden, “The Bacillus Calmette-Guerin Tuberculosis Vaccine Experiment on Southeast Alaska Natives: An Experiment Without Informed Consent” (M.A. thesis, University of Alaska Anchorage, 2007); Robert Gaynes, “The Discovery of Penicillin — New Insights After More Than 75 Years of Clinical Use,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 23:5 (May 2017), 849-853; Wesley W. Spink, *Infectious Diseases: prevention and Treatment in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), 109, 114-115.

⁸⁷ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “2019-2020 U.S. Flu Season: Preliminary Burden Estimates,” <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/about/burden/preliminary-in-season-estimates.htm>.

⁸⁸ McMillen, *Discovering Tuberculosis*, 64-65. The disease is still a top ten worldwide leading cause of death responsible for an estimated 1.5 million deaths per year. See: World Health Organization, *Global Tuberculosis Report, 2019* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2019), 1.

⁸⁹ “Life expectancy by age, race, and sex: Death Registration States, 1900-1902 to 1919-21, and United States, 1929-1931 to 2003,” in Elizabeth Arias, Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), “United States Life Tables, 2003,” *National Vital Statistics Reports* 54:14 (April 19, 2006), 30; J. David Hacker, “Decennial Life Tables for the White Population of the United States, 1790-1900,” *Historical Methods* 43:2 (April-June 2010), 51.

than the national average.⁹⁰ The county with the lowest life expectancy in the United States is home to the Oglala Lakota Nation's Pine Ridge Reservation. The average Oglala Lakota County resident can expect to die before their sixty-seventh birthday.⁹¹ Indeed, this study might shed light on how historical neglect, continued apathy, and underfunding cause contemporary health disparities, especially in Native American communities.

As an epidemiological study, this dissertation brings Native American History into conversation with the History of Science and Medicine by focusing on disease etiology, the study of contagious environments, and students' experiences relating to health and sickness. This approach highlights student experiences interacting with destructive forces while using archival sources to construct standard epidemiological metrics. This project's significance emerges from its ability to expand upon the serious biological dangers institutionalized by boarding school administrators and Washington, D.C. policy makers first called out by boarding school parents, guardians, students, and later scholars. Uncovering the concealment of disease and death also warrants substantial contemplation.

Since health, sanitation, and other social and environmental determinants of health are the central focus of this project, other aspects of boarding schools and broader federal Indian policies have been necessarily neglected. This is not a comprehensive boarding school history.

⁹⁰ Patricia M. Barnes, Patricia F. Adams, and Eve Powell-Griner, National Center for Health Statistics, "Health Characteristics of the American Indian or Alaska Native Adult Population: United States, 2004-2008," *National Health Statistics Reports* 20 (March 9, 2010), <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhsr/nhsr020.pdf>; Eric Whitney and Montana Public Radio, in National Public Radio, "Native Americans Feel Invisible in U.S. Health Care System," *Morning Edition* (December 12, 2017), <https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2017/12/12/569910574/native-americans-feel-invisible-in-u-s-health-care-system>.

⁹¹ Debra Utacia Krol, "Life Expectancy Falling in US — But in Tribal Communities, Not So Much," *Indian Country Today*, May 11, 2017, https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/life-expectancy-falling-in-us-but-in-tribal-communities-not-so-much-nh_16pV-I0i_cY8vNKmGgA.

It is by design a top-down institutional, educational, environmental, epidemiological, and social history of four boarding schools at specific times. While it relies on thousands of primary, bottom-up sources, the focus is on documenting federal government officials' gross negligence in taking children from their families and communities, creating conditions conducive to spreading disease, confining Indigenous children and young adults in known dangerous conditions, and, at times, concealing lethal outcomes. While this project does not focus on boarding school survivor accounts, it does buttresses and reaffirm them using federal documents.

This project's findings change our understanding of off-reservation boarding schools and, therefore, United States Indian policy, not because stories about dying children and young adults elicit emotional responses, but because thousands of these human beings died. Their deaths and the causes have remained hidden from family members, community members, boarding school survivors, and the public. Truth telling through revealing and memorializing these deaths seeks to reverse the elision of these young men and women's lives. Truth-telling requires us to answer David Wallace Adams's question: "What was the death rate in Indian Schools generally?"⁹² It requires us to determine how deadly these schools were, not just for the Indigenous peoples affected, but for us all. These students were casualties of the making of the modern United States.

Despite the attention paid to death, levels which some might describe as mass death, this dissertation does not address the question of genocide. Although the evidence presented in this study, other boarding school sources, and the Canada's 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission final reports on Canadian schools for First Nations, Inuit, Inuvialuit and Métis youth may point to such a claim, that question is beyond the scope of this study. To make such a

⁹² Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130.

claim, we need to know more about the many federal boarding schools for Native Americans not covered by this and previous studies. There are hundreds of off-reservation boarding, on reservation boarding, day, and mission schools funded or operated by the federal government that we know little about.

Boarding schools are intricately woven into all Indigenous communities, but before we can confront their legacies, we need an accurate accounting of the lethal education they provided. Indeed, the stakes for such a project are high. The National Congress of American Indian (NCAI), the largest collection of tribal governments and communities in the United States, has passed four resolutions since 2013, most authored by the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, requesting the United States government to “provide a full accounting [of] the fate of all persons taken [to boarding schools] who have not yet been returned to their families and communities ... pursuant to principles of justice and common decency [under the] principles of international human rights law.”⁹³ The resolutions further call for community and individual healing. Several Indian Nations and regional Tribal collectives have noted their support and passed similar resolutions. Tribal nations are also waging battles, under the federal Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, and through nation-to-nation negotiations, to repatriate their kin from boarding school cemeteries.⁹⁴ Others are fighting at the United Nations. In 2019, the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

⁹³ National Congress of American Indians, “Call for the United States to Acknowledge its Role in the U.S. Boarding School Policy and to Account for the American Indian and Alaska Native Children Who did not Survive as a Result,” Resolution #PHX-16-063 (October 9-14, 2016), 3; National Congress of American Indians, “Call to Collect Testimony about the American Indian and Alaska Native Children Who went Missing under U.S. Boarding School Policy,” Resolution #MOH-17-014 (June 12-15, 2017). NCAI has also passed resolutions REN-13-055 and #ATL-14-026 related to this issue.

⁹⁴ Jeff Gammage, “Those kids never got to go home,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 13, 2016, http://www.philly.com/philly/news/Those_kids_never_got_to_go_home.html.

received a general allegation “from credible sources” alleging “disappearance[s] of American Indian and Alaska Native children” in boarding schools and “obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance in the United States of America.”⁹⁵ Some of the research for “A Lethal Education” formed the basis of this complaint.

The stakes for explaining the mechanisms of disease and death in federal off-reservation Indian boarding schools are high. Documenting the disease and death rates produced by violent assimilative policies and telling the stories of children and young adults dying in federal custody need to be told. This story is important to a variety of stakeholders. First and foremost, this dissertation aims to serve the 5,220,579 self-identifying American Indians and Alaska Natives, many of whom are descendants of boarding school survivors and casualties.⁹⁶ These individuals deserve to know what happened to their ancestors and to obtain at least the minimal sense of closure that such knowledge may provide. Major questions then follow. Should individuals constituting the 574 federally recognized sovereign American Indian/Alaska Native communities and “approximately 400 non-federally recognized tribes” seek a congressional investigation?⁹⁷ Can boarding school records documenting students from unrecognized Indigenous communities serve as evidence of a Nation-to-Nation relationship in the process to gain federal recognition?

⁹⁵ United Nations, Human Rights Council, Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, “Communications transmitted, cases examined, observations made and other activities conducted by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances,” A/HRC/WGEID/118/1, July 30, 2019, 24.

⁹⁶ United States Census Bureau, Tina Norris, Paula L. Vines, and Elizabeth M. Hoeffel, “The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2010,” *2010 Census Briefs* (January 2012), 1, 4.

⁹⁷ *Federal Register* 84:22 (February 1, 2019), 1200-1205, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2019-02-01/pdf/2019-00897.pdf>; United States Government Accountability Office, Anu K. Mittal, *Federal Funding for Non-Federally Recognized Tribes* (April 2012), 6, <http://www.gao.gov/assets/600/590102.pdf>.

Should Native Americans seek reparations for their suffering, including physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, unpaid wages for forced labor, and loss of life as did the Japanese-American victims of internment and Canadian First Nations peoples, and Australia's Aboriginal Stolen Generations?⁹⁸ Can individuals or tribal nations sue the federal government in national and international courts for its role in the boarding school catastrophe?⁹⁹ Should Native Americans demand a truth and reconciliation commission like Canada's? Should Indian peoples gain more control over contemporary Indian schools? Should state and federal legislators and Native American nations erect monuments and institute days of remembrance? Because of its importance, boarding school histories, including the horrific death tolls, should be integrated into public discourse and public education.

There are clear national and international precedents for acknowledgments, apologies, reparations, and restitution. The first large-scale international case of reparations occurred in the

⁹⁸ Andrea Smith, "Boarding School Abuses, Human rights, and Reparations," *Social Justice* 31:4 (2004): 89-102; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*; Commonwealth of Australia, *Bringing them home: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997), NP. The 1988 "An Act To implement recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians," also known as the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, originally appropriated \$1.25 billion to the Japanese-American victims of federal internment ("An Act To implement recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians," August 10, 1988, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Second Session of the One-Hundredth Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations, 1988* [125 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1990], 102:903, 905, 906). For a summary of historical reparations, see Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, "Reparations for Slavery and Other Historical Injustices," *Columbia Law Review* 103:3 (April 2003): 698-748.

⁹⁹ Article 8 of the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, asserted that "Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture." It continued, "States shall provide...redress for: (a) Any action which the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources; (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights; (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration..." (United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* [New York: United Nations, 2008], 5).

aftermath of the Holocaust. Germany has paid over \$89 billion to victims and their descendants.¹⁰⁰ The United States has its own history of paying reparations or restitution for illegal government actions. In 1946, Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act, which sought to extinguish grievances arising from the illegal confiscation of Indian lands by the United States government. By 1978, the federal government had returned some land to tribes and paid them over \$818 million for other stolen land.¹⁰¹ This was hardly real compensation and did not really constitute justice. Ten years later, Congress legislated the aforementioned reparations for Japanese American victims of internment.¹⁰² Each survivor received \$20,000. In 1992 an amendment to the act increased appropriations to \$1.65 billion. Eventually, the United States government paid over \$1.6 billion to 82,250 people.¹⁰³ Two years after Congress authorized reparations for internment, they passed the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1990. By 2015, the United States Justice Department had awarded over \$2 billion of reparations to “individuals who contracted certain illnesses following exposure to radiation as a result of the United States’ ... nuclear testing program.” This included \$264 million for members of seventeen Native American nations.¹⁰⁴ In 2010, the United States settled the Cobell class-action

¹⁰⁰ Melissa Eddy, “For 60th Year, Germany Honors Duty to Pay Holocaust Victims,” *New York Times*, November 17, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/18/world/europe/for-60th-year-germany-honors-duty-to-pay-holocaust-victims.html?_r=0).

¹⁰¹ Nell Jessup Newton, “Compensation, Reparations, & Restitution: Indian Property Claims in the United States,” *Georgia Law Review* 28:2 (Winter 1994), 468, 476-477, 477n100; United States Indian Claims Commission, *Final Report* (September 30, 1978), 21, 125.

¹⁰² Eric K. Yamamoto and Liann Ebesugawa, “Report on Redress: The Japanese American Internment,” in Pablo de Greiff, ed., *The Handbook of Reparations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 273, 274.

¹⁰³ Yamamoto and Ebesugawa, “Report on Redress,” in de Greiff, ed., *Handbook of Reparations*, 273, 274.

¹⁰⁴ U.S. Department of Justice, “Justice Department Surpasses \$2 Billion in Awards Under the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act,” March 2, 2015, <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-surpasses-2-billion-awards-under-radiation-exposure-compensation-act>).

lawsuit for improper accounting of Indian trust income. Claims amounted to over \$1.4 billion for individuals Native Americans and \$2 billion for repurchasing land taken by the federal government.¹⁰⁵ Still, none of these reparations covered boarding school abuses.

Indigenous peoples have recently employed Truth Commissions or Commissions of Inquiry for obtaining acknowledgments, apologies, reconciliation, and reparations for historical wrongdoings.¹⁰⁶ In 1991, the Canadian government inaugurated the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to investigate the relationship between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and the Canadian government after sustained wrongdoing. Four years later, another former English colony started a similar process. Australian Attorney-General Michael Lavarch established the “National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families,” which investigated the country’s abuses and forced removal of Australia’s Indigenous peoples. In 1996, the Canadian Royal Commission released its findings. “There can be no peace unless there is justice,” the report began. “Residential schools,” in particular, “did the greatest damage.” Students “were forbidden to speak the only languages they knew and taught to reject their homes, their heritage and, by extension, themselves. Most were subjected to physical deprivation, and some experienced abuse. We heard from a few people who are grateful for what they learned at these schools, but we heard from more who described deep scars - not least in their inability to give and receive love.”¹⁰⁷ Similar events transpired in United

¹⁰⁵ Elouise Pepion Cobell, *et al.* v. Ken Salazar, Secretary of the Interior, *et al.*, “Class Action Settlement Agreement,” Case No. 1:96CV01285-JR, (December 7, 2009), 6, 15; Timothy Williams, “U.S. Will Pay a Settlement of \$1 Billion to 41 Tribes,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/14/us/us-to-pay-1-billion-settlement-to-indian-tribes.html?_r=0.

¹⁰⁶ For a partial list of Truth Commissions and Commissioner of Inquiry, see: United States Institute of Peace, “Truth Commission Digital Collection,” <http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-digital-collection>.

States Indian boarding schools. Meanwhile, Australia's report, published in 1997, stated that, "By 1947 all but one [school] had closed ... because children had been reclaimed by their parents following the deaths of some pupils from disease."¹⁰⁸ As in the United States schools, conditions were dire. Doris Pilkington, a former student, described the Australian schools as "more like a concentration camp than a residential school for Aboriginal children."¹⁰⁹ In 2013, the governor of Maine and five Wabanaki chiefs signed an agreement to create the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, the first of its kind in the United States. The commission determined the state of Maine guilty of genocide and the forcible removal of children in both boarding schools and the non-Indian adoption of Indian children.¹¹⁰ No other state has completed a TRC on Indigenous issues.

These inquiries are problematic. While Australia's *Bringing them home* report called for reparations, Australian states ignored this directive with the exception of Tasmania. The Tasmanian government, the first to apologize to Australia's Indigenous peoples, paid reparations in the form of 50,000 hectares of land in 2005. The following year, the Tasmanian legislature unanimously passed a bill guaranteeing \$5 million for "ex-gratia payments to members [and descendants] of the Stolen Generations."¹¹¹ After Canada's Royal Commission released its report, many First Nations peoples did not believe it constituted justice. Indigenous people then

¹⁰⁷ Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *People to People, Nation to Nation: Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996), NP.

¹⁰⁸ Australia, *Bringing them home*, NP.

¹⁰⁹ Doris Pilkington (1996), in Australia, *Bringing them home*, NP.

¹¹⁰ Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, *Beyond the Mandate: Continuing the Conversation* (Rockport, ME: Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, June 2015), 6, 8, 64.

¹¹¹ Maria Rae, "When reconciliation means reparations: Tasmania's compensation to the stolen generations," *Griffith Law Review* 24:3 (September 2015), 7, 8, 9, 10.

initiated several class-action lawsuits against the Canadian government. This led to the 2006 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). In turn, the IRSSA initiated the creation and funding of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada and restitution to former residential school students in 2008.¹¹² The final report acknowledged that Canada participated in cultural genocide against First Nations peoples.¹¹³ Many have criticized the TRC because it could not “hold formal hearings, nor act as a public inquiry, nor conduct a formal legal process.”¹¹⁴ The commissioners did not “possess subpoena powers” and could not reference “the misconduct of any person” or “possible civil or criminal liability of any person or organization.”¹¹⁵ Thus, the final report lacked juridical teeth: it could not reference any crime in Canadian criminal or civil statutes. As of January 31, 2015, the Independent Assessment Process, established by the IRSSA, received 37,951 claims for injuries from physical and sexual abuse in residential schools, resulting in payments amounting to CDS\$2.69 billion.¹¹⁶ According to the final report, this accounts for “approximately 48% of the number of former students who were

¹¹² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 23.

¹¹³ *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*, [May 8, 2006], 23, 53, <http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/IRS%20Settlement%20Agreement-%20ENGLISH.pdf>; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 1.

¹¹⁴ Schedule N “Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” 3, in IRSSA. Individuals who have critiqued the TRC process include: Konstantin Petoukhov, “An Evaluation of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) through the Lens of Restorative Justice and the Theory of Recognition” (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 2011); Ronald Niezen, *Truth and Indignation: Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools* (2nd ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*; and David MacDonald, *The Sleeping Giant Awakens: Genocide, Indian Residential Schools, and the Challenge of Conciliation*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

¹¹⁵ Schedule N “Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” 3, in IRSSA.

¹¹⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 106.

eligible to make such claims. This number does not include those former students who died prior to May 2005.”¹¹⁷ This process has been ongoing for the past two-plus decades. Still, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are one possible way forward.

Commemoration of the boarding schools as sites of violence and death is also an important issue for Native American people. Cemeteries on many of the boarding school campuses indicate a deadly past. Many contain unmarked graves. For example, no grave markers exist at the United States Indian Boarding School in Genoa, Nebraska, and the number of Indian children and young adults buried there remains unknown. A single stone memorial reads: “In memory of the Native Americans who Attended the Genoa U.S. Indian School 1884-1934 especially those who died and may have been buried near here.” Albuquerque Indian School’s cemetery is now paved over.¹¹⁸ A thorough accounting of deaths in boarding schools is needed so that Indian people may repatriate their kin. Innovative work using ground-penetrating radar is currently underway by Native American Studies scholar Marsha Small (Northern Cheyenne) at Chemawa Indian School. When asked why she is doing this work, Small replied, “If this was my grandson in there, and we lost his name, I would give anything for someone to come in and find him and give him his voice.”¹¹⁹ Today, several tribal nations are attempting to negotiate with the

¹¹⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The Legacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 145.

¹¹⁸ Carol Condie, *The Cemeteries of Albuquerque, Bernalillo County, and Parts of Sandoval and Valencia Counties* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Quivira Research Associates, 1999), 12.

¹¹⁹ Marsha Small (Northern Cheyenne), in Eric Dietrich, “Graduating Grandmother’s research examines painful Native American boarding school history,” *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, May 9, 2015, http://www.bozemandailychronicle.com/news/dailyfeatures/graduating-grandmother-s-research-examines-painful-native-american-boarding-school/article_425157a1-14f8-5633-8f45-91447a40b0b1.html; Marc Dadigan, “Chemawa Indian School unmarked graves,” *Al Jazeera*, January 3, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/01/unearthing-dark-native-boarding-school-160103072842972.html>; Marsha F. Small, “Preservation of Sacred Sites and Sacred places with Geo-Referenced Data: A Voice for the Children of Chemawa Cemetery” [MA Thesis, Montana State University, 2015]). Scholars have relied on cemetery data and government reports to investigate deaths in

federal government to repatriate Indian student remains from boarding schools under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.¹²⁰ Other Indigenous peoples hold memorials, erect plaques, and perform ceremonies. Investigating boarding school deaths may also provide closure for some Native American families. Intergenerational historical traumas resulting from boarding school experiences are one cause of the present health disparities in Indian Country, including high rates of suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, and other health discrepancies as well as educational discrepancies.¹²¹

Mass death in federal custody at off-reservation boarding schools also poses questions for all United States citizens. It asks us to re-evaluate the country's history, and acknowledge these

boarding schools. This method is flawed. Cemeteries contain only a small portion of the number of students who died in boarding schools. Superintendents returned the remains to their families when possible.

¹²⁰ Jeff Gammage, ““Those Kids never got to go home,”” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 13, 2016, http://www.philly.com/philly/news/Those_kids_never_got_to_go_home.html. “An Act To provide for the protection of Native American graves, and for other purposes,” November 16, 1990, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Second Session of the One Hundred First Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations, 1900* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1991), 104:3048-3058.

¹²¹ “Historical” or “intergenerational trauma” is another serious concern for Indigenous communities that is connected to the boarding school experiences. See Yael Danieli, ed., *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* (New York: Plenum Press, 1998); Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, “The Return to the Sacred Path: Healing from Historical Trauma and Historical Unresolved Grief among the Lakota” (Ph.D. dissertation: Smith College, 1995); Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and Lamya M. DeBruyn, “The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief,” *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8:2 (1998), 60-82; Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, “The Historical Trauma Response Among natives and Its Relationship with Substance Abuse: A Lakota Illustration,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 35:1 (January-March 2003), 7-13; Ann Murray Haag, “The Indian Boarding School Era and Its Continuing Impact on Tribal Families and the Provision of Government Services,” *Tulsa Law Review* 43:1 (2007), 149-168; Joseph P. Gone, “A Community-Based Treatment for Native American Historical Trauma: Prospects for Evidence-Based Practice,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 77:4 (August 2009), 751-762; M.Y. Heart, J. Chase, J. Elkins, D.B. Altschul, “Historical trauma among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: concepts, research, and clinical considerations,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 43:4 (October-December 2011), 282-290; and Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman, “The intergenerational effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the concept of historical trauma,” *Transcultural Psychiatry* 51:3 (June 2014), 320-338.

crimes. If a large portion of Native American deaths in off-reservation boarding schools were preventable, federal officials and local school administrators may have been guilty of criminally negligent homicide, negligent endangerment of a child, and gross criminal negligence.¹²² Will non-Indians call for apologies from the federal government and its employees like those made to other groups victimized by the United States?¹²³ Will Indigenous peoples accept them? Acknowledgements and apologies may be key issues to some Native American communities.

Although Canada and Australia have acknowledged their crimes against Indigenous peoples and apologized for them through the truth and reconciliation process, the United States has not yet done so. United States officials have acknowledged a criminal past in their predecessor's dealings with Native Americans, but have stopped short of accepting legal responsibility. Few, if any, federal employees have been charged with crimes relating to deaths in boarding schools. Prosecutorial indifference has meant that federal officials acted with *de facto* impunity. On September 8, 2000, Assistant United States Secretary for Indian Affairs

¹²² Gross criminal negligence is “any type of conduct that ‘grossly deviates’ from normal, reasonable standards of an ordinary person. It generally involves an indifference or disregard for human life or for the safety of people” (<http://www.legalmatch.com/law-library/article/criminal-negligence-laws.html>).

¹²³ The United States has publicly apologized for several historical actions with grave consequences. For Japanese-American Internment, see: U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Second Session of the One-Hundredth Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations, 1988*, 102:903 903-904. For Hawaiian annexation, see: “Joint Resolution To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii,” November 23, 1993, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the First Session of the One Hundred Third Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994), 107:1510. President Clinton made a subsequent apology in 1997 for Tuskegee Syphilis Experiments (Abigail Perkiss, “Public Accountability and the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiments: A Restorative Justice Approach,” *Berkeley Journal of African-American Law & Policy* 10:1 [January 2008], 72). The U.S. House of Representative passed a H. Res. 194, dated July 29, 2008, apologizing for the United States’ involvement in slavery and the slave trade (U.S. House of Representatives, H. Res. 194, 110th Cong, 2nd Sess., July 29, 2008; *Congressional Globe*, July 29, 2008, 1515). The following year the Senate unanimously passed a similar bill apologizing for slavery (U.S. Senate, S. Con. Res. 26, 111th Cong., 1st Sess., June 18, 2009).

Kevin Gover (Pawnee) issued an unprecedented apology to Indigenous peoples in the United States for the past wrongs committed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Concerning the federal government’s Native American boarding schools, Gover emphasized: “this agency set out to destroy all things Indian.” Boarding schools were central to this project. “Worst of all,” Gover continued, “the [BIA] committed these acts against the children entrusted to its boarding schools, brutalizing them emotionally, psychologically, physically, and spiritually.... Poverty, ignorance, and disease have been the product of this agency’s work.” He concluded, “Let us begin by expressing our profound sorrow for what this agency has done in the past ... I extend this formal apology to Indian people for the historical conduct of this agency.”¹²⁴ In 2009, the United States Congress went further. In the 2010 Department of Defense appropriation bill, Congress acknowledged: “years of official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the Federal Government.” The law apologized “to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native Peoples by citizens of the United States.” And, President Barack Obama signed it.¹²⁵ In 2018, Alaska Governor Bill Walker apologized to state’s Indigenous peoples “For being forced into boarding schools,” and in 2019 California Governor Gavin Newsom offered an apology for “the many instances of

¹²⁴ Kevin Gover, “Remarks of Kevin Gover, Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior at the Ceremony Acknowledging the 175th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, September 8, 2000,” <http://www.indianaffairs.gov/cs/groups/public/documents/text/idcl-031606.pdf>.

¹²⁵ U.S. Congress, “An Act Making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes,” December 19, 2009, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the First Session of the One Hundred Eleventh Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations, 2009* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2011), 123:3453-3454.

violence, maltreatment, and neglect California inflicted on tribes” and initiated a Truth and Healing Council.¹²⁶

Still, excepting Maine’s TRC and California’s Truth and Healing Council, government actions have largely stopped with apologies.¹²⁷ Indian peoples, scholars, and the United States public have incentives for a more complete understanding of boarding school deaths. The extent of death in boarding schools needs to be more fully uncovered in order to move conversations related to apologies, the return of human remains, reparations, commemoration, memorialization, and other related matters forward. Some of the data may help to provide a clearer picture of what happened in the boarding schools. It will ultimately be up to tribal governments, tribal officials, and individual Indigenous people to determine how to use this information.

This dissertation is divided into three parts, each containing two chapters. The chapters proceed chronologically, following a school or group of schools over a school year, occasionally pausing to consider a particular epidemic, event, or individual.

Part I charts the establishment of the Native American off-reservation boarding school system in the United States, examining precedents set by colonial and early republic schools before chronicling the foundation of the first two schools: Carlisle and Forest Grove/Chemawa.

Part II explores student health during the expansion for the boarding school system. Despite sustained mortality, Congress and the Indian Office initiated the first period of

¹²⁶ Zachariah Hughes, “Apology from Gov. Walker over historical trauma highlights day one of annual AFN convention,” *Alaska Public Media*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.alaskapublic.org/2018/10/18/apology-from-gov-walker-over-historical-trauma-highlights-day-one-of-annual-afn-convention/>; California, Gavin Newsom, Executive Order N-15-19, June 18, 2019, <https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/6.18.19-Executive-Order.pdf>.

¹²⁷ Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, *Beyond the Mandate: Continuing the Conversation* (Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth & Reconciliation Commission, 2015), 8.

systematic expansion between 1884 and 1886 before a second expansion between 1890 and 1898.

Part III encompasses a range of continued interventions deployed by the Indian Office to control diseases in boarding schools between 1898 and 1912.

An epilogue highlights key moments in boarding school epidemiology and history in the twentieth century before the study's conclusion. Finally, appendices provide the empirical data upon which this dissertation's arguments are based.

Introductory Notes

Although the subject matter of this dissertation is important, not everyone will be happy with this study. Aligning with the differing customs of over 200 Indigenous communities is impossible. Some Indian communities have customs that do not allow them to speak of the dead, rendering a project like this impossible. While I may not be bound by such customs, I do acknowledge and respect them, trying not to reveal any overtly sensitive material.

Much thought has gone into naming and how I describe individuals. The topic warrants serious consideration. I have chosen to name names. This is a story that goes up the chain of command, through the halls of the Indian Office, Congress, and even into the White House. It is important to name those involved. In this vein, I have chosen to identify all students, either in the text or footnotes, by their names as recorded by the sources whenever possible. If a student's name is unclear, I have placed alternative spellings in brackets. There are no pseudonyms. This is meant to help descendants interested in learning more about their ancestors. I arrived at this decision with guidance from many boarding school survivors and descendants. Overwhelmingly, they argued that accurate truth-telling is part of healing: the good, the bad, and the ugly.

Whenever possible, I have tried to normalize tribal affiliations to align with Indigenous peoples' preferred name for themselves today, recognizing Indigenous peoples' rootedness in a particular place, worldviews, and right to name themselves. Thus, I have used the endonyms Akimel O'otham instead of Pima and Diné instead of Navajo. Proper identification, however, may not always be possible. I have relied on nineteenth-century officials' identification of Indigenous peoples' tribal affiliations. They often got it wrong. Thus, this project inherits errors in bureaucratic paperwork. Some of this is guesswork. For students recorded as "Mission," "Chippewa," and "Sioux," for example, I have used the context of the sources and other clues to make an educated guess as to their tribal affiliation. Still, questionable tribal affiliations or the place in which a student enrolled are in brackets in parenthesis following the student's name and preceding their tribal affiliation (e.g., ([Saginaw] Chippewa)). When the tribal affiliation is unknown, I rely on the nomenclature presented in the primary sources and "NTL," or no tribe listed, to signify where no affiliation can be determined.

Throughout this study, I use the specific names of Native American tribes when possible. However, I use the terms "Indigenous," "American Indian and Alaska Native," and "Native American" for broader analyses. I use these terms interchangeably to signify any Indigenous group enmeshed in the boarding school system, remembering that some boarding school students came from Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Mexico, and Canadian First Nations and Canadian Métis communities. As such, "American Indian" is not inclusive. Following a growing trend in the field of Native American history and Indigenous Studies, I capitalize these terms to emphasize the fact that Indigenous contributions to history are just as important as those of Dutch, English, French, Russian, Swedish, or Spanish colonizers. Meanwhile, I retain

idiosyncratic spelling in all sources, displaying the language of the day to give readers a glimpse of boarding school archives.

Finally, I use the terms “academic,” “fiscal,” and “school” year interchangeably to refer the time period between July 1 and June 30 of the following year.

Boarding school records are difficult to find and Indigenous people should have access to them. Thus, I will make copies of certain sources available to the Indigenous nations that would like them. These are important documentary archives that supplement existing oral, material, and paper collections. If you are a descendant of someone mentioned in these pages and would like to request records, please contact me.

This project grew out of my grandfather’s silence about his childhood. Born of Comanche descent in 1922, he lived through the Great Depression and the boarding school era but went to public schools in Texas. His silence fueled my curiosity. I wanted to know more about where I came from and how I came to be. In searching for personal answers and the stories of my own ancestors, I found boarding school records and cemeteries while an undergraduate in a Native American History course taught by Benjamin Madley at Dartmouth College. Yet, I was initially wary of studying this haunting topic.

There is a need to be sensitive with this history. At the same time, unearthing neglected voices — the good, the bad, and everything in between — will provide a fuller awareness of the past with which to understand our present. The histories of our ancestors have been buried for too long. The pages that follow contain stories that are painful to read and difficult to comprehend. I ask for your receptiveness to them. This history has shaken me to my very core. One final reminder: the statistics presented in this dissertation are not just statistics. They are ancestors. It is time we listen to them.

Part I:
Origins and Establishment, 1650-1883

Chapter 1: Historical Origins of Native American Off-Reservation Boarding Schools, 1650-1878

Long before the federal government opened the Carlisle Indian Industrial School — the first of at least twenty-six off-reservation Native American boarding schools — in 1879, English colonial policymakers sought to convert Indigenous peoples into Christians through education. Since 1650, the aims of colonial Native American education were twofold: first, to spread Christianity and, second, to acquire financial resources for impoverished and floundering colonial academic institutions. The charters of three North American colleges, Harvard University, founded in 1636, the College of William & Mary, founded in 1693, and Dartmouth College, founded in 1769, all aimed, in part, to propagate the English language and Christianity among Indigenous peoples. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison opined in 1936, “A persistent delusion of English colonists, from the early days of Virginia [1607] to the founding of Dartmouth College [1769], was the notion that the proper way to civilize an Indian was to catch him and send him to college.”¹ While other schools educated a few Indigenous youths, Harvard, William & Mary, and Dartmouth had substantial Native American populations relative to other colonial colleges.² Between 1650, the year of the first college charter mandating Indigenous education, and 1776, when English funds supporting the schools terminated, Harvard, William & Mary, and Dartmouth educated, in some capacity, a paltry forty-nine Indian students, while at the

¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University of Press, 1936), 38.

² Samuel Kirkland, Jacob Wolley, and Shawuskukhkung attended the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), the first two after leaving Moor’s Charity School (James Dow McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College* [Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1939], 97, 134; Bobby Wright and William G. Tierney, “American Indians in Higher Education: A History of Cultural Conflict,” *Change* 23:2 [March-April, 1991], 13). Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk) became Yale’s first Indian graduate in 1910 (Yale College Native American Cultural Center, “History,” accessed June 9, 2014, <http://nacc.yalecollege.yale.edu/history>).

same time raising tens of thousands of pounds.³ This “persistent delusion” was also largely a failure as few students graduated, and disease reduced their numbers.

The ‘Indian problem’ occupied the minds of English colonizers from the earliest days of colonial outposts on North America’s shores. Instead of simply coexisting, colonists set to ‘Gods’ work of conversion, which frequently resulted in clashes between Europeans and Native Americans. Historian Margaret Szasz stressed, “Christianization and civilization were mutually interdependent, and when these concepts were applied to the Indians they often came under the general rubric of ‘education.’”⁴ Yet education was not colonizers’ immediate goal. The earliest Europeans in the Americas stressed the conversion of the Indigenous peoples near colonial towns, rather than general education. Colonists first attempted this in Virginia and then New England.

³ This figure does not include Moor’s (which educated at least 108 during this period) as it was not a college (Bernd C. Peyer, *The Tutor’d Mind: Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America* [Amherst: University of Amherst Press, 1997], 41, 47-51; Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies: 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 127; “Native Student Biographies,” *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University*, accessed April 21, 2014, <https://peabody.harvard.edu/node/495>; John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, In Cambridge, Massachusetts* (3 vols., Cambridge: Charles William Sever, 1881), 2:201, 203; “Indian School,” *Swem Library’s Special Collection Research Center Wiki*, accessed April 21, 2014, http://scdb.swem.wm.edu/wiki/index.php/Indian_School; [Virginia], *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia from 1693 to 1888* (Richmond: Virginia Division of Purchase and Print, 1941), 5-45; McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College*, 134-136 and Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2010), 188-198). For fundraising see: Margery Somers Foster, “*Out of Smalle Beginings...*”: *An Economic History of Harvard College in the Puritan Period (1636–1712)* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 35, 104, 108-09, 114, 121, 126-27, 147; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 1:341; Herbert Lawrence Ganter, “Some Notes on the Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 15:1 (January 1935), 14; Wright and Tierney, “American Indians in Higher Education,” 12; Leon Burr Richardson, *An Indian Preacher in England: Being Letters and Diaries Relating to the Mission of the Reverend Samson Occom and the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker to Collect Funds in England for the Benefit of Eleazar Wheelock’s Indian Charity School, From Which Grew Dartmouth College* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1933), 15.

⁴ Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 53.

The Virginia Company's April 10, 1606 founding charter, the institutional framework that granted royal permission for establishing a colony in the Americas, revealed the importance of religious conversion to England's King James I. It stated, "We ... graciously accepting of ... propagating of Christian Religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility [do] graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended desires."⁵ Less than a month later, further directives came from England. The Virginia Company of London issued orders to Sir Thomas Gates, the second governor of Virginia. They commanded that Gates "endeavour the conversion of the natiues to the knowledge and worship of the true god and their redeemer Christ Jesus, as the most pious and noble end of this plantacon [by procuring] from them some convenient number of their Children to be brought vp in yo^r language, and manners." According to this document, conversion motivated Virginia's founding. Moreover, the Company endorsed warfare to achieve this end and advised imprisoning Indigenous priests because, without their removal, Christianizing would never succeed: "we thinke it reasonable you first remove from them their Iniocasockes or Priestes by a surprise of them all and detayninge them prisoners.... while they liue ... you shall neuer make any greate progres into this glorious worke."⁶

⁵ Letters Patent to *Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other parts and Territories of America*, April 10, 1606, in William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; Being A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (13 vols., New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 1:58.

⁶ Virginia Council "Instruccons Orders and Constitucons to Sr Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia," May, 1609, in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of The Virginia Company of London* (4 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1933), 3:14.

Virginia's second charter reemphasized the royal commitment to conversion. Granted on May 23, 1609, it authorized colonial action and also listed their responsibilities to the crown. The final requirement stated, "AND lastly, because the principal Effect which eve can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion."⁷ While these foundational documents endorsed the conversion of Native Americans, they established no precedent for how to accomplish these mandates.

The first attempt to found a college for educating Native Americans occurred in November 1618 when the Virginia Company firmly linked conversion and education. The Company instructed George Yeardley, Virginia's Governor-Elect, to plan and enact "the building and planting of a college for the training up of the Children of those Infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other godly uses."⁸ According to historian J. Frederick Fausz, new Jamestown governor Sir Francis Wyatt and George Thorpe, a proselytizer, "set out to undermine Powhatan religion and traditions and to alienate Indian youths from their elders by promoting English customs and Christianity among them" in order to supply the college to be built at Henrico. Thorpe and Wyatt enticed Native American youth with "lavish gifts, English clothes, and kind words" against the wishes of their community.⁹

Powhatan's Indigenous confederacy, however, rebelled against attempts to take their children and educate them. In what would become a common response to colonial pressure,

⁷ "The Second Charter of Virginia; May 23, 1609," *Yale Law School The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, accessed May 26, 2014, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va02.asp.

⁸ Virginia Company Instruction to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618, in Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, 3:102.

⁹ J. Frederick Fausz, "Opechancanough: Indian Resistance Leader," in Roger L. Nichols, *The American Indian: Past and Present* (4th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992), 28-29.

Indians in the vicinity rose up. On March 22, 1622, they killed George Sharpe, the man responsible for the college, and an additional 346 colonists, sending a clear message that seizing children would not be tolerated.¹⁰ Before the college even got off the ground, its director was dead, and its plans thwarted. The notions of linking the conversion and Indian education in Virginia would resurface again seventy-one years later.

Meanwhile, as the crown and the Virginia Company steered the colony away from collapse, a similar colonial project targeting Native Americans was unfolding to the north. Much as he did in Virginia, King James I established a legal apparatus for operating colonies in New England in the name of religion. The 1620 Charter of New England avowed: “Wee may with Boldness goe on to the settling of soe hopefull a Work, which tendeth to the reducing and *Conversion of such Sauages ... to Civil Societie and Christian Religion, to the Inlargement of our own Dominions, and the Aduancement of the Fortunes of such of our good Subjects.*”¹¹ Both Virginia and New England leaders officially viewed converting and assimilating Indian peoples “to Civil Societie” as high priorities. As New England’s charter made clear, a simultaneous goal was “Inlargement of our own Dominions.” Conversion, civilization, and land acquisition went hand-in-hand for Anglo colonists.

The belief that the propagation of the Christian gospel would stabilize regional relations, thus impeding Native American retaliatory attacks, also animated this mandate. Education was an alternative to war and an effective means to procure funds from England. The argument for colonial education was fairly straightforward. Colleges were intimately linked to the colonial

¹⁰ Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capital* (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), 111; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 60.

¹¹ “The Charter of New England: 1620,” *Yale Law School The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*, accessed May 26, 2014, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mass01.asp. Emphasis added.

governments as centers for civic and clerical training, but also provided substantive funds from benefactors in England.¹² Beyond educating Europeans for their own churches, preachers were to travel the “wilderness” and convert Indians beyond colonial towns. To accomplish this objective, both Indians and teachers of Indians required education.¹³ According to historian Samuel Morison, “it was hoped, Indian youths might acquire a university education, which ... was confidently expected to qualify them as teachers and converters of their pagan brethren.”¹⁴ Daniel Gookin, one of Puritan missionary John Eliot’s closest associates, a Harvard graduate, and a local missionary, wrote in 1674 that the aim of these institutions was “preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen.”¹⁵ Thus, the basic structure of Indian conversions involved educating Europeans and Indian peoples in religion and language skills, and then sending them to tribes to preach and teach.

To start the conversion process, English colonists took Indian youth into their own homes beginning in 1607. Colonists also left their youth with Native American leaders to be educated, learn languages, culture, and practices, albeit still interpreted in a European worldview. They also functioned as hostages and intermediaries.¹⁶ That year, Jamestown colonists exchanged a thirteen-year-old boy named “Thomas Saluage” for Powhattan’s servant Namontack.¹⁷ The next

¹² William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1984), 41-42.

¹³ Foster, “*Out of Smalle Beginings...*,” 3.

¹⁴ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:341.

¹⁵ Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (Boston: Apollo Press, 1792), 52.

¹⁶ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 62, 232-237.

¹⁷ Charles Deane, ed., *A True Relation of Virginia by Captain John Smith* (Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1866), 52-53, 70.

year, they gave Englishman Samuel Collier to Warraskoyack Werowance Parahunt.¹⁸ By 1619, Virginia passed a law requiring each town to obtain a number of Indian youths to be educated. Even after the Second Anglo-Powhatan War starting in 1622, individual families and private donations kept the dream of assimilation alive in Virginia. Many tribal groups were uneasy leaving their children with Englishmen. For the colonists, strained finances limited the design's implementation. The plan required that all Indians come into, and stay in, colonial towns for extended periods. It cost colonists at least eight pounds per year to feed and clothe each student. Colonists could not afford it, but institutions stepped in to convert Native Americans to Christianity.¹⁹

In 1636 Harvard College became the first college in what is now the United States. Yet for nearly fifteen years between its founding in 1636 and 1650, it operated without a royal or colonial charter. Without this permission, they operated under their broad mandate for educating English Protestant ministers. However, ten years after Israel Stoughton issued the first call for a college to educate Native American youth, John Eliot sent two "hopeful young plants [Indian children]," to live with and be educated by Harvard's president, Henry Dunster, in 1645.²⁰ Dunster was an early supporter of Indigenous education. Nonetheless, in 1646 he tired of

¹⁸ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles Together with The True Travels, Adventures and Observations, and A Sea Grammar* (2 vols., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), 1:155; Kupperman, *Jamestown Project*, 232.

¹⁹ Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 30; W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," *The Journal of Southern History* 18:2 (May 1952), 158-60.

²⁰ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:353; Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 40.

educating these two Massachusetts Indians after just a year, stating, “They be a hindrance to me.... be [they] somewhere disposed of with all convenient speed.”²¹

By 1650, New England officials announced renewed efforts to Christianize and educate Indian students, a venture for which they could attain funding. In Harvard’s first official charter, English officials instructed moving beyond the education of English youth and also enabled a mandate for focusing on Indian youth. Granted by Massachusetts Colony Governor Thomas Dudley on May 31, 1650, it stated:

Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have been, and daily are moved, and stirred up, to give and bestow, sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenues for the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences in Harvard College, in Cambridge in the County of Middlesex, and to the maintenance of the President and Fellows, and for all accommodations of buildings, and all other necessary provisions, that may *conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country, in knowledge and godliness.*²²

The charter allowed for accommodations and President Dunster wrote to the United Colonies of New England’s board of commissioners for funds to construct buildings. Whether or not he had Indian education in mind, the commissioners did. They responded, “an eye may bee had in The destrebutions to the enlargment of the Colledge at Cambridge wherof there is great need and furtherance of learning not soe Imeadiately Respecting the Indian Designe.”²³ Yet, Harvard still had to admit its first Indigenous pupil.

²¹ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:340; Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, 313, 314; A.M. Bevis, *Diets and Riots: An Interpretation of the History of Harvard University* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1936), 20.

²² “The Charter of 1650,” *Harvard University Archives*, accessed, April 20, 2014, <http://library.harvard.edu/university-archives/using-the-collections/online-resources/charter-of-1650>. Emphasis added.

²³ David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* (12 vols., Boston: W. White, 1859), 9:198.

Eliot sent John Sassamon (Ponkapoag Massachusett), whose death later sparked King Phillip's War, to become the school's first Indigenous student in 1653. Sassamon enrolled in the college for a term or two, according to historian Morison, to "brush up on Divinity" before being sent as a preacher to Natick, the first Puritan praying town established for Indians in New England.²⁴ Sassamon arrived at Harvard before artisans had finished the Indian College building, supposed to house Indian students.²⁵ The Society for Propagating the Gospel funded in whole, or at least half of, the £350 Indian College building. Describing the building, and its uses in 1674, Daniel Gookin recalled, "It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended."²⁶ He continued, "It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars."²⁷ Meanwhile, Harvard's fundraising had increased its capital assets 92 percent while Indigenous students were in attendance from 1652 to 1712. In total, Harvard raised £29,520, spending approximately £6,000 on buildings and only £173 on American Indian students.²⁸ Between 1649 and 1654, Harvard administrators used a minute fraction of the £16,000 raised by the New England Company for propagating the gospel to Indigenous peoples to support Indian students.²⁹

²⁴ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:352; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 125. Sassamon went on to become scribe for King Philip, and his alleged murder at the hands of Philip's men largely precipitated King Philip's War in 1675 (Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 47).

²⁵ "The Harvard Indian College," *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University*, accessed April 21, 2014, <https://peabody.harvard.edu/node/477>.

²⁶ Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*, 58.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁸ Foster, "Out of Smalle Beginings....," 35, 104, 108-09, 114, 121, 126-27, 147.

²⁹ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:341; Foster, "Out of Smalle Beginings....," 188.

One might assume that Harvard administrators would have first sought out Indian pupils before deeming the operation a failure. Yet, less than a year after the building's completion, the new president at Harvard, "M^r [Charles] Chauncye," lost faith in the mission and proposed using the building for alternative purposes. Again the Commissioners obliged the president's wishes, instructing him to "Improue the said building to accomodate some English Students."³⁰ Gookin recollected, "It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college."³¹ The buildings continued to house the printing press until 1692.³² A year later, the Corporation voted that the building be dismantled. By 1698, it had been "pull'd down to the ground," having served at most four Indian students.³³ The bricks were then used to build other college buildings, and the funds allocated for Indian students went to supporting non-Indian students. In response to their now compromised mandate, Harvard administrators offered free room and board "to any Indian that might show up" in 1698.³⁴

Harvard College administrators offered another explanation as to why their initial Indian College plan failed. Many administrators believed that Indian students were not ready to study at Harvard, and the task of teaching students a language and cosmology so different from their own was a difficult one. As President Dunster's account of the two boys sent to him suggested, Indian

³⁰ David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* (12 vols., Boston: W. White, 1859), 10:168.

³¹ Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*, 58.

³² Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 41.

³³ The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (81 vols., Boston: The University Press, 1925), 15:lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

³⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 2:521, 486, 521. See also: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 15:lxxxiii.

students first had to master the English language and colonists' customs in order to be ready for college admission. To accomplish mastery of a new language, missionaries sent these students to college preparatory schools in and around Boston. In a September 13, 1665 letter, the Commissioners of the United Colonies acknowledged the presence of Indian pupils in these schools: "6 are at y^e schoole 3 of them at Roxberry to learne English, & 3 at y^e Gram^r Schoole in Cambridge, but they alsoe are in y^e Lords hands to dispose of according to his pleasure."³⁵ In total, according to historian Bernd Peyer, approximately "twenty Indian students may have attended Elijah Cortlet's and Daniel Weld's preparatory grammar schools in Cambridge and Roxbury between 1655 and 1672 with the intention of going on to study at Harvard."³⁶

Enrollments remained low for several reasons. First, colonists concentrated education and conversion in "praying towns." By 1674, 142 of 497 praying town residents could read their Indigenous language, nine could read English, and seventy-two learned to write.³⁷ Puritan models centered on educating few promising Indigenous converts in colonial towns and then sending them to Indigenous villages or praying towns to educate the masses. Further, a college education was not particularly valued by Indigenous communities at this time. Thus, a college education would not have been useful to many. Finally, Indigenous communities worried about sickness in schools. Students were dying away from their homes, discouraging others from

³⁵ New England Company, *Some Correspondence Between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America: The Missionaries of the Company and Others Between the Years 1657 and 1712 to Which are Added the Journal of the Rev. Experience Mayhew in 1713 and 1714* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1896), 13.

³⁶ Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 41; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 126. See also Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 38.

³⁷ Alice Fletcher, U.S. Bureau of Education, "Indian Education and Civilization: A Report Prepared in Answer to Senate Resolution of February 23, 1885," 48th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 95 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 59.

sending their children to colonial towns. Of the six Indian students who attended Harvard between 1650 and 1800, five met untimely deaths: two died of illnesses while in attendance; one was killed after he shipwrecked before graduation; another died of tuberculosis shortly after graduating, and Sassamon may have been murdered in 1675.³⁸ Missionary Daniel Gookin recalled, “[Indian education] proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died ... Others were disheartened and left learning.”³⁹ Running away was one of a limited set of options available to students in the face of sickness and religious conversion. Gookin further speculated on the mechanisms for particularly virulent diseases common in these schools: “Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died.... Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen.”⁴⁰ Despite the poor results, colonists did not give up the hope of conversion.

The College of William & Mary, founded in 1693, continued the vision of Indigenous education after Virginia and Harvard had abandoned it. The William & Mary project shared many similarities with Harvard’s approach to “civilizing” and Christianizing young Native Americans. The education program grew from the same proselytizing mission for “the advance[ment] or propagation of the Christian religion amongst infidels.”⁴¹ Funding came from

³⁸ “Native Student Biographies,” *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University*, accessed April 21, 2014, <https://peabody.harvard.edu/node/495>; Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America’s Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 283.

³⁹ Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*, 21, 52-54.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* For runaways, see: McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College*, 134-136; Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 188-195.

⁴¹ Ganter, “Some Notes on the Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,” 14.

Robert Boyle, an Oxford University chemist and discoverer of Boyle's Law, and other English patrons. William & Mary received significantly more support from the crown than other institutions. As an Anglican college, they were more likely to receive money from an Anglican king than the Puritans and Congregationalists who established Harvard. Historian Homer Webster has noted that the college received more financial assistance in the first three months of its existence than Harvard did in fifty years.⁴² William & Mary collected income from "quit rates of crown land in Virginia," proceeds of a tobacco tax, and profits from the Surveyor-General's Office, in addition to donations.⁴³ These revenue streams contributed to the construction of Brafferton Hall, named after Boyle's English estate, which intended to house American Indian students in 1723.⁴⁴

From the outset, its founders envisioned William & Mary, in part, as an institution for educating Indian youth. Virginia first sought crown approval for a college in 1660 "to the end that the church of Virginia might be furnished with a seminary for ministers of the Gospel, that the youth might be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Indian might be converted to the Christian faith, to the glory of Almighty God."⁴⁵ Thirty years later, Dr. James Blair, the college's first president, again tried to establish the college in July 1690. His aims included: "the education of the white youth of Virginia, the training of ministers for the church,

⁴² Homer J. Webster, "Schools and Colleges in Colonial Times," *New England Magazine* 27:3 (November 1902), 379.

⁴³ Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 14.

⁴⁴ Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 33.

⁴⁵ Webster, "Schools and Colleges in Colonial Times," 374.

and the conversion of the Indian heathen.”⁴⁶ The Virginia General Assembly yielded and granted the college its first charter on February 8, 1693. It reads:

Forasmuch as our well-beloved and faithful subjects, constituting the General Assembly of our Colony of Virginia, have had it in their minds, and have proposed to themselves, to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the *Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians*, to the glory of Almighty God.⁴⁷

The legislature thus established the Indian College as one of William & Mary’s main branches with its own administrator. It had a designated “Master,” who “is to teach the Indians Boys to read, and write, and vulgar Arithmetick. And especially he is to teach them thoroughly the Catechism and the Principles of the Christian Religion.”⁴⁸

Little is known of the earliest Native American attendees at William & Mary. It is possible that none attended the institution. In 1697, the English Board of Trade asked Virginia Governor Edmund Andros what the colony was doing to convert the nearby Indigenous peoples. He responded, “None ever heard of.”⁴⁹ Apparently, colonial officials had difficulties recruiting Indian children because they had been sold into slavery, and parents refused to part ways with their remaining offspring.⁵⁰ This perpetual lack of students of remained the case until the Tuscarora War in 1711.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Dr. [James] Blair, in Tyler, *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capital*, 114.

⁴⁷ “Royal Charter,” *Swem Library’s Special Collection Research Center Wiki*, accessed April 21, 2014, http://scdb.swem.wm.edu/wiki/index.php/Royal_Charter. Emphasis added.

⁴⁸ [University of William & Mary], *The Charter and Statutes of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736), 15.

⁴⁹ Governor Edmund Andros, in Robinson, “Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia,” 161.

⁵⁰ Robinson, “Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia,” 162.

⁵¹ There are four Indian students alluded to prior to 1712, but little is known of them (Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 33).

In the early-eighteenth-century, forced attendance drove an influx of Indian students at the college. Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood required each allied village to send two children as hostages “to be educated at our College.” He reinforced this requirement with “so great a force as I then showed them.” The threat of violence worked, and the majority of students were war captives sold to the English by nearby tribes. Ironically, Spotswood believed that these kidnapped children would ensure the safety of the frontier and “may be a good step towards the Conversion of that whole Nation to the Christian faith.” Spotswood demanded of other tribes with a tributary relationship to the English “some of their Children to be brought up at the College” for which he would “remit their whole Tribute of Skins as long as they kept their Children at the College.”⁵² By the end of 1712, Spotswood had accumulated twenty Native American students at the college.⁵³

William & Mary’s burgeoning Indian population forced the school to reconsider its accommodations for these students. Unlike Harvard, William & Mary had not designated a building for Indian students. In 1723, the college erected its Indian building, known as the Brafferton.⁵⁴ By that time of the building’s completion, the number of Indigenous students had plummeted. In fact, by the summer of 1716 “only a few remained” at William & Mary’s Indian school.⁵⁵ The numbers did not increase until the 1750s.⁵⁶ Taking students by force hampered

⁵² Alexander Spotswood to the Council of Trade, November 17, 1711, in Alexander Spotswood, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722* (2 vols., Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1882), 1:121-122.

⁵³ Tyler, *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capital*, 130.

⁵⁴ “The Indian School at William & Mary,” *William & Mary*, accessed April 21, 2014, <http://www.wm.edu/about/history/historiccampus/indianschool/index.php>; Ganter, “Some Notes on the Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,” 14; Wright and Tierney, “American Indians in Higher Education,” 12.

⁵⁵ Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 74.

enrollments. According to historians Wright and Tierney, “No Indian students were in residence for two decades following [the building’s] completion ... and only five or six attended during the life of the Brafferton school.”⁵⁷ The building thus essentially functioned as a scheme to raise funds for the college.

In 1736, William & Mary recommitted itself to educating Indian youth, at least in principle. The college’s statutes from that year stated:

*the Indians of America should be instructed in the Christian Religion, and that some of the Indian Youth that are well-behaved and well-inclined, being first well prepared in the Divinity School, may be sent out to preach the Gospel to their Countrymen in their Own Tongue, after they have duly been put in Orders of Deacons and Priests.*⁵⁸

However, the college was slow to embrace this mandate. No Indian scholars appear in the list of alumni between 1736 and 1754. Then, between 1754 and 1776, seventeen Indian students appear on the rosters.⁵⁹ The Revolutionary War ended both the funding and Indian education altogether. When Governor Thomas Jefferson reordered William & Mary in 1778, there was no mention of Indians in attendance.⁶⁰ Rather than supporting American Indian students at William & Mary,

⁵⁶ [Virginia], *Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia from 1693 to 1888*, 5-45.

⁵⁷ Wright and Tierney, “American Indians in Higher Education,” 12.

⁵⁸ [University of William & Mary], *The Charter and Statutes of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736). Italics original.

⁵⁹ [Unknown], *History of the College of William and Mary From its Foundation, 1660, to 1874* (Richmond, VA: J.W. Randolph & English, 1874), 86, 90, 91, 93, 95.

⁶⁰ Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 76.

Jefferson proposed sending missionaries to them.⁶¹ In total, at least forty Native American students attended William & Mary.⁶²

Like their Harvard counterparts, some Indian students at William & Mary suffered from various maladies. While far less is known about these students, Hugh Jones, one of the colleges earliest professors, questioned the effects in 1724: “for hitherto but little good has been done therein, though abundance of Money has been laid out, and a great many Endeavours have been used, and much Pains taken for that Purpose.” Indeed, he lamented, “The young *Indians*, procured from the tributary or foreign Nations with much Difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in the Town; where adundance of them used to die, either thro’ Sickness, change of Provision, and way of Life; or as some will have it, often for want of proper Necessaries and due Care taken with them.”⁶³ As Jones suggested, environmental changes may have contributed to morbidity, but the youth also suffered for want of provisions and proper care.

The final colonial attempt at conversion through education began when Samson Occom, a nineteen-year-old Mohegan convert to Christianity, approached Connecticut Congregational minister Eleazar Wheelock about an education in 1743. Occom recalled: “I Spent 4 Years with him. — After I had been with him Some Time, he began to acquaint his Friends of my being with him, and of his Intentions of Educating me, and my Circumstances. And the good People

⁶¹ Robert Polk Thomson, “The Reform of the College of William and Mary, 1763-1780,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115:3 (June 17, 1971), 208.

⁶² Indian School,” *Swem Library’s Special Collection Research Center Wiki*; [Virginia], *Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia from 1693 to 1888*, 5-45; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 70.

⁶³ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London: J. Clarke, 1724), 92.

began to give Some Assistance to Mr. Wheelock.”⁶⁴ During this time, Wheelock shaped his strategies for educating Indian youths resulting in the founded Moor’s Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754 and Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire in 1769.⁶⁵

Since the first Christian missionaries set foot on North American shores, they had gone out to tribes. Wheelock, not thinking this the best method for conversion, conceived of bringing Indians into English towns. His plans paralleled those of educators at Harvard and William & Mary before him. Wheelock believed that Indian missionaries would be more effective than English ones, and “may be supported with less than half the Expence, that will be necessary to support an *Englishman*, who can’t conform to their Manner of Living, and who will have no Dependence upon them for and Part of it.”⁶⁶ After several years with Wheelock, Occom left “to find Some Employ among the Indians.”⁶⁷ He proselytized among the Montauk on Long Island. Occom’s success convinced Wheelock to establish a school. In 1755, Wheelock acquired land, donated by Joshua More, “for the founding and supporting of a charity school in said Lebanon for the educating of natives of any or all the Indian tribes in North America, or other poor persons.”⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Samson Occom, “A Short Narrative of My Life (1768),” in Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 57.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Frederick Chase, John K. Lord, ed., *A History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire* (2 vols., Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1891), 1:7; Baxter Perry Smith, *The History of Dartmouth College* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878), 12-14.

⁶⁶ Eleazar Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut* (Boston: Richard and Samuel Draper, 1763), 16 [hereafter *Plain and Faithful Narrative*].

⁶⁷ Occom, “Short Narrative of My Life,” 57-58.

⁶⁸ Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:9-11.

In part, Wheelock viewed his project as not only a service to God, but also a means by which to eliminate frontier violence. According to Peyer, “Wheelock believed that his school would be the most effective way to keep Indians from roaming the land and causing disturbances along the frontier.”⁶⁹ Likewise, historian James Axtell described Wheelock’s goals as: “to save the Indian from themselves and to save the English from the Indians.”⁷⁰ Wheelock himself posited in his 1763 narrative of the school, “there is good Reason to think, that if one half which has been ... expended in building Forts, manning and supporting faithful Missionaries, and School-Masters among them, the instructed and civilized Party would have been a far better Defence than all our expensive Fortresses, and prevented the laying waste so many Towns and Villages.”⁷¹

Moor’s Charity School attracted far more students than any other English colonial attempt to educate North America’s Indian peoples. Reverend John Brainerd sent John Pumshire (Delaware) and Jacob Wolley (Delaware), Wheelock’s first two students, to Connecticut in December 1754.⁷² Tragically, Pumshire’s health quickly deteriorated, and Wheelock sent him home, where he “soon died.”⁷³ Indian health would be a persistent problem for all colonial education institutions for Native Americans. Pumshire’s death “convinced [Wheelock] more fully of the Necessity of special Care respecting their Diet; and that more Exercise was necessary

⁶⁹ Bernd C. Peyer, “The Betrayal of Samson Occom,” *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* 91:3 (November, 1998), 34.

⁷⁰ James Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” in James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 97.

⁷¹ Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*, 11.

⁷² Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 219.

⁷³ Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*, 29.

for them, especially at their first coming to a full Table, and with so keen an Appetite, than was ordinarily necessary for *English* youth.” Wheelock noted, “There have been several long Fits of Sickness of one and another in this School, with a nervous Fever, Pleurisies, Dysenterys, &c.”⁷⁴

Wheelock pressed onward. According to his account, the school had:

two upon my Hand since *December 18th*. 1754, and Four since *April*, 1757, and Five since *April* 1759, and Seven since *November*, 1760. and Eleven since *August* 1st. 1761, and after this Manner they have increased as I could obtain those who appeared promising. And for some Time I have had Twenty-five devoted to School as constantly as their Health will allow.... THREE of this Number are *English* Youth.⁷⁵

One of the main differences between Wheelock’s school and the other early colonial institution was the education of young Indigenous women. The first young women to enroll at Moor’s Charity School were Amie Johnson (Mohegan) and Miriam Storrs (Delaware). They arrived in 1761. Within four years, Wheelock counted ten girls among the school’s roster and twenty-nine Indian boys.⁷⁶ Wheelock’s stated goal was to “purge all the Indian out” of his pupils.⁷⁷

By 1763, Wheelock was concerned with his pupils. They had to not have lived up to his expectations. Too many got sick. Too few reached his educational goals. He remained steadfast in his design but decided to move the school. Wheelock would establish an Indian school “in the Heart of the Indian country” for “Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture, and Manufacture among the Pagans in America.”⁷⁸ Out of this idea would grow Dartmouth College.

⁷⁴ Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*, 29, 31.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁷⁶ McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College*, 88.

⁷⁷ Wheelock, in Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 98.

⁷⁸ Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:32-33.

King George III issued Dartmouth's charter on December 16, 1769. Like Harvard and William & Mary, royal prerogative ensured that the school catered to Native American youth.

The charter stipulated:

that there be a college erected in our said province of New Hampshire by the name of Dartmouth College, *for the education and instruction of youth of the Indian tribes in this land in reading, writing, and all parts of learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing children of pagans, as well as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youth and any others.*⁷⁹

While Wheelock was searching for a location and backing, his ideology shifted. According to historian Frederick Chase, Wheelock had:

begun to be fully convinced by many weighty reasons that a greater proportion of English youth must be prepared for missionaries to take entirely the lead of the affairs in the wilderness and conduct the whole affair of Christianizing and civilizing the savages, without any dependence on their own sons as leaders in the matter, or any further than they are employed under the immediate inspection and direction of Englishmen.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Wheelock sent Occom and missionary Nathaniel Whitaker to England and Scotland to fundraise for Moor's. Between 1766 and 1768, they raised over £11,000 for Indian education.⁸¹ Wheelock, however, deceived both Occom and the donors. He used this money for educating white students at Dartmouth rather than Indian students at Moor's. This resulted in the souring of relations between Occom and Wheelock and a decrease in Indian enrollment. Upon founding Dartmouth in Hanover, New Hampshire, Wheelock also moved Moor's Charity School to the town. The school's enrollment dropped to six in 1769, but it continued to educate Indian

⁷⁹ "Dartmouth College Charter," *Rauner Special Collections Library*, accessed April 20, 2014, <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/rauner/dartmouth/dc-charter.html>. Emphasis added.

⁸⁰ Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:86.

⁸¹ Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 15.

students, while the college attended to English youth, whose population grew to sixteen the same year.⁸²

Dartmouth's English financial backers quickly determined that Wheelock was not using their funds for Indian education. Lord Dartmouth, S.S Smythe, John Thornton, Robt. Keen, Charles Hendy, Danl. West, and Saml. Savage sternly wrote to Wheelock on April 25, 1771:

When we consider that the money collected here was given for the express purpose of “creating, establishing, endowing, and maintaining an Indian Charity School and a suitable number of missionaries to be employed in the Indian country for the instruction of Indians in the Christian religion,” and for no other purpose whatever, *we cannot but look upon the charter you have obtained and your intention of building a college and educating English youth, as going beyond the line by which both you and we circumscribed.*⁸³

They urged him to return to educating Indian students: “The motives that induced the subscribers to contribute ... to the undertaking were doubtless the hopes of spreading the knowledge of the only true God and his Son Jesus Christ ... We think ourselves bound to adhere invariably to this original plan, and must therefore insist upon it that you do not deviate from it.”⁸⁴ Six months later, another letter critical of Wheelock surfaced in the *Massachusetts Gazette*. It read: “It is truly melancholy that the pious and zealous endeavors of Dr. Wheelock to humanize and christianize the Heathen, has, (notwithstanding the vast expense and labor,) hitherto proved abortive, as all his Indian children have left him but two, and he has not one School-Master or Missionary in all the Indian Country.”⁸⁵

⁸² Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:88.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1:244-245. Emphasis added.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:244-245.

⁸⁵ August 31, 1771 letter, in *The Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter*, September 26, 1771, 3.

Like Harvard and William & Mary, Dartmouth lost its funding from English financiers with the onset of the American Revolution between 1775 and 1776.⁸⁶ American funds were the only reliable source of income with the English blockade of Boston. In 1775, the Continental Congress provided \$500 to Wheelock because “for want of a proper fund, there is danger that these youth may be sent back to their friends.”⁸⁷ Despite these funds, Wheelock could not even clothe his pupils by 1777.⁸⁸ By the end of the year, the children from the Six Nations and Abenaki, the majority of the pupils, deserted Dartmouth and Moor’s Charity School.⁸⁹ Wheelock would never again be able to claim his previous ‘success.’ According to historian Colin Calloway, by 1782 the number of Indian students dropped to three; by 1783, there was one; and, none by 1785. By the end of the eighteenth century, only three Indian students had graduated from Dartmouth.⁹⁰ In 1829, Dartmouth absorbed Moor’s Charity School.⁹¹ Native American students did not return in substantial numbers until 1970.⁹²

The students who attended Harvard, William & Mary, and Dartmouth between 1650 and 1776 did so for various reasons. They often came from nearby tribes. Harvard’s students included two Nimpucs and four Wampanoags. William & Mary drew from the Catawba, Chickahominy, Cherokee, Delaware, Nansemond, Pamunkey, Tuscarora, and Wyandot nations.

⁸⁶ Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:318

⁸⁷ U.S. Library of Congress, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1905) 2:176-177.

⁸⁸ Chase, *History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire*, 1:318, 388.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:528; Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 41.

⁹⁰ Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 53, 54.

⁹¹ Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 108.

⁹² Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 156-178.

And Dartmouth/Moor's students primarily came from the Delaware, Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Narragansetts, Niantics, and Stockbridge tribes, and from Canada.⁹³ For many of them, it can only be speculated as to why they chose to attend these institutions. Others had no choice, as was the case at William & Mary when colonists kidnapped and held students as hostages.

Occom provides us with one reason why Indigenous youth came to the school, or at least became interested in Christianity. It was not to be saved, as some colonists hoped. Instead, because churches distributed goods at services, Indians attended whether or not they were Christian. Occom wrote: "Once a Fortnight, in ye Summer Season, a Minister from New London used to come up, and the Indians to attend; not that they regarded the Christian Religion, but they had Blankets given to them every Fall of the Year and for these things they would attend."⁹⁴ Christian Indians had greater access to European goods. In times of famine, the schools ideally would have fed and clothed students. These goods acquired through the linkage with the schools, coupled with Indigenous manufactures, often provided authority in Native American societies.

Other Indian peoples may have seen education as a means to exert control within their own tribe. Peyer saw the contestation between Squanto and Massasoit as resulting from knowledge gained from the English. Indeed, Squanto represented an alternative leader for the Wampanoag. His knowledge of English ways and the English language offered a way for his people to survive the English colonial onslaught and the violence it wreaked on Indigenous peoples. Additionally,

⁹³ "About the Indian College Students," *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University*, accessed May 27, 2014, <https://peabody.harvard.edu/node/478>; "Indian School at William & Mary," accessed April 21, 2014, <http://www.wm.edu/about/history/historiccampus/indianschool/index.php>; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 221; Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 188-198.

⁹⁴ Occom, "Short Narrative of My Life," 55.

educated Indians could often become influential middlemen between the tribe and the English, a position that was traditionally guaranteed by birth. Thus, education functioned as it does today; it provided social mobility.⁹⁵

Still, others used what they learned in these institutions against the English and the colonial project. Command of English language written and oral skills enabled Indians to resist English attempts to take their land through diplomatic means, especially in treaties. For instance, Sassamon, after briefly attending Harvard, served as King Philip's scribe and advisor, and possibly as an English spy. John Nettles (Catawba) read treaties between his tribe and the English and served as an interpreter. Moreover, education in the schools may have served as a bargaining device that allowed some tribes to negotiate alliances with the English, according to Szasz. This may have been one reason why the tribes in Virginia sold their captives to the colonists. Later in the colonial period, it also produced the wherewithal to challenge the English in their judicial system.⁹⁶

Whatever their rationale for attending the Indian colleges, either voluntarily or by force, many remained skeptical of English plans. Indigenous peoples sent their children away to be educated, and they returned not having the skills to fend for themselves. “[F]or a long time after they returned,” the Iroquois recalled, they “were absolutely good for nothing being neither acquainted with the true methods for killing deer, catching Beaver or surprizing an enemy.”⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 27, 43, 44.

⁹⁶ “The Indian School at William & Mary,” *William and Mary*, accessed April 21, 2014, <http://www.wm.edu/about/history/historiccampus/indianschool/index.php>; Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:352; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 76; Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 283-284.

⁹⁷ Iroquois, in Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 77.

Indian often nations refused to send their children. Two instances exemplify this resistance. In 1744, an Indian participant of the Treaty of Lancaster stated, “we love our Children too well to send them fo great a Way, and the *Indians* are no include to give their Children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our Cuftoms differing from yours, you will be fo good as to excufe us.”⁹⁸ When Wheelock and his missionaries travelled to the Six Nations, or Haudenosaunee Confederacy, at least two councils meetings were initiated, one with the Oneida, and the other with the Onondaga. The Oneida headman, who spoke on June 5, 1772, combated Wheelock’s design, stating: “*English* schools we do not approve of here, as serviceable to our spiritual interest: & almost all those who have been instructed in English are a reproach to us.”⁹⁹ The Oneida then seemed to taunt Wheelock, “Our great father the great minister is at great trouble & expence to gospelise us Indians — & must be grieved, even pained at heart, that so many of his designs are frustrated; & so many of his attempts prove utterly abortive!”¹⁰⁰ Finally, they offered a solution: “To remedy this, we advise our father to consider well, & take good heed in his future endeavors — yea, let him take very good heed. Let him move slowly; very slowly. — Let him examine thoroughly & critically in the minds & state of the Indians, in whatever place he may design any future mission. We pity him on account of his great distance from the Indian country.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Brother Assaragoa, in “A Treaty, Held at the Town of Lancafter, in Pennsylvania, By the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, And the Honourable the Commissioner for the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, With the Indians of the Six Nations, in June, 1744,” in C. Van Doren and J. P. Boyd, eds., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1938), 76.

⁹⁹ “Speech of the Oneida Headmen, June 5, 1772,” quoted in Calloway, *World Turned Upside Down*, 66-68.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

The next council with the Onondaga in 1772 met with much the same opposition. They opposed Wheelock's methods: "But brother, do you think we are altogether ignorant of your methods of instruction? (Then takeing & Shakeing him by the shoulder said) Why, brother, you are deceiving yourself! We understand not only your speech, but your *manner* of teaching Indian."¹⁰² Like the Oneida, the Onondaga offered Wheelock advice for future recruitment efforts:

Learn yourself to understand the word of God, before you undertake to teach & govern others: for when you have come to understand it yourself, perhaps some of our children will like to make trial of your instructions. For the present brother, I shall watch your future conduct. You have spoke *exceeding* well, even to our *surprise*, that our children should become *wise in all things* by your instruction, & treated as *children* at your house, & not *servants*!¹⁰³

Instead, according to the Onondaga, Wheelock could learn from the method of teaching deployed by the French, which was less reliant upon violence, beatings, and forced labor:

Brother, you must learn of the French ministers if you would understand, & know how to treat Indians. They don't speak roughly; nor do they for every little mistake take up a club & flog them. It seems to us that they teach the word of God — they are very charitable — & can't see those they instruct *naked* or *hungry*.¹⁰⁴

Yet some educated and converted Indians tried to convince their fellow tribesmen and women of the merits of an English education, even if those merits were only a survival technique. In 1772, Joseph Pepee (Delaware) pleaded to his people:

The white people increase, and we Indians decrease. I can tell you, my countrymen, the reason of this. The white people worship the true God, and please him, and God blesses and prospers them. We and our fathers worshiped Devil, or them that are no Gods, and therefore God frowns upon us. And if you continue ignorant of him, when you have opportunity to know God and worship him, he will cut you off, & give this good country to a people that shall serve him.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² "Speech of the Onondaga Council, 1772," quoted in Calloway, *World Turned Upside Down*, 69-70.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

Joseph Wolley, a Delaware student who became a schoolmaster, wrote to Wheelock in 1765:

“My heart feels sorrow for the poor Indians, that they know no more about a crucified Saviour; and I wish I was able to teach and instruct them; and I shall do whatever lies in my power to tell them of Christ, as long as I tarry. I feel ashamed that I have done no more towards it.”¹⁰⁶

Some students vocally opposed Wheelock’s designs. In 1768, Edward Deake wrote to Wheelock concerning what Hezekiah Calvin had told him. Calvin apparently accused Wheelock of treating Indian students as “Slaves,” not letting them participate in formal schooling, neglecting them, and even financially benefiting by selling supplies for their health: “that you use y^e Indians very hard in keeping of them to work, & not allowing them a proper Privelidge in y^e School.... [T]hat there is large quantity’s of Rice, Coffe, Flower & Sugars sent from y^e corporation in Scotland to support y^e Indians in your School, which you Sell, together with y^e Cloth’s which are sent, & Diot, & Cloath them with that that’s mean.”¹⁰⁷ Calvin highlighted the case of two young Indian girls. “That Mary Secutor, & Sarah Simon has been kept as close to work, as if they were your Slaves, & have no privelidge in y^e School Since last Fall, nor one Cooper allow’d y^m for their Labour.... they are all about to leave you.”¹⁰⁸ Finally, he warned of a mass exodus and despaired about Wheelock’s shift from focusing on educating Indians to

¹⁰⁵ Pepee, quoted in Calloway, *World Turned Upside Down*, 71.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph Wolley to Eleazar Wheelock, July 1765, in Davis McClure and Elijah Parish, *Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., Founder and President of Dartmouth College and Moor’s Charity School; with a summary history of the College and School, to which are added copious extracts from Dr. Wheelock’s Correspondence* (Newburyport, MA: C. Norris & Co., 1811), 41.

¹⁰⁷ Edw^d. Deake to S^r [Eleazar Wheelock], June 21, 1768, MS-1310: Eleazar Wheelock Collection, Box 18, Folder 768371.2, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

educating non-Indians: “So y^t y^e Indians are ready to conclude, that their Fellow-Indians will never receive any great Benefit of y^e Large sums of Money contributed by good People.”¹⁰⁹

Three years later, Daniel Simon, a Narragansett at Moor’s who became the first Indian student to enter Dartmouth, wrote directly to Wheelock, echoed Calvin’s complaints. He stated that he learned little and was constantly worked:

I now make bould to write to the moft Reverend Doctor, when I Came frift [sic] to this School, I underftood that this School was for to bring up Such Indians, as was not able to bring up themfelves, but the doctor is to learn them to work, but I have been to work Ever Since I have been able; and therefore if the doctor will let me follow my Studys, I Shall be thankful [sic], as I understood the doctor when I talked with him, that we must work as much as to pay our way; and if we Should, what good will the Charity money do the Indians; which was given to them, if we poor Indians Shall work as much as to pay for our learning, we Can go Some other p[l]ace as good as here for learning, if we are ablie to work and pay for our learning and I Say now, wo unto that poor Indian; or white man that Should Ever Com to this School, with out he is rich.¹¹⁰

Occom was by far Wheelock’s most vocal critic. After Occom had fundraised for an Indian school, only to see Wheelock appropriate those funds for English students, Occom wrote scathing letters against Wheelock. On July 24, 1771, he wrote to Wheelock: “I am very jealous that instead of your Semenary Becoming alma Mater, she will be too alba mater to Suckle the Tawnees, for She is already aDorned up too much like the Popish Virgin Mary. She’ll be Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees for she is already equal in Power, Honor and Authority to any College in Europe, I think your College has too much Worked by Grandeur for the Poor Indians, they’ll never have much benefit of it.”¹¹¹ Occom blamed Wheelock’s

¹⁰⁹ Deake to [Wheelock], June 21, 1768, MS-1310: Eleazar Wheelock Collection, Box 18, Folder 768371.2, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

¹¹⁰ Daniel Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, September, 1771, MS-1310: Eleazar Wheelock Collection, Box 24, Folder 771540, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

attendance problems on his attention to white students and expressed his disappointment: “I speak the general Sentiment of Indians and English too in these parts. So many of your Missionaries and School masters and Indian Scholars Leaving you and your Service Confirms me in this opinion, — your having so many White Scholars and so few or no Indian Scholars, gives me great Discouragement.”¹¹² Indeed, after raising money for Indian education, Occom felt betrayed:

I verily thought once that your Institution was Intended Purely for the poor Indians — with this thought I Cheerfully Ventured my Body & Soul, left my Country my poor young Family all my Friends and Relations, to sail over the Boisterous Seas to England, to help forward your School, Hoping that it may be a lasting Benefet to my poor Tawnee Brethren, With this View I went a Volunteer — I was quite willing to become a Gazing Stocke, Yea Even a Laughing Stocke, in Strange Countries to Promote your Cause.¹¹³

Occom concluded by drawing attention to how the English would react to Wheelock’s treachery: “But when we got Home behold all the glory had Decayed and now I am afraid, we shall be Deem’d as Liars and Deceivers, in Europe, unless you gather Indians quickly to your College, in great Numbers and not to have so many whites in the Charity.”¹¹⁴ Occom wrote Wheelock again on June 1, 1773, sounding off similar protests. He wrote: “I have much more concern for my poor kindred the Indians, than ever; and in my apprehension your present Plan is not calculated to benefit the poor Indians, it is no ways (---?) to them, and unless there is an alternation Suitable

¹¹¹ Samfon Occom to Rev^d Sir [Eleazar Wheelock], July 24, 1771, MS-1310: Eleazar Wheelock Collection, Box 23, Folder 771424, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

to the minds of the Indians, you will never do much more good among the Indians.”¹¹⁵ He concluded, “if you rightly managed the Indians, your Institution would have flourished by this Time.”¹¹⁶

In 1783, Occom continued his attacks, even after Wheelock had died. He criticized the utility of school: “Doc^r Wheelocks Indian Academia or Schools are become altogether unprofitable to the poor Indians — In short he has done little or no good to the Indians with all the Money we Collected in England, Since we got home.”¹¹⁷ Occom also renewed his attacks on the usurpation of funds, indicting Wheelock’s family for benefiting at the expense of the Indian students: “that Money never Educated but one Indian and once Mollatoc, that is, part Negro and part Indian and there has not been one Indian in that Institution this Some Time, all that money has done is, it [^]has[^] made Doctor’s Family very grand in the World.”¹¹⁸ As some of these letters and complaints attest, students suffered at the schools. Their relationships with their kin and tribes had been weakened or even severed. An onslaught of abuse besieged their bodies and minds. Jacob Wolley (Delaware) deserted five months after Wheelock whipped him for being drunk.¹¹⁹ On top of the abuse, the money earmarked for their care was stolen. This lack of funds to provide an adequate living environment likely contributed to the extraordinary rates of disease.

¹¹⁵ Samson Occom to [Eleazar Wheelock], June 1, 1773 in Harold Blodgett, *Samson Occom* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1935), 135.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Occom to John Bailey [a friend], [June or July] 1783, in Joanna Brooks, ed., *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 119-120.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Axtell, “Dr. Wheelock’s Little Red School,” 104.

If the schools' primary objective was to educate students, 'civilize' them, and return them to their people to convert their relations, the schools partially succeeded but at a drastic cost. Some students went back to their peoples as schoolmasters. However, the original scheme of converting them into preachers largely failed because of educators' biases and failure to successfully teach new languages and cosmologies. Further, evidence suggests a sizeable proportion of the students perished from diseases and accidents before they were able to return to their people. Spanish, English, and French colonists frequently turned to localized mission schools to educate Indigenous youth. Catholics established missions in Arizona, California, Canada, Florida, the Great Lakes region, Maine, New Mexico, New York, and Texas. Moravian Missions popped up in what is today Canada, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Other smaller attempts to convert and educate Indian peoples happened throughout the colonies.¹²⁰ For instance, Hamilton College in New York began in 1792 as the Indian School at Oneida or Hamilton-Oneida Academy, founded by then Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton and missionary Samuel Kirkland.¹²¹

With their independence from Europe secured, the colonies, united under the Articles of Confederation and then the Constitution, turned their attention away from Indian education and towards nation-building. Still, civilization through education, as mandated by treaties and federal legislation, continued as a primary mechanism to bring Indigenous people into the colonial fold and to obtain land over the coming centuries.¹²²

¹²⁰ Fletcher, "Indian Education and Civilization," 64-84.

¹²¹ American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Thirtieth Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, 1925* (Albany: B. Lyon Company, 1925), 31; Hamilton College, "History & Traditions," <https://www.hamilton.edu/about/history>.

¹²² December 2, 1794 treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Nations and the August 13, 1803 treaty with the Kaskaskias, in Fletcher, "Indian Education and Civilization," 162.

By the early nineteenth century, missionaries were happy to intercede where governments failed to provide education. In 1817, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) founded the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut.¹²³ The school started when Henry Obookiah (Heneri Opukahaia), a Kanaka Māoli sailor, was abandoned in New Haven.¹²⁴ Like Occom before him, Obookiah became fundraising fodder. In 1816, Amherst Reverend Perkins, an ABCFM missionary, toured Henry around New England “to solicit donations for the benefit of the Foreign Mission School,” a plan that resulted in “highly liberal” contributions.¹²⁵ Obookiah did not spend much time at the school after raising the funds that enabled it to open. In early 1818, he contracted typhus fever and died.¹²⁶ Still, others filled the school’s classrooms and hallways. By the end of the first year of instruction, the school counted six Hawaiians and one Abenaki student among its rolls.¹²⁷ Then in the latter half of 1818, seven Cherokees and two Choctaws arrived.¹²⁸ By 1819, the roster additionally included Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora youth.¹²⁹ Cherokee leaders John Ridge and Elias Boudinot both attended the school.¹³⁰

¹²³ John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 66, 69.

¹²⁴ Henry Obookiah, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, A Native of Owhyhee, and a Member of the Foreign Mission School; Who Died at Cornwall, Conn. Feb. 17, 1818 Aged 26 Years* (New Haven: Nathan Whiting, 1819), 18. Obookiah’s *Memoirs* had a wide readership and was translated into Hawaiian, Geek, and Choctaw (Demos, *Heathen School*, 84).

¹²⁵ Obookiah, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*, 94.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 119; Demos, *Heathen School*, 79.

¹²⁷ Demos, *Heathen School*, 87.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 147-148.

The school's mission was to find, convert, and educate young Indigenous people and send them back to their communities as preachers, teachers, translators, and health workers. It educated through a strict regimen and long days. Students studied English, geography, and arithmetic, reading, writing, and spelling. The school also took a distinctly vocational bent as students labored on the grounds for at least two and a half days a week.¹³¹ At first, some Indigenous parents resisted. Missionary Jeremiah Evarts, an eventual opponent of Indian Removal, recalled from one 1818 recruiting trip, the Cherokee had "doubts and resistance" to the idea of sending their children away. Evarts continued, "most are not willing they should go so far away."¹³² By the end of 1818, however, Vermont missionary to the Cherokee Samuel Worcester, an eventual plaintiff in the 1832 *Worcester V. Georgia* Supreme Court case, claimed, it became "popular" for Cherokee leaders "to send their sons to the north for education."¹³³ Indigenous education in institutions would continue to be a pillar of colonial and eventually federal Indian policy.

The year after the Foreign Mission School opened, the first United States government attempt to provide education for "those tribes friendly to us" emerged from the United States House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs. On January 22, 1818, the committee declared "nothing which it is in the power of Government to do would have a more direct tendency to produce this desirable object [civilization] than the establishment of schools." The committee continued, "establishing schools on or near our frontiers for the education of Indian children, would be attended with beneficial effects both to the United States and the Indian

¹³¹ Demos, *Heathen School*, 72.

¹³² Evarts, in *Ibid.*, 98.

¹³³ Worcester, in Demos, *Heathen School*, 91.

tribes, and the best possible means of securing the friendship of those nations in amity with us.”¹³⁴ United States citizens understood their imperative in Jeffersonian dreams of a nation of farmers engrained with the Protestant work ethic.¹³⁵ To this end, President James Monroe signed the March 3, 1819 “Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements.” This legislation allotted \$10,000 annually to instruct Indigenous peoples on how to farm and “for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic.”¹³⁶ This effort met with varying degrees of success and reach. The following year, schools existed only among the Cherokee with plans for facilities for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Haudenosaunee, and the Wyandots, Senecas, and Shawnees.¹³⁷

Like other schools for Indigenous children of the time, illness presented an issue for administrators and students at Cornwall’s Foreign Mission School. According to historian John Demos, sicknesses included “consumption, cold, dysentery, and [a potential venereal disease].”¹³⁸ Causal factors of sickness at Cornwall include the environmental conditions in which the students were housed and their general health upon entering the school. Evarts recalled, “Some of the travelers reach Cornwall in a ‘state of sickness.’”¹³⁹ Others arrived at the

¹³⁴ “Trade, Intercourse, and Schools,” January 22, 1818, in U.S. Congress, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 2:150-151.

¹³⁵ Prucha, *Great Father*, 136-140, 148-154; Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, 2; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 6.

¹³⁶ “An Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements,” March 3, 1819, in U.S. Congress, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845* (18 vols., Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 3:516-517.

¹³⁷ J.C. Calhoun to Hon. H. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, January 15, 1820, in U.S. Congress, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, 2:200-201.

¹³⁸ Demos, *Heathen School*, 116.

¹³⁹ Evarts, in *Ibid.*, 90.

school “destitute.”¹⁴⁰ Many had traveled hundreds or even thousands of miles by land and/or sea to get there. Once at the school, they entered academic buildings that Congregational Minister John Prentice considered “cramped and decayed.” He also considered the student living arrangements “crowded,” adding that they were too hot in summer and cold in winter.¹⁴¹ Homesickness further weighed on student health.¹⁴² After Obookiah died in 1818, three Marquesan students died. Those lucky enough to survive their time at the school, often spent significant time isolated from their peers. Cherokee Chief Major Ridge’s oldest living son, John, who eventually signed the Treaty of New Echota signaling the beginning of United States forced Indian removals, spent several months in a makeshift household infirmary recovering from scrofula (a form of tuberculosis) while enrolled in the school.¹⁴³ Other students suffered from “gloom & discouragement.”¹⁴⁴ The lethal results forced the school’s president, Herman Daggett, to warn, in February 1823, “the health of the scholars ought to be taken up, this spring, as a very serious matter.”¹⁴⁵

John Ridge’s father traveled from Georgia to bring his ailing son home in October 1822. On the way home, the return party stopped in Charleston, South Carolina, where Major Ridge addressed the Circular Congregational Church on November 15. According to a Congregationalist publication and despite his son’s failing health, Ridge represented a faction of

¹⁴⁰ Evarts, in Demos, *Heathen School*, 90.

¹⁴¹ Prentice, in Demos, *Heathen School*, 111.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁴³ Demos, *Heathen School*, 145-146, 148.

¹⁴⁴ Brown, in *Ibid.*, 99-100.

¹⁴⁵ Daggett, in Demos, *Heathen School*, 116.

American Indian people desiring education in uncertain times: “The Indians stand with open arms to receive your missionaries, and your missionaries are ready to engage in this great enterprise. — What then is wanting! — Shall the schools be discontinued for want of funds? Shall the ardent expectations of the Indians be frustrated? *Your liberality will not permit it.*”¹⁴⁶ This was a powerful embrace. Between Congress’ initial funds, missionary zeal, and selective Indigenous accommodation, schools of the missionary model multiplied.

The Foreign Mission School at Cornwall remained open until 1826. By the time it closed, it had educated scores of Indigenous children from across the world and established important precedents that United States Indian boarding schools would draw from: namely, the heavy influence of the evangelizing mission, forbidding Indigenous languages, and mandatory student labor. Like the schools that came before and would be founded after its closure, sickness and death resulted from unsanitary living environments. At least seven students died at the Foreign Mission School.¹⁴⁷

Beginning with the “Civilization Fund” in 1819, hundreds of on-reservation mission schools supported by the federal government and run by church denominations dominated part of what was then the Old Northwest, Southeast, and Indian Territory. This national organization of missionary-run, government-supported schools began expanding on reservations during the early nineteenth century. The system, which counted twenty-one schools with 769 students in 1823, more than doubled by 1830 to accommodate over fifteen hundred Indigenous students in fifty-two schools.¹⁴⁸ By 1865, the number of schools decreased to forty-eight, but enrollment

¹⁴⁶ *The Missionary Herald* [Boston, MA] 19:1 (January 1823), 29. Italics original

¹⁴⁷ Demos, *Heathen School*, 116.

¹⁴⁸ Fletcher, “Indian Education and Civilization,” 164; Prucha, *Great Father*, 1:154.

increased to 2,165.¹⁴⁹ While religious organizations expanded the number of schools with federal financial support, the United States Congress committed its first appropriation for Indigenous health, allocating \$12,000 for smallpox vaccinations in 1832.¹⁵⁰

As the school and health systems continued to expand with educational and healthcare provisions exchanged for land cessions or removal in treaties signed with Indian tribes, federal policymakers began to see the rewards of the policy.¹⁵¹ As more and more Indian peoples became farmers, learned English, and ceded their lands, the more Indian education became entrenched in federal Indian policy. In 1868, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called for “liberally assist[ing] in the maintenance of schools and mission establishments” among the “tribes [that] have no schools and are without religious instruction.”¹⁵² The following year, the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended: “Schools should be established ... by the government to introduce the English language in every tribe.... The establishment of Christian missions should be encouraged, and their schools fostered.”¹⁵³ In turn, Congress appropriated

¹⁴⁹ “Statistical Tables,” in U.S. OIA, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1865), 578.

¹⁵⁰ “An Act to provide the means of extending the benefits of vaccinations, as a preventative of the smallpox, to the Indian tribes, and thereby, as far as possible, to save them from the destructive ravages of that disease,” May 5, 1832, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From December, 1881, to March, 1883, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1883), 22:514. For more on this law, see: J. Diane Pearson, “Lewis Cass and the Politics of Disease: The Indian Vaccination Act of 1832,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 18:2 (Autumn 2003), 9-35.

¹⁵¹ By 1885, at least twenty-four treaties had active educational provisions and eight had already lapsed (John H. Oberly, Indian School Superintendent to Hon. L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1885, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1885* [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885], LXXIX-LXXXIII).

¹⁵² N.G. Taylor, Commissioner to Hon. O.H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, November 23, 1868, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1868* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1868), 2.

another \$100,000 for additional schools in 1870.¹⁵⁴ Healthcare also continued to receive federal funding. The United States government promised at least twenty-eight physicians and nine hospitals to Native American communities by 1871.¹⁵⁵ Religion, health, and education would continue to be intertwined as the main ‘civilizing’ forces deployed by the federal government. These mission schools continued to have a lasting impact on Indigenous communities, but the system would soon expand beyond reservation and take on carceral and lethal dimensions.

As the violence of the U.S. Civil War diminished in the East, another war over land, resources, and power was being waged on the Great Plains and in the Far West. Some proposed solutions to these so-called “Indian Wars” and the “Indian Problem” included dispossessing Native Americans of their land, forcing tribes westward, and even the utter extermination of the Indian race. As the Civil War drew to a close, generals dispatched soldiers to the frontier. There federal officials would default on U.S. treaty obligations and Indian nations would fight back. Some soldiers fought Indians with the intent of bringing them to reservations, dead or alive. Education proved a more palpable and economic alternative to the exterminatory vision offered by United States leaders.

The United States government began creating off-reservation Native American boarding

¹⁵³ Felix R. Brunot, Chairman, Robert Campbell, H.S. Lane, W.E. Dodge, Nathan Bishop, John C. Farwell, Vincent Colyer, George H. Stuart, Edward S. Tobey to Sir, November 23, 1869, in U.S. OIA, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Made to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1869* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1870), 50.

¹⁵⁴ “An Act making Appropriations for the current and contingent Expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with various Indian Tribes for the Year ending June thirty, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, and for other Purposes,” in U.S. Congress, George P. Sanger, ed., *The Statutes at Large and Proclamations of the United States of America, from December 1869 to March 1871, and Treaties and Postal Conventions Arranged in Chronological Order and carefully collated with the Originals at Washington, with References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject* (126 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1871), 16:359.

¹⁵⁵ DeJong, “*If You Knew the Conditions*,” 5.

schools in 1879 to solve the so-called “Indian Problem.” Assimilation and cultural destruction were core ideologies of the new educational system. United States Army Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the first off-reservation school in 1879, followed Cavanaugh’s ideal, albeit without aiming to physically kill Indian people. In 1892 at the Nineteenth Annual Conference on Charities and Corrections, Pratt stated, “All the Indian there is in a race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”¹⁵⁶ This then became the unofficial motto of the federal Native American boarding school system.¹⁵⁷ Complete assimilation, Pratt and others believed, was the only way to save the “Indian” from “inevitable extinction.”¹⁵⁸

There were four pillars to Pratt’s approach: “First: Usable knowledge of the language of the country. Second, Skill in some civilized industry that will enable successful competition. Third, Courage of civilization which will enable abandonment of the tribe and successful living among civilized people. Fourth, Knowledge of books, or education so-called.”¹⁵⁹ These ideas became the basis of United States Indian policy: schools designed to eradicate Indigenous identities developed into the federal government’s weapon of choice. Before students, Pratt first developed and explored using discipline, education, forced labor, and surveillance — hallmarks

¹⁵⁶ Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 46.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 116. Others believed Indians incapable of civilization. George Ellis, a Unitarian minister and historian, wrote in 1882, “the consenting opinion and judgment of the very large majority of men of actual knowledge and practical experience of the ... Indians is that they cannot be civilized, — that the race must perish either by violence or decay. The final catastrophe, it is said, has been forecast, prepared for, and is steadily advancing to its dismal close” (George Ellis, in Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 130).

¹⁵⁹ R.H. Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Its Origins, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted* (Carlisle, PA: Hamilton Library Association, 1908), 42; Louis Morton, “How the Indians Came to Carlisle,” *Pennsylvania History* 29:1 (January 1962), 58. For more on Pratt, see: K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 57:1 (Fall 2018).

of the off-reservation boarding school system — on American Indian prisoners of war.

A career military man, Pratt began his Army service immediately after Fort Sumter's bombardment, which began the United States Civil War. On April 20, 1864, he was commissioned as a first lieutenant in the Eleventh Indiana Cavalry.¹⁶⁰ Pratt remained in the Army following the war. Beginning in 1867, his post on the frontier brought him into intimate contact with Native American peoples. During the Red River War of 1874-75, Pratt commanded seventy-five Indian scouts who were to bring in "hostile" Indians.¹⁶¹ Following the war, the United States government brought fifteen pages of charges against seventy-two "hostile" Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and one Caddo. They needed a jailor. Pratt volunteered and escorted the sixty-eight men, two women, and one child to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and awaited further orders.¹⁶²

The prisoners' poor health was a concern from the beginning. Arriving at Fort Leavenworth, two had to be taken to the infirmary. Another attempted suicide in his cell.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, on May 11, 1875, the Adjutant General directed Pratt "to take charge of and accompany the Indian prisoners to...confinement in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida." The order instructed Pratt to "remain in the immediate charge of these Indians until further orders."¹⁶⁴ The group left Kansas on May 17. Arriving in Louisville, a newspaper correspondent noted,

¹⁶⁰ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, x.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁶² Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 105-109.

¹⁶³ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 45, 47.

¹⁶⁴ E. D. Townsend, Adjutant General, Special Orders No. 88, May 11, 1875 in WA MSS S-1174: Richard Henry Pratt Papers, 1840-1924, Box 14, Folder 499, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut [hereafter Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box #, Folder #].

“Bird Medicine ... is dying of consumption, and was cooped up in a corner of the car.”¹⁶⁵ Days later, another captive attempted to take his own life and that of two guards in Tennessee.¹⁶⁶

The prisoners resisted these conditions, their captivity, and community separation. For example, Gray Beard, a Cheyenne Chief, objected to his removal to Florida. On May 21, he managed to escape out of a train window near Houston, Florida, and fled. After realizing he was missing, Pratt sent several guards to track Gray Beard down. A sergeant, seeing Gray Beard, ordered him to halt. Gray Beard ignored him. So, the sergeant leveled his gun and pulled the trigger at close range. The bullet traveled straight through Gray Beard’s chest. He died two hours later.¹⁶⁷ Poor health and Indigenous resistance did not stop Pratt from carrying out his orders.

Pratt and his prisoners arrived at Fort Marion on May 21, 1875, where Pratt immediately set to work. The first step was cutting the hair of the thirty-four Southern Cheyennes, two Arapahos, twenty-seven Kiowas, nine Comanches, and one Caddo while forcing them to wear the same kind of military uniforms worn by the soldiers who had so recently defeated them and now held them prisoner.¹⁶⁸ To accelerate assimilation, Pratt immersed the prisoners in English, put them to work polishing seashells, and drilled them daily in military exercises.¹⁶⁹ In 1908, Pratt maintained that his methods produced “English speaking, [the] adoption of civilized dress

¹⁶⁵ *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), May 20, 1875, in Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 51. Nashville’s *The Tennessean* remarked, “Bird Medicine...is very sick, and slowly but surely yielding to the ravages of that dread disease — consumption” (*The Tennessean*, May 20, 1875, 1).

¹⁶⁶ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 52.

¹⁶⁷ Richard H. Pratt, “The Florida Indian Prisoners of 1875 to 1876,” in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box 19, Folder 676; See also: Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 114-115; Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 54; Morton, “How the Indians Came to Carlisle,” 57.

¹⁶⁸ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 118.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 119-121.

and habits and [a] hungering on their part for a career in the larger life of a nation.”¹⁷⁰ Polishing seashells may not have accelerated assimilation, but it was lucrative. By May 25, 1876, Pratt reported that convict labor had “made from \$3000 to \$4000 ... polishing sea beans, selling drawing books, bows and arrows, canes, etc.”¹⁷¹ The idea of forcing students to work would be central to Pratt’s approach at Carlisle.

Shortly after arriving at Fort Marion, Pratt realized that prisoners wasted away when they were kept in their cells. Travel, poor conditions, confinement, strict regimentation, and stress had a profound impact on the prisoners. Pratt noted, “The change from the dry atmosphere ... to the extremely humid conditions at St. Augustine, the depressing effect of their being in irons, and their long trip has serious influence upon their health.” Further, “a short time in such confinement will destroy the general health of the prisoners under my charge.”¹⁷² Within the first weeks, “there was considerable sickness and several deaths.”¹⁷³ The Kiowa man Co-a-bote-ta (Sun) died on May 24.¹⁷⁴ Homesickness also plagued the inmates.¹⁷⁵ On June 11, 1875, Pratt wrote to the United States Army Adjutant General, “[The prisoners] are particularly distressed about being separated from their women and children.”¹⁷⁶ The prisoners met, established a

¹⁷⁰ Pratt, *Indian Industrial School*, 11.

¹⁷¹ R. H. Pratt, 1st Lieut. 10th Cav., In charge of Indian Prisoners to Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan, May 25, 1876, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 152-153.

¹⁷² Pratt, in Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 64.

¹⁷³ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 118.

¹⁷⁴ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 63; “Catalogue of Casts Taken by Clark Mills, Esq., of the Heads of Sixty-Four Indian Prisoners of Various Western Tribes, and held at Fort Marion, Saint Augustine, Fla., in Charge of Capt. R.H. Pratt, U.S.A.,” in U.S. DOI, *Proceedings of the United States National Museum [1878]* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1879), 1:213.

¹⁷⁵ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 64-65.

consensus, and petitioned the United States government to allow them their families. The government agreed on July 22, but later reneged.¹⁷⁷ Lean Bear, the Cheyenne man who “stabbed himself several times in the neck and chest with a small, short-bladed penknife” in Tennessee, continued his determined fight to die rather than live in prison and away from his family. He eventually starved himself to death on July 24, 1875.¹⁷⁸

Illness and dread continued to haunt the prisoners through the summer and fall. On July 28, the Kiowa chief Sky Walker, or Mah-mante, predicted his own death the following morning “about three hours after sunrise” from dysentery.¹⁷⁹ The following day, he was dead — diagnosed with dysentery. In the fall, there was more sickness. By October, the Kiowa man Ih-pa-yah’s (Straightening an Arrow) died from consumption. One month later, Big Moccasin, a Southern Cheyenne warrior, died from uremic poisoning.¹⁸⁰

By the end of 1876, Pratt became more convinced that his Native American prisoners had no intention harming local whites and wanted to be reunited with their families. They had made progress in English instruction, performed for tourists, and labored around St. Augustine. Convict labor was a central pillar of Pratt’s approach, as it had been for Fort Marion’s jailors since as early as 1638, when they put incarcerated “Appalachian Indians” to labor “on public works.”¹⁸¹ Pratt’s prisoners felled trees, constructed log houses, and extinguished a fire in

¹⁷⁶ R. H. Pratt, 1st Lt. 10th Cav., In charge of Indian Prisoners to Adjutant General of the U.S. Army, June 11, 1875, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 122-123.

¹⁷⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 65-67.

¹⁷⁸ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 112-113.

¹⁷⁹ Sky Walker, in Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 66; U.S. DOI, *Proceedings of the United States National Museum*, 1:213.

¹⁸⁰ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 77.

town.¹⁸² Harsh punishments, labor, and education defined prison life at Fort Marion, and to Pratt, they were working. In a May 18, 1876 letter to General H. J. Hunt, Pratt described how the prison court had sentenced “a Comanche for stealing a dollar” to “ten days in the dungeon.”¹⁸³ The court sentenced others to solitary confinement without food or water.¹⁸⁴ Pratt found force, fear of punishments, and regimentation to be practical means for turning alleged murders into an English-speaking, subordinate, labor force. Mounting deaths did nothing to deter him.

Institutionalization and prior health conditions continued to determine the health of Pratt’s prisoners. On December 5, 1876, Standing Wolf (Southern Cheyenne) died after five months of lower-body paralysis. Just under a month later, Spotted Elk, another Southern Cheyenne man, died of consumption. Meanwhile, other prisoners exhibited symptoms of the lethal disease even as a chicken pox epidemic broke out.¹⁸⁵ The following fall, two more prisoners succumbed to disease. Mad-a-with-t (Comanche) died on July 21, 1877 and Heap of Birds, a Southern Cheyenne chief, died in October.¹⁸⁶ By late 1877, at least ten, or 14 percent of the prisoners under Pratt’s care, had died.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society, *Fort Marion and City Gates* (St. Augustine, FL: W.J. Harris Co., 1915), 11.

¹⁸² Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 79, 103.

¹⁸³ Letter from R.H. Pratt to Gen. H. J. Hunt, Charleston, S.C., May 18, 1876, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 174-175.

¹⁸⁴ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 72.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁸⁶ U.S. DOI, *Proceedings of the United States National Museum*, 1:206, 214.

¹⁸⁷ The prisoners who died according to Pratt (Tribe: Date of death in parenthesis): Heap of Birds (Cheyenne: 10/9/1877); Gray Beard (Cheyenne: 5/21/1875); Big Moccasin (Cheyenne: 11/4/1875); Lean Bear (Cheyenne: 7/24/1875); Shaving Wolf (Cheyenne: 12/5/1876); Spotted Elk (Cheyenne: 1/2/1877); Straightening an Arrow (Kiowa: 10/5/1875); Sun (Kiowa: 5/24/1875); Man-who-Walks-above-the-

They did not know it, but the prisoners were moving closer to freedom. Pratt first proposed releasing them on January 17, 1876. Officials released one prisoner back to Fort Sill after “six or seven severe hemorrhages from the lungs” in April 1877.¹⁸⁸ The following month, United States Inspector General N.H. Davis came to inspect the prison. He concluded, “The success attained in the habits and knowledge of civilized life with these Indians suggests the practicability of utilizing those at our agencies in military organizations, mechanical trades, and in agriculture, and making them self-supporting.”¹⁸⁹ Pratt, meanwhile, traveled to Washington, D.C. to advocate for the prisoners’ release. He convinced Commanding General of the Army William T. Sherman on November 11, 1877.¹⁹⁰

However, freedom came only in the spring of 1878. After three years of incarceration, exile, and ‘good behavior’ the prisoners were finally liberated. The United States government offered them the option of either returning to their families on the reservations or continuing their education in the East under Pratt’s guidance.¹⁹¹ Seventeen chose to pursue courses with Pratt at the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, three went to Tarrytown, New York to be homeschooled, and four to be educated at an Episcopal school in Parris Hill, New York.¹⁹² The

Ground (Kiowa: 7/29/1875); Mad-a-with-t (Comanche: 7/21/1877), in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 138-144.

¹⁸⁸ Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*, 150.

¹⁸⁹ N.H. Davis, in *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from P.H. Sheridan to W.T. Sherman, November 15, 1877, *Landis Online*, accessed April 10, 2013, home.epix.net/~landis/prattletters.html; R. H. Pratt to General P. H. Sheridan, January 17, 1876, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 170-171.

¹⁹¹ Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002 [1993]), 9.

¹⁹² Telegram from Commissioner W.M. Leeds to J.D. Miles, April 15, 1878, *Landis Online*, accessed April 10, 2013, <http://home.epix.net/~landis/prattletters.html>; Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion*,

remaining forty returned to their families in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). On September 2, 1877, the War Department detailed Pratt to proceed to Indian Territory to collect Indians for Hampton.¹⁹³ These new enrollees would join the former Fort Marion prisoners Pratt left at Hampton.

The lives of the students who remained in the East looked quite like their lives in Fort Marion. Pratt instilled “the same gospel of work which Armstrong had found to be the way of salvation for the freedmen,” according to theologian Francis Greenwood Peabody.¹⁹⁴

Administrators expected students to work, farm, and attend classes.

A little over a year later, on November 5, 1878, Pratt returned to Hampton having collected forty males and nine females, ranging from twelve to twenty-six years of age from six agencies.¹⁹⁵ He had grander ambitions. Believing that “the Indians need the chances of participation [to] become useful citizens [and] they can only reach this prosperous condition though living among our people,” Pratt petitioned the Indian Affairs Commissioner, Interior Secretary, War Secretary, and Congress to transfer the abandoned Carlisle military barracks from the War Department to the Interior Department for use as an Indian school. United States President Rutherford B. Hayes invested in this educational trial, stating in his December 2, 1878 letter to Congress: “I agree with the Secretary of the Interior in saying that ‘the result of this interesting experiment, if

166-167; Pratt, on pages 191 and 195 in *Battlefield and Classroom*, recalls 17 prisoners accompanying him to Hampton, and says nothing of the former POWs heading to Syracuse, NY.

¹⁹³ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 195-196.

¹⁹⁴ Francis Greenwood Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute, Told in Connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the School* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918), 147.

¹⁹⁵ R. H. Pratt, First Lieutenant, Tenth Cavalry to Hon. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1878, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1878* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1878), 173-175; Peabody, *Education for Life*, 155.

favorable, may be destined to become an important factor in the advancement of civilization among the Indians.”¹⁹⁶ In the winter of 1879, the Wisconsin congressman Thaddeus C. Pound introduced into the United States House of Representatives, “A bill to increase educational privileges and establish additional industrial training schools for the benefit of youth belonging to such nomadic Indian tribes as have educational treaty claims upon the United States.”¹⁹⁷ The House Committee on Indian Affairs supported the bill stating, “the effort [and] progress at the Industrial and Normal Institute of Hampton, Virginia, furnished a striking proof of the natural aptitude and capacity of the rudest savages of the plains for mechanical, scientific, and industrial education, when removed from parental and tribal surroundings and influences.”¹⁹⁸ The bill passed, and Congress allocated \$75,000 for “industrial schools and for other educational purposes for the Indian tribes.”¹⁹⁹ Pratt exulted, “Carlisle is ours and fairly won. General Sherman approves! General Hancock endorses handsomely, and the order will be out tomorrow. Now the work begins.”²⁰⁰ Dated September 6, 1879, Pratt’s official orders from Indian Affairs Commissioner Ezra A. Hayt stated: “[You are] instructed ... to receipt to the proper officer of

¹⁹⁶ R.B. Hayes to Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and house of Representatives, December 2, 1878, in U.S. Congress, *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, Being the Third Session of the Forty-Fifth Congress; Begun and Held at the City of Washington, December 2, 1878, in the One Hundred and Third year of the independence of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1878), 19.

¹⁹⁷ Ludlow, “Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle,” 669; Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 217.

¹⁹⁸ Ludlow, “Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle,” 669.

¹⁹⁹ “An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty, and for other purposes,” February 17, 1879, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of American, from October, 1877, to March, 1879, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), 20:312; U.S. House of Representatives, “Industrial Training Schools for Indian Youths,” June 14, 1879, 46th Cong., 1st Sess., Report No. 29.

²⁰⁰ Pratt to Mrs. Laura Pratt, August 1879, in Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt, The Red Man’s Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 78.

the War Department for the buildings and other property at Carlisle, Penna ... for school purposes, and to assume charge thereof, and conduct the Indian Schools.” Hayt added: “The Secretary also grants you authority to proceed to ... Indian country as this Office may direct, to select one hundred and twenty (120) Indian youths from the several tribes in the localities visited, to be placed in the school at Carlisle Penna.”²⁰¹ Pratt would be leaving Hampton to found the first school of the United States off-reservation boarding school system, but first he needed students. Meanwhile, Hampton continued educating at least 460 American Indian students over several decades.²⁰²

The off-reservation boarding school system that began in 1879 marked a new period of Indian-Anglo relations, but it was not new. It largely continued many of the concepts and techniques of colonial colleges, the mission school system, and prisons, which all continued to exist in parallel. While Indigenous education at colonial colleges and boarding schools differed in their aims, techniques, and results, they are linked. The educational institutions created a pipeline for Indian students who desired an Anglo education. A Hampton teacher recruited William Jones (Sac & Fox), or Megasiawa (Black Eagle), to the school in 1889 at the age of eighteen. After graduating from Hampton, Jones continued his education. He graduated from Harvard in 1900, becoming the first American Indian person to graduate from the institution since Caleb Cheeshahteamuck (Wampanoag) in 1665, a span of 235 years. He then became the first to receive his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia, while studying under Franz Boaz.²⁰³

²⁰¹ E.A. Hayt, Commissioner to R.H. Pratt, Lt U.S. Army, Sept. 6, 1879, in WA MSS S-1174, Box 14, Folder 495, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

²⁰² Peabody, *Education for Life*, 161.

²⁰³ “Native Student Biographies,” *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University*, accessed April 21, 2014, <https://peabody.harvard.edu/node/495>; David L. Browman and

By the time Pratt founded Carlisle, educational facilities for Indigenous people had been chronically neglected, which produced a dangerous physical environment and led to elevated rates of sickness. The institutions were rooted in a longer history of violence, dispossession, and disease ecologies. Despite seeing the consequences of these actions at Fort Marion first-hand, Pratt continued this pattern at Carlisle. Lethality became a hallmark of the federal education system for Indigenous people.

Stephen Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard: A Biographical History, 1790-1940* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 2013), 258-261.

Chapter 2: Establishing the Off-Reservation Boarding School System, 1879-1883

In September 1879, Pratt and Miss Sarah Mather, a woman who had volunteered to teach the Fort Marion prisoners, went to the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies in Dakota Territory and convinced the Lakota chiefs there to commit children and young adults to be educated at Carlisle nearly 1,500 miles away. Hayt believed that the children from the Spotted Tail and Red Cloud agencies “would be hostages for the good behavior of their people.”¹ Pratt and Mather’s job was made more difficult by a telegraphed order from Hayt preceding them that commanded the Rosebud agent to turn over thirty-six children to Pratt and Mather.²

At Rosebud, in what was then Dakota Territory, the chiefs and leading men refused to part with their kin following Hayt’s order. Pratt then requested a private conference with them. Again, Spotted Tail rejected the government’s command, saying, “*Wasicun kin oyasin wamawicanons’a na iwicatonpisni* (‘The white people are all thieves and liars’).”³ Spotted Tail (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) asserted: “We do not want our children to learn such things.”⁴ As the conference progressed, Pratt convinced them to part with their children by arguing that if the Sicangu Lakota Oyate became educated, they might keep their land. “Because you were not educated, these mountains, valleys, and streams have passed from you. Your ignorance against the white man’s education will more and more hinder and restrain you and take from you, in spite of everything that can be done yourselves, as long as you are so ignorant and unable to

¹ Hayt, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 220.

² Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 221.

³ Spotted Tail, in Jeffrey Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*

attend to your own affairs.”⁵ Pratt pressed his argument: “What you have always needed is the same education, the same industry, and the same opportunity the white man has.” Finally, he urged Spotted Tail to “send your children with me to this Carlisle school and I will do everything I can to advance them in intelligence and industry in order that they may come back and help you.”⁶ Pratt emphasized that the children would learn to write letters would thus be able to interpret and facilitate business for the chiefs after their return.⁷ Pratt finished, and the assembled chiefs deliberated. After approximately an hour, Spotted Tail, Two Strike, Milk, and White Thunder approached Pratt and agreed to send their children.⁸ Pratt then left and traveled over 100 miles east to Pine Ridge, where he made similar arguments to the Oglala Lakota Oyate Chief Red Cloud and other leading men there. They, too, decided to send some children to Carlisle, thinking that education could become a pathway to getting their land back and keeping what remained of the Great Sioux Reservation established in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.⁹

Ultimately, Pratt’s return party contained eighty-two children, ten more than Hayt had authorized.¹⁰ Reaching Gettysburg Junction, in the heart of the ancestral territory of the Susquehannocks, as the clock struck midnight on October 6, 1879, Pratt shepherded the children of influential Lakota chiefs and headmen onto the grounds of an abandoned army barracks, which had been idle for at least a ten years.¹¹ Many, if not all, of the sixteen buildings were

⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 223.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 223-224.

⁷ Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 151.

⁸ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 225-226; Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 151.

¹⁰ For the account in Pratt’s words see: Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 221-229.

unsuitable for the instruction that would commence less than a month later, let alone inhabitation by children.¹² According to the anthropologist Genevieve Bell, the buildings were falling apart: “The barracks had been unoccupied for at least a decade and most of the roofs were missing. Floor boards had rotted out [and] paths were overgrown.”¹³ The federal government housed Indigenous children in dangerous conditions from the start. Ota Kte, the son of Chief Standing Bear (Oglala Lakota Oyate), one of the first boys inside, recalled the conditions on the night of his arrival that October: “When our interpreter told us to go to a certain building which he pointed out to us, we ran very fast, expecting to find nice little beds like those white people had... But the first room we entered was empty.” Ota Kte recollected cold, barren interiors: “A cast iron stove stood in the middle of the room, on which was placed a coal-oil lamp. There was no fire in the stove. We ran through all the rooms, but they were the same – no fire, no beds. All the covering we had was the blanket which each had brought. We went to sleep on the hard floor, and it was so cold!”¹⁴ By the end of the month, temperatures dropped below freezing.¹⁵

Logistical challenges consumed Carlisle’s initial days. Establishing a school with limited supplies and derelict buildings in fall and winter weather was challenging. The federal government’s failure to supply Carlisle with adequate supplies, in a timely fashion, jeopardized student health and set a dangerous precedent from the very beginning. The same day that Hayt

¹¹ Carmelita Ryan, “Carlisle Indian Industrial School” (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1962), 74; Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 60.

¹² Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 128.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁴ Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, ed. E.A. Brininstool (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 133.

¹⁵ Historical weather data in Pennsylvania only exists for both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh (“Temperature of the Air,” *Monthly Weather Review* 7:10 (October 1879), 9.

ordered Pratt to recruit students in September, the superintendent requested that rations, clothing, and other supplies be shipped before students reached Carlisle.¹⁶ Yet, when students arrived nearly a month later, the requested supplies and food had not landed. That day, Pratt sent a telegram to commissioner Hayt making plain the problem of undelivered supplies: “How about supplies asked by my letter to Indian Office Sept. ninth + about rations shall I buy latter here.”¹⁷ Three days later, the supplies still had not arrived. Again, he telegraphed the commissioner of Indian Affairs: “No word about supplies or clothing.” He inquired, “Cant they be hurried up.”¹⁸ Pratt also lamented, “the difficult work of teaching the language” without “white man’s clothes.”¹⁹ Indeed, inadequate supplies obstructed the school’s goals and continued to do so for years even as the problem simultaneously posed a danger to student health.

Although students had already been at Carlisle for about a month, the school officially opened with 147 students on November 1, 1879. More arrived throughout the year. While the Rosebud and Pine Ridge students constituted a large portion of the students, Pratt recruited most of the others from Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). They included students from the Comanche, Kiowa, Menominee, Nez Perce, Pawnee, Ponca, Seminole, Southern Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and Wichita nations, peoples perceived by the government to be hostile.²⁰

¹⁶ R.H. Pratt to Hon. E.A. Hayt, Comr of Indn Affairs, September 10, 1879, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#0915, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

¹⁷ Pratt to Commr of Indian Affairs, October 6, 1879 telegram, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#0997, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

¹⁸ Pratt to Commr of Indian Affairs, October 9, 1879 telegram, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#0999, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

¹⁹ *Eadle Keatah Toh* (Carlisle Indian School), 1:1 (January 1880), 1.

²⁰ Pratt’s first annual report for 1880 observed that the student body grew to 239 children, listing the students who came after 1880 as “6 Sisseton Sioux and 2 Menomonees....8 Iowa and Sac and Fox[, 2 Lipans], 11 Ponca and Nez Percés....10 Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita....1 Apache and 10 Pueblo [and] 41 Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche children” (R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, in charge to The

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agent John D. Miles reported, “The child being in school the parents are easier managed; are loyal to the Government, to the Agent, and never dare, or desire to commit a serious wrong.”²¹ Pacification and forced assimilation were meant to go hand in hand.

With Carlisle now operational, Pratt established an off-reservation boarding school policy that would be replicated across the United States for decades: he immediately and dramatically altered every student’s physical appearance. Pratt believed that they must lose their blankets, long hair, and traditional attire to be purified of every physical connection to their homes. He would then replace each stolen element with a European substitute: “civilized” clothing, hairstyles, and, ultimately, total assimilation. Pratt sought to remake minds as well as bodies, much as he had done at Ft. Marion, where he pioneered these policies. Indeed, he forbade students from practicing their religions or speaking their languages. At the core of Pratt’s philosophy was the extermination of Indian culture and spirituality.²² Student responses indicate a profound psychological impact.

Upon their arrival at Carlisle, barbers cut the hair of the Indian pupils, instilling uniformity among the students. For many Indian cultures, the cutting of hair is traditionally an expression of profound grief, often a mourning ritual associated with the death of a family member or loved one.²³ Anna Pratt, Richard’s wife, who was charged with guarding the first party of students while Pratt was off recruiting more students in October 1879, recollected a

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1880* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880], 179). See also: Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 230-231.

²¹ Jno. D. Miles, February 12, 1880, in *Eadle Keahtah Toh* 1:2 (April 1880), 4.

²² Christine Lesiak, dir., “In the White Man’s Image,” *American Experience*, season 4, episode 6, directed by Christine Lesiak (February 17, 1992), DVD, 60 minutes.

²³ Lesiak, “In the White Man’s Image.”

harrowing night after the barbers visited. “[I] was aroused by a very discordant wailing, which grew in volume.” Mrs. Pratt called for the interpreter, who explained that his people wailed after having had their hair cut, as it was associated with mourning. Then, the girls, awoken by the boys’ wailing, joined in. This continued until they were reminded that the townspeople would arrive expecting trouble, and “some thing dreadful might happen.”²⁴ Ota Kte remembered, “it hurt my feelings to such an extent that the tears came into my eyes.... We still had our Indian clothes, but were all ‘bald-headed.’ None of us slept well that night; we felt so queer. I wanted to feel my head all the time.”²⁵ Luther Standing Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) added, “I felt that I was no more Indian.”²⁶ This feeling was exactly what Pratt had intended.

Throughout Carlisle’s existence, haircutting was routine and often traumatic. Nearly ten years after Ota Kte passed through Carlisle’s gates, Chiricahua Apache prisoners arrived, via incarceration in Florida, and described similar experiences. Asa Daklugie (Chiricahua Apache), Geronimo’s nephew, recalled his first days at Carlisle: “The next day the torture began. The first thing they did was cut our hair. I had taken my knife from one of my long braids and wrapped it in blankets, so I didn’t lose it. But I lost my hair. And without it how would Ussen recognize me when I went to the Happy Place?”²⁷ Daklugie was worried that without his long hair, Ussen (God) would not recognize him upon his death, and he could not be admitted to the Happy Place, or what might be analogous to a Christian Heaven.²⁸ Long hair, according to Daklugie, was also

²⁴ Mrs. Pratt, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 232.

²⁵ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 141.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Eve Ball, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 144.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

a sign of courage. When he arrived at Carlisle, his hair reached his knees.²⁹ The Carlisle student Sun Elk (Taos Pueblo) found then when he returned home elders refused to talk to him because “He has no hair,” no Indigenous clothing, nor knew his language. The Taos elders concluded, “He is not one of us.”³⁰ Many Carlisle students experienced forced hair cutting as both inherently traumatic and doubly so due to the larger disassociation with one’s community, or deity, that it engendered.

Standing Bear and the other students were still wearing their traditional clothes nearly a month after arriving at Carlisle because supplies had yet to arrive. On October 28, 1879, Pratt wrote to commissioner Hayt to ask, “if some means cannot be devised to secure greater promptness about supplies.” Pratt worried about students remaining in his school given the conditions. He conceded, “I cannot afford to tell many lies to these youth.”³¹ A week later, he reported to Hayt, “Cold weather is upon us and all Dakota boys, and part of those from the Indian Territory are still in breech cloths and blankets. This violates my pledge to the Indians and places me at a disadvantage.” Pratt now begged for “immediate action” as nighttime lows consistently dropped below freezing.³² Although their parents had agreed to send them to Carlisle, consent could be revoked. Pratt could not afford any sickness precipitated by neglecting to clothe the children of influential chiefs. It was a fight Pratt could ill afford so early in the

²⁹ Ball, *Indeh*, 32.

³⁰ Taos chiefs, in Peter Nabokov, ed., *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992* (New York: Viking, 1991), 223.

³¹ R.H. Pratt to Mr. Commissioner, October 28, 1879, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1119, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

³² R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieut 10th Cavlr’y In Charge of School to Hon. E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Ind Affairs, November 4, 1879, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1129, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center; “Temperature of the Air,” *Monthly Weather Review* 7:11 (November, 1879), 6-7.

school's tenure. Eventually, he received the clothing, and the new arrivals now faced the loss of their traditional regalia.

As was typical of federal boarding school experiences, administrators ordered students to shuffle down the line to continue their alteration soon after losing their hair. A bath and a change of clothing followed the trip to the barber's chair. Daklugie recalled: "The bath wasn't bad. We like it, but not what followed. While we were bathing our breechclouts were taken, and we were ordered to put on trousers. We'd lost our hair and we'd lost our clothes; with the two we'd lost our identity as Indians. Greater punishment could hardly have been devised."³³ School employees took away students' traditional clothing, jewelry, and other regalia. These items, often made by family members, held powerful spiritual, cultural, familial, and tribal meaning to the students. The new clothing was strange and uncomfortable. Still, some students were excited about new clothing as they had been wearing and sleeping in what they came in for almost a month. Ota Kte recalled being curious at wagons "loaded with big boxes" containing uniforms of a coat, pants, vest, woolen shirt, cap, suspenders, socks, and boots. "Up top this time we had all be wearing our thin shirts, leggings, and a blanket," he recollected. His new attire "seemed a whole lot of clothing to wear at once." The students quickly ran to their rooms to try on the clothes. "How proud we were with clothes that had pockets and with boots that squeaked!" Standing Bear remembered.³⁴

This clothing did not last long. The first clothing Pratt received, in addition to being late, was of poor quality and not warm enough for the Pennsylvania winter. According to Pratt, "it was the shoddiest of shoddy clothing." It fell apart within days. Pratt wrote, "I made a bundle of

³³ Ball, *Indeh*, 144.

³⁴ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 142.

a cloth cap, through which I could push my finger, a coat out at the elbows and ripped, and trousers torn and worn out at the knees and seat, all in use less than a month.”³⁵ On November 7, Pratt petitioned commissioner Hayt for better supplies, threatening “I can go before the public and beg enough to supply the needs of the school, or if the Dept. is going to furnish me with this class of clothing and in the tardy manner it has, it will only be necessary for me to take a few samples ... and exhibit before proper audiences to raise funds and supply the whole.”³⁶ He added: “The conscience of the Government may be satisfied to fill an obligation to Indians in the West with such clothing, but it will be utterly impossible to keep any heart in this work if compelled to make use of it here.”³⁷ Yet his earnest appeals — like those of so many other off-reservation boarding school superintendents who would follow in his footsteps — ultimately fell on deaf ears when they made their way through the corridors of power in Washington, D.C.

Indeed, while many local boarding school administrators sought to provide adequate clothing, food, housing, medical care, and water for their students, few received the appropriations with which to do so. Two crucial factors leading to dangerous conditions at these boarding schools were poor quality supplies and inadequate congressional funding. Thus, like some other boarding school superintendents, Pratt creatively sought alternative solutions. Quaker allies in Philadelphia who comprised the “Friends of Carlisle” raised \$10,000 for the school’s

³⁵ Richard H. Pratt, “The Indian No Problem (Early Draft),” 328, in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box 20, Folder 690; Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 233.

³⁶ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieut 10th Cavlry-In Ch’g of School to Hon E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Ind. Affairs, November 7, 1879, 3, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1138, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

³⁷ Pratt to Hayt, November 7, 1879, 3, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1138, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

benefit within a week in October 1879. Pratt immediately built a fence with the money, began renovating buildings, and presumably purchased needed supplies.³⁸

After receiving new clothes, students faced another profound, but less visible, cultural modification — administrators took away the names given to them by their families and home communities. Again, Pratt sought to eliminate all that was Indian and replace it. Administrators forced students to adopt a new name in a foreign language. Ota Kte vividly recalled being told to choose an English language name: “One day when we came to school there was a lot of writing on one of the blackboards.... Our interpreter came into the room and said, ‘Do you see all these marks on the blackboard? Well, each word is a white man’s name. They are going to give each one of you one of these names by which you will hereafter be known.’”³⁹ He chose Luther and thus became Luther Standing Bear. Daklugie considered this affront as worse than cutting his hair and taking his clothes. He referred to as being treated like an animal:

They marched us into a room and our interpreter ordered us to line up with our backs to a wall. I went to the head of the line because that’s where a chief belongs. Then a man went down it. Starting with me he began: ‘Asa, Benjamin, Charles, Daniel, Eli, Frank.’ Frank was Mangus’s son. So he became Frank Mangus and I became Asa Daklugie. We didn’t know till later that they’d even imposed meaningless new names on us, along with the other degradations. I’ve always hated that name. It was forced on me as though I had been an animal.⁴⁰

Removing any vestige of their Indian identity, the name change, like the change in physical appearance, was intended to destroy Indian identity and replace it with a new, non-Indian identity, mark the start of a “civilized” persona and a break from tribal lineages.

³⁸ Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 60-61, 128-130.

³⁹ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 137.

⁴⁰ Ball, *Indeh*, 144.

With their physical transformation nearly complete and a new English name, students now faced an educational program intended to educate and indoctrinate them into Anglo-American society. The Indian Office established the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, like the off-reservation schools that followed, on the premise that Native American children and young adults needed to be educated away from their families and communities. Although he supported reservation and mission schools, Pratt believed that reservations hampered education, stating: “Idleness is the devil that curses the Indian and I know well the difficulties under which remote agents and teachers labor.... It is not so much the Indian that makes his elevation so almost impossible, but the want of influences, or chance.”⁴¹ An Indian Affairs commissioner echoed this sentiment, insisting that the Indian “must come under other influences than reservations can offer.”⁴² According to the Indian Office, a larger war was being fought against “fire-damp of heathenism, ignorance, and superstition” found on reservations with the “flames of intelligence and virtue that have been kindled by contact with civilization” in the schools.⁴³ Pratt later insisted that Indian people “can only reach this prosperous condition through living among our people.”⁴⁴

To this end, Pratt instituted military policies aimed to convert the students to Christianity, teaching them English, and assimilating them into white culture using a variety of methods heavily reliant upon vocational education, which stemmed from his experiments at Fort Marion

⁴¹ *The Morning Star* (Carlisle Indian School) 4:1 (August 1883), 2; Pratt to J. Roberts, Supt. Wind River School, July 8, 1884, in Everett Arthur Gilcreast, “Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilation Movement” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967), 100.

⁴² H. Price to The Hon. Secretary of the Interior, October 24, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, XXXIV.

⁴³ Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1882, in *ARCIA, 1882*, XXXIV.

⁴⁴ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 215.

between 1875 and 1878. According to the anthropologist Genevieve Bell, Pratt's program followed three aims: "firstly, to expose Indian children to academic basics – reading, writing, arithmetic; secondly, to convert these pupils from their state of savage heathenry to some form of Christian practice; and, lastly, to instill in them a sense of themselves as individuals whose self-worth was tied to productivity, accumulation of material wealth, and self-reliance."⁴⁵ This meant relentlessly telling students that their traditional ways of life were uncivilized and backward. Indeed, by 1889, Thomas Morgan, the Baptist educator turned Indian Affairs commissioner, reported a widely held belief that educating Indian children worked best when they "are removed from the contaminating influences of camp life."⁴⁶ Sun Elk recalled that in the early 1880s Carlisle teachers, "They told us that Indian ways were bad. They said we must get civilized." The Taos man accepted his education willingly, but "did not believe the Indian ways were wrong." Still, he remembered how all of the books and lessons "told how bad the Indians had been to the white men — burning their towns and killing their women and children. But I had seen white men do that to Indians." Ultimately, Sun Elk "also began to say Indians were bad," concluding, "We laughed at our own people."⁴⁷ Carlisle's newspapers reinforced these feelings. An anonymous poem on the first page of *The Indian Helper* refers to "the olden shame," referring to Indigenous ways of being.⁴⁸ Another paper published Pratt's address to the National Educational Convention in 1883, noting that tribes and reservations were "shameful to look

⁴⁵ Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 49.

⁴⁶ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1889, in US OIA, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 6.

⁴⁷ Sun Elk, in Nabokov, ed., *Native American Testimony*, 222. Historian Brenda Child provided evidence of embarrassment around Indian names (Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 28-30).

⁴⁸ *The Indian Helper* (Carlisle Indian School) 6:40 (June 12, 1891), 1.

upon.”⁴⁹ Students at other schools also felt shame. Historian Brenda Child has documented how Haskell and Flandreau taught students “to be ashamed of their names, their tribal languages, and even family surnames.”⁵⁰ Attacks on Native Americans, combined with an assimilation curriculum, became the blueprint for Native American boarding school pedagogy, and the federal government wielded it in an attempt to destroy Indigenous cultures. The first Dine surgeon, Lori Alvord, recalled that as a result of boarding schools: “Two or three generations [of Dine people] had been taught to feel shame about our culture, and parents had often not taught their children traditional Navajo beliefs.”⁵¹

Pratt believed that total immersion into white society was essential for students’ moral, mental, and physical conversion.⁵² Shortly after founding Carlisle in 1879, he adopted the slogan “To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay.”⁵³ Pratt added, “I suppose the end to be gained, however far away it might be, is the civilization of the Indian and his absorption into our national life, with all the rights and privileges guaranteed to every other individual, the Indian to lose his identity as such, to give up his tribal relations and to be made to feel that he is an American citizen.”⁵⁴ At Carlisle’s March 1898 commencement, the Reverend J.A. Lippencott proclaimed to the assembled student body: “The Indian is DEAD in you ... Let all that is Indian within you die! Then you will be men and women, freemen,

⁴⁹ Richard H. Pratt, August 11, 1883, in *The Red Man* (Carlisle Indian School) 12:12 (May 1895), 3.

⁵⁰ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 29.

⁵¹ Lori Arviso Alvord and Elizabeth Cohen Van Pelt, *The Scalpel and the Silver Bear: The First Navajo Woman Surgeon Combines Western Medicine and Traditional Healing* (New York: Bantam Books, 2000), 88.

⁵² Witmer, *Indian Industrial School*, 24.

⁵³ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 283.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

American citizens...You can not become truly American citizens, industrious, intelligent, cultured, civilized until the INDIAN within you is DEAD.”⁵⁵ Carlisle leaders made no secret of their intent to destroy everything “Indian” in their students.

Carlisle’s physical conversion of Indian students focused on what historian Kevin Whalen has termed “labored learning.”⁵⁶ Administrators aimed to remake students through labor and discipline. Students labored at Carlisle, providing free or cheap labor in the school’s classrooms, workshops, fields, and dormitories. Hopi historian Matthew T. Sakiestewa Gilbert summarized Pratt’s mission as to make students “think, behave, work, and look less like Native people, and more like white Protestant Americans.”⁵⁷ Pratt’s emphasis on labor led to the creation of the “Outing System,” a program that will be more fully discussed later in which students lived with and provided local families with labor at discounted wages. Pratt’s emphasis on labor set important precedents. Physical labor became a hallmark of all later Native American boarding schools in the United States.

The Carlisle schedule was demanding, treating children and young adults like military conscripts. Howard E. Gansworth, who entered the school as a sixteen-year-old Tuscarora student from Sanborn, New York, and who eventually graduated from Princeton University, remembered:

I got up with the rising bell at 5:45, threw the bed clothes back to air, marched with my company to breakfast, made up my bed, reported for work at eight, had dinner at twelve, polished my shoes, started for school at one, watched the boys drill from four to five, had supper, attended a debating society meeting, and went to bed at nine as the bugler sounded taps.

⁵⁵ Dr. Lippincott, in *The Red Man*, 14:10 (March 1898), 7.

⁵⁶ Kevin Whalen, “Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902-1930,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 36:1 (2012), 151-176.

⁵⁷ Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, xxi.

Student labor began with the rising sun and concluded after it had descended below the horizon. Based on his experiences at Fort Marion, where he had imposed elements of the life of Army conscripts on American Indian prisoners of war, Pratt intended this regimented schedule to convert the students from their ‘lazy’ ways, and increase their benefit to Anglo society. Instead, exhaustion frequented student bodies often unsupported by adequate nutrition.

The highly regimented schedule also filled another goal for Pratt: deterring homesickness. In the spring of 1888, Frances Willard, the President of the national Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, visited the school. She recalled Pratt saying: “‘We keep [the students] moving ... and they have no time for homesickness — none for mischief — none for regret.’”⁵⁸ Despite his efforts, student accounts often highlight isolation and loneliness. For many, Carlisle marked the first time that they had been away from their family and home community. Homesickness manifested as a primary condition of this separation. Indeed, isolation was inherent to Pratt’s detribalization process and led to depression for some students. In the second issue of Carlisle’s newspaper, *School News*, Joseph Vetter, a fifteen-year-old Iowa student, wrote, “When I first came here I was very lonesome.”⁵⁹ Homesickness could be caused by the trauma of family separations. One former Carlisle teacher gave a speech at the “San Francisco Institute of Indian Teachers,” highlighting the pain of child separations: “I saw the grief of the parents when the children left them, and how eagerly they listened to the letters that

⁵⁸ Frances E. Willard, “The Carlisle Indian School,” *Chautauquan* IX:5 (February 1889), 290.

⁵⁹ Joseph Vetter to Samuel, June 29, 1880, in *School News* (Carlisle Indian School) 1:2 (July 1880), 4; Joe Vetter (Iowa), in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in E-1327: Student Records, 1879-1918, Box 50, Folder 2471, NARADC [hereafter E-1327, Box #, Folder].

came from the absent ones, keeping them among their greatest treasures, and how happy they were when the children returned to them.”⁶⁰

Other boarding school students reported the same. One of the first young girls who entered the school, Justine A. LaFramboise (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), wrote an account of her coming to Carlisle in 1879: “Oh, how lonesome I was then but I tried not to get lonesome because I remember what my father said to me; but I cannot help it, and tried not to get to cry. The tears run from my eyes.”⁶¹ In 1882, another student, Harriet Mary (Nez Perce), reported: “When I came I was kind of lonesome.”⁶² Although it is difficult to prove with extant sources, the psychological trauma created by the forcible transformation of physical appearance, names, worldview, and language likely had repercussions for students’ physiological health. Beyond the mental health impacts, Carlisle’s imposed environment yielded significant changes for the physical health of students.

Withstanding the consequences of over enrollment, cold, and homesickness, Carlisle students faced dangerous conditions resulting from an inadequate food supply. Carlisle’s education agenda hinged upon students’ learning in classrooms and laboring in workshops and fields. The days were long and physically exhausting. Adequate nutrition is vitally important to growing bodies, especially when under the pressures and stresses imposed on students by Carlisle administrators. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, administrators underfed students. The quality and quantity of food remained a prominent student complaint against the boarding

⁶⁰ Jessie W. Cook, in *The Red Man* 13:12 (September and October 1896), 2.

⁶¹ Justine A. LaFromboise, “Description of a Journey to Carlisle,” in *School News* 3:1 (June 1882), 4; Justine LaFramboise (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, E-1329: Student Information Cards, 1879-1918, Box 1, NARADC [hereafter E-1329, Box #].

⁶² Hattie or Harriet Mary to Miss Hyde, ND, in *School News* 3:6 (November 1882), 1; Harriet Mary Elder (Nez Perce), in E-1329, Box 6, NARADC.

schools, which was especially the case during Carlisle's early years. Pratt himself acknowledged the shortage: "I ... invite your attention to the inadequacy of this [food allocation] for the purposes of this school," he wrote to commissioner Hayt on October 28, 1879. The proscribed rations "would breed rebellion," warned Pratt. "Hungry people are not contented; these youth must be kept contented and their intercourse with their people show it, or the effort fail."⁶³ Luther Standing Bear, recalled meager breakfasts at Carlisle: only "bread and water." He remembered, "How disappointed we were!"⁶⁴ This was not a nutritious diet. Pratt agreed.

Students needed calories to sustain weight, grow, and have energy for physical labor to keep the school functioning. Unsurprisingly, Standing Bear, and presumably other students, preferred the food they received at home.⁶⁵ Being an army officer, Pratt decided to feed the students the same rations as he would soldiers. Ultimately, he concluded, "the school allowance was wholly inadequate and it would be impossible for me to conduct a school of hungry children."⁶⁶ Coming from a former United States Army officer and prison warden, this was a severe warning. However, the Indian Office and Congress were slow to react. In creating and maintaining an institution in which malnutrition persisted, these policymakers compromised student immune systems. They jeopardized students' ability to resist pathogens, weakened their capacity to fight diseases once infected and increased recovery times. Moreover, these policies maintained conditions conducive to the spread of pathogens.

⁶³ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lt. 10th Cavlr'y In ch'g School to Hon E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 28, 1879, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1093, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

⁶⁴ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 134.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 233

Bureaucratic inefficiencies, substandard conditions, and traumatic experiences marred the first days, weeks, and months at Carlisle. Administrators housed students in decrepit buildings. The Carlisle physical plant was vital to students' daily routines and health. From the beginning, Pratt over enrolled the institution. He had been authorized to admit 120 pupils yet enrolled 158 in Carlisle's inaugural class, over enrolling the school by 132 percent.⁶⁷ Enrollment ballooned to 239 — nearly double his initial authorization — by the end of the fiscal year.⁶⁸ Pratt requested permission to expand the school's capacity.⁶⁹ He thus established a dangerous precedent. When enrollment exceeded capacity, dormitories, classrooms, and the dining hall became overcrowded, increasing the likelihood that pathogens could sicken a student and spread between students. Moreover, the practice overextended the school's resources, meaning less money, food, clothing, sanitary equipment, general supplies, and space for each student. This led to overcrowding and unsanitary conditions as well as insufficient food, not enough clothing, and inadequate medical care. Overcrowding eventually became a kind of unwritten policy, creating dangerous health conditions at the school.

The necessary supplies either arrived late or were of terrible quality. Pratt complained that the clothing purchased by the Department of the Interior was “shoddy, very soon ragged and worn out.”⁷⁰ Even as Pratt secured \$150,000 — a huge amount of money at the time — from the

⁶⁷ E.A. Hayt, Commissioner to The Hon. Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1879, in *ARCIA*, 1879, VIII; Hayt to Pratt, Sept. 6, 1879 in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box 14, Folder 495.

⁶⁸ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in *ARCIA*, 1880, 179.

⁶⁹ For expansion, see: “Supt description of the grounds, buildings, Industries of the Carlisle School” [Feb. 12, 1880], in RG75, Series 79, Box 574, Miscellaneous-1880-P-#0269, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center and R.H. Pratt, 1st Lt. 10th Cav. In charge to Hon. E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 15, 1880, in RG75, Series 79, Box 574, Miscellaneous-1880-P-#0070, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

⁷⁰ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 257.

“Friends of Carlisle” during his tenure as superintendent to address the physical plant’s shortcomings, students suffered multiple maladies.⁷¹ Unhealthy living conditions weighed on student bodies, and the results soon turned lethal.

While Congress failed to fund Indian Appropriations for education adequately, it did provide funding for health on the national stage, just not Native American health. The same year that Carlisle received its mandate from Congress and the Indian Affairs Commissioner, Congress created the National Board of Health and passed acts to prevent the introduction of infectious or contagious disease into the United States, largely in response to the 1878 Yellow Fever Epidemic and massive immigration.⁷² This law, built upon anti-immigrant sentiment, illustrates the growing attention that was placed on public health and the transmission of disease, though less attention was paid to disease in Indian Country until the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century.⁷³ Meanwhile, local municipalities began passing health regulations on their own, partially out of constitutional fears about federal powers. Within the context of the Gilded Age and a new Progressive Era, the focus on health and specifically on protecting the physical and moral health of women and children mirrored the larger national landscape.⁷⁴ Urbanization, industrialization, and immigration led to new health crises, as the United States witnessed

⁷¹ Ryan, “Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” 87; Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 130.

⁷² “An act to prevent the introduction of infectious or contagious diseases into the United States, and to establish a National Board of Health,” March 3, 1879, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from October, 1877, to March, 1879, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations*, 20:484; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 418.

⁷³ See Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 118-144 and DeJong, “*If You Knew the Conditions*”.

⁷⁴ Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 92.

significantly higher mortality rates in urban areas than in rural areas.⁷⁵ With the United States' celebration of 'progress' and 'modernity,' sanitation became a policy mainstay because Americans had become sickly during industrialization.⁷⁶ Carlisle fits into physicians' larger push to professionalize. Home to Dickinson College and near Philadelphia, dozens of doctors, who became prominent in the area and provided services to residents, resided and worked in the town, and by 1866, they had established a county medical society by 1866.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, the federal legislature and local governments allocated money for health, just not Native American health. Education facilities, like boarding schools, would become the primary off-reservation site of health-care delivery for Native American people. As such, boarding school health policies had profound implications beyond the schools.

After just twenty-six days of official operation, Carlisle suffered its first fatality. Amos LaFramboise (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate/Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) died on November 26, 1879. He was thirteen years old. As would so often happen at off-reservation boarding schools in the years and decades that followed, school officials did not record the malady that took his life.⁷⁸ Several days later, a local Carlisle journalist reported the boy's death, optimistically noting that they "hope[d] it may prove the only death in the school."⁷⁹ However, Carlisle's body count

⁷⁵ Gretchen A. Condran and Eileen Crimmins, "Mortality differentials between rural and urban areas of states in the northeastern United States 1890-1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 6:2 (April 1980), 179-202.

⁷⁶ Richard White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 477-484.

⁷⁷ Unknown, *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1886), 171-187.

⁷⁸ Amos La Framboise (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate/Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate), in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in E-1328: Student Record Cards, 1879-1918, Box 2, NARADC [hereafter E-1328, Box #].

⁷⁹ *Home News* (Carlisle, PA), December 4, 1879, 2.

was just beginning. Ten days after Amos died, Pratt sent home three sick Southern Cheyenne students, Howard Charlton, Little Chief, and White Man with unknown illnesses.⁸⁰

Commissioner Hayt grew concerned. He warned Pratt, “There ought to be little or no mortality among your children, and if the mortality should increase it would certainly operate against the increase of the school.”⁸¹ Two months after Amos’s death, a second student, Abraham Lincoln (Southern Cheyenne), died at the school on January 17, 1880 from “Celebro Spinal Meningitis”, a result of “Plenro Pneumonia” in 1879.⁸²

Amos was only at the school for one month. Following such student deaths, off-reservation boarding school superintendents would typically proclaim that the Indigenous student body was defective and that the school was not responsible for the death or illness. Because early records from Carlisle are sparse, Pratt’s reaction to Amos’s death remains unknown. We do know that sick children and young adults should not have been admitted into off-reservation boarding schools, but often were. On February 24, 1880, Pratt suggested the commissioner enact formal enrollment guidelines: “That the most rigid medical examination be made, and under no circumstances, any youth be taken, who have organic disease.”⁸³ Several months later, Indian Affairs Commissioner Roland E. Trowbridge proclaimed, “children have been very carefully selected, having undergone the same sort of examination by a surgeon to which apprentices for

⁸⁰ Howard Charlton (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 11, Little Chief (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 12, White Man (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC.

⁸¹ E.A. Hayt to Lieut. R.H. Pratt, U.S.A., December 5, 1879, 135, in RG75, “Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881,” Microfilm Publication M21, Reel 154.

⁸² Jacqueline Fear-Segal, “Institutional Death and Ceremonial Healing Far from Home: The Carlisle Indian School Cemetery,” *Museum Anthropology* 33:2 (Fall 2010), 160-161; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:1 (January 1880), 3.

⁸³ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieut 10th Cavalry In charge to Honorable Commissioner of Indn Affairs, February 24, 1880, in RG75, Series 79, Box 574, Miscellaneous-1880-P-#0313, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

the Navy are subjected, and only healthy ones have been accepted.”⁸⁴ Yet, many sick students would be admitted to Carlisle, setting another dangerous precedent. Indeed, federal officials sent many ill Native American students to off-reservation boarding schools over the coming years and decades.

While it is likely that reservation and school physicians did miss some latent diseases, is it probable that they missed thousands? Were some students asymptomatic? Or, did doctors and administrators knowingly admit sick students, jeopardizing the welfare of these ill students and healthy pupils? Both are likely. Diagnosing illnesses in the late-nineteenth century was not an accurate science. Doctors may have misdiagnosed some students, but administrators also likely knowingly enrolled sick students, as later chapters will explain, perhaps in hopes that the illnesses would subside. As early as August 1880, Carlisle’s newspaper, *Eadle Keatah Toh*, publicly admitted that the physician was caring for “inmates” enrolled with “some constitutional weakness or hereditary disposition,” although it failed to diagnose the maladies.⁸⁵ Later evidence also suggests that Carlisle officials sent some students home ill very soon after arriving at the school, suggesting preexisting poor health. By admitting students of questionable or failing health, school officials consciously placed the welfare of all Carlisle students in jeopardy.

During Carlisle’s first school year, the physical plant remained inadequate for healthy habitation. Although students had repaired the old buildings and constructed new ones, living conditions remained substandard in 1880. Inadequate heating, leaking roofs, poor ventilation, and overcrowding facilitated the transmission of contagions. On March 12, Pratt urged the Indian

⁸⁴ Ind. Com’r, in *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:3 (May 1880), 1; U.S. Senate, *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America from March 21, 1879, to March 3, 1881, Inclusive* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1901), 242.

⁸⁵ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:5 (August 1880), 3.

Affairs Commissioner to end the hazardous practice of using individual stoves in each dorm room. Not only was the practice dangerous, but it also resulted in wildly different temperatures. Pratt proposed constructing a building to house a new steam boiler.⁸⁶ However, Congress refused to fund the project because of its expense.⁸⁷ The temperature of students' rooms varied drastically, and they "suffered greatly" according to *Eadle Keatah Toh*.⁸⁸ Circumventing Congress, Pratt again enlisted the "Friends of Carlisle," his Quaker allies in Philadelphia. These generous Quakers gave the school money to provide safe and reliable heating. Pratt hired J.A. Marchbanks & Son, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to install steam heating throughout all school buildings in September, a project completed in 1882.⁸⁹ Still, Carlisle's physician had much work to do as students continued to fall ill.

Several Lakota chiefs from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies now requested a visit to Carlisle to "see for ourselves how they live, and are taken care of."⁹⁰ They visited in June on their way to and from Washington, D.C. Meanwhile, sickness continued to trouble the student body during the spring and summer. On March 2, 1880, Pratt sent four sick students home to Indian Territory: Pankin Singer (Comanche), William Cohoe (Southern Cheyenne), Tonkeuk (Kiowa), and White Bear (Southern Arapaho).⁹¹ Henry Jones, a sixteen-year-old Iowa student,

⁸⁶ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieut 10th Cav'y In charge to the Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1880, in RG75, Series 79, Box 574, Miscellaneous-1880-P-#0398, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

⁸⁷ Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 129.

⁸⁸ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:7 (November 1880), 3.

⁸⁹ R.H. Pratt, Lt. to Hon. Carl Schurz, September 28, 1880, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 255; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:7 (November 1880), 3; Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 129.

⁹⁰ Spotted Tail, *et al.*, January 14, 1880, in Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 155.

died at the school from endocarditis on March 20.⁹² Approximately a month later, Zonkeuh [Yonkeuh] (Kiowa) died on April 27, 1880. Officials buried him in the school cemetery a few days later.⁹³

That June, the thirty-one Native American leaders arrived at Carlisle from the Dakotas. Spotted Tail, one of the principal Sicangu Lakota Oyate chiefs, disapproved of what he witnessed and heard. Luther Standing Bear explained that Spotted Tail “did not like the school, and told Captain Pratt that he was going to take all of his children back to the reservation with him.”⁹⁴ Pratt detailed the chief’s complaints. According to him, Spotted Tail “found fault” with the boys dressing in “solider uniforms” and “did not like to have their boys drilled, because [the chiefs] did not want them to become soldiers.” For Spotted Tail and others, it was likely a shock to see their children dressed in the uniforms of the soldiers whom they had recently fought and who were responsible for massacres and the diminishment of their homelands. Pratt added that the chief also complained about the dormitories and the food.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, Spotted Tail’s children told him that they were “miserable and homesick.”⁹⁶ Paramount among his complaints, however, was the punishment of his youngest son Pollock, who had been sentenced to a week in

⁹¹ Pankin [Singer] (Comanche), in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in E-1328: Student Record Cards, 1879-1918, Box 3, NARADC [hereafter E-1328, Box #], [William] Cohoe (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 11, Tonkeuk (Kiowa), in E-1327, Box 69, White Bear (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 4, NARADC.

⁹² J.S. Bender, Physician to Capt. R.H. Pratt, March 19, 1880, in RG75, Series 79, Box 574, Miscellaneous-1880-P-#0429, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

⁹³ Zonkeuh (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 4, NARADC.

⁹⁴ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 157.

⁹⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 237-238.

⁹⁶ Spotted Tail’s children and other Rosebud students paraphrased, in George E. Hyde, *Spotted Tail’s Folk: A History of the Brulé Sioux* (3rd ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979 [1961]), 322.

the guardhouse.⁹⁷ A week in solitary confinement in a dark, damp concrete building was likely a harrowing experience for the eleven-year-old Pollock. Lakotas never inflicted such punishments on their children, making the experience all the more foreign. After seeing and hearing from their children, the delegation proceeded to Washington, D.C.

The party then returned to Carlisle, and Spotted Tail continued his resistance to the conditions at the school. According to Pratt, Spotted Tail threatened to “take all the [Lakota] children home.”⁹⁸ The government forbade all children and young adults from leaving, but the chief defied the order and took nine of his relatives home.⁹⁹ Ten other Lakota students left that day too ill to continue at Carlisle.¹⁰⁰ In all, the school lost nineteen students that day. At least three other students attempted to flee with Spotted Tail. Pratt’s subordinates searched the train before it left Carlisle and removed the Sicangu Lakota leader White Thunder’s son, Ernest, and an unnamed little girl. Pratt sent employees to conduct a second search in Harrisburg, where they removed the granddaughter of the Oglala Lakota Oyate leader Red Dog, a woman named Lucy Day, who allegedly screamed all the way back to Carlisle.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 237-238.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁹⁹ Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 155; George E. Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 56; R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, in charge to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 179.

¹⁰⁰ Hugh [Whirlwind Soldier/Running Horse] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 12, Valentine McKenzie (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 37, William Spotted Tail (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 37, Charles Tackett (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 37, Thomas He Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 37, Walter (Bullman) (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 11, Arnold [Runs after the Moon] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 11, Bennett [Singer] (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC; Oliver Spotted Tail (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Herbert [Yellow Sack] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC. Frederick [Cloud Bull] (Miniconjou Lakota Oyate) also left that day (E-1329, Box 5, NARADC) and Charles Ohettoint [Buffalo] (Kiowa) left ill the following week (E-1327, Box 15, Folder 341, NARADC).

¹⁰¹ Hyde, *Spotted Tail’s Folk*, 325; Lucy Day (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC.

This was an inflection point for the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. According to the Rosebud Agent John Cook, “The return of Spotted Tail’s children caused among some a feeling of distrust. The fact of his taking them away seemed to justify the assertion that ‘the school was not a good school,’ otherwise he would have allowed his children to remain.”¹⁰² Recalling that Carlisle was born from a prison experiment at Fort Marion, Pratt deployed carceral techniques initially imposed on adult male American Indian prisoners of war at Fort Marion. Henceforth, students would be treated as such, especially if they attempted to escape. Like many off-reservation boarding school students, Ernest White Thunder and Lucy Day, two of the students who attempted to escape with Spotted Tail, were captured, and after that held explicitly against their will. Many students ran away, but not always successfully. Boarding schools employed armed night watchmen, contracted with local police and sheriff departments, and corresponded with Indian Agents to arrest and return runaway students. School employees were also involved in finding, capturing, and returning students. When students returned, they were punished, either with the loss of privileges or incarceration in the schools’ jails. For any students who sought to leave them, these boarding schools were effectively sites of incarceration.¹⁰³

Adding to the feeling of distrust was the poor health of the remaining students. In total, Pratt reported sending home at least fifteen students deemed too ill to continue during the first year, four of whom died shortly after returning home. Meanwhile, six students died at Carlisle that year.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Agent Cook, Rosebud Sioux Agency, in *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:9 (March, 1881), 4.

¹⁰³ A federal court decision in Wisconsin in 1899, formally legalized the practice of capturing runaways (W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1899, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899* [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899], 27-28).

However, extant archival records show that Pratt underestimated the toll of disease in his report to the Indian Affairs commissioner. Student files in the National Archives reveal that school officials sent home at least nineteen ill students through June of 1880. In what would become a hallmark of the school's policy toward student mortalities, Pratt forged ahead. He once again over enrolled the school and kept doing so despite mortalities. While he routinely warned his superiors in the Indian Office about Carlisle's dire conditions and the need for more funding, Congress generally chose not to fund the institution adequately. And Pratt chose to continue over enrolling the school.

Pratt's reporting of health outcomes followed the requirements of Congress's public health campaign, which relied on recording the types and frequency of disease through the National Board of Health, although Indian reservations were excluded. Instead, the Indian Office began tracking diseases and their incidence throughout Indian Country — reservations and schools — with the 1880 fiscal year. That year, medical reports showed nine cases of "miasmatic" diseases, which can include Dysentery, Cholera, Erysipelas, Smallpox, chickenpox, measles, scarlet fever, mumps, tonsillitis, diphtheria, influenza, whooping cough, and spinal meningitis at Carlisle. There were also eight cases of "constitutional" diseases at there, including possible cases of rheumatism and anemia, fifty-four cases of "tubercular" diseases, thirty-five eye disease, twenty-seven ear illnesses, one case of heart disease, one nontubercular respiratory illness, sixty-four digestive disorders, nine cases urinary trouble, five bone and joint abnormalities, eleven cases of skin diseases, and five "wounds, injuries, and accidents."¹⁰⁵ While

¹⁰⁴ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, in charge to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 179.

¹⁰⁵ "Medical and vital statistics of the Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880," in *ARCIA, 1880*, 276. The 1883 report provides the description of disease classes ("Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year ending June 30, 1883," in *ARCIA, 1883*, 312).

it is impossible to determine from these records which students contracted which diseases, the report illustrates the general level of illness and alludes to the seriousness of the situation. Still, the reporting is an undercount as the statistics report only four deaths, whereas archival evidence demonstrates that six students died at the school that year while authorities sent some home where they died soon thereafter.¹⁰⁶ Carlisle thus set dangerous precedents. Including those that died shortly after arriving home, a Carlisle student was 180 percent more likely to die than a Pennsylvania resident that year.¹⁰⁷

Carlisle became the model for the dozens of other off-reservation boarding schools that followed and many of the hundreds of on-reservation boarding schools. Forty-two days after students arrived in Carlisle, Congress began expanding the off-reservation boarding school system, allocating \$5,000 for the first off-reservation boarding school in the Trans-Mississippi West, twenty-three hundred miles away.¹⁰⁸ The government placed the school on the homelands of the Kalapuya people.¹⁰⁹

Located in western Oregon's Willamette Valley, renowned for its rich and abundant resources and defined by a broad, flat, and fertile valley floor bordered by the Cascades on the

¹⁰⁶ "Medical and vital statistics of the Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880," in *ARCIA, 1880*, 276.

¹⁰⁷ Carlisle's death rate was 41.84 compared to Pennsylvania's of 14.92 per 1,000 individuals (Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 179; U.S. DOI, *Report on the Mortality and Vital Statistics of the United States As Returned at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* [2 parts, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885], 1:3). This does not take into effect age. The age-adjusted PA death rate is likely much smaller (Michael R. Haines, "Estimated Life Tables for the United States, 1850-1900," *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series on Historical Factors in Long Run Growth* [Cambridge, MA: NBER, September 1994], NP).

¹⁰⁸ M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant, Third Infantry, in Charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 18, 1880, in *ARICA, 1880*, 178.

¹⁰⁹ Henry B. Zenk, "Kalapuyans," in Wayne Suttles, vol. ed. and William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians* (17 vols., Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 7:547.

east, the Oregon Coast Range to the west, and the Calapooya Mountains to the south, the Forest Grove Indian School, what would become the Chemawa Indian School, began on the grounds of Pacific University.¹¹⁰ The school site, however, was not ideal. Later described as lacking “good land, water and drainage,” the place name “Chemawa” means “place of low-lying, frequently overflowed ground,” in the Central Kalapuya language.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, Commissioner Hayt telegraphed Forest Grove’s first superintendent, then Army First Lieutenant Melville C. Wilkinson, to inform him of his orders on November 11, 1879: “Office grants you \$5,000 for first year, but twenty-five children must be educated.”¹¹² Within two months, Wilkinson’s Puyallup recruits began erecting Forest Grove’s first building and completed it on January 1, 1880. However, it was not “safe for occupancy” until the end of February.¹¹³

Exactly how Wilkinson collected students is unknown. While many students came on their own accord, federal officials encouraged, coerced, and forcibly enrolled others. The school opened on February 25, 1880, with one boy from Washington Territory’s Nisqually reservation and seventeen from the territory’s Puyallup reservation, including four young women and

¹¹⁰ H.O. Lang, ed., *History of the Willamette Valley, being a Description of the Valley and its Resources with an account of its Discovery and Settlement by White Men, and its Subsequent History* (Portland, OR: Geo. H. Himes, 1885), 513-528; Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (39 vols., History of Oregon, Vol. II, San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), XXX:725.

¹¹¹ “Indian School Sites,” in U.S. OIA, *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 892; Henry Zenk, “Notes on Native American Place-Names of the Willamette Valley Region,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 109:1 (Spring 2008), 16.

¹¹² Telegram from E.A. Hayt to M.C. Wilkinson, November 11, 1879, in Burton Carlyle Lemmon, “The Historical Development of the Chemawa Indian School” (M.S. thesis, Oregon State College, 1941), 15.

¹¹³ Patrick Michael McKeehan, “The History of Chemawa Indian School” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1981), 91; M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant, Third Infantry, in Charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 18, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 178.

thirteen young men.¹¹⁴ Captain Wilkinson's mission to 'recruit' Indian students proved difficult. Indigenous people did not respond well to federal officials taking their children by force. In 1880, *The Oregonian* alleged that Wilkinson "[with General Miloy's consent] has forcibly taken children from the Puyallup reserve for the Indian school at Forest Grove."¹¹⁵ Myron Eells, a missionary on the Skokomish Reservation, corroborated the newspaper's charges. "The forcible taking of the last six [students] from the Puyallup Indian Reservation I think was unwise," Eells reported in a June 7, 1880 diary entry. He speculated, "it will set all the Indians against the [Forest Grove] school ... who were considerably opposed to it before."¹¹⁶ After his first full year as Superintendent in 1881, Wilkinson noted Native American resistance to the school, "the battle just commenced of locating an Indian school in a community where the hope was expressed that the buildings might burn down before scholars could be gathered to put in them."¹¹⁷ Of course, boarding schools often encountered profound resistance when forcibly taking children and young adults from their parents and communities. But this was different. Just months before Wilkinson took control of Forest Grove, he had commanded gunboats on the Columbia River during the Bannock War. He ordered artillery and Gatling guns to be fired on unarmed and peaceful

¹¹⁴ *The New Northwest* (Portland, OR), May 27, 1880, 3; M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant Third Infantry, in charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1881* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1881), 198 [hereafter *ARCIA, 1881*]; Cary C. Collins, "The Broken Crucible of Assimilation: Forest Grove Indian School and the Origins of Off-Reservation Boarding-School Education in the West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101:4 (Winter 2000), 473; Lemmon, "Historical Development of the Chemawa Indian School," 21.

¹¹⁵ *The Oregonian*, in *New Northwest*, June 3, 1880, 3.

¹¹⁶ Myron Eells, June 7, 1880 diary entry, in Collins, "Broken Crucible of Assimilation," 477.

¹¹⁷ M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant Third Infantry, in charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 198.

Umatillas fishing on the river, killing several.¹¹⁸ In 1917, Jim Sch-yowit (Umatilla) recalled, “A steamboat came down the river, and without any warning opened fire on us with what seemed like a machine gun.”¹¹⁹ With this recent historical context in mind, resistance to the school was unsurprising.

Like its predecessor Carlisle, Forest Grove was intended to educate and assimilate Native American children and young adults. While noting that, “We hear no longer among really civilized men the theory of extermination,” the Board of Indian Commissions held that education was key during Chemawa’s inaugural year. In the paternalistic language of the day, they supposed: “As a savage we cannot tolerate him any more than as a half-civilized parasite, wanderer, or vagabond. The only alternative left is to fit him by education for civilized life. The Indian, though a simple child of nature with mental faculties dwarfed and shriveled, while groping his way for generations in the darkness of barbarism, already sees the importance of education.” The Board resolved, “[The Indian] sees that the knowledge possessed by the white man is necessary for self-preservation. He needs it to save him from the rapacity and greed of men with whom he is forced to come in contact; he needs it just as much to save him from himself.”¹²⁰ The irony was not lost on Indigenous peoples.

Chemawa’s students primarily enrolled from Indigenous communities in the Pacific Northwest, California, the Southwest, and Alaska. Their experiences resembled those of their Carlisle peers. Chemawa teachers were to “[draw intelligence] out of minds as dark as chaos,”

¹¹⁸ Michael McKenzie, “To the Brink and Back: The Bannock War Pounds at the Door to Washington Territory,” *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* 22:2 (Summer 2008), 4, accessed November 1, 2019, http://www.washingtonhistory.org/files/library/22-2_McKenzie.pdf.

¹¹⁹ Jim Sch-yowit, in *Ibid.*, 5.

¹²⁰ U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the Year 1880* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1881), 7-8.

according to a journalist writing for the local *Willamette Farmer*, as “totally ignorant of every word of the English language and unaffected by any trait of civilization.”¹²¹ Like Carlisle employees, Forest Grove administrators changed students’ physical appearance. They cut students’ hair short, confiscated students’ traditional clothing and regalia, and dressed them in the military “blues” that Teresa, a Coos/Siletz student at Chemawa, recalled as “little prison uniforms.”¹²² Military discipline was standard. Henry Sicade, a Puyallup student, remembered, “Under Captain Wilkinson the discipline was patterned after army discipline; the boys were divided into four groups with four sergeants in charge of each group. These had under corporals or assistants under them. When one offended he was brought before a court martial of the disciplinarian and the four sergeants and if found guilty was given his sentence by them.”¹²³ The typical range of punishments included some combination of beatings, loss of privileges, hard labor, incarceration, and expulsion. “Everything in the institution is arranged and carried out with military precision,” observed an unnamed student. “The children ... rise by a bell, bathe by a bell, sit down at a table by a bell, go to prayer by a bell, take exercise by a bell, go to bed by a bell, and, for ought we know, snore by a bell and dream of bells.”¹²⁴ This regime was new to most students and thus difficult for many of them.

Few sources from Forest Grove’s earliest days survive, but later accounts indicate that students were lonely and homesick like their Carlisle counterparts. In one oral history, Stella, a

¹²¹ *Willamette Farmer* (Salem, Oregon), August 5, 1881, 5.

¹²² Teresa in Sonicray Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880-1980” (M.A. thesis, Dartmouth College, 1997), 50.

¹²³ Collins, “Broken Crucible of Assimilation,” 475.

¹²⁴ *Evening Telegram* (Portland, Oregon), August 31, 1880, in Collins, “Broken Crucible of Assimilation,” 475.

Lummi student who attended Forest Grove at the age of thirteen, stated that she often had to sit by her sister Gloria's bedside because "she used to cry every night." Gloria then explained, "I used to get terribly lonesome."¹²⁵ Homesickness and poor mental health can cause physical ailments.¹²⁶ Despite the mental stress described by students and journalists, the school's first full annual report described "excellent" student health, noting "not one case of serious illness."¹²⁷ By January 28, 1881, Forest Grove had forty-eight pupils, "ranging in age from 6 years old to 23 years" and was over enrolled by one student.¹²⁸ By the end of the academic year, that number increased to seventy-six students from Alaska, California, Oregon, and Washington, including students from the Puyallup, Warm Springs, Wasco, Paiute, Pit River, Spokane, Chehalis, Nisqually, and Oyster Bay Agencies.¹²⁹ Although over enrollment by such a small amount may not have had a significant impact on student experiences, the practice, as at Carlisle, set a dangerous precedent.

No student files or school records survive to provide a more localized picture of health at Forest Grove that year. However, gross statistics tabulated by the Indian Office show nine cases of infectious diseases, seven patients treated for parasitic diseases, six cases of eye conditions, one ear infection, and twelve digestive, respiratory, skin, and urinary disorders between July 1,

¹²⁵ Interview with Stella and Gloria, in Bonnell, "Chemawa Indian Boarding School," 46. In 1888, the San Francisco *Pacific Rural Press* observed: "They are constantly going and coming. They are prey to homesickness. The restraints of the school, its surroundings and all, are most burdensome and overwhelmingly oppressive to the Indian, and in desperation he seeks relief and freedom by 'running away'" (*Pacific Rural Press* [San Francisco, CA], December 15, 1888, 9).

¹²⁶ For an English case-study, see: Shirley Fisher, Norman Frazer, and Keith Murray, "Homesickness and Health in boarding School Children," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 6:1 (March 1986), 45.

¹²⁷ Wilkinson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 200.

¹²⁸ *The New Northwest*, February 3, 1881, 1; M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant Third Infantry, in charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 198.

¹²⁹ Wilkinson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 198.

1880, and June 30, 1881. The school reported no deaths to the Indian Office, but five “violent diseases.”¹³⁰ Spread evenly across the school’s population, a doctor would have treated nearly every student in the hospital that year.

Back in Pennsylvania, Carlisle students continued to fall ill during the 1880-1881 school year. In August 1880, John Renville (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), the fourteen-year-old son of Tiwakan or Chief Gabriel Renville, died after an illness of fourteen days that culminated in a fever and hemorrhages from the nose.¹³¹ Nearly two weeks later, Beau Niel [Neal], the thirteen-year-old son of the Arapaho Chief Old Crow, died from unknown causes.¹³² That same day, Pratt sent a letter to the Indian Affairs commissioner reporting the ill health of Henry Thigh (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), Nathan [Ear] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), and Andrew [His Shield] (Oglala Lakota Oyate) and requesting permission to send them home. Pratt warned: “their longer detention [would] make it doubtful that they would be able to reach their Agencies [alive].”¹³³ Pratt started Andrew for his home that day, and Henry and Nathan for their reservation the following day.¹³⁴ On August 21, Pratt also sent sixteen-year-old Charles Bear, the son of Nez Perce Chief Hollow [or Yellow], back to the Ponca Agency where his band was in exile and Fanny [Knife Holder],

¹³⁰ “Table showing prevailing disease among Indians, number of cases of sickness treated, &c.,” in *ARCIA, 1881*, 310-311.

¹³¹ John Renville (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:5 (August 1880), 3.

¹³² Beau Niel (Southern Arapaho) [Unknown], in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC.

¹³³ R.H. Pratt, 1st Lt. 10th Cav’y, In charge to the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1880, in RG75, “Letters Received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881,” Microfilm Publication M234, Reel 485 [hereafter M234, Reel #].

¹³⁴ Andrew [His Shield] (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 5, Henry Thigh (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 4, Nathan [Ear] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC. Henry was reported to have remained in poor health until he died at home (Noted “Dead” on index card; *The Indian Helper*, November 13, 1885, 4).

the daughter of Kiowa Chief Pah-bas, to the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency because of their ill health.¹³⁵

Sickness and death then continued. Carlisle officials sent Walter Matches, a Southern Cheyenne student, home in September 1880, due to an unknown illness.¹³⁶ Thirteen-year-old Albert Henderson (Sac & Fox) died five days later from an unknown cause.¹³⁷ In November, the school newspaper *Eadle Keatah Toh* reported that students “look[ed] forward to a greatly improved condition of health and comfort during the winter.”¹³⁸ However, two high profile cases shook the school in December. Ernest Knocks Off (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), the nineteen-year-old son of Chief White Thunder, resisted the school’s medical care and staged a hunger strike.¹³⁹ He entered the hospital in October with a sore throat, but “rejected not only medicine, but nourishment.”¹⁴⁰ Carlisle’s doctor, C.H. Hepburn, diagnosed Ernest with a “Diphtheritic deposit” in his throat and pneumonia before he died.¹⁴¹ Ernest’s hunger strike likely resulted from the boy not wanting to be at Carlisle, as he had attempted to escape the school four months earlier with Spotted Tail. His actions suggest a profound resistance to Carlisle. The doctor, meanwhile diagnosed Maud Little Girl (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), the daughter of Chief Swift Bear, with an

¹³⁵ Charles Bear (Nez Perce) [Unknown], in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC; R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieut. 10th Cavalry, In charge of School to Hon. E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 13, 1879, 12, in RG75, Series 79, Box 571, Miscellaneous-1879-P-#1182, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center; J. Diane Pearson, *The Nez Percés in the Indian Territory: Nimiipuu Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 164-165; Fanny [Knife Holder] (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC.

¹³⁶ Walter Matches (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC.

¹³⁷ Albert Henderson (Sac & Fox), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC.

¹³⁸ *Eadle Keatah Toh*, 1:7 (November 1880), 3; Ryan, “Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” 75-76.

¹³⁹ Fear-Segal and Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 168.

¹⁴⁰ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:8 (January, 1881), 2.

¹⁴¹ C.H. Hepburn, Physician to R.H. Pratt, December 14, 1880, 1-2, in M234, Reel 486.

underlying condition of phthisis and “diseased lungs,” likely pulmonary tuberculosis, the germ of which would not be discovered until 1882. Within hours of each other on December 14,, both Ernest and Maud were dead.¹⁴² Ultimately, Maud succumbed to pneumonia, which progressed from bronchitis.¹⁴³ Standing Bear recalled of Ernest’s death from starvation: “[it] worked on our nerves to such an extent that it told on our bodies.”¹⁴⁴ The stress and trauma of frequent student deaths likely contributed to physical illnesses at Carlisle.

White Thunder and Swift Bear requested that Earnest and Maud’s bodies be shipped home, but Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, likely Edgar M. Marble, denied their requests. He insisted that doing so would establish the precedent of returning “the bodies of all pupils who may die.”¹⁴⁵ Later that month, Pratt sent High Bear, Jr. (Ponca) home ill with an unknown malady.¹⁴⁶ He presumably died shortly after returning home as his student index card notes “Dead” in red ink in the upper right corner.¹⁴⁷

Students continued sickening at Carlisle in the new year. In January 1881, the Oglala Lakota headman Blue Tomahawk’s son Dennis Strikes First ([Oglala/Sicangu] Lakota Oyate) died from typhoid pneumonia.¹⁴⁸ At the end of February, Carlisle administrators sent Lawrence

¹⁴² Ernest [Knocks Off] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 2, Maud [Little Girl] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC.

¹⁴³ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:8 (January, 1881), 2; Hepburn to Pratt, December 14, 1880, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 159.

¹⁴⁵ Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to John Cook, January 27, 1881, in Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 158.

¹⁴⁶ High Bear, Jr. (Ponca), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC.

¹⁴⁷ High Bear, Jr. (Ponca), in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC.

¹⁴⁸ Dennis [Strikes First] (Oglala or Sicangu Lakota Oyate) [Typhoid pneumonia], in E-1329, Box 5 and E-1328, Box 3, NARADC; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:8 (January, 1881), 3; C.H. Hepburn, Physician to R.H. Pratt, 1st Lt. 10th Cav. In charge, January 20, 1881, 1-2, in M234, Reel 486.

Little Cutter (Oglala Lakota Oyate) home sick and Philip Kills (Oglala Lakota Oyate) for an undisclosed reason.¹⁴⁹ In March, Pratt sent [William] Curtis Good Blanket (Southern Cheyenne) home sick with an unknown disease.¹⁵⁰ It is unknown if Curtis survived his illness as a 1910 returned student questionnaire went unanswered.¹⁵¹

The trauma of being away from family and community continued to wear on Carlisle students. In February 1881, fourteen-year-old student Benjamin Marshall (Muscogee) commented in *Eadle Keatah Toh* after arriving at Carlisle that January: “[A]fter we got here we were not very merry, but just the other way. Nearly all of us cried, because we were homesick.”¹⁵² Psychological stress increases susceptibility to upper respiratory diseases and other illnesses. Furthermore, “the longer the duration of the stressor, the greater was the risk for colds.”¹⁵³ Other students throughout Carlisle’s existence reported feeling homesick, and homesickness has a depressing impact on physical well-being, especially for students away from their home for the first time.¹⁵⁴

In April 1881, Carlisle students experienced their first documented epidemic. *Eadle*

¹⁴⁹ Lawrence Little Cutter (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 2, Phillip Kills (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC.

¹⁵⁰ Wm. Curtis (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 11, NARADC.

¹⁵¹ William Curtis (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1327, Box 7, Folder 304, NARADC.

¹⁵² Ben Marshall, in *School News*, 1:9 (February 1881), 3; Benjamin Marshall (Muscogee), in E-1327, Box 13, Folder 607, NARADC.

¹⁵³ Sheldon Cohen, Ellen Frank, William J. Doyle, David P. Skoner, and Bruce S. Rabin, “Types of Stressors and Susceptibility to the Common Cold in Healthy Adults,” *Health Psychology* 17:3 (May 1998), 221.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example: Howard Gansworth (Tuscarora), in Howard Gansworth, Todd Leahy and Nathan Wilson, eds., “My First Days at the Carlisle Indian School by Howard Gansworth,” *Pennsylvania History* 71:4 (Autumn 2004), 478; Fisher, Frazer, and Murray, “Homesickness and Health in Boarding School Children,” 35.

Keatah Toh reported: “One of our recent arrivals brought the measles.” It “spread with great rapidity among the students. At one time, eighty-six were sick. So many of the girls were ill that it became necessary to have the boys take their place in the dining-room.”¹⁵⁵ Transmitted through contact with infected droplets of liquid or air, usually emanating from coughing or sneezing, measles’ symptoms tend to begin a week or two after infection. They include cough, coryza, conjunctivitis, fever, muscle pain, which progresses to a severe full-body blotchy rash starting on the head and migrating towards the feet.¹⁵⁶ Measles presented a challenging problem for students and physicians. It is one of the most communicable diseases and often results in complications such as pneumonia, brain inflammation, and tuberculosis.¹⁵⁷ Recent medical research has also shown that it can also induce “immune amnesia,” which increases the possibility of other illness and death because of the immunosuppressive effects of “erasing immune memory” to the level of a fetus.¹⁵⁸ That month, Albert Tulsey Mekko (Seminole), a seventeen-year-old from the Wichita Agency in what is now Oklahoma, eighteen-year-old Dora [Her Pipe] Brave Bull (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), and Rose Red Rose (Oglala Lakota Oyate) died of unknown causes.¹⁵⁹

In early May, three more students — Edward Upright (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), Giles

¹⁵⁵ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:10 (April 1881), 3.

¹⁵⁶ Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 871-873.

¹⁵⁷ Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 871-873.

¹⁵⁸ Eva Frederick “How measles causes the body to ‘forget’ past infections,” *Science* 366:6465 (November 1, 2019), 560.

¹⁵⁹ Albert [Tulsey Mekko] (Seminole), in E-1329, Box 5, Dora [Her Pipe] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 5, Rose Red Rose (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC.

(Southern Cheyenne), and Willie Curley (Southern Arapaho) — died from unknown causes.¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, officials sent William Young (Nez Perce) and Henry Pratt Taawayite (Comanche) home sick.¹⁶¹ Given the epidemic, measles or its complications may have killed them.

Also, in May, Spotted Tail and other Sicangu Lakota Oyate leaders continued to demand their children's return. The community held a grand council to discuss "the constant sickness and frequent deaths of our children." Spotted Tail, Two Strike, White Thunder, and Swift Bear then petitioned the United States President on behalf of "all our chiefs and head men and all the Indians": "We love our Children just as dearly as the whites do theirs, it grieves our hearts when we hear they are sick, and we mourn hard and long when they die and are taken away from us." The distance between them and their children made it "far harder...to bear these afflictions." The Sicangu Lakota Oyate were not opposed to education, but they wanted it close to home. In closing, the chiefs asked for the return of their children from Carlisle, "and with them a School and teachers to educate them."¹⁶² Their children remained at Carlisle.

In June, another epidemic struck the Carlisle school. Scarlet fever forced the school into quarantine to stop its spread.¹⁶³ That month, administrators sent another seven sick students home.¹⁶⁴ At least one of them, Myrtle Places (Southern Cheyenne), died within a few months of

¹⁶⁰ Edward Upright (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in E-1328, Box 4, Giles (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Willie Curley (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC.

¹⁶¹ William Young (Nez Perce), in E-1328, Box 6, Henry Pratt Taawayite (Comanche), in E-1327, Box 12, NARADC.

¹⁶² Spotted Tail, Two Strike, White Thunder, Swift Bear, and the council generally to the President of the U.S.A., May 23, 1881, in RG75, E-91, Box 24, 1881-#10258, in Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

¹⁶³ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:11 (June 1881), 3.

¹⁶⁴ Carlos (Comanche), in E-1329, Box 5, Frank Henderson (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 5, Galpin (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Grant Willard (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 6,

returning home. Three others have “Dead” marked on their student information cards.¹⁶⁵ Often, sending a student home with a serious disease to a reservation, which itself may not have had adequate medical care, was a death sentence. Indeed, Pratt noted that four of the students sent home sick that year died by the time of his annual report in October 1881.¹⁶⁶ Over the summer and after classes had ended, Frank Cushing (Zuni Pueblo) died at Carlisle, possibly from one of the previous epidemics.¹⁶⁷ For the second year in a row, Pratt underreported the school’s health outcomes. While he accurately reported that fourteen students had been sent home due to health issues, he reported only ten deaths at the school, while archival evidence demonstrates that at least a dozen students died during that academic year.¹⁶⁸ Medical statistics collected by the Indian Office that year show twelve deaths at the school, 166 cases of “zymotic,” or infectious diseases, five venereal cases, eighteen cases of “diathetic,” or congenital diseases, and thirty-seven patients with tubercular diseases. The school’s hospital treated an additional 244 cases of constitutional diseases of the nervous, circulatory, respiratory, and digestive systems, eyes, ears, and urinary tract, and another twenty-three “violent” diseases, also known as wounds, injuries, and accidents. Meanwhile, the school practiced preventative medicine and vaccinated sixth-nine

[U.S.] Grant [Left Hand] (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 2, Myrtle Flaces (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 4, Robert Burns (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1327, Box 7, NARADC.

¹⁶⁵ Myrtle Flaces died on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation on October 28, 1881 (Myrtle Flaces (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130). Frank Henderson, Galpin, and Grant Willard’s cards are marked “dead.”

¹⁶⁶ R.H. Pratt, First Lieutenant Tenth Cavalry, in charge to [Commissioner of Indian Affairs], October 15, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 184.

¹⁶⁷ Frank Cushing [Custing] (Zuni Pueblo), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC.

¹⁶⁸ Pratt to [Commissioner of Indian Affairs], October 15, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 184.

students, likely for smallpox.¹⁶⁹ By the end of Carlisle's second year, at least sixteen students had died at the school, and thirty-seven had been sent home unhealthy.¹⁷⁰ It was an unpromising start.

Environmental factors, exacerbated by congressional underfunding, contributed to these illnesses and deaths. At the end of that 1881 school year, Commissioner Price lambasted the amount of funding allocated to support Indian schools. Price noted that Rhode Island spent \$600,000 annually for its forty-nine-thousand day school students, which were significantly less expensive to support than those in boarding schools, while the federal government appropriated \$215,000 for the same number of Indian students in all types of institutions. Worse yet, Price posted a litany of expectations this allocation needed to achieve: "maintain day-schools, furnish books to all pupils, erect and furnish school buildings, and support boarding schools!" Price concluded, "This, of course, has fallen so far short of meeting the needs of the service."¹⁷¹ The commissioner plead, "unless a deficiency appropriation is made by Congress at its next session many Indian boarding-schools will have to be closed early next spring, and the children remanded to the debasing surroundings from which the school was intended to redeem them." He estimated that the Indian Office then needed an additional \$430,000 to provide education per treaty obligations that it was failing to fulfill.¹⁷² To make up for funding shortfalls, superintendents turned to charity.

With donations raised from surrounding communities, Pratt worked to improve living

¹⁶⁹ "Table showing prevailing disease among Indians, number of cases of sickness treated, &c.," in *ARCIA, 1881*, 310-311. William Allen (Acoma Pueblo) is listed as leaving the school "crippled" (E1327, Box 30, NARADC).

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

¹⁷¹ Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 24, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, XXXVII.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

conditions at the school. Students completed the addition of a floor to the girl's dormitory in 1881.¹⁷³ Yet, what the school needed was a new hospital. In October 1881 *Eadle Keatah Toh* described the infirmary as “very objectionable.”¹⁷⁴ Pratt had reported the need to the Indian Office in September 1880, but it was not until the hospital dangerously deteriorated that the Office of Indian Affairs funded its improvement in 1881.¹⁷⁵

Still, the pattern of students contracting illnesses at Carlisle and doctors or superintendents sending them home sick continued. On September 3, 1881, three students from the Rosebud Agency — twenty-year-old James Whiteman (Miniconjou Lakota Oyate), eighteen-year-old Gilbert Short Leg (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), and fifteen-year-old Norman Wants to be Chief (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) — fell ill with unknown illnesses and departed Carlisle by order of the doctor.¹⁷⁶ Duke [Frog] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) left the school for the Rosebud Agency the same day as the other sick students, possibly from ill health, or perhaps escorting the ill children.¹⁷⁷ In January 1882, Kate Ross, a seventeen-year-old Wichita student who *Eadle Keatah Toh* described as “quiet and unassuming,” died from unknown causes.¹⁷⁸ Students continued to fall ill in February.

¹⁷³ Ryan, “Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” 74-75.

¹⁷⁴ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 2:3 (October 1881), 4.

¹⁷⁵ Pratt to Schurz, September 28, 1880, in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 255; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 2:3 (October 1881), 4.

¹⁷⁶ James [Whiteman] (Miniconjou Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 37, Folder 1792 (James died at the Rosebud Agency in 1889), Gilbert [Short Leg] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Norman [Wants to be Chief] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 4, NARADC.

¹⁷⁷ The reason Duke left the school is blank (Duke [Frog] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC).

¹⁷⁸ Kate Ross (Wichita), in E-1328, Box 6, NARADC; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 2:6 (January 1882), 2.

Although Pratt did not report an epidemic, the prevalence of sickness indicates one. On February 2, 1882, Carlisle's doctor sent home Charles Kawboodle (Kiowa), Jane Vane (Acoma Pueblo), and Jennie Hammaker (Zuni Pueblo) with unknown illnesses.¹⁷⁹ Two days later, Louise [Lou], the eleven-year-old Southern Cheyenne daughter of Roman Nose Thunder, died from scrofula, and officials buried her in the school cemetery.¹⁸⁰ Eleven days later, another Southern Cheyenne child, sixteen-year-old Matavito, grandson of the Southern Cheyenne leader Black Kettle, died of a typhoid-like fever and joined Louise in the school's growing cemetery.¹⁸¹ The day after Matavito's death, Carlisle's doctor sent home four to six ill students.¹⁸² Alvan One that Kills Horse (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) died in March from an unknown disease.¹⁸³ The fourteen-year-old may have suffered through the illness. Luther Standing Bear wrote home to his father, reporting Alvan's death: "we were very glad for him. Because he is better now than he was on Earth."¹⁸⁴ Another student died in April, another in June, and yet another in July.¹⁸⁵ The school

¹⁷⁹ Charles Kawboodle (Kiowa), in E-1329, Box 5, Jennie Hammaker [Hawmaker] (Zuni Pueblo), in E-1328, Box 5, Jane Vane (Acoma Pueblo), in E-1327, Box 58, Folder 1388, NARADC.

¹⁸⁰ Louise [Lou] (Southern Cheyenne) [Scrofula], in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC; *Eadle Keatah Toh 2:7* (February 1882), 3.

¹⁸¹ Matavito [Black Kettle] (Southern Cheyenne) [Typhoid-like fever], in E-1328, Box 6, NARADC; *Eadle Keatah Toh 2:7* (February 1882), 3.

¹⁸² Mary (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 7, Charles Somains (Menominee), in E-1327, Box 17, Folder 372, Lincoln (Northern Arapaho), in E-1327, Box 4, Rufus Strikes the Enemy (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Horace White Whirlwind (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 4, Austin Holy Bear (Miniconjou Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 12, NARADC.

¹⁸³ Alvan [One that Kills Horse] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*; Luther Standing Bear to Father Standing Bear, March 31, 1882, in *School News 2:11* (April 1882), 4.

¹⁸⁵ Hayes [Friday] (Northern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 2, Horace [Washington] (Northern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 2, Chester Arthur (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC.

sent between seven and thirteen ill students home between June and July 1, 1882.¹⁸⁶ Pratt's annual report only noted six deaths and made no other mention of health.¹⁸⁷ The Indian Office tabulated more granular detail about the diseases faced by students that year. The school's physician treated 300 patients for 311 conditions, including cases of potentially fatal diseases such as cerebral-spinal meningitis, consumption, scrofula, and typhus. Scores of non-fatal conditions also impacted students from bronchitis, conjunctivitis, constipation, erysipelas, fractured bones, headaches, intermittent fevers, rheumatism, sprains, skin diseases, tapeworm, and tonsillitis. The physician also issued thirteen successful and seventy-nine unsuccessful vaccinations.¹⁸⁸ During this academic year, archival evidence establishes that a total of eight students died, and that the school sent home at least seventeen more with serious illnesses. It was a terrifying time to be a Carlisle student.

In Oregon, 2,300 miles away, Forest Grove also witnessed significant disease during the 1881-1882 academic year. Superintendent Wilkinson reported that the health of the school

¹⁸⁶ Adam [First Born] (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in E-1329, Box 11 and E-1328, Box 2, Joe Taylor (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 4, Lucy [Black Short Nose] (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1327, Box 46, Folder 2301, Ellis Kanque (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 2, O.P. Morton (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 6, Sophia Rachel (Nez Perce), in E-1328, Box 6, Eva Pickard (Wichita) [Returned from Outing sick], in E-1327, Box 147, Folder 5705, NARADC. Students with no documented reason sent home, but before time expired who did not return after summer vacation: Paul Big Horse (Osage), in E-1329, Box 15, William B. Peery (Peoria), in E-1329, Box 13, Ada Bent (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 1, Jesse Townsend (Osage), in E-1328, Box 4, Clara (Osage), in E-1329, Box 4, Andrew White (Peoria), in E-1328, Box 6, NARADC.

¹⁸⁷ R.H. Pratt, Lieutenant and Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1882, in *ARCIA, 1882*, 177-181.

¹⁸⁸ There were cases of (prevalence in parenthesis): (8) consumption, (1) typhus, (1) erysipelas, (2) cerebral-spinal meningitis, (5) scrofula, (5) tapeworm, (119) eye disease, (8) intermittent fever, (1) erysipelas, (3) tonsillitis/quinsy, (6) rheumatism, (1) epithelioma, (1) chorea, (54) headaches, (2) brain membrane inflammation, (1) other nervous system disease, (3) bronchitis, (5) laryngitis, (3) inflammation of lungs, (3) colic, (1) constipation, (1) dyspepsia, (2) fistula, (12) abscess, (8) boil, (5) carbuncles, (1) skin ulcer, (4) other skin diseases, (7) sprains, (2) bone fractures, (3) lacerations, and 7 deaths ("Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service for the year ending June 30, 1882," in *ARCIA, 1882*, foldout facing 366).

“continues to be remarkably good” with a “remarkable sanitary showing.”¹⁸⁹ Despite this glowing report, the Indian Office tabulated 135 hospitalizations in a school population of ninety-one, including nineteen cases of measles, five of influenza, three tubercular cases, nine bronchitis cases, and ten remittent fever cases among other conditions.¹⁹⁰ Although no student records exist to provide specifics, the school suffered its first fatality sometime before June 1882.¹⁹¹ This death was likely Martha Lot (Spokane), the daughter of Chief Lot. The chief enrolled his son Oliver on November 22, 1880, and sent Martha in July 1881.¹⁹² Martha was the first Spokane student to die at the school on October 16, 1881.¹⁹³ Chief Lot led by example. In an undated recollection, he explained: “The people were afraid [to send their children to school], but I sent mine. The next year he wanted some more. I gave him a lot of boys and girls.” Spokane parents feared disease. Their anxieties were well-founded. Lot recalled, “They sent the sick back; the rest died down there (Of twenty-one pupils sent, sixteen died). I made up my mind that my people

¹⁸⁹ M.C. Wilkinson, First Lieutenant Third Infantry, in Charge of School to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1882, in *ARCIA, 1882*, 190.

¹⁹⁰ Cases of disease, include (prevalence in parenthesis): (10) remittent fever, (3) erysipelas, (19) measles, (2) tonsillitis, (1) diphtheria, (5) influenza, (2) consumption, (1) scrofula, (3) itch, (1) other nervous system disease, (34) conjunctivitis, (9) bronchitis, (1) lung inflammation, (1) digestive disorder, (2) abscess, (9) skin ulcer, (25) other skin diseases, (1) dislocation, (1) laceration, and (1) death (“Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service for the year ending June 30, 1882,” in *ARCIA, 1882*, foldout facing 366).

¹⁹¹ Wilkinson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1882 in *ARCIA, 1882*, 190.

¹⁹² Mary Richardson Walker diary, November 23, 1880 entry, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University; “Chemawa Indian School: Register of Students Admitted, 1880-1928,” 82, RG75, Microfilm Publication P2008, NARAS [hereafter P2008, pg #, NARAS].

¹⁹³ Collins, “Broken Crucible of Assimilation,” 505; P2008, 84, NARAS; October 16, 1881 diary entry, in MS-106: Samuel A.T. Walker Diaries, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon.

were right in being afraid to send the children away.”¹⁹⁴ Spokanes asserted, “To go to Chemawa is to die.”¹⁹⁵ Spokanes stopped attending the school altogether.¹⁹⁶

Following Price’s pleas the prior year, Congress increased school appropriations. In fact, they allocated more than he requested. In total, the Indian Office received \$300,000 for general purposes, \$115,200 for Carlisle, Forest Grove, and Hampton, \$50,000 for two new industrial boarding schools, and \$17,000 to support Native American students in state-run industrial schools.¹⁹⁷ Congress also established the position of Indian Inspector at the commissioner’s behest. The law tasked this individual with inspecting school facilities, curriculum, and operations.¹⁹⁸ Price expected that through this position, “school work can be doubled, and *system* in Indian education becomes possible.”¹⁹⁹ These were the germs that spawned the expansion of the system that is the subject of this dissertation’s subsequent chapters.

With the official tabulation of diseases and a rising body count, officials in Washington, D.C. began to recognize the public health threat that conditions in boarding schools presented. In response, they released directives aimed at curbing deaths. Still, the Indian Office and Congress failed to understand the full gravity of the situation. Superintendent’s underreporting, inaccurate diagnoses, and glossy reports hid the true nature of the situation. Nonetheless, the Indian Affairs

¹⁹⁴ Lot, in Collins, “Broken Crucible of Assimilation,” 505.

¹⁹⁵ Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006 [1970]), 188.

¹⁹⁶ No new group of Spokane students would be enrolled at the school after 1881 until two students enrolled 1892, although one student enrolled 1885 when the school moved to Salem, Oregon (P2008, 84-136, NARAS).

¹⁹⁷ H. Price, Commissioner to Hon. Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1882 in *ARCIA, 1882*, XXXVIII.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXIX.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Commissioner Hiram Price lamented to the United States Interior Secretary in his 1882 annual report, “Children who shiver in rooms ceiled with canvas, who dodge the muddy drops trickling through worn-out roofs, who are crowded in ill-ventilated dormitories, who recite in a single school-room, three classes at a time, and who have no suitable sitting-rooms nor bath-rooms, are not likely to be attracted to or make rapid advancement in education and civilization.”²⁰⁰ At the same time, Price reported “Only eight deaths” at the Carlisle and Hampton schools, while noting that these “improved health conditions” were due to “acclimation ... greater watchfulness and a better understanding on the part of both instructors and pupils of the requirements of the Indian physique.”²⁰¹ He was grateful for Congress’ recent spending, but concluded, “the service will suffer by any decrease in such appropriation hereafter.”²⁰² These initial health policies did little to curb disease because Congress appropriated only \$675,000 of the \$917,000 requested for the following year. Nevertheless, this was an increase over previous levels of support. Of the “unusual increase in appropriations,” Price concluded, “the service will suffer by any decrease in such appropriation hereafter.”²⁰³ While appropriations did not decrease in the following year, Carlisle and Forest Grove support remained stationary.²⁰⁴

High disease rates at Carlisle continued the following year, in part, because Pratt ignored policy directives from Washington, D.C. Despite being ordered to screen students for disease and

²⁰⁰ Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1882, in *ARCIA, 1882*, XXXVIII.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, XXXIX.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*; H. Price, Commissioner to Hon. Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, XXXVIII.

²⁰⁴ “Statement of disbursements made from the appropriations for the Indian Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1883,” in *ARCIA, 1883*, 214, 216; “Statement of disbursements made from the appropriations for the Indian Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884,” in *ARCIA, 1884*, 240, 242.

only enroll healthy students, Pratt enrolled Alfred Charko (Wichita) when the boy was fifteen on August 31, 1882. The Carlisle Indian School newspaper, *School News*, reported Alfred's death on December 16, 1882, noting: "He was sick before he came here and so he was in hospital ever since he came."²⁰⁵ One student, possibly Alfred, "took his bed" in the hospital the day he arrived at Carlisle.²⁰⁶ To this, the school physician O.G. Given admitted that he admitted "the weakly and ... worthless children," though he recommended, "hereafter all pupils be submitted to a thorough examination." a practice that should have been implemented in 1880 as ordered by the commissioner and Superintendent Pratt.²⁰⁷ In January 1883, Dickens (Northern Arapaho), the son of Sharp Nose, died from pneumonia.²⁰⁸ Six days later, the Ponca Chief Standing Bear's nephew, William Snake, died after a cough turned into "bronchial tuberculosis [sic]."²⁰⁹ Three days after William's death, officials sent Clara Yellow Horse (Southern Arapaho) and Carl Pinquodle [Red Turkey] (Kiowa) home with unknown illnesses.²¹⁰ Administrators also sent three additional students home that day for undisclosed reasons. They may have been sick, and Carl might have died on the way home.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ *School News* 3:7 (December 1882), 3.

²⁰⁶ O.G. Given, School Physician to Capt. R.H. Pratt, August 21, 1883, in *ARCIA*, 1883, 164.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 165.

²⁰⁸ Dickens [Short Nose] (Northern Arapaho) [Pneumonia], in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC; *The Morning Star* 3:6 (January 1883), 2.

²⁰⁹ *The Morning Star* 3:8 (March 1883), 2.

²¹⁰ Clara Y. Horse (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 2, Carl Pinquodle (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC.

²¹¹ It was uncommon for students to leave during the middle of the school term. When they did so it was often because of sickness, a sickness or death at home, or some profound need of their parents (Henry Eagle Chief (Pawnee), in E-1329, Box 5, Katie Nevahsnine (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 3, Effie Hart (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC). Carl Pinquodle's "Descriptive and historical

Sickness continued after January. Between February and June 1883, Carlisle's school physician O.G. Given authorized at least eleven students to go home ill and treated John Bitzclay (Diné) during his steady decline to death in March.²¹² Given treated over 500 cases that year, most being simple colds and eye conditions. Between February and March, a catarrhal fever struck the school and surrounding Carlisle community. Then, twenty students contracted measles in May.²¹³ Additionally, fifty-nine influenza cases, five of whooping cough, five of bronchitis, fifteen of tuberculosis, and forty-nine cases of skin issues visited the school between and July 1, 1882, and June 30, 1883. Students also suffered twenty-four wounds, accidents, and injuries.²¹⁴

Conditions at Carlisle did not improve. Although enrollments continued to climb, so too did the rate of illness. Administrators sent between twelve and thirty-three more Carlisle students home sick in the second half of 1883 alone.²¹⁵ At least five others — Adam McCarthy (Modoc),

Record of Student" index card marks "sick-died" as his reason for leaving (Carl Pinguodle (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC).

²¹² Wm. Shakespeare (Northern Arapaho), in E-1327, Box 4, Grant (Northern Arapaho), in E-1329, Box 5, Peter (Northern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 3, Raleigh (Northern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 3, Clement Black (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Tommie L. McGillicuddy (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Kate La Croix (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in E-1329, Box 7, Jane Freeman (Muscogee), in E-1329, Box 4, Elizabeth McNac (Muscogee), in E-1329, Box 4, Kaha Kuh (Kiowa), in E-1329, Box 4, Fannie Morning (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 3, John Bitzclay (Diné), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC. Fannie Merrick went home for an undisclosed reason before her term expired (Fannie Merrick (Omaha), in E-1328, Box 6, NARADC).

²¹³ Given to Pratt, August 21, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, 164-165.

²¹⁴ "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year ending June 30, 1883," in *ARCIA, 1883*, 304-311.

²¹⁵ Francisco [Hollow Loud] (Diné), in E-1328, Box 5, John Bull (Ponca), in E-1329, Box 11, Manuelito Choni (Diné), in E-1328, Box 11, Alfrich [Heap of Birds] (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Alice Gaudelma (Kiowa), in E-1329, Box 4, Dora Hare (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 5, James Porter (Ponca), in E-1329, Box 13, Libbie Porter (Northern Arapaho), in E-1329, Box 4, Hettie Butcher (Kaw), in E-1328, Box 1, Maria Rufie Leute (Isleta Pueblo), in E-1327, Box 58, Folder 2892, Edward Myers (Pawnee), in E-1328, Box 3, John Bull (Ponca), in E-1329, Box 11, Clarkie Mad Chief (Osage), in E-1328, Box 2, NARADC. Twenty more went home for unknown reasons before their time expired (Rosa Ross (Cherokee), in E-1329, Box 8, Charlie (Dine), in E-1328, Box 5, Manueltio Chiquito (Dine), in E-1329, Box 5, Dora Haytee (Plains Apache), in E-1327, Box 46, Brooks Agula (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in

Gertrude Spotted Tail (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), Taylor Ealy (Zuni Pueblo), Alice Springer (Omaha), and Leah Roadtraveller (Southern Arapaho) — died at the school before New Year's Eve 1883.²¹⁶ As in prior years, extant school records failed to mention the diseases students contracted, noting only the reason they went home as “sick” or “ill health.” Evidentiary clues hint at possible causes. For instance, some of these cases likely resulted from the May measles epidemic that infected twenty students or a mumps epidemic that struck between November 1883 and January 1884, which sent at least 116 students, or over 30 percent of the student body, to the hospital.²¹⁷ Sickness also increased at other boarding schools.

As Forest Grove's enrollments increased, so did its financial precariousness and student illnesses. William [Billy] Skitus (Wasco) died and was buried on March 16, 1883.²¹⁸ Before April 1883, the administration sent Peter Simon (Puyallup) and David Kahama (Puyallup) home, presumably sick, a month after they enrolled.²¹⁹ By this time, the school was out of money. Mary

E-1328, Box 1, Alex Eagle Feather (Osage), in E-1328, Box 1, Russell Black (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Sheldon Jackson (Pueblo of San Felipe), in E-1328, Box 2, Carrie Black Bear (Wahzazah Lakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 62, Folder 3160, Ella Ross (Osage), in E-1329, Box 8, Rosa White Bear (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 6, Neathah [White Man] (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 3, John Sword (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Cecil [Red Medicine] (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Jonas Matches (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5, Mamie Springer (Omaha), in E-1329, Box 4, Robert Stewart (Muscogee), in E-1327, Box 154, Folder 6069, Antoinette Williams (Dine), in E-1328, Box 6, Enoch Soanodoah (Onondaga), in E-1329, Box 14, Stephen Webster (Onondaga), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC).

²¹⁶ Adam McCarty (Modoc) [Consumption], in E-1328, Box 3, Gertrude S. Tail (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 6, Taylor Ealy (Zuni Pueblo), in E-1328, Box 1, Alice Springer (Omaha) [Consumption], in E-1327, Box 94, Folder 4173, Leah Roadtraveller (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC; *The Morning Star* 3:12 (July 1883), 1; *The Morning Star* 4:4 (November 1883), 3.

²¹⁷ Given to Pratt, August 21, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, 164-165; *The Morning Star* 3:10 (May 1883), 3; R.H. Pratt, Captain Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, 186.

²¹⁸ P2008 82, NARAS; Mary Richardson Walker diary, March 16, 1883, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University.

Richardson Walker, the mother of the school's farmer and mother-in-law of a teacher, noted in her diary, "The [Indian Training] School is found to be bankrupt."²²⁰ Then, on May 18, 1883, Lila Jack (Wasco) died from an unknown cause.²²¹ Days later, Superintendent Henry J. Minthorn sent Alice Simon (Puyallup) home sick. Alice died shortly after arriving home and was buried in Puyallup.²²² In June, Winnie Abrahams (Umatilla) died while traveling with Mrs. Laura Minthorn on June 28, 1883. Winnie had been diagnosed with tuberculosis and hemorrhaged from the lungs on the journey.²²³ In total, three students died during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1883.²²⁴

Students likely suffered from hunger, given the school's financial straits. Mary Walker diaried: "The Indians annoy me very much stealing fruit etc."²²⁵ Administrators sent another Puyallup woman, Annie Jacobs, and Atkinson Secena [Sicena] (Chehalis) home ill from unknown afflictions in November 1883.²²⁶ At least one more student died before the end of

²¹⁹ P2008, 84, NARAS. The school likely rejected these students, although it is possible that they caught an infection during their short stay at Forest Grove.

²²⁰ Mary Richardson Walker diary, March 26, 1883, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University.

²²¹ P2008, 84, NARAS.

²²² H. J. Minthorn May 10, 1883 entry, in "Cash Book, 1883," in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH45: Financial Records, 1879-1961, NARAS (Provided by Eva Guggemos).

²²³ Mary Richardson Walker diary, June 28, 1883 entry, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University; P2008, 84, NARAS.

²²⁴ Physician, in H.J. Minthorn, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 17, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, 181.

²²⁵ Mary Richardson Walker diary, August 6, 1883, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University.

²²⁶ P2008, 86, NARAS; Mary Richardson Walker diary, November 22, 1883, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University.

1883. After being diagnosed with consumption in 1881, Emma Winum (Umatilla), the fifteen-year-old daughter of Chief Winampsnoot diagnosed with consumption in 1881, died from the disease in December 1883.²²⁷

Before December 1883, Wilkinson permitted Emma a vacation to her home. According to him, the young girl advocated education and Christian conversion among her people at The Dalles, preaching: “O my people! I want you to know about God.... you must learn to work; to make homes. If you will learn God’s words, his ways, you shall live, not die.”²²⁸ Soon thereafter, Wilkinson saw the girl on her deathbed at the school. He recalled upon seeing her that “tears ran large and fast down her face for a moment,” but she replied that “It was all right.”²²⁹ The next time Wilkinson visited Emma, she could not talk and soon passed on. Perhaps because of her position as a chief’s daughter, Wilkinson’s permission for her trip home saved the school, as Chief Winampsnoot could have removed all of the Umatilla children from the school much as Spotted Tail had taken children home from Carlisle years earlier. Indeed, when a chief was unhappy, or his children contracted a sickness, he had the political sway to disenroll his kin, threatening the school’s enrollment and ability to remain open. According to historian Cary C. Collins, “Chief Lot and his [Spokane] people came to consider Forest Grove a place from which students never returned, and they eventually refused to send more children.”²³⁰

²²⁷ Captain M.C. Wilkinson, “The Story of an Indian Girl,” in *Sunday School Times* (Philadelphia, PA), April 12, 1884, 4-5; Mary Richardson Walker diary, December 25, 1883, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University; “Daily Sick List, 1883-97, 1909-09,” in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH35: Student Medical Treatment Records, 1939-1942, Box 1, 238, NARAS [hereafter Chemawa Daily Sick List, Page #, NARAS]. Emma Winum might be Amma or Emma Lowery. The school roster lists an Emma Lowery (Umatilla) who entered the school on May 8, 1883 (P2008, 90, NARAS). Madge James might be Eunice Madge James, who is listed as dying at the school June 23, 1884 (P2008, 84, NARAS).

²²⁸ Emma according to Wilkinson, in *Sunday School Times*, April 12, 1884, 5.

²²⁹ Wilkinson, in *Sunday School Times*, April 12, 1884, 5.

Sanitation — the practices by which health is promoted, and contact with pathogens prevented or limited — is a crucial factor determining the health of human beings and, if properly maintained, minimizes illness. Proper sanitation and the maintenance of hygienic conditions were elusive at Carlisle. Sanitation at the schools was primarily a function of conditions imposed by administrators in dormitories, classrooms, and workshops while using student labor. Carlisle administrators stressed sanitation and health, but took little action to correct unsanitary conditions despite illnesses, many deaths, congressional investigations, and student complaints. A recurring lack of supplies, overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, and a general disregard for student well-being resulted in high rates of illness. Evaluations of the quality of medical care are difficult to make given the lack of extant evidence. Nevertheless, it is apparent that when students became sick, which was common, administrators failed to take appropriate action in order to limit the transmission of pathogens from the sick to the healthy. Ill students were not always segregated from healthy ones, and administrators paid little attention to keeping students' personal belongings, such as towels, sheets, toothbrushes, and clothing, separate.²³¹ Sick students bathed, went to class, and interacted with healthy ones. Disease thus proliferated.

Although Congress had increased appropriations in 1883, they still failed to meet the needs of the schools. Moreover, burdensome regulations caused headaches. Commissioner Price concluded, "law and regulation," two duties of Congress, "hampered and harassed" the Indian Office against meeting the agency's educational desires.²³² Conditions in the schools remained

²³⁰ Collins, "Broken Crucible of Assimilation," 505.

²³¹ Testimony of Mr. John Whitwell, Principal Teacher, May 27, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, Part 11 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1914), 11:1088.

substandard.

While Carlisle and Forest Grove's annual reports often suggested that student health was outstanding and that each school was rarely under siege from epidemics, student testimony, newspapers, archival evidence, and medical reports tell a very different story. Even in years during which several students died, superintendents and physicians still characterized the health of the student body as "good" in reports to their superiors.²³³ Moreover, yearly discrepancies between what superintendents reported to their superiors in Washington, D.C., and what really happened suggest faulty record-keeping, poor communication, or more sinister efforts to conceal illness and death. Adding to the trouble, as the historian David Wallace Adams has contended, "[M]ost superintendents only reported deaths of those students who were actually attending the school; it was a common practice to dismiss the sickly students."²³⁴ For instance, in 1882, Joe Gunn (Ponca) died three months after being sent home sick from Carlisle in July. Furthermore, Oliver, Chief Spotted Tail's son, died before reaching the Rosebud agency in 1883.²³⁵ Highlighting a different type of recording keeping abnormality, official reports for Forest Grove between 1880-1885 reveal that between nine and twenty-two students died. However, the historian Cary C. Collins used other record sources to determine that forty-three students perished during that time, revealing that Forest Grove's superintendents underreported deaths by

²³² Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, XXXVIII.

²³³ See, for example: R.H. Pratt, First Lieutenant Tenth Cavalry, in charge to [Commissioner of Indian Affairs], October 15, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 184-185 and Physician, in H.J. Minthorn, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 17, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, 181.

²³⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

up to 477 percent.²³⁶

Lethal and non-life-threatening diseases spread through the institutions' dangerously unhealthy environments. Afflictions reported in the schools' newspapers and other primary sources between include bronchitis, common colds, diphtheria, erysipelas, influenza or "la grippe," malarial fevers, measles, meningitis, mumps, pneumonia, scarlet fever, skin infections, smallpox, trachoma, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever among others.²³⁷ Medical statistics compiled by the Indian Office expand this list to include abscesses, anemia, boils, bowel hemorrhage, broken bones, bruises, cancer, cerebral-spinal meningitis, cholera, conjunctivitis, constipation, convulsions, diseases of the urinary and genital organs, dropsy, drowning, dysentery, epilepsy, fractures, frost-bite, heart diseases, homicide, incontinence, inflammation of the brain, inflammation of the lungs, jaundice, laryngitis, otorrhea, paralysis, pleurisy, rheumatism, scurvy,

²³⁶ Collins, "Broken Crucible of Assimilation," 472. Collins' number includes students sent home ill who died on the way home or shortly thereafter. My database reveals fifteen deaths over the period (Appendix 2).

²³⁷ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:1 (January 1880), 3; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:11 (June 1881), 3; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1:10 (April 1881), 3; *The Morning Star* 3:10 (May 1883), 3; *The Morning Star* 4:8 (March 1884), 3; *The Morning Star* 4:12 (July 1884), 3; *The Morning Star* 5:2 (September 1884), 4; *The Morning Star* 7:2 (October 1886), 2; *The Indian Helper* 3:5 (September 9, 1887), 2; *The Indian Helper* 3:41 (May 25, 1888), 2; *The Indian Helper* 4:16 (November 30, 1888), 2; *The Red Man* 9:9 (September 1889), 8; *The Indian Helper* 5:11 (November 1, 1889), 2; *The Indian Helper* 5:19 (January 10, 1890), 3; *The Indian Helper* 5:22 (January 31, 1890), 3; *The Red Man* 10:1 (January & February 1890), 1; *The Indian Helper* 5:25 (February 21, 1890), 3; *The Indian Helper* 5:35 (May 2, 1890), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:19 (January 16, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:24 (February 20, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:31 (April 10, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:32 (April 17, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:47 (July 31, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:49, (August 14, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:50 (August 21, 1891), 3; *The Red Man* 11:2 (September 1891), 4; *The Red Man* 11:3 (Oct. & Nov., 1891), 2; *The Indian Helper* 7:40 (June 17, 1892), 3; *The Indian Helper* 8:12 (December 2, 1892), 3; *The Red Man* 12:2 (Sept., Oct. & Nov. 1893), 4; *The Indian Helper* 11:6 (November 8, 1895), 2; *The Red Man* 13:5 (Nov. & Dec., 1895), 8; *The Indian Helper* 11:36 (June 12, 1896), 3; *The Indian Helper* 12:10 (December 11, 1896), 3; *The Indian Helper* 12:16 (January 29, 1897), 3; *The Indian Helper* 12:18 (February 12, 1897), 3; *The Indian Helper* 12:51 (October 1, 1897), 3; *The Indian Helper* 14:35 (June 23, 1899), 2; U.S. Public Health Service, "Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians," January 27, 1913, 62nd Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate Doc. 1038, 23, 28; Loupe, "Unhappy and Unhealthy," 139; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 200; Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 264, 273.

sprains, starvation, stomach hemorrhage, suicide, sunstroke, tapeworms, tonsillitis, ulcers, various fevers, various wounds, venereal diseases, and whooping cough.²³⁸ The range of illnesses and the number of sick students suggest that a ‘perfect storm’ of psychological stress, overcrowding, forced labor, inadequate nutrition, unsanitary conditions, lack of sanitary supplies, substandard medical care, violence, and life-threatening health practices facilitated the contraction of communicable illnesses and the transmission of disease pathogens among students. Opportunistic diseases sometimes attacked students already ill with another sickness. This ‘storm’ resulted in numerous debilitating epidemics.

Between 1880 and 1883, sanitation and morbidity concerned public health officials across the United States. Urban mortality, which began to decline in the 1880s, exceeded rural death rates and catalyzed public health initiatives. Tuberculosis incidence was higher in cities. There, diseases spread more easily because of the proximity to others and unsanitary conditions. In 1880, New York City, the most populous city in the country and home to densely populated tenements, had a general death rate that was below thirty per 1,000. Other major United States cities — Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago — all had death rates below twenty-five per 1,000.²³⁹ If a Philadelphian lived to five years of age, they could expect to live to 51.8 years.²⁴⁰ Although, Native American life expectancies cannot be conclusively determined for that year, they were undoubtedly lower.

Health conditions were also a rising concern on Indian reservations, and they varied from

²³⁸ For an example of disease surveillance, see: “Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year ending June 30, 1883,” in *ARCIA, 1883*, 304-313.

²³⁹ Michael R. Haines, “The Urban Mortality Transition in the United States, 1800-1940,” *Annales de Démographie Historique* 101:1 (2001), 38-39.

²⁴⁰ Gretchen A. Gondran, “Declining Mortality in the United States in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Annales de Démographie Historique* 84 (1987), 122.

community to community. In Dakota Territory, where the majority of Carlisle students originated, reservation conditions varied. In 1880, the Cheyenne River Agent reported that “[t]he sanitary conditions of the Indians has been good.”²⁴¹ The same year, health conditions were improving at the Lower Brulé Agency because of better shelter. According to the agency physician, “The death rate has diminished over 15 per centum of what it was when the people lived in lodges.”²⁴² At Standing Rock, the sanitary conditions were “excellent, with the exception of some sporadic cases of whooping-cough and pneumonia.”²⁴³ Tuberculosis accounted for 32 percent of recorded deaths at the Yankton Agency, while the physician treated others for diarrhea, dysentery, fevers, and scrofula.²⁴⁴ Sisseton Agent Charles Crissley, however, delivered a poor health report to the commissioner that year. Indigenous peoples under his jurisdiction did not have proper houses, food, or medical care. Where inadequacies existed, diseases found hosts to infect. As at schools, lack of facilities to treat sick patients hindered health. Both Crissley and the Standing Rock agent told how conditions would be improved with hospitals.²⁴⁵

In Indian Territory, today Oklahoma, where many other Carlisle students came from, agents similarly vacillated between glowing and gloomy reports. On the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita reservation, the agent reported, “There have been comparatively few cases of sickness,”

²⁴¹ Leonard Love, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1880, in *ARCIA 1880*, 19-20.

²⁴² Physician, in Wm. E. Dougherty, Captain First Infantry, Acting Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 33-34.

²⁴³ J.A. Stephan, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 58.

²⁴⁴ W.D.E. Andrus, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 10, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 59-60.

²⁴⁵ Charles Crissley, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 49; Stephan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 58.

in 1880.²⁴⁶ The reservation of the Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapahoe had “a large number of cases of sickness ... but comparatively little mortality,” with scrofulous diseases being common.²⁴⁷ The sanitary condition of the Pawnee was “steadily improving,” while the Ponca Agent reported a “very healthy” year, noting eleven deaths mostly of young children and “aged people.”²⁴⁸

In the northwest, the communities where Forest Grove students came from there were various health and sanitary conditions. At Fort Lapwai, the Nez Perce Agency headquarters in Idaho, agent Charles D. Warner reported good sanitary conditions with “no sickness to any extent having been prevalent.” However, “ague, inherited scrofula, with a few cases of quick consumption, having been most prevalent.”²⁴⁹ The sanitary conditions of the Klamaths in southern Oregon was “slowly improving ... owing to good medical treatment and to the adoption of our modes of living.”²⁵⁰ Still, like his counterparts in Dakota Territory, the agent expressed the need for a hospital.²⁵¹ Finally, at the Umatilla Agency, the agent reported that “[t]he health of the Indians is good; but few deaths have occurred and few diseases have prevailed during the year,

²⁴⁶ P.B. Hunt, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 75.

²⁴⁷ Jno. D. Miles, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 70.

²⁴⁸ E.H. Bowman, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 81; Wm. Whiting, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 85.

²⁴⁹ Charles D. Warner United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 67.

²⁵⁰ Linus M. Nickerson, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 9, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 140.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

and those principally among the old and the children.”²⁵² During the 1881, 1882, and 1883 school years, conditions on reservations remained analogous.²⁵³ To be sure, many Indigenous peoples confined to reservations endured similar conditions to their kin in boarding schools. The same government bodies that underfunded the schools remained responsible for unsanitary conditions, inadequate nutrition, and substandard health care on reservations.

Death rates on the reservations from which students hailed ranged from under one to 94.33 deaths per 1,000 reservation residents between 1880 and 1883. They averaged 13.68, 9.39, 9.93, and 11.18 deaths per 1,000 reservation residents for 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883, and collectively averaged 11.02 deaths per 1,000 for the entire period.²⁵⁴ Reservation figures include deaths for the elderly and those under five, both demographics that generally have higher death rates than the age bracket of boarding school students, and deaths were likely undercounted on reservations, especially of the young and old. Death rates at Forest Grove, meanwhile, varied

²⁵² N.A. Conroyer, Farmer in charge to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 10, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 145.

²⁵³ For examples, see the agency reports in the Indian Affairs commissioner’s annual report for 1881, 1882, and 1883.

²⁵⁴ Reservations included are Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brulé, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Sisseton, Yankton, Nez Perce, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita, Osage, Kaw, Pawnee, Ponca, Quapaw, Klamath, Siletz, Umatilla, and Warm Springs. For data see: “Table of statistics relating to population, education, &c., by tribes and their respective agencies” and “Medical and vital statistics of the Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880,” in *ARCIA, 1880*, 238-257, 275-276; “Table of statistics relating to population, education, &c., by tribes and their respective agencies” and “Table showing prevailing diseases among Indians, number of cases of sickness treated, &c., for the year ending June 30, 1881,” in *ARCIA, 1881*, 272-291, 309-311; “Table of statistics relating to population, industries, and sources of subsistence of various Indian tribes, together with religious, vital, and criminal statistics” and “Consolidated report of sick and wounded in the United States Indian service for the year ending June 30, 1882,” in *ARCIA, 1882*, 328-347, foldout after 366; “Table of statistics relating to population, industries, and sources of subsistence of various Indian tribes, together with religious, vital, and criminal statistics” and “Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for year ending June 30, 1883,” in *ARCIA, 1883*, 266-285, 304-313.

between 0 and 38.10 deaths per 1,000 students.²⁵⁵ In comparison, the death rates for U.S. white youth of comparable age 3.63 per 1,000 individuals.²⁵⁶ Carlisle and Forest Grove students would probably have been safer at their homes based on death rates alone.

²⁵⁵ For student deaths, see footnotes 136, 195, 230, 233, and 234 in this chapter. For school populations, see: Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1881 and Wilkinson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 184, 198; “Table of statistics relating to Indian education,” in *ARCIA, 1882*, 326-327; Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1883 and “Table of statistics relating to Indian education,” in *ARCIA, 1883*, 161, 256-257.

²⁵⁶ Haines, “Estimated Life Tables for the United States, 1850-1900,” NP. This is for white individuals ages 15-24.

Part II:
Expanding the Lethal System, 1884-1898

Chapter 3: Replicating Carlisle and Chemawa, 1884-1889

Even as adverse reports, photographs, newspaper articles, and verifiably lethal results reached Washington, D.C. from Carlisle and Forest Grove (Chemawa), politicians and Indian Office officials advocated for an unparalleled expansion of the off-reservation boarding school system. In 1884, the system saw its first major expansion. This growth included the establishment of four large new schools using Carlisle and Chemawa as blueprints that doubled the system's capacity in just nine months. First, Indian Office officials opened Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma on January 15. The Indian Industrial School at Genoa, Nebraska, then began enrolling students on February 20. In August, the Albuquerque Indian School opened in New Mexico, and the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, began admitting students on September 1.¹ Meanwhile, the number of on-reservation boarding and day schools also increased as Congressional appropriations for Native American education continued to grow. In June 1884, there were eighty-six boarding schools and seventy-six day schools, spending more than \$600,000 that year.² Between 1884 and 1894, the number of schools grew to 275, attendance increased by 10,000 children and young adults, and expenditures increased to more than two million dollars per year, a 273 percent increase.³

Some families voluntarily sent their children to boarding schools, while others came by force. Most Indigenous communities did not react enthusiastically to the federal boarding school

¹ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1891, in U.S. OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1891*], 1:56.

² John B. Riley, Indian School Superintendent to The Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1886, in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1886* [hereafter *ARCIA, 1886*], LXXIII-LXXIV.

³ "Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1894," in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1894*], 510.

experiment, especially given the schools' high mortality rates and administrators' stated intention of destroying Native American cultures. In an attempt to overcome this resistance, federal officials mandated compulsory attendance in 1884. Previous Interior secretaries, including Columbus Delano and Carl Schurz, advocated legal compulsion and the withholding of annuities and rations, but Commissioner Hiram Price enacted these policies.⁴ In May, Price expected superintendents "to keep the schools filled with Indian pupils, first by persuasion; if this fails, then by withholding rations or annuities or by such other means as may reach the desired end."⁵ By October, the commissioner reported, "[s]ome progress has been made towards compulsory education."⁶ The practice had been instituted at four Indian agencies in 1884. Two withheld rations and the others withheld annuity payments for those unwilling to send their children to school.⁷ Price drew on the logic presented by reformers of the period. William Merrill, an influential reformer who went on to serve on the Board of Indian Commissioners, advocated forceful intervention into Native American domestic life. "We must as rapidly as possible break up the tribal organization," he declared. "We must not only offer them education, we must force education upon them."⁸

Capitol Hill's decisions, along with those of the Indian Office and local school superintendents, drove the boarding school system's conditions. Federal appropriations provided

⁴ Prucha, *Great Father*, 2:691-692.

⁵ H. Price, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents, May 15, 1884, Circular No. 126, in RG75, "Procedural Issuances of the Bureau of Indian Affairs: Orders and Circulars, 1854-1955," Microfilm Publication M1121, Reel 5, NARADC [hereafter M1121, Reel #.].

⁶ H. Price, Commissioner to The Hon., The Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, XXIII.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ William Merrill quoted in Board of Indian Commissioners, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the Year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1886), 31.

the sole support of most federal schools for Native Americans. Superintendents could only construct buildings, improve sanitation, provide food, offer healthcare, and obtain supplies with Congress's allocations. Indeed, appropriations largely dictated what local superintendents could and could not do, though superintendents did enact policies that also contributed to lethal conditions. While Indian education appropriations rose dramatically, growing 900 percent between 1880 and 1884, from \$75,000 to \$675,000, it was far less than what the Indian Office needed to provide healthy environments for children and young adults in all of its schools.⁹ Legal roadblocks and provisos in the statutes limited the scope and scale of the appropriations. For instance, superintendents could use a maximum of \$10,000 on a building and its furniture, and any expenditure over a certain amount required preauthorization from the Indian Office.¹⁰ These barriers often prevented superintendents from using their full appropriations. "Much better use could be made of this fund if it were not for the restrictions of law and regulations, by which the office is hampered and harassed, and which often defeat the very ends sought by legislation," Commissioner Price grumbled to Interior Secretary Henry M. Teller on October 10, 1883.¹¹

Ultimately, Price sought to increase appropriations for Indian Affairs. Noting that taxpayers might find that the \$5 million expropriated in 1884 for the Office sufficient, the

⁹ "Statement showing the appropriations...for the several Indian tribes and the Indian service, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1881," in *ARCIA, 1880*, 223; H. Price, Commissioner to The Hon., The Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, XXXVIII.

¹⁰ The 1884 Indian Appropriation Act passed stipulated, "That the entire cost of any boarding school building to be built from the moneys appropriated hereby, including furniture, shall not exceed ten thousand dollars." See: "An Act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, and for other purposes," July 4, 1884, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from December, 1883, to March, 1885, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885), 23:91.

¹¹ Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 10, 1883, in *ARCIA, 1883*, XXXVIII.

commissioner emphasized its absurd inadequacy: “the Indians actually get of the money *belonging to the Government*, to feed and clothe them, only about \$7 per annum per capita, or a fraction less than 2 cents a day for each Indian.” In comparison, Price explained that Congress provided \$1,000 a year per soldier. Price resolved, “I make this comparison not for the purpose of conveying the idea that the Army appropriation is too much, for I do not *know* that it is, but for the purpose of showing that the Indian appropriation is too small, because I *do know that it is*.”¹² Systematic underfunding would prove increasingly lethal.

In the east, first mumps and then tuberculosis struck Carlisle. Between November 1883 and January 1884, 116 students contracted mumps from an unknown source. Fortunately, all 116 recovered. Nonetheless, Pratt sent forty-three ill students home during that 1883-1884 school year. By the time he wrote the year’s annual report a few months later, “A number [of them] have died.”¹³ The school newspaper, which reprinted the report, warned, “Our greatest trouble is tubercular disease and scrofula.”¹⁴ Scrofula, a diagnosis no longer heard of, is what boarding school physicians labeled patients with tubercular infections located primarily in the lymph glands, though some patients in this category exhibited tubercular lesions and open abscesses around the body. Students would exhibit the typical symptoms of tuberculosis: fatigue, weight loss, chills, aches, sweating, and a low-grade fever.¹⁵ Also, cervical glands became tender and swelled into a mass. Un- or undertreated, these masses can protrude through the skin, ooze, and fester. School physicians treated the disease by lacerating and draining the masses. After the

¹² Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, III-IV. Italics original.

¹³ *The Morning Star* 5:2 (September 1884), 4. See Appendix 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 1061.

wound healed, physicians sent the students back to class. At that time, a majority of these cases were caused by *M. bovis* bacilli found in contaminated milk.¹⁶ Still, many scrofulous infections resulted from a primary pulmonary infection. Today, medical researchers believe that some of the ulcers, abscesses, and enlarged glands were metastases from this primary site in the lungs.¹⁷ Thus, glandular tuberculosis can be spread through airborne infections. Tuberculosis is most common in overcrowded and deficient environments.

The inadequate physical plants confining and housing students were the products of insufficient funding, itself the result of inadequate congressional appropriations. In Oregon, restricted federal funding ensured that Chemawa remained bereft of a needed hospital. Nevertheless, Chemawa administrators found space to care for the sick, including Sophia Santiago (Nisqually) and Eunice Madge James (Spokane), who died between April and June.¹⁸ A little over a month after her death, the school's superintendent reported how inadequate appropriations impacted the school: "Every department of the school is insufficiently equipped. The farmer has no farm, the shoe shop is too small, as is also the carpenter shop, and there are no other shops." Underfunding combined with over enrollment also caused severe overcrowding: "There are only two school-rooms for 200 children. The dining-room and dormitories are crowded."¹⁹ The consequences included illness.

¹⁶ Mark H. Beers and Robert Berkow, eds., *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy* (17th ed., Whitehouse Station, NJ: Merck Research Laboratories, 1999), 1201.

¹⁷ Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 1201.

¹⁸ P2008, 86, NARAS; Chemawa Death List, NARAS; Mary Richardson Walker diary, June 23, 1884 entry, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University; P2008, 84, NARAS. The "Daily Sick List" lists Mage's death as 12/2/1883" (Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS). Amy Sewokia (Wasco) [Died within one month of leaving] appears on the death list, but it likely to have gone home sick.

¹⁹ H.J. Minthorn, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1884, in *ARCIA*, 1884, 203.

Overcrowding spread contagion, but superintendents resorted to it because enrolling more students increased appropriations. Congress's funding calculations relied on average attendance. Maximizing enrollments maximized federal appropriations. This led to two dangerous outcomes. First, superintendents over enrolled their schools in the fall, presumably knowing that some students would become sick, desert, or fail to return from leave during the academic year. Administrators also admitted some students in questionable health, substantially increasing the probability that pathogens would be introduced to the school and spread from student to student. Second, administrators held sick children and young adults in school longer than was beneficial to their health. Typically, the desperately ill went home as soon as possible if they were able. The chronically ill, like those suffering from subacute tuberculosis and lingering infections, however, wasted away in the school hospital while the school reaped the financial rewards of their attendance. These students typically exited the schools yearly between April and July.

Parsimonious congressional appropriations incentivized superintendents to drive down the per capita costs of caring for Indigenous children and young adults in their custody. Superintendents then offloaded some of the costs of healthcare to students, their guardians, and Outing families. The outing system was a labor program to supply white families cheap Native American labor while inculcating Indian students in white familial and labor norms. By making guardians pay students' transportation costs, making Outing families pay for student workers' meals and wages, forcing students to work without pay at school while requiring them to pay for their own room and board, dental and vision care, supplies, and some clothing, school administrators saved significant amounts of money.²⁰ During the 1883-1884 school year,

²⁰ For later examples of parents paying transportation, see: Pauline Pichette to Sir, October 17, 1906, in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH32: Student Case Files, ca. 1890-1975, Box 15, Folder 225, NARAS

Chemawa, for example, squeezed at least 166 students, and as many as 200 per Chemawa superintendent Henry J. Minthorn's report, into facilities meant for only 150.²¹ In addition to the two deaths that year, the physician reported an additional ten children and young adults sent home due to ill health. Nevertheless, Minthorn thought that he had reason to celebrate. For the first time in Chemawa's history, there would be proper facilities to treat the sick on site.

"Previous to the erection of these buildings [the boys and girls' hospitals]," school physician W.V. Coffin reported, "the overcrowded condition of the school made it very difficult to take proper care of the sick."²² For the many off-reservation boarding schools that lacked a hospital, treating patients with infectious diseases was difficult. Moreover, low salaries failed to attract the best doctors and nurses to fill schools' employee rolls.²³ Without adequate care, space, facilities, or supplies for isolating sick students, diseases spread from student to student, often resulting in epidemics.

[hereafter Chemawa Student Files, Box #, Folder #, NARAS]; C.F. Hauke, Chief Clerk to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, August 28, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3083, NARAS; HKM, Supervisor in Charge to Louise Casey, November 11, 1914, in E-1327, Box 18, NARADC; C.W. Zeiback, Superintendent to Supervisor O.H. Lipps, September 23, 1914, in E-1327, Box 98, Folder 2153, NARADC; Nellie Beaupre Martin to Pierce, Supt. of Indian School, December 23, 1907, in RG75, Haskell Institute, Series 19: Student Case Files, 1884-1920, Box 9, NARAKC [hereafter Haskell Student Files, Box #, NARAKC]. For some examples of student payments for room and board, vision and dental care, and clothing, see: Henrietta C. Neff, Nurse to F.M. Conser, December 16, 1921, in Sherman Student Files, Box 237, Folder Elsie McCoy, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 19, 1911, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Central Classified Files, 1907-1939, Box 10, Folder 112-112, NARAR [hereafter Sherman CCF, Box #, Folder, NARAR]; F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 18, 1920, in Sherman CCF, Box 24, Folder 16882-1920 Sherman Inst. 820, NARADC; Alexandria L. Gough, "A Way Out: The History of the Outing Program From the Haskell Institute to Phoenix Indian School" (M.A. thesis, University of Arkansas, 2010), 34-35, 48-49, 54-56. The practice was the most common at Chemawa (see Chemawa Student Files, NARAS).

²¹ "Table of statistics relating to Indian education," in *ARCIA, 1884*, 280-281.

²² W.V. Coffin, in Minthorn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, 207.

²³ DeJong, "If You Knew the Conditions," 8.

Haskell Institute was one major boarding school without a hospital. Haskell's namesake, Kansas Congressman Dudley C. Haskell, chairman of the congressional Indian Affairs committee, made an 1882 proposal to provide Lawrence with an Indian school. A subscription fund initiated by the *Lawrence Daily Journal* then collected \$10,000, a large amount of money at the time, from local citizens and businesses.²⁴ This fund purchased a 280-acre parcel of land just outside Lawrence.²⁵ However, federal officials failed to pay contractors, delaying the school's opening by several months. When funds did arrive, contractors rushed to complete the school, resulting in shoddy construction. Haskell finally opened to students from the Ponca, Odawa, Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Arapaho agencies on September 1, 1884.²⁶ Although brand new, Haskell's facilities were substandard. In June 1885, the superintendent of Indian schools reported to the United States Interior Secretary on Haskell's buildings and outhouses, "Someone is to blame for the bad work that has been done [here]."²⁷

The institution's design anticipated sickness. Although it lacked a hospital, each dormitory had a room for ill students.²⁸ This made caring for the sick challenging as patient care and observation took place in dispersed locations across campus and provided additional opportunities for pathogens to spread. Other practices also jeopardized student health. The school accepted students before the plant was ready for them. With winter approaching, Haskell had

²⁴ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 18, 20.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁶ James Marvin, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 229-230; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 19-20.

²⁷ John H. Oberly, Superintendent of Indian Schools to Hon. L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, June 2, 1885, in RG75, "Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873-1900," NARA, Publication M1070, 19:409 [hereafter M1070, Reel#:Frame].

²⁸ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 19.

inadequate funds for a boiler and limited heating. Administrators tried to remedy the situation by placing stoves in the sick, school, and dining rooms, but students still began falling ill. Not until November 29 did steam pass through the pipes for the first time. Exposure to cold and then to “a surplus of heat” wore on students. An epidemic of “colds, coughs, and congestion of lungs” broke out in November. This epidemic peaked in early 1885 with twenty-six cases of pneumonia at one time, half of them critical. Haskell’s first superintendent, James Marvin, reported the epidemic to the Indian Affairs commissioner in June: “The sick-rooms were soon filled, and the physician was kept in service day and night, until our institution had more the air of a hospital than of a school.” Because of the epidemic and dire financial conditions, some Haskell employees resigned, adding to the burden of care. Students and parents became “restless.” Marvin told the commissioner: “Indian parents desired to call their children home and the sick plead for permission to go, though unable to arise from their beds.”²⁹ Haskell students had good reason to fear for their lives.

Ten deaths resulted from the 1884-1885 epidemic: six-month-old Harry White Wolf (Southern Cheyenne) on November 13; nineteen-year-old Thomas Tuttle (Osage) on January 11; twenty-three-year-old Norman Brockley (Pawnee) twelve days later; twenty-year-old Charles Panther (Osage) on February 14; seventeen-year-old Seth Thomas (Osage) a day later; thirteen-year-old William Eyre (Pawnee) on February 26; seventeen-year-old Andrew Williams (Pawnee) on March 17; fifteen-year-old Chester Lone-Walk (Pawnee) on April 3; twenty-one-year-old Lizzie King (Peoria) on April 17; and sixteen-year-old Steve Kimball (Ponca) on May 18.³⁰

²⁹ Marvin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 230.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Harry White Wold (Southern Cheyenne) was a baby of two Haskell students and is not in the appendices. In addition to these pneumonia deaths, Edward Harold (Southern Arapaho) died at the school on February 11, 1885 from an unknown cause (Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC).

Eight of these students were the first to be buried in the school's cemetery on the east side of the campus.³¹

It is unknown how many students Marvin sent home sick from the epidemic. He blamed the outbreak on the practice of accepting students without health examinations rather than inadequate heat and poor living environments. He concluded, "A careful review of the winter's experience shows that greater care should have been exercised in selecting pupils of sound health," suggesting to the Indian Affairs commissioner that, "Provision should be made for deliberate examination of pupils at the agencies, and after arrival, and a sort of quarantine to prevent the spread of eruptive diseases from infected persons or clothing."³² Admitting ill students and inadequate environments both contributed to Haskell's lethality. Ultimately, the school physician treated at least 224 students, or 93 percent of the student body, suffering from a variety of maladies during the 1884-1885 school year.³³

Contagion also struck Chemawa that winter. Already strained conditions deteriorated in December. Around 10 a.m. on December 18, 1884, a fire broke out in the girls' dormitory building, which also contained the kitchen, dining, and storage rooms.³⁴ Sparked by a defective flue in the attic and fueled by explosions from oil lamps used to light the building, the fire devoured the structure in forty minutes. Fortunately, student were in the chapel for services that

³¹ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 21; Theresa Milk, *Stories of Sacrifice and Survival: 19th Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival* (Healdsburg, CA: Mammoth Publications, 2007), 156.

³² Marvin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 230.

³³ "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year 1885," in *ARCIA, 1885*, 403.

³⁴ Mary Richardson Walker diary, December 18, 1884 entry, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University.

morning.³⁵ Still, the school was over capacity with 189 students “crowded into quarters calculated for less than half that number,” as Chemawa’s physician-turned-superintendent W.V. Coffin warned the Indian Affairs commissioner.³⁶ The loss of the girls’ dormitory exacerbated these conditions, forcing children and young adults into even more dangerous living arrangements. Snow and bitter cold besieged the school. Thermometers hovered well below freezing while over thirty-four inches of snow fell in December — the snowiest December on record for the location and the second snowiest month ever recorded for the area.³⁷ The first night after the building’s destruction, temperatures fell to a low of eighteen degrees, and for twelve of the next thirteen nights, the mercury dipped below freezing.³⁸ Meanwhile, heavy snowfalls prevented deliveries of clothing, food, mail, and other supplies from reaching the Willamette Valley, as trains were snowbound in the Cascade Mountains. Administrators thus utilized what they had on hand and weathered the storm, albeit with acute consequences to student health.³⁹ The boys gave their dormitory to the girls and found crowded shelter in barns and sheds around the campus.⁴⁰

³⁵ Lemmon, “Historical Development of the Chemawa Indian School,” 31-32; W.V. Coffin, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 222-223.

³⁶ Coffin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 222.

³⁷ National Weather Service, “Public Information Statement,” December 22, 2008, Portland, OR, https://www.wrh.noaa.gov/pqr/info/2008_December_snowstorm.txt; *The West Shore* (Portland, OR) XI:1 (January 1, 1885), 29.

³⁸ NOAA, “Record of Climatological Observations [Portland Regional Forecast Office for December 1884],” <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/cdo-web/datasets/GHCND/stations/GHCND:USW00024274/detail>.

³⁹ *West Shore* XI:1 (January 1, 1885), 29.

⁴⁰ Coffin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 223.

Sickness and death soon stalked the students. A January 17, 1885 diary entry from a school affiliate noted: “An Indian girl died.”⁴¹ This was likely Ambelia Lyle (Puyallup) who passed away at the school on January 15. A week later, consumption killed Thomas Hunter (Paiute).⁴² The following week Sarah Adams (Clallam) was dead from bronchitis.⁴³ On February 1, the school physician sent home Quinn Paschal with an unknown sickness to his home on the Yakima Reservation.⁴⁴ Later that month, the school sent Carrie Duncan (Clatsop) home with scrofula.⁴⁵

By February 1, Superintendent Coffin had ordered students to reconstruct the fire-damaged buildings, repurpose others, and return to normal.⁴⁶ However, by month’s end, Coffin received orders to move the school twenty-six miles to Salem, Oregon, where a 170-plus-acre land tract in the Kalapuya homelands awaited them.⁴⁷ First, Coffin sent the school carpenter D.E. Brewer and twelve boys to clear the land and make the new site habitable for students.⁴⁸ Coffin was now overseeing two school sites. Sixty-one more students transferred to the new site in March.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Mary Richardson Walker diary, January 17, 1885 entry, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS-102, Pacific University; P2008, 96, NARAS.

⁴² P2008, 90, NARAS; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS.

⁴³ Martin N.B. Holm, Superintendent to Mrs. Marion Lambert Vincent, June 4, 1952, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 9 in Charlotte Adams, Folder 231, NARAS.

⁴⁴ P2008, 94, NARAS.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁶ Coffin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 223.

⁴⁷ There were at least two old buildings on the property (*Ibid.*).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Still, students continued to fall ill, and some died. That month, administrators sent Ella Waters (Klickitat) home sick from Forest Grove with scrofula and her sister Nora, presumably as an escort. The next day, Charles Thompson (Nez Perce) died of scrofula at Forest Grove.⁵⁰ Romulus [Romie] Sidwaller (Wasco) then died from “inflammation of the brain,” likely cerebrospinal meningitis, on May 25.⁵¹ Meanwhile, the transfer of students from Forest Grove to Chemawa, the new location near Salem, continued.

By June 1, 1885, all of the students, both the sick and the healthy, were in Salem, and Chemawa Indian School officially opened.⁵² Four days later, George James (Spokane) died there from consumption.⁵³ His was the new school’s first mortality. It was an inauspicious beginning. By the end of the academic year, John Lee, Chemawa’s superintendent since the previous October, sent home the children and young adults who had little hope of recovery before the next school year started. Between May and July, he offloaded fourteen seriously sick children and young adults to their agencies, many of them suffering from tuberculosis.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ P2008, 94, 88, NARAS; “Chemawa Sanitary Record,” in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH35: Student Medical Treatment Records, 1939-1942, Box 3, 1-2, NARAS [hereafter Chemawa Sanitary Record, Page #, NARAS].

⁵¹ P2008, 90, NARAS.

⁵² Coffin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 223.

⁵³ Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239, NARAS.

⁵⁴ Chemawa Sanitary Record, 1-6, NARAS. The students sent home were (diseases in brackets): John Blow (Klamath) [Phthisis], Lee Scott (Klamath) [Hemorrhoids], Alex Sidwaller (Wasco) [Phthisis], Sophia Santiago (Santiago) [Scrofula] [reported to have died at the school in April], Charlotte Whitman (Nez Perce) [Scrofula], John Helm (Tulalip) [Scrofula], David Richards (Puyallup) [Scrofula], Caesar Williams (Tenino) [Scrofula], Alexis Laughlet [Laughlin] (Puyallup) [Scrofula], Rosa Weeks (Klamath) [Pneumonia/Phthisis] [listed as died 8/5/1885], Alice Williams (Spokane) [Scrofula], Henry Edwards (Nez Perce) [Scrofula], Lina Hill (Klamath) [Hemoptysis], and Fannie Shellhead (Siletz) [Phthisis]. Henry Edwards died soon after his arrival home (P2008, 84-88, NARAS).

Although records indicate that the school sent home at least thirteen students sick and demonstrate that at least six students died at Forest Grove and Chemawa during the 1884-1885 school year, the superintendent's annual report to the Indian Affairs commission noted only four deaths and mentioned the sending home of only two sick students.⁵⁵ Thus, while high-level policymakers at the Indian Affairs Office headquarters had many of the facts about what was happening at the boarding schools, and frequently pleaded with the Interior Department and Congress for additional funding, their own school superintendents routinely hid the lethality of the schools from them, thus impeding their efforts to marshal evidence in their quest for federal funding.

Chemawa students continued sickening and dying in the fall of 1885; the conditions at Forest Grove and the move to Salem contributed to this illness. It is possible that a lack of food, exposure, contagion from ill students, and exhaustion increased morbidity and mortality, or sickness and death. In August, two Klamath students, Rosa Weeks and Ethel Dowase, succumbed to their tubercular infections, phthisis and scrofula.⁵⁶ Another Klamath student, Cesar [Cassius] Brown, died in November from typhoid-malaria.⁵⁷ Conditions then worsened in 1886.

Between February and April, pneumonia, bronchitis, and tubercular infections hit. At least thirty patients spent time in the hospital, and three died — Julia Jopps (Spokane) from typhoid-pneumonia in February, followed by Joseph Terbasco (Puyallup), and Nancy Amos (Nez Perce) from unknown illnesses.⁵⁸ Mumps entered the school between May and July, during

⁵⁵ Coffin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 225; "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year 1885," in *ARCIA, 1885*, 403. See appendices.

⁵⁶ P2008, 98, NARAS.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 11-12, NARAS.

which thirty-seven students came down with the infectious disease.⁵⁹ Mumps affects the central nervous system and the infected students likely experienced symptoms including pain, fevers, headaches, enlarged salivary glands, loss of appetite, sore throats, and possible testicular pain and swelling in males.⁶⁰ Two Umatilla students may also have been sent home to die as Charles Lowry and Moses Price Minthorn left the school in July after the epidemic. Their records noted simply, “Home-Dead.”⁶¹

Following this pattern of underreporting deaths and disease to superiors in Washington, D.C., Pratt continued to hide lethality at Carlisle. A report reprinted in the school’s October 1886 edition of its magazine, *The Morning Star*, disingenuously described how Carlisle experienced “an entire freedom from all forms of serious acute diseases, as well as prevailing epidemics,” while announcing the death of ten students that fiscal year.⁶² Neither was true. Archival documents reveal that twelve students died during the 1885-1886 school year and that the school physician treated at least 450 cases of disease, including a growing epidemic of “sore eyes” or trachoma. Many of those who perished likely contracted a respiratory illness while one student committed suicide while on the Outing Program.⁶³

⁵⁸ P2008, 19-22, 84, 94, 96, NARAS.

⁵⁹ Chemawa Sanitary Record, 21-26, NARAS.

⁶⁰ Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 887-889.

⁶¹ P2008, 84, 102, NARAS.

⁶² *Morning Star* 7:2 (October 1886), 2.

⁶³ “Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the year 1886,” in *ARCIA, 1886*, 457. The students who died are: Margaret Edgar (Acoma Pueblo), in E-1328, Box 5, Guy Basket (Tonto Apache), in E1328, Box 1, Rebecca Little Wolf (Nez Perce), in E1328, Box 2, Titus Deerhead (Tonto Apache), in E1328, Box 1, Corinne Simahtie (Acoma Pueblo), in E1328, Box 6, How-se-eh (Laguna Pueblo), in E1328, Box 2, Dorland [Koshetsenekah] (Osage), E1329, Box 5, Pedro Sanchez (Cochiti Pueblo), in E1328, Box 3, Friend Hollow Horn Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E1329, Box 5,

Carlisle and Chemawa superintendents were not the only boarding school leaders who underreported disease and death. That same year, Haskell's superintendent failed to report the demographic toll of disease on students under his charge. A year after twelve students had died there in 1885, another nine died in 1886.⁶⁴ A total of 587 instances of illness or injury occurred at Haskell in 1886, which now had a completed thirty-bed hospital.⁶⁵ According to the superintendent's annual report to the Indian Affairs commissioner, the new hospital accounted for a 50 percent reduction in cases. This, however, is not born out by the statistics that he himself reported to the commissioner. In 1885, when the school had no hospital, the physician treated 224 cases of sickness in an enrolled population of 240 students, an average of just under one sickness per child. After the hospital's construction, there were 585 cases of illness for 296 students for fiscal year 1886.⁶⁶ Instead of a halving of disease, the number of cases more than doubled on a per capita basis. Further, no other mention of these deaths or illness appears in the superintendent's annual report.⁶⁷

Ella Soysewitzsa (Laguna Pueblo), in E1328, Box 6, Owen Fire (Tonto Apache), in E1329, Box 5, and Daniel Young Eagle (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E1328, Box 4, NARADC.

⁶⁴ Marvin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, 230; "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the year 1886," in *ARCIA, 1886*, 457. Little is known about these early cases of illness and epidemics at Haskell because a 1906 fire destroyed records (George Shawnee, Chief Clerk to Charles F. Meserve, August 18, 1925, in Haskell Student Files, Box 1, Folder Robert A. Agosa, NARAKC).

⁶⁵ "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the year 1886," in *ARCIA, 1886*, 457, 451; Arthur Grabowskii, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1886, in *ARCIA, 1886*, 5.

⁶⁶ John H. Oberly, Indian School Superintendent to Hon. L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, C; "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian Service, for the year 1885," in *ARCIA, 1885*, 403; Riley to Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1886, in *ARCIA, 1886*, LXIII; "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the year 1886," in *ARCIA, 1886*, 457.

⁶⁷ Grabowskii to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1886, in *ARCIA, 1886*, 5-8.

Excessive enrollment was partly to blame for both diseases and subsequent deaths. Haskell's growing attendance led to higher budgets, but it also led "to overcrowded conditions in the dormitories and classrooms."⁶⁸ Overcrowding eased the spread of pathogens and made treating ill students more difficult. Underreporting then limited responses to health crises and partially hid the problem from Indian Office policymakers in Washington, D.C., who could potentially have intervened.

Why did superintendents underreport deaths and sicknesses? The answer is complicated. There are no extant letters from them admitting they did so or explaining their rationale. There are few letters from the Indian Office questioning the reporting, though they exist.⁶⁹ Any attempt to understand the practice is conjecture. Regarding deaths, superintendents skated on technicalities. Beyond the risk that sick children and young adults presented to otherwise healthy students, pupils on their deathbeds created a risk to each superintendent's job security. If a student died on the way home or on outing, the superintendent would not always report the death because it did not occur on campus. Still, it is possible that commissioners reported some of these deaths for which there exists no documentation, as early recording keeping at some schools was poor. Another consideration for superintendents was their legacy, especially for long-time veterans of the Indian Office, while younger superintendents may have sought to conceal information that would impede their promotions. Finally, superintendents may have also been keen to avoid reporting something that might cause them to lose their positions and salaries. If

⁶⁸ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 25.

⁶⁹ For an example, see: W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Indian School, Riverside, Cal., October 5, 1903, 1, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Letters & Telegrams from the Commissioner, 1903-1909, Box 53, NARAR [hereafter Sherman LR, Box #, NARAR].

too many students died or were caught not adhering to Indian Office policies, superiors in Washington, D.C. might investigate the school and relieve a superintendent of duty.

Even as new schools opened, including Colorado's Grand Junction School in 1886, some existing schools continued to be crowded well beyond their official capacities.⁷⁰ For the 1886-1887 school year, Carlisle's enrollment reached 617 students or 117 more than the school's recommended capacity.⁷¹ Coercive enrollments bolstered attendance. In 1886, the Mescalero Agent reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner, "Everything in the way of persuasion and argument having failed, it became necessary to visit the camps unexpectedly with a detachment of police, and seize such children as were proper and take them away to school, willing or unwilling."⁷²

Even for Chemawa and Haskell, whose enrollment was less than capacity because the schools added new buildings throughout the year, sickness remained commonplace, indicating that overcrowding alone was not the sole cause of diseases, epidemics, and mortalities at the schools. In 1887, Chemawa's superintendent reported a scarlet fever epidemic that affected half of the school's 339 students, while the physician treated a total of 500 cases of disease in the school hospital. Nine students died, including two from malarial fever.⁷³ Haskell's physician, likewise, had a tragically busy year. He treated 374 cases of disease and cared for eight students

⁷⁰ Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 41.

⁷¹ "Statistics of all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887," in *ARCIA, 1887*, 319.

⁷² Fletcher J. Cowart, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 12, 1886, in *ARCIA, 1886*, 199.

⁷³ John Lee, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1887, in *ARCIA, 1887*, 256. Those that died were: Philip Star (Snake-Piute) [Consumption], Celia Lane (Puyallup), Ellen Abraham (Spokane), Joseph Jim Lucy (Wasco), Charlotte Adams (Clallam), Belle Preston (Klamath), Mary Wilson (Nez Perce), Amelia Linsley (Nez Perce) (P2008, 80-98, NARAS), and Charles Lowry [Lowery] (Umatilla) [Consumption/typhoid pneumonia] (Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239).

who died. Some of their names and ages are unknown.⁷⁴

Without concerted policies aimed at curbing disease and remediating conditions that fostered illness and hindered recovery, sickness became endemic. Undeterred by the many deaths superintendents and agents reported, even if incompletely, federal and local officials continued their plan to educate and assimilate Native American youth. Superintendents did offer, if only temporary, preventative policies to limit the spread of disease. After Chemawa's scarlet fever epidemic, Carlisle, for example, witnessed its own outbreak of the disease. Pratt and Carlisle's physician quickly isolated the patient, and scarlet fever spread to only three other students.⁷⁵ When given resources and opportunity, superintendents did, at times, limit contagion. Nevertheless, parsimonious congressional appropriations, institutionalized neglect, and inadequate medical care often mitigated their attempts to do so. At other times, superintendents consciously ignored Indian Office directives and policies intended to safeguard student health. They also imported disease by accepting ill students, jeopardizing the well-being of healthy students, contributing to the spread of disease, and ultimately causing unnecessary deaths. The unsanitary, institutionalized environment and administrative practices created the conditions for contagion. The experience of the Chiricahua Apache sent to Carlisle around the time of the scarlet fever outbreak illustrates this import of these dangers.

In 1886, federal officials sought to educate Chiricahua Apache children and young adults after Geronimo's band surrendered and became prisoners of war. The Army imprisoned most of the Chiricahua Apaches in Fort Marion at St. Augustine, Florida — the same military installation

⁷⁴ "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the fiscal year 1887," in *ARCIA, 1887*, 406-407; "Statistics of all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887," in *ARCIA, 1887*, 316. See Appendix

⁷⁵ R.H. Pratt, Captain Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 7, 1887, in *ARCIA, 1887*, 259.

where Pratt had begun his educational experiment ten years earlier.⁷⁶ Learning about the government's desire to educate the Chiricahuas, Superintendent Pratt wrote to General R.C. Drum, the Adjutant-General of the United States Army, and suggested sending Bonito, a Chiricahua student at Carlisle, to "induce them [the Chiricahuas imprisoned at Fort Marion] to give up their children for education."⁷⁷ Pratt was willing to take "all that are of suitable age."⁷⁸ By August, Lieutenant Colonel Loomis Langdon, Fort Marion's commander, recommended sending "the *whole* party [of Chiricahua child prisoners] to Carlisle."⁷⁹ The Interior and War departments then ordered Pratt to take guardianship of them. After an 800-plus mile journey north, 106 Chiricahuas enrolled at Carlisle between November 4, 1886, and April 30, 1887. They were terrified. Kaywaykla, one of the child prisoners, recalled "the terror of another separation from our people, and the uncertainty of what was to be done with us," but added, "we were well treated."⁸⁰ Pratt admitted that he was excited to "leverage" the Chiricahua students and expected increased appropriations from Washington to use "for [Carlisle's] needed improvements, and the farm."⁸¹ Like their colonial antecedents, federal boarding schools used students for fundraising.

⁷⁶ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 7, 1887, in *ARCIA, 1887*, 260.

⁷⁷ R.H. Pratt, Captain, Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to General R.C. Drum, Adjutant-General, U.S.A., May 29, 1886, in "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting, In response to Senate resolution of January 31, papers relative to the education of the Apaches in Florida," 49th Cong., 2nd Sess., S. Exec. Doc. 73 (February 3, 1887), 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Loomis L. Langdon, Lieutenant-Colonel, Second Artillery, Commanding Post to Assistant Adjutant-General, Headquarters Division of the Atlantic, August 23, 1886, in "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting, In response to Senate resolution of January 31, papers relative to the education of the Apaches in Florida," 7.

⁸⁰ Kaywaykla, in H. Henrietta Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 122.

⁸¹ RH Pratt to Dr. Agnew, October 21, 1886, in CIS-MC-001: Carlisle Indian School – Cornelius Agnew, Box 1, Folder 28, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

This was not the first group of Apache students at Carlisle. Fifty-four arrived from Fort Apache, Arizona, early in 1884. The experience of the initial group of Chiricahua, Tonto, and White Mountain Apaches including the children of Chiefs Bonito, Cassadore, Charley Pan, Eskeltah, Eskiminzine, Kelcusay, Natan Latze, Pete, and Snooks, would foretell what was to come for the other Apache bands in conflict with the United States Army.⁸² Like the Chiricahuas who arrived in 1886 and 1887, this earlier group had been sent to Carlisle after years of war and subjugation on reservations. The students exemplified the typical range of outcomes for students at Carlisle: five deserted, two enlisted in the Army, twenty-five fulfilled their proscribed terms of enrollment, and officials sent nine home sick. Eleven, or 20 percent, died at Carlisle. None graduated.⁸³ The Chiricahuas, who arrived several years later, would suffer an even more deadly experience.

⁸² For chiefs' children, see: Jim Foxcatcher, in E-1328, Box 2, Albert Casadore, in E-1328, Box 1, Mabel Kelcusay, in E-1328, Box 2, Austin Navajoe, in E-1328, Box 3, Pete Ocotea, in E-1328, Box 3, Ida Whiteface, in E-1327, Box 45, Folder 2211, Lorenzo Bonito, in E-1328, Box 1, Lucius Bird, in E-1328, Box 1, Egbert Eskeltah, in E-1328, Box 5, Horace Eskiminzine, in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC. Records list Mojaves and Quechans as part of this group.

⁸³ Colton Balcatzah (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5; E-1328, Box 1, NARADC); Horace Eskiminzine (San Carlos Apache), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC); Ralph Naltuey (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 3, Folder 103, NARADC); Reuben Whiteman (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 153, Folder 6020, NARADC); Job Hunterboy (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 150, Folder 5830, NARADC); Guy Basket (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Given Bat (San Carlos Apache), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC); Lorenzo Bonito (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Albert Casadore (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Titus Deerhead (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Eva Dezey (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC); Roderic Fatty (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Owen Fire (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Ada Foxcatcher (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC); Jim Foxcatcher (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Mabel Kelcusay (Apache), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC); Peter Ocotea (Apache (Mohave)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); Victor Tozoski (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 4, NARADC); Lucius Bird (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Constant Bread (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Egbert Eskeltah (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC); Justin Head (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 2, Folder 4523, NARADC); Jose Nadilgodey (Apache (Tonto/Mojave)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); Eustace Pelone (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 13, NARADC); Justin Shedee (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 153, Folder 5983, NARADC); Work Together (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 4, NARADC); Parker Whitney West (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC); Eben Beads (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box

Some of the 106 Chiricahua children and young adults taken to Carlisle quickly sickened. Warfare, forced removal, and confinement had already taken a toll. At Fort Marion, inadequate clothing and food combined with crowding heightened the chance of contagion and lessened the ability of these children and young adults to fight pathogens once at Carlisle. Moreover, policies had primed the fort for epidemics. Visiting the former Spanish fortress while the Apache were there in March 1887, Herbert Welsh, the secretary of the Indian Rights Association, reported: “The clothing of the Indians during the Winter has been totally insufficient and unsuitable.”⁸⁴ Overcrowding helped spread disease. Welsh commented on the ramparts being “closely crowded with tents, so that but a narrow space is left for passage way. Most of the tents are crowded with occupants.”⁸⁵ The Army placed 502 Chiricahuas in a prison designed for 150-people.⁸⁶ Welsh was also concerned with the inadequate rations. He recommended, “Suitable food in sufficient

11, NARADC); Matthew Broom (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 2, Folder 65, NARADC); Norman Cassadore (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 11, NARADC); Isaac Cutter (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC); Randal Delchey (San Carlos Apache), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC); Hiram Doctor (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC); Brian Early Bird (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 2, Folder 76, NARADC); Amelia Elseeday (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 44, Folder 2200, NARADC); Lot Eyelash (San Carlos Apache (Chiricahua)), in E-1327, Box 2, Folder 77, NARADC); Roland Fish (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 2, Folder 78, NARADC); Dexter Loco (San Carlos Apache), in E-1327, Box 3, Folder 99, NARADC); Laban Locojuin (White Mountain Apache), in E-1327, Box 3, Folder 100, NARADC); Wood Nashozey (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 13, NARADC); Austin Navajoe (Apache (Quechan)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); George Nyrah (Apache (Quechan)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); Festus Pelone (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 13, NARADC); Joseph Place (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); Gilbert Pusher (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 13, NARADC); Obed Rabbit (San Carlos Apache (Tonto)), in E-1328, Box 3, NARADC); Stephen Smith (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC); Morgan Toprock (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC); Donald Water (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 153, Folder 5998, NARADC); Ida Whiteface (San Carlos Apache), in E-1329, Box 8, NARADC); Modoc Wind (Apache (Tonto)), in E-1327, Box 3, Folder 124, NARADC); Colton Wood (San Carlos Apache), in E-1327, Box 153, Folder 6005, NARADC.

⁸⁴ Herbert Welsh, *The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1887), 14.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸⁶ Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit*, 86.

quantities should be supplied them. They at present have insufficient vegetable diet, and are entirely without any fruit diet, excepting an occasional orange or banana given them by a visitor or such as they may purchase for themselves.”⁸⁷

As Indigenous deaths in federal custody mounted, officials in Washington, D.C. persisted in their attacks on Native American communities. First, they advocated for more schools. Indian Affairs Commissioner John D.C. Atkins appealed to the Interior secretary on September 21, 1887, on economic and military grounds: “the cost of the schools is immeasurably less than that of the wars they supplant, to say nothing of the sacrifices of lives of both soldiers and Indians.”⁸⁸ As the federal Native American school system expanded, federal officials also attacked Indigenous sovereignty and communities in other ways.

In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes or General Allotment Act. This act was a direct attack on Native American land, disrupting traditional Indigenous economies and connections to a particular place. The policy aimed to convert communal land title into individual tracts of land, typically 80- to 160-acre parcels, and the rest, deemed “excess,” would be sold off to non-Indians.⁸⁹ Indeed, land falling into white hands was the stated goal. On the House of Representatives’ floor, the New York Republican Congressman Charles R. Skinner advocated

⁸⁷ Welsh, *Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion*, 19.

⁸⁸ J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 21, 1887, in *ARCIA 1887*, XVII.

⁸⁹ “An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes,” February 8, 1887, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from December, 1885, to March 1887, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 24:388-391.

for the bill, stating, “such surplus lands must be so disposed of that the white man may get possession of them.”⁹⁰ In this regard, the Dawes act was hugely successful.

In conjunction with the Native American boarding school, advocates argued that allotment and the dismantling of reservations would push Native American peoples to relinquish their identities and assimilate into United States society.⁹¹ Indeed, allotment and the education assaults were complimentary tactics in the broader federal strategy of dispossession and assimilation. Allotment’s goals were to make Native American people into farmers or wage laborers, an objective of the boarding school system as well. The goal of both policies was obtaining access to Native American land and severing Indigenous connections to that land. The policy was attractive for both liberal-minded politicians who advocated for boarding schools and their western adversaries who wanted Native American lands and natural resources. Liberal reformers got assimilation, westerners got Native American land, and Indigenous nations stood to lose millions of acres of their homelands. In the end, allotment transferred some 90 million acres to non-Indians between 1887 and 1934.⁹²

As Indigenous leaders and parents fought to keep their lands, economies, and sovereignty, their children and young adults continued dying at the schools or soon after leaving them. Thus, Native Americans continued to resist the educational assault. The Cheyenne & Arapaho agent reported to Haskell’s Superintendent Robinson in January 1887: “There is a deep-rooted prejudice in the minds of the Indians against Haskell Institute, caused in part by the death of some of their children there, but I think more particularly on account of the rigid discipline of

⁹⁰ *Congressional Record*, December 15, 1886, 190.

⁹¹ White, *Republic For Which It Stands*, 604-605.

⁹² Charles F. Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 43, 47; Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 163.

the school.”⁹³ That same year, a Carlisle student recalled that her Oneida parents in Wisconsin “would not let me go back to School after my sister died [there in 1887].”⁹⁴ The rising resistance proved well-founded.

The late 1880s were an extremely lethal time for federal Indian boarding school students, perhaps the deadliest. Schools continued to be breeding grounds for epidemics, and overcrowding exacerbated the health consequences. During the 1887-1888 school year, sources indicate that eighteen students died Haskell, many from an April 1888 pneumonia epidemic and tuberculosis.⁹⁵ Twenty-one students died at Carlisle. Another eleven perished at Chemawa, which experienced epidemics of measles and an unknown disease in December and March through May.⁹⁶ While not the case every year, these schools accounted for the majority of the sixty-eight off-reservation boarding school deaths reported to the Indian Affairs Commissioner that year.⁹⁷ Another thirty-two students died at the schools between July 1, 1888 and December 31, 1889.⁹⁸

⁹³ C. Robinson, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1887, in *ARCIA*, 1887, 238-239.

⁹⁴ “Record of Graduates and Returned Students,” in Louise [Louisa] Metoxen (Oneida), in E-1327, Box 53, Folder 2668, NARADC.

⁹⁵ C. Robinson, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 259; Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent Indian Schools to Hon. Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1889, in *ARCIA*, 1889, 321.

⁹⁶ John Lee, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 275; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1888,” in *ARCIA*, 1888, 461. For epidemics, see: Chemawa Daily Sick List, 17, 22-27, NARAS. See Appendix 2.

⁹⁷ “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1888,” in *ARCIA*, 1888, 461; Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 275; C. Robinson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 259; Wm. A. Kelly, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 18, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 246; Thos. H. Breen, M.D., Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, 254.

School superintendents sent a number of ill students home to uncertain fates, as they struggled to minimize registering mortalities at their institutions. Some superintendents held students at school until there was little to no hope of recovery, then sent them home when they were at their weakest, almost ensuring their deaths and inviting the possibility of community contagion. Military leaders concerned about Chiricahua deaths had already condemned the policy at Carlisle. The practice was cruel and often lethal. Archival records reveal that students died on the way home or shortly after their arrival.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, people who came in contact with sick students traveling home risked contagion unknowingly. Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell sent home at least 146 ill children and young adults, most afflicted with tuberculosis, between July 1, 1887 and December 31, 1889.¹⁰⁰ Whether or not they died or transmitted communicable diseases needs further study. Still, it is clear that Pratt and other boarding school superintendents routinely relied on sending sick students home to keep these deaths off their official records and out of their annual reports.

One preventative policy that Washington, D.C. policymakers instigated was campus health inspections. As early as 1882, the supervisor (or superintendent) of Indian schools visited boarding schools around the country and reported the conditions to the Indian Affairs commissioner.¹⁰¹ In 1889, Supervisor Daniel Dorchester toured the country. Health and unsanitary arrangements preoccupied his reporting. Of his May visit to Haskell, Dorchester

⁹⁸ See Appendix 2. Because of poor records for Chemawa and Haskell during this time, this is likely an undercount.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 3.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰¹ John H. Oberly, Indian School Superintendent to Hon. L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1885, in *ARCIA, 1885*, LXX.

noted: “The shops are too small, hence crowded and dirty.... Even the provision for the accommodation of the swine is reprehensible and wholly inadequate.” He also inspected Haskell’s hospital, finding nine students, “some quite sick” with scrofula. One student died while Dorchester was there. Nine other students died at Haskell that year, according to his report — six from pneumonia, two from consumption or tuberculosis, and two from “malarial fever.”¹⁰² While observing that health had improved from since his previous visit to Haskell, Dorchester remained concerned. He described how “at best the Indian youths inherit scrofula, have many offensive sores, sore eyes, tuberculous afflictions, and often the sad taint of constitutional syphilis, and therefore require good care, judicious food, and comfortable clothes.” However, healthy and sick students alike lacked those necessities. Dorchester also warned that rations were utterly inadequate, particularly for infirm students: “Eggs are not provided, and butter, only twice a week. Grease from fat pork, with flour stirred in is, is made into a gravy for sick people for breakfast. Surely we are not civilizing sick Indians very fast!”¹⁰³ With inadequate sustenance, one of the most common complaints of boarding school students, their bodies had difficulty fighting infectious bacteria and viruses.

Dorchester’s wife Merial, appointed an Indian Office special agent by Interior Secretary John W. Noble, also visited Haskell.¹⁰⁴ She noted that female students were underdressed due to a lack of linen and that this was but one of the “avenues through which many diseases enter their systems.”¹⁰⁵ Being under clothed left students vulnerable to the elements, negatively impacting

¹⁰² Dorchester to Morgan, September 5, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 321.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Dorchester to Morgan, September 5, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 315.

¹⁰⁵ Merial A. Dorchester, Special Agent, “Report of Special Agent in Indian School Service,” September 2, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 342.

their health. Even the one place on campus students could turn to for medical care was inadequate. Dorchester reported, “Nearly every room in the hospital was in disorder,” due to ongoing repairs.¹⁰⁶

Despite substantial death rates in boarding schools and throughout Indian Country in the 1880s, health remained a marginal focus of Indian Office bureaucrats. Outside of the boarding schools, there were only four hospitals in all of Indian Country.¹⁰⁷ Agency physicians and superintendents repeatedly called attention to sickness and related deaths in the boarding schools, but policymakers did little to address the problem. Some blamed these outcomes on improper treatment and facilities. Doctor J. M. Woodburn, Jr., a physician at South Dakota’s Rosebud Agency, reported to Major Lebbeus F. Spencer, the Rosebud Agent, on July 1, 1889: “A great many cases have I seen growing gradually worse, and finally die, from what? Neglect of proper medical treatment and nursing.” Woodburn insisted, “Nothing else kills them.... Scrofulous ulcers, eye troubles, skin diseases, even bronchial troubles — all could be treated intelligently in a hospital and the majority cured, while, as the condition of affairs is at present, death is bound to ensure; and at whose door may the crime of neglectful murder be laid?”¹⁰⁸ Despite repeated warnings from physicians and superintendents, the Indian Office and Congress did little to address the health threats facing children and young adults on reservations and in federal boarding schools during the 1880s.

¹⁰⁶ Dorchester, “Report of Special Agent in Indian School Service,” September 2, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 343.

¹⁰⁷ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 10. Two of the hospitals were on the Osage and Menominee reservations.

¹⁰⁸ J.M. Woodburn, Jr., Agency Physician to Maj. L.F. Spencer, United States Indian Agent, July 1, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 162.

Consistently housing students in inadequate facilities, with inadequate clothing, rations, and medical care, and routinely enrolling diseased children and young adults constituted institutionalized neglect. The United States Supervisor of Indian Schools called attention to the dangerous practice of admitting unhealthy children and young adults. In his 1889 report to the Indian Affairs commissioner, Dorchester cautioned against such neglect, emphasizing: “in the eager haste to swell the number of recruits, feeble and diseased children are often gathered in, only to be returned soon to their homes at Government expense, or to die in the hospital after a lingering sickness.”¹⁰⁹ The warning could not have been clearer or more straightforward. Others also complained about the practice. Chemawa’s new superintendent William H.H. Beadle noted students afflicted with “scrofula, consumption, and other chronic diseases” upon his arrival at the school in 1889. He also reported that his predecessor had failed to send these ailing students home, thus disregarding official federal policies aimed at safeguarding Indian student health. Beadle “was compelled to return many to their homes that were sick,” while arguing that in the future: “The defective classes should not be brought to the school, but excluded by the most rigid examination.... The bringing of the sick or feeble to this place, and their sickness or death here, create a belief among the Indians at home that this is an unhealthy location.”¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, after nearly ten years of sustained illness and death at Chemawa, Indigenous communities saw the school and others like it as sites of sickness. The Spokane Nation, for instance, sent at most two students to the school in the twenty years between July 9, 1881, when Chief Lot’s daughter died and other Spokane children and young adults went home sick, and 1901.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Dorchester to Morgan, September 5, 1889, in *ARCIA*, 1889, 341.

¹¹⁰ Wm. H.H. Beadle, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 31, 1889, in *ARCIA*, 1889, 363.

Amidst this lethality, federal officials continued to advocate for expansion. On December 3, 1889, United States President Benjamin Harrison told Congress, “The national schools for Indians have been very successful and should be multiplied.”¹¹² Harrison’s Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan, reinforced assimilation as the driving principle of the boarding school system and sought to execute Harrison’s expansionist vision. Speaking before leading Indian reformers and policy shapers just after his appointment, Morgan broadcast these views: “Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes, and not their segregation. They should be educated, not as Indians, but as Americans. In short, public schools should do for them what they are so successfully doing for all the other races in this county — assimilate them.”¹¹³ Assimilation was not optional for Morgan, whose first annual report advised that “Indians must conform to ‘the white man’s ways,’ peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must.”¹¹⁴ The following year, he summed up his administration’s aims: “It has become the settled policy of the Government to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens.”¹¹⁵ While absolute assimilation remained a driving force of federal Indian policy, Indigenous peoples had moments of success in shaping particular schools

¹¹¹ There were five Spokane students enrolled at Chemawa between July 10, 1881 and June 30, 1901, but one came from the Yakima Reservation and two came from Oregon, in P2008, 100-198, NARAS.

¹¹² Benjamin Harrison message, in “Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress, With the Annual Message of the President,” December 3, 1889, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., H.Exec.Doc. 1, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890), XIX.

¹¹³ Thomas J. Morgan, “The Education of American Indians,” *Education* X:4 (December 1889), 249.

¹¹⁴ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 3.

¹¹⁵ [Commissioner of Indian Affairs] to The Secretary of the Interior, September 5, 1890, in U.S. OIA, *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1890*], VI.

or avoiding them more-or-less altogether for periods of time.¹¹⁶

Forcible assimilation continued for the Chiricahua children and young adults at Carlisle with lethal consequences. There, Welsh described how the Apache children and young adults were “as strong as, if not stronger than, any other Indian children in the school.”¹¹⁷ Welsh saw physical strength, but he missed the tuberculosis bacilli slowly multiplying inside the students’ lungs and bodies. In the coming years, many of these Chiricahuas succumbed to tuberculosis and other illnesses. By the end of the summer of Welsh’s visit, four Apache students had died, likely from tuberculosis. Two more died in October. The following year, twelve died; in 1889, another nine perished. Pratt now finally began to report the Chiricahua health crisis at Carlisle. Writing to the Indian Affairs commissioner on May 24, 1889, Pratt told of results thus far: “Of the 106 [Chiricahua] Apaches brought to this school ... in the winter and spring of 1886-87, twenty-seven have died and two others will die within two or three days. Others are drooping and will take their places soon.” Pratt ascribed these deaths to “inherited consumption [and] climate,” blaming hereditary and the change from the dry southwestern climate to the humid carceral conditions of Florida and Pennsylvania. Meanwhile, Carlisle administrators were preoccupied with “quite an epidemic of colds.”¹¹⁸ Pratt believed that “[t]he school ought not to bear this affliction [mortality] any longer” and requested to be “relieved at once of the care of the whole party or they should be thoroughly sifted, and those in precarious health sent to their people.” Ultimately, Pratt blamed their illnesses on the “almost hopeless conditions surrounding them,” and warned: “It is important that we make immediately a change for seven of the girls. Two, or it

¹¹⁶ Gram, *Education at the Edge of Empire*, 174; Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 155-156.

¹¹⁷ Welsh, *Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion*, 4.

¹¹⁸ *The Indian Helper* 5:11 (November 1, 1889), 2.

may be three, will take [to] their beds next week and we may be compelled to bury them here.”¹¹⁹ Weeks later, Pratt wrote another letter to the Commissioner, again requesting an examination.¹²⁰ Why Carlisle’s physician could not diagnose the students is unknown. The Commissioner partly granted Pratt’s request and dispatched an army physician to examine the Chiricahua students.¹²¹

Captain John J. Cochran, an assistant Army surgeon, came to Carlisle at the end of June. Cochran’s reported to the Assistant Adjutant General that the Chiricahua deaths resulted from “removal of Indians from dry climate and elevated lands of Arizona to a damper climate[,] captivity[,] more intimate contact with civilization[,] and] lessened power of [Indian peoples] to resist such diseases as the Apaches have suffered and died from.”¹²² Chiricahuas remaining at Carlisle were “in as good a condition of health as it is possible for them to be in any part of this country away from New Mexico and Arizona.”¹²³ Still, the War and Interior Departments continued confining the Chiricahua children and young adults.

After his exchange with the Commissioner, Pratt began sending ill Chiricahua students to their families, who had been moved from Fort Marion “on account of the small space available for them [the prisoners] there, and also for sanitary reasons,” according to an aide-de-camp, First Lieutenant Guy Howard.¹²⁴ On May 30, 1889, Pratt sent nine to be reunited with their relatives at

¹¹⁹ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 24, 1889, in H. Henrietta Stockel, *Shame and Endurance: The Untold Story of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 58.

¹²⁰ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 18, 1889, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 58.

¹²¹ Cochran to Assistant Adjutant General, July 1, 1889, in Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit*, 127-129.

¹²² Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 59-60.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 60.

Mount Vernon Barracks in Mount Vernon, Alabama, where federal officials had moved the Chiricahua prisoners the previous May.¹²⁵ Still, the sick students carried pathogens and the burden of disease, likely tuberculosis, back to Mount Vernon.¹²⁶ Three of these students died within a year. Pratt then authorized the move of three more Chiricahua students to Mount Vernon before 1889 concluded.¹²⁷ Sending sick students back to their communities made them deadly pathogen carriers. Indeed, Pratt and other superintendents routinely infected Indigenous communities across the United States with deadly pathogens by sending ill children and young adults home. Contagion did not spare Chiricahua parents, elders, children, and babies; many died while incarcerated.¹²⁸

The highest-level Indian Office and War Department bureaucrats received reports of the Chiricahua Apaches' rapidly deteriorating health at Carlisle and Mount Vernon. Beyond Pratt's letters to his Interior Department superiors, soldiers guarding the Chiricahua Apache prisoners

¹²⁴ Guy Howard, First Lieutenant Twelfth Infantry to Adjutant-General, U.S. Army, December 23, 1889, in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island," 51st Cong., 1st Sess., S. Exec. Doc. 35 (January 20, 1890), 9.

¹²⁵ Arnold Kinzhuma (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1329, Box 12, Bessie Bizeuh (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 1, Giles Lancy (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 2, Hulda Kinzherma (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 2, Elsie Vance Chesteun (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 5, Amy Estel-tsiive (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 5, Joan Yahutsa (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 6, Effie Zaienah (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 6, Lona Amigoon (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC.

¹²⁶ Howard to Adjutant-General, December 23, 1889, in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island," 9.

¹²⁷ Henrietta Iadistsa (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1329, Box 4, Harold Dodestonay (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, Virginia Nahaklo (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC.

¹²⁸ Howard to Adjutant-General, December 23, 1889, in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island," 9.

warned of deplorable health conditions at Mount Vernon. Lieutenant Guy Howard and Mount Vernon's medical doctor, Dr. Walter Reed, wrote worrying reports to General Oliver Otis Howard, commanding officer of the Army's Atlantic Division. On December 23, 1889, Lieutenant Howard reported the dangerous conditions to the adjutant general of the United States Army: "The three hundred and eighty-eight ... at Mount Vernon Barracks are now in a condition which needs prompt action to avoid positive inhumanity." According to Howard, "Consumption has fastened itself among them, and has been rapid and always fatal where it has attacked." He also reported the "excessive death rate" at Carlisle from consumption. Conditions were so bad that Howard requested immediate relief for those under his charge, warning that any delay "would be criminal."¹²⁹

General Howard lamented that "The innocent have suffered with the guilty," while hoping "in the interest of justice, as well as of humanity, that speedy action may be taken."¹³⁰ Howard also reported on the impact of Carlisle's excessive mortality: "So many of their children have died away at school that not only have those been grief stricken who have lost their absent ones but all are constantly fearful of the taking from them for death at school of others of their children."¹³¹ General George Crook added: "the Apaches ... live in terror lest their children be

¹²⁹ Howard to Adjutant-General, December 23, 1889, in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island," 10-11.

¹³⁰ General Oliver O. Howard, Major-General, Commanding to Samuel Breck, Assistant Adjutant-General, December 23, 1889, in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island," 12.

¹³¹ Howard, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 72-73.

taken from them and sent to a distant school.”¹³² Chiricahuas were clearly conscious of the mortal peril posed by sending their children to Carlisle.

At Mount Vernon, Dr. Reed sought to combat the tuberculosis of returned students and their incarcerated community. Chiricahuas with “Diarrhea ... and chronic lung diseases” filled Reed’s sick roll and hospital tents.¹³³ He increased rations to the level of the soldiers guarding the prisoners. Still, the prisoners continued to suffer from the fevers and complications of lung infections that they knew as the “coughing” or “sharking sickness.”¹³⁴ Initially optimistic about health outcomes after increasing rations, Reed reversed his position by November 1889: “the health of the Apache Prisoners of War has not been as good as I have heretofore reported.... consumption had again taken hold of the Apaches.”¹³⁵ While at Mount Vernon, child mortality averaged 162.9 per 1,000.¹³⁶ Reed now advocated removing them. After 10 percent of the Chiricahua brought to Alabama died, Reed became “convinced that the principal factor in the causation of pulmonary disease among the Apaches is the excessive atmospheric moisture which prevails along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts.”¹³⁷ When adding the deaths at Carlisle to this number, Reed reported to Army headquarters: “the mortality from tubercular diseases becomes simply appalling: this too amongst a people who, in Arizona, were remarkably exempt from lung

¹³² Crook, in “Message from the President of the United States, transmitting A letter of the Secretary of War and reports touching the Apache Indians at Governor’s Island,” 5.

¹³³ Reed, September 30, 1887 entry, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 78.

¹³⁴ Paul Andrew Hutton, *The Apache Wars: The Hunt for Geronimo, the Apache Kid, and the Captive Boy Who Started the Longest War in American History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2016), 418.

¹³⁵ Reed, November 1, 1889, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 80.

¹³⁶ This is for the period 1887-1892 when malnutrition and diarrheal diseases caused forty-two deaths among children and the mean number of children present was 118.2 (W.C. Borden, “The Vital Statistics of an Apache Indian Community,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXIX:1 [July 6, 1893], 5-10).

¹³⁷ Reed, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 80.

troubles.”¹³⁸ The stakes were high for the Chiricahuas; indeed, for all Indigenous peoples in federal custody.

¹³⁸ Reed, in Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 81.

Chapter 4: Exponential Expansion, 1890-1898

By the early 1890s, Washington, D.C. policymakers under President Harrison and Commissioner Morgan fervently embraced the boarding school system as a “solution” to the so-called Indian problem and rapidly expanded enrollment.¹ Morgan continued to favor “compelling every Indian child of suitable age and health, for whom accommodations are provided, to attend school ten months out of twelve.”² Washington, D.C. officials seemed more attentive to ensuring overflowing dormitories than the students’ health. Congress initiated a second period of expansion by appropriating funds for the construction and support of several new institutions, growing Indian school appropriations from \$1.36 million in 1889-1890 to \$1.84 million in 1890-1891 to \$2.31 million in 1892-1893.³ By the end of 1891, five new schools had opened and plans for another seven were underway.⁴ The Santa Fe, Fort Mojave, and Stewart Indian schools in New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada, respectively, opened in 1890, followed by South Dakota’s Pierre and Arizona’s Phoenix schools in 1891. Expansion then continued. In 1893, five new schools opened: Fort Lewis (Colorado), Fort Shaw (Montana), Perris (California), Flandreau (South Dakota), Pipestone (Minnesota), Mt. Pleasant (Minnesota), and Tomah (Wisconsin). Two years later, the Indian Office added schools at Wittenberg, Wisconsin, and Greenville, California. Before the decade ended, officials added schools at Morris and Clontarf, Minnesota, Chamberlain and Rapid City, South Dakota, and Fort Bidwell, California.⁵ Between 1880 and

¹ For more on the “Indian Problem,” see Woolford, *Benevolent Experiment*, 47-95.

² T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, XIV.

³ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, September 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, XVI; T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, August 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 41.

⁴ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1891, in *ARCIA, 1891*, 1:56.

1890, off-reservation boarding school enrollments increased from 461 to 2,788 while the total number of Indian children and young adults in schools operated by the government grew from 8,109 to 13,580.⁶

Local conditions, in addition to Indian Office policies and congressional underfunding, continued to determine the frequency and character of epidemics. Native American boarding schools continued to be overcrowded, the buildings poorly constructed, and the institutions short of any contemporaneous sanitary standard. The supplies often delayed, rotten, or inferior. Students held in such conditions frequently became ill. Inadequate medical care sometimes awaited them in school hospitals, if they existed at all. Indeed, many schools lacked medical facilities, and Congress delayed funds to construct them. Without adequate accommodations, school physicians found it difficult to isolate sick patients and stop diseases from spreading. Sick students lived, learned, and labored alongside healthy ones. Administrators kept seriously ill Children and young adults on the school's grounds. Recurring epidemics lessened students' ability to combat infection. Typhoid fever, measles, influenza, pneumonia, and other serious infections eased the acquisition of tuberculosis or activated latent infections. When terminally or terribly ill students approached death, superintendents sent them home to possibly infect others and die, while eliding those students who died from official school records. None of this was novel. These trends persisted for more than a decade.

⁵ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1899, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1899* (Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1899*], 1:10; Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 1:41.

⁶ Price to Secretary of the Interior, October 24, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, XXXII-XXIII, 184, 194, 198; Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1891, in *ARCIA, 1891*, 1:55, 65.

A lethal federal Indian policy created local conditions. General congressional apathy and underfunding were significant causes, but superintendents also routinely ignored directives, over enrolling their schools, and admitted unhealthy students. These practices fostered health disparities that, by the 1890 census, were quantifiably significant. Recognizing this, federal officials intervened. The Indian Office introduced sanitary standards in 1895 and bolstered them in 1898. These reforms were not always successful. Again, Congress failed to provide appropriate levels of funding to meet new standards, and superintendents failed to follow regulations. Despite sustained and elevated mortality and morbidity in the institutions, Congress and the Indian Office continued expanding the boarding school system.

As plans got underway to enact Harrison's expansionist vision, existing schools suffered for want of supplies and employees. When the new Haskell Superintendent, Charles Meserve, arrived at the school in 1889, he reported to the commissioner, "a great lack of clothing for both boys and girls, as well as sheets, etc. for the beds."⁷ The following year, Commissioner Morgan conceded deficiencies in Haskell and other institutions: "building cheap and small buildings, providing insufficient facilities, paying lower salaries, and failing to require a sufficiently high degree of efficiency" left the government open to criticism. Moreover, Indigenous parents and leaders "complained frequently, and with justice," Morgan admitted. "[T]heir children were neither properly fed, clothed, nor instructed. I have found everywhere evidences of past neglect, and very many of the schools are still imperfectly equipped."⁸

⁷ Charles Francis Meserve, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 289.

⁸ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, December 8, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, CXXXVII-CXXXVIII.

Funds for medical care also impacted student health. The wages offered to physicians at federal boarding schools for Native Americans were not competitive with market rates. Thus, competent doctors often chose to work elsewhere. As the historian David DeJong has explained: “As late as 1890, physicians in the Indian Service earned less than half that of their counterparts in the Army and Navy.” Moreover, they treated between five and eleven times as many patients per physician as their Army and Navy counterparts.⁹ Morgan noted the difficulties they faced: “poor accommodations, small salary, and few of the modern appliances.” There also remained an “urgent need for ... hospitals.”¹⁰ Working in inadequate facilities, without proper tools, and lacking supporting staff, many doctors avoided employment in the Indian Service. Measured by lethality, the Indian Office set up its physicians to fail. In institutions where diseases were so prevalent and mortality so high, the care of a competent physician with necessary facilities and supplies for treating the sick was of vital importance.

As pathogens attacked students, Indian Office doctors were also overworked, reducing their efficiency. They routinely shuffled between full hospital wards, dormitories, and, in some cases, private practices or work on surrounding reservations. Just after the New Year in 1890, Chemawa suffered a severe influenza epidemic. School Superintendent Irwin reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner that for “two weeks in January ... all the teachers and many of the scholars were down with the prevailing disease, la grippe.”¹¹ In 1890, Chemawa suffered “three deaths [with] two other[s] dying after being sent to their homes.” Superintendent Irwin claimed

⁹ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 8.

¹⁰ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 13.

¹¹ G.M. Irwin, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 306.

that “all these deaths [were the] result of la grippe.”¹² Archival records illustrate that at least four students died at Chemawa while officials sent another twenty-two students home sick, of which at least two died.¹³ One student died from what was likely meningitis and three others from pulmonary tuberculosis, a common complication of influenza and other respiratory illnesses. This comorbidity wrought havoc in children and young adults unsupported by adequate nutrition, experiencing frequent debilitating illnesses, and confined in unsanitary environments, all of which existed at Chemawa. Rather than point to the school as a potential source of these illnesses, Irwin credited them to “scrofulous, consumptive, and syphilitic evidences.... common among the Indians of this [Northwest] coast.”¹⁴ None of the deaths were syphilitic, but Chemawa created conditions that led to respiratory illnesses.

That winter, a deadly influenza epidemic also struck Carlisle. In January 1890, it swept through the over-crowded campus. Built for 500 students, Carlisle held as many as 950 enrolled

¹² Irwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 306.

¹³ Because students from 1889 were counted in the last chapter, this note contains only those for the second half of the 1889-1890 school year. Chemawa deaths (4): Charles Lewis (Suquamish) [Inflammation of the brain (likely meningitis)], Junior Piute (Paiute) [Consumption], Lawrence Pippin ([Samish]) [Consumption], Raleigh Billings (Rogue River) [Consumption], P2008, 88, 112, 116, NARAS. Chemawa students sent home sick (8): Charlotte Walker ([Samish]) [Catarract], Stephen Johns (Hupa) [Consumption], Douglas Charles (Warm Springs) [Consumption], Alma [Elma] Palmer (Wasco) [Consumption], Sina Thompson (Coquille) [Bronchitis], Jesse Davis (Rogue River) [Consumption], Ben Smith (Smith River) [Scrofula], George Norman (Smith River) [Scrofula], P2008, 90, 100-110, 11, NARAS; Irwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 306; James Jordan (NTL) [Chronic diarrhea], Chemawa Sanitary Record, 99, 100, NARAS; Emmaline Billings (Rogue River) [Bronchitis], Chemawa Daily Sick List, 89, NARAS; Wallie Pollock (Yakima) [Scrofula], Chemawa Sanitary Record, 101-102, NARAS; Samuel Pancha (Victoria [Coast Salish]) [Bronchitis/hemorrhage], in Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS; Angeline Smith (Klickitat) [Bronchitis], in Chemawa Daily Sick List, 95, NARAS. Nine other students went home with eye or skin infections (See Appendix 1).

¹⁴ Irwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 306.

students that year.¹⁵ Several students' illnesses developed into pneumonia. Pratt wrote to Indian Affairs Commissioner Morgan, "We are pulling through the 'Grip' followed by pneumonia, in excellent order, and he have outside of that the best health of any Winter since we began."¹⁶ Pratt's words were misleading. One hundred students had contracted the illness, and by the end of the month, 374 cases, or 53 percent of the student body, had been treated in the school hospital. Classroom and industrial education ground to a halt.¹⁷ That school year at least twelve students died at Carlisle.¹⁸

Boarding school students were more likely to die than other groups in the United States during 1890. Indeed, Native American people, in general, suffered higher death rates than any other demographic group that year. Tuberculosis was the main driver. The tuberculosis death rate per 1,000 deaths was 290.54 for Native American peoples versus 114.55 for white United States citizens.¹⁹ Indian boarding school death rates also exceeded the general United States death rate and the death rates in the states in which the schools were located. In 1890, Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell's mortality rates per 1,000 attending students were 17.09, 23.67, and 11.99, respectively. In comparison, the death rates in Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Kansas were 13.93,

¹⁵ R.H. Pratt, Captain Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 312; "Statistics to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year ending June 30, 1890," in *ARCIA, 1890*, 330-331.

¹⁶ R.H. Pratt to Thos. J. Morgan, Comm'r Ind. Aff'rs, January 28, 1890, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box 10-16, 269.

¹⁷ *The Indian Helper* 5:19 (January 10, 1890), 3; *The Indian Helper* 5:22 (January 31, 1890), 3; *The Red Man* 10:1 (January & February 1890), 1.

¹⁸ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 312.

¹⁹ U.S. DOI, *Report on Vital and Social Statistics in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 31.

8.56, and 8.43 per 1,000 residents.²⁰ Thus, the death rate at Carlisle was nearly 23 percent higher than that in Pennsylvania while the death rate at Chemawa was nearly triple the rate for Oregon. Haskell's death rate was at least 42 percent higher than in Kansas's overall death rate. Meanwhile, the age-adjusted (15-24) United States death rate was 3.14 per 1,000.²¹ A typical Carlisle, Chemawa, or Haskell student was thus between 3.8 and 7.5 times more likely to die than the average U.S. citizen their age.

Moreover, the schools' reported death rates do not reflect the boarding school's total death rates, as they failed to account for students sent home sick and who then died soon thereafter. Accounting for students who were confirmed to have died within one academic year of leaving Carlisle, for instance, raises the school's mortality rate from the reported 17.09 to 25.64 per 1,000 students, a 50 percent increase, and nearly 716.56 percent increase over the general age-adjusted United States death rates for that year.²² In 1890, these schools had lower reported mortality rates than reservations in most states, but that was not always the case, and some of the deaths taking place on reservations can be attributed to pathogens imported from boarding schools.²³ Moreover, it is helpful to remember that death rate variance is predictably volatile in small populations, so a few deaths above normal could make rates jump. For the two

²⁰ U.S. DOI, *Report on Vital and Social Statistics in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, 10, 544, 632; "Statistics as to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year ending June 30, 1890," in *ARCIA, 1890*, 326-327, 330-331; Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, 312; "Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1890," in *ARCIA, 1890*, 505.

²¹ U.S. DOI, *Report on Vital and Social Statistics in the United States at the Eleventh Census*, 10; Haines, "Estimated Life Tables for the United States, 1850-1900," NP.

²² At Carlisle, for instance, nine students sent home sick in the 1890-1891 school year died within one academic year of leaving (see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3). This number would be even more stark when compared to Pennsylvania residents of the approximate ages of Carlisle's student body.

²³ Death rates on reservations ranged from 13.40 in Idaho to 52.96 in Minnesota (U.S. DOI, *Report on Vital and Social Statistics in the United States at the Eleventh Census*, 33).

years prior to 1890, Carlisle's reported death rates registered 35.90 and 30.40 per 1,000 students while student files reveal that in accounting for those the school sent home ill and who died within one academic year increases rates to 41.03 and 36.8 per 1,000, over three times the national average in 1890.²⁴

Poor care contributed to these deaths, and children and young adults were not properly cared for at the federal boarding schools because of inadequate congressional appropriations. While Native American boarding schools received approximately \$167 per student in 1890, children and young adults in non-Indian boarding and industrial schools received significantly more support.²⁵ Children and young adults at elite northeastern United States boarding schools, such as St. Paul's School, Phillips Academy, Phillips Exeter, and the Taft School, could expect at least double that level of funding.²⁶ These funding differences had direct implications for student health. The Phillips Academy in Andover could claim that although the school had no facilities besides dormitories to treat the sick, no student died at the school between 1873 and 1901.²⁷ Meanwhile, public boarding schools in the United States for the "deaf, blind, [and] feeble-

²⁴ "Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1888," in *ARCIA, 1888*, 461; "Statistics of all Indian schools supported, in whole or in part, by the Government during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1888," in *ARCIA, 1888*, 378-379; "Medical statistics of the United States Indian service, for the fiscal year 1889," in *ARCIA, 1889*, 543; "Statistics as to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year," in *ARCIA, 1889*, 388-389. For deaths, see Appendix 2.

²⁵ Thomas J. Morgan, "Indian Education," *Journal of Social Science* 40 [December 1902], 165-176). Most off-reservation boarding schools received \$167 per student per year, but some received as much as \$175.

²⁶ Tuition and Room and Board in 1890 was \$500 for St. Paul's School in Concord, NH, \$360 for Phillips Academy in Andover, MA, and \$310 in Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, NH (U.S. DOE, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1880* [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1882], 615, 619). The Taft School charged \$600 for tuition and room and board (excluding laundry) for 1891 (Raphaelle Noor Steinzig, "America's Heir Presumptive: Boys' Boarding Schools in New England, 1877-1938" [Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2013], 33).

²⁷ Claude M. Fuess, *An Old New England School: A History of Phillips Academy Andover* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 514.

mindful” respectively received \$104.73, \$56.56, and \$46.69 per student more from the government than Native American boarding schools in 1890.²⁸ These schools illustrate a contemporaneous alternative to lethal federal institutions.

Unsanitary practices institutionalized at the boarding schools likely worsened epidemics. Just a few months after Carlisle’s 1890 influenza and pneumonia epidemic passed, one school visitor noted, “[The matron] took us into the bathroom, where we caught sight of three black heads above the water in a big bathtub.”²⁹ Children and young adults sharing dirty bathwater, bathing together, and sharing combs, towels, and washcloths, were prime mechanisms of spreading contagion. Even when not sharing supplies, the storage of them spread disease. When a sick child bathed, they could shed viruses and bacteria in the water, in the air, and on objects they touched, including the surface of the tub. This microbe-infested matter became a vector for the spread of the disease to other children and young adults who came into contact with them. Students could then continue the chain of transmission until many of those in their dormitories, schoolrooms, and workshops also had the affliction. Thus, institutional practices facilitated epidemics.

In addition to unsanitary practices, Carlisle, like Haskell, suffered for want of essential supplies. On August 29, 1890, Pratt informed Commissioner Morgan, “We are in want of our supplies. Our clothing is run down at the heel throughout and we have been puttering along in our sewing departments for two months, waiting for supplies ... With the multitude we have to clothe, it will tax us to be ready for winter.”³⁰ Inadequate clothing added to the plight of the

²⁸ U.S. Department of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-90*, 2:1632, 1652, 1661.

²⁹ E.B., “The Small Boys’ Quarters,” in *The Red Man* 10:4 (May 1890), 8.

³⁰ R.H. Pratt, Capt. & Supt. to General [& Commissioner] Morgan, August 29, 1890, in Beinecke Rare

Chiricahua and other students held at Carlisle. Without adequate clothing, exposure to the frigid Pennsylvania winters wore on student immune systems, leaving them vulnerable to pathogens, especially for students unused to such weather.

Succeeding epidemics at Carlisle followed Pratt's plea for more supplies in the winter and spring of 1891. Pneumonia, influenza, measles, and mumps outbreaks followed one another in a matter of months. Sick students filled the hospital to capacity.³¹ First, approximately 17 percent of the student body came down with influenza.³² Then, a March and April measles epidemic "materially interrupted ... our whole school," according to the school's newspaper, *The Red Man*. Officials documented more than forty cases by April 17, and the epidemic "required the breaking up of several sections of the school for weeks, and the detailing of teachers as nurses. The gymnasium and chapel were both turned into [makeshift] hospitals for the accommodation of these cases."³³ By the time the epidemic ended, at least fifty students had contracted measles.³⁴ Mumps then swept through Carlisle between July and August. All recovered, but mumps weakened the 116 students' immune response to future epidemics and more lethal diseases.³⁵ In total, the hospital treated 686 cases that school year and at least ten

Book & Manuscript Library, WA MSS S-1174, Box 10-17, 193.

³¹ *The Indian Helper* 6:19 (January 16, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:24 (February 20, 1891), 3.

³² "Medical Statistics for the U.S. Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891," in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:138; "Statistics as to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year ended June 30, 1891," in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:8-9.

³³ *The Indian Helper* 6:31 (April 10, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:32 (April 17, 1891), 3; *The Red Man* 11:3 (October & November 1891), 2.

³⁴ "Medical Statistics for the U.S. Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891," in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:138.

³⁵ *The Indian Helper* 6:47 (July 31, 1891), 3; *The Indian Helper* 6:49, (August 14, 1891), 3; *The Red Man* 11:2 (September 1891), 4.

students died.³⁶ Recurring and frequent epidemics increased tuberculosis incidence, as complications from measles and influenza frequently became tubercular. Administrators sent sixty-one students home sick during the 1890-1891 school year.³⁷ Carlisle's hospital registered

³⁶ "Medical Statistics for the U.S. Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891," in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:145. This number excludes some of the mumps epidemic that took place over two fiscal years. There is a discrepancy on the number of deaths between Pratt's annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the published medical statistics ("Medical statistics for the U.S. Indian Service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891," in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:145; Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1891, in *ARCIA, 1891*, 1:588). Student files indicate at least ten died (Bishop L. Shield (Gros Ventre) [Pneumonia], in E-1328, Box 3, Godfrey Palatchy (Chiricahua Apache) [Hemorrhage], in E-1328, Box 3, George Harrison (Southern Cheyenne) [Consumption], in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, E-1324: Register of Pupils, 1890-1906, 188, NARADC [hereafter E-1324, Page #], Ophelia Powlas (Oneida) [Pneumonia], in E-1328, Box 3, John Walking Pipe (Southern Arapaho) [Consumption], in E-1324, 187, Morgan Richard (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) [Consumption], in E-1324, 189, George Eli (Piegan) [Hemorrhage], in E-1324, 190, James Cornman (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Consumption], in E-1324, 191, John Bull (Gros Ventre) [Consumption], in E-1328, Box 1, George Rusk ([Bad River] Chippewa) [Inflammation of the bowels], in E-1324, 193, NARADC).

³⁷ Bayard Boynton (Southern Arapaho) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 5, Corn-wit [Cho-a-nit] (Caddo), in E-1324, 144, Jannette Whirlwind (Southern Arapaho), in E-1328, Box 6, Lucy Brown (Ho-Chunk), in E-1329, Box 6, Sarah Shavings (Crow), in E-1328, Box 3, Harl Tawberry [Hail Pawkeny] (Southern Cheyenne), in E-1328, Box 5 and E-1329, Box 4, Ethel Black Wolf (Southern Arapaho), in E-1329, Box 4, Fred Shance (Crow) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1328, Box 3 Julia Jackson ([Saginaw] Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 7, Mary Smith ([Keweenaw Bay] Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 8, Lucy Pequonquay (Odawa), in E-1324, 144, Mitchell Shagonaby (Odawa), in E-1324, 145, , Louis Crow on Head (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1328, Box 1, Logan Howard (Ho-Chunk), in E-1328, Box 2, William Pawnee (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 3, Josiah Archiquette (Oneida), in E-1328, Box 5, Lucy Star (Southern Arapaho), in E-1329, Box 4, Solomon John (Odawa), in E-1329, Box 5, Gray Cloud (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate), Helen [Ella] Wren (Piegan), Elizabeth [Eliza] Choquette (Piegan), Delia Howard (Assinaboine), Nellie Abbott (Piegan), Maggie Abbott (Piegan), Josephina Langley (Piegan), Mary Black (Assinaboine), Sallie Kennerly [Wright] Kennerly (Piegan), Winona [Nice Girl] (Gros Ventre), in E1324, 145, Minnie Paisano (Laguna Pueblo), in E-1329, Box 7, Lulu Blind (Southern Arapaho), Charles Bravo (Crow) [Died within one academic year of leaving], Oliver Williams (Odawa), Thomas Red Bird (Odawa), in E-1324, 145-146, George Johnson (White Earth Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 12, Samuel S. Davis (Crow), in E-1329, Box 11, James Walker (Grand Traverse Odawa/Chippewa), in E1324, 146, Talbot Goday (Chiricahua Apache), Burdette Tsisnah (Chiricahua Apache), Lucy Tsisnah (Chiricahua Apache), Agnew Chiskesay (Chiricahua Apache) [Died within one month of leaving], in E-1324, 146, Laura Shoots-a-Lodge (Crow), in E-1329, Box 8, Harrison Red Wolf (Nez Perce), in E-1328, Box 6, Louis Walker (Odawa), in E-1329, Box 14, Jennie Mitchell (Omaha), in E-1328, Box 6, James Morrison (White Earth Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 13, Lucy Shipegosh (Odawa), in E-1329, Box 8, Alfred Batache (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1328, Box 1, Jennie Connors (Seminole), in E-1328, Box 5, Manuel Powlas (Oneida), in E-1328, Box 6, George No-coch-luke (Alaska Native), in E-1324, 146, Fannie Short Neck (Southern Cheyenne) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 4, Mack Short Neck (Southern Cheyenne) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1328, Box 6, Robert Penn (Omaha), in E-1328, Box 6, Martinez Johns (Oneida) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1324, 147, Ulysses G. Paisano (Laguna

thirty-two cases of pulmonary and nine of glandular tuberculosis that fiscal year.³⁸ This was a significant increase from the previous year's twenty-three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis and only one major epidemic.³⁹

The boarding school was but one federal tactic aimed at forcing assimilation. Congress and the Indian Affairs Office led simultaneous assaults on Indigenous sovereignty and culture. Beyond schools and allotment, the Indian Office first authorized bans on Native American religious, ceremonial, and other cultural practices in 1883.⁴⁰ Under Commissioner Morgan, the laws received clarification in 1892 so that any Indigenous person who “engaged in the sun dance, scalp dance, or war dance, or any similar feast” or was a “medicine m[a]n” was guilty of a crime and could be denied rations or imprisoned for up to six months.⁴¹ Being Indian was increasingly punishable by starvation and imprisonment. Jurisdiction over these offenses fell to the Court of Indian Offenses. While the courts had Indigenous judges, they enforced these bans and prosecuted Indigenous peoples accused of continuing their traditional ways and customs. Many community members saw the judges as extensions of the federal government, driving Indigenous

Pueblo), in E-1329, Box 13, Philip Mann (Southern Arapaho), in E-1324, 147, Harry Iron Claws (Assinaboine), in E-1328, Box 2, Otto Zotoum (Kiowa), in E-1328, Box 6, John Tyler (Southern Cheyenne) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 3, Hattie Bissell (Tuscarora), in E-1329, Box 6, NARADC.

³⁸ “Medical Statistics for the U.S. Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891,” in *ARCIA*, 1891, 2:139.

³⁹ “Medical Statistics for the U.S. Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1890,” in *ARCIA*, 1890, 499-500.

⁴⁰ U.S. OIA, “Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses,” in M. Teller, Secretary to Hon. Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 30, 1883, <https://relinton.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf>. The policy is described by Commissioner Oberly in his 1888 annual report (Oberly to Secretary of the Interior, December 3, 1888, in *ARCIA*, 1888, XXX).

⁴¹ Lee Irwin, “Freedom, Law, and Prophecy: A Brief History of Native American Religious Resistance,” *American Indian Quarterly* 21:1 (Winter 1997), 36.

customs not to extinction, but into secrecy. At the same time, the justices themselves were vulnerable to coercion at the hands of federal officials.⁴² For returned boarding school students, these courts became an important source of employment. Graduates served as clerks and lawyers using the skills they had gained in the boarding schools.⁴³

To break Indigenous societies and incorporate Indian “individuals” into the United States populace, this constellation of schools — off-reservation boarding, on-reservation boarding, day, mission boarding, mission day, and contract schools — blanketed the United States. Congress provided the funds for the land, dormitories, workshops, and classrooms where assimilation would take place, but also continued to underfund the schools. In 1890, Commissioner Morgan believed the amount of appropriations Congress granted him was half of what he thought “shall be expended in Indian education.”⁴⁴ That year, he called for a nearly \$1.48 million increase over the \$1.36 million in appropriations Congress granted him for Indian education in 1889.⁴⁵

Still, while boarding schools were a federal project, not all politicians supported them. Wisconsin Congressman Myron McCord, quoting from a pamphlet by Morgan, argued on the House floor that Congress should take “Whatever steps are necessary ... to place these children under proper educational influences. If under any circumstances compulsory education is

⁴² Alexandra Harmon, *Reclaiming the Reservation: Histories of Indian Sovereignty Suppressed and Renewed* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 271. For more on these courts, see: Sidney L. Harring, *Crow Dog’s Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 185-192.

⁴³ William T. Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 119.

⁴⁴ Thomas J. Morgan, “The Education of American Indians,” in Samuel J. Barrows, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian* ([Philadelphia]: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1889), 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

justifiable, it certainly is in this case.”⁴⁶ Three days after McCord’s speech, Indiana Congressman William Holman opposed the boarding school system’s forced separations: “I for one protest in the name of humanity against taking these children away from their parents, from their friends and kindred, whose attachment for their children is just as strong as out for our children, and bringing them to the remote East to be educated.” He concluded: “[I]t falls as a living death on the parents of these children.”⁴⁷ Despite such criticisms, Congressional debates about the humanity of the system largely ignored the biological toll that the schools took on Indigenous communities. Days after Holman’s powerful speech, Congress sidestepped his criticisms and consolidated more power into Morgan’s hands.

Meanwhile, Congress provided funding and authority for Morgan’s forcible enrollment campaigns. While the Indian Office had a broad mandate to compel attendance, Congress now granted the Office additional power over Native Americans. Precedent set by the Indian Appropriation Act for 1888 specified: “*Always provided*, That no part of the money appropriated by this act shall be expended in the transportation from or support of Indian pupils or children off their reservations, respectively, if removed without the free consent of their parents or those standing in that relation to them by their tribal laws respectively.”⁴⁸ Then, on March 3, 1891, Congress passed the 1892 Indian Appropriation act, stipulating, “the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ... is hereby authorized and directed to make and enforce by proper means such rules and

⁴⁶ *Congressional Record*, February 14, 1891, 2699.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1891, 2820.

⁴⁸ “An Act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with the various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, and for other purposes,” March 2, 1887, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from December, 1885, to March 1887, and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations*, 24:465.

regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit.”⁴⁹ Congress thus gave Morgan power to mobilize economic and military forces to ensure that Indigenous children and young adults filled schools. Morgan now expanded the Indian Office’s policy of threatening guardians who withheld their children from school with poverty, starvation, and exposure through the withholding of rations and annuity goods.

Morgan and his subordinates met Indigenous opposition with force. With the Wounded Knee Massacre just two years behind him, Morgan publicly proclaimed, “We must either fight Indians, feed them, or else educate them. To fight them is cruel, to feed them is wasteful, while to educate them is humane, economic, and Christian.”⁵⁰ That same year, Pratt uttered his infamous phrase in a speech to the National Conference of Charities and Correction: “All the Indian there is in a race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”⁵¹ For Pratt, too, the schools were a means to break tribal bonds: “Carlisle has always planted treason to the tribe and loyalty to the nation at large.”⁵² Speaking at the 1892 Lake Mohonk Conference, Morgan described how to accomplish this by force. When parents refused to send their children to school, Morgan believed, “that the government is justified, as a last resort, in using power to compel attendance.”⁵³ He lamented that the Indian Office “has argued with the Indians; has

⁴⁹ “An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, and for other purposes,” in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From December, 1889 to March 1891, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 26:1014.

⁵⁰ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, August 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 47.

⁵¹ Pratt, “Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 46.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵³ Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *Proceedings of the Eight Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of*

pleaded with them; has offered every inducement in its power to cause them voluntarily to put their children into school; has, wherever it seemed wise, resorted to mild punishment by the withholding of rations or supplies, and, where necessary, has directed Agents to use their Indian police as truant officers in compelling attendance.”⁵⁴ Anecdotal evidence abounds of forcibly kidnapped children, and the archives are full of students with contested consent forms.⁵⁵

Guided by his speeches and directives, Morgan’s subordinates petitioned and utilized Congressionally sanctioned force. Disease was a major reason that Indigenous guardians resisted sending their children to boarding schools. George P. Gregory, the superintendent of the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, reported to Morgan in 1892: “The Indians ... are bitterly opposed to this school, owing principally to the sickness and death of their children.”⁵⁶ That November, the Uintah agent in Utah sent Morgan a list of fifty-three families who refused to send their children to schools. The agent recommended, “that rations be withheld from them and their families until they shall comply with the law.” To those who still would not comply with the law despite the threat of starvation, the agent suggested, “withhold[ing] annuity goods.”⁵⁷ Expecting resistance, the agent further requested that the commissioner bestow “power to call upon the military of Fort

Friends of the Indian, 1890 ([Philadelphia]: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1890), 121.

⁵⁴ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner to Sir, November 30, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 173.

⁵⁵ Lajimodiere, *Stringing Rosaries*, 7. See also, Margaret D. Jacobs, “A Battle for Children: American Indian Child Removal in Arizona in the Era of Assimilation,” *The Journal of Arizona History* 45:1 (Spring 2004), 31-62.

⁵⁶ George P. Gregory, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 662.

⁵⁷ Robert Waugh, U.S. Indian Agent to Hon. T.J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 15, 1892, 1, University of Utah Digital Library, <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/details?id=378305>.

Duchesne in case of need to assist in enforcing the above measures.”⁵⁸ Some other agents having difficulty filing the schools resorted to similar tactics.⁵⁹

Compulsion, force, and violence were not limited to separating children from their parents; they were then deployed against unwilling children. Punishments continued so long as Indigenous students’ subtle and overt acts of resistance endured within school walls. Indian children, according to Morgan, “are naturally brutish and whose training has developed their anima and left their higher nature undeveloped ... and can be reached apparently in no other way than by corporal punishment, confinement, deprivation of privileges, or restriction of diet.”⁶⁰ Some of his employees held a similar animus towards communities under their jurisdiction, as two of the most common complaints from boarding school students were the food and brutal punishments. Although the records are poor for this era and contain few Indigenous voices, boarding school employees routinely locked up students in jails and beat them with straps.⁶¹ Force, corporal punishment, and deprivation of vital life-giving necessities, such as water and food, ingrained the carceral nature of boarding schools. Still, many Indigenous families found ways to resist, subvert, and accommodate United States educational policy in their daily lives.

⁵⁸ Waugh to Morgan, November 15, 1892, 3.

⁵⁹ Jacobs, “Battle for Children,” 31-62.

⁶⁰ T.J. Morgan, Commissioner, “The Care of Indian Schools,” January 1893, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 617.

⁶¹ For examples of corporal punishment, see: Robert A. Trennert, “Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform,” *History of Education Quarterly* 29:4 (Winter 1989), 598-599, 605; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 121-124, 213-214; “Chemawa Hospital Records, 1893-1909,” in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH35: Student Medical Treatment Records, 1939-1942, Box 2, 106-108, 113, 143-145 [hereafter Chemawa Hospital Records, Page #, NARAS]; Nellie Beaupre-Martin to Supt. H.B. Peairs, January 17, 1908, in Haskell Student Files, Box 9, NARAKC; John Couro to Supt. F.M. Conser, February 18, 1919, in Sherman Student Files, Box 78, NARAR. For one such complaint about food, see: Mary Katahwa to father, September 5, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR.

In addition to its role in compelling attendance and establishing schools, Congress funded the institutions with yearly appropriations. As a federal project, the boarding school system was subject to Washington's whims. Congressional appropriations for Indian education generally rose over time, as did the number of schools and children and young adults educated in them, but Congress practiced extreme thrift bordering on neglect. Congress kept the rate of appropriations constant across the 1880s and 1890s, even as operational costs for each institution grew and despite knowing about the unsanitary conditions in them. Congressmen were glad to appropriate money to open new schools and increase Native American enrollments but unwilling to spend enough money to ensure student health and survival. Congress knew that limited appropriations compromised superintendents' ability to care for children and young adults as reports from superintendents, Indian agents, inspectors, and the Indian Affairs commissioner demonstrate. The annual reports submitted to the commissioner and packaged together in the published *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* was a Congressional condition of Indian Appropriation Acts. Year after year, Congress received reports documenting sustained lethality. By June 30, 1892, 396 off-reservation boarding school deaths and 1,173 cases of tuberculosis had been reported to Congress. This number was in addition to the 173 deaths and 907 cases of tuberculosis in on-reservation boarding schools between 1889 and 1892. Still, appropriations on a per capita remained stagnant despite inflation and cost of living increases.⁶²

⁶² Data for on-reservation boarding school deaths and cases of tuberculosis are unavailable before 1889. "Medical and vital statistics of the Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880," in *ARCIA, 1880*, 276; "Table showing prevailing diseases among Indians, number of cases of sickness treated, &c., for the year ending June 30, 1881," in *ARCIA, 1881*, 311; "Consolidated Report of Sick and Wounded in the United States Indian Service for the Year Ending June 30, 1882," in *ARCIA, 1882*, table between 366-367; "Consolidated report of sick and wounded, United States Indian service, for the year ending June 30, 1883," in *ARCIA, 1883*, 306, 310; Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, 186-187; Minthorn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, 207; Samuel F. Tappan, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1884, in *ARCIA, 1884*, 209; W.J. Hadley, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 15, 1884 in

Amid the banning of Indigenous cultural practices, forced enrollment campaigns, and underfunding, students continued to fall ill and die at Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell. The schools combined to send home at least 186 students while forty-one died at the institutions between 1890 and 1892.⁶³ The federal government offered little to change the schools.

ARCIA, 1884, 210; “Consolidated report of sick and wounded in the United States Indian service for the year ending June 30, 1884,” in *ARCIA, 1884*, 340, 345; “Consolidated report of sick and wounded in the United States Indian service, for the year 1885,” in *ARCIA, 1885*, 398, 403; “Consolidated report of sick and wounded in the United States Indian service, for the year 1886,” in *ARCIA, 1886*, 452, 457; “Consolidated report of sick and wounded in the United States Indian service, for the year 1887,” in *ARCIA, 1887*, 399, 407; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1888,” in *ARCIA, 1888*, 456, 461; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1889,” in *ARCIA, 1889*, 538, 543; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year 1890,” in *ARCIA, 1890*, 492, 500-501, 509; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1891,” in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:131, 139, 153; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892,” in *ARCIA, 1892*, 940-941, 948-949, 965. For appropriations, see Figure 1.

⁶³ Carlisle student deaths, July 1, 1890 through June 30, 1892 (16): Wilkie Sharp (Pawnee) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Arthur Adams (Southern Cheyenne) [Unknown], in E1329, Box 5, NARADC; Harry Marmon (Laguna Pueblo) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 2, NARADC; Ira Goso (Chiricahua Apache) [Unknown], in E1329, Box 5, NARADC; Mary Paisano (Laguna Pueblo) [Unknown], in E1329, Box 4, NARADC; Belle Cohoe (Southern Arapaho) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 5, NARADC; Wilbur Dechezin (Chiricahua Apache) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 1, NARADC; Fred Harris (Tlingit) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 2, NARADC; Bishop L. Shield (Gros Ventre) [Pneumonia], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Godfrey Palatchay (Chiricahua Apache) [Hemorrhage], in E1324, 185, NARADC; George Harrison (Southern Cheyenne) [Consumption], in E1324, 188, NARADC; Ophelia Powlas (Wisconsin Oneida) [Pneumonia], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; John Walking Pipe (Southern Arapaho) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Richard Morgan (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; George Ell (Piegan) [Hemorrhage], in E1328, Box 1, NARADC; James Cornman (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Consumption], in E1329, Box 5, NARADC; John Bull (Gros Ventre) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 1, NARADC; George Rusk (La Pointe Chippewa) [Inflammation of the bowels], in E1328, Box 6, NARADC; Susie King ([Grand Traverse] Chippewa) [Typho-malarial fever], in E1328, Box 2, NARADC; Lawney Shorty (Piegan) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Fannie Charging Shield (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Consumption], in E1329, Box 4, NARADC; Boisie Bassford (Paiute) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 5, NARADC; Thomas Suckley (Mandan) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Willie Norkok (Fort Hall Shoshone) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 3, NARADC; Chemawa (16): Estelle [Stella] Flannery (Tlingit) [Typho malarial fever], P2008, 90; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 117, 118, NARAS; Minnie Guthrie (Samish) [Inflam. Lungs], P2008, 116, NARAS; Lucy Ross (Clallam) [Chronic Bronchitis; Consumption], P2008, 94, NARAS; Michael Charlie [Charley] (Yakima) [Heart disease], P2008, 100; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 135, 136, NARAS; Wm. Johnson (Klamath) [Unknown], P2008, 126, NARAS; Wm. C. Beckwith (Hupa) [Unknown], P2008, 126, NARAS; Ida Watson (Alesa) [Unknown], P2008, 128, NARAS; Isaac La Chapelle (Shuswap First Nation) [Unknown], P2008, 124, NARAS; Cora Sutherland (Klamath) [Purpura Hemorrhage], P2008, 130; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 146, NARAS; George Underville ([Puget Sound]) [Purpura Hemorrhagica], P2008, 108; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Daniel Hosler (Hupa) [Typhoid fever], P2008, 124;

In 1892, congregational minister and active Indian Rights Association member Charles C. Painter attributed Congress's failures to the fact that "Indian education and civilization [were] secondary to the political interests of the party in power."⁶⁴ Congress showed its priorities with inadequate appropriations. Indeed, given the consistently high levels of reported fatalities in the schools, congressmen seemed to see those deaths as acceptable collateral damage in the federal government's quest for assimilation.

Congressional allocations to off-reservation boarding schools between 1884 and 1893 were inadequate. Indian school appropriations grew to over \$1 million by 1886.⁶⁵ The following year, Congress cut appropriations by over \$30,000 just as the Chiricahuas arrived at Carlisle.⁶⁶ Indian school appropriations then grew to over \$2.3 million in 1893.⁶⁷ While this may seem like a large and generous spending increase, spread across 275 day, reservation boarding, and off-

Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Augustine [August] Woods (Shanochena) [Pneumonia], P2008, 126; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Nettie Freddie (Paiute) [Tuberculosis], P2008, 90; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Frank Le Plante ([Samish/Lummi]) [Pneumonia], P2008, 114; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Louise La Plant ([Samish/Lummi]) [Acute Mania/Cerebral Softening], Chemawa Sanitary Record, 145, 149, 150, NARAS; Moses Woods (Shanochena) [Cancrum Oris], P2008, 126; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS; Haskell (9): Annie Dickson (Southern Arapaho) [Unknown], in Matriculation Records, 1885-, [233], NARAKC; Christopher Big Joe (Odawa) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC; Jerry Wolf Chief (Southern Cheyenne) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 131, NARAKC; Eva White (Iowa) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC; Harry [Marry] Hanneno (Comanche) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 50, NARAKC; Agnes Ricketts (Pawnee) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARAKC; Jonah Maharty (Shawnee) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC; Ckayton Wind (Odawa) [Unknown], in Matriculation Records, 1885-, [296], NARAKC; George Pishabay (Odawa) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC. For sent home sick, see Appendix 1. Chemawa's records are incomplete.

⁶⁴ C.C. Painter, *Extravagance, Waste and Failure of Indian Education* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1892), 6.

⁶⁵ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, December 8, 1890, in *ARCIA, 1890*, XVI.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, August 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 41.

reservation boarding schools, it did not go far.⁶⁸ Moreover, the amount expended per student actually decreased between 1884 and 1891 from \$133.33 to \$125.89 per student per year. In fact, despite inflation, the boarding school system failed to reach 1883 per capita student funding levels until 1910 when it began a concerted campaign against tuberculosis and trachoma in the schools.⁶⁹ Even Morgan, whose devotion to Indian education knew few bounds, complained about appropriations. About trying to establish hospitals in Indian Country, he reported to the Interior secretary, “I have again and again urged this matter, and have submitted estimates for appropriations . . . but thus far without success. Congress has withheld appropriations, and I have been powerless to remedy a great evil, which in my view amounts to a national disgrace.”⁷⁰ Congress knew about the conditions on Indian reservations and in Indian schools but failed to provide enough funding to improve them.

One of the new boarding schools funded by Congress was the Perris Indian School. This institution would later move to Riverside and become the Sherman Institute, a school still open today. Non-Indians, expecting to obtain employment and wealth from a school’s establishment, had lobbied Congress for more Native American boarding schools. Funded by the same 1891 appropriation act that codified compulsory attendance, the school’s construction began upon a

⁶⁸ D.M. Browning, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 16, 1893, in U.S. OIA, *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1893*], 8.

⁶⁹ Riley to Secretary of the Interior, November 1, 1886, in *ARCIA, 1886*, LXXIII-LXXIV; “Statistics as to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year ended June 30, 1891,” in *ARCIA, 1891*, 2:14-15; Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1891, in *ARCIA, 1891*, 1:65; Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to Sir, November 1, 1910, in U.S. DOI, *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal year Ended June 30, 1910* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), [hereafter *ARCIA, 1910*], 2:56-57; Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 2, 1911, in U.S. DOI, *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal year Ended June 30, 1911* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.:GPO, 1912) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1911*], 2:188.

⁷⁰ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, August 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 63.

tract of eighty acres of “unplowed virgin soil” in Southern California’s Perris Valley on June 27, 1892.⁷¹ By September 7, 1892, “two plain substantial buildings 80 by 100 and 70 by 90 feet” were nearing completion.⁷² Perris Indian School opened as the seventeenth off-reservation Indian boarding school on January 9, 1893.⁷³ The school enrolled thousands of Native American youth, mostly from Arizona, California, Oregon, Nevada, and New Mexico.

Perris got off to an inauspicious start. Perris Valley residents donated land with little water. The water supply was over two miles from the school, requiring the construction of a long irrigation pipe, which cost \$18,000, or 72 percent of the school’s annual budget. Like Haskell, Perris had to postpone opening “on account of the nonreceipt of supplies.”⁷⁴ Still, by March 1893, Perris’s first superintendent, M. H. Savage, reported 113 Indian students in attendance, many of them from Southern California’s day schools.⁷⁵

Savage asserted that these students were all volunteers, but separation from their families presumably caused homesickness and distress. Moreover, they arrived after Congress permitted coercive measures to compel attendance. Indeed, Savage noted that students “came with full consent of their parents, although in numerous instances parental consent was obtained by much effort and persuasion.”⁷⁶ The tactics he employed remain undocumented, but as Perris’

⁷¹ U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From December, 1889 to March 1891, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations*, 1012; M.H. Savage, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 406.

⁷² Horatio N. Rust, U.S. Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 7, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 226.

⁷³ Browning to Secretary of the Interior, September 16, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 9.

⁷⁴ Savage to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 406.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

representatives obtained this “consent,” Congress went a step further to ensure attendance. On March 3, 1893, Congress passed the 1894 Indian Appropriation Act.⁷⁷ It authorized the Interior Secretary to “withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in some school a reasonable portion of each year.”⁷⁸ The following year, however, Congress relented. The 1895 Indian Appropriation Bill required “voluntary consent” from parents or guardians to send a child to an off-reservation boarding school. It also made it “unlawful for any Indian agent or other employé of the Government to induce, or seek to induce, by withholding rations or by other improper means, the parents or next of kin of any Indian to consent to the removal of any Indian child beyond the limits of any reservation.”⁷⁹ Still, no parental or guardian consent was required for reservation schools, and some agents took unwilling children to these schools.⁸⁰ Despite it now being against the law to compel consent, agents and school superintendents routinely continued the now illegal policy well into the twentieth century.

Soon after Perris’ opening, school administrators faced their first epidemic. The school’s first annual report noted, “the school was visited by an epidemic of influenza,” in which 80

⁷⁷ U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from December, 1891, to March, 1893, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 27:612.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 27:635.

⁷⁹ U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from August, 1893, to March, 1895, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), 28:313-314.

⁸⁰ Fort Hall Agent S.G. Fisher reported that he had “taken quite a number of school children by force,” including choking a “chief into submission” (S.G. Fisher, U.S. Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 6, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 150). Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1898, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898* (Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1898*], 338; David Treuer, *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2019), 137-139.

percent of the student body was “seriously affected,” with some “approaching very near death’s door.”⁸¹ At the end of the year, Superintendent Savage hoped “that we have struggled through the most trying period in the history of this school.”⁸² This epidemic, however, was only the beginning. Perris desperately required a hospital to treat and isolate sick students, but this fundamental need would not be met for years. Making matters worse, Perris had no permanent full-time physician. Doctor C.C. Wainwright, who attended to students during the 1893 flu epidemic, was also the agency physician for several Southern California reservations. Thus, he could only be at Perris on a limited basis. Sickness did not wait for his arrival and continued after he left. Consequently, the school’s untrained employees provided amateur medical care during Wainwright’s frequent absences.⁸³

During the 1892-1893 school year, students continued to become unwell at off-reservation boarding schools. In Carlisle’s 1893 annual report, Pratt reported “no epidemic,” despite ten cases of pneumonia, thirty-seven cases of tuberculosis, and five deaths.⁸⁴ The school also had minor outbreaks of erysipelas, bronchitis, and pharyngitis. In sum, the physician treated 323 cases of illness and injuries.⁸⁵ Haskell’s employees, meanwhile, treated 935 cases of illness, although this level of disease, along with five student deaths, apparently qualified as a “good

⁸¹ Savage to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 406.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 408.

⁸³ Savage to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 406. Wainwright remained split until 1900 when he became the school’s full-time physician (W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent of Indian School, July 3, 1900, in Perris Indian School Series 12: Correspondence, 1891-1982, Box 55, Folder 4, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California).

⁸⁴ *The Red Man* 12:2 (September, October, & November 1893), 4; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 677.

⁸⁵ “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 675, 677, 684.

degree of health,” according to Superintendent Meserve.⁸⁶ He seemed disinterested in making mortalities public. Indeed, Meserve sought to “abandon the school burying ground” because of what it signified to visitors. “What the effect is upon the minds of . . . Indian parents when they visit Haskell Institute can well be imagined,” he explained.⁸⁷ The cemetery had grown to hold dozens of graves. Chemawa, now with a hospital on campus, reported six deaths in 1893.⁸⁸ The physician treated 366 skin infections, 564 bronchitis cases, twenty-one influenza cases, and thirteen whooping cough patients. Additionally, the school reported 548 cases of intermittent fever, or what Superintendent C.W. Wasson referred to as “malarial influences” in his annual report.⁸⁹ Despite the average Chemawa student being hospitalized four and a half times that year, Wasson described students’ health as “good.”⁹⁰

Congress again decreased appropriations for the 1893-1894 school year. The era of uneven economic expansion and technological change known as the Gilded Age was drawing to a close. Global pressures forced a run on gold from the United States Treasury by European traders, which in turn precipitated local bank runs primarily in the Trans-Mississippi West by

⁸⁶ Meserve only reported five deaths (Charles Francis Meserve, Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 417).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 418.

⁸⁸ “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 685. Known Chemawa deaths, 1892-1893, include: William Stokes (Hupa) [Bronchitis, Valvular defect], Nettie Whitley (Tenino) [Capillary Bronchitis], Grant Cass (Rogue River) [Unknown], Frank Howard (Chehalis) [Pneumonia], Thomas D. Johnson (Samish) [Phthisis], and George Louisa (Klamath) [Phthisis] (Chemawa Daily Sick List, 134, NARAS; Chemawa Hospital Records, 34, 38, 56, 66, NARAR; P2008, 108, NARAS).

⁸⁹ “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 675-679; C.W. Wasson, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 447.

⁹⁰ “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 620; “Medical statistics of the United States Indian service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1893,” in *ARCIA, 1893*, 675-679; Wasson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 447.

May 1893.⁹¹ By the end of the subsequent economic depression, more than 500 banks shuttered, and another 15,000 businesses failed.⁹² Congress responded to the Panic of 1893 with austerity. In 1894, Congress cut appropriations for Indian schools by nearly \$70,000 and again in 1895, when funding totaled just over \$2 million, down from a peak of \$2.3 million in 1892-1893.⁹³ This was not a signal of education losing favor among Washington, D.C. policymakers. Rather, it was a consequence of the economic depression. Still, falling appropriations directly impacted student health in boarding schools. During this period, boarding schools received less per capita than when they had first opened more than a decade and a half earlier, despite inflation and cost of living increases.⁹⁴

Amidst these financial cuts, officials called more attention to the appalling boarding school health conditions created by underfunding and began requesting facilities to treat ill students. Between 1893 and 1895, physicians, superintendent, and Indian communities made sixteen requests for hospitals or health services.⁹⁵ Congressional austerity dictated that only a portion of these requests would receive federal funding.

Perris was one school still without medical facilities. During the school's first full academic year, 1893-1894, Perris experienced its first student death. Little is known of this tragedy or the history of Perris' early days as most of the records from this period have been

⁹¹ Elmus Wicker, *Banking Panics of the Gilded Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2, 52.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 52; *Bradstreet's Journal of Trade, Finance, and Public Economy*, December 28, 1895, 818.

⁹³ Morgan to Secretary of the Interior, August 27, 1892, August 27, 1892, in *ARCIA, 1892*, 41; Browning to Secretary of the Interior, September 17, 1893, in *ARCIA, 1893*, 18; D.M. Browning, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 14, 1894, in *ARCIA, 1894*, 2.

⁹⁴ "Maintenance of Indian Schools without Restriction of Expenditure," 64th Cong., 1st Sess., S. Report 765 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1916), 1.

⁹⁵ DeJong, "If You Only Knew the Conditions," 7.

destroyed.⁹⁶ What was clear, however, was that Perris' financial situation of students was made worse by Superintendent M.H. Savage's embezzlement. In August of 1894, Assistant Indian Affairs Commissioner Frank C. Armstrong charged Savage with what one newspaper called "gross rascality and frauds."⁹⁷ Armstrong detailed how, "From the first transaction, three of four years ago, to the day he left, he was in some way defrauding the Government. He stole at least one-third of all the money reported by him as disbursed for the school."⁹⁸ Savage's crimes caused suffering. In late August 1894, a San Diego newspaper reported that "a charge of immorality is also lodged against [Savage], involving some of the girls of the schools."⁹⁹ By January 1895, a sixteen or seventeen-year-old Perris student gave birth to a child reported to be Savage's.¹⁰⁰ The following month, the newspaper reported a student who left the school's

⁹⁶ Wm. F.T. Bray, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1894, in *ARCIA, 1894*, 373. The Sherman Indian Museum holds most of Perris' surviving ledger books. Some of Perris' correspondence beginning in 1898 is held by NARAR.

⁹⁷ *San Francisco Call*, August 5, 1894, 2.

⁹⁸ Armstrong, in *San Francisco Call*, August 5, 1894, 2.

⁹⁹ *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, August 27, 1894, 5.

¹⁰⁰ *The Morning Union* (Grass Valley, CA). July 13, 1895, 3. The newspaper reported the girl's name as "Sholder." Perris enrollment ledgers list a Marguerite Scholder (Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño) who entered the school in February 1893 (Perris Registration Ledger, 1:4, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California). Superintendent Savage would have come in contact with the girl regularly as she was employed as a temporary employee (Series 10: Administrative Records, 1893-1992, "Record of Employees, 1892-1903," Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside California [hereafter Perris Record of Employees]). Carrie E. Savage, Perris's clerk and assistant matron and Myron's wife had been granted a divorce in 1890 on the grounds that he deserted her. Still, she continued to work with him at Perris as a clerk and assistant matron. (Perris Record of Employees Ledger, 1; *Daily Alta California* [San Francisco, CA], August 14, 1890, 8).

complaining about students “half starving and abuse.”¹⁰¹ Without ever seeing justice for his crimes, Savage fled to Mexico where he lived out his days.¹⁰²

The superintendent’s annual report for the year provides no clarity, as Perris received a new superintendent, William F.T. Bray, just six weeks before the report was due in Washington, D.C. What is clear, however, is that enrollment increased to 117, and the school suffered a drought, crop failure, and a lack of milk, denying students adequate nutrition.¹⁰³ Superintendent Bray reported that student “health needs constant care.” Indeed, Perris suffered two epidemics: conjunctivitis, or pink eye, in the fall and typhoid fever around May. This latter, more serious disease resulted in the student’s death. Seventeen-year-old Samuel Scholder (Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño) died in June 1894.¹⁰⁴ Bray concluded, “the need of a hospital building is very apparent.”¹⁰⁵ Before Bray could have much impact, the Indian Office replaced him in the fall.¹⁰⁶

Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell faced crises of their own during the 1893-1894 school year. Tuberculosis remained the largest threat. Only one student, Elsie Davis, a Southern Cheyenne student from Oklahoma, died from consumption at Carlisle, but the school sent fifty-five students ill, twenty students more than the previous year, to their homes or a tuberculosis

¹⁰¹ *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, September 25, 1894, 2. The newspaper reported that in response to this boy’s complaint, Indigenous peoples murdered a school teacher.

¹⁰² *Los Angeles Herald*, July 16, 1910, 9.

¹⁰³ Bray to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1894, in *ARCIA, 1894*, 373.

¹⁰⁴ Series 1: Perris Registration Ledger, 1:8, Box 1, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California. Samuel was likely Marguerite’s brother.

¹⁰⁵ Bray to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1894, in *ARCIA, 1894*, 373.

¹⁰⁶ “Record of Employees,” 8-9, in Series 10: Administrative Records, 1893-1992, Box 56, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California.

sanatorium.¹⁰⁷ Of Chemawa's six student deaths that year, archival records provide the cause for all but one. Tuberculosis caused each of the mortalities for which the cause was specified.¹⁰⁸ Fragmentary archival records disclose that at least three students died at Haskell, while the superintendent sent three times as many students home sick by June 30, 1894.¹⁰⁹

That June, Dr. H.R. Bull, the physician at Colorado's Grand Junction Indian School, presented an early tuberculosis case study at the Colorado State Medical Society conference. The Society's president that year, Hubert Work, a physician, would later become President Warren G. Harding's Interior Secretary, overseeing the Indian Office and the boarding school system. Bull's five-year study disclosed that tuberculosis among the Grand Junction students "has invariably been secondary to some local suppuration, inflammation or caries." For instance, Bull detailed how, during the previous four winters, epidemics of influenza came into the school. "[M]any" of the cases then turned into "its insidious sequelæ [sic] of bronchitis." The sequence of diseases "enfeebled and lowered vitality, suitable conditions for the development of tubercular lesions," according to the doctor. Ultimately, Bull concluded, "I present these facts and conditions because of the large mortality from tuberculosis in this institution, which, in similar

¹⁰⁷ Elsie Davis (Southern Cheyenne) [Consumption], in E1328, Box 1, NARADC.

¹⁰⁸ Christina Poland (NTL) [Phthisis], Frank Granvelle [Gravelle] (Stickeen) [Tubercular Scrofulous Sores], Maggie Pugh (Sound) [Unknown], Lucy Granger (San Poil) [Tuberculosis], Angeline McDougall (Colville [Okanagan]) [Tuberculosis], and Julia Antoine (NTL) [Tuberculosis] (P2008, 142, 144, NARAS; Chemawa Hospital Records, 14-15, 28, 34, 36, 45, 52, NARAS; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 212-213, NARAS; Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 977, NARAS). Nine students went home that year, five of whom had tubercular infections (Appendix 1).

¹⁰⁹ Esther Hill (Wisconsin Oneida) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 54, NARAKC; George G. Evans (Shawnee) [Pneumonia], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 38, NARAKC; Jack [Jackson] La Force (Osage) [Unknown], in Matriculation Records, 1885-, [3], NARAKC. For students sent home ill, see Appendix 1.

institutions filled with white children, would appear culpable.”¹¹⁰ The level of tuberculosis in boarding schools was a crime.

While Congress decided on the amount of the appropriations, local superintendents controlled how they spent the money. For the year 1894-1895, Carlisle, Perris, Haskell, and Chemawa superintendents utilized only 85 percent of the \$259,700 appropriated for their institutions.¹¹¹ It is unknown why superintendents failed to spend the money. Appropriations and how much of them superintendents used drove much of the substandard conditions in boarding schools. To be sure, superintendents and other government officials exercised their own choices within the confines created by the Congress and Interior departments. Parsimonious appropriations forced school superintendents to contest the inadequate rations that bred hunger and discontent among students. In addition to institutionalized malnutrition, superintendents routinely struggled to clothe, feed, and care for students.

During that 1894-1895 school year, Superintendent Edgar Allen returned to Perris to replace Bray and reported that student health at the school was “uniformly good.”¹¹² He noted that only once was he required to obtain the services of an outside physician to care for students while Dr. Wainwright was attending to reservation patients. At least two students left the school because of sickness, but there were no reported deaths.¹¹³ Finally, Congress appropriated money

¹¹⁰ H.R. Bull, “Tuberculosis among the Indians,” in Colorado Medical Society, *Transactions of the Colorado State Medical Society* (32 vols., Denver: A.J. Luddit, 1894), 24:314-316.

¹¹¹ “Statement of disbursements made from the appropriation for the Indian Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895,” in U.S. OIA, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1895* (4 vols., Washington, D.C., GPO, 1896) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1895*], 2:606; “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1895,” in *ARCIA, 1895*, 492-495, 500-501.

¹¹² Edgar A. Allen, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 362.

for a new hospital, which permitted Allen to better care for sick students. Allen welcomed this news because “in the past sick children have been obliged to lie in the dormitory to their added discomfort and the jeopardy of those who are well.”¹¹⁴ Still, the superintendent worried about the school’s ability to function. Perris’s appropriation was “inconveniently small,” and its site dangerous.¹¹⁵ He concluded, “This school was built on the kind of land usually selected for an Indian reservation — the poorest in the locality.”¹¹⁶ Limited appropriations, poor land, and a lack of water would continue to haunt Perris as food could not be grown and contaminated water imperiled student health.

For unknown reasons, the Indian Affairs commissioner stopped reporting the number and types of illnesses treated by Indian Service physicians beginning with the 1894-1895 school year. Historians must rely on incomplete records to piece together school health outcomes. School superintendents typically provided a few sentences on health in their annual reports. From such reports, Chemawa’s temporary superintendent Charles B. Rakestraw considered student health “fairly good,” while there were “a few deaths.”¹¹⁷ Archival evidence confirms that at least six students died there that year, and Rakestraw sent at least thirteen other students home ill.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Antono Garcia (Luiseño) went home sick in November 1894, followed by Virginia Calac (Luiseño) on four days later (Series 1: Perris Registration Ledger, 1:20, 26, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California).

¹¹⁴ Allen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 362.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 362.

¹¹⁷ Charles D. Rakestraw, Supervisor Indian Schools, in charge to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 1, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 397.

¹¹⁸ Chemawa deaths, 1894-1895: Stephen Arden (Siletz) [Unknown], Norbert McDougall (Okanagan) [Phthisis], Maggie Chesaw (San Poil) [Unknown], Frederick Wasson (Coos) [Pertussis; Bronchitis], Fred (Beda Bede) Peter (Klickitat) [Unknown], and Rosa Shurtleff [Shurtloff] (Wintun) [Tuberculosis] (P2008,

Haskell's superintendent J.A. Swett remarked, "The general health this year has been excellent, and where there have been departures from the same the causes have yielded quickly to care and treatment."¹¹⁹ The four deaths on campus and fifteen students sent home ill suggest otherwise.¹²⁰ The same year, Pennsylvania experienced an "unusually long and severe" winter, which strained Carlisle students with "weak lungs." Pratt sent home those "seriously affected," while eight died on campus.¹²¹

What sources do reveal is that Indigenous leaders and parents continued their fight against the schools on the grounds of health. Death and disease were so common that some Native American leaders would only consent to their children's schooling if school officials agreed to "send any sick child home to his or her parents," according to Red Wolf (Southern Cheyenne).¹²² In 1889, the Navajo agent avowed, "no Navajo will listen to a proposition to send a child of his to an eastern school" because so many had died.¹²³ Other Native American leaders issued similar declarations. Ute chiefs led a concerted effort to spare their children from the

13, 142, 146, 8; Chemawa Hospital Records, 20-24, 29, 238-239, NARAS). For students sent home sick, see Appendix 1.

¹¹⁹ J.A. Swett, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 374.

¹²⁰ Ambrose Pequowga (Grand Traverse Odawa) [Consumption], in Matriculation Records, 1885-, [284], NARAKC; Johnnie Mankoka (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC; Peter Bundy (Miami) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 18, NARAKC; Fred Big House (Southern Cheyenne) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC.

¹²¹ R.H. Pratt, Captain, Tenth Cavalry, U.S.A., Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 400, 398. Records show that forty-six went home sick that year (see Appendix 1).

¹²² Red Wolf (Southern Cheyenne) summarized, in Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 49.

¹²³ C.E. Vandever, United States Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 9, 1889, in *ARCIA, 1889*, 259.

health consequences of boarding schools. Ignacio, a Southern Ute chief, led this opposition — resistance that cost him his job on the Indian Police force in 1892 — after twelve of the twenty-four children sent from his community to the Albuquerque Indian School died there or soon after arriving home.¹²⁴ Ignacio’s last surviving child was among those who died at Albuquerque.¹²⁵ Utes were not opposed to education. In fact, their 1880 treaty and subsequent treaties included education provisions, but they refused to send their children away to school. Buckskin Charley, Ignacio’s contemporary, was willing to educate Ute children at a school on the reservation, “but not away from home, because when they [the children and young adults] go away they die, and we cannot account for it.”¹²⁶ The chiefs’ fears were justified. In 1894, Southern Ute Agent David F. Day conceded to the Indian Affairs commissioner that Southern Ute children and young adults attending the Albuquerque Indian school experienced a 50 percent mortality rate and a quarter of the children and young adults that attended the Fort Lewis Indian School in Colorado became “sightless” from trachoma.¹²⁷ Day castigated “Congressional neglect to ratify or reject treaties ... for years of uncertainty and doubtful conditions.”¹²⁸ As Indigenous leaders and parents, agency officials, and medical practitioners raised the specter of disease outbreaks and mass death, Washington, D.C. officials reacted only slowly. Underfunding continued even as more schools

¹²⁴ Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges*, 78; Richard K. Young, *The Ute Indians of Colorado in the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 71.

¹²⁵ Young, *Ute Indians of Colorado in the Twentieth Century*, 33; When Ignacio visited Washington, D.C. in 1888 to negotiate a reservation for his band, he admitted that his children “died last summer” (Chief Ignacio, in “Southern Ute Indians,” March 7, 1888, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Rpt. 861, 2).

¹²⁶ Buckskin Charley testimony, March 4, 1886, in “Southern Ute Indians,” March 8, 1888, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Rpt. 861, 2

¹²⁷ David F. Day, U.S. Indian Agent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1894, in *ARCIA*, 1894, 128.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

opened. Meanwhile, boarding school superintendents maintained policies promoting contagion. Schools continued to be overcrowded and unsanitary. Students continued to be underfed and underclothed. Thus, epidemics swept through them, overtaxing health professionals tasked with safeguarding student health.

As parents and guardians witnessed children and young adults disembark from trains debilitated by illness, heard of deaths in their communities, and received letters from their own children about their poor health, they too worried. Their concern can be read in their thousands of surviving letters to their children and school administrators. Held in boarding school archives, many of these letters ask school superintendents to relay their children's health status and request that sick children and young adults be sent home. In 1895, for example, Edward Desautel's parents (Colville) from Loomis, Washington, requested that Chemawa send Edward home through an agent, stating: "So many of the children ... from this reservation have died that [we] feel as though [we] will not see any of them again." In turn, the agent complained that parents were "continuously writing + asking me to get them home."¹²⁹ Edward prompted his parent's request, having written a letter home the previous May in which he worried about his own health and that of other students. In a letter to his father, Edward wrote: "I wish you would get me home this year for I might get sick and die," before noting the deaths of Norbert McDougall (Colville) and Maggie Chesaw (Colville) at the Chemawa.¹³⁰ Other parents did not want their children to go out on the outing program, fearing for their health. Perris Superintendent Allen alleged that many parents "object to their children going into homes on the ground that they will soon die."¹³¹

¹²⁹ Jno. W. Beebly, Capt USA Outing Agent to Supt Chemawa School, September 13, 1895, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 933, NARAS.

¹³⁰ Edward Desautel to Father, May 5, 1895, 1-2, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 933, NARAS.

Because of the constant threat of sickness and abuse, parents resisted sending their children to boarding school, including blanket resistance from the Lummi, Fort Hall Shoshones and Bannocks, and the Diné.¹³²

Despite Congress declaring it illegal to compel parental consent through withholding rations and annuities, the federal government used other tools to sway parents. Indeed, its actions continued demonstrating the limited capacity Indigenous parents and guardians had in exercising educational choices for their children and wards. Education had become so important to the federal government that by 1895, school employees made up nearly one half of the Indian Service's workforce.¹³³ In some instances, federal officials turned to the penitentiary.

In 1895, government employees incarcerated nineteen Hopi men on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, "all because they would not let their children go to school." Again, tribal leaders and parents rejected school on health grounds. According to a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, "Their aversion to the schools, where the Government proposed to send their children, was based on the fact that they had seen a number of their offspring die in there from the effects of some contagious disease, and so they laid the deaths at the door of too much learning."¹³⁴ The growing body count seemed not to worry government officials, a pattern that parents and tribal communities witnessed year after year despite the staggering toll diseases took on their loved ones at federal educational institutions.

¹³¹ Allen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1896, in *ARCIA, 1896*, 366.

¹³² "Appendix," in *ARCIA, 1892*, 150-176.

¹³³ Paul Stuart, *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, [1978] 1979), 131.

¹³⁴ "Moquis on Alcatraz," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1895, 7.

Nearly two decades of mortalities finally piqued concern across the country. Charles C. Painter, of the Indian Rights Association, explained: “The American people are beginning to demand that our Indian policy shall rest upon a broad, intelligent recognition, not of Indian, but of human rights, and they will more and more insist that neither sentimentality nor brutality shall dictate what that policy should be.”¹³⁵ The extent to which ordinary Americans cared about the government’s Indian policy is debatable, but conversations addressing Indian Office reform had begun in some circles.

In Washington, D.C., policymakers finally took action. Superintendent of Indian Schools William Hailmann issued the first concerted directive about health and safety standards in 1895.¹³⁶ Hailmann’s circular on sanitation instructed superintendents on issues ranging from ventilation, heating, and lighting to bathroom, dormitory, and schoolroom hygiene. Notwithstanding these regulations, students continued to fall ill. Why? Because superintendents sometimes ignored Hailmann’s guidelines. In 1897, Hailmann protested, “The various simple devices that have been brought to the notice of teachers, affording at least partial relief in these matters has been strangely neglected by them ... In spite of repeated directions from this office, I still find in many of the schools the screening very injudiciously managed.”¹³⁷

Correctives were possible. At particular schools and times, sanitary regulations and expenditures to safeguard student health worked. In 1896, the Perris Indian School hospital opened and showed positive results. In his annual report, Superintendent Allen notified the

¹³⁵ Painter, “Extravagance, Waste and Failure of Indian Education,” 20-21.

¹³⁶ W.N. Hailman to Agents and School Superintendents, November 1, 1895, 2, in *Circular Letter of Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), University of Utah, Marriot Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹³⁷ W.N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Indian Schools to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 331.

Indian Affairs commissioner: “The health of the school has been good. There have been no deaths and but two cases of serious illness.” He attributed this largely to the hospital, as it permitted isolating ill patients. Thus, employees were “able to remove the sick from the unfavorable conditions of the dormitory.”¹³⁸ Still, the school’s poor land and inadequate water problems stood unresolved, and health remained a concern.

Other schools, too, reported a decrease in disease incidence in 1896. This decrease could indicate either an actual decline, a failure to report ill students, or both. Chemawa superintendent Thomas Potter boasted, “There have been no deaths in the last nine months, and the health has greatly improved, thereby changing the name of Chemawa from a sickly and unhealthy place to a popular health resort.”¹³⁹ If it was a health resort, it was a very dangerous one. Three students died during the remaining months of the year and Potter failed to mention them.¹⁴⁰ Under Potter’s command, students installed a new sewer to carry refuse farther away from the campus. Still, the school sent home at least ten students sick and parental resistance continued. “Indians,” he noted, “generally dislike to send their children, fearing disease and death.”¹⁴¹ Pratt, meanwhile, despite sending forty-six students home ill and having twelve more die in his custody, failed to mention health in his unusually terse report that year.¹⁴² Finally, in Kansas,

¹³⁸ Edgar A. Allen, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1896, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1896* (5 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1896*], 2:366.

¹³⁹ Thos. W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1896, in *ARCIA, 1896*, 393. There were no deaths between 12/12/1895 and 12/16/1896.

¹⁴⁰ James Ingram (NTL) [Meningitis], David Sisk (Wintun) [Pneumonia], Christine Poniton [Poynton] (San Poil) [Tuberculosis] (P2008, 142, NARAS; Chemawa Hospital Records, 14, 72-73, 76, 128-129, 239, NARAS; Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 844, NARAS).

¹⁴¹ Potter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1896, in *ARCIA, 1896*, 393. See Appendix 1.

¹⁴² R.H. Pratt, Captain, Tenth Cavalry, United States Army, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 24, 1896, in *ARCIA, 1896*, 394. See appendices.

Superintendent Swett remarked that Haskell was bursting at the seams. Six hundred students overcrowded a campus meant to house 350.¹⁴³ Besides three deaths at Haskell and several cases of influenza over the winter months, Swett considered the pupils' health "excellent."¹⁴⁴ He failed to report one of the deaths in his report.¹⁴⁵

During the 1896-1897 academic year, all four schools were again overcrowded, yet health results were mixed. Perris registered 157 students despite a capacity of 100, Haskell enrolled 148 students over its capacity, Chemawa was overcrowded by sixty-three, and Carlisle enrolled 833 students despite a capacity of 800.¹⁴⁶ While some of these students were on outing, which lowered the number of students on campus, the schools generally had too many students to care for given their resources.

Institutional conditions could either contain or promote contagion. Superintendent of Indian Schools Hailmann reported promising changes in the institutions, including a "steady and marked improvement in the sanitation of our schools."¹⁴⁷ Deficiencies in water supplies, bathroom accommodations, and sewer systems had been addressed. Explosive kerosene lighting, which had aided the rapid destruction of buildings when fires arose, were being replaced by safer

¹⁴³ J. Swett, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1896, in *ARCIA, 1896*, 376.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 377.

¹⁴⁵ Swett reported two deaths, but at least three students died in federal custody that year. (Charley Dean (Potawatomi) [Unknown], Grover Cleveland Spooner (Munsee) [Gastritis], and Nettie Pequah (Kickapoo) [Abscess in ear; killed by train] [Haskell Student Files, Box 31, 92, and 112, NARAKC; Haskell Matriculation Records, 213]). It is possible he did not include Nettie Pequah who died while running away sick.

¹⁴⁶ "Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1897," in *ARCIA, 1897*, 466-69, 472-473.

¹⁴⁷ W.N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Indian Schools to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 330.

electric lighting. Construction of new school buildings was made according to standards of the day for ventilation and heating.¹⁴⁸ These features were meant to limit disease incidence. Yet for older physical plants, including Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell, “comparatively little progress has been made in the ventilation and lighting” because school officials “neglected” these issues.¹⁴⁹ Further, many schools still used bathtubs. Hailmann emphasized, “Where tubs are used it is difficult, if not impossible, to have the water changed after each bathing, and if changed, unless the tub is thoroughly scrubbed and cleansed, disease germs will cling to the sides, ready to perform their deadly work of infection upon the next occupant.” As a safer alternative, he recommended “shower bath[s],” but this improvement required additional expenditures.¹⁵⁰ While Hailmann instituted sanitary reforms, there remained much work to be done.

For the 1896-1897 academic year, the schools experienced varying degrees of health. Haskell seemed to have few health issues. The last three sentences of Superintendent Swett’s report read: “The health of the pupils had been excellent. In no year in our history has it been so good. We record no deaths, neither serious continued cases of sickness.”¹⁵¹ Likewise, Chemawa reportedly experienced, “very little sickness ... during the year,” although “An epidemic of measles swept over the school during the summer.”¹⁵² Many students likely went home for leave,

¹⁴⁸ Hailmann to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 330.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 10, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 17; Hailmann to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 330.

¹⁵¹ J.A. Swett to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 26, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 351. Martin Blue Back’s (Ponca) student file suggests he died at the school sometime after September 1, 1896. Another Ponca with the same name also died at the school, but their ages and dates of attendance suggest that they are two distinct students.

¹⁵² Thos. W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 368.

limiting the outbreak while the physician and nurses paid “faithful attention” to the infected, resulting in no fatalities. Still, four students died from “lung trouble,” likely pulmonary tuberculosis.¹⁵³ One student may have died at Perris.¹⁵⁴ Carlisle also suffered a measles outbreak. Affecting approximately 100 students, it caused administrators to postpone commencement.¹⁵⁵ Despite measles’ highly contagious nature, Pratt seems to have intentionally elided it. Indeed, he reported, “No virulent epidemic has visited us during the year.”¹⁵⁶ Thus, we must be skeptical of the rosy conditions he reported. That year, three students died — one Nez Perce and one Oneida from tuberculosis and a Menominee student by suicide — and administrators sent “a number” home ill. Archival documents — many only recently available to the public — confirm that “number” to be at least thirty-one students.¹⁵⁷ Pratt complained that regulations mandating physical examinations before a student left a reservation were not being followed, which caused Carlisle unnecessary financial stress and threatened student health. Some of the students returned home sick “never should have been sent to us,” Pratt concluded. He argued for “Greater care in the examinations by the physicians at the agencies would obviate these expensive difficulties.”¹⁵⁸ Pratt could have rejected students and sent them home but, because that would exhaust his

¹⁵³ Potter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 368. At least four, but likely more, went home sick (Appendix 1).

¹⁵⁴ Manuel (Tejon) may have died at Perris or left the school ill and died on March 24, 1897. Her record indicates that she died, but does not say she ever left the school (Perris Registration Ledger 1:52, Sherman Indian Museum).

¹⁵⁵ *The Indian Helper* 12:16 (January 29, 1897), 3; *The Indian Helper* 12:18 (February 12, 1897), 3.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ R.H. Pratt, Captain, Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 369; Fiddle Amowie (Menomine) [Suicide], in E-1329, Box 5, Melissa Metoxen (Wisconsin Oneida) [Tuberculosis], in E-1329, Box 4, and Julia Jonas (Nez Perce) [Tuberculosis], in E-1329, Box 5. For sent home sick, see Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁸ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1897, in *ARCIA, 1897*, 374.

transportation funds and decrease his appropriation, he kept sick children and young adults in school. Although at least eight students died in the schools that year, the death rates had fallen significantly from just ten years prior. Still it was well above the United States average

On June 2, 1897, around the time of the Carlisle and Chemawa's measles epidemics, Harwood Hall took charge as superintendent of the Perris Indian School.¹⁵⁹ Like Chemawa, Perris suffered from a revolving door of superintendents and lacked leadership continuity from one year to the next. Hall had been at the school less than three months before making his first annual report. While understandably short, it revealed Hall's appraisal of the school. His first concern was the land and that lack of water. The land, he lamented, "is unusually poor, which, together with an inadequate supply of irrigation water, renders the growing of crops, trees, garden vegetables, shrubbery, etc., almost an impossibility." He concluded, "a poorer place for an Indian school, it seems to me, could not have been found in southern California."¹⁶⁰ Hall also noted several troubling conditions. First, enrollment (160) exceeded rated, safe levels of capacity (100).¹⁶¹ Second, the school hospital was being "mainly used as quarters for employees."¹⁶² Year after year, Perris' superintendents, including Hall, noted the school's lack of agricultural productivity, underfunding, and over-enrollment. Although Perris staved off disaster that year, conditions were ripe for future epidemics.

After Hall had established himself at the school, he attempted to manage student health as best he could, given the circumstances, Indian Office regulations, and limited Congressional

¹⁵⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1897, in *ARCIA*, 1897, 345.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

appropriations. During the 1897-1898 year, Hall instituted a nursing class so that students could take care of the sick while the doctor was away, weekly hygienic lectures to the “older boys and girls,” and physical education, all of which “have proved of great benefit to the health of the school.”¹⁶³ Hall concluded, “but little sickness has prevailed during the year” and that “scarcely a boy or girl being sick during the year.”¹⁶⁴

Still, students became sick and because Perris remained over enrolled students received substandard care. One hundred and eighty students packed into accommodations meant for between 100 and 150, while Congress only appropriated \$167 per student for 150 students.¹⁶⁵ That October, Dr. Wainwright examined James Morongo (Morongo Band Serrano) and recommended that he be sent home from an unknown, though likely tubercular, infection.¹⁶⁶ The Indian Affairs commissioner then recognized Perris’s limitations, stating, “The present school plant is inadequate, and not in good condition.”¹⁶⁷ Yet, government officials continued to overcrowd the institution.

School physical plants needed overhauling to be sanitary and safe. Between 1897 and 1898, Haskell began renovations and planned others to maintain sanitary standards after the new superintendent, H.B. Peairs, complained. In Peairs’s estimation, previous superintendents caused

¹⁶³ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 7, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 357.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 354; “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1897,” in *ARCIA, 1897*, 466-467; “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1898,” in *ARCIA, 1898*, 582-583; U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, From March, 1897, to March, 1899, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and the Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), 30:81.

¹⁶⁶ Series 1: Perris Registration Ledger, 2:1, Box 1, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California.

¹⁶⁷ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Honorable Secretary of the Interior, September 23, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 23.

the poor conditions by not using all of the funds appropriated by Congress to maintain the physical plant.¹⁶⁸ Two years earlier, while Peairs was a teacher at Haskell, the school used only \$72,553.59 of the \$87,000 appropriated to it.¹⁶⁹ Two lavatory buildings with showers rather than baths, an updated steam heating plant, a new ventilation system to address the buildings “erected without provisions for ventilation,” and an improved lighting system were underway or planned.¹⁷⁰ These renovations preceded guidelines that the Indian Office published that June. Haskell also constructed a new water plant, but that \$5,000 project was “an absolute failure,” and the school still lacked clean drinking water after it was completed. How these improvements impacted student health remains unknown, as Peairs failed to mention student health in his annual report. Archives, however, reveal that Peairs sent twenty-two students home that year.¹⁷¹

In Oregon that year, Superintendent Thomas Potter also initiated improvements to Chemawa’s campus. The administration completed new sewer and water systems while draining Lake Labish, a swampy area that bordered the school and was a known source of infection.¹⁷² Despite a June and July 1897 measles epidemic, Superintendent Potter reported no serious epidemics that year, which he attributed to the improvements. Two students died and six others were sick enough to warrant their return home.¹⁷³ Chemawa remained overcrowded, as

¹⁶⁸ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 11, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 367.

¹⁶⁹ “Statement of disbursements made from the appropriations for the Indian Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895,” in *ARCIA, 1895*, 606; Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1895, in *ARCIA, 1895*, 494-495.

¹⁷⁰ Peairs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 11, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 367.

¹⁷¹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁷² Thos. W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 17, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 386.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*; Appendix 1; Chemawa Sanitary Records, Box 4, NARAS.

“attendance ... far exceeded the amount appropriated for.”¹⁷⁴ Potter admitted this “proves more or less detrimental to the best interests of a school.”¹⁷⁵ Indeed, student health was in the best interest of the school and Indian service, but both decided student well-being could be spared.

Pratt oversaw improvements of his own at Carlisle. “Improved facilities” in the school’s industrial shops provided safer workplaces, while a new athletic field afforded students additional exercise opportunities.¹⁷⁶ Still, Carlisle encountered difficulties. Pratt again reported ill students sent to the school.¹⁷⁷ Diseases forced him to send forty-seven sick students home. Of these only two had been at the school for only a few months, suggesting the vast majority of students contracted infections at the school. Four others died within one academic year of being sent home sick.¹⁷⁸ More often than not, however, diseases had progressed to the point where students needed adequate medical care, which was hard to come by.

Beyond disease, the dangers at and around Carlisle were numerous. As the four deaths illustrate, disease only caused two. One student, eighteen-year-old Victor Seneca (Seneca), died from a concussion on the way back from seeing his brother, an offensive lineman, and the football team play the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. His head struck a telegraph pole when the boy stuck his head out of a moving train’s window.¹⁷⁹ Later that school year, a Pennsylvania Rail Road steam locomotive ran over fifteen-year-old Frank Green, an Oneida

¹⁷⁴ Potter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 17, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 386.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ R.H. Pratt, Major, First Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 28, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 391-392.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 392.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix 1. For two students, see: Chester Smith (Osage), in E-1328, Box 3, Katie White (Seneca), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC.

¹⁷⁹ *The Shippensburg Chronicle* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania), November 11, 1897, 2.

student, at the end of June. After being at the school for three years of his five-year enrollment, Frank deserted.¹⁸⁰ News outlets reported his death. The town's *Carlisle Gazette* claimed that Frank ran away to follow Buffalo Bills Wild West Show, while the school's *Indian Helper*, edited by a school employee, suggested that Frank was "a disturbing element," thus, "but few tears were shed for his loss." Meanwhile, the newspaper stressed to Carlisle students: "We trust that the lesson, though a severe one, will be of use to us all."¹⁸¹ Epidemiological dangers beyond disease posed a threat to boarding school students.

Students resisted Carlisle's dangers by running away, writing letters and petitions, and asking superintendents for a release. One pupil even stated, in the school newspaper, no less: "It does make me so angry to think they want me to stay out for my health. I would rather go home and stay all winter than to stay here under such rules."¹⁸² As scholars have demonstrated, students resisted the educational script at Carlisle and other schools by deserting in large numbers, slowing work productivity, and committing arson.¹⁸³ Nine students deserted from the school, including four on November 30, 1897, suggesting dissatisfaction and some degree of coordination.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 28, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 393; Frank Green, in RG75, Carlisle Indian School, in E-1329, Box 5, NARADC; Victor Seneca, in RG75, Carlisle Indian School, in E-1327, Box 110, Folder 2346, NARADC.

¹⁸¹ *Carlisle Gazette*, June 30, 1898, 2; *Indian Helper* XIII:37 (July 1, 1898), 2.

¹⁸² *The Red Man* 15:1 (September 1898), 3. The 1914 investigation into the school was started by a student petition.

¹⁸³ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 222-238.

¹⁸⁴ Homer Patterson (Tuscarora), in E-1329, Box 13, George Whitewing (Ho-Chunk), in E-1328, Box 4, Robert Bonga (White Earth Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 11, Henry Johnson (Ho-Chunk), in E-1329, Box 12, Oscar Snyder (Cayuga), in E-1329, Box 14, Melvin Stafford (Seneca), in E-1329, Box 14, Lester Henry (Tuscarora), in E-1327, Box 42, Folder 1081, Thomas Williams (Odawa), in E-1329, Box 14, Willie Parker (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 34, Folder 820, NARADC. For more on Carlisle students running away, see: Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 209-248.

Carlisle's first known arson occurred in the fall of 1897. While Carlisle students were on their way to the dining hall for dinner one Sunday evening, Elizabeth Flanders (Menominee) and Fannie Eagle Horn (Oglala Lakota Oyate) set newspapers on fire in their dormitory's reading room intending to burn it down. However, the fire was quickly discovered and extinguished. Still, they did not give up. A couple of hours later, a second attempt involved placing and lighting a pillowcase full of paper in a clothing closet. Once again, the fire was discovered, this time by a student who lived in the upper floor room where the fire started. The school handed the young women over to civil authorities, they plead guilty, and the court sentenced them to eighteen months in the state penitentiary.¹⁸⁵ Fires, intentional or otherwise, like disease, posed a danger to all students. The school's fire brigade likely put out the flames. Indian Office directives established the student fire crews and fire safety protocols.¹⁸⁶ Still, fire hazards existed at Carlisle and other schools. As scholars and federal reports have documented, the schools nailed shut egresses in the girls' dormitories to keep women students in and males out.¹⁸⁷ This practice depressed both fire safety and ventilation.

During the 1890s, some Indian Service employees continued to recognize that unsanitary conditions in boarding schools led to elevated rates of disease and death, and sought to remedy the situation with new sanitation policies. Supervisor Hailmann was one such man. Responsible for much of the sanitation work described in Part II of this study, he left the Indian Service, and the Secretary of the Interior replaced him with Estelle Reel, making her the first woman

¹⁸⁵ *The Red Man* 14:9 (February 1898), 1.

¹⁸⁶ U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 24, 27.

¹⁸⁷ For windows, see: Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 224; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 38; "Protection of dormitories," Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents of Boarding Schools, Education Circular No. 632, May 13, 1912, in M1121, Reel 10. For rules about ventilation, see: U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service*, 11, 24.

confirmed by the Senate, and unanimously so, for a federal office.¹⁸⁸ Previously, Reel had been the first woman in Wyoming to be elected to a state office, becoming Wyoming's first female superintendent of public instruction in 1895.¹⁸⁹ Shuttling between the Indian schools and reservations, Reel traveled 65,900 miles in her first three years on the job.¹⁹⁰ She was committed to the work, and her first-hand knowledge drove her administration's priorities. On sanitation, Reel followed her predecessor. Sanitation was "of the greatest importance" and should "receive especial attention" because "It is in the impure air and in the impure water that the insidious germs of disease are propagated."¹⁹¹ Reel continued, "A badly heated, poorly lighted, and improperly ventilated schoolroom will engender physical evils among the scholars that will seriously impair their health and prostrate their energies."¹⁹² She was instrumental in publishing the *Rules for the Indian School Service* approved by Interior secretary C.N. Bliss in June 1898.¹⁹³ The *Rules* established guidelines for employees educating Indian children and young adults in all federal schools.

On issues of health, the *Rules* mandated dozens of policies which aimed to limit disease and death. Agency physicians were "to make a thorough examination of each child" before they

¹⁸⁸ Kerry Drake, "Estelle Reel, First Women Elected to Statewide Office in Wyoming," *WyoHistory.org*, November 8, 2014, <https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/estelle-reel-first-woman-elected-statewide-office-wyoming>; K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land" *Journal of American Indian Education* 35:3 (Spring 1996), 8.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910," 10.

¹⁹¹ Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1898, in *ARCIA, 1898*, 341.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service*.

were transferred to an off-reservation boarding school, and “Only those reported sound and health must be transferred.”¹⁹⁴ The *Rules* also specified that school physicians must screen students once they arrived “with reference to incurable, infectious, or contagious diseases that might affect other pupils or be seriously aggravated by the confinement incident to school work.”¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the *Rules* required that when a student contracted a potentially fatal illness, superintendents had to “report the case by telegraph to the agency whence the pupil came, and inform the Indian Office by mail.”¹⁹⁶ Finally, when a fatality resulted, school officials “shall at once make a detailed report to the Indian Office and send a copy of such report to said agent.”¹⁹⁷ These mandates sought to institutionalize the policies that many local boarding schools officials and Washington, D.C. Indian Office policy-makers had long advocated.

In keeping with this trend, the *Rules for the Indian School Service* further suggested that schools provide adequate nutrition. “Good, healthful, and well-cooked food . . . in abundance,” where “Meats shall be served regularly and neatly,” and the school farms and dairies provided “an ample supply of vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, cottage cheese, curds, eggs, and poultry.”¹⁹⁸ However, the *Rules* did not encourage unlimited generosity. It provided employees with a ration table showing “the maximum allowances” of food to be served to students, arguing, with typical departmental thrift, that rations, “must be reduced whenever practicable” to minimize costs. This institutionalized parsimony jeopardized student health.¹⁹⁹ It provided administrators with an

¹⁹⁴ U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service*, 6.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

excuse for underfeeding students. While many of these guidelines were a step towards maintaining healthy institutions, agency physicians, school superintendents, and Indian service employees did not always follow them. They ran short of money; crops failed, and supplies rotted. Finally, where virulent diseases were concerned, any misstep in sanitation or healthcare could result in disaster.

As the century wound to a close, the ideology of assimilation continued to drive the schools. At Carlisle's 1898 commencement, the local Reverend J.A. Lippencott proclaimed to the graduates, "The Indian is DEAD in you ... Let all that is Indian within you die! Then you will be men and women, freemen, American citizens...You can not become truly American citizens, industrious, intelligent, cultured, civilized until the INDIAN within you is DEAD."²⁰⁰ The process of killing the Indian to save the man had taken many lives. By 1898, hundreds of students had died at Carlisle and at other federal boarding schools for Native Americans.

After decades of lethal policy, federal officials began to implement systematic policies to mitigate poor conditions that had led to a high incidence of tuberculosis and other contagious and infectious diseases. The *Rules* circulated by the Indian Office to combat the dissemination of pathogens among and between students indicate this growing concern. The *Rules* intended to bolster health by addressing other social determinants of health from food and nutrition to ventilation and healthcare.²⁰¹ Despite the intention to remedy unhealthy conditions, inadequate surveillance, including the fact that the Indian Affairs commissioner stopped reporting cases of disease after 1895, parsimonious congressional appropriations, a lack of proper clothing, food,

¹⁹⁹ U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service*, 29.

²⁰⁰ J.A. Lippencott, in *The Red Man* 14:10 (March 1898), 7.

²⁰¹ U.S. OIA, *Rules for the Indian School Service*.

bedding, and supplies as well as limited medical knowledge about disease hampered these efforts.

As Indian Inspectors traveled the country reporting on schools' conditions, they noted potential cases of diseases and Indigenous responses to them. By this time, tuberculosis had become the number one killer of Indian boarding school students. Indian Inspector William J. McConnell arrived at the conclusion that, "Pulmonary tuberculosis is widespread. It is common. It is fatal. It is insidious. It is everywhere."²⁰² In 1899, McConnell visited Wyoming's Wind River Reservation. While there, Reverend J. Roberts handed McConnell a list of the Wind River (Eastern Shoshone) students who had been sent to three off-reservation boarding schools — Carlisle, Genoa, and Santee — between 1881 and 1894. As the list showed, of the seventy-three Native American children and young adults sent to these schools, forty-seven died either at the school or shortly after returning home. After verifying that the list was "absolutely correct," McConnell responded, "The word 'murder' is a terrible word.... but we are little less than murderers if we follow the course we are now following after the attention of those in charge has been called to its fatal results."²⁰³

Between 1884 and 1898, Washington, D.C. policymakers and Congressmen were well aware of Native American boarding schools' fatal results. Their underfunding led to life-threatening conditions, including overcrowding, inadequate clothing, insufficient food, and inadequate supplies, and substandard medical care. The consequences of this underfunding, including forcing students to share the same bathwater, toothbrushes, towels, beds and bedding, utensils, and other goods, while their diet lacked necessary diversity and nutrients.

²⁰² McConnell, in Putney, "Fighting the Scourge," 52.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

Superintendents consciously over enrolled their schools to increase funding, making conditions more dangerous. Ignoring the results of physical examinations, schools also enrolled students suffering from contagious ailments, jeopardizing the health of all students at the institution. Then, once a student got sick with little to no hope of recovery, the superintendents returned them to their communities, where they acted as sources of deadly pathogens and received little medical attention. These conditions increased morbidity, particularly of life-threatening diseases such as typhoid fever, measles, mumps, influenza, pneumonia, and especially tuberculosis.

Indigenous parents, guardians, and students resisted these conditions, but deaths continued to mount. These deaths were all the more shocking because school-aged children and young adults are typically the healthiest demographic of any population. Indeed, the highest probability of living a year (99.7 percent) in 1898 was between eleven and twelve years old.²⁰⁴ Year after year, dreadful conditions led to lethal results. These consequences were brought to the attention of the same policymakers who created the conditions for such mortality.

After more than a decade of high mortality, federal officials enacted sanitation guidelines to lessen morbidity. Circulars, sanitation requirements, and the *Rules*, some of the first major top-down Indian Office interventions envisaged to safeguard Indian student health in the United States, were too little too late for hundreds of Indigenous families. For many more, they would have little impact, as improving sanitation and reducing morbidity were contingent on resources. If superintendents did not have adequate appropriations, they could not follow sanitary standards. Congressional appropriations remained consistently short of needs. This was the case in 1898 and, as the next chapter explores, the early years of the twentieth century.

²⁰⁴ Samuel W. Abbott, *The Vital Statistics of Massachusetts for 1897, with a Life Table* ([Boston: NP, 1898]), 21.

Part III:
Washington Intervenes, 1898-1912

Chapter 5: Regulating Sanitation, 1898-1905

Conflicting signals from Washington, D.C. complicated superintendents' management of Native American boarding schools. On the one hand, orders, circulars, and correspondence with the Indian Affairs commissioner indicated that health and sanitation were a growing focus. On the other, congressional appropriations prioritized expansion and austerity over health. By 1898, Indian boarding schools were clearly underfunded by Congress and mismanaged by superintendents. Superintendents persistently over enrolled, providing inadequate and unsanitary environments for students in their custody. The Indian Office was complicit in the actions of both Congress and local administrations. All paid scant attention to the system's lethality.

A period of continuity reigned in the Indian Office beginning in 1897. President William McKinley nominated William A. Jones, a Welsh immigrant to Wisconsin, teacher, businessman, and Republican state legislator, to become Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1897, a year before Estelle Reel became superintendent of Indian schools. Jones retained the position until 1905, long after McKinley's assassination in 1901.¹ His eight-year tenure as commissioner was almost double the length of any of his predecessors since 1879. Reel, meanwhile, continued in her role until 1910, also an unprecedented length of time.² This administrative continuity occurred as the Indian Office began grappling with the gravity of disease on reservations and in boarding schools. Reel and Jones initiated public health campaigns against such diseases and their causes. Although not always successful, these drives marked the first major, sustained positive intervention into the health of Native Americans. Still, while health was a pressing concern,

¹ Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 211-218.

² Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 6; DeJong, "If You Only Knew the Conditions," 19.

assimilation remained the government's goal, and Indian Office policies prioritized assimilation over student health.

Thus, ambitious enrollment drives aimed at maximizing attendance continued. Commissioner Jones pressed agents and superintendents to increase school enrollments. They sometimes did so regardless of health. According to the historian David H. DeJong, the schools thus, "became the cause of their morbidity."³ Under Jones, Indian school attendance soared from 18,668 in 1897 to 25,404 in 1905, while the number of schools increased from 288 to 312.⁴ Meanwhile, support stagnated. During his tenure, per capita expenditures at Indian schools decreased from \$172 to \$167.⁵ Conditions continued to be grim, and Native American communities defied the schools as much as possible. In 1899, Reel admitted, "Some reservations withhold the rations until the parents place their children in the schools, and so strong is the opposition to this that in many cases they have held out against it until their families were on the verge of starvation."⁶ Indeed, willingness to nearly starve instead of losing children and young adults to the schools underscored the danger they posed as well as the depth of Indigenous resistance.

Chemawa was one school that the superintendent over enrolled following Jones' call to increasing attendance. Under these conditions, diseases spread rapidly. From 1898 through June 30, 1899, Chemawa experienced eight devastating epidemics. Beginning in January and April of 1898, bronchitis invaded the school, followed by influenza, affecting at least 145 students. At

³ DeJong, "*If You Only Knew the Conditions*," 19.

⁴ "Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1897," in *ARCIA, 1897*, 478-479; "Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 515.

⁵ Kvasnicka and Viola, eds., *Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977*, 217.

⁶ *The Indian's Friend* 11:6 (February 1899), 7.

least ten of these students then developed new tubercular infections or hemorrhaged from the lungs.⁷ At the end of the epidemic, school officials sent home Newton Pulcifer (Skokomish) [Lymphatic tuberculosis], Miller Simmons [Simonson] (Wailaki) [Pulmonary tuberculosis], Minnie Joe (Koncow) [Influenza], Ben Moore (Muscogee/Seattle) [Lymphatic tuberculosis], George Wasson (Coos) [Lymphatic tuberculosis], and Ida La Flave (Walla Walla) [Pulmonary Hemoptysis (Hemorrhage)].⁸ Edwin Fern ([Umpqua]) [Lymphatic tuberculosis] and Edward Warne (Alaska Native) [Pulmonary tuberculosis] then went home in July after developing tubercular infections after having influenza and rheumatism, respectively.⁹ In August and September, the school suffered a bronchitis outbreak, while one student died from typhoid fever.¹⁰ Students with various lung infections kept the physician and nursing staff busy from October through November.¹¹ Then, in December, a simultaneous epidemic of influenza and measles began. It did not subside until the end of February 1899, with at least 125 hospitalizations and one death.¹² In April and May of 1899, bronchitis, pneumonia, and pleurisy broke out. In April, Sarah Kuhn (Yuki) and Jessie Simmons [Simonson] (Wailaki) died from acute paralysis and spinal meningitis, respectively.¹³ In June, at least thirty-two students

⁷ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 57-67, NARAS.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-66; P2008 138, 148, 152, 160, 166, NARAS.

⁹ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 53, 62, 69, NARAS; P2008 158, 168, NARAS.

¹⁰ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 70-71, NARAS. Ada Baldwin (Snake River) died from enteric [typhoid] fever on September 3, 1898 (Chemawa Sanitary Records, 71, NARAS; P2008, 172, NARAS).

¹¹ There were 21 bronchitis cases, 4 pneumonia, and 2 pleurisy cases in the two months (Chemawa Sanitary Records, 72-74, NARAS).

¹² Chemawa Sanitary Records, 75-80, NARAS. [Death: Eddie Temple (Hupa) died of influenza on January 12, 1899 (Chemawa Sanitary Records, 79; P2008, 174, NARAS).

¹³ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 82, NARAS; P2008, 166, NARAS.

contracted whooping cough.¹⁴ Chemawa hospital records indicate that tubercular infections often developed as complications related to other diseases, especially recurring epidemics of measles, influenza, and bronchitis. Some of these epidemics likely arrived via infected students or employees. Hunger and malnutrition exacerbated the situation, increasing both the likelihood that a pathogen could infect students and the severity of the ailment. After these 1898-1899 epidemics, Superintendent Potter reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner in June 1899: “I beg leave to call your attention to the fact that I find it impossible to subsist the pupils of this school in accordance with the rules or table contained in ‘Rules for Indian School Service’ without stinting them in certain kinds of food, chiefly flour, beef and rice.” Potter continued: “To hear pupils ask for bread, just common dry bread, and to see their requests refused because the allowance for each meal will not permit it has caused me much regret, and has doubtless been the reason of several of the boys deserting.”¹⁵ Fifteen children and young adults, sick with severe infections and unsupported by adequate nutrition, developed tuberculosis during the school year.¹⁶

Superintendents also imported disease through aggressive enrollment drives, admitting students irrespective of health. While visiting a school in San Carlos, Arizona, United States Indian Inspector William McConnell decried the policy of filling schools at all costs. Students in the southwest were “superficially examined and others not at all,” McConnell informed Interior Secretary Ethan Allen Hitchcock in July 1899. As a result, McConnell surmised that deadly

¹⁴ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 85-86, NARAS.

¹⁵ Thos. M. Potter, Superintendent to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 27, 1899, in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH02: Letters Sent, 1881-1912, Box 4, 22, NARAS [hereafter Chemawa LS, Box #].

¹⁶ Chemawa Sanitary Records, 57-86, NARAS.

pathogens invaded student bodies, and “[t]uberculosis frequently develops.” Then, “apparently for no other reason than to maintain a full attendance,” officials kept tubercular students in school, “until the last stage of the disease is reached.” To prevent on-campus deaths, the reporting of which the Indian Office required, students were “carted home, to their tepe (sic), where in some instances even a few days suffices to bring the end. In this manner the disease is disseminated among the pupils in the schools, and the few days they occupy the home tepe may be, and no doubt is, frequently the cause of the other members of the family becoming affected.”¹⁷ McConnell reported serious, unnecessary negligence.

Inspectors, like McConnell, tasked with investigating schools’ construction, food, supplies, health, employee conduct, and administration sometimes visited during summer. During these months, most students were on vacation or on Outing, while a small contingent remained to run the school. Thus, inspectors often failed to observe overcrowding and food shortages. Their summertime reports consequently failed to represent in-term conditions. As McConnell toured the southwest 1899, his contemporary A.J. Duncan arrived at Chemawa for his July inspection. Even though the school was not in session, Duncan revealed glaring violations of Indian Office rules in his report to the Interior secretary. The school, with over 370 students, was enrolled “beyond their authorized capacity,” exhibited “haste or careless work” in its new school building, and the boys’ dormitory was an “object lesson in neglect of interior repairs and care.” Posing additional danger, the “undoubtedly unhealthy” and odorous sewer system opened into an adjacent field. Duncan noted, “It has become a common complaint among the Indians that too many of their children die from attendance at the non reservation schools.”

¹⁷ W.J. McConnell, U.S. Indian Inspector to The Honorable, The Secretary of the Interior, July 29, 1899, 1-2, in RG75, Office of Indian Affairs, Records of the Inspection Division, E-952: Letters Sent by William J. McConnell, NARADC.

Although he believed these complaints to be exaggerated, he concluded, “The reports as given by all superintendents and agents as to the number of deaths at the schools, is undoubtedly misleading.” Indeed, the practice of sending terminally ill children and young adults home obscured mortality.¹⁸

Deficient nutrition at Chemawa also concerned Duncan. “If fresh fruits could not be supplied this ration would be very detrimental,” the school’s physician, Dr. E.S. Clark, told Duncan. The doctor explained, “This year fruit is a complete failure. Vegetables on account of wet season is a partial failure.... For supper they have bread, the same beef stew [as for some lunches], beans and water or tea. You will note the absence of fruit and vegetables.”¹⁹ Indeed, Chemawa students were not receiving varied or nutritious meals. Clark emphasized, “I believe that the diet any place is a great factor in superinducing or causing tuberculosis. I believe that the limited diet here, without dairy products, fruits and vegetables is conducive to tuberculosis.”²⁰ Meanwhile, Duncan uncovered that Mr. Childers, the school’s farmer, grossly exaggerated the amount of crops raised and fed to students at the school.²¹ Students also suffered from the cold as the school was “cramped for blankets” that winter.²² Malnutrition and exposure undermined student wellness. During the 1898-1899 academic year, Dr. Clark treated 366 students, including

¹⁸ A.J. Duncan, Inspector to Hon. Secretary of the Interior Department, July 29, 1899, in M1070, 12:447-471.

¹⁹ E.S. Clark, Physician, in Duncan to Secretary of the Interior, July 29, 1899, 3, in M1070, 12:460.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, in M1070, 12:463.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 24, in M1070, 12:463.

²² *Ibid.*, 3, in M1070, 12:460.

pupils with influenza, measles, bronchitis, and whooping cough. As many as ten students contracted tuberculosis.²³

Likewise, crowded students in other schools suffered for want of food and clothing. Uniformly prescribed rations at all schools left students unsatisfied, and at Perris they were “insufficient to satisfy the hunger of our pupils,” according to its superintendent in September 1898. For the same number of individuals, boarding schools issued 283 pounds less flour per week than the Army.²⁴ At that time, Hall had few chickens and cows, and he was running out of flour. The school lacked enough meat to satisfy protein demands of laboring bodies, and Hall substituted less nutrition flour and lard for chicken and beef.²⁵ He also failed to provide adequate clothing. Perris ran out of shirts, socks, undershirts, and underwear for its male students by the end of September.²⁶ Underfed, malnourished, inadequately clothed, students were not in ideal conditions. Although no students appear to have died by December, several “were seriously ill and at the point of death.”²⁷ Then, in January of 1899, Margarita Guache (Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla) died from heart trouble. Several other students had gone home sick because the school exhausted its transportation supply by February and was petitioning the Indian Affairs

²³ Duncan to Secretary of the Interior, July 29, 1899, 15, in M1070, 12:463.

²⁴ Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 8, 1898, 5, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Box 42, Book: “Letters Indian School Perris, California From Sept. 1-1898 To April 6-1901,” NARAR [hereafter Perris LS, Box #, NARAR].

²⁵ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1898, 10, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁶ Hall, Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 22, 1898 telegram, 15, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁷ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 20, 1898, 61, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

commissioner to increase transportation to “return pupils to their homes.”²⁸ That summer, Hall reported worsening conditions to the Indian Affairs commissioner. The school’s dilapidated buildings could not provide adequate shelter, as “rain penetrat[ed] through the plastering, making it dangerous to health and comfort.”²⁹ Hall omitted any mention of student health in his annual report, concealing the fact that students suffered from maladies precipitated by Perris’s poor conditions. Still, Hall wanted the school shut down because of the water supply and conditions.³⁰ The deplorable situation, nonetheless, did not stop Hall from overcrowding the school. Students slept “three to a single mattress bed.”³¹ Hall crammed 211 students crammed into a school built for only 150.³²

Like Chemawa and Perris, Carlisle and Haskell officials also over enrolled their facilities between 1898-1899 in response to funding pressures imposed by Congress and the Indian Office.³³ Just as McConnell observed in the southwest, the schools’ superintendents and physicians accepted students of questionable or poor health.³⁴ The schools then sent home

²⁸ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, [February 18, 1899], in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1899, 155-159, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall in Loupe, “Unhappy and Unhealthy,” 15.

³⁰ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 24, 1899, 82, Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 3, 1899, 125, and Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1899, 155-159 in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

³¹ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1899, 155-159, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall, in Loupe, “Unhappy and Unhealthy,” 15.

³² Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1899, in *ARCIA* 1899, 388.

³³ “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1899,” in *ARCIA*, 1899, 549, 551, 557.

³⁴ Although extant records do not explicitly indicate that these children were sick, I assume that some of those sent home within a month of their arrival are of questionable health and are considered rejected.

students who were close to death in order to avoid recording mortalities on campus. At least seventeen students sent home sick from Carlisle, Haskell, and Chemawa died on the way or soon after that year.³⁵ These schools also sent home an additional eighty-nine sick children and young adults between July 1, 1898, and June 30, 1899.³⁶ Their fates are uncertain. However, given the terminal nature of tubercular infections, many likely succumbed to disease.³⁷

Still, the Indian Office did initiate reforms to fight disease at schools. One early Indian Office intervention was summer conferences for teachers, physicians, superintendents, and other employees. At these conventions, speeches and smaller sessions disseminated medical and sanitation, teaching, and disciplinary practices. One such convention in Los Angeles ran from July 10-25, 1899. Perris employees rode fifty miles by train to reach to the city and the conference proceedings confirm health as a preoccupying issue.³⁸ A physicians' meeting at the gathering recognized that boarding schools spread typhoid fever due to poor sanitary conditions, and the "consensus of opinion was that ... it behooves every conscientious physician to spare no pains to prevent the appearance of this sometimes very fatal disease."³⁹ The conference also

³⁵ For those sent home sick and died between January 1, 1898 and June 30, 1899, see Appendix 3. Haskell also had two possible instances: Minnie Riley (Shawnee) "Went to Santa Fe, N Mex. Returned to Shawnee + died of Consumption" and Joseph Bigfoot (Potawatomi) died on his way home to the Potawatomi reservation after leaving the school in 1899 (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 56, NARAKC; Haskell Student Files, Box 10, NARAKC). Few extant records of the Perris Indian School exist. Thus, we know little about health there beyond the school's annual reports. However, one book of letters sent from Superintendent Harwood Hall indicates that at least one student died and an unknown number were sent home ill (Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 24, 1899 and Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, [February 18, 1899], 82, 90, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR).

³⁶ For students sent home ill, see Appendix 1.

³⁷ A 2009 study in Taipei determined that untreated tubercular infections had an 89.7 percent one-year mortality rate (Chiang, *et al.*, "Tuberculosis-related deaths without treatment," 1563-1565).

³⁸ Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1899, in *ARCIA, 1899*, 437-446.

provided detailed instructions on caring for children and young adults with common boarding school maladies, including eye diseases, measles, pneumonia, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, and whooping cough.⁴⁰ Beyond these diseases, tuberculosis was a major concern. Dr. Felix S. Martin, the Colorado River Agency physician in Arizona, blamed 90 percent of tuberculosis cases on “hereditary taint, assisted by improper nourishment and insanitary conditions.”⁴¹ We now know that tuberculosis is not hereditary. Then, as now, it is a disease often clustered in families because of close, familial contact.

Inadequate congressional appropriations muted preventative measures. The amount of work required to bring school plants up to sanitary standards was staggering. The day after the Los Angeles conference concluded, Hall reported Perris’ deficient conditions to the Indian Affairs commissioner and requested appropriations to move the school to nearby Riverside, California. “The condition of the [Perris] plant,” Hall wrote, “is very bad; buildings out of repair, plastering on the outside of buildings falling off; floors badly worn; and the condition of the plant very poor generally.”⁴² After visiting Perris, Indian schools superintendent Reel agreed, noting the school’s “poor conditions and lack of room.”⁴³ The buildings, according to Hall, “are unfit for occupancy during the winter months ... rain penetrating through the plastering, making it dangerous to health and comfort.” More pressing was the lack of water. The company that

³⁹ “Physicians’ Conference,” in *ARCIA, 1899*, 460.

⁴⁰ “Instruction Classes,” in *ARCIA, 1899*, 464-471.

⁴¹ Dr. Felix S. Martin, “Physicians’ Conference,” in *ARCIA, 1899*, 461.

⁴² Superintendent to The Honorable—The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1899, 1, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Letters Sent to the Commissioner, 1898-1948 [hereafter Sherman LS, Box #, Folder, NARAR], Box 42, Folder “Letters [Loose Sheets],” NARAR.

⁴³ Reel to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1899, in *ARCIA 1899*, 439.

supplied water to the Perris Valley, the Bear Valley Irrigating Company, had gone bankrupt, and a federal court shut off the water supply. Hall reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner that the school was “in a very bad and precarious condition.” Without water or working sewers, Hall pleaded, “results are greatly to be feared.” Despite these “dangerous” conditions, Hall crowded 211 students in “upon an appropriation for 150 and a capacity rated at 100.”⁴⁴ Without adequate appropriations or enough water, Hall could do little as the school teetered in the balance.

The Indian Office responded to reports from inspectors, superintendents, and other sources with orders and circulars addressing health and sanitation. One circular came after assessments by Duncan and McConnell and Hall’s letter. Following Duncan’s suggestion “for the Honorable Commissioner to call attention of agents and others to the importance of interior repairs,” Acting Indian Affairs Commissioner A.G. Tonner sent education Circular No. 32 to all Indian agents and superintendents on August 29, 1899.⁴⁵ Circular 32 called attention to the “almost universal custom among agents and superintendents in overlooking the material condition of the plants committed to their charge.” Tonner warned that “the superintendent will be deemed guilty of reprehensible conduct who fails to have these matters promptly attended to by the regular force. He is on the grounds, making daily inspections, and cannot plead ignorance of the condition of the buildings, etc.”⁴⁶ Still, neglect of physical plants continued, and diseases proliferated.

⁴⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1899, 155-159, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁴⁵ Duncan to Secretary of the Interior, July 29, 1899, 9, in M1070, 12:455; A.G. Tonner, Acting Commissioner, to United States Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, August 29, 1899, 1-2, in RG75, Office of Indian Affairs, Records of the Education Division, E-718: Circulars Issued, 1897-1909, Bound Book, Education Circular No. 32, NARADC.

⁴⁶ Tonner to United States Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, August 29, 1899, 1-2.

Predictably, Perris students fell ill. The superintendent purchased a thermometer and fever “tablets,” perhaps Aspirin, which German drug manufacturer Bayer began selling that year, in December 1899.⁴⁷ A 100-plus-patient measles epidemic then broke out in the spring.⁴⁸ That school year, Hall admitted 205 students despite having funds for only 150 and no reliable water supply.⁴⁹ This perilous situation likely intensified the epidemic’s severity, and “several cases of pneumonia” resulted. Hall attributed the epidemic to Perris’s location “upon a barren plain” rather than the social determinants of health that he controlled and which underscored his negligence.⁵⁰ That spring, the school ran out of shoes for the students while crops again failed — because of little irrigation or rain — limiting students’ caloric intake.⁵¹

A year after sixteen students died and administrators sent eighty-nine home sick, Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris became slightly more lethal but sent fewer students home ill according to surviving records.⁵² During the 1899-1900 school year, nineteen more students died

⁴⁷ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 27, 1899, 238, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁴⁸ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 483; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 12, 1900, 261-262, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁴⁹ “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1900,” in *ARCIA, 1900*, 622-623.

⁵⁰ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 482-483; Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 27, 1900, 280, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁵¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 22, 1900, 310, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 24, 1900, 299, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁵² For 1898-1899 deaths, see: Perris (1): Margarita Guache (Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla) [Heart trouble], Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 24, 1899, 82 in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR; Carlisle (5): Antonio Naneco (White Mountain Apache) [Tubercular meningitis], in E-1324, 232, Edward Hensley (Ho-Chunk) [Pneumonia], in E-1324, 233, Reuben Tahpers (Southern Cheyenne) [Consumption], in E-1324, 234, Thomas Marshall (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Black measles], in E-1324, 235, Leonidas Chawa (Pechanga Band of Luiseño) [Unknown cause],

at the four schools, while they collectively sent home an additional seventy-five ill students.⁵³

The schools remained over enrolled, and severe epidemics struck.⁵⁴ Haskell endured waves of typhoid fever, influenza, and measles.⁵⁵ For a second consecutive year, measles broke out at Perris, and several students contracted pneumonia.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Thomas Potter, Chemawa's superintendent, mentioned no epidemic or deaths in his annual report, claiming, "The health

in E-1328, Box 5, NARADC; Haskell (2): Martin Blue Back (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, Box 10, NARAKC; William Pollock (Pawnee) [Unknown], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1885-, 117, NARAKC. Chemawa (4): Ada Baldwin (Snake River) [Typhoid fever], Eddie Temple (Hupa) [Influenza], Sara Kuhn (NTL) [Acute Paralysis], and Jesse Simmons [Simonson] (Wailaki) [Spinal meningitis], in Chemawa Sanitary Records, 71, 79, 82, NARAS. For ill health, see footnote 35 and 36 in this chapter.

⁵³ For deaths in 1899-1900, see: Carlisle (6): Christine Redstone (Nakota) [Consumption], in E-1324, 237, Percy White Bear (Southern Cheyenne) [Consumption], in E-1324, 176, Laublock (Inuit) [Consumption], in E-1324, 239, Louisa Juan (Akimel O'otham) [Consumption], in E-1324, 240, Tomicoock (Inuit) [Consumption], in E-1324, 241, Raleigh James (Washoe) [Consumption], in E-1324, 242, in Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC. Pratt attributed one of these deaths to pneumonia (R.H. Pratt, Major Tenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 3, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 503); Chemawa (7): Henry Cameron (Wailaki) [Unknown], P2008, 166, NARAS; Illeg. Illeg. (Yuki) [Unknown], P2008, 178, NARAS; Vivian Ayalla (Yuki) [Tubercular meningitis], Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1294, NARAS; Andrew Bagnell (Rogue River) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Walter Dow (Hupa) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; George Wilcox (NTL) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Emily Evans (NTL) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Haskell (6): Ovid Dechon (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate) [Died running away], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 31, NARAKC; Frank Shaw (Miami) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 107, NARAKC; Josephine Choate (Nakota) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 23, NARAKC; Charles Edge (Caddo) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 37, NARAKC; Charles Adams (Pawnee) [Unknown], in Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [193], NARAKC; Sam Ketchum (Delaware) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 63, NARAKC; Perris (0): Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 483;. For student sent home ill in 1899-1900, see Appendix 1. No extant letters mention any Perris going home, though Hall's annual does mention a 100-plus patient measles epidemic, which likely activated a few tubercular infections (Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 483)

⁵⁴ "Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1900," in *ARCIA, 1900*, 622-625, 628-629.

⁵⁵ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 28, 1899, in *ARCIA, 1899*, 399.

⁵⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 12, 1900, 262, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR; Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 7, 1900, 280, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

record of Chemawa will compare favorably with any school in the country.”⁵⁷ Potter was lying. Hospital records reveal that devastating, simultaneous epidemics of measles and mumps began in October and ravaged student bodies until January 1900, causing at least 344 hospitalizations.⁵⁸ No sources indicate any epidemic at Carlisle despite at least six cases of tuberculosis and one of pneumonia during the 1899-1900 school year.⁵⁹

There were school employees willing to stand up and critique the system so as to reach the general public. Zitkála-Šá or Gertrude Bonnin (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate), a former Carlisle teacher from the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota who went on to be instrumental in many organizations including the National Council of American Indians, published an *Atlantic Monthly* exposé in March 1900, revealing the hypocrisy and injustice she witnessed as a teacher. She found it “hard to count that white man a teacher who tortured an ambitious Indian youth by frequently reminding the brave changeling that he was nothing more than a ‘government pauper.’” She questioned “whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization” taught at Carlisle where some teachers abused students in their custody.⁶⁰ Given the amount of loss — both physical and social—destruction was instrumental to the federal government’s assimilation campaign.

By the next school year, conditions at Perris’ had worsened because of inadequate water. Hall again proposed moving the school or increasing appropriations. Despite knowing about the school’s water issue, the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs refused to increase

⁵⁷ Thos. W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 25, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 502.

⁵⁸ Chemawa Hospital Records, 224-235, NARAS. See also: Chemawa Sanitation Record, 92-99, NARAS.

⁵⁹ Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 3, 1900, in *ARCIA, 1900*, 508.

⁶⁰ Zitkala-Ša, “An Indian Teacher among Indians,” *Atlantic Monthly* 85:509 (March 1900), 385-386.

appropriations.⁶¹ In August 1900, Indian Inspector Arthur M. Tinker scrutinized Perris during the school's vacation period. Even with fewer students to crowd the dormitories and larger dining room servings, the situation was discouraging.⁶² The school still lacked an adequate water supply and had antiquated lighting and heating systems. When it rained, water penetrated the buildings' roofs and walls.⁶³ Rather than move or improve the school, in light of the repeated pleas by the superintendent and inspectors, the Interior secretary and Indian Affairs commissioner kept the school open and largely unchanged.

Sparing appropriations incentivized superintendents to drive down per capita expenditures or maximize appropriations by over-enrolling. The Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris superintendents enrolled 2,578 students — a year-over-year increase of 140 students — in physical plants meant only for 2,300 during the 1900-1901 academic year.⁶⁴ Of the congressionally mandated cap of \$167 for each student's care, the schools spent only \$140.16 per student on average.⁶⁵ Over enrollment was a clear violation of Indian Office rules disseminated by Superintendent of Indian Schools Hailmann in 1895. The guidelines stated that students be supplied with “a single bed, one towel, one comb, [and] one brush,” as well as ample

⁶¹ *William's Farmer* (Williams, CA), March 10, 1900, 2.

⁶² Arthur M. Tinker, U.S. Indian Inspector to The Honorable, The Secretary of Interior, August 24, 1900, in M1070, 35:493.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 35:493-496.

⁶⁴ “Statistics as to Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901,” in *ARCIA, 1901*, 672-675, 678-679; “Statistics as to Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900,” in *ARCIA, 1900*, 622-625, 628-629.

⁶⁵ This is a weighted average using average attendance and the per capita cost to the government reported in “Statistics as to Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901,” in *ARCIA, 1901*, 672-675, 678-679.

floor and air space. However, superintendents routinely ignored them.⁶⁶ In violating these rules, superintendents Hall, Peairs, Potter, and Pratt created conditions conducive to the spread of disease and created supply shortages that made adequate care of the children and young adults in their custody extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Medical care was often substandard. Perris's doctor, for example, often attended to the needs of local Indigenous communities on Southern California's numerous reservations. For long stretches, he was absent from the school. Students sometimes fell ill while he was away. Superintendents then determined whether and when to call in a physician. In 1900-1901, Hall made two such calls. In the fall of 1900, he called on Dr. John W. Reese to treat students during a mumps outbreak.⁶⁷ Then in January, Hall enlisted Dr. W.B. Payton "to save the lives of 2 pupils and the health of others," including students ill with "pneumonia, tubercular abscesses, tonsillitis, etc."⁶⁸ Meanwhile, influenza erupted at Haskell in December and January 1901. On January 11, Peairs wrote to the Indian Affairs commissioner after three students died in eight days: "We are having such an epidemic of la grippe that our work has been seriously interfered with."⁶⁹ The epidemic "left in its wake a large number of pneumonia cases."⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Hailman to Agents and School Superintendents, November 1, 1895, 1-2, in *Circular Letter of Instruction*, University of Utah, Marriot Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁷ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 3, 1901, 427.

⁶⁸ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 31, 1901, 479-480.

⁶⁹ Mary Pahmahmie (Potawatomi), Arleigh Perry (Chippewa [Celeste, IT]), Button Profit (Shawnee), Johnson Peabody (Omaha), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 206, 164, 76, 128, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1901, 124, in RG75, Haskell Institute, Series 5: Letters Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900-1914 [hereafter Haskell LS, Box #], Box 144, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1901, 83, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

⁷⁰ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1901, 322, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

Some students received particularly poor medical care. Six-year-old John Waydelick ([Tlingit]) arrived at Chemawa with his older sister Frances on March 24, 1900, from Juneau, Alaska.⁷¹ John's health deteriorated sometime between September 5, 1900, when the superintendent notified John's father, J.W. Waydelick, that the boy was "well and happy" and April 30, 1901, when Dr. Clark diagnosed John with an unknown illness and Francis with consumption.⁷² Clark and Potter sent both children home. John arrived in Juneau "in a dying condition," according to his father.⁷³ Concerned for his son's survival, he brought in a Dr. J.K. Simpson. Dr. Simpson diagnosed John's case of "one caused by absolute neglect and filth." According to the doctor, John needed "was a tonic, proper food and proper care," and he began to improve.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, John's sister Frances died from consumption.⁷⁵ Waydelich concluded his letter: "You cannot imagine how much sorrow the death of our daughter caused and still causes us. Human nature is the same in all races and class of people."⁷⁶ The Indian Office received word of the Waydelich's situation and that Chemawa had broken the policy of no longer accepting Alaska Natives at the school. Indeed, Potter illegally accepted John and Frances. Commissioner Jones reprimanded Potter, "you had no legal right to receive any Alaskans in your school, and you have been directed to return them to their homes and not

⁷¹ P2008, 186, NARAS.

⁷² J.W. Waydelich to Thomas W. Potter, Supt. Chemawa School, June 21, 1901, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616, NARAS.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Dr. J.K. Simpson, in Waydelich to Potter, June 21, 1901, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616, NARAS.

⁷⁵ Waydelich to Potter, June 21, 1901, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616, NARAS.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

receive anymore.”⁷⁷ Jones further ordered Potter to “immediately take up this matter [of neglect and filth],” but did not fire, transfer, or demote Potter.⁷⁸ There is no extant evidence of any communication regarding the physician’s conduct.

School physicians had stressful jobs. They were underpaid and overworked. They diagnosed, administered treatments, and organized prophylactic measures, yet made mistakes, misdiagnosed, and misprognosticated. Western medical knowledge was and remains imperfect. Some doctors were better than others, but no reason exists for the level of neglect that some students experienced under their care in United States boarding schools for Native Americans.

Correspondence between Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, Perris, and the Indian Office in Washington, D.C. also reveals that administrators continued to provide inadequate living environments and supplies. Two months after Perris students went barefooted, the superintendent reported at least seven “buildings . . . in bad repair.”⁷⁹ Moreover, the school still lacked a sufficient water supply.⁸⁰ Likewise, at least six Haskell buildings desperately needed re-roofing. According to school superintendent Peairs, who requested authority for additional funds from the Indian Affairs commissioner, these buildings were in “very bad condition” and “leak[ed] so badly” that they endangered students when it rained.⁸¹

⁷⁷ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Salem Indian School, August 12, 1901, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616, NARAS.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 22, 1900, 310 and Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 18, 1900, 342, in Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁸⁰ The water issue continued until officials closed Perris in October 1904 (Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1904, 288-289, Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR).

⁸¹ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1901, 174, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC. Chemawa’s letter books have suffered serious water damage.

To remedy the conditions at Perris — most pressingly, the lack of water — Congress responded to Hall’s complaints and acceded to the Indian Office’s plans to close the school, while constructing a replacement in Riverside, California, about nineteen miles away. The 1901 Indian Appropriation Act appropriated \$75,000 for the project.⁸² That act also appropriated funds to expand other campus farms to stimulate the production of dairy products and produce.⁸³ Meanwhile, conditions deteriorated further at Perris, as Hall shifted attention and resources towards Sherman’s construction. Hall, overseeing both schools, was stretched thin as were his appropriations. Still, he crammed students into the school.⁸⁴

Looking at them requires gloves and respiratory protection for mold. While there is no evidence because of this, Chemawa likely suffered from want of supplies. Superintendent Potter, for instance, was reprimanded by the CIA for making purchases for exhausted supplies before receiving official authority. Potter regretted “the existence of circumstances which in my judgment made it absolutely necessary to purchase subsistence supplies, shoes, medicines, and repairs, for the protection of school property and the health and welfare of the 300 pupils of this school” (Thom. M. Potter, Superintendent to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 22, 1897, 104, in Chemawa LS, Box 3, NARAS). For some examples around this time period, see: Thos. M. Potter, Supt. To Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1897, 63, in Chemawa LS, Box 3, NARAS; Thos M. Potter, Superintendent to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 13, 1897, 231, in Chemawa LS, Box 4, NARAS; Thos. M. Potter, Superintendent to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1899, 218, in Chemawa LS, Box 4, NARAS; T.W.P.(C), Superintendent to Roger C. Spooner, Esq., Supt. Chicago Warehouse, September 25, 1902, 405, in Chemawa LS, Box 10, NARAS. Likewise, Carlisle’s records are sparse during this era.

⁸² “Indian School Sites,” in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (Indian Affairs, Part 1, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1901*], 651.

⁸³ Chemawa received \$1,227 for 12.25 acres in Salem, while Carlisle obtained a 175-acre parcel for \$20,000 (“Indian School Sites,” in *ARCIA, 1901*, 652).

⁸⁴ For over enrollment, see: W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903* (Indian Affairs, Part I, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1903*], 17; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 415; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1904, in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904* (Indian Affairs, Part I, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1905) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1904*], 438.

In light of these conditions, the schools saw a slight increase in deaths. Pratt reported four deaths in his annual report, but Carlisle's records show that at least five students died.⁸⁵ Another five died at Chemawa that year, including at least one each from smallpox and pneumonia.⁸⁶ Five died at Haskell from unknown causes, perhaps three from the "la grippe" epidemic that struck the school midwinter.⁸⁷ Extant records do not reveal if any students died at Perris during the 1900-1901 school year. The schools collectively sent a minimum of sixty-nine students home sick that year.⁸⁸

Disease now forced some in the Indian Office to again confront the staggering problem. Some saw worrying trends. Indian Inspector William McConnell scorned the Indian Office and the off-reservation boarding schools in 1901, opining:

It seems as if the poor Indian boy and girl has no friend under heaven. They are

⁸⁵ R.H. Pratt, Lieutenant-Colonel Fifteenth Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 4, 1901, in *ARCIA, 1901*, 560; Fannie Gibson (Shawnee) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 5, John Quagin (Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa) [Lung Fever], in E1328, Box 6, Della Tuscarora Aitkens (Duck Valley Shoshone) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 5, Robert Scott (Seneca) [Unknown], in E1328, Box 3, Sarah Cook Kirk (Kickapoo) [Consumption], in E1329, Box 4, NARADC.

⁸⁶ Arthur Mitchell (Santiam) [Pneumonia], Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1727, Henry Wiggins (Chinook) [Smallpox], Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 547, Lucinda Riggs (Klamath) [Peritonitis], Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1418, NARAS; Della Dow (Hupa) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Francis Waydelich (Tlingit) [Consumption], Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616 in John Waydelich, NARAS; T.W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1901, in *ARCIA, 1901*, 558; Chemawa, April 30, 1901 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, "Epidem[ics], 1908," NARADC.

⁸⁷ Mary Pahmahine (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 89, NARAKC; Button Profit (Shawnee) [Unknown], Johnson Peabody (Omaha) [Unknown], Arleigh Perry (Chippewa [Celestine, IT]) [Pneumonia], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 206, 164, 76, 128, NARAKC; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 92, NARAKC; Nelson Vitolis (Akimel O'otham) [Unknown], in Haskell LS, Box 144, 124, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1901, 124, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

⁸⁸ This is surely an undercount as letters reveal that some Haskell students listed as "Dropped" or "Failed to Return" were likely sent home sick (for example, see: Lillie Reams (Chippewa [McAlester, OK]), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 117, NARAKC; Superintendent to Mrs. Manda Dunn, December 14, 1900, 359, in RG75, Haskell Institute, Series 6: Copies of Official Correspondence Sent, 1900-1941, Box 147, NARAKC) and both Chemawa and Perris have few sources that reveal much about health this year.

turned over, sometimes forcibly, to the tender mercies of Superintendents who have no more heart than the Plymouth Rock upon which the New Englanders first landed.... On the reservations the police are sent out to gather in the children from their parents and crowd them into unhealthful and loathesome [sic] dormitories, where the mortality is such as to make us shudder.... I regret the necessity of writing such words to you, but nothing but heroic measures will remedy the wrong which has become a part of our system.⁸⁹

Inspectors and superintendents continued to warn Congress and the Indian Office about Native American students' poor health, yet superintendents continued to overcrowd the boarding schools while Congress left them underfunded. Still, they had the support of the United States President. Theodore Roosevelt advocated for both allotment, which he described as "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass," and "industrial" education for Indigenous children and young adults.⁹⁰

Over enrollment remained school superintendents' unwritten policy. For the 1901-1902 academic year, Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris enrolled more students than they had either money to care for or the capacity to house safely.⁹¹ Two hundred and ninety-three students squeezed into Perris, a school only meant for one hundred and fifty. Superintendent Hall publicly conceded that the "buildings were very much overcrowded" as had been the case "for a number of years."⁹² Chemawa, the least overcrowded school, still enrolled 660 students in facilities

⁸⁹ McConnell, quoted in Putney, "Fighting the Scourge," 39.

⁹⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, December 3, 1901, in U.S. House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Being the First Session of the Fifty-Seventh Congress, Begun and Held at the City of Washington, December 2, 1901, in the One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Year of the Independence of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 48.

⁹¹ "Statistics as to Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1902," in *ARCIA, 1902*, 616-619, 622-623.

⁹² Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1902 in U.S. DOI, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902* (Indian Affairs, Part I, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903) [hereafter *ARCIA, 1902*], 450.

designed for just 550.⁹³ To fill the schools, some superintendents continued to rely on force. Indian Affairs commissioner Jones admitted in October 1901 that superintendents gathered students “[p]artly by cajolery and partly by threats, partly by bribery and partly by fraud, partly by persuasion and partly by force.”⁹⁴ For some children and young adults, this induced physical and mental harm.

Crowding and other environmental factors continued to contribute to inordinate sickness. Between July 1, 1901, and June 30, 1902, Haskell’s superintendent reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner an “unusual amount of sickness,” including pneumonia and scarlet fever epidemics that began in January.⁹⁵ During the same period, Chemawa experienced more than 100 cases of mumps.⁹⁶ Both the Carlisle and Perris archives are missing crucial letters during this period. So, the number of illnesses at those institutions remains unknown.⁹⁷

Although the existence and extent of epidemics are not completely known, surviving archival sources make it abundantly clear that students continued to fall ill. While many recovered, others succumbed or became permanently impaired. Chemawa students spent a combined total of 4,012 days in the school hospital between January and June 30, 1902. At least

⁹³ “Statistics as to Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1902,” in *ARCIA, 1902*, 622-623.

⁹⁴ W.A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to The Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1901, in *ARCIA, 1901*, 2.

⁹⁵ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1902, 465 and Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1902, 476, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

⁹⁶ Chemawa Hospital Records, 7-17, NARAS.

⁹⁷ Carlisle’s E-1323 has letters from August 28, 1900, through May 6, 1901 and the Central Classified Files do not begin until 1907 (RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in E-1323: Letters Sent, 1900-1901, NARADC; Carlisle CCF, NARADC). Perris letter books are missing between April 7, 1901 and October 27, 1902 (Sherman CCF, LS, Box 42, NARAR).

five students died at Chemawa that year.⁹⁸ One student died at Carlisle.⁹⁹ Pratt also sent forty-three additional students home sick, at least three of whom died soon after returning home.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, eight students died at Haskell, and the school physician ordered thirty-three others home with incurable or infectious diseases.¹⁰¹ Perris' registration ledgers reveal that at least nineteen students went home sick from the school's hospital.¹⁰² Limited extant records for Chemawa make it impossible to know how many students went home sick from Chemawa that academic year.

⁹⁸ Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 1-9, NARAS; Charles McFarland (Alaska Native) [Tuberculosis], in Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1502, NARAS; Elijah Brown (Cascade) [Unknown], in Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 639, NARAS; George Logan (Yakima), Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 7, NARAS; Charlie Cope [Koepp] (Alaska Native) [Unknown], Edna Baldwin (Snake River) [Brain inflammation], Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 10, NARAS; Mrs. A.H. Baldwin to T. Potter, May 13, 1902, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1400, NARAS; T.W. Potter, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1902, in *ARCIA, 1902*, 466; P2008, 172, 186, 196, NARAS.

⁹⁹ Anie Vereskin (Aleut) [Diphtheria], in E-1324, 247, NARADC.

¹⁰⁰ For students sent home and sent home and died within one year, see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

¹⁰¹ Lizzie Picotte (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) [Unknown], Job Long (Eastern Cherokee) [Pneumonia], Nina Beaupre ([St. Croix] Chippewa) [Uremic poisoning], Andrew Smith (Eastern Cherokee) [Unknown], Willie Wamego (Potawatomi) [Unknown], Robert S. Archiquett (Wisconsin Oneida) [Pneumonia], John Taylor (Ute) [Typhoid fever], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 125, 214, 215, 309, 321, 362, 368, NARAKC; Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1901, 387, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC; Willie Burnett (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 15, 1902, 444, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC. Four students died from typhoid fever this year "the result of using bad water by outing pupils" and they may replace some of the unknown causes (C.R. Dixon, Physician to H.B. Peairs, Superintendent, July 23, 1903, 484-486, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC). There are also eleven Haskell students transferred to the school at Toledo, Iowa, which was a tuberculosis sanatorium (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 45, 135, 280, 296-297, 310-311, 316, NARAKC). It is also likely that some of the ninety-two students who failed to return from leave did so because of their health.

¹⁰² Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-93, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California.

By July 1, 1902, Sherman Institute, the twenty-seventh federal off-reservation Indian boarding school, opened before inaugurating classes that September.¹⁰³ Despite having another school in Southern California with better accommodations and a functional water supply, the Indian Office kept Perris open for the “smaller pupils” while Hall crowded children and young adults into both schools.¹⁰⁴ Presumably, Hall would have much to say in his annual report given Sherman’s opening and his continued work at Perris, but his combined annual report for the schools totals less than half a page. Perhaps Hall was overwhelmed. He admitted to the Commissioner: “the organization and equipment of a new school necessarily rendered the conditions very difficult to handle.”¹⁰⁵ Two things complicated Hall’s year: funding and sickness. Superintendents frequently wrote to the commissioner for permission to spend school funds. These letters provide a window into both momentary and systemic inadequacies. In December 1902, Perris’ lack of clothing forced “nakedness” upon the small boys attending the school.¹⁰⁶ Students, presumably suffering some degree of exposure, likely suffered decreased immunological defenses. Around that time, diphtheria and pneumonia broke. Not having a proper place to isolate contagious students, Hall purchased two tents for \$45.15, arguing “[they] were very badly needed; in fact we could not care for the sick without them,” in a report to the Indian Office.¹⁰⁷ Without a hospital or doctor, students lay quarantined in tents as diphtheria

¹⁰³ Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 16, 1902, in *ARCIA, 1902*, 49; Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 17.

¹⁰⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 415.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 12, 1902, 46, and Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902, 49, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

bacilli attached themselves to the linings of the respiratory system. Spread by respiratory transmission, touch, and fomites — the objects or materials that carry infection such as the utensils, bathtubs, books, bedding, clothing, toilets, and towels students shared — diphtheria produces sore throat, fever, and swollen lymph nodes. A thick membrane develops covering the tonsils or pharynx, and as the bacillus kills cells, it releases a toxin into the bloodstream. Because diphtheria infections occlude airways, some students undoubtedly had difficulty breathing. Frequent complications include paralysis and death, especially in younger children, but the specific course that the disease took is unexplained in extant sources. We do know that crowding aids the spread of the disease.¹⁰⁸ These diphtheria symptoms compelled Hall to expended another \$18.50 on medicine “in order to save life” and \$8.30 on milk to feed the students — the school having no cows.¹⁰⁹

On December 18, as the biological firestorm raged, the Riverside health officer and board of health made complaints about the school’s unhealthy, broken sewer line that flooded the shoulders of nearby streets with fecal matter and emitted “a very bad odor.”¹¹⁰ Days later, eighteen-year-old William Gabriel [Gabiell] (Morongo Band Serrano) died from typhoid pneumonia, a disease often spread in sewage, at the school.¹¹¹ Then in January, the small girls at Perris were “entirely destitute of shoes.” According to Hall, “The mornings and evenings were so

¹⁰⁷ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902, 48, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 680-682.

¹⁰⁹ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902, 50, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹⁰ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902, 50, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

cold that the children actually were suffering.”¹¹² Again, sickness forced Hall to retain the services of local physician M.B. Payton, expending \$88.00 “to maintain health of the pupils and save life in some instances.”¹¹³ In February, Hall was again without funds, short of both rations and clothing for students. He petitioned the Indian Affairs commissioner to obtain money from Congress, but this failed, and the lack of funds forced Hall to fire or furlough most Perris employees.¹¹⁴ For the Indian Office, releasing students from the school was not an option. Facing an increasingly dangerous and unsanitary situation, students began falling ill with increasing frequency. The next month, on March 24, 1903, Nicholas Tortas (Santa Rosa or Soboba Band of Cahuilla) died from pneumonia on his way home. Hall requisitioned payment to reimburse the school for the child’s coffin.¹¹⁵ Then, on July 6, 1903, Ben Ardilla (San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians) — a student who had suffered a dislocated knee in an industrial accident on campus in 1899 — died. The only existing official documentation of his death is a voucher for his coffin.¹¹⁶ While Hall’s annual reports for the fiscal years 1902 and 1903 fail to mention student health, financial records reveal that disease outbreaks often accompanied failure to provide adequate supplies and care for students.

¹¹² Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1903, 71, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹¹⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 21, 1903, 110-111, Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1903, 327-328, Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹⁵ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 9, 1903, 138, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 14, 1903, 368, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

The highest officials in Washington, D.C. now began to notice the excessive mortality. On October 3, 1903, the Indian Affairs commissioner wrote to Hall about the “number of deaths occurring at Perris” during the previous fiscal year. Hall responded: “I have the honor to state that in reality there were no deaths at the school.” This was a lie. Hall had previously admitted to the Commissioner that William Gabriel “died of typhoid fever and pneumonia, at school.”¹¹⁷ Hall, a veteran superintendent, also sent terminally ill children and young adults home to die. Two years previously, he sent John Estrada (Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño) “home to die.” Estrada died two days after he left the school.¹¹⁸ Hall responded to the commissioner’s allegations, “One boy ... died on the way home from pneumonia and tubercular complication [Nicholas Tortas]; his death was inevitable, so he was permitted to be moved. Also, one girl [Viviana Osuna (Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño)] died soon after arriving at home, from heart trouble.”¹¹⁹ Hall may have been concealing more than his policy of sending terminally ill students home to die. In October 1903, the Indian Affairs commissioner determined that “5 pupils died at the Perris Indian school,” concluding, “The death rate at the Perris School is far in excess of the average of nonreservation schools, and there must be some reason for it.”¹²⁰ The obvious reason was the terrible conditions with which the commissioner was all too familiar.

Many Indigenous people still saw the institutions for what they were: sites of cultural destruction, disease, and death. Tubercular infections in particular wrought havoc. Year after

¹¹⁷ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1902, 52, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹¹⁸ Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California.

¹¹⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 10, 1903, 353, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹²⁰ Jones to Superintendent, October 5, 1903, 1, in Sherman LR, Box 53, NARAR.

year, children and young adults came home incapacitated, nearing death, or in coffins. Officials buried others far from their homes and peoples. Chemawa's superintendent had difficulty obtaining consent from parents when collecting students. On an October 1902 recruiting trip, he reported: "I am finding it very difficult to get pupils for Chemawa. This is the third reservation where the Indians are turned against Chemawa because of the complaints made by returned students against the school."¹²¹ According to Potter, students complained of having too little clothing, not enough baths, and employee abuse. However, their chief complaint was the food. Potter relayed to the school that Charles Billy (Swinomish) claimed not to have eaten meat for up to three weeks because it was "half cooked or rotten."¹²² Sebastian Kwina (Lummi) "would have starved if he had not rustled food and cooked it in the Blacksmith shop."¹²³ Potter denied these claims. Meanwhile, students deserted in large numbers.¹²⁴

Beyond disease and food, some Indigenous people resisted boarding schools because their employees had intimate ties to Indigenous land dispossession. Assimilation and vocational education pressured students to become wage laborers and leave their reservations.¹²⁵ Some employees participated in federal forced removals. In June 1903, a Sherman teacher participated in one such removal. Laura M. Cornelius, an Oneida woman, led the Copahs, or Cupeños, on

¹²¹ T.W. Potter to Mr. Campbell, October 10, 1902, 1-2, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1896, NARAS.

¹²² Billy summarized, in Potter to Campbell, October 10, 1902, 2.

¹²³ Kwina summarized, in Potter to Campbell, October 10, 1902, 2.

¹²⁴ Carlisle and Haskell both had at least ninety-four desertions that 1902-1903 school year (E-1327, in E-1328, in E-1329, in Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC; Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, NARAKC).

¹²⁵ The demand for domestic servants on reservations was low. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 163; Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, 65-99; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 70-83; Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 307, 368.

their “Trail of Tears” from their Southern California homelands on and near Warner’s Ranch. The band marched thirty-miles west, across the Santa Ana Mountains, to the Pala reservation.¹²⁶ After the forced relocation, Superintendent Hall had difficulty attracting students from the nearby Cahuilla and Luiseño communities. Nonetheless, he went to great lengths to fill Perris. A Los Angeles newspaper reported by September that six Perris teachers traveled northwest coming to San Gabriel, the homelands of the Tongva. The teachers had “been in the habit of poaching ... pupils to such an extent that about San Gabriel there is a dearth of young [people].”¹²⁷ By the fall, Hall had over enrolled the school.

Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell all dealt with the ravages of sickness during the 1902-1903 school year. Pratt’s only remark about health in his annual report was that it was “exceptionally good.”¹²⁸ He made no mention of the fifty students he sent home ill that year or the two students, George Bear Arm (Gros Ventre) [Appendicitis] and Ada Sanekwitsegats (Kaibab Paiute) [Spinal meningitis], who died on campus or Charles Paisano (Laguna Pueblo) who died from appendicitis while on the school’s outing program.¹²⁹ Chemawa’s superintendent Potter spent two sentences on health in his annual report noting, “[t]he general health of the school has been good,” and praising the services of the local physician Dr. E. A. Pierce.¹³⁰ The

¹²⁶ *New York Times*, June 14, 1903, 24.

¹²⁷ *Los Angeles Herald*, September 12, 1903, 7.

¹²⁸ R.H. Pratt, Colonel and Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 12, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 432.

¹²⁹ For students who went home ill from Carlisle, 1902-1903, see: Appendix 1. For Carlisle student deaths 1902-1903, see: Charles Paisano (Laguna Pueblo) [Appendicitis] died on outing, in E-1328, Box 3, in E-1324, 248, George Bear Arm (Gros Ventre) [Appendicitis], in E-1324, 249, Ada Sanekwitsegats (Kaibab Paiute) [Spinal meningitis], in E-1324, 250, NARADC.

¹³⁰ T.W. Potter to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 3, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 428.

school sent at least seven students home sick, and eight students died at the school.¹³¹ Many more Chemawa students may have been sent home sick, but water and mold damage has rendered the relevant school letters illegible.¹³² Still, Chemawa's daily hospital records do confirm a fifty-student scarlet fever epidemic between February and April. Additionally, the school physician treated eleven patients for influenza, four for pneumonia, tubercular patients, and hundreds for other non-lethal afflictions.¹³³ In Kansas, Haskell Superintendent Peairs, meanwhile, made no mention of health in his annual report.¹³⁴ He released at least twenty-four students battling infectious diseases from their school contracts, while seven students died in a four month period during the year.¹³⁵

Despite not mentioning health, Peairs did understand illness as a threat to students and the school. Archival sources reveal that a diphtheria epidemic began in December 1902 and that at least seven students died there that school year. Peairs released another twenty-six from their contracts because of health, at least one of whom died shortly after leaving.¹³⁶ This level of

¹³¹ For Chemawa students sent home ill, see: John Dixon (Karuk), Fred Dixon to Sir, March 12, 1903, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13 Folder 1809, NARAS; Fred Lewis (Tlingit or Haida) [Scarlet Fever], Chemawa Hospital Report, 28, NARAS. See also Appendix 1. For Chemawa student deaths, 1902-1903, see: Metilda Romeo [Romer] (Tlingit), John Dixon (Karuk), Effie Kevanaugh (Lummi), Charles Hicks (Alaska Native), Albert Evough (Chinook), Ephus [Ephrain] Moore (Rogue River), Alice [Annie] Hayes (Alaska Native), in Chemawa Hospital Report, 1901-1909, 17, 20, 28, 31, 37, 43-44, NARAS; P2008, 162, 178, 182, 200, 204, 206, 210, 214, 218, 222; Elmer Mitchell (Tsimshian) [Scarlet Fever], in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1744, NARAS.

¹³² Chemawa LS, Box 4, NARAS.

¹³³ Chemawa Hospital Records, 17-44, NARAS.

¹³⁴ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 25, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 416-419.

¹³⁵ See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

¹³⁶ For Haskell student deaths, 1902-1903, see: Charles Quein (Wyandotte/Seneca) [Sunstroke], Alex King (L'Anse Chippewa) [Unknown], Lomo Congwhisin (Hopi) [Pneumonia], Joseph Rousseau (Turtle Mountain Chippewa) [Cholera Morbus], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 106, 182, 296,

virulent sickness forced Peairs to realize Haskell's dire need for a new hospital and he petitioned the Indian Affairs commissioner for funds to build one on July 24, 1903.¹³⁷ As it stood, the old hospital provided "no way for isolating contagious disease." Peairs conceded that "the introduction of one pupil who has any contagious disease, almost certainly means the spread of the disease to the entire population of the school," yet blamed students for their illnesses.¹³⁸ "[O]ur greatest number of sicknesses," he reported, "[grow] out of exposure to cold about which the Indian persists in being careless or thoughtless. These always fill up our wards." These less serious illnesses then took up beds when the school was "overtaken" with "epidemic and contagious diseases." Peairs and the physician resorted to treating students in dormitories, facilitating pathogen transmission and inflaming epidemics.¹³⁹ Financial limits and differing priorities delayed Haskell's much-needed hospital until 1905.¹⁴⁰

One Arizona field matron reported to the Indian Affairs commissioner in her 1902-1903 annual report: "When we came to the [Salt River] reservation seven years ago [1896] we only knew of one case of tuberculosis among 1,500 people." "Since that time," she informed

316, NARAKC; Willie Hanson (Ho-Chunk) [Hemorrhage], Luella Bronson (Delaware) [Unknown], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 10, 42, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1902, 200, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC; Sophia Wabonsee (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 17, 1901, 258, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC. For Haskell students who went home ill, 1902-1903, see: Appendix 1 and Appendix 3.

¹³⁷ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1903, 489-491, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 490.

¹³⁹ Peairs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1903, 490-491, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

¹⁴⁰ Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 196; H.B. Peairs to [The Commissioner of Indian Affairs], October 9, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 420. The new hospital could hold seventy patients (C.M. Blair, Superintendent to Commissioner Indian Affairs, October 7, 1926, in RG75, Haskell Institute, Series 2: Decimal Correspondence Files, 1917-1959, Box 111, Folder Hospitals and Sanatoriums 1924-1926, NARAKC).

Commissioner Jones, “we have buried by the scores promising young people from the schools.”¹⁴¹ Because of the increasing number of tuberculosis cases, Indian Office officials sought medical data from the schools to assess the epidemiological impact of assimilation during the next fiscal year, 1903-1904. “Facing charges of outright neglect,” according to the historian DeJong, “Jones initiated the first comprehensive health survey of Indian schools and reservations.”¹⁴² Jones ordered superintendents and physicians to furnish vital statistics, observations, and recommendations as of July 1, 1903. The commissioner did not know the full extent of diseases because the Indian Office had stopped reporting medical and vital statistics in 1895 and school superintendents often underreported or failed to report epidemics and deaths. In any policy decision, data are important. Fighting epidemics and infectious diseases requires accurate statistics to facilitate the dissemination of information and resources to fight invisible enemies. Jones would publicize the results of the survey eight months later.

Meanwhile, Jones issued more nation-wide directives to address student health in boarding schools and to reinforce his previous directives. In September, he warned against overcrowding and mandated that the practice be discontinued immediately. He wrote to all Indian agents and superintendents, “While you are urged to fill your school to the limit of its capacity, it must be with sound and healthy children. There must, most positively, be no overcrowding in the dormitories to the detriment of the children sleeping in them.” Jones continued, “Indian children should be educated, but should not, however, be destroyed in the process. Health is the greatest consideration. Therefore, if you cannot accommodate your present

¹⁴¹ Mary A. Wynkoop, Field Matron to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1903, in *ARCIA*, 1903, 135.

¹⁴² DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 21.

enrollment, without lowering the vitality of the pupils, a decrease should be made.”¹⁴³ As DeJong has poignantly observed, “while there were paper changes in regulations, there was little practical effect. Children and young adults were ‘d[ying] far away from their people.’”¹⁴⁴ Indeed, despite Jones’ orders, off-reservation boarding schools remained overcrowded, and superintendents struggled to fund much-needed improvements.¹⁴⁵ The United States Congress was part of the problem.

Even as Jones’ strove to understand health and improve boarding school conditions, Congress reduced appropriations for the Indian Office for the 1903-1904 school year from \$3,531,220 for the previous year to \$3,522,950.¹⁴⁶ Although the amount was small, it meant less money for institutions already struggling to care for students confined in poor buildings. “The great majority [of school plants],” according to Jones, “are old, dilapidated, and badly located.”¹⁴⁷ Without sufficient congressional funding, conditions grew worse.

A month after Jones’s warning, Hall enrolled 238 more students than Perris and Sherman had room for, and students began falling ill.¹⁴⁸ On October 12, 1903, Hall warned Commissioner

¹⁴³ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to United States Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, September 21, 1903, 1-2, Education Circular No. 102, in RG75, Office of Indian Affairs, Records of the Education Division, E-718: Circulars Issued, 1897-1909, Bound Book, NARADC.

¹⁴⁴ DeJong, “Unless They Are Kept Alive,” 265.

¹⁴⁵ Sherman enrolled 638 students in space meant for 400. Peairs over enrolled Haskell by 215 students. Carlisle had 1,087 students enrolled with space for 950. Finally, Chemawa had 136 students enrolled over its capacity (“Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1904,” in *ARCIA, 1904*, 580-583, 586-587).

¹⁴⁶ Support of Indian schools decreased over \$16,000 (Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 2). Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 16, 1902, in *ARCIA 1902*, 17; Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 15.

¹⁴⁸ “Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1904,” in *ARCIA, 1904*, 580.

Jones: “we have at this hour eighteen cases of a disease similar to Smallpox.”¹⁴⁹ Even in a mild form, when the *variola* virus that causes the disease invaded student bodies, it produced a high fever and body aches with the possibility of hemorrhaging, vomiting, and convulsions. Then, the disease’s iconic rash developed from two to five days after symptoms first appeared, typically in the mouth and throat before enveloping the entire body in sores after twenty-four hours from onset. After a few days of the rash, its small pimples become pustules before scabbing over. Eventually, if the results were not fatal by this point, the scabs fell off after three to four weeks.¹⁵⁰ By October 16, the tally of infected students had increased to forty, including “several very sick children,” and two teachers resigned, fearing the outcome of the epidemic.¹⁵¹ Hall swung into action, albeit limited by the school’s meager resources. First, he quarantined students suspected of having smallpox in tents and vaccinated the entire student body.¹⁵² Hall expected “some” students to desert, fearing for their lives.¹⁵³ One student with smallpox did flee. Scared of dying, the boy “hid in the hills” near Banning, California.¹⁵⁴ By October 19, the school nurse, Ada M. Warren, who was decidedly tubercular, resigned, unable to meet the demands of her position during an epidemic.¹⁵⁵ In response to the sudden shortage of employees, Hall

¹⁴⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12, 1903, 356, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵⁰ Keple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 1008-1009.

¹⁵¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1903, 377, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵² Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12, 1903, 356.

¹⁵³ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1903, 363 in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1903, 387, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵⁴ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1903, 387.

temporarily hired two trained nurses.¹⁵⁶ The measures that Hall initiated during the smallpox epidemic helped limit the spread of the highly contagious disease, as no new infections were reported after late October, and no students seem to have died.

At its reported peak, forty-two students contracted smallpox. In November, as eighteen students remained in the school hospital, Jones blamed Hall: “those who had the smallpox were kept in your school for more than a week before those were vaccinated.” Hall had ignored official Indian Office policy: “The circular positively requires vaccination either before they enter the school or at the date of entrance.” Jones condemned this practice, stating, “Had the provisions of that circular been complied with, it is probably you would not have had an epidemic of smallpox. Too frequently superintendents do not pay proper attention to the directions given in circulars, and from your own statements you can see very readily the purpose of that circular now.”¹⁵⁷ Indeed, if Hall had followed official protocol by vaccinating students when they arrived at the school, no students would have had smallpox. Still, Hall retained his position as superintendent at Sherman. The epidemic exacerbated the school’s poor financial position. In addition to hiring nurses and buying medications, Hall exhausted the school’s transportation fund, sending sick students home throughout the year.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 19, 1903, 382, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵⁶ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 1, 1903, 425, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵⁷ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Indian School, November 10, 1903, 1, in Sherman LR, Box 53, NARAR.

¹⁵⁸ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1903, 399, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 25, 1904, 11, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

While smallpox challenged Hall's administration, his contemporaries fought diseases in their institutions. Pratt sent nine students home ill, many of them with tuberculosis, before New Year's Day, 1904.¹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, three students died at the school. Katie Helen Adams (Crow) died at Carlisle from a tubercular infection in August. The disease claimed Helen Fraties's (Alaska Native) life in December. Ten days later, Mitchell Solomon (Akwasne Mohawk) lost his battle with pneumonia.¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, in Oregon, students spent 3,539 days in Chemawa's hospital between July 1 and December 31, 1903.¹⁶¹ At least sixty-six students contracted mumps between November and December during an outbreak that lasted until 1904.¹⁶² Three students died at Chemawa in the fall, at least one from tuberculosis, while the school superintendent sent between fifteen and eighteen sick students home during the mumps epidemic.¹⁶³

Disease and deaths strained the school's meager funding. Superintendents had to pay transportation costs for sick students, burial or transportation costs for students who died at school, and the costs of preventing and treating sicknesses. In response, superintendents devised measures to limit costs or increase appropriations. They continued to admit unhealthy children

¹⁵⁹ Felix Highrock (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1328, Box 2, in E-1329, Box 5, James Dixon (Nez Perce), in E-1327, Box 19, Fanny Grayman (Shivwitz Band of Southern Paiute), in E-1328, Box 5, Helen Feather (Menominee), in E-1328, Box 5, Roy Duncan (Mojave), in E-1329, Box 5, Charles Doxtator (Wisconsin Oneida), in E-1329, Box 11, Rose Smith (Seneca), in E-1329, Box 8, Theodore Williams (Tuscarora), in E-1329, Box 14, Daniel Tortuga (Pechanga Band of Luiseño), in E-1329, Box 14, NARADC.

¹⁶⁰ Katie Helen Adams (Crow), in E-1324, 251, Helen Fraties (Alaska Native), in E-1324, 252, Mitchell Solomon (Akwasne Mohawk), in E-1324, 253, NARADC.

¹⁶¹ Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 49-68, NARAS.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 60-64.

¹⁶³ Lily Dow (Hupa) [Tuberculosis], in W.P. Campbell, Acting Superintendent to Mrs. Sara Dowe, October 19, 1903, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1591, NARAS; Jesse Oscar (Tsimshian) [Pneumonia], in Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 65, NARAS; Rose Guthrie (Samish) [Unknown], in Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 558, NARAS. For upper limit, see: Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 64-65, NARAS.

and young adults. Superintendent Peairs admitted students to Haskell with tuberculosis and unsound health that fall. The more pupils, the more appropriations he received. When the Indian Office discovered the practice in October, the commissioner insisted, “upon a strict compliance with the ... circular, which forbids the taking away to nonreservation schools of pupils who have not been properly examined and so certified by the physician.”¹⁶⁴ At the same time, Peairs held students after their terms of enrollment had ended, thus keeping attendance high and saving the school transportation costs.¹⁶⁵ That fall, however, disease forced him to send at least three students home.¹⁶⁶

Students continued contracting infections throughout the winter and spring of 1904, becoming so sick as to be sent home. Chemawa’s mumps epidemic that began in November continued through February 1904. Officials hospitalized another seventy-six students, making a total of 142 for the four-month epidemic.¹⁶⁷ As the mumps epidemic was ending, Bertha Meeker (Puyallup) died at the school.¹⁶⁸ In Southern California, Hall began the New Year by announcing the death of Chester Moore, a 9-year-old Rogue River child who lived in Northern California.

¹⁶⁴ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Haskell Institute, October 22, 1903, in RG75, Haskell Institute, Series 4: Letter Received, 1884-1910, Box 139, NARAKC [hereafter Haskell LR, Box #]; W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Haskell Institute, November 10, 1903, in Haskell LR, Box 139, NARAKC.

¹⁶⁵ A.C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, Haskell Institute, August 6, 1903, Haskell LR, Box 139, NARAKC; W.A. Jones, Commissioner to Superintendent Haskell Institute, September 4, 1903, Haskell LR, Box 139, NARAKC.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Antell (Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 52, NARAKC; Emma Restoule (Chippewa [Superior, WI]) and Alexander Graves (Red Lake Chippewa), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 163, 251, NARAKC.

¹⁶⁷ Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 60-77, NARAS.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 77, NARAS.

Chester died from “typhoid-pneumonia, with brain complication.”¹⁶⁹ In March, crowding worried the superintendent, and he requested additional appropriations to reduce overcrowding and promote a healthier environment. Hall’s continuous calls for more money prompted suspicion in the Indian Office and it sent an inspector to investigate. In May, the inspector confirmed Hall’s description of conditions: “no encouraging report can be [made of Perris.] The buildings are now dilapidated.... [The inspector] recommends that the school be closed and the children be transferred to Riverside as soon as the buildings contemplated there can be put in readiness.”¹⁷⁰ Jones announced the results of his 1903 health survey that same month.

The information gathered by the commissioner suggested, “prompt steps should be taken to better the health condition of many tribes and to improve hospital accommodations and dormitories in the schools.”¹⁷¹ Tuberculosis was a grave threat. Jones determined that conditions in the schools increased the incidence of the disease.¹⁷² Unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, poor medical care, and confining students “predisposed” to the disease in school caused increased incidence of tuberculosis. Jones held that moving students to “crowded school room and dormitory, especially if the latter fall short of reasonable sanitary requirements, acts as a spark to tinder.”¹⁷³ Further, food played an important role. Jones observed, “There is no question

¹⁶⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 1, 1904, 455, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR. Keller identifies Chester as Rogue River (Jean A. Keller, “‘In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness’: Typhoid Fever Deaths, Sherman Institute, 1904,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23:3 [1999], 106).

¹⁷⁰ A.C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent Indian School, May 4, 1904, NP, in Sherman LR, Box 53, NARAR.

¹⁷¹ W.A. Jones, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 33-34.

¹⁷² Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 34.

¹⁷³ “Brief of replies to Education Circular No. 99, Dated July 1, 1903, calling for reports from Physicians in the Indian Service Relative to the Health Conditions Among the Indians. Brief prepared March 15,

but that an ill-fed man is many times more liable to infection than one who received a proper diet.”¹⁷⁴ Also, “There is no doubt but in many instances inferior medical services [and] sanitary matters are made subservient to those of less importance,” Jones alleged, “for the sake of cutting down expense.”¹⁷⁵ None of these causes or conditions should have surprised Jones. Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris superintendents had been reporting them for years.

Jones now issued instructions to more judiciously screen incoming students. Superintendents were to send home children and young adults with tubercular symptoms while initiating preventative measures such as providing metal cuspidors, maintaining clean, well-ventilated dormitories, eliminating overcrowding, providing weekly health lectures, and otherwise “interest[ing] themselves in the health conditions of the Indians.”¹⁷⁶ Days later, Assistant Indian Affairs Commissioner A.C. Tonner sent a circular to Indian agents and superintendents highlighting the causes of tuberculosis: “lack of cleanliness, overcrowding in dormitories, unsanitary conditions of school buildings, [and] admission of tubercular and otherwise unhealthy pupils to the school.” All were to be eliminated.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, following these directives would require money.

The same month that Commissioner Jones and Tonner sent orders to improve health, they rejected Hall’s funding request. As acting commissioner, Tonner informed Hall in May 1904:

1904,” 433, 435, in RG75, Office of Indian Affairs, Records of the Education Division, in E-726: Briefs of Investigations, NARADC [hereafter “Brief of Replies, 1904”].

¹⁷⁴ “Brief of Replies, 1904,” 434.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 440.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 438-439.

¹⁷⁷ “Education Circular No. 106,” A.G. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, March 23, 1904, in RG75, in E-718, Bound Book, NARADC.

“[These additions] would necessitate a doubling up of the appropriation, and you can rest assured that the difficulty in the future will be, not to double the appropriations, but to get what is absolutely necessary.”¹⁷⁸ He also refused to close the school: “Of course, the Perris school cannot be abandoned during the present fiscal year by reason of the fact that there would hardly be room at Riverside to take up the surplus [children and young adults] there.”¹⁷⁹ Indeed, Hall crowded 101 students above capacity into both schools, and, as the commissioner hinted, it would be unsafe, and irresponsible to crowd over five hundred students into Sherman, a school designed to accommodate only three hundred. Meanwhile, two unnamed students died at the school sometime between April and June 17, 1904.¹⁸⁰ In his annual report for 1904, Superintendent Hall admitted, “The conditions ... are growing worse every year,” and he again recommended that the school’s closure and transfer of students to Sherman. However, Perris stayed open, and all schools remained over enrolled.¹⁸¹

Nearly 1,800 miles to the north, a measles epidemic broke out at Chemawa that May. Ninety-eight students came down with the malady, and one student died with a remittent fever.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ A.C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent Indian School, May 4, 1904, NP, in Sherman LR, Box 53, NARAR.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 17, 1904, 151-153, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR. These students are John Pugh (NTL) [Unknown], Sherman Cemetery Marker and Lizzie Edwards (Koncow) [Unknown], in Keller, ““In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,”” 106.

¹⁸¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 438. One of these students was Lizzie Edwards ([Koncow]) (Keller, ““In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,”” 106). The other was likely John Pugh (Rogue River) (Hall, Supt. To Richard Pugh, May 7, 1904, 13, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Telegrams Sent, 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, Box 107, NARAR).

¹⁸² Lucinda Wilson (Shasta) [Remittent fever], in Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 86, NARAS; Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 87-96, NARAS.

During this period between January and June 30, 1904, the other schools — Carlisle and Haskell — sent home sixty-five students with incurable or infectious diseases. At least thirteen students died at the four schools during the same period.¹⁸³

The incidence of infectious diseases and the number of deaths remained relatively stable from the 1902-1903 to 1903-1904 school years. Twenty students died at Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, Perris, and Sherman. Haskell's run of having no student deaths for eighteen months came to an end.¹⁸⁴ Despite the period of relatively little death, the school was not necessarily a healthier place. Deaths remained low because Peairs sent terminally and seriously ill children and young adults home where many died. Without adequate medical care in the schools or on the reservations, DeJong contended, "many simply returned to the reservation and faced a slow death."¹⁸⁵ Tuberculosis, which had no cure at this point, plagued many Indigenous students who went home from school sick. Superintendents collectively sent home a minimum of 105

¹⁸³ See Appendix 1. For student deaths between January 1 and June 30, 1904, see Carlisle (5): Cookiglook (Inuit) [Tuberculosis], in E-1324, 254, Albert Thomas (Onondaga) [Pneumonia], in E-1324, 254, Wade Ayres (Catawaba) [Vaccine Fever], in E-1328, Box 1, Jemima Metoxen (Wisconsin Oneida) [Spinal Meningitis], in E-1324, 258, Anastasia Achwack (Aleut) [Tuberculosis], in E-1324, 257, NARADC; Chemawa (2): Bertha Meeker (Puyallup) [Unknown] and Lucinda Wilson (Shasta) [Remittent fever], in Chemawa Hospital Records, 1901-1909, 77, 86, NARAS; Haskell (3): Barrett Longmarsh (Ho-Chunk) [Unknown], Charles Rough Feather (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Unknown], Gorman Carter (Caddo) [Unknown], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 41, 67, 127, NARAKC; Perris (3): Chester Moore (Rogue River) [Typhoid pneumonia], in Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 1, 1904, 455, Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Two unnamed students, in Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 17, 1904, 152, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR. These unnamed students are John Pugh (NTL) and Lizzie Edwards (Koncow) who are both buried in Sherman's cemetery.

¹⁸⁴ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 29, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 444.

¹⁸⁵ DeJong, *"If You Only Knew the Conditions,"* 98.

Indigenous students with ill health. However, the total number was likely much higher as the total number of students sent home ill from Perris, Sherman, and Chemawa remains unknown.¹⁸⁶

By now, another insidious pattern developed to save the schools from chronically exhausting their transportation funds. Late in each spring term, school superintendents sent children and young adults home who either had little hope of recovery or needed to recuperate over summer break in the hopes their health would improve enough for them to reenroll at the start of the instruction in September. Superintendents would thus write to the parents or guardians of these students stating that if the parent or guardian deposited money with the school, the school would release the student for a summer vacation so that the child could recuperate. The federal government, however, paid the schools for transporting the student home. Because parents paid transportation, superintendents could then not report them on official rolls as being sick and use the money to acquire more students. Thus, the policy obscured student health metrics and contributed to over enrollment. Schools had little incentive to send sick children and young adults home earlier in the year because their per capita funding was based on attendance, not enrollment. Thus, if a student went home, the school received less money. Superintendents consequently violated the law and preyed on Indigenous parents and guardians, mainly people of little means who were anxious to see their sick children. Letters between parents and superintendents reveal that students went home sick, and many never returned to school because of their health.

As the 1903-1904 school year concluded, so did the tenure of the longest-serving boarding school superintendent, the boarding school founder, Colonel Richard H. Pratt. Pratt had

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 1. In addition to incomplete records for some schools, students listed as having completed their term of enrollment or on leave actually left sick. For example, see: Paul Dick (Caddo) [Died at home, sent home summer 1904], in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Willie Weller, December 16, 1904, 39, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC).

aged out of the United States Army after his sixty-second birthday on February 17, 1903. Still, Pratt remained in charge of Carlisle. He then received the rank of Brigadier General for his Civil War service in April 1904. After twenty-five years at Carlisle and with a growing gulf between his ideologies and those of his superiors in Washington, D.C., Commissioner Francis E. Leupp forced Pratt into retirement on June 30, 1904.¹⁸⁷ The next day, the Indian Office installed another Army man in his place. Captain William A. Mercer of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's famed regiment. Mercer took charge of Carlisle after having served as the Uintah Indian Agent.¹⁸⁸

Still, without changes to conditions, facilities, and funding, epidemics continued to erupt regardless of who held authority in the boarding schools. Crowding, unsanitary conditions, and inadequate care continued to contribute to disease. Tuberculosis was so prevalent because other lethal epidemics activated latent or inflamed active tubercular infections. Indeed, tubercular complications frequently developed following influenza, measles, mumps, typhoid fever, and other epidemics. In 1904, physicians founded the National Tuberculosis Association.¹⁸⁹ That year, Commissioner Jones noted that tubercular students were "returned to their homes to die a lingering death, spreading contagion to others."¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the practice continued. In

¹⁸⁷ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 321-323; *The Baltimore Sun*, June 14, 1904, 2; *The Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), February 19, 1903, 9; *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), February 17, 1903, 1; *Evening Star*, June 11, 1904, 2; "An Act Making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and five, and for other purposes," April 23, 1904, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from November, 1903, to March, 1905; Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1905), 33:264.

¹⁸⁸ W.A. Mercer, Captain, Seventh Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 450; *The Indian Leader* (Haskell Institute, Lawrence, KS), June 17, 1904, 3.

¹⁸⁹ Burnham, *Health Care in America*, 140.

¹⁹⁰ W.A. Jones to The Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 38.

response, Jones suggested founding a sanatorium for these students.¹⁹¹ However, funding for that institution would not come for another five years, and even then, it would be insufficient.¹⁹²

During the summer and fall of 1904, sickness remained common. In July, measles broke out at Sherman with “many” falling ill.¹⁹³ The epidemic required Hall to cease some educational activities and reassign employees to hospital duty.¹⁹⁴ At least two children — sixteen-year-old Harry Seonia (Pueblo) and six-year-old Nancy Lawrence (Tejon) — died from pneumonia during the July epidemic.¹⁹⁵ That month, Indian Inspector Frank M. Conser visited Haskell for an unannounced investigation. Conser found “over-crowded ... [and] poorly ventilated” dormitories. The school’s farm and gardens had also failed to produce. Although student health was “good,” the Haskell employees had lost faith in the school physician, instead visiting physicians in Lawrence when they became ill. The children and young adults, however, had no reprieve from poor medical care. Conser concluded, “there is no reasonable excuse why the Government should not furnish proper medical care and attention for [students]. The retention of an incompetent or negligent physician is a crime against these innocent children.”¹⁹⁶ In response,

¹⁹¹ Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 38.

¹⁹² Phoenix’s East Farm Sanatorium opened in May 1909 (Robert A. Trennert, “The Federal Government and Indian Health in the Southwest: Tuberculosis and the Phoenix East Farm Sanatorium, 1909-1955,” *Pacific Historical Review* 65:1 [February, 1996], 67).

¹⁹³ July 4, 1904 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, “Epidem[ics], 1908,” NARADC; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 4, 1904, 180, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁹⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent, to The Honorable-The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 4, 1904, 180, in Sherman Institute, LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁹⁵ Hall, Supt. to Jose Seonta, July 26, 1904 telegram, 24, in Sherman Institute, Telegrams Sent, 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, Box 107, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1904, 265, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Keller, ““In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,”” 106.

the acting commissioner excoriated Peairs: “The condition as set forth by Supervisor Conser is a very reprehensible one and cannot be tolerated by this Office.”¹⁹⁷ Peairs, however, remained in charge and explored Conser’s suggestion to replace the school physician with a cheaper local contracted doctor. As the merits of this decision passed between the school and Washington, D.C., students continued to fall ill.¹⁹⁸ Haskell’s own measles epidemic began in September.¹⁹⁹ It was likely introduced by a returning student and missed by the physician’s annual physical examination. In addition to measles, Peairs and the physician admitted students with tuberculosis. The school admitted Anderson King, an Oneida student from Wisconsin “not physically able to do any good in school” because of disease, in September. The boy remained until he deserted later in the school year.²⁰⁰ That fall, poor health forced Peairs to send at least seven students home.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Conser, in A.C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, Haskell Institute, December 2, 1904, 1-2, in Haskell LR, Box 139, NARAKC.

¹⁹⁷ Tonner to Superintendent, December 2, 1904, 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Students remained hospitalized through at least December 1 (November 1904 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, “Epidem[ics], 1908,” NARAR).

²⁰⁰ Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 206, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to J.C. Hart, Supt. Indian School, Oneida, Wis., September 19, 1904, 224, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC. Some students did get rejected (Thomas Lyon (Omaha), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 140, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Thomas L. Sloan, October 24, 1904, 318, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC).

²⁰¹ John J. Jollie (Turtle Mountain Chippewa), John Wallace (Comanche), Joseph Godin (Turtle Mountain Chippewa), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 27, 96, 160, NARAKC; Maggie Frederick (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate), in Superintendent to R.J. Taylor, U.S. Indian Agent, November 21, 1904, 427, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC; West Toineeta (Eastern Cherokee), in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Dewitt S. Harris, Supt. Indian School, November 29, 1904, 446, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC; Joe Tsaikopeta ([Kiowa]) [Lung trouble], in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Col. Jas. F. Randlett, U.S. Indian Agent, December 1, 1904, 460, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC; Melissa Summer (Wisconsin Oneida) [Died at home within one year of leaving], in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Supt. J.C. Hart, December 28, 1904, 101, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC.

Disaster struck Perris and Sherman in the fall of 1904. By this time, Hall began to more actively agitate for Perris' closure and the transfer of its property and students to Sherman. Years of deplorable conditions, including chronic over enrollment, a lack of water, and inadequate supplies, caught up to the students in Hall's custody. As he prepared Perris and Sherman for incoming students, the Indian Office failed to send supplies on time. Hall purchased emergency clothing, soap, sugar, and beans at a premium in August and September.²⁰² Then, on October 4, he urgently telegraphed Washington: "Some action should be taken at once regarding water for Perris or filth diseases will soon follow. The only thing now to do is to bring pupils to Riverside. Too late to experiment and hold pupils there as water now used for drinking is contaminated. Sixty of the pupils sick yesterday after drinking water.... Sewage not flushed for three weeks."²⁰³ Two days later, Hall wrote, "the continuance of a school under such conditions is not only futile but endangering the health of the pupils and employes [sic]. It is impossible to keep the school and 130 pupils in a sanitary condition.... Both employes [sic] and children are complaining of being sick and it looks as if it is a forerunner of much sickness."²⁰⁴ Finally, Acting Commissioner A.G. Tonner ordered Hall to "Close Perris Indian School, transferring pupils to Riverside" the next day. Tonner, however, cautioned Hall against "overcrowding the Riverside Indian School" for fear of "exceed[ing] the appropriation" and "endanger[ing] the health of the pupils by reason of such increase."²⁰⁵ Hall sent sick students home and prepared healthy ones for

²⁰² Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1904, 277 and Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1904, 275, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁰³ Harwood Hall, October 4, 1903 telegram, in A.G. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, Riverside Indian School, October 4, 1904, 1, in Sherman LR, Box 53, NARAR.

²⁰⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent, to The Honorable-The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 6, 1904, 284-85, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

the transition to Sherman.²⁰⁶ He noted that Sherman had ample classrooms for all students and that he would be able “to crowd pupils in mess hall for meals.”²⁰⁷ Dormitory space, however, was at a premium. Perris students would be sleeping in tents until new buildings could be constructed.²⁰⁸

After Hall began transferring students to Sherman, one came down with a fever and was sent to the makeshift tent hospital. Others quickly followed. On October 18, Hall declared it typhoid fever. It crippled the school. Typhoid fever is an extremely contagious and deadly disease. Student immune systems, already compromised from previous illnesses, failed to combat typhoid’s virulence. Sherman’s facilities, or lack thereof, complicated efforts to combat the disease. Aptly named, typhoid fever produces a sustained, high-grade fever of between 103° and 104°F, which gradually grows over the first several days after the onset of symptoms. Students also likely endured headaches, abdominal pain, weakness, diarrhea, and vomiting for upwards of a month. Some children and young adults — especially those who died or went home ill — likely faced severe complications, including pneumonia and internal hemorrhaging.²⁰⁹ On October 29, fourteen-year-old Lillie Edwards (Round Valley) was the first student to die from

²⁰⁵ Tonner to Superintendent, October 4, 1904, 1.

²⁰⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 21, 1904, 305, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁰⁷ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1904, 288-289, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1904, 354, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Kiple, Ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 1071-1073.

the epidemic. Hall, however, blamed that death on her “delicate constitution and weak lungs.”²¹⁰ Nevertheless, Hall again went into action.

As in previous epidemics, the superintendent again established emergency measures to stem the spread of contagion. He brought in a trained nurse to assist the nursing staff as well as a part-time school physician and set off to find the source of infection.²¹¹ By November 3, Hall and the school’s physician, Dr. A.S. Parker, could not locate the source, but they detailed students and employees to thoroughly disinfect the school and fumigate rooms where sick students stayed.²¹²

Sherman’s 1904 typhoid fever epidemic was severe. Between October and November, at least forty-two students contracted the ailment.²¹³ Like Perris before it, Sherman began without a designated hospital, and Hall noted that combatting disease was “handicapped ... owing to the fact of not having our hospital completed.”²¹⁴ In addition to Lillie [Lilly] Edwards, seventeen-year-old Mateo Coutts (Rincon Band of Luiseño), fourteen-year-old Dan [Johnnie] Edwards (Round Valley), seventeen-year-old Mamie Alphas (Klamath), seventeen-year-old John Powers (Wailaki), and twelve-year-old George Summers [Summersell] (Pomo) all contracted typhoid

²¹⁰ Harwood Hall, Superintendent, to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1904, 315, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Keller, “In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,” 106.

²¹¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1904, 314, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1904, 315; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1904, 354.

²¹² Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1904, 315; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 17, 1905, 383, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²¹³ Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, 356-358.

²¹⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1905, in *ARCIA*, 1905, 416.

fever and died.²¹⁵ Administrators sent Louise Estrada ([Mission]), Madeline Alves (NTL), Veranda Aviles (NTL), and Bertha Barber ([Bayles, CA]) [Consumption] home sick during the epidemic, likely with tubercular complications.²¹⁶ Hall largely sidestepped the lethal epidemic in his annual report, diminishing student morbidity and deaths: “The general health of the pupils has been good, although in the fall of the year we were troubled with some sickness.”²¹⁷

At the end of the epidemic, Hall and Parker concluded that the typhoid came from the food supply. They deduced this because the typhoid cases “were about equally distributed among the four dormitories” and the athletes who ate outside of the dining hall did not contract the disease nor did any Riverside citizens, eliminating the possibility that the school water supply was responsible. Although Sherman administrators were “uncertain as to how the food could have become infected,” they presumed that the swarm of flies perpetually on the school grounds spread the bacteria.²¹⁸ However, an alternative explanation exists. Sherman’s conditions may have abetted transmission of the disease from student to student, but the disease may not have started there. Instead, when Perris’ well failed, sewage overflowed, and the drinking water became contaminated, the disease likely infected a student before Hall transferred them to Sherman. The disease then continued to spread in the overcrowded conditions.

²¹⁵ Harwood Hall, Superintendent, to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1904, 328 in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Keller, ““In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,”” 109-110.

²¹⁶ Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, 356-358; Harwood Hall, Supt. to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1904, 370, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²¹⁷ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 416.

²¹⁸ A.S. Parker, School Physician to Harwood Hall, Superintendent Riverside Indian School, December 7, 1904, 358, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

Perris' students who drank contaminated water, fell ill. *Salmonella enterica*, the bacteria that causes typhoid fever, is only present in humans and is most commonly spread in fecal matter. Recalling that court orders sustained an unhygienic situation when the toilets and sewage system had not been working for weeks, it is likely that this was a possible infection source.²¹⁹ Moreover, both Hall's explanation and the one put forth on these pages fit the natural history of typhoid fever. With an incubation period of six to thirty days, the infection could well have come from the water or food supply at Perris and not Sherman.²²⁰ Regardless of the epidemic's source, it was more severe than it ought to have been. To be sure, Hall's actions once the epidemic broke saved lives. Yet his decisions also caused contagion and deaths. When it came to preventative medicine, the school often failed to heed warnings and follow directives in advance of outbreaks. Had the school had a hospital, a dedicated doctor, no crowding, and sufficient supplies, perhaps fewer children and young adults would have contracted or succumbed to the disease. Perhaps the typhoid fever epidemic would not have occurred if the Indian Office and Congress had heeded Hall's pleas years earlier.

Although the exact prophylactics deployed by Hall and Parker are unknown, Indian Office supply lists suggest the school has various medicines and implements on hand. Ironically, many remedies were based on the same Indigenous ethnobotanical knowledge that school administrators sought to repress. Medical supplies all came from the Office's St. Louis

²¹⁹ For contaminated water, see: Hall, Supt. To Commissioner Indian Affairs, October 3, 1904, 52. Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 1071-1072.

²²⁰ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Typhoid Fever," <https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/travel/yellowbook/2018/infectious-diseases-related-to-travel/typhoid-paratyphoid-fever>.

warehouse.²²¹ A glance at the list of offerings reveals medications and substances today considered poisonous or banned.²²²

One can also see the waning influence of Heroic medicine. The boarding school era happened as western medicine was at an inflection point. Slowly, Heroic treatments involving bloodletting, purging, and sweating gave way to potions, pills, and remedies. Medications for purging and sweating abound in the Indian Office's supply lists.²²³ Rapid emetics, causing rapid expulsion of the stomach, and laxatives purged bodies.²²⁴ Ultimately, like the rest of the medical professions, laboratory science came to dominate. This transition beget an era of treatments of proprietary recipes and chemical concoctions marketed as would-be cure-alls.²²⁵ Substances like "Dover's Powder," a combination of ipecac, saltpeter, and opium created by British physician Thomas Dover in 1732, and "Dr. J.F. Churchill's Specific Remedy for Consumption," a syrup of hypophosphite of soda, lime, and potassa, still treated students' ailments.²²⁶ Nineteenth- and

²²¹ All medical supplies throughout the Indian Service distributed from this warehouse.

²²² For a section, see: arsenic, cannabis, chloroform, cocaine, copper sulfate, croton oil, mercury chloride, morphine, opium, poke root, sassafras oil, and strychnine, in "Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 166-184.

²²³ While there is evidence of purging and sweating, I have found no evidence of bloodletting, the third in the triumvirate of Heroic treatments. "Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 166-184.

²²⁴ For example, see ipecac and other substances, in "Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 166-184.

²²⁵ Eric W. Boyle, *Quack Medicine: A History of Combating Health Fraud in Twentieth-Century America* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 18.

²²⁶ Thomas Dover, *The Ancient Physician's Legacy to his Country* (London: H. Kent, 1742), 14; Frederick Churchill, "The Therapeutic Value of the Hypophosphites (Iron, Soda, Lime, and Magnesia) Combined Soluble Tonic for Children, Etc.," *The British Medical Journal* 1:1004 (March 27, 1880), 472-473.

twentieth-century boarding school physicians deployed another panacea cure, calomel or mercury (I) chloride, to treat wide range of ailments.²²⁷ The purgative, now known to cause mercury poisoning and teeth loss, was also used to treat typhoid.²²⁸ To defeat a cold or infection, doctors might induce a fever to increase immunological defenses. Substances on the Indian Office's supply list and known to cause or treat fevers, include: aconitine, Dover's powder, jaborandi, and origanum (oregano) oil.²²⁹ Much of this was no different than the treatments prescribed to ordinary Americans. Others substances on the Indian Office's list, like aspirin, cannabis, codeine, and herbal remedies, continue to form parts of our medical routines today. Boarding school physicians had a range of options for dealing with fevers and coughs that the treated on a daily basis.

Parker would have turned to an assortment of remedies to treat typhoid's symptoms. For the diseases characteristic high fever, the doctor might have prescribed quinine, first made by Indigenous Africans out of cinchona bark to treat malaria, as the drug was used to treat "all febrile disease, without regard to the violence of the fever."²³⁰ Still, with typhoid cases, it could

²²⁷ "Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 171, 180. For more on calomel, see: Richard M. Swiderski, *Calomel in America: Mercurial Panacea, War, Song, and Ghosts* (Boca Raton, FL: BrownWalker Press, 2008). The substance was still used by the Indian Office through at least the 1920s ("Home Remedies for Use of Field Matrons," in Sherman CCF, Box 9, Folder 112. Rule and Regulations: Indian Office Circulars (Misc) 1917-1921 [1/2], NARAR).

²²⁸ Swiderski, *Calomel in America*, 50.

²²⁹ Harvey Wickes Felter and John Uri Lloyd, eds., *King's American Dispensatory* (2 vols., Cincinnati: The Ohio Valley Company, 1905), 1:746-750, 800 [hereafter *King's American Dispensatory*, 1:page]; *King's American Dispensatory*, 2:1420, 1481-1482; "Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 166-184.

²³⁰ Harvey Wickes Felter and John Uri Lloyd, eds., *King's American Dispensatory* (2 vols., Cincinnati: The Ohio Valley Company, 1905), 2:1622-1636 [hereafter *King's American Dispensatory*, 2:page].

cause “much harm to the vascular and nervous systems.”²³¹ Gentian was another herbal substance used to treat fevers and increase appetite.²³² To combat students’ cough, breathing difficulties, and other symptoms Parker could have dispensed aconite, ammonium chloride, arsenic, cimicifuga racemosa, codeine, copaiba balsam, gelsemium, sassafras oil, senega, stillingia sylvatica, syrup of squill, tolu balsam, or wild cherry syrup.²³³ Delivered orally and topically, these palliatives sought to alleviate students’ suffering. Hospital staff would have disinfected with carbolic acid and chloride of lime to prevent the further spread of disease.²³⁴

Through the end of the 1904-1905 school year, students continued falling ill as epidemics and tubercular infections remained grave threats despite Washington, D.C. directives affecting student health. On October 1, 1904, Chemawa Superintendent Thomas Potter resigned. The Indian Office brought back superintendent Edwin L. Chalcraft. One of Chalcraft’s earliest decisions was to send Harriet Edgar ([Tsimshian]) home with an unknown, though likely tubercular, infection in November.²³⁵ Around the same time, Haskell administrators sent home several sick children and young adults following a measles epidemic.²³⁶

²³¹ *King’s American Dispensatory*, 2:1636.

²³² *Ibid.*, 2:925.

²³³ *King’s American Dispensatory*, 1:28, 104, 177-178, 323, 528-533, 576, 602; *King’s American Dispensatory*, 2:921, 1731, 1746, 1837, 1903.

²³⁴ “Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service,” in *ARCIA, 1905*, 175.

²³⁵ A.C. Tonner, Acting Commissioner to The Superintendent, Salem School, November 30, 1904 and Mrs. Edgar to W.P. Campbell, October 30, 1904, 427, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2284, NARAS; *The Indian Leader*, October, 3, 1904, 3.

²³⁶ Maggie Frederick (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate), in Superintendent to R.J. Taylor, U.S. Indian Agent, November 21, 1904, 427, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC; Joe Tsaikopeta ([Kiowa]), in H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Col. Jas. F. Randlett, U.S. Indian Agent, December 1, 1904, 460, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC; November 1904 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, NARADC. See Appendix 1.

Meanwhile, boarding school families struggled with the lethal consequences of enrollment. On New Year's Day, the same day Commissioner Jones tendered his resignation, Sophia Webster, an Oneida student from Wisconsin at Haskell died from chorea, a neurological disorder.²³⁷ The school was in the middle of an influenza epidemic that led to the hospitalization of at least thirty-eight students.²³⁸ Then on January 5, Jessie Johnson's father, P.K. Johnson (Tlingit) travelled from Ketchikan, Alaska to Salem, Oregon because he heard of his daughter's poor health. The school's physician, John Nywening, determined that Jessie was "in a very serious condition [and had] been failing rapidly for the last five weeks." The doctor concluded, "she has not many more days to live," and recommended that the girl not be taken home because she would likely not survive the trip.²³⁹ P.K. Johnson acknowledged the seriousness of Jessie's condition, but insisted, "I am determined to take my child to Alaska."²⁴⁰ P.K. left with his dangerously ill daughter after indemnifying the school of her death. Jessie died a few days later on the way home.²⁴¹ Viola M. Jones, an eight-year-old Tulalip girl from Marysville, Washington, died the week after Jessie. Viola's parents were upset because Chemawa failed to notify them of Viola's serious illness.²⁴² Evidence of the school's failure to notify guardians of student illnesses

²³⁷ Sophia Webster (Wisconsin Oneida), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 88, NARAKC; Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 1464, 2415.

²³⁸ January 1905 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, NARADC.

²³⁹ John Nywening, M.D., Physician to Edwin L. Chalcraft, Supt., Salem Indian School, January 6, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2332, NARAS.

²⁴⁰ P.K. Johnson note on bottom of Nywening to Chalcraft, January 6, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2332, NARAS.

²⁴¹ Joshua Johnson to W.F. Campbell, January 24, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1483, NARAS.

²⁴² J.W. Jones to Mr. Chalcraft, January 17, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2175, NARAS.

or waiting until the child was nearing death to notify parents about their child's illness become more frequent as archival material became better preserved after the turn of the century.

Towards the end of January, another measles epidemic broke out at Chemawa. Twenty-five students were hospitalized by the end of the month. Administrators thought they had the epidemic under control before the disease "broke out with renewed violence" in February and March.²⁴³ By the end of March, twenty-six students remained hospitalized, and at least one girl, Tillie Nappo (Shoshone) had died from pneumonia, likely a complication from measles.²⁴⁴ In April, the school lost Louisa Newton (Klickitat), a student enrolled from Port Grenia, Alaska, to a tubercular infection. Newton's family also wished their daughter home "to see her before she died."²⁴⁵ In fact, they had sent money to pay for her return the previous fall, but the school had refused their request.²⁴⁶ In May, Chemawa sent home another student deathly ill after failing to notify his community. George Sylvester ([Tlingit]) went home with his sick brother Frank, leaving on May 9. They arrived at Wrangell, Alaska on May 13.²⁴⁷ H.D. Campbell, presumably a guardian or relative of the boys, expressed his shock of the boy's condition to Superintendent Edwin Chalcraft: "It was a surprise to us all as we did not know that [Frank] was dangerously ill." Campbell decried, "I was very sorry when I saw [Frank's] condition that I had not gone to

²⁴³ January and March 1905 entries, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, NARADC.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; J. Nywening, M.D., School Physician to Mr. Chalcraft, February 26, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2173, NARAS.

²⁴⁵ Charles or Timothy Newton to Mr. Chalcraft, March 20, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1828, NARAS; P2008, 200.

²⁴⁶ Newton to Chalcraft, March 20, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1828, NARAS.

²⁴⁷ H.D. Campbell to Edwin Chalcraft, Supt I T School, May 22, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS.

Chemaway [sic] to meet him....His case was a hopeless one.”²⁴⁸ The school had weeks to notify the boy’s community, as an internal school note found on Campbell’s letter indicates that Frank first went into the hospital on March 24 and remained there for the next forty-seven days.²⁴⁹

Frank’s 1,400-mile journey home must have been daunting. Although he had the comfort of his brother George, who escorted him during the four-day-long trip home to Wrangell, the journey involved travelling by wagon, riding a train to Seattle, and steaming north aboard the 195-foot *Ramona*. The trip would have been arduous even for an able-bodied boy. It must have been punishing for Frank, given his sickness. Indeed, according to Campbell, the boy did not receive “the attention that sick passengers require.”²⁵⁰ Frank withstood the journey but passed away six days after arriving home.²⁵¹ In addition to Frank, Chemawa administrators sent fourteen students home sick that year.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Campbell to Chalcraft, May 22, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS.

²⁴⁹ Note on *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Campbell to Chalcraft, May 22, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Chemawa (12): Harriet Edgar (Tsimshian), in Tonner to Superintendent, November 30, 1904 and Edgar to Campbell, October 30, 1904, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2284, NARAS; Jessie Johnson ([Tlingit]) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in P.K. Johnson note on Nywening to Chalcraft, January 6, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2332, NARAS; Mary Wilson [Nelson] (Shasta), in George Wilson to Sir, January 31, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 193, NARAS; James P. Ladder (Makah), in Simon Phillips to Mr. Chalcraft, February 2, 1905 telegram and James P. Ladder to Edwin L. Chalcraft, August 6, 1906, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2364, NARAS; Frank Sylvester (Tlingit), Campbell to Chalcraft, May 22, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS; Jennie Rosenberger ([Eyak]) [Definite sickness and recommendation to go home ill, but no confirmation], in Charles Rosenberger to Mr. Chalcraft, March 28, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1816, NARAS. Five additional students went home from the hospital in July 1904 after Chemawa’s May measles epidemic (Sadie Davis (Wintun), Llewyn French (Lummi), James French (Lummi), Wallace Wilson (Shasta), Walter Nason (Muckleshoot), in Chemawa Hospital Records, 97, NARAS). Mary Campbell (Alaska Native), who enrolled at 6-years-old in 1900, in hospital for measles and sent home for a visit in the middle of the year, rapidly enough to warrant a telegram (Charles Campbell to Supt. Chalcraft, February 15, 1905 telegram, and “SSI Form,” August 30, 1966, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1602, NARAS).

Meanwhile, during the first full year of Captain Mercer's administration, Carlisle's chronic overcrowding and extreme sickness continued. Mercer enrolled between 948 and 1,092 at the school despite a maximum capacity of 1,000.²⁵³ The public, however, did not see this side of the institution. In February, Carlisle's band and several hundred students marched in United States President Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade behind six American Indian chiefs on horseback — Buckskin Charlie (Ute), Geronimo (Chiricahua Apache), Hollow Horn Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) and American Horse (Oglala Lakota Oyate), Little Plume (Blackfeet), and Quannah Parker (Comanche). Several of the chiefs had children or relatives that had attended the school.²⁵⁴ Sick students, however, were not on display. They remained in Carlisle's hospital and dormitories. Although the exact level of sickness at the school is unknown for this year, Mercer authorized fifty students to go home on sick leave.²⁵⁵ Five Carlisle students died on campus that year.²⁵⁶ This level of sickness prompted Mercer to communicate the school's need for a new hospital in his first annual report to newly appointed Indian Affairs Commissioner

²⁵³ There is a discrepancy in the *ARCIA* between Mercer's annual report and statistics of Indian schools (W.A. Mercer, Major, Eleventh Cavalry, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 432; "Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905," in *ARCIA, 1905*, 511).

²⁵⁴ Mercer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 431. Known kin, include: Quannah, Esther, and Laura Parker (Comanche), in E-1329, Box 7, Robert and Chapo Geronimo (Chiricahua Apache), in E-1329, Box 5, Friend Hollow Horn Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1328, Box 2, George Hollow Horned Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 5, Ben American Horse (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 11, Alice American Horse (Oglala Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 6, NARADC. In 1889, American Horse took a photograph with twelve of his children and relatives at the school (J.N. Choate, "[American Horse with his children and relatives]," glass plate negative, c. 1899, in National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo Lot 81-12 06860800, Washington, D.C.).

²⁵⁵ See Appendix 1.

²⁵⁶ For Carlisle deaths, 1904-1905 (5): Mabel Stack (Alaska Native) [Consumption], in E-1324, 260, James Wolfe (Sac & Fox) [Hemorrhages], in E-1324, 259, Lucy Spaulding (Alaska Native) [Tuberculosis], in E-1324, 261, Macy Ellen (Umpqua) [Tuberculosis], in E-1328, Box 5, Delia Williams (Saginaw Chippewa) [Unknown], in E-1324, 262, NARADC.

Francis E. Leupp, a former Indian Rights Association agent and member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.²⁵⁷

Tuberculosis had been the most prevalent cause of death for boarding school students since Pratt founded Carlisle in 1879, and it remained so for the twenty-plus years it took the Indian Office to recognize the profound threat it posed to boarding school students and Native American communities. Before 1904, the Indian Office and federal government generally held the position that Indigenous peoples were at fault for high mortality because of genetic or environmental factors.²⁵⁸ Still, sick children and young adults should have been excluded from attending schools. Incoming Native American students passed two separate government-issued medical examinations, one at their agency and one at the school, before they could be officially accepted. Some questionable cases were also accepted on a provisional basis. In reality, these examinations tended to be superficial and rapid, not allowing doctors the time to make an accurate diagnosis, and superintendents permitted sick children and young adults to enroll. Students with latent tubercular infections were among those accepted.

Once these students with latent tuberculosis contracted an infectious disease, their tubercular infection could activate. Indeed, comorbidity or multimorbidity, the simultaneous presence of more than one condition, disease, infection, or illness in an individual, frequently caused student mortality. For instance, during Sherman's 1904 typhoid epidemic, a type of enteric fever, was comorbid with pneumonia. Those students had a 50 percent case fatality ratio.²⁵⁹ Nonetheless, students fell ill throughout the year. Many recovered and returned to work

²⁵⁷ Mercer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 432; Kvasnicka and Viola, eds., *Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977*, 222.

²⁵⁸ "Hereditary" and "filth" typify these arguments (Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 132-137).

and school. Some fell ill and could not return to class or school because of their poor, usually tubercular or trachomatous, health. School officials either sent these students home during the year or let them linger in the school hospital until the school year ended.

Archival sources document these latter cases with phrases like “in hospital for most of year.” Superintendents sought to send many of these chronic cases home towards the end of the school year. Low on funds in May and June, the schools would ask parents and guardians to pay the cost of transporting the sick child home despite it being a fiduciary responsibility of the federal government. They hoped that students would convalesce over the summer, absent the strenuous demands of school life, and return to school in the fall. Still, the vast majority of students sent home sick had confirmed tubercular infections or were suspected of having the disease, exhibiting symptoms without a positive diagnosis. They would never return. In total, Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman sent home at least 134 sick children and young adults between July 1, 1904 and June 30, 1905, many of them at the end of the year, while at least twenty-two students died while in federal custody.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ At least six student contracted pneumonia after typhoid. (Ellen Dorman ([Round Valley]), Lillie Edwards ([Round Valley]), Johnnie Powers ([Covelo, CA]), Johnnie Coleman ([Round Valley]), Mamie Alpheus ([Eureka, CA]), Bertha Barber [Bayles, CA]), in Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

²⁶⁰ This practice may have been the most pervasive at Chemawa as the vast majority of sick students could not leave the school until their parents or guardians deposited money at the school. Other students are mislabeled. Jose Flores (Tohono O’odham) is listed as failing to return in Haskell’s matriculation records, but letters reveal he was sick and died at his home after leaving the school (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, 239, NARAKC; H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Pablo Flores, April 17, 1905, 338, in Haskell LS, Box 149, NARAKC). For sick students see Appendix 1. For 1904-1905 deaths in the four schools, see: Carlisle (5): Carlisle deaths, 1904-1905 (5): Mabel Stack (Alaska Native) [Consumption], in E-1324, 260, James Wolfe (Sac & Fox) [Hemorrhages], in E-1324, 259, Lucy Spaulding (Alaska Native) [Tuberculosis], in E-1324, 261, Macy Ellen (Umpqua) [Tuberculosis], in E-1328, Box 5, Delia Williams (Saginaw Chippewa) [Unknown], in E-1324, 262, NARADC; Chemawa (7): Englebert Smithers (Alaska Native) [Tubercular meningitis] and Viola Anderson ([Paiute]) [Meningitis acute], in Chemawa Indian School, CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS; Tilly Nappo (Shoshone) [Pneumonia], in J. Nywening, M.D., School Physician to Mr. Chalcraft, February 26, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2173, NARAS; Seth Van Pelt (Chetco) [Tuberculosis], in Dr. J. Nywening, School Physician

Physicians prescribed for tubercular infections similar treatments they had for typhoid. The X-ray revolutionized the diagnosis of tuberculosis as early as 1896.²⁶¹ The machines allowed physicians to “see” into patients’ lungs. In boarding schools, these machines were too costly. Instead, doctors relied on prophylactic measures of observation, monthly weighing, and auscultation of the lungs to make diagnoses. This may account for them letting latent cases into the school. When a student was positive or suspected for tuberculosis, doctors furnished them with a combination of therapies, none of which would cure the disease. Doctors often prescribed bedrest, sleeping on screen porches, and medications. Acetanilide, ammonium chloride, belladonna tinctures, colocynth, creosote, gentian, guaiac ammoniated tincture, opium, sassafras oil, wild cherry, and syrups of iodide of iron, hypophosphites of lime, soda, and potash, and squill were among the supplies available to boarding school physicians and known to have treated phthisis, scrofula, and consumption.²⁶²

to Mr. Campbell, Asst. Supt., June 16, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2538, NARAS; Viola Jones (Tulalip), J.W. Jones to Mr. Chalcraft, January 17, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2175, NARAS; Jesse Johnson (Tlingit) [Tuberculosis; died on way home], in Joshua Johnson to W.F. Campbell, January 24, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1483, NARAS, Louisa Newton (Klickitat), Charles Newton to Edwin L. Chalcraft, April 23, 1905, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1828, NARAS, Nicolai Steptin (Aleut) [Drowned], in P2008, 416, NARAS; Haskell (3): John Little Eyes (Northern Cheyenne) [Quick Consumption]; Sophia Webster (Wisconsin Oneida) [Chorea], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 88, NARAKC, Herbert Horse Chief Eagle (Ponca), in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC; Perris (6): Lillie Edwards (Round Valley), Mateo Coutts (Rincon Band of Luiseño), Dan [Johnnie] Edwards (Round Valley), Mamie Alphas (Klamath), John Powers (Wailaki), and George Summers [Summersall] (Pomo), in Harwood Hall, Superintendent, to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1904, 328 in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Nancy Lawrence (Tejon) [Pneumonia following measles], in Keller, ““In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness,”” 109-110; Harry Seonia (Laguna Pueblo) [Pneumonia], in Hall, Supt. to Jose Seonta, July 26, 1904 telegram, in Sherman Institute, Box 107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, 24, NARAR

²⁶¹ Burnham, *Health Care in America*, 152

²⁶² *King’s American Dispensatory*, 1:11-13, 178, 331-339, 586-587, 616. 2:925-926, 960, 1388-1389, 1585, 1731, 1885, 1891-1893, 1897, 1903; “Abstract of proposals received and contracts awarded in St. Louis, Mo., under advertisement of March 13, 1905, for furnishing supplies, etc., for the Indian Service,” in *ARCIA*, 1905, 166-184.

Desiring to remove consumptives, knowing that reservations had limited capacity for medical care and treatment, and having no place to treat a growing population of consumptive patients, Commissioner Leupp continued his predecessor's call to establish tuberculosis sanatoria for Indigenous patients.²⁶³ A sanitarium would, Leupp hoped, "insure to the unfortunates the special care and the chance for recuperation which is their due, as well as the school needed to fit them for the serious business of life, instead of being sent home to serve as centers of infection for both their own people and the whites of the neighborhood."²⁶⁴ Congress, however, delayed funding for any such institutions and the first sanatorium for Native Americans would not begin construction until 1909.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Francis E. Leupp to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in *ARCIA*, 1905, 14-15.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Trennert, "Federal Government and Indian Health in the Southwest," 66-67.

Chapter 6: Epidemics and Interventions, 1905-1912

Medical advancements in knowledge about disease etiology, improved sanitary practices, and more effective treatments worked to reduce mortality in the United States generally by 1905, but Congress and the Indian Office left Indian peoples behind. Still, the tide was turning. Concern with public health in the previous century had spurred more concerned effort at public health among Native Americans, especially those in schools. The Indian Office continued its crusade against diseases. Although mortality rates had plateaued from the early boarding school era, they were still above normal. Factors causing sickness and death had become systemic and chronic. Inadequate appropriations, overcrowding, poor conditions, and sickness that had become entrenched in boarding schools over the past twenty-five years. Indian Office policies went unheeded by agents and superintendents. Superintendents also continued to conceal conditions from their supervisors. Congress persisted in its general apathy towards the institutions and appropriated meagerly in 1905. That year, the legislative body cut boarding school appropriations by over \$100,000.¹ This decreased school maintenance budgets and the care schools provided to students in their custody. Being confined in dangerous spaces, students continued to fall ill in large numbers.

At Sherman, the students went from “practically barefoot” in August 1905 to “entirely without shoes” by October, while in the dining hall, the school’s lack of utensils forced students to eat with their fingers.² Unsurprisingly, sicknesses were common. Hall sent one student home

¹ Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 1; Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 46.

² Fanny D. Hall and Joseph [Illeg.], August 9, 1905, 131, and Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 11, 1905, 265-266, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

in December 1905. By the time the boy reached Riverside, just a few miles away, it became apparent that he could not make it home on his own. Hall called in an ambulance to bring the boy to his home.³ The boy eventually made it home, but his ultimate fate remains unknown. The school should not have sent such an ill child home without assistance.

Much less is known about the other schools in the fall of 1905 because the relevant records have been lost or destroyed. Still, extant sources reveal that in August 1905, Mary Smokalem, a Puyallup student at Chemawa, succumbed to an illness there.⁴ The next month, Pratt sent two Alaska Native students suffering from tuberculosis back to their homes.⁵

In the spring, Sherman was again tight on supplies, and children and young adults continued acquiring infections. In March, the girls went without underwear and “the children were suffering from the cold.”⁶ Quantifying the impact of inadequate supplies on student health is impossible given the scant extant sources during this period. Still, exposure and insufficient clothing left students more vulnerable to infection. And, some fell ill. Sampson Burns of Laguna Pueblo died from “brain trouble” the same month that Hall reported children and young adults “suffering from the cold.” Hall apparently sent other students home sick as he had exhausted the annual transportation allocation by March and he petitioned the Indian Office for additional appropriations.⁷ Less is known about the other schools during this time.

³ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1905, 321-322, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

⁴ Mary Smokalem (Puyallup), in Geo. T. Reid to E.L. Chalcraft, Supt., August 8, 1905 telegram, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2414, NARAS.

⁵ Burton Sydney (Tsimshian) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 1, Folder 1, James Keith (Tsimshian) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 1, Folder 5, NARADC.

⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 9, 1906, 396-398, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

Several Carlisle students became so ill that Pratt and the physician sent home sick, multiple students every month between January and June 1906.⁸ The cause of their failing health remains unknown. Then, at the end of the school year, six more students departed with tubercular infections.⁹ At least two of these students died within one month of leaving.¹⁰ Haskell's records reveal several students the school "dropped" in the middle of the year before their time of enrollment had expired that spring. Following the familiar pattern, these students may have been sent home sick or failed to return on account of their illness.¹¹ Chemawa sent home at least seven students that spring and by June and July, the school received reports that students sent home had died.¹² Meanwhile, an unnamed student died of heart failure at Sherman before July 17, 1906.¹³

⁷ Hall, Supt. to Jesse Burns, March 1, 1906 telegram, 125, in RG75, Sherman Institute, Circulars Received, 3/15/1905-6/30/1909, Box 107, NARAR [hereafter Sherman Circulars Received, Box #]; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1906, 414, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

⁸ For examples, see: Lucy George (Western Shoshone), in E-1329, Box 6, Ida May Sawyer (Sisseton Wapeton Oyate), in E-1329, Box 8, Ada Kicks the Iron (Standing Rock Oyate), in E-1329, Box 7, in Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC. See also Appendix 1.

⁹ For examples, see: Mabel Hood (Klamath) [Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving], in E-1329, Box 4. Fred Doxtator (Wisconsin Oneida) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 21, Folder 464, Thomas Walton (Tlingit) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 127, Folder 2598, and Anthony [Antonio] Yellow Bull (Sicangu Lakota Oyate) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 38, Folder 927, John Deloria (Hunkpati Dakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 38, Folder 946, Moses L. Elkhorn (Kul Wicasa Oyate) [Tuberculosis], in E-1328, Box 1, NARADC.

¹⁰ See Appendix 3.

¹¹ Haskell's records are split between matriculation files, student files, and letters sent and received. They all contribute to the story of health, but because there is no overlap between the sources, it becomes apparent that many documents have been destroyed or lost. All of these sicknesses can be found in Haskell Matriculation Records. See also Appendix 1.

¹² See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

¹³ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 17, 1906, 32, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

That institutional records are so bad as to make the Indigenous lives lost in them illegible is not particularly surprising given the institutions' lack of attention to their wards.

A partial count from extant archival materials reveals that the four schools sent home at least forty-five students during the 1905-1906 school year.¹⁴ Students sent home sick had a number of diagnoses ranging from chronic enuresis, or bedwetting, to tubercular infections. The physicians rejected some of these students as soon as they arrived at the schools. Others came to school healthy, contracted an illness, and went home sick months or years after initially enrolling.¹⁵ A few of them departed in such bad health that they died before reaching home.¹⁶

Another sixteen students died at the four schools during this fiscal year. The causes were varied, including both accidental drowning and scarlet fever, but the majority died from tubercular infections.¹⁷ It was a seemingly less lethal year than the previous five years when the

¹⁴ See Appendix 1. Forty-six Haskell students are listed as failed to return on June 30, 1906 alone, some of which may have been unwell (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, NARAKC); Sherman (1): Unnamed boy (NTL), in Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1905, 321, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR.

¹⁵ Some students are listed in the school's records as "rejected." Because schools had differing bookkeeping practices have different accounting practices, rejected students may be listed as dropped, failed to return, or ill health. In these situations, students who were sent home from the school within one months may be considered rejected. See, for example: Emma Jamerson (Seneca) [Only there 4 days], in E-1328, Box 5, Grace Bell Scott (Hupa), in E-1327, Box 50, Folder 1257, Nancy Metoxen (Wisconsin Oneida), in E-1327, Box 53, Folder, 1320, NARADC.

¹⁶ For students who died on the way home or shortly thereafter, see: Edward Thompkins (Klamath) [Tuberculosis; died "en route"], in E-1328, Box 6, Mabel Hood (Klamath) [Died soon after arriving home], in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Fred Toby ([Lummi]) [Lung trouble; Died at home within one year of leaving], in Ed J Warbus to Supt. Chalcraft, July 7, 1906, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2325, NARAS. See also Appendix 3.

¹⁷ For deaths at the schools for the 1905-1906 fiscal year, see: Carlisle (7): Ephriam Alexander (Inuit) [Tuberculosis; Died on outiung], in E-1324, 264, in E-1328, Box 1, Nora Printup (Seneca) [Drowned], in E-1328, Box 6, Edward Angalook (Inuit) [Tuberculosis], in E-1324, 265, Lottie Sireech (Northern Ute), in E-1324, 268, Albert Williams (Seneca) [Scarlet Fever in Philadelphia], Pariscovia Fiedoff (Aleut), in E-1328, Box 5, Sophia Tetoff (Aleut) [Consumption], in E-1328, Box 6, NARADC; Chemawa (6): Mary Smokalem (Puyallup), in Geo. T. Reid to E.L. Chalcraft, Supt., August 8, 1905 telegram, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2414, NARAS; Frank Walters (Shoshone) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Adolph Olafson (Tlingit), in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1980, NARAS; Delia

school's averaged the death of 16.2 per year. To be sure there are many other factors that influence morbidity, and one year of decreased morbidity and mortality may be an anomaly, may have resulted from better policies, or might have been the result of limited data. Indeed, it appears that the Indian Office's interventions worked to limit contagion when adequately funded and implemented. After all, this was the intention of the public health directives sent by the Indian Affairs commissioners. Still missing and concealed data challenges this analysis.

By the summer of 1906, Sherman's Harwood Hall revived his previous arguments to increase congressional appropriations after decades of inadequate funding. It was apparent to Hall that he could not meet the commissioner's standards given current funding. "[T]he amount allowed per capita for maintenance of Indian children of \$167 is practically the same as allowed ten to fifteen years ago," Hall noted before adding that during the same period expenses had risen approximately 50 percent.¹⁸ Since at least 1898, the Assistant Comptroller of the Treasury Department set that amount as the maximum superintendents could spend per student per year, but warned "[Superintendents] are not authorized to go to the limit unless it is necessary to do so."¹⁹ Meanwhile, conditions at Sherman deteriorated. Ten days later, Hall hurried to local stores

Haight (Klamath) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Joseph Towersap (Northern Shoshone) [Tuberculosis], in CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS; Rosa Burns (Coos) [Hemoptysis], in CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS; Haskell (3): Herbert Horse Chief Eagle (Ponca), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 84, NARAKC; John Little Eyes (Northern Cheyenne) [Quick consumption], in Haskell Student Files, Box 71, NARAKC; Sophia Webster (Wisconsin Oneida) [Chorea], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1902, 88, NARAKC; Sherman (2): Sampson Burns (Laguna Pueblo), in Hall, to Burns, March 1, 1906 telegram, 125, in Sherman Circulars Received, Box 107, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 17, 1906, 32, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁸ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1906, 151-152, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁹ Assistant Comptroller, September 17, 1898, in Robert S. Person, Auditor to Superintendents of Indian Schools, February 6, 1905, in RG75, Haskell LS, Box 165, NARAKC.

to purchase provisions to feed students as the school had run out of essential foods.²⁰ Several students became critically ill at the end of the summer. The nursing staff was not up to the challenge, and Hall asked the commissioner to send more competent nurses.²¹

In the fall, the Indian Office continued issuing directives aimed at safeguarding student health and remedying deplorable school conditions, including one encouraging the discontinuation of bath tubs, a known source of contagion in the schools, and replacing them with showers.²² The Indian Office also hired physicians to thoroughly examine student health and sanitary conditions in the schools. The collective mass of circulars indicates that the two most important topics to the Indian Office were student health and finances.²³ Still, there was only one physician per every 776.5 enrolled Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman students.²⁴ In 1906 there were 134,688 physicians in the United States, a rate of 158 doctors per 100,000 people.²⁵ These four schools had a rate nearly 30 doctors fewer, whereas Indian reservations had significantly worse ratios. Indigenous peoples, who had among the highest rates of disease in the United States, had the fewest doctors. Healthcare improves where investments

²⁰ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 10, 1906, 162, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 23, 1906, 281, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²² Circular No. 139, in Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 3, 1906, 88, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²³ See M1121 and RG75, Records of the Education Division, "Circulars issued by the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1899–1908," E-719, NARADC.

²⁴ "Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907," in *ARCIA, 1907*, 162-171. Each school had one physician.

²⁵ Rashi Fein, *The Doctor Shortage: An Economic Diagnosis* (Washington, D.C: The Brookings Institution, 1967), 66.

are made. As measured by physician rates, healthcare disparities are indicative of the federal government's prioritization of Indian health.

Despite the circulars, schools remained unsanitary due to conditions imposed by superintendents and congressional underfunding. Hall's fears of an epidemic did not stop him from continuing to chronically crowd Sherman. More than 500 students squeezed into a dining hall designed for only 300.²⁶ Bathtubs remained in use at Sherman in the fall of 1906.²⁷ In September, the cold storage failed and meat and other produce spoiled.²⁸ Then the doctor diagnosed an unnamed student with typhoid fever.²⁹ Reporting the conditions to the Commissioner and recalling the deadly typhoid epidemic of 1904, Hall admitted, "we are in constant dread all the time of an epidemic of that kind breaking out on account of the overcrowded condition of the Mess Hall in every respect."³⁰ Apparently, administrators successfully isolated the typhoid case, as no other reports of typhoid exist that year. Presumably, the patient recovered. Still, children and young adults were again barefoot in October. Hall made an emergency purchase to "hide the pupils nakedness" and shoes for "One hundred and ten of the older pupils [who] were destitute as regards shoes."³¹ Later that month, the school had "several

²⁶ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1906, 149-150, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁷ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 3, 1906, 88, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁸ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 24, 1906, 189-190, Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 11, 1906, 264-266, Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

very critical cases” of pneumonia and other diseases in the hospital.³² Generally when conditions worsened, diseases increased.

Meanwhile, student resistance continued. Hundreds of students fled Carlisle and Haskell or ran away while on outing.³³ Parental resistance continued as well. As parents contested the school’s handling of sick students and how they notified families, school administrators continued accepting students without parental consent. Two Iowa parents successfully got their children back from Haskell in April 1905 after officials took them to school without consent.³⁴ In May of 1906, one Oglala Lakota parent, W.E. Hudspeth, took his concerns directly to the president of the United States. Hudspeth sent a telegram to Theodore Roosevelt to get his seventeen-year-old daughter Myrtle returned from school after Haskell recruiters took her away without her father’s permission.³⁵ Threats of force and violence sometimes materialized. In 1905 and 1906, some Hopi villages were withholding their children from school and the Indian agent, Theodore Lemmon, sent police officers to arrest the leaders of the protest.³⁶ Lemmon’s force found resistant Hopis in a kiva on Second Mesa. He threatened them with chemical warfare if they failed to come out and turn themselves over, bringing ammonia and formaldehyde to the

³² Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 23, 1906, 281, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

³³ Haskell and Carlisle’s records for desertions are the best during this time period (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, NARAKC and E-1328, in E-1329, NARADC).

³⁴ Louisa Brien (Iowa) and Jefferson Green (Iowa), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 241, NARAKC.

³⁵ W.E. Hudspeth to The President, May 12, 1906 telegram, in Haskell LR, Box 141, NARAKC.

³⁶ Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 104.

March 1906 raid.³⁷ The Hopis surrendered after a hand-to-hand struggle, which resulted in at least one death.³⁸ In his final report to the Indian Affairs commissioner, Lemmon admitted to one homicide.³⁹ Two days after the struggle, Lemmon returned to the village to parley with the Hopis while giving a police captain the order that if he heard shooting “to call up all the men and not stop killing as long as there was a living Hopi man in the village.”⁴⁰ Although generally unopposed to education, Native American parents continued to resist government officials taking their children far from their homes and communities. Ultimately, federal officials sentenced several Hopi children and adults to forced labor in boarding schools, including at Sherman. Another eleven Hopi prisoners arrived at Carlisle in January 1907, among them the eventual 1912 Stockholm Olympics 10,000-meter silver-medalist Louis Tewanima.⁴¹ They remained at Sherman for a five-year-term.⁴²

The Hopi prisoners arrived at Carlisle to face conditions reminiscent of past decades. Some boarding school students continued to come voluntarily with parental consent. Others

³⁷ Theo G. Lemmon to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 16, 1906, in Peter M. Whiteley, “The Orayvi Split: A Hopi Transformation, Part 11: The Documentary Record,” *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers* 87 (2008), 977.

³⁸ [Theodore Lemmon] to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 20, 1906, in Whiteley, “Oraybi Split,” 982.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 987.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 985.

⁴¹ Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 84; Whiteley, *Delibreate Acts*, 114-116; Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, “Marathoner Louis Tewanima and the Continuity of Hopi Running, 1908-1912,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43:3 (Autumn 2012), 329, 339-340.

⁴² Ta-wa-hong-yio-ma (Hopi) from Oraibi requested that the incarcerated students be returned in 1911. Carlisle Superintendent Moses Friedman, using the “rules of the Indian Office” rejected this request until their enrollment ended in June 1912 (C.F. Hauke, Second Assistant Commissioner to Ta-wa-hong-yio-ma, June 9, 1911, in E-121: Central Classified Files, 1907-1939, Carlisle CCF, Box 24, Folder 41367-1911-Carlisle-820, NARADC [hereafter [School] CCF, Box #, Folder]).

came as the result of force, punishment, and capture. Regardless of how they came to the schools, they suffered abnormally high rates of infection, as conditions remained dangerously unsanitary. Some students received less care than they required. In Kansas, Haskell's superintendent sent Mamie Valley (Western Shoshone) home sick in late May to Owyhee, Nevada with an undisclosed illness. Mamie's condition was bad enough that the train conductor "was so alarmed at her appearance that he himself called the doctor for her when they arrived here."⁴³ Peairs admitted to Cora Taber, a white woman from Elko County, Nevada, writing on behalf of the girl's mother, "When we did send her, we knew that she was in a very weak condition, and that it was somewhat risky to send her the long distance alone." Nevertheless, the physician approved Mamie's travel.⁴⁴ Peairs concluded, "I felt sure that her mother [Annie] would rather have her come home than to stay here and die. My experience has been that parents almost invariably prefer to have their children sent home when their health fails."⁴⁵ Taber responded by blaming Peairs for keeping the likely tubercular girl in school so long: "You said that the disease appeared very shortly after she arrived there last fall, seven or eight months ago; she was not sent home until it had reached the last stages and she had very little chance for her life."⁴⁶ She used his logic against him: "As you say, parents almost invariably prefer to have their children sent home when their health fails, and I certainly think that you should have obeyed her mother's requests (she tells me that she wrote you twice asking for Mamie's return) and sent her

⁴³ Cora E. Tabor to H.B. Peairs, June 5, 1907, 2, in Haskell SCF, Box 21, Folder Students-Haskell, 1907-11 [2 of 2], NACPR.

⁴⁴ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Cora E. Taber, June 10, 1907, 2, in Haskell SCF, Box 21, Folder Students-Haskell, 1907-11 [2 of 2], NACPR.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Cora E. Taber to H.B. Peairs, June 18, 1907, 1 in Haskell SCF, Box 21, Folder Students-Haskell, 1907-11 [2 of 2], NACPR.

home at the onset.”⁴⁷ Tabor urged Peairs to keep parents more informed and to defer to their wishes: “[Mamie’s mother Annie] only knows that she is [Mamie] apparently beyond help, that many others have died at the school, and she wants the other girl [Maud] to come home; and she is certainly the one who should have the say in the matter.”⁴⁸ Peairs ignored the request. He kept Maud at the school until her enrollment ended in 1909.⁴⁹

The month after Mamie went home from Haskell, diphtheria erupted at Sherman but administrators had no anti-toxin, first administered in the United States by New York bacteriologist William H. Park before 1895, to administer to the sick patients.⁵⁰ The school also lacked medicine to address the disease’s most common symptoms: sore throat, fever, swollen lymph nodes, and membranous development on tonsils. Meanwhile, some Sherman students were without shoes and overalls.⁵¹ Apparently, Hall and the doctor limited the severity of the outbreak, and no students are recorded as having died at Sherman that year. Yet, extant records do not indicate if they sent any students home ill from the epidemic. And, several of these diphtheria cases may have become tubercular.

From an incomplete collection of sources, sickness and death at Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman reached a relative low in the 1906-1907 school year. Twenty Indigenous children and young adults died at them, while they sent home fifty-two ill students.⁵² The

⁴⁷ Tabor to Peairs, June 18, 1907, 1-2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁹ Maud Valley (Western Shoshone), in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 390, NARAKC.

⁵⁰ For antitoxin, see: William H. Park, “Use of Diphtheria Antitoxin in the Treatment and Prevention of Diphtheria,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* XXIV:15 (April 14, 1900), 903.

⁵¹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 25, 1907, 4, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

evidence of normalizing death rates suggests that the public health regulations imposed by Jones and Leupp limited disease compared to the more lethal prior years.

During this period of relative health, reported boarding school disease and death rates dropped below the national average, but not to the age-adjusted rate. The general death rate that year in the United States was approximately 16 per 1,000 and around 5.7 per 1,000 for white youth between the ages of 15 and 24.⁵³ Although it may be due to missing data and shielding deaths by sending students home to die, death rates at the schools ranged between 1.78 and 18.40 deaths per 1,000 attending students.⁵⁴

Given the perils of attending the boarding schools, Indigenous communities continued resisting attempts to take their children to them. Many communities feared losing their children

⁵² See Appendix 1; Nettie Wicks (Klamath) “Died enroute” to her home, though is not listed as leaving ill (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 323, NARAKC). I consider her ill, having died while still not under the jurisdiction of her agent. For deaths in the schools for the 1906-1907 fiscal year, see: Carlisle (3): John Phillips (Mohawk) [Unknown], in E-1328, Box 3, Alfred Jackson (Seneca) [Unknown], in E-1329, Box 5, Clarissy Winnie (Seneca) [Unknown], in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Chemawa (9): James Flemming (Aleut) [Unknown], P2008, 214, NARAS; Sarah Smith (Siletz) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Nellie Sanderson (Hupa/Modoc) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Louis Scott (Shasta) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Elmer Burt ([Wailaki]) [Unknown], Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2741 in Ira Burt, NARAS; Walter Burt ([Wailaki]) [Unknown], Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2741 in Ira Burt, NARAS; Charles Fiester ([Klamath]) [Gunshot wound head], Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1796, NARAS; Barry Jeff (Yucca) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Oscar Bowie (Hupa) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Haskell (6): Paul A. Primeau (Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate) [Unknown], Richard Jack Rabbit (Crow) [Unknown], Patrick Levaie (Turtle Mountain Chippewa) [Unknown], Ablecio Sena (Diné) [Unknown], Sadie Miles (Miami) [Inflammatory rheumatism/heart trouble], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, 188, 260, 309, 370, 392, NARAKC; Haskell Student Files, Box 80, NARAKC; Romando Chavez (Pueblo) [Drowned], in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 22, NARAKC; Sherman ([0]): Unnamed student [Heart failure] The student likely died their previous school year, but it was reported at the beginning of this fiscal year. They were counted in the previous year. Sherman Cemetery’s memorial stone lists Adam Nakhaha (Hopi) as having died this year, but records indicate he died in 1908.

⁵³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Statistics, 1907* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1909), 28. See Appendix 4.

⁵⁴ Chemawa was the only school exceeding national averages that year. For boarding school average attendances, used in calculation see: “Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907,” in *ARCIA, 1907*, 162-171.

to disease. One Carlisle student sent home sick in 1907, George Two Moons (Northern Cheyenne), died soon after arriving home. His father complained directly to the Indian Affairs commissioner. First, Two Moons noted that his son had been taken without his consent. Then, “while in school at Carlisle my son [George] became sick and came back and died here.”⁵⁵ Moreover, many Northern Cheyenne people “are complaining that their children were stolen from them and taken away to school.” Two Moons accused the Commissioner of being responsible for his son’s kidnapping and death: “is [it] with your consent that our agent steals our children away from us to take them off to school.”⁵⁶ There were likely other parents with similar sentiments, but surviving boarding school records contain few such voices. William J. Oliver, the Zuni superintendent, warned Peairs on June 3, 1907 that the Diné “are a little afraid of Haskell on account of the children getting sick there.”⁵⁷ To overcome resistance, superintendents and agents resorted to force and coercion. Commissioner Leupp still authorized force to gather students to fill school enrollments. A Native American child, he said, “must go to school ... whether he likes it or not. And if he then still does not listen to the words of the Government, we send the policeman or the soldier to show him that we mean business.”⁵⁸ To maximize enrollments, Leupp used both the carrot and the stick. Just weeks later, in a circular to superintendents, he suggested that by giving parents the choice between day, public, or mission schools, agents might be able to stop the policies of “withholding moneys and ... other harsh

⁵⁵ Two Moons to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, [September 11, 1907], in Carlisle CCF, Box 21, Folder 75323, NARADC.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Oliver to Peairs, June 3, 1907, in Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 192.

⁵⁸ *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Chilocco, OK: U.S. Indian School, 1907), 54.

measures to enforce attendance at the boarding schools.”⁵⁹ While visiting Los Angeles days later, Leupp reiterated the stick. The “red man,” he said, “should be taught to work and then compelled to work or starve.”⁶⁰ His policy would undergo various modifications in the coming months and years.

Leupp’s speeches and nationwide tour marked the beginning of the protracted decline of off-reservation Native American boarding schools. Though they still approved of the large schools, like Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman, Leupp and the Indian Office had grown tired of the expense of off-reservation schools and Indigenous resistance to them. On a hot, one-hundred-degree day in Los Angeles, Commissioner Leupp announced to a crowd, “the non-reservation school is doomed. As fast as it is possible to do so, they are to be eliminated, with the possible exception of four or five, which may be necessary for some time to come.” Ultimately, the schools had not produced the results the Indian Office wanted: “these Indian ‘universities’ have been the curse of the Indian service for years. They have swallowed millions of money and produced a few remarkably capable Indians, who are the examples pictures and extolled by the institutions.”⁶¹ Leupp thus began the slow decline of off-reservation Native American boarding schools in 1907. Although this moment was a turning point for the boarding school system and specifically the smaller off-reservation boarding schools, nothing changed for Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman as the Indian Office remained supportive of these large institutions.

⁵⁹ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Indian Agents and Superintendents, Education Circular No. 161, July 1 1907, M1121, Reel 9.

⁶⁰ *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1907, II:4.

⁶¹ NOAA, “Climatological Data for Los Angeles Downtown Area, Ca (ThreadEx)- July 1907,” *NOAA Online Weather Data: NOWDATA*, <https://w2.weather.gov/climate/xmacis.php?wfo=lox>; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 6, 1907, 7.

During the 1907-1908 school year, conditions at the four schools remained largely unchanged. Under Leupp's conflicting orders, some superintendents overfilled classrooms, knowing that whether or not they had proper consent forms they could point to the commissioner's words in defense. With active public health interventions from the Indian Office, disease and death rates seemed to plateau during the first decade of the twentieth century. Still, limited appropriations, even if larger than in the previous year, blunted the positive impacts of Indian Office regulations aimed at improving student health.⁶² At the same time, superintendents sought to increase their funding by overcrowding and negotiating for increased appropriations to enlarge school plants. Their hunger for more students was insatiable. Because increased appropriations of the magnitude superintendents requested never came and enrollments already exceeded capacity by forty students, superintendents turned to minimizing costs while maximizing enrollments.⁶³

A month after Sherman's diphtheria epidemic, Sherman Superintendent Hall again petitioned to raise the appropriation levels per student. In July 1907, he warned the commissioner, "Supplies of all kinds have advanced greatly, and in fact \$167 per pupil is not

⁶² For appropriations, see: Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1906, in *ARCIA, 1906*, 63; Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1907, in *ARCIA, 1907*, 49. Chemawa and Carlisle were not overcrowded according to published statistics ("Statistics as to Indian schools for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908," in *ARCIA, 1908*, 168-171, 176-177).

⁶³ "Statistics as to Indian schools for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908," in *ARCIA, 1908*, 156-157, 163. Although there is no data available for this year, superintendents failed to spend all of the money allocated for them, sending the unused portion of Congressional appropriations back to the U.S. Treasury (For 1908-1909 data, see: "Statement of appropriations for Indian Service for fiscal year ended June 30, 1909, with unexpended balances," in *ARCIA, 1909*, 120, 156-157, 163. For enrollments and capacity: "Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended, June 30, 1908," in *ARCIA, 1908*, 168-171, 176-177 (Carlisle's excess capacity, a number that enrollments never reached, blunts the extent of over enrollment at the other schools).

sufficient and I ask that \$175 per pupil for 550 pupils be recommended.”⁶⁴ This was the fourth consecutive year that students in Hall’s custody were barefoot or nearly naked.⁶⁵ Appropriations remained unchanged.

Parsimonious congressional appropriations and calls for economical use of allocations, forced superintendents to find creative ways to save money. Superintendents kept students longer than their enrollment terms to avoid paying the train fare for returning students home. Parents continually wrote to schools asking for their children.⁶⁶ The problem became so pervasive that Leupp issued a circular to all nonreservation school superintendents explaining that the transportation fund “must be used to return pupils as well as to bring them.” He then ordered, “There must be no holding of children past their contract time.”⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the more insidious policy of superintendents encumbering Indigenous students and families with costs for

⁶⁴ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 10, 1907, 25, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

⁶⁵ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1903, 71, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1904, 277 and Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1904, 275, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall and Joseph [Illeg.], August 9, 1905, 131, and Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 11, 1905, 265-266, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 11, 1906, 264-266, Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

⁶⁶ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 51. Holding students after their enrollment ended was routine, although evidence is limited. For five examples of students held after their enrollment ended, see: Fred C. Morgan, Superintendent to Edwin L. Chalcraft, Superintendent Chemawa Indian Training School, February 1, 1911, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 20, Folder 2810, NARAS; F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1914, 64-67, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; MGA, Superintendent to Anita J. Kinsman, May 22, 1917, in Sherman Student Files, Box 89, NARAR; Quoyowyma to Supt. Sherman Institute, September 14, 1919, in Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 8, 1919, in Sherman CCF, Box 23, Folder 218, NARAR; Florence Banimka to Supt. Conser, September 7, 1928, in Sherman Student Files, Box 23, NARAR.

⁶⁷ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Nonreservation School Superintendents, Education Circular No. 165, August 26, 1907, M1121, Reel 9. Underline original.

transportation (for sick students), food, clothing, and medicine, costs which were legally the responsibility of the federal government, persisted.

Up to this point, Carlisle, Chemawa, and Haskell had lost buildings to fires. An August 1907 fire of unknown origin in Haskell's main school building destroyed nearly all school records, yet some matriculation records survived.⁶⁸ As institutions containing several hundred or even a thousand children and young adults, fires posed an acute danger. Fire safety, then, was necessary to limit destruction and safeguard lives. The previous year, the commissioner estimated that the Indian Office lost \$50,000 yearly to fires, noting the loss of three school buildings, and celebrating that no lives had been lost to fires.⁶⁹ Still, for students escaping during a fire could be perilous. Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman all had jail cells or other places of confinement for students.⁷⁰ Runaways, returned in handcuffs to the institutions they tried to flee, often found themselves imprisoned there.⁷¹ Further, employees secured the doors and windows of the girls' dormitories with bars and locks. In May 1906, Haskell's superintendent insisted to the acting commissioner that "it is found necessary to keep the

⁶⁸ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to Emma Loomis, August 10, 1907, in Haskell SCF, Box 10, Folder Fire-1907 School, NARAKC; Shawnee to Meserve, August 18, 1925, in Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 1, Folder Robert A. Agosa, NARAKC.

⁶⁹ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Agents & Bonded Superintendents, March 15, 1905, Education Circular No. 118, in Sherman, Circulars Received, Box 107, NARAR.

⁷⁰ Louellyn White, "Who Gets to Tell the Stories? Carlisle Indian School: Imagining a Place of Memory Through Descendant Voices," *Journal of American Indian Education* 57:1 (Spring 2018), 127-128; Emma C. Troutman to Edwin L. Chalcraft, February 17, 1910, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3198, NARAS; EP, Superintendent to Rolin Brown, August 17, 1917, in Haskell Student Files, Box 16, Folder Joe Brown, NARAKC; John Hiyi to Supt. F. M. Conser, May 23, 1914 and FMC-GF, Superintendent to John Hiyi, May 28, 1914, in Sherman Student Files, Box 151, Folder Harry Hiyi, NARAR.

⁷¹ In one case, the arresting officer shot at a fleeing boy who he had been trying to apprehend with handcuffs (Marie Johnson, Field Matron to Supt. Edwin L. Chalcraft, February 25, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2206, NARAS). For another example, see: F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 2, 1914, 300-301, Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

windows connecting with the fire escapes in the girls' building closed and barred to that they cannot be opened from either side to prevent the possibility of boys entering at night."⁷² The commissioner, however, rejoined, "This is dangerous and might prove fatal in a panic as escape would be possible only by breaking through a window."⁷³ Indeed, escape in a frantic situation may have been difficult or even impossible.

While Haskell's fire was accidental, others were set intentionally. As students did at Carlisle, they set fire to their dormitories and other school buildings, perhaps thinking that if the school burned, they would be able to leave. In May 1906, tragedy struck the Menominee school as two girls, Lizzie Cardish and Louisa LaMotte, set fire to and destroyed a dormitory building. No deaths resulted, but a United States District Court in Oshkosh, Wisconsin indicted the students for arson.⁷⁴ That court sentenced one girl to life imprisonment at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas after she changed her plea to guilty. The United States District Attorney dropped the charges against the other young woman.⁷⁵ In reporting the sentence to school superintendents, the acting commissioner, C.F. Larrabee, boasted, "The punishment for the crime was very severe," and cautioned that "this Office will not tolerate crimes of this character."⁷⁶ Finally, Larrabee ordered the superintendents to print the story of the buildings burning and the sentence in their school newspapers to serve as "a warning to all pupils in Indian schools throughout the

⁷² Peairs, in C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to The Superintendent, Haskell Institute, May 21, 1906, 2, in Haskell LR, Box 141, NARAKC.

⁷³ Larrabee to Superintendent, May 21, 1906, 2, in Haskell LR, Box 141, NARAKC.

⁷⁴ C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to The Superintendent, Haskell Institute, June 26, 1906, in Haskell LR, Box 141, NARAKC.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

United States.”⁷⁷ A life sentence for a fifteen-year old indicates the seriousness with which the federal government treated the destruction of its property.⁷⁸ The public expressed their outrage and United States President Theodore Roosevelt transmuted her sentence in 1906, and she was transferred to a reform school.⁷⁹ President William Taft then completely commuted her sentence and released her from custody in 1910.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, after Haskell’s fire disease outbreaks continued.

In January 1908, influenza erupted at Haskell. Peairs reported an “unusual number” of influenza, tonsillitis, and pneumonia cases. Over eighty students entered the school hospital that month, at least fifty with pneumonia.⁸¹ Some developed tuberculosis. An unsigned letter following an inspection of the school, worried about the school retaining these students, at least three of whom were hemorrhaging blood from their lungs: “I felt that the lives of all the other patients were menaced, and I asked the nurse why they had not been sent home ... she didn’t know.”⁸² The author, presumably the inspector, concluded, “Mr. Peairs is a friend to me – I wish to be protected in stating this condition to you – but it is not fair to permit such condition to exist when I know them.”⁸³ After Peairs’s neglect became public, he began sending desperately ill tubercular students home.

⁷⁷ Larrabee to Superintendent, June 26, 1906, in Haskell LR, Box 141, NARAKC.

⁷⁸ *The Leavenworth Times* (Leavenworth, Kansas), June 16, 1906, 4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, September 12, 1906, 4.

⁸⁰ Congressional Information Service, *CIS Index to Presidential Executive Orders & Proclamations* (Part 1, Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service, Inc., 1987), 471.

⁸¹ January 1908 entry, in RG75, Records of the Education Division, in E-727, Box 1, “Epidem[ics], 1908,” NARADC; Unsigned letter, in Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC.

⁸² Unsigned letter, in Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Beyond disease, students faced a host of threats to their health and lives. Running away, although dangerous, was a calculated risk that some students were willing to take. As the Red Lake Ojibwe historian Brenda Child astutely concluded, “the decision to desert was a last resort; it was a way of coping with the many inadequacies of the boarding school institution.”⁸⁴ Some successfully made it home. Others got caught. Boarding school superintendents collaborated with military and Indian Office officials, local police, and residents to capture runaway students. Schools paid bounties for the arrest and return of students. Special child handcuffs were made for the small children.⁸⁵ Negligence was also apparent in these operations. The bounties were not authorized or audited by the Indian Office, but still could lead to financial improprieties.

Chemawa students also faced lethal force. In early 1908, Walter E. Haight (Klamath), a twenty-one-year-old Chemawa football player from Crescent City, California, ran away from Chemawa because he wanted to see his sister.⁸⁶ He made it back to California where a Del Norte County sheriff’s deputy caught Walter. As the deputy began to handcuff him, Walter bolted. A foot race ensued and “Walter [was] too fleet on foot for them.”⁸⁷ In response, the sheriff’s

⁸⁴ Brenda Child, “Runaway Boys, Resistant Girls: Rebellion at Flandreau and Haskell, 1900-1940,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 35:3 (Spring 1996), 56.

⁸⁵ Child, “Runaway Boys, Resistant Girls,” 50. For an example from each school of bounty attempts and reimbursements, see: Conser, Supt. to Temeyck, Asst. Chief Police, El Paso, Texas, August 8, 1909 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 172, Folder Gilbert Jara, NARAR; E.L. Shaw, Police Officer of Oregon City, Or to Supt. of Chemawa Indian School, July 27, 1895, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 793, NARAS; P. Williams, Railroad Police, Southern Pacific Co. to Sherman Indian Institute, April 25, 1928, in Sherman Student Files, Box 280 Folder John Patterson, NARAR; Oscar H. Lipps to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1914, in Carlisle CCF, Folder 109368-1914-Carlisle-821, NARADC; Mary Annette Pember, “Tiny Horrors: A Chilling Reminder of How Cruel Assimilation Was — And Is,” *Indian Country Today*, January 1, 2013, https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/tiny-horrors-a-chilling-reminder-of-how-cruel-assimilation-was-and-is-VLKL7I26wUSj4LmZL_YDvw.

⁸⁶ Walter R. Haight to Mr. Chalcraft, February 17, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2206, NARAS; P2008, 228, NARAS.

⁸⁷ John L. Childs to Hon Edwin L. Chalcraft, ND, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2206, NARAS.

officers drew their pistols and “shot at him twice.”⁸⁸ An Indian Office field matron who witnessed the shooting recalled “and it is miraculous how he escaped injury.”⁸⁹ A year earlier, the Chemawa night watchman R.G. Henderson caught students breaking into his store, fired his pistol, and shot fourteen-year-old Charles Fiester (Klamath) in the head, killing him.⁹⁰ In neither of these cases did the gunmen face charges. Violence was another condition of institutional life for Native American boarding school students.

Although disease and death rates had improved since the 1880s and early 1890s, they remained disproportionately high, especially for tuberculosis, and officials took action to address this ongoing problem. Incomplete data suggests that Commissioner Jones made inroads in reducing contagion by establishing public health policies to increase school sanitation. His successor, Frances Leupp, built upon this momentum, but students were still in harm’s way. Leupp believed that he needed more accurate medical data to best organize and marshal his resources. In April, he requested that school physicians report the incidence of tuberculosis by tribe as well as diagnostic procedures, treatments, and prophylactic measures. He charged, “The work heretofore done to check the ravages of tuberculosis among the Indians has of necessity been somewhat irregular and sporadic.”⁹¹ Leupp was assembling the data necessary to organize a centralized Indian Office department to oversee medical affairs.

⁸⁸ Childs to Chalcraft, ND, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2206, NARAS.

⁸⁹ Marie Johnson, Field Matron to Supt. Edwin L. Chalcraft, February 25, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1796, NARAS.

⁹⁰ R.G. Henderson testimony, April 22, 1907, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2206, NARAS.

⁹¹ F.E. Leupp to U.S. Indian Agents and Superintendents, Education Circular No. 209, April 25, 1908, M1121, Reel 9.

Sherman's physician, A.S. Parker, responded that after a tubercular diagnosis the student should be removed from the school. Because the school sent these children home, Parker had no plan for treating the disease. Parker then revealed the extent of tubercular infections at Sherman. That year alone he sent home eight students with tubercular infections, out of a total enrollment of nearly 700 students.⁹² By the end of the 1907-1908 school year, two more students had died at Sherman — Charles Tsosy (Diné) from tubercular meningitis and an John Pablo (Akimel O'otham) from an injury sustained while playing football.⁹³ Tubercular infections continued in students who got the disease after contracting measles, mumps, pneumonia, and other serious infections. Despite attempts to curtail contagion, Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman still contributed to the spread of disease. The schools collectively sent home at least ninety-nine students ill.⁹⁴ Worse, thirteen students died in the four institutions that year, while at least four students died on the way home or soon after arriving there.⁹⁵

⁹² James Lloyd (Mission) [Tuberculosis], Carl Geffe (Inloot) [Tuberculosis; sent to county hospital], Freddy [Not woon tewa] (Hopi) [Tuberculosis; died after returning home], Stanley Brown (Pomo) [Tuberculosis], [Unknown Name] (Mission) [Tuberculosis], Marie Gabriel (Mission) [Tuberculosis], May Jarmillo (Mission) [Hip joint disease], Santos Alvarez (Mission) [Empyema], in A.S. Parker, School Physician to Harwood Hall, Supt. Riverside Indian School, May 7, 1908, 306-307, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; "Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended, June 30, 1908," in *ARCIA, 1908*, 168.

⁹³ Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 23, 1907, 187, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 28, 1908, 302, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; John Pablo (Akimel O'otham) [Football injury], in F.M. Conser, Superintendent to C.L. Ellis, Dist. Supt., in Charge, Mission Indian Agency, February 19, 1931, in Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR.

⁹⁴ See Appendix 1. Seventy-three Haskell students failed to return from leave between June 27-June 30, 1908 alone, some of these were undoubtedly sick. Meanwhile, Chemawa's level of death and historic levels of sickness suggest that missing records cause undercounting.

⁹⁵ For student deaths for the 1907-1908 fiscal year, see: Carlisle (4): Henry Fox (Pawnee), in E-1329, Box 9, Fred War Bonnet (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), in E-1329, Box 10, Claudie Marie (Menominee), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Henry Rose (Inuit) [Tuberculosis], in E-1327, Box 147, NARADC and *The Evening Sentinel*, August 6, 1907, 6; Chemawa (5+): Annie Jessen (Chinook) [Drowned] and Jennie Shutzchagen [Shootshagen] (Chinook) [Drowned], in C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent, Salem

The trip home for sick students could be perilous. Garfield Sitarangok, an Inuit student sent home with pulmonary tuberculosis from Carlisle on May 25, 1908, recounted his journey to Alaska in a letter to the school. After traveling six days and five nights by train to Seattle, the twenty-one-year-old young man boarded a boat. Ice delayed his voyage. Finally, after fifteen days at sea in the North Pacific, he docked at Nome. The twenty-day-long journey was not easy for the sick boy and another young man, Samuel Anaruk (Inupiat or Yup'ik), also returning to Alaska.⁹⁶ Garfield recalled, “not feeling very well when I left [and] the Doctor thought I would never get well.”⁹⁷ Garfield was determined to recover his health: “It looked pretty blue for me for a weeks after I arrived [home], but I kept on saying that I was going to get well ... So my dear friend, Mr. Freidman [sic], I got well, and I am just like a new man!”⁹⁸ Despite the arduous, delayed journey, and contracting a potentially lethal illness, Garfield evaded death and improved

Indian School, July 18, 1907, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2086, NARAS and P2008, 220, Charles Bettles (Aleut) [Tuberculosis], in F.M. Conser, Chief Clerk to Supt. Salem Indian School, March 10, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1985, David Brewer (Puyallup) [Former student?], P2008, 80, NARAS, Hattie Dick Zedlath [Zadlath] (Puyallup), in E.D. Wilcox to Supt Indian School, May 17, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2563, NARAS, John Miles (NTL) [Unknown], Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Haskell (2): Earl McEvers (Potawatomi) [Unknown], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1907-, 68, NARAKC; Tim Little Wolf (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Unknown], in Haskell Matriculation Records, 1907-, 43, NARAKC; Sherman (2): Charles Tsosy (Diné) [Tubercular meningitis], in Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 28, 1908, 302, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR, John Pablo (Akimel O’otham) [Football injury], in F.M. Conser, Superintendent to C.L. Ellis, Dist. Supt., In Charge, Mission Indian Agency, February 19, 1931, in Sherman Student File, Box 275, NARAR.

⁹⁶ C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to Charles H. Dickson, Supervisor in Charge, Indian Industrial School, March 21, 1908 and Moses Friedman, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 3, 1908, in Carlisle CCF, Box 22, Folder 16391-1908-Carlisle-820, NARADC; See also Appendix 2.

⁹⁷ Garfield Sitarangok to M. Freidman [sic], June 3, 1911, 1, in E-1327, Box 1, Folder 43, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC; C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to Charles H. Dickson, Supervisor in Charge, Indian Industrial School, March 21, 1908, in Carlisle CCF, Box 22, Folder 16391-1908-Carlisle-820, NARADC.

⁹⁸ Sitarangok to Freidman [sic], June 3, 1911, 1-2, in E-1327, Box 1, Folder 43, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC.

his health. Going home may not have been a death sentence, but many students never recovered from the illnesses they contracted at boarding schools.

In response to the number of illnesses and deaths in the schools, Leupp began his own campaign against the environmental conditions that spread tuberculosis and other infectious diseases at the boarding schools. In the summer of 1908, he tasked Aleš Hrdlička — the Czech physician and anthropologist, originator of the Bering Strait migration hypothesis, and director of physical anthropology for the Smithsonian — and the bacteriologist Dr. P.B. Johnson with studying tuberculosis among Native American communities. Hrdlička presented his report was at the Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis in October 1908. During the study, his team visited five reservations and one nonreservation boarding school, the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona. The findings were shocking. Tuberculosis morbidity and mortality were higher for Indigenous peoples than for any other demographic in the United States.⁹⁹ Hrdlička estimated that between 3 and 5 percent — “an appalling proportion” — of Indigenous people on the Hupa, Menominee, Mojave, Pine Ridge, and Quinault reservations had phthisis.¹⁰⁰ At Phoenix, he found that the school would be crowded even before it reached maximum capacity. Among the school’s 220 students, even after the school sent a “number” of tubercular students home, he found two positive and five possible tuberculosis cases. This 4.55 percent infection rate was higher than that of all but two of the aforementioned reservations.¹⁰¹ According to Indian Office policy, holding these students was a violation. Hrdlička recounted the case of twenty-eight

⁹⁹ Aleš Hrdlička, “Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States,” *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 42 (1909), 6; Aleš Hrdlička, “Contribution to the Knowledge of Tuberculosis in the Indian,” in *The Southern Workman* [Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia], 37:11 (November 1908), 626.

¹⁰⁰ Hrdlička, “Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States,” 26.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 22, 25.

Tohono O'odham children and young adults who arrived at the school in November 1907, all examined by the school and agency physicians and determined to be healthy. By the end of the year, five had been sent home with poor health, likely tubercular, two of whom died of consumption after going home. He suspected that two others at Phoenix had tuberculosis. They were "showing a gradual failing."¹⁰²

Tuberculosis symptoms varied by the type of infection. In the latent stage there were seemingly few symptoms. In acute cases, also then called quick consumption, Hrdlička found "Fatal termination is almost the rule." In subacute or chronic cases, however, patients would have gradual emaciation, cough, fever, night sweats, and hemorrhaging.¹⁰³ Hrdlička's important study shed light on how students contracted pulmonary tuberculosis. "The actual beginning" of the disease, Hrdlička observed, "is often referred by the Indian patients to an attack of pneumonia, pleurisy, grippe, 'bad cold,' and even measles; an insidious beginning was heard of less frequently."¹⁰⁴ Hrdlička concluded his report by recommending the precautions that boarding school superintendents and physicians should take. First, students should be tested for tuberculosis with the tuberculin test. The test injects tuberculin, a sterile protein extract from a tubercle bacillus, below the skin. A hardening of the skin indicates a positive tubercular diagnosis, but does not indicate the activity or severity of the infection.¹⁰⁵ He advocated not admitting those who tested positive. Second, Hrdlička emphasized that students, especially those of questionable health, needed nourishing food and medical attention. Objects in schools used by

¹⁰² Hrdlička, "Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States," 25.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁵ Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 1201.

many students, including musical instruments, utensils, and faucets, should be regularly disinfected. He recommended that physicians weigh students weekly. Finally, sick students, should immediately be isolated from other students. He cautioned against holding students too long, as “Opportunity is given the child to infect objects with which it comes in contact, and possibly other pupils; it is deprived of a chance of cure, and is sent back at the height of the disease to infect the camp of the family.” For these students, “the results are certain to prove unfortunate.”¹⁰⁶

Hrdlička found were appallingly high tuberculosis rates. Thus, he urged the rapid embrace of his recommendations: “If speedy progress can be effected along the above lines, it is certain that the mortality as well as the morbidity of tuberculosis among the Indians will be much lessened.” Hrdlička warned: “If not, there is nothing to look for except a gradual aggravation of the conditions, and in many places the Indian’s annihilation.”¹⁰⁷ While Hrdlička did not visit Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, or Sherman, his findings at Phoenix were applicable to other boarding schools. His report convinced Commissioner Leupp that more needed to be done to address Native American health, and specifically tuberculosis — what Leupp considered to be “the greatest single menace to the future of the red race.”¹⁰⁸

At the beginning of the 1908-1909 fiscal year, Leupp’s orders and circulars pushed out from the halls of the Indian Office in Washington, D.C. traversing postal routes and telegraph wires across the nation to Native American schools and agencies. The directives represented the commissioner’s attempts to limit unhealthy children and young adults in boarding schools and to

¹⁰⁶ Hrdlička, “Tuberculosis Among Certain Indian Tribes of the United States,” 35.

¹⁰⁷ Hrdlička, “Contribution to the Knowledge of Tuberculosis in the Indian,” 634.

¹⁰⁸ Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1908, in *ARCIA*, 1908, 24.

stop the spread of tuberculosis. Leupp sought to “insure more faithful enforcement of the regulations of the Indian Office against taking from the reservations children who are too young, or mentally deficient, or of weak constitution, or actually diseased, removing them recklessly from one climate into another and mixing them with a horde of other children gathered with equally little discrimination.”¹⁰⁹ He established regional territories for each off-reservation school, forbade coercion and force by recruiters, and gave parents limited discretion over educational options for their children.¹¹⁰ Under the old system of collecting students with indifference to age or health and overcrowding schools, Leupp alleged “a regular system of traffic in these helpless little red people” had developed.¹¹¹ Leupp knew that superintendents combated “appropriations based upon the number of children who can be gathered into them [the schools],” and acknowledged, “in other words, the more children, the more money.”¹¹² Because of this practice, he refused to request increased appropriations from Congress until off-reservation boarding schools lowered their enrollments. “If the attendance is such as to render the present buildings unsanitary,” Leupp encouraged, “the proper remedy if to reduce it to a

¹⁰⁹ Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1908, in *ARCIA, 1908*, 16; F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 216, June 2, 1908, M1121, Reel 9.

¹¹⁰ “Regulations for transfer of pupils to nonreservation schools,” F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 216, June 2, 1908, and “Regulations governing transfer and transportation of pupils to nonreservation schools,” F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Superintendents of Nonreservation Schools, Education Circular No. 217, June 2, 1908, in M1121, Reel 9.

¹¹¹ Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1908, in *ARCIA, 1908*, 16-17.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

number that can healthfully be accommodated.”¹¹³ Despite the orders, Sherman, Haskell, and 155 other Indian schools remained over enrolled that year.¹¹⁴

Leupp’s second proposal was establishing what would become the Indian Medical Service under the leadership of Dr. Joseph A. Murphy.¹¹⁵ The commissioner also issued sanitary directives that fall. After determining that “wind instruments used by pupils in their bands are a fruitful source of [tubercular] infection,” he ordered “prompt measures to see that [the instruments] should not be used by the pupils till subjected to the necessary [disinfection].”¹¹⁶ He sent out instructions on how to disinfect the instruments the following month.¹¹⁷ Next, to determine the extent of tuberculosis in boarding schools, Leupp ordered a health survey of Haskell in October. By November, other circulars ordered the disinfection of books to limit the spread of illness and required better care of supplies to limit “criminal carelessness.”¹¹⁸

¹¹³ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to H.B. Peairs, Supt. Haskell Institute, December 23, 1908, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹¹⁴ “Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1909,” in *ARCIA, 1909*, 168-179.

¹¹⁵ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 15; *Evening Star*, January 22, 1932, 17.

¹¹⁶ “Disinfection of band instruments,” F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 242, September 30, 1908, M1121, Reel 9.

¹¹⁷ “Disinfection of Indian Service band instruments,” C.F. Larrabee, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 242, October 27, 1908, in M1121, Reel 9.

¹¹⁸ “Disinfection of Indian Service Books,” F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and Bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 254, November 18, 1908 and “Criminal carelessness”: “Order and system in arrangement of supplies in warehouse,” F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to U.S. Indian Agents and bonded Superintendents, Education Circular No. 255, November 20, 1908, M1121, Reel 9. The Indian Office sent recommendations to combat spreading tuberculosis to superintendents in December (“Report by Committee on Measures for Combating Tuberculosis,” Jacob Breid, F. Shoemaker, Fred A. Spafford, Committee to Bonded Agents and Superintendents, December 29, 1908, M1121, Reel 9).

An October order dispatched Carlisle physician Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker to Lawrence, Kansas to inspect Haskell.¹¹⁹ Dr. Murphy joined him. Their visit was prompted by an August inspection of the school that revealed, “a very serious condition of affairs that exists [at Haskell] regarding the prevalence of tuberculosis.”¹²⁰ By November, Leupp had the physicians’ report and that of an additional Indian inspector. Collectively, the reports detailed dangerous conditions at the school. Peairs “considerabl[y] overcrowd[ed] the dormitories,” though Murphy attributed this to construction on the dormitories.¹²¹ Still, overcrowding was unhealthy. Amidst the expansion, Peairs packed the boys into tents Murphy described as “deplorable in the extreme.” Meanwhile, the girls slept two to a single bed, “in many cases one infected with tuberculosis, the other healthy,” in inadequately ventilated rooms. The visiting doctors concluded: “such insanitary conditions could only directly favor the spread of this disease.”¹²² Murphy’s visit resulted in seventy-one students being declared unhealthy and sent home.¹²³

Admissions practices also spread tuberculosis, according to the report. After noting that the sources and methods of transmitting tuberculosis were “at this time fairly well recognized,” the report detailed how the school admitted “[m]any pupils ... already suffering from the disease.”¹²⁴ Worse, some students diagnosed as tubercular “have been allowed to go back to the

¹¹⁹ C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner to Supt. Haskell Institute, September 26, 1908, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹²⁰ W.W. McConihe, Special U.S. Indian Agent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1908, in Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60430, NARADC.

¹²¹ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Superintendent, Haskell Institute, November 21, 1908, 4, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹²² Murphy, in Leupp to Superintendent, November 21, 1908, 5, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

dormitories to spread the infection.”¹²⁵ In one case, Lucretia Ross, Haskell’s nurse, recalled a boy “was sent back to the quarters to make room in the hospital for sicker boys. He was sent to school and work, although he coughed a great deal and spit blood every time he coughed. He remained at school until May 15, 1908, when he was sent home.... so weak from the loss of blood that he could scarcely walk.”¹²⁶ Medical neglect at boarding schools for Naive Americans could be shocking.

According to Murphy, “The dormitories more than any other factor have been responsible for the spread of the contagion.” Among the factors he listed were a “[l]ack of proper ventilation, overcrowding of sleeping rooms, indiscriminate doubling in single beds and in double beds, spitting on the floor, lack of door mats, and the mud and dust problem.”¹²⁷ Not disinfecting clothing and supplies used by tubercular students before assigning them to a healthy student also transmitted the disease at Haskell.¹²⁸

Finally, the report emphasized that confinement in Haskell’s enclosed spaces, like the school jail, also spread tuberculosis. Murphy reported that at one point seven students were incarcerated in the “small, poorly lighted building.” The disciplinarian had chained them together in twos, and one of the students was later found to be tubercular, likely spreading the infection to his fellow student prisoners.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Murphy, in Leupp to Superintendent, November 21, 1908, 8, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹²⁶ Lucretia C. Ross, [November 17, 1908], in Haskell CCF, Box 49, Folder 60340, NARADC.

¹²⁷ Murphy, in Leupp to Superintendent, November 21, 1908, 8, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

The inspection revealed that Peairs was ignoring other Indian Office health directives, in addition to permitting deplorable conditions. Murphy found “a large number” of students unvaccinated for smallpox.¹³⁰ Leupp then questioned why Peairs had committed such “a willful violation” of official instructions.¹³¹ The commissioner ultimately warned Peairs, “[h]ereafter, such grave derelictions will not be treated so leniently.”¹³²

In response, Superintendent Peairs, though “not want[ing] to shift responsibility,” tried to do exactly that. According to him, Indian agencies remained responsible for passing along unhealthy children to his institution. “[W]hen I remember that I must carry all of the responsibility of the deeds, good and bad, especially bad, of the employes [sic] of this school,” Peairs protested, “I do not care to accept the responsibility for the deeds of other schools and Agency employes [sic].”¹³³ Still, fifty of the students sent home that fall had been recently admitted to the school and passed both the physical examination of an agency and boarding school’s doctor. Again, instead of recording these students as ill, the school records failed to mention these students.¹³⁴ Hall conceded to the Commissioner: “I am willing to admit that former examinations and tests may have been, yes undoubtedly have been, too lax but that there has been any intentional or willful violation of instructions.”¹³⁵ Peairs next defended his use of

¹³⁰ Murphy, in Leupp to Superintendent, November 21, 1908, 10, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹³¹ Leupp to Superintendent, November 21, 1908, 11, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹³² F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to Supt. Haskell Institute, November 23, 1908, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹³³ H.B. Peairs, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1908, 9-10, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

¹³⁴ The matriculation records show far fewer than seventy-one students leaving the school that year. Sickness appears in none of the recorded reasons for students leaving the school that fall (Haskell Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, NARAKC).

chains to bind students, using double beds because he had no funds to purchase single beds, and requested additional transportation funds.¹³⁶ Despite willful neglect that endangered his students, the superintendent held his position.

As at Phoenix, Haskell's health survey revealed what Indigenous students and parents had long known: "deadly disease was being spread at the school[s]," according to one historian.¹³⁷ It also led to the dismissal of at least fifty-seven students with active tubercular infections.¹³⁸ None of these students are listed as leaving due to ill health in Haskell's records. Instead, they appear only as "Discharged," concealing disease at Haskell. Having adhered to Dr. Murphy's "rigid rules" for raising physical examination standards, by January Peairs was dismissing almost half of the students transferred to the school and draining his transportation fund.¹³⁹ He explained to the commissioner, "I want to cooperate in perfect harmony with the wishes of the Office in the fight against tuberculosis [and] I am sending pupils home promptly who do not pass the physical examinations." Peairs worried about Haskell's reputation: "unless there is a general understanding among the Agents, Superintendents and Physicians in the field, I greatly fear that the fact that so many pupils are being sent away from this school after having been examined by the school physician, will result in Agents and Superintendents transferring pupils to other schools instead of Haskell."¹⁴⁰ Acting Commissioner Robert G. Valentine

¹³⁵ Peairs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1908, 9-10, in Haskell LS, Box 144, NARAKC.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

¹³⁷ Trennert, in DeJong, "*If You Only Knew the Conditions*," 23.

¹³⁸ W.W. McConihe, Special U.S. Indian Agent to Honorable Commissioner Indian Affairs, November 7, 1908, in Haskell CCF, Box 49, Folder 60340, NARADC.

¹³⁹ R.G. Valentine, Acting Commissioner to H.B. Peairs, Supt., Haskell Institute, January 30, 1909, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

responded, “Much stress has been put upon the necessity for protection against tuberculosis, etc., so that no Indian Service physician can be ignorant of the requirements,” and acquiesced to Peairs’s request to inform other Indian Office employees: “A uniform standard for all physical examinations by reservation physicians will be established and as soon as promulgated must be strictly observed.”¹⁴¹ Valentine sent that circular on February 4, 1909.¹⁴²

That same month, Murphy arrived at Carlisle to inspect it. There too, he found students with tubercular infections in classrooms, dormitories, and workshops: at least twenty-seven presumptive tubercular cases and another sixty suspicious ones.¹⁴³ Many of these cases had developed tuberculosis after the measles, an epidemic of which struck the school the previous November and December. The epidemic sickened a minimum of forty-six students.¹⁴⁴ Other students presumably contracted tuberculosis from the twenty-three tubercular cows providing milk to the school.¹⁴⁵ Acting commissioner Valentine gave Superintendent Friedman special

¹⁴⁰ Peairs, in Valentine to Peairs, January 30, 1909, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹⁴¹ Valentine to Peairs, January 30, 1909, in Haskell LR, Box 143, NARAKC.

¹⁴² “Physical examination of pupils before they are transferred to nonreservation schools,” R.G. Valentine, Acting Commissioner to Superintendents in charge of Reservations, February 4, 1909, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁴³ R.G. Valentine, Acting Commissioner to M. Friedman, Supt. Indian School, February 19, 1909, in Carlisle CCF, Box 5, Folder 14955-1909-Carlisle-150, NARADC; Joseph A. Murphy, “Report of Med. Sup. Murphy on Health conditions at Carlisle,” Jan. 1, 1909 [date likely wrong; received by Indian Office between February 11 and 24, 1909], in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC.

¹⁴⁴ Murphy, “Report of Med. Sup. Murphy on Health conditions at Carlisle,” Jan. 1, 1909 [date likely wrong; received by Indian Office between February 11 and 24, 1909], in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Tarbell (Akwesasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 18, Folder 389, Stafford Elgin (Chippewa [Algonac, MI]), in E-1327, Box 85, Folder 1946, George Chew (Tuscarora), in E-1327, Box 67, Folder 1545, Peter Bero (Akwesasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 88, Folder 2001, Henry Sutton (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 144, Folder 2687, Susan White (Akwesasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 88, Folder 1993, Mitchell Johnny John (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 72, Folder 1712, Ernestine Venne (Chippewa [Le Roy, ND]), in E-1327, Box 140, Folder 2673, Ira Cloud (Saginaw Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 129, Folder 2618, Earl Doxtator (Cayuga), in E-1327, Box 141, Folder 2676, Rachel Cabay (Saginaw Chippewa), in

permission to keep positively tubercular children and young adults at Carlisle and conduct an epidemiological study on them. Valentine wanted to study the impact of having the children and young adults sleep on specially designed porches attached to the hospital.¹⁴⁶

The inspection did lead to improved environmental conditions at Carlisle. Friedman reported to the commissioner that he had adopted Murphy's recommendations to build sleeping porches, that he had sent two severely ill students home, had provide students ocular care, had increase dormitory ventilation, and had cleaned and sanitized buildings.¹⁴⁷ As part of his

E-1327, Box 122, Folder 2554, Edward Adams (Saginaw Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 87, Folder 1969, Dewitt Wheeler (Assinaboine), in E-1327, Box 4, Folder 53, Alex Vilnave (Akwasasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 78, Folder 1803, Fannie Charley (Peoria), in E-1327, Box 56, Folder 1358, Hattie Poodry (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 85, Folder 1952, Stillwell Saunouke (Eastern Cherokee), in E-1327, Box 80, Folder 1825, Oliver John (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 15, Folder 338, Alpheus Jordan (Wisconsin Oneida), in E-1327, Box 72, Folder 1711, Minnie Jones (Tonawanda Seneca), in E-1327, Box 28, Folder 683, Jennie Warrington (Menominee), in E-1327, Box 71, Folder 1676, Varice Marcott (Chitimache), in E-1327, Box 12, Folder 266, Peter Lazore (Akwasasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 41, Folder 1049, O'Neal Marcotte (Chitimache), in E-1327, Box 74, Folder 1750, Alpha Carpenter (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 67, Folder 1550, Jerry Black (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 67, Folder 1543, Warren Redeye (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 69, Folder 1624, Peter A. Cook (Akwasasne Mohawk), in E-1327, Box 14, Folder 315, Julia Hemlock (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 59, Folder 1409, Tissewongo Gould (Eastern Shoshone), in E-1327, Box 36, Folder 889, James Hears the Wind (Hunkpati Dakota Oyate), in E-1327, Box 39, Folder 949, Evelyn Gheen (Bois Forte Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 47, Folder 1209, Rose McArthur (Umpqua), in E-1327, Box 49, Folder 1245, Mary Amera (Nez Perce), in E-1327, Box 52, Folder 1293, Lavina Hill (Oneida), in E-1327, Box 53, Folder 1318, Roy Duncan (Pitt River), in E-1327, Box 29, Folder 694, Myrtle Sutton (Callahan) (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 17, Folder 379, Robert Boone (Nooksack), in E-1327, Box 74, Folder 1744, Charles Laquier (Leech Lake Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 72, Folder 1704, Alexander Cadotte (Red Cliff Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 73, Folder 1741, Maria Salazar (Mission [Luiseño]), in E-1327, Box 26, Folder 611, Mary Marcotte (Chitimache), in E-1327, Box 76, Folder 1768, Junie (Jamie) Jackson (Seneca), in E-1327, Box 81, Folder 1864, Lucy Stevens (Saginaw Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 86, Folder 1953, Anita Pollard (Nomlaki), in E-1327, Box 91, Folder 2044, David Sawmick (Saginaw Chippewa), in E-1327, Box 93, Folder 2078, NARADC; A.M. Farrington, Acting Chief of Bureau to F.E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1908, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 70520/08, NARADC.

¹⁴⁶ R.G. Valentine, Acting Commissioner to Moses Friedman, Supt. Indian School, March 19, 1909, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 17189, NARADC.

¹⁴⁷ M. Friedman, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 2, 1909, 1-4, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC. By the following June, the school had sent four of these students home sick (F. Shoemaker to Mr. Friedman, June 23, 1910, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 21262, NARADC). The sleeping porch experiment continued until at least 1911 (Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker to Medical Supervisor, September 23, 1911, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 84165,

investigation, Dr. Murphy also looked into past tuberculosis cases. While questioning the accuracy of his statistics, the doctor revealed: “The greater number of cases of pulmonary tuberculosis sent home during the year have since died.” He continued, “the fact that so many have resulted fatally serves to emphasize the importance of your attention to all suspected cases.”¹⁴⁸ Indeed, tuberculosis ravaged Indigenous bodies held by federal officials in dangerous, unsanitary conditions.

In June 1909, Commissioner Leupp issued another directive pertaining to limiting tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. “[T]his Office,” Leupp charged, “has declared with some emphasis against putting two pupils into one bed.... the putting of two or more pupils into any single bed shall be stopped at once. This mandate must be respected; and any arbitrary or stubborn refusal to comply with it will be promptly punished.”¹⁴⁹ Leupp also sent Dr. Murphy to investigate conditions at Sherman.

Murphy’s arrival at Sherman came just as a new superintendent took over leadership duties at the school. In April 1909, Frank M. Conser, a former clerk in the Indian Office’s headquarters, became the school superintendent. The commissioner made Superintendent Hall a special agent and transferred him from the school.¹⁵⁰ Dr. A.S. Parker resigned shortly thereafter, due to poor health. Conser replaced him with Dr. William W. Roblee. By all standards, Roblee

NARADC; M. Friedman, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 22, 1909, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 21262, NARADC.

¹⁴⁸ Murphy, “Report of Med. Sup. Murphy on Health conditions at Carlisle,” Jan. 1, 1909, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC.

¹⁴⁹ F.E. Leupp, Commissioner to All Agents and Superintendents, Circular No. 297, June 10, 1909, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Official Register: Persons in the Civil, Military, and Naval Service of the United States, and List of Vessels, 1909* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1909), 1:6; Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 38.

was a competent physician. By the time of his hiring, he had served as an assistant surgeon during the Spanish-American War, a major surgeon in the California National Guard, vice president of the California Medical Society, county physician for Riverside County, California, and a city health officer for Riverside. Roblee was also familiar with Sherman. On occasion he had treated students in Dr. Parker's stead.¹⁵¹ When Conser and Roblee took charge of the school, they inherited a hospital filled with patients.

Doctor Murphy arrived at Sherman in June. Before his arrival, the school sent three tubercular children and young adults home. Murphy's inspection revealed six additional tubercular patients.¹⁵² Conser promptly sent them home. Coincidentally, while the medical supervisor was at the school, several epidemics besieged the students. First and most seriously, a measles outbreak began shortly before his arrival, giving the doctor an opportunity to study how the disease progressed and its impact on institutionalized students.

By July, some 125 students had measles. Murphy thought the infections were "the cause of the renewal of activity of tuberculosis in the majority of these cases, many being in apparently good health before being infected with measles." The doctor noted: "This tendency which measles has toward lessening the resistance to tubercular infection is marked, and is well illustrated by the results of the epidemic at this school. This tendency makes measles a very serious disease among the Indians, and it should be quarantined strictly in spite of the disease after it has once invaded a large school." Murphy found a large number of pulmonary lesions among fifty-two students, but could not positively diagnosis tuberculosis in many of them

¹⁵¹ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to the Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 7, 1909, 154-155, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁵² Joseph A. Murphy, Medical Supervisor, "Tuberculous Conditions," July 6, 1909, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732, NARADC.

because they were still recovering from measles. Murphy also found that Sherman's dormitories were infested with scabies.¹⁵³ Scabies is an infestation spread by skin-to-skin contact of mites that burrow into the outer layers of skin and burry their eggs. The body's response is violent itching and a rash occurring a month after infestation. Treatment was a topical application of sulfur ointment.¹⁵⁴ Chicken pox also broke out during Murphy's visit.¹⁵⁵ The viral infection, marked by headache, fever, and its characteristic skin eruptions, was easily spread by infected droplets. The disease remained contagious until all the pustules had crusted, usually within twenty days. Otherwise there was little treatment that can be afforded to stop the progression of the disease.¹⁵⁶

Dr. Murphy also determined that Sherman neglected to adequately feed sick students. "[T]he plentiful supply of eggs and milk in addition to the regular school ration would do a great deal to prevent the further inroad of [tuberculosis] and would increase the resistance to other diseases as well," but "very frequently there are hardly enough eggs" to meet their needs.¹⁵⁷ Again, systemic neglect contributed to students' poor health. Murphy's inspections of Carlisle, Sherman, and Haskell made him ponder if the nation had "not been guilty of criminal negligence" at these institutions.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ F.H. Abbot, Acting Commissioner to F.M. Conser, Esq., Superintendent Sherman Institute, July 23, 1909, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732, NARADC.

¹⁵⁴ Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 806-807.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph A. Murphy, Medical Supervisor, "Tuberculous Conditions," July 6, 1909, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732, NARADC.

¹⁵⁶ Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 2330-2332.

¹⁵⁷ Murphy, June 30, 1909, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732, NARADC.

¹⁵⁸ Murphy, in DeJong, "*If You Only Knew the Conditions*," 24.

Tuberculosis was the main lethal threat, and a potentially blinding eye disease, trachoma, joined it as Indian Office targets for eradication. The Indian Office now began another data collection project, identifying diseases that posed the greatest threat to health, soliciting advice, gathering resources, and initiating steps to eliminate causative agents. In some campaigns, the funding never came. Yet on February 20, 1909, Congress appropriated \$12,000 “to investigate, treat, and prevent the spread of the disease of trachoma among the Indians.”¹⁵⁹ By June, Commissioner Leupp sought advice from Surgeon General Walter Wyman. Wyman held that though a nonfatal illness, trachoma was infectious and could be debilitating and dangerous. He advised Leupp, “no time should be lost or no effort spared to eradicate the condition.”¹⁶⁰ Paul de Kruif, a University-of-Michigan-trained microbiologist, described the disease, after years of studying it, as “a years-long smoldering torment. It drives you wild with pain, unable to stand even the light of a dimmed room without tears. It makes you feel, for months, as if there were big cinders in both your eyes, cinders nobody can get out for you.”¹⁶¹

Both lethal and nonlethal infectious disease common in crowded, unsanitary conditions, debilitated students, lowering their vitality, and made Indigenous bodies more liable to contracting infectious diseases. During the 1908-1909 fiscal year, one marked by constant medical investigations, serious infections caused 108 students to be returned from the four

¹⁵⁹ “An Act For the investigation, treatment, and prevention of trachoma among the Indians,” February 20, 1909, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1907, to March, 1909* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1909), 35:642.

¹⁶⁰ Wyman, in DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 93.

¹⁶¹ “Mr. de Kruif,” “Indian Medical Service Pioneers in Trachoma Treatment,” in *Indians at Work* [U.S. Office of Indian Affairs] 8:4 (December 1940), 32.

schools.¹⁶² They sent home twenty-four more students sick, primarily from tuberculosis, than the previous year. Higher health standards and detailed examinations contributed to the increase. Still, twelve children and young adults passed away in the four institutions.¹⁶³

The 1909-1910 fiscal year brought new leadership to the Indian Office. In mid-June, Leupp's former secretary, superintendent of Indian schools, and assistant commissioner took over as Indian Affairs commissioner. Robert G. Valentine continued Leupp's sanitary reforms in boarding schools. In July, he pressed superintendents to initiate a health curriculum for students and requested more data on sanitation, homesickness, and infectious diseases.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Dr. Murphy pressed on with his inspections of schools and reservations.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² See Appendix 1. Rose Miller (Delaware) went home from Haskell with tuberculosis in June, but she is marked as failing to return (Asst. Superintendent to William F. Gilluly, Attorney at Law, February 28, 1910 in "Students-Haskell, 1909-11 [1 of 2]," in Haskell SCF, Box 21, NARAKC.

¹⁶³ See Appendix 2. For deaths during the 1908-1909 fiscal year, see: Carlisle (3): Mary Kinninook (Alaska Native [Haida]) [Tuberculosis], in E-1329, Box 4, Roscoe Conklin (Wichita), in E-1329, Box 5, Alice Home (Onondaga), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Chemawa (6): Silas Albert (Klamath) [Unknown], Wm. A. Moore to Hon. Edwin L. Chalcraft, Supt. Indian School, August 9, 1908, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2705, NARAS; Ellen Woods (Walla Walla) [Accidental burns], in C.F. Hauke, Chief Clerk to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, December 4, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3054, NARAS; Frank Pierce (Klamath), in R.F. Henderson, Undertaker [South Bend] to Chalcraft, Supt., February 4, 1909 telegram, Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2456, NARAS, Charlie Walton (Chinook) [Drowning], in Mrs. Jennie McClain to Supt. Chalcraft, May 1, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 2994, Christine Dick (Puyallup) [Tuberculosis], in John Francis, Jr, Acting Chief Clerk to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, April 9, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2562, NARAS, Abe Wheeler (Kalapuya) [Tuberculosis], in JH Dortch, Acting Chief Clerk to Edwin L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, May 8, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3124, NARAS; Haskell (0); Sherman (3): Adam Nakhaha (Hopi) [Heart failure superinduced by pneumonia], in Harwood Hall, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 20, 1908, 30, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; Charles Ammon ([Chumash]) [Unknown], in Sherman Student Files, Box 8, NARAR; Sherman Cemetery Marker; Albert Juan (NTL) [Unknown], Sherman Cemetery Marker.

¹⁶⁴ Kvensnicka and Viola, eds., *Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 233; R.G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents of Non-Reservation Schools, Education Circular No. 311, July 1, 1909, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁶⁵ Murphy was at Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma in April 1910 (*The Indian School Journal* [Chilocco Indian School] 10:6 [April 1910], 50).

The changes implemented by Leupp and Valentine required more funding than the bare-bones appropriations provided by Congress. In July, Sherman Superintendent Conser echoed calls made by his predecessor and asked the commissioner for increased appropriations. The \$167 per student allocation was “the same as it has been for many years,” and inadequate given inflation. Conser explained “each year the superintendent finds it more difficult to conduct the school efficiently on this per capita basis.”¹⁶⁶ He proposed a per student increase of thirteen dollars. His contracts for the same goods as the previous year were already \$10,000 more expensive. In addition, the school needed to update its hospital.¹⁶⁷ Conser was not squandering money. He had experience in the school’s financial matters as chief clerk. Medical care also ate into his budget. By October, the superintendent petitioned the commissioner to approve and expedite the appointment of an additional nurse. Sherman’s hospital had over seventy-five trachoma patients who needed round-the-clock care.¹⁶⁸

Meanwhile, Carlisle’s publications — read by students, parents, alumni, Indian Office employees, and Indian advocates — began publicizing the dangers to student health posed by federal boarding schools for Native Americans. The September 1909 issue of *The Indian Craftsman* acknowledged, “The confinement of large numbers of children in schools unquestionably makes a schoolroom a source of danger from contagious or infectious diseases. A susceptible child, exposed to consumption, the disease is exceedingly liable to contract the disease.”¹⁶⁹ *The Indian Craftsman* had succinctly summarized why the schools remained so

¹⁶⁶ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 13, 1909, 272, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 13, 1909, 3269-370, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

lethal. Overcrowding was a major contributor to the transmission of disease. Yet, for decades the Indian Office officials allowed the schools to remain overcrowded.

By November, Conser again asked for more appropriations. Pointing to his July request, he reiterated the vital need for additional funds: “Our hospital is very poorly arranged.”¹⁷⁰ The superintendent targeted Valentine’s sensibilities: “The health of the pupils must always receive primary consideration and a first-class hospital is very necessary where from five to six hundred children must be cared for.”¹⁷¹ Conser added, “I have not seen a hospital recently that seems to be so poorly arranged for a school of this kind as ours,” before requesting \$20,000 for the requested building.¹⁷²

Superintendents’ financial pleas finally secured additional funding in the spring of 1910, when Valentine convinced Congress to change the funding restrictions in the Indian Appropriation Act. “A per capita allowance of \$167.... compelled the superintendents to keep up their attendance or face a deficiency,” he explained. This policy in which “[e]very child represented so much money for the maintenance of the school,” resulted in “little regard ... for the welfare of the child.”¹⁷³ Meanwhile, the deluge of sanitation circulars continued.

¹⁶⁹ *The Indian Craftsman* (Carlisle Indian School) 2:1 (September 1909), 21-22.

¹⁷⁰ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1909, 417-418, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁷¹ Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1909, 417-418, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to [The Secretary of the Interior], November 1, 1910, in *ARCIA, 1910*, 2:14; “An Act Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eleven,” April 4, 1910, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of American, from March, 1909, to March, 1911, Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 36:271.

One in December 1909 mandated that superintendents assign children and young adults occupations or trades in accordance with their health. For instance, a student with weak lungs should not be placed in the basement boiler room. Students of questionable health might still be required to work, but perhaps on the farm in the open air. Valentine hinted that there would be no excuses or feigning ignorance: “The medical examinations that are now very generally given to Indian pupils will almost preclude any mistakes being made in the selection of occupations.”¹⁷⁴ The next February, the Indian Office requested sanitation data and vital statistics.¹⁷⁵ In March 1910, the Indian Office disseminated a “Manual on Tuberculosis” to students and all employees.¹⁷⁶ All of these initiatives aimed to increase health in schools marked by acute, periodic epidemics, endemic nonlethal diseases, and chronic, debilitating afflictions while students suffered for lack of adequate clothing, food, supplies, and medical attention.

Several off-reservation boarding schools — Fort Shaw in Montana, Chamberlain in South Dakota, Fort Lewis in Colorado, and Morris in Minnesota — closed in 1910 following Leupp’s 1907 policy change favoring reservation boarding and day schools and public schools, where available, to small off-reservation boarding schools.¹⁷⁷ The number of boarding schools decreased from a high of 173 in 1907 to 158 in 1910. Meanwhile, day schools increased from 167 to 227 over the same period.¹⁷⁸ To be sure, the Indian Office still supported the large off-

¹⁷⁴ R.G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 377, December 20, 1909, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁷⁵ “Sanitation,” C.F. Hauke, Chief Clerk to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 386, February 14, 1910, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁷⁶ “Manual on Tuberculosis,” John Francis, Jr., Acting Chief Clerk to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 396, March 4, 1910, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁷⁷ Valentine to [Secretary of the Interior], November 1, 1910, in *ARCIA, 1910*, 18.

¹⁷⁸ “Enrollment and average attendance of Indian schools, 1906 and 1907, showing increase in 1907 and number of schools,” in Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1907, in *ARCIA, 1907*, 48; “

reservation boarding schools, like those that are the subjects of this study, but the emphasis was now shifting to day schools.

Given the novel vigor of Indian Office attention to student health, the number of diagnosed sicknesses in the institutions increased. Still, school officials continued to limit mortality by sending sick students home.¹⁷⁹ During the 1909-1910 fiscal year, three students died at Carlisle.¹⁸⁰ The school sent twenty-one others home sick.¹⁸¹ In Oregon, fifteen students died at

Enrollment, average attendance, number of employees, expenditures, and value of products of Indian schools, fiscal year ended June 30, 1910,” in *ARCIA, 1910*, 56-57; “School statistics for 35 years,” in U.S. DOI, *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal year Ended June 30, 1911* (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1912), 2:188 [hereafter *ARCIA, 1911*].

¹⁷⁹ For students who went home and died soon after arriving for 1909-1910, see (5): Nora Rowland (Northern Cheyenne) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 4, Edna Bisnette (Oglala Lakota Oyate) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 4, Simon Fancy Eagle (Pawnee) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in E-1329, Box 5, in Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC; Viola Allen Stuart (Nez Perce) [Died within one academic year of leaving], in Jas Stuart to E.L. Chalcraft, Supt., July 22, 1909 and James Stuart to E.L. Chalcraft, Supt, February 24, 1910, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2799, NARAS; Stephen Chaqua (Mission) [Tuberculosis; Died 1 month after leaving], in Juanita Chaqua to Frank M. Conser, Superintendent, May 11, 1910, in Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR. See also Appendix 3.

¹⁸⁰ Carlisle student deaths, 1909-1910 (3): Paul Sanders (Chitimache) [Unknown], in E-1329, Box 5, Ernest Iron (Crow) [Tubercular meningitis], in E-1329, Box 5 and M. Friedman, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 18, 1910, in Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 21262, NARADC, Alice Peazzoni ([Maidu]) [Died on outing likely tuberculosis as she had previously in January 1909 been in a sanatorium], in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC.

¹⁸¹ See Appendix 1.

Chemawa.¹⁸² Another twelve went home sick.¹⁸³ Two students died at each Haskell. Another died at Sherman.¹⁸⁴ Conser's new administration in Southern California systematized the school's recordkeeping, providing significantly better records than in previous years. These records show that Conser and Roblee sent home seventeen Sherman students suffering incurable or infectious diseases, many resulting from a 1910 measles epidemic. Tuberculosis accounted for twelve of the fourteen recorded-causes.¹⁸⁵ Peairs, meanwhile, sent fifteen Haskell students home too ill or hopeless to keep at the school.¹⁸⁶ The figure may be higher, as the school altered bookkeeping practices.

¹⁸² Chemawa student deaths, 1909-1910 (14): James Joe (Lummi), in Edwin L. Chalcraft, Supt. To Mrs. Theisz, Miss Troutman, Mr. Smith, Mr. Woods, Mr. Van Tassel, All Employes, July 2, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2027, NARAS; Andrew Bettles (Aleut), in Edwin L. Chalcraft, Supt. to Employes, September 9, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1984, NARAS; Milton Godova (Northern Paiute), in JH Dortch, Chief Education Division to W.P. Campbell, Esq., Acting Superintendent Salem Indian School, December 18, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2497, NARAS; Helen E. Dillstrom (Modoc), in JH Dortch, Chief Education Division to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, December 21, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2725, NARAS; Sadie Durkee (Chinook), in Application and John Francis, Jr, Acting Chief Clerk to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, August 18, 1909, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 21, Folder 2894, NARAS; Bibia Agalla (Round Valley) [Tubercular meningitis], P2008, 166, Frisco Day (Clatsop), P2008, 168, NARAS; Thomas Davis (Chinook) [Tuberculosis], in M. Fry, Acting Chief Education Division to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, April 6, 1910, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, 2996, NARAS; Harry Joe (Lummi), in M. Fry, Acting Chief Education Division to E.L. Chalcraft, Esq., Superintendent Salem Indian School, April 6, 1910, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2029, NARAS; Frank Madison (NTL), Noval Morris (NTL), and Roy Vanpelt [Van Pelt] (NTL), in Chemawa Hospital Records, 140, 149, NARAS; Charles Barwell (Duwamish), Harry Joe (Lummi), and Ebenezer Phillips (Wailaki), in Chemawa Cemetery Marker.

¹⁸³ See Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁴ Sherman deaths (1): Lojio Panjamin (Pechanga Band of Luiseño) [Unknown], in Sherman Student Files, Box 277, NARAR; Haskell deaths (1): Roy Spybuck (Wyandotte) [Football injury], in Chief Education Division to Herbert H. Fiske, Esq., Superintendent Haskell Institute, ND, in Haskell CCF, Box 42, NARADC.

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 1.

Many students who failed to return from various types of leave became homogenized under the “termination of leave” label. Students left for a variety of reasons. Some went home for a summer vacation and never returned, others because of a sickness or a death in their family. Some embarked on seasonal work, such as the students who left Chemawa to go fishing or pick hops.¹⁸⁷ Others ran away. By March 22, 1910, Akimel O’otham Superintendent J.B. Alexander reported to Sherman’s superintendent: “We have had a change in the police force and runaway pupils on the reservation are scarce. In the jail, they are plenty.”¹⁸⁸ Leave was not a frequent occurrence because school administrators insisted on keeping children away from their parents and home communities for extended periods. Many students who went home during the academic were recovering from poor health. Some of the students marked as failing to return from leave were likely unwell, given the schools’ health records.¹⁸⁹

In the fall, Indian Office directives again addressed health while schools struggled to contain disease outbreaks and maintain sanitary environments. In September 1910, Acting Commissioner C.F. Hauke issued instructions for dining room sanitation and how to best clean dishes “on account of the danger of transmitting disease.”¹⁹⁰ Regardless of sanitary conditions,

¹⁸⁷ For fishing, see: Superintendent to Edwin Scott, January 12, 1912, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3271, NARAS. For hop picking, see: Edwin L. Chalcraft, Cary C. Collins, ed., *Assimilation’s Agent: My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), xlix, 218. In fact, the schools purchased a piece of land for the school using the proceeds of their hop money (<https://chemawa.bie.edu/history.html>). For funerals and sickness, see: Mrs. M.J. Johnston to Edwin Chalcraft, Supt. of the Indian Training School, January 19, 1910, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2957 and R.H. Higgins, Supervisor in Charge & S.D.A. to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 25, 1911, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 32, Folder 35091, NARAS.

¹⁸⁸ J.B. Alexander, Superintendent to Frank M. Conser, Supt. Sherman Institute, March 22, 1910, in Sherman Student Files, Box 274, John Enos Osif, NARAR.

¹⁸⁹ For example, see: George King (Seneca) [“Termination of leave,” but listed as “Not well”], in E-1329, Box 12, NARADC.

the frequency and seriousness of prior epidemics lessened individual student autoimmune responses, priming schools for disaster, and increased tubercular infections. Measles broke out at Haskell in October followed by the mumps. At least one student died from pneumonia as a result.¹⁹¹ A November diphtheria epidemic hospitalized 150 Sherman students, overwhelming the school's hospital and medical staff.¹⁹² In December, Valentine issued a circular emphasizing a previous 1904 circular on the "sanitary care of beds and bedding" that superintendents had ignoring. The commissioner reminded school and agency officials of the standing policies.¹⁹³ As this circular demonstrated, the dissemination of circulars did not indicate their acceptance.

For the six months through December 31, 1910, administrators sent another fifty-three students home sick from the four schools, a rate on pace to increase the previous year's tally by 66 percent.¹⁹⁴ Another seven students died in the four schools.¹⁹⁵ These conditions and those on

¹⁹⁰ C.F. Hauke, Acting Commissioner to Superintendent (For Dining-room Matrons and Cooks), Circular No. 468, September 3, 1910, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁹¹ H.H. Fiske, Superintendent to S.R. Walkingstick, October 26, 1910, in Haskell LS, Box 150, NARAKC; H.H. Fiske, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1910, 36, in Haskell LS, Box 145, NARAKC.

¹⁹² F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 8 [2 written on], 1910, 396, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

¹⁹³ [R.G. Valentine, Commissioner] to Superintendents of Indian Schools, Education Circular No. 492, December 8, 1910, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁹⁴ See Appendix 1. By 1911, Carlisle administrators ceased documenting the cause for a student's leave, potentially depressing the real impact of disease.

¹⁹⁵ For student deaths between July 1, 1910, and December 31, 1910: Carlisle (2): Wallace Berryman (Seminole), in E-1329, Box 5, Mabel Hart (Saginaw Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 4, NARADC; Chemawa (2): Frank Gay (Siletz) [Tuberculosis], in Joe Gay to Supt. Indian School, September 4, 1910 telegram, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3133, NARAS, Clarence Bardwell (Duwamish) [Unknown], in W.S. Bardwell to Edw L Chalcraft, December 15, 1910 telegram in Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2664, NARAS; Haskell (2): Ellis Carpenter (Choctaw) [Tuberculosis/pneumonia], in H.H. Fiske, Superintendent to John Cordell, District Agent, Holdenville, OK, October 26, 1910, 86, in Haskell LS, Box 150, George Brown (Sisseton Wapheton Oyate), in H.H. Fiske, Ex-Superintendent to S.R. Allen, Supt. Sisseton Indian Agency, June 20, 1911, 435, in Haskell LS, Box 150, NARAKC; Sherman (1):

reservations contributed to a death rate among Native American people in the United States of 24 per 1,000. This death rate was a staggering 60 percent higher than the general United States death rate.¹⁹⁶

By January 1911, the Indian Office remained vigilant and committed to further sanitary reform in the institutions, adding more sanitation circulars to its growing rulebook. In January 1911, F.H. Abbot, the assistant Indian Affairs commissioner, issued orders to vaccinate all Indians for smallpox.¹⁹⁷ Circulars on the “Care of Teeth” and “Air space in Dormitories” followed in April and May.¹⁹⁸ Sanitary violations remained prevalent during the 1911-1912 academic year. Because superintendent continued to sleep multiple students in a bed against Indian Office mandates, Commissioner Valentine reminded superintendents of the 1909 mandate to provide “a single bed for each pupil and only one pupil to each bed,” in May 1911.¹⁹⁹ Recognizing that disease education was key to decreasing disease incidence, the Indian Office offered prizes for the best student essays on “The Cause, Prevention and Treatment of

James Hancock (Mono) [Pneumonia], in Conser, Supt. to Ben Hancock, October 3, 1910 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 138, NARAR. See also Appendix 2.

¹⁹⁶ “Vital statistics of Indians as compared with all races for fiscal year ended June 20, 1910,” in *ARCIA*, 1910, 58.

¹⁹⁷ “Vaccination of Indians,” F.H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 500, January 5, 1911, M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁹⁸ “Care of Teeth,” R.G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 526, April 26, 1911 and “Air space in dormitories,” C.F. Hauke, Acting Commissioner to All Superintendents, Education Circular No. 533, May 24, 1911, in M1121, Reel 9.

¹⁹⁹ “Double beds must go,” R.G. Valentine, Commissioner to All Superintendents, Education Circular No. 534, May 18, 1911, M1121, Reel 9.

Tuberculosis.”²⁰⁰ These circulars indicate federal acceptance of the need to provide Native American peoples’ healthcare. Boarding schools became a focal point of healthcare delivery.

Without superintendents properly adhering to all Indian Office policy directives, they did little to stop epidemics. What exactly happened at Sherman between March and May 1911 is not entirely known. During that time, the school appeared to shut down with dozens of students’ records marked as absent, “ab,” or in the hospital, “hosp.” Some remained absent for months.²⁰¹ Despite the apparently high level of sickness, school officials did not report an epidemic or epidemics. As Sherman was not an institution that frequently allowed students to be absent, this indicates some level of the situation’s severity.

The key to understanding this period might be documents held in federal repositories over 2,500 miles apart. At the very least, the school’s records raise more questions. Hospital records in Washington, D.C. reveal that Dr. Roblee treated 235 cases, including two diphtheria patients. This is impossible given the school reported 150 diphtheria cases in November, 1910. Importantly, it also lists two cases of typhoid fever.²⁰²

Determining the index case for an epidemic is challenging. In fact, we only have the name of one of the students who had contracted the disease by the end of 1910. Robert White (Kai Pomo) may have been that student. Six years and twenty-three days after Sherman’s last typhoid fever death, Dr. Roblee diagnosed the twenty-year-old student from Northern

²⁰⁰ “The Cause, Prevention, and Treatment of Tuberculosis,” R.G. Valentine, Commissioner to all Field Officers and Teachers, also Private or Mission Schools having Indian Pupils in Attendance, Education Circular No. 595, December 26, 1911, M1121, Reel 9.

²⁰¹ See Sherman Student Files, NARAR.

²⁰² Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR.

California's Round Valley Reservation with typhoid fever on December 6, 1910.²⁰³ Robert was one of the students flagged with doubtful health in Murphy's inspection of the school in 1909. Murphy could not conclusively determine a tubercular infection because lesions developed in Robert's lungs from his measles infection at that time.²⁰⁴ By December 27, Dr. Roblee began to fear tubercular complications resulting from the young man's typhoid.²⁰⁵ The boy remained in the hospital until discharged on account of his health in April 1911.²⁰⁶ Robert's ultimate fate is unknown as is name of the other typhoid case that year.

Several other critically ill students joined Robert in the Sherman hospital in the first months of 1911. In January, Antonio Rafael (Laguna Pueblo) came to the hospital and was diagnosed with a tubercular bone in his foot. After an operation on the limb, Antonio remained in the hospital until he was sent home because of the disease in April.²⁰⁷ On February 6, Peter B. Hilliard (Ahwahnechee Miwok) wrote to the school to check on his daughter Bertha's health after a letter from his other daughter, Dorothy, informed him of her illness. Conser responded that Peter might want to make the trip to the school as Bertha was "not looking well."²⁰⁸ Within

²⁰³ Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1904, 328, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; FMC(L), Superintendent to Supt. Thomas B. Wilson, December 6, 1910, in Sherman Student Files, Box 386, Robert White, NARAR.

²⁰⁴ Joseph A. Murphy, Medical Supervisor, "Tuberculosis Conditions," June 30, 1909, in Carlisle CCF, Box 17, Folder "52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732," NARADC.

²⁰⁵ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to T.B. Wilson, Supt. Round Valley School, December 27, 1910, in Sherman Student Files, Box 386, Robert White, NARAR.

²⁰⁶ "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 386, Robert White, NARAR.

²⁰⁷ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to R.W. Wassady, February 20, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 299, Antonio Rafael, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, December 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁰⁸ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Peter Hilliard, February 11, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 150,

the month, school authorities sent Betha home, where she died sometime before April 14.²⁰⁹ Meanwhile, on February 13, Conser informed Klamath Superintendent Edson Watson that Horace Hill (Klamath), the second positive typhoid patient that year, was getting along well and expected to “pull through it all.”²¹⁰ Four days later, Conser sent Frank Beatty (Paiute) home with tuberculosis.²¹¹ On March 15, Conser wrote to John R. Cox, the superintendent of the Moapa School in Nevada to inform him that George Lawrence (Moapa Paiute) had contracted typhoid.²¹²

Amidst this sickness, Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker arrived at Sherman for a March inspection. He commended Conser for keeping the school in “exceptionally good” sanitary condition and “doing everything possible to conserve [student] health.”²¹³ Still, Shoemaker reported to Dr. Murphy, the Indian Officer’s medical supervisor, that Sherman was not providing students with enough milk and should part ways with Dr. Roblee. He apparently questioned the care Roblee could offer the students, coming to the school only three days a week, given his other responsibilities to the city, county, and personal practice.²¹⁴ While at Sherman, Shoemaker

²⁰⁹ MGA, Superintendent to Harry Hilliard, El Portal, Calif., April 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 150, Harry Hilliard, NARAR.

²¹⁰ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Edson Watson, Supt. Klamath Agency, February 13, 1911 and Edson Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, November 8, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Horace Hill, NARAR.

²¹¹ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Pueblo Day Schools, June 13, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 28, Frank Beatty, NARAR.

²¹² FMC/MGA, Superintendent to John R. Cox, Supt. Moapa School, March 15, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201, George Lawrence, NARAR.

²¹³ Ferdinand Shoemaker, Physician Expert & S.D.A to Dr. Jos. A. Murphy, Medical Supervisor, March 27, 1911, 1-3, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*; F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 13, 1911, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC.

witnessed Conser send home two students with tuberculosis, and noted that three students remained in the school hospital with typhoid fever.²¹⁵ Because of the disease's long incubation period, the vector bringing the disease into the school is hard to trace, as it was in this outbreak.²¹⁶ Making it more difficult, the disease can spread through contaminated water and food, or contact with a chronic carrier.²¹⁷ The whole school had been searched and no reasonable explanation could be found. So school officials assumed that the disease entered the school from a student drinking from an irrigation ditch.²¹⁸ Notably, Shoemaker reported that three students had contracted typhoid fever and were in the hospital during his visit.²¹⁹

Germes are invisible enemies to the naked eye and neither Shoemaker, nor anyone affiliated with Sherman, could predict how the outbreak would progress given its uncertain origin. George Lawrence, one of those three typhoid patients, overcame the infection only to develop tubercular peritonitis, a deadly disease marked by low-grade fever, night sweats, weight loss, malaise, and fluid in the abdominal cavity.²²⁰ Sherman's superintendent conceded that

²¹⁵ Shoemaker to Murphy, March 27, 1911, 2, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC. Dewitt Blackwater (Akimel O'otham) is possibly one of the students who went home, spending time in the hospital after hemorrhaging, likely from a tubercular infection ([FMC/MGA] Superintendent to Harry Azul, Sr., March 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 38, Dewitt Blackwater, NARAR).

²¹⁶ Shoemaker to Murphy, March 27, 1911, 1-3, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC.

²¹⁷ Anne Hardy, *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventative Medicine, 1856-1900* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1993), 155-156.

²¹⁸ Shoemaker to Murphy, March 27, 1911, 2, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ F.M. Sanai and K.I. Bzeizi, "Systematic review: tuberculous peritonitis – presenting features, diagnostic strategies and treatment," *Alimentary Pharmacology & Therapeutics* 22:8 (October 15, 2005), 687-688.

tubercular peritonitis “is probably more serious than the typhoid fever.”²²¹ Ultimately, the doctor “[did] not hold out very strong hope of [George’s] recovery.” Sherman’s superintendent added, “I do not believe that [George] will ever be in the condition to be sent home.”²²² He died from the disease on April 27.²²³ That same month, Dr. Roblee diagnosed fourteen-year-old Carmel Calac (Rincon Band of Luiseño), with “sub-acute nephritis” and general edema, or the buildup of fluid in the body’s tissues.²²⁴ Her heart could not handle the increased stress, and she died on April 30, 1911.²²⁵ Although no sources indicate whether Roblee diagnosed her with typhoid, nephritis, or the inflammation of the kidneys, which “may occur also in typhoid fever,” a link discovered by British physician Robert Platt as early as 1937.²²⁶ Tubercular complications also arose in Horace Hill’s case. Conser sent Horace home in May around the time that he discharged two Yakima boys, James Alexander and Andrew Hoptowit, on account of their health.²²⁷ Horace

²²¹ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to John R. Cox, Supt. Moapa School, April 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201, George Lawrence, NARAR.

²²² FMC/MGA, Superintendent to John R. Cox, Supt. Moapa School, April 22, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201, George Lawrence, NARAR.

²²³ Conser, Supt. to John R. Cox, Supt., April 28, 1911 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201, George Lawrence, NARAR.

²²⁴ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Alfred E. Whiteis, April 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 52, Carmel Calac, NARAR.

²²⁵ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Alfred E. Whiteis, Supt. Rincon School, May 1, 1911, in Carmel Calac, Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR.

²²⁶ Robert Platt, “Acute and Sub-Acute Nephritis,” *Postgraduate Medical Journal* 13:136 (February 1937), 45.

²²⁷ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Edson Watson, Supt. Klamath Agency, February 13, 1911 and Edson Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, November 8, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Horace Hill, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to S.A.M. Young, Supt. Yakima School, May 15, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, James Alexander, NARAR.

died before November.²²⁸ Tuberculosis, as a comorbid condition, indicates the severity of this 1911 epidemic.

“Student Record” forms, which detail students’ academic performance, reveal something out of the ordinary. Roblee hospitalized at least another fifteen students between January 1 and May 1 with unknown diagnoses.²²⁹ Most of these later cases were in the hospital for at least one month. The high number of students admitted to the hospital suggests a highly contagious disease. Moreover, the numbers who died and were sent home indicate that the disease was serious. Typhoid fever is both of these. The disease exhausted the hospital’s drug supply, forcing Conser to purchase \$22.25 worth of drugs.²³⁰ Conser also spent \$70.00 on coffins and

²²⁸ Edson Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, November 8, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Horace Hill, NARAR.

²²⁹ For students in hospital, see: “Record of Pupil in School,” in Robert White (Kai Pomo) [Typhoid fever; tubercular complications], Sherman Student Files, Box 386, Antonio Rafael (Laguna Pueblo) [Tubercular bone; Died within 3 months of leaving], in Sherman Student Files, Box 299, Bertha Hilliard (Ahwahnechee Miwok) [Unknown; Died within one month of leaving], Sherman Student Files, Box 150, Horace Hill (Klamath) [Typhoid fever; Died within five months of leaving], Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Osif Vavages Nish (Akimel O’otham) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 265, Guillermo Oliveres (Pala Band of Luiseño) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 269, John Enos Osif (Akimel O’otham) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 274, Josefa Pena (San Ildefonso Pueblo) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 283, Raymond Powett (Soboba Cahuilla) [Unknown; Died at Sherman from typhoid fever later in 1911], in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Annie Segundo (Mission [Malki, Hemet, CA]) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 325, Willie Selaya (Mission [Victorville, CA]) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 326, Lottie Tawamanem (Hopi), [Unknown; Later sent home with tuberculosis], Sherman Student Files, Box 353, Lena Tido (Moapa Paiute) [Unknown; Died at Sherman of tubercular peritonitis in 1912], Sherman Student Files, Box 359, Mabel Washoe (Washoe) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 379, George Lawrence (Moapa Paiute) [Died at Sherman from tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever], Sherman Student Files, Box 201, Carrie Ike (Klamath) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 163, Amelia Rodriguez ([Inaja-Cosmit Band of Indians]) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 309, Carrie Heath (Yuki) [Unknown], Sherman Student Files, Box 144, NARAR. Absent students include: Martha Lew (Yuki) [Absent [Typhoid fever?]], Sherman Student Files, Box 205, Charlie Moro (Pala Band of Luiseño) [Absent], Sherman Student Files, Box 255, Rudolph Pratt (Klamath [Hupa]) [Absent; Sent home sick with tuberculosis and died soon thereafter], Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Josephine Rodriguez ([Inaja-Cosmit Band of Indians]) [Unknown], in “Medical Record,” in Sherman Student Files, Box 310, NARAR. Exact numbers are ultimately unknown as I noticed this trend part way through the student files.

²³⁰ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1911, 102-103, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

embalming dead students from the Riverside undertaking firm Ward, Amstutz & Glenn.²³¹

Sherman's voluminous extant correspondence to the Indian Office, agencies, and individual families makes no mentions of this apparent epidemic, nor do scholars who have studied the school.²³²

Student files reveal what correspondence and prior scholarship does not. The outbreak was serious. Letters concerning Robert White, Horace Hill, and George Lawrence and Shoemaker's report definitively concluded that typhoid was in the school between December 1910 and April 1911. Other student records suggest the possibility that a previously unidentified and unreported typhoid epidemic swept through Sherman. Why was it not reported? One possible reason why no news of the epidemic escaped the school might be a strict quarantine. Although no direct evidence for such a measure exists, calling for a quarantine after confirmed cases of a highly infectious disease and a rising number of students entering the hospital would have been normal for Sherman. After all, it had done so in the past, including for diphtheria the previous November.²³³ The fact that scores of students were absent from classes for over a month lends additional credibility to this possibility. Still, no report of an epidemic came from the school. Sherman's 1911 annual report indicated that doctor Roblee treated 208 patients for 576 ailments; thirteen were cases of tuberculosis, eleven of which took the pulmonary form, and

²³¹ Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1911, 102-103, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²³² Historian Keller noted a single case of typhoid fever in 1911 (Keller, *Empty Beds*, 106, 111). Loupe, "Unhappy and Unhealthy."

²³³ Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1903, 387, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR; F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 26, 1910, 378, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

three students who died.²³⁴ Still, there was no mention of any typhoid cases, including those proven by other correspondence.

Meanwhile, Congress and the Indian Office began directing more resources to Indian health care. For 1911, Congress appropriated \$40,000 “to relieve distress among Indians and to provide for their care and for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, trachoma, smallpox, and other contagious and infectious diseases.”²³⁵ Their health investments can be illustrated by the number of hospitals in Indian Country. There were five hospitals in 1900. By 1911, there were fifty.²³⁶ While a major improvement, it still came nowhere near meeting the needs of all Native American peoples on reservations and in schools. Indeed, amidst Sherman’s epidemic, Congress rejected the school’s plans for a new hospital because of the estimated cost.²³⁷ Perhaps Congress did not realize the urgent necessity of this building because Superintendent Conser failed to report the epidemic in 1911.

Other schools also fell short of sanitary standards. Indian inspectors determined that Carlisle’s shared bathing facilities spread trachoma.²³⁸ Likewise, two of Haskell’s violations included unsanitary bathrooms and floors with “the appearance of neglect.” The superintendent acknowledged the abuses, but justified the conditions based on the simple fact that he could not

²³⁴ “Statistical Section,” in Sherman CCF, Box 6, Folder 051 Statistics: Annual Report 1911, NARAR.

²³⁵ “An Act Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eleven,” April 4, 1910, in U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from March, 1909, to March, 1911*, 36:271.

²³⁶ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 12.

²³⁷ *Los Angeles Evening Express*, July 11, 1911, 19

²³⁸ F.H. Abbot, Acting Commissioner, to Moses Friedman, Superintendent, August 29, 1911, NARA, RG75, CCF, 1907-1939, Box 18, Folder 69395-1, 5-6.

afford to put them in sanitary order.²³⁹ Given the static level of congressional appropriations, Haskell Superintendent J.R. Wise chose to devote resources elsewhere, including the football team and band, endangering health in the process.

Native American leaders and parents remained steadfast in their determination to safeguard their children's health. During the September 1911 recruiting period, the hereditary Pawnee leader Roam Chief hinted that he might oppose sending children to Haskell and asked his agent, George Nellis, to inquire as to Haskell's care of the ill. Roam Chief "had been told that sick children in Haskell were not always given necessary attention. He asks that you give this matter personal attention."²⁴⁰ The following September, the Diné continued resisting sending their children far away on account of health. According to Philip Draper, a Diné student at Carlisle, Navajo Agent Peter Paquette would "not send any more Navajo boys to Carlisle, for they were sick when they came back [home]."²⁴¹ Indigenous resistance never dissipated but the Congress increasingly moved to address Native American health.

For the 1911-1912 school year, Congress bucked their usual parsimony and increased an allocation to combat contagious and infectious diseases among Native American communities by \$20,000 to \$60,000.²⁴² Despite this increased investment in health care, conditions at schools still promoted the contagion they were trying to combat. Decades of neglect failed to vanish

²³⁹ J.R. Wise, Superintendent to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 15, 1912, 289, in Haskell LS, Box 145, NARAKC.

²⁴⁰ Indian Agent George Nellis to Superintendent Wise, September 5, 1911, in Myriam Vuckovic, "'Onward Ever, Backward Never: Student Life and Students' Lives at Haskell Institute, 1884-1920s'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2001), 345.

²⁴¹ Philip Draper to M. Friedman, Supt Carlisle Indian School, September 14, 1912, in Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in E-1327, Box 5, Folder 201, NARADC.

²⁴² U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from March, 1911, to March, 1913, Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1913), 37:1059.

overnight. When an epidemic gripped a school, contemporaneous and historical neglect intensified the severity of the outbreak.

Sherman's records over the next years provide more clues to the hidden 1911 epidemic, the effects of which rippled through the school over the summer and fall of 1911. By June, the month after the epidemic likely subsided, Roblee treated at least seven students presenting with tubercular symptoms.²⁴³ Indeed, after an epidemic of typhoid fever the incidence of tuberculosis could be expected to rise. The comorbidity continued in the fall when another three went home because the disease.²⁴⁴ In August, John (Tsi-Ge) Hevewah (Bannock) came down with

²⁴³ Tubercular infections (Positive or probable), January 1, 1911-June 30, 1911: Modesto Subish (Rincon Band of Luiseño) [Unknown], in Conser, Supt. to Supt. Davis, January 11, 1910 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 349, Frank Beatty (Paiute) [Phthisis], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Pueblo Day Schools, June 13, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 28, Dewitt Blackwater (Akimel O'otham) [Hemorrhages], in [FMC/MGA] Superintendent to Harry Azul, Sr., March 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 38, James Alexander (Yakima) [Hemorrhages] and Alexander Hoptowit (Yakima) [Unknown], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to S.A.M. Young, Supt. Yakima School, May 15, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, Rose Sikahhongisi (Hopi) [Tuberculosis; Died within two months of leaving], in C.R. Jefferis, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Sherman Institute, July 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 331, Sarah Patton (Akimel O'otham) [Tubercular glands], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to H.C. Russell, Supt. In Charge Pima Agency, May 31, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 281, Bertha Hilliard (Ahwahnechee Miwok) [Unknown; Died within two months of leaving], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Peter Hilliard, February 11, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 150, Carmel Calac (Mission) [Died from sub-acute nephritis], in Alfred E. Ehlers, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent, Sherman Institute, April 21, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR; Shoemaker to Murphy, March 27, 1911, 2, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC.

²⁴⁴ Tubercular students, 7/1/1911-12/31/1911: Martha Lew (Yuki), in Martha Lew to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 205, Lottie Tawamanema (Hopi), in FMC/GF, Superintendent to Supt. Roy E. Crane, September 7, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 353, Rudolph Pratt (Klamath), in F.M. Conser, Superintendent to Lena McCardie, September 6, 1911 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Ernest Sampson (Kaibab Paiute) [Later died at the school], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to R.A. Ward, Supt. Kaibab School, December 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR.

typhoid.²⁴⁵ That month Conser sent another student home failing with tuberculosis, one of many that year.²⁴⁶

On Monday, October 30, 1911, Nathan Reid (Laguna Pueblo) left Sherman for a nearly seven-hundred-mile journey home to Paraje village in New Mexico.²⁴⁷ Having been at the school since October 1909, Nathan arrived at Sherman's hospital sometime before October 1911. Authorities placed him under "special observation" — an oft-used diagnostic approach for suspicious tubercular cases — by Dr. Roblee. Likely scared, the nineteen-year-old ran away. Sherman officials soon apprehended and detained him. According to his sister, Mrs. Martin Luther, Nathan escaped to get word of his illness to his family because the school did not allow sick students to write home.²⁴⁸ Following the recapture, on October 27, 1911, Dr. Roblee diagnosed Nathan with "tuberculosis in both lungs" and recommended that he be "sent home."²⁴⁹ Frank Conser, Sherman's superintendent, issued letters to the boy's sister and reservation agent.²⁵⁰ The letters never came, as Nathan's return surprised both. Laguna's agent recalled,

²⁴⁵ "Medical Record," in John (Tsi-Ge) Hevewah (Bannock) [Typhoid fever; later sent home sick], Sherman Student Files, Box 148, NARAR.

²⁴⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁴⁷ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Laguna Indians, October 27, 1911, in Nathan Reid, Sherman Student Files, Box 304, NARAR.

²⁴⁸ Students wrote letters to their families during academic instruction. If they were in the hospital, then they would miss letter-writing time. Not hearing from their children monthly was a sign to families that something was wrong. Mrs. Martin Luther, in Fred Dillon to Supt. P.T. Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁴⁹ W.W. Roblee to Conser, October 27, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 304, Nathan Reid, NARAR.

²⁵⁰ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Carrie Sice, October 27, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 304, Nathan Reid, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Laguna Indians, October 27, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Nathan Reid, Box 304, NARAR.

“[Nathan] arrived unattended on a cold day and had six miles to travel to reach his home.”²⁵¹

With a low night temperature of 28°F on November 1, the young man — undoubtedly weakened from his tubercular infection — made it home after the six-mile walk from the train depot. His family was distraught over his condition.²⁵² Nathan’s father, Fernando Reid, reportedly lamented that when “they took the boy away they promised he should have the best possible care and that they deceived and lied to [me].”²⁵³ “[H]enceforth,” Nathan’s sister insisted, “no white man shall darken his door.”²⁵⁴ Nathan’s community had already suffered much that year. Earlier in 1911, Roblee recommended Antonio Rafael to go home. The school callously bought the boy with a life-threatening lung infection train tickets for the “smoking” cabin. Antonio arrived “practically dead of pulmonary tuberculosis and had also a tubercular ulcer of the foot.”²⁵⁵ In December Conser sent another Laguna student home.²⁵⁶

Sherman students continued coming down with typhoid fever. In October 1911, Raymond Powett (Cahuilla) contracted typhoid fever, potentially for a second time that calendar year, and died in October.²⁵⁷ Martha Lew (Yuki) developed tuberculosis in December after being

²⁵¹ Fred Dillon to Supt. P.T. Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁵² “Record of Climatological Observations” for Laguna, NM, November 1, 1911, <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/cdo-web/datasets/GHCND/stations/GHCND:USC00294719/detail>.

²⁵³ Father paraphrased by sister, in Fred Dillon to Supt. P.T. Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁵⁴ Sister, in Fred Dillon to Supt. P.T. Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁵⁵ Dillon to Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, NARAR.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ MGA, Superintendent to H.E. Wadsworth, Supt. Soboba School, April 1, 1918, in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Raymond Powett, NARAR.

absent from school, and presumably sick, between the previous March and May.²⁵⁸ That same month, Paul Valdez (Tohono O’odham) and Ernest Sampson (Kaibab Paiute) contracted typhoid, remaining in the hospital through the New Year.²⁵⁹ The following February, Ernest died in Sherman’s hospital from his infection. It is unknown if typhoid contributed to his diagnosis.²⁶⁰ Around this time, John Hevewah (Bannock) went home ill following his typhoid infection several months earlier.²⁶¹ In April 1912, John Wellington (Akimel O’otham) contracted “typhoid-pneumonia.” One of his lungs “never cleared up.” Dr. Roblee diagnosed him with tuberculosis, and the school sent him to Arizona’s Phoenix Sanatorium by July 10.²⁶² During John’s hospitalization, two students, Minnie Montoya (Cochiti Pueblo) and Ahill Ramon (Tohono O’odham), contracted typhoid and entered the hospital in May.²⁶³ Minnie contracted tubercular meningitis and died in the hospital in June.²⁶⁴ Ahill survived his typhoid infection, but was later sent home sick and died within seven months of leaving.²⁶⁵ Tuberculosis posed a

²⁵⁸ Martha Lew to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1911 and “Record of Pupil in School,” in Sherman Student Files, Box 205, Martha Lew, NARAR.

²⁵⁹ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Henry J. McQuigg, January 3, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 369, Paul Valdez, NARAR; FMC/MGA to Ward, December 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR.

²⁶⁰ “Medical Record,” in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, Ernest Sampson, NARAR.

²⁶¹ “Record of Pupil in School,” in Sherman Student Files, Box 148, John (Tsi-Ge) Hevewah, NARAR.

²⁶² Charles E. Poe, Superintendent to Frank M. Conser, Supt. Sherman Institute, July 10, 1912 and FMC/MGA, Superintendent to C.W. Goodman, Supt. Phoenix School, August 21, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 382, John Wellington, NARAR.

²⁶³ FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Calistro Montoya, May 22, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 252, Minnie Montoya, NARAR; FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Henry J. McQuigg, Supt. San Xavier School, May 29, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 300, Ahill Ramon, NARAR.

²⁶⁴ Conser, Supt to Sarah Montoya, June 11, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 252, Minnie Montoya, NARAR.

²⁶⁵ Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 300, Ahill Ramon, NARAR.

potential death sentence for students previously infected with dangerous diseases. In total, Sherman registered at least thirty tubercular cases between January 1911 and December 31, 1912.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Tubercular cases at Sherman between January 1, 1911, and December 31, 1912 (35-36): Robert White (Kai Pomo) [Typhoid fever; tubercular complications], in "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 386, Georgia Mojado (La Jolla Band of Luiseño) [Tuberculosis], in W.W. Roblee, Physician in Charge to Coner, Sherman Institute, January 23, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 249, Subish Modesto (Rincon Band of Luiseño) [Unknown], in Conser, Supt. to Supt. Davis, January 11, 1910 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 349, Horace Hill (Klamath) [Tuberculosis following typhoid fever; Died within five months of leaving], in Edson Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, November 8, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Blanche Masten (Klamath) [Tuberculosis; Died at home within three months of leaving], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 232, Frank Beatty (Paiute) [Phthisis], in FMC/MGA to Lonergan, June 13, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 28, Dewitt Blackwater (Akimel O'otham) [Hemorrhages], in [FMC/MGA] to Azul, March 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 38, Antonio Rafael (Laguna Pueblo) [Tubercular bone], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 299, George Lawrence (Moapa Paiute) [Died from tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever], in Conser, Supt. to John R. Cox, Supt., April 28, 1911 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201, James Alexander (Yakima) [Hemorrhages], in FMC/MGA to Young, May 15, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, Rose Sikahongisi (Hopi) [Tuberculosis; Died within two months of leaving], in Jefferis to Conser, July 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 331, Sarah Patton (Akimel O'otham) [Tubercular glands], in FMC/MGA to H.C. Russell, Supt. In Charge Pima Agency, May 31, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 281, Lottie Tawamanema (Hopi) [Tuberculosis], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 353, Rudolph Pratt (Klamath) [Tuberculosis; Died at home], in Conser to McCardie, September 6, 1911 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Owen Keaki (Diné) [Tuberculosis; Died "a short time" after returning home], in Leo Crane, Superintendent to Superintendent, Sherman Institute, March 16, 1914, in Sherman Student Files, Box 185, Mary Katawa (Northern Shoshone) [Tuberculosis; died within two months of leaving], FMA/MGA, Superintendent to Evan W. Estep, Supt. Ft. Hal School, October 27, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 184, Nathan Reid (Laguna Pueblo), in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Laguna Indians, October 27, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 304, Juan T. Emarcia (Akimel O'otham) [Tuberculosis; Died within one year of leaving], in Conser, Supt. to Russell, Principal, Sacaton, November 4, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 107, Elsie Smoker (Klamath) [Tuberculosis; Died at home], FMC/GF, Superintendent to Jesse B. Mortsof, August 9, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 202, Minerva E. Leary, James Hono (Pueblo [Casa Blanca, NM]) [Tuberculosis], in Fred Dillon to Supt. P.T. Lonergan, December 12, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, Julia Antonio (Tohono O'odham) [Died of tubercular spinal meningitis], in Kightlinger, Clerk to McQuigg, Supt., Indian School, February 9, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 12, Ernest Sampson (Kaibab Paiute) [Died of phthisis], in FMC/MGA to Ward, December 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, George Ike (Moapa Paiute) [Lung], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Francis A. Swayne, Supt. Moapa School, March 1, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 163, Felicidad Arenas (Soboba Band of Luiseño) [Tuberculosis; Died within three months of leaving], in Hardwood Hall, Superintendent to Frank M. Conser, Supt. Sherman Institute, August 14, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 306, Dario Ringleo, Theodore Billdoneshow (Crow) [Tuberculosis; Died within three months of leaving], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 48, Dario Ringleo (Soboba Band of Luiseño) [Tuberculosis], in O.E. Arnold, M.D. to Harwood Hall, Supt. Soboba Indian School, August 12, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 306, Lena Tido (Moapa Paiute) [Died of tubercular peritonitis], in Conser, Supt. to Swain,

Sherman's 1912 annual report reveals an increase in tuberculosis cases, especially of the non-pulmonary manifestations. That year, the superintendent reported to the commissioner eighteen cases of the disease (thirteen pulmonary, two glandular, and three "other"). Despite treating 340 fewer patients than the previous year, seven students died, a 133.33 percent increase over the previous year.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Superintendent Conser reported, "The general health of

Supt., June 1, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 359, Jose Pablo, Sr. (Tohono O'odham) [Tuberculosis], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Henry J. McQuigg, Supt. San Xavier School, June 12, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 275, Mary Sandy (Northern Shoshone) [Tuberculosis], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Evan W. Estep, Supt. Ft. Hall School, June 25, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 320, Myrtle Tendoy (Northern Shoshone) [Tuberculosis; Died within eight months of leaving], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 354, Minnie Montoya (Cochiti Pueblo) [Died of tubercular meningitis], in Conser, Supt to Sarah Montoya, June 11, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 252, Peter Begay (Diné) [Tubercular hip], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Peter Paquette, Supt. Ft. Defiance School, April 12, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 30, Amanda Heath (Yuki) [Tuberculosis; Died within fifteen months of leaving], in FMC(EIH), Superintendent to U.L. Clardy, Clerk in Charge, June 2, 1909, in Sherman Student Files, Box 144, Carrie Heath, Martha Lew (Yuki) [Tuberculosis; Student employee], in Martha Lew to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1911 and "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 205, Marie Oso (NTL) [Tuberculosis; Sent to Laguna Sanatorium], in P.T. Lonergan, Supt. to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Sherman Institute, June 17, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 272, NARAR; [Unnamed girl in Shoemaker report] Shoemaker to Murphy, March 27, 1911, 2, in Sherman CCF, Box 17, Folder 30841-1-1911 Sherman Inst. 735, NARADC. Students sent home with non-tubercular or unknown illnesses, 1/1/1911-12/31/1912 (9): John (Tsi-Ge) Hevewah [Unknown], "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 148, Andrew Hoptowit (Yakima) [Unknown], in FMC/MGA to Young, May 15, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, James Alexander, May Roberts (Akimel O'otham) [Unknown], in Mae A. Roberts, "Biographical sketch," in Sherman Student Files, Box 307, Modesta Chapull (Serrano) [Rheumatism and weak heart], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Will H. Stanley, Supt. Soboba School, February 27, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 61, Nettie Allen (Klamath) [Unknown], in Superintendent to Mr. Jesse B. Mortsof, Supt. Hoopa Valley School, June 13, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 5, Dorothy Allen (Klamath) [Stomach hemorrhage], in [Unknown] to F.M. Conser, November 25, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, Mabel Washoe (Washoe) [Joint trouble], in W.W. Roblee, Physician in Charge to Coner, Sherman Institute, January 23, 1911, Sherman Student Files, Box 249, Georgia Mojado, Cepha Allen (Klamath) [Unknown], in E.E. Kightlinger, Clerk to E.J. Holden, Supt. Hoopa Valley School, December 30, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 4, Susie Trujillo (La Jolla Band of Luiseño) [Unknown], in "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 365, NARAR.

²⁶⁷ "Statistical Section," in Sherman CCF, Box 6, Folder 051 Statistics: Annual Report 1912, NARAR. Conser only reported five of the deaths. Perhaps because one happened while the student was under the school's jurisdiction, but died while running away. Another comes from the date given on the school's cemetery marker. For Sherman deaths, 1911-1912, see: Raymond Powett (Cahuilla) [Typhoid fever], in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR; Raymond Casera (Cahuilla/[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]) [Unknown], in Sherman Student Files, Box 57A in Frederick Casera, NARAR; Julia Antonio (Tohono O'odham) [Tubercular meningitis], in Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR; Ernest Sampson (Kaibab

the students has been good. There has been no epidemic during the year.” He attributed this to monthly tracking of student weights and a new 100-capacity hospital completed that year.²⁶⁸ Still unsafe conditions remained. In July, an inspection found the school’s bathing and toilet facilities were unsanitary and a potential cause of typhoid fever’s spread.²⁶⁹

More public health directives now emanated from the Indian Office. In February 1912, Valentine addressed steps to prevent the spread of trachoma.²⁷⁰ Two months later, the commissioner emphasized the requirement for frequent physical examinations to catch tubercular and other infectious diseases. He ordered superintendents that those students “must not be retained in school but must be sent to the Government sanatorium, private sanatorium, or to their homes.”²⁷¹ In May, Valentine instructed school superintendents to stop the practice of locking and barring the doors and windows of girls’ dormitories because of fire danger.²⁷² Instead, he proposed that superintendents install an electric burglar alarm or hire night watchmen to patrol the grounds.²⁷³ While the commissioner worried about the fire safety, Sherman’s superintendent

Paiute) [Phthisis], in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR; Clyde Cookman (Klamath) [Died running away], in Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR; Lena Tido (Moapa Band of Paiute) [Tubercular peritonitis], Sherman Student Files, Box 359, NARAR, Carmel Calac (Rincon Band of Luiseño) [Sub-acute nephritis], in Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR; Jose Lawyer (NTL) [Unknown], in Sherman Cemetery Marker.

²⁶⁸ “Narrative Section,” in Sherman CCF, Box 6, Folder 051 Statistics: Annual Report 1912, NARAR.

²⁶⁹ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 2, 1912, 84-86, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁷⁰ “Precautionary measures against the spread of trachoma,” Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents, Circular No. 602, February 3, 1912, M1121, Reel 10.

²⁷¹ “Tuberculosis Sanatoria,” Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents, Education Circular No. 613, April 1, 1912, M1121, Reel 10.

²⁷² “Protection of dormitories,” Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner to Superintendents of Boarding Schools, Education Circular No. 632, May 13, 1912, M1121, Reel 10.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

had difficulty feeding students. Conser complained to Valentine that the rations were not enough for the school's students.²⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Indian Office added three tuberculosis sanatoria to its portfolio of institutions, joining hundreds of boarding, day, and contract schools, and Canton Asylum.²⁷⁵ Located at Fort Lapwai, Idaho, Phoenix, Arizona, and Laguna, New Mexico, the tuberculosis sanatoria had capacity to collectively treat 175 patients, a small fraction of the Indigenous people with incipient tuberculosis.²⁷⁶ Congress now began to see the importance of funding sanitary measures. On August 24, 1912 Congress passed an appropriation act for 1913 allocating \$90,000 to combat infectious diseases among Native American communities, \$10,000 of which was earmarked for a special investigation by the Public Health Service.²⁷⁷ One month later, the acting commissioner asked all superintendents for their cooperation with the inquiry.²⁷⁸ By the end of the year, the topic was important enough to warrant a mention in President Taft's State of the Union Address to a joint meeting of Congress. President Taft acknowledged, "The present conditions of health on Indian reservations and in Indian schools are, broadly speaking, very unsatisfactory." He then argued for Congress to appropriate \$253,350 for the Indian Medical Service to alleviate poor conditions. Taft expressed optimism that "if granted by Congress, it is

²⁷⁴ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 2, 1912, 28, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁷⁵ For more on the federal "Institute for Insane Indians" at Canton, South Dakota, see: Susan Burch, "'Dislocated Histories': The Canton Asylum for Insane Indians," *Women, Gender, and Families of Color* 2:2 (Fall 2014), 141-162 and Joinson, *Vanished in Hiawatha*.

²⁷⁶ "Tuberculosis Sanatoria," Valentine to Superintendents, April 1, 1912, M1121, Reel 10.

²⁷⁷ U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from March, 1911, to March, 1913*, 37:519.

²⁷⁸ "Investigation, contagious diseases," C.F. Hauke, Acting Commissioner to all Superintendents, Circular No. 689, September 26, 1912, M1121, Reel 9.

believed that the tide can be turned, that the danger of infection among the Indians themselves and to the several millions of white persons now living as neighbors to them can be greatly reduced, and genuine cooperation with local State boards of health now already under way can be adequately provided for.”²⁷⁹ Indeed, Taft was ultimately concerned with the health of his voting constituency.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1912, typhoid and tuberculosis remained comorbid harbingers of death at Sherman. That June, Lena Tido (Moapa Pauite), who had been hospitalized during the unreported epidemic in March, contracted tubercular peritonitis and died.²⁸⁰ Six other students entered the hospital with lung infections.²⁸¹

More typhoid fever or tuberculosis followed. Between June 1913 and February 1914, Roblee diagnosed four students with the two diseases.²⁸² One of these, a boy from Acoma or Laguna Pueblo, contracted tubercular peritonitis following typhoid. The administration sent him

²⁷⁹ Wm. H. Taft, “Diseases among Indians,” August 10, 1912, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess., S. Doc. 907, 1, 2, 3.

²⁸⁰ Conser, Supt. to Swain, Supt., June 1, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 359, Lena Tido, NARAR.

²⁸¹ Woddie Mamashoop (Northern Shoshone) [Hemorrhage], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Evan W. Estep, Supt. Ft. Hall School, July 22, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 267, Lizzie Novoetse, NARAR; Myrtle Tendoy (Northern Shoshone) [Tubercular observation], in Conser, Supt. To Estep, Supt., September 20, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 354, NARAR; Amade Antonio (Tohono O’odham) [Pneumonia], in Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR; Carmie Richards (Akimel O’otham) [Likely tuberculosis], FMC/MGA, Superintendent to F.A. Thackery, Supt. Pima School, September 11, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR; Bacenta Garner (Tule River) [Influenza] and Modesta Garner (Tule River) [Influenza], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1916, 1-3, in Sherman LS, Box 45, NARAR.

²⁸² Jose Garcia Laguna (Laguna Pueblo) [Tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, Supt. Pueblo Day Schools, July 9, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 196, Jose Garcia Laguna, NARAR; Hiram Robbins (Modoc) [Typhoid fever], in Sherman Student Files, Box 307, NARAR; Reginaldo Lachusa (Diegueño) [Tubercular symptoms], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to T.M. Games, Supt. Volcan School, August 8, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 196, NARAR; Leonard Jose (Tohono O’odham) [Typhoid like fever; Died at home within one month of leaving], in Harriet Quillian to Conser, March 17, 1914, in Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR.

home. P.T. Lonergan, the agency superintendent, thought this wise, as he informed Conser, “if another death should occur among the Acoma pupils at Riverside it might affect the action of future children in their choice of a school.”²⁸³ One sent home with typhoid died within one month of leaving the school.²⁸⁴ By February, Conser had exhausted his funds by continuously fighting diseases and having to return sick students to their homes. He exceeded the allowed per student allocation from Congress and the commissioner questioned his expenditures. Conser responded by recounting visits to other like institutions that expended between \$250 and \$430 per student per year. Conser used these facts to boast, “I seriously question whether any accredited industrial institution can show a more economical expenditure of funds per capita than this school.”²⁸⁵ From January 1, 1913 to December 31, 1914, Sherman sent home at least fifty students with poor health.²⁸⁶

Continued typhoid fever cases between 1910 and 1914 indicate that the disease was not well controlled at Sherman. What could have caused this much typhoid? The boarding school archives suggest possibilities of a chronic carrier, different infection sources, or one continuous infection from a source.²⁸⁷ We cannot know for sure, but the answer does not change the fact that the disease ravaged the school over five calendar years. Records confirm at least thirteen definitive typhoid cases.²⁸⁸ Seventeen students died at the school from mostly tubercular or

²⁸³ P.T. Lonergan, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Sherman Institute, November 14, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 196, Jose Garcia Laguna, NARAR.

²⁸⁴ Leonard Jose (Tohono O’odham) [Typhoid like fever; Died at home within one month of leaving], in Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR.

²⁸⁵ F.M. Conser, Superintendent to The Honorable, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 25, 1914, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR.

²⁸⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁸⁷ Hardy, *Epidemic Streets*, 156; Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 1071-1076.

typhoidal causes.²⁸⁹ Conser and Roblee shipped ninety-six sick students to their homes or to a sanatorium.²⁹⁰ Of these, nineteen died within one academic year of leaving the school.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ See footnotes in this chapter and Appendix 1 for those sent home.

²⁸⁹ For Sherman student deaths, 1910-1911 (3): George Lawrence (Moapa Paiute) [Died from tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever], in Conser to Cox, Supt., April 28, 1911 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 201; Carmel Calac (Rincon Band of Luiseño) [Died sub-acute nephritis], in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Alfred E. Whiteis, Supt. Rincon School, May 1, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR; James Hancock (Mono) [Pneumonia], in Conser, Supt. to Ben Hancock, October 3, 1910 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 138, NARAR. Sherman student deaths, 1911-1912 (8): Raymond Powett (Cahuilla) [Typhoid fever], MGA to Wadsworth, April 1, 1918, in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR; Raymond Casera (Cahuilla/[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]) [Unknown], FMC/MGA, Superintendent to Frederick Casero, November 4, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 57A in Frederick Casera, NARAR; Julia Antonio (Tohono O'odham) [Tubercular meningitis], Kightlinger, Clerk to McQuigg, Supt., Indian School, February 9, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR; Ernest Sampson (Kaibab Paiute) [Phthisis], Medical Record, in Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR; Clyde Cookman (Klamath) [Died running away], Edson Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, June 3, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR; Lena Tido (Moapa Band of Paiute) [Tubercular peritonitis], Conser, Supt. to Swain, Supt., June 1, 1912 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 359, NARAR, Carmel Calac (Rincon Band of Luiseño) [Sub-acute nephritis], Alfred E. Ehlers, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent, Sherman Institute, April 21, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR; Jose Lawyer (NTL) [Unknown], in Sherman Cemetery Marker. Sherman student deaths, 1912-1913 (2): Frank Beatty (Paiute) [Phthisis], in FMC/MGA to Lonergan, June 13, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 28; Daria Lugo (Mission [Cahuilla]) [Died from unknown disease], in Hart Gardner to Frank M. Conser, Supt. Sherman Institute, August 6, 1917, in Sherman Student Files, Box 218, NARAR. For deaths, 1913-1914 (4): San Juan Miller (Acoma Pueblo) [Pneumonia following hemorrhages], in W.W. Roblee, Physician to Conser, October 23, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 247, NARAR; Antonio Ardilla (Mission [Pechanga]) [Unknown], in "Medical Record," in Sherman Student Files, Box 14, NARAR; Emma Johnson (Mono) [Fever], in "Record of Pupil in School," in Sherman Student Files, Box 176, NARAR; Sam Marvin (Mono) [Unknown], in Conser, Superintendent to Donnie Dutton, June 23, 1914 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 232, NARAR. For deaths, July 1 through December 31, 1914 (1): Juan Chilino (Tohono O'odham) [Tubercular meningitis], in Conser, Superintendent to McQuigg, Supt., October 31, 1914 telegram, in Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR.

²⁹⁰ See previous footnotes.

²⁹¹ Amanda Heath (Yuki), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 144, Reginalda Guassac (La Jolla Band of Luiseño), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 134, Ahill Ramon (Tohono O'odham), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 300, Juan T. Emarcia (Akimel O'otham), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 107, Theodore Bulldontshow (Crow), in Note on top of medical form, in Sherman Student Files, Box 48, Horace Hill (Klamath), in Edsan Watson, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Indian School, November 8, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 149, Leonard Jose (Tohono O'odham), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 182, Blanche Masten (Klamath), in Note on medical form, in Sherman Student Files, Box 232, Felicitad Arenas (Soboba Band of Luiseño), in Hardwood Hall, Superintendent to Frank M. Conser, Supt. Sherman Institute, August 14, 1912, in Sherman Student Files, Box 206, Luciana Arenas (Cahuilla [Volcan, CA]), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 14, Dario

Attending Sherman during an epidemic was a contributory cause of these deaths.

The voices of Indigenous students begin to emerge in the archives during the latter half of the first decade of the twentieth century. They speak of continued debilitation and profound losses. Students, many of them children, could only do so much to safeguard their health while confined in institutions that aimed to destroy their cultures and whose byproduct was significant mortality. Indeed, sickness usually followed them after their school days. George Little Wound, a young Oglala Lakota Oyate man from Pine Ridge who attended Carlisle, recalled “I went to school to get a good Education ... but I greatly mistaking when I went to school I come home with sickness and do not know any thing.... and believe it I never get well from the sickness which I brought from the school.... I am in mizer [miserable] place and bad condition.”²⁹² Annie Prickett, a Menominee student sent home sick from Carlisle, could never again go to school, being confined to bed: “I attracted sickness there and have been sick all the time.” Annie wished to return to Carlisle, but realized, “I would die there this time.” Finally, Annie’s letter provides evidence of superintendents expecting Indigenous peoples to cover the government’s responsibility of paying returned transportation costs for sick students: “I had to pay my own fare to come. Dr. Shoemaker wanted send me home, but Mr. Wise would not let him.”²⁹³ For other

Ringlero, Jettie Eades (Pitt River), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 104, Jose Garcia Laguna (Laguna Pueblo), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 196, Owen Keak (Diné), in Leo Crane, Superintendent to Superintendent, Sherman Institute, March 16, 1914, in Sherman Student Files, Box 185, Elsie Smoker (Klamath), in Note, in Sherman Student Files, Box 339, Antonio Rafael (Laguna Pueblo), in FMC/MGA, Superintendent to P.T. Lonergan, December 18, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 155, James Hono, Rudolph Pratt (Hupa), in Medical form, in Sherman Student Files, Box 294, Bertha Hilliard ([Yosemite]), in MGA, Superintendent to Harry Hilliard, El Portal, Calif., April 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 150, Harry Hilliard, Mary Katawa (Northern Shoshone), in Note in Sherman Student Files, Box 184, Myrtle Tendoy (Northern Shoshone), in Estep to Conser, May 9, 1913, in Sherman Student Files, Box 354, Rose Sikyahongisi (Hopi), C.R. Jefferis, Superintendent to F.M. Conser, Superintendent Sherman Institute, July 14, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 331, NARAR.

²⁹² George Little Wound, in Returned Survey [1909-1910], in E-1327, Box 38, Folder 941, NARADC.

children and young adults, boarding schools destroyed the family they knew. Lucy Pequonquay (Odawa), a Carlisle student from Michigan, recollected in 1910 how death claimed her siblings: “My brother Luke Pequonquay died after he got back home [from Carlisle] and my sister Pearl May Pequaquay she died she was taken sick at Haskell ... She was brought home sick.”²⁹⁴ That year, Ambrose Whitefoot, a Yakima student from Fort Simcoe, Washington, wrote to enlist his mother’s help in getting home from Chemawa: “I am in not good condition. I always feel sick now days... Just write to Mr. Edward L. Charlcraft and ask him that I am wanted at home. I don’t feel good any more and I think I got Tuberculosis and beside my neck not well it hard and I don’t play round much I use to I always chill and I have to stay in my room.”²⁹⁵ A Sherman student who left with tuberculosis and later died, Mary Katawa (Northern Shoshone), wrote to her father about her illness on September 5, 1911: “I am not very well. I don’t think I will ever get over this coughing and I am getting little slim this time, I was alright for a while. But I don’t feel well this time and I don’t like the food here.... Besides I don’t want to get worse at this school far from home. I would like to go back home....I am tired of being coughin round here. I like this school alright. but the food I cares to learn some things what I don’t know.”²⁹⁶ For these students and many other, diseases contracted in boarding school had fundamentally changed, even taken, their lives.

²⁹³ Prickett, “Records of Graduates and Returned Students,” [1909-1910], in E-1327, Box 51, Folder 1275, NARADC.

²⁹⁴ Pequonquay, “Records of Graduates and Returned Students,” in E-1327, Box 55, Folder 2768, NARADC.

²⁹⁵ Ambrose Whitefoot to Mother, April 6, 1910, 1-2, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 2992, NARAS.

²⁹⁶ Mary Katahwa to Father, September 5, 1911, in Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR.

Diseases and deaths did decrease during the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, but their rates still exceeded acceptable standards. In response to life threatening conditions, the Indian Office began a concerted effort to intervene in daily boarding school life, establishing health directives in attempts to limit the spread of diseases. Just as diseases reached a lower, though still elevated, plateau in boarding schools, Congress began a campaign of general austerity in 1903, decreasing funding to the Indian Office five of the next eight years.²⁹⁷ Appropriations fell five of the next seven years, at a time when the Indian Office was trying to tackle the lethal health crises. With limited appropriations, superintendents did what they could to follow recommendations, but often fell short. They blatantly ignored others. Year after year, students went barefoot, nearly naked, received poor care and food, and lived in overcrowded, unsanitary, dilapidated buildings. Superintendents requested more funding, much of it rejected, and overfilled campuses with healthy children and young adults and those of questionable health in response to a funding system instituted by Congress that incentivized maximizing enrollments and retaining ill children and young adults in disregard of Indian Office directives. These policies and imposed environmental conditions spread disease. Beginning in 1911, Congress allocated specific funds to combatting infectious diseases in Indian communities, but decades of apathy and neglect could not be erased in a few years, especially given the state of sanitary conditions in the schools. Despite public health interventions, sanitary conditions remained an illusion as inadequate conditions remained the norm. Epidemics would continue in the decades to come.

²⁹⁷ Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1903, in *ARCIA, 1903*, 1; Jones to Secretary of the Interior, October 17, 1904, in *ARCIA, 1904*, 1; Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1905, in *ARCIA, 1905*, 46; Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1906, in *ARCIA, 1906*, 63; Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1907, in *ARCIA, 1907*, 49; Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, September 30, 1908, in *ARCIA, 1908*, 52; Valentine to [Secretary of the Interior], September 15, 1909, in *ARCIA, 1909*, 87; Valentine to Secretary of the Interior, October 2, 1911, in *ARCIA, 1911*, 188.

Epilogue: Deaths Continue to Mount, 1913-1934

Over the next twenty years, the familiar pattern of under-resourced schools confining students in dangerous conditions continued to spawn epidemics. Some of these epidemics were unavoidable, like the 1918 Spanish Flu pandemic. Negligence caused others. Indeed, Congress failed to provide adequate resources for boarding schools despite their long history of lethality. Meanwhile, the Indian Office continued to pump out sanitary regulations. Yet, despite these mandates, boarding school superintendents often could not afford to adhere to Indian Office hygienic rules or chose to ignore them. Sherman's hidden 1910-1914 typhoid epidemic(s) characterized the seriousness of these outbreaks that continued to envelop boarding schools.

Investigations of the boarding schools by various bodies confirmed these conditions. The Public Health Service's 1912 survey of health among Native Americans, Congress's 1913-1914 study of Carlisle, Florence Patterson's 1922 report on the need for public health nurses, the Institute for Government Research's general investigation of the Indian Service in 1926, and the United States Senate's 1928 inquiry all exposed the chronic and systemic conditions that contributed to morbidity and mortality in federal boarding schools. Dangerous and deadly conditions had existed since the system's founding in 1879 and continued long after 1934.

The public health survey authorized by Congress's 1912 appropriation act funding the Indian Office became public in 1913.¹ As the historian DeJong pointed out, Congress chose the Public Health Service to investigate because it "did not trust the Indian Service."² Perhaps Congressmen knew about superintendents and thus the commissioner underreporting deaths and

¹ U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from March, 1911, to March, 1913*, 37:519.

² DeJong, *"If You Only Knew the Conditions,"* 28.

otherwise hiding deplorable conditions. The report did not paint the Indian Office in a positive light. First, it identified tuberculosis and trachoma as two of the most severe threats to Indigenous well-being, “the former being the cause of much suffering ... on account of damage or destruction of vision, and the latter bringing about destruction of body tissues, crippling, and early death.”³

In addition to being a focal point of healthcare delivery throughout the Indian service, boarding schools also facilitated the spread of disease. Students frequently spread diseases like trachoma on bedding, clothing, handkerchiefs, tools, and towels, especially in crowded conditions. When students left school, they took infirmities home with them.⁴ Sherman was the worst hit of the four schools in this study by the infectious eye disease trachoma. At Sherman, the Public Health Service found 26 percent suffering from trachoma, compared to 15.3 percent in California as a whole and 8.52 percent in California Indian communities.⁵ The investigators concluded that Sherman provided “convincing proof of the ease with which trachoma may be disseminated through the agency of schools, as it was evident that many of these children did not acquire the infection at their homes.”⁶ At Haskell, 15 percent of students had the debilitating and blinding eye disease, while 13.76 percent of Carlisle’s students and 9.1 percent of Chemawa’s tested positive for the infection.⁷ “[I]n most of the schools visited,” inspectors noticed, students

³ U.S. Public Health Service, U.S. Congress, “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” January 27, 1913, 62nd Cong., 3rd Sess., S.Doc.1038, 15 [hereafter “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,”].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29-31, 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 29-31.

“suffering from trachoma are allowed freely to mingle with the others in the class rooms, at play, and in the dormitories in most of the schools visited.”⁸ Indeed, trachoma-infected students “may well be the means of introducing the disease into territory uninfected at present, upon returning to their families.”⁹ Furthermore, the “almost uniformly lower rate [of trachoma] observed” on reservations, provided additional evidence to support the authors’ conclusion that schools spread the disease.¹⁰

Tuberculosis, frequently following infections of measles, influenza, and other diseases, impacted Native American people more than any group in the United States.¹¹ When Inspector W. Chester Billings, an assistant surgeon, arrived at Chemawa, he found twenty-three actively tubercular children and young adults among the school’s 316 students, or 13.6 percent of the student body.¹² Carlisle, meanwhile, did a better job of screening out tubercular students during the admissions process and more proactively sent students home or to a sanatorium. Still, twenty-six, or 4.7 percent, of the 552 students tested positive for the disease.¹³ Tuberculosis rates in Native American boarding schools remained excessive. Another Public Health Service investigator for the 1913 study, Lunsford D. Frick, an assistant surgeon, found that of the 249 students who left an unnamed Arizona boarding school within the past ten years, 33.74 percent had died from tuberculosis, and “further owing to the incomplete record of deaths between 1904

⁸ “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 68.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

¹² *Ibid.*, 46; U.S. Public Health Service, *Official List of Commissioner and Other Officers of the United States Public Health Service* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1916), 11.

¹³ “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 47; U.S. Public Health Service, *Official List of Commissioner and Other Officers of the United States Public Health Service*, 11.

and 1910, that the percentage found is probably much lower than it actually is.”¹⁴ Indeed, the numbers could be higher. Administrators usually sent tubercular students home when health care workers detected the disease. Inspectors, however, questioned “the frequency with which such conditions are early discovered” because of the poor quality of medical supervision in the institutions.¹⁵ Ultimately, the Public Health Service’s report revealed that the tuberculosis death rate for Native Americans was nearly three times higher than that of white Americans and slightly higher than the African American rate in the United States.¹⁶

Why were disease rates so high? The Public Health Service blamed conditions in the schools. The boarding school and administrators’ practices “have a bearing more or less direct on the propagation and spread of contagious and infectious diseases among the Indians.”¹⁷ Frederick C. Smith, another investigator and assistant surgeon responsible for investigating Colorado and New Mexico, resolved, “the regular [long] hours of work and study, the irksomeness of the labor required from school children, while light, is nevertheless a greater tax upon the physical capacity of the Indian child than the hardship of the indolent camp life to which he is inured,” especially given the school’s conditions.¹⁸ Moreover, the Public Health Service’s report emphasized that overcrowding persisted: “The majority of Indian boarding schools seem crowded beyond their capacity.”¹⁹ Bathtubs, ordered to be replaced by showers for sanitary

¹⁴ “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 66; *Army and Navy Journal and Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces* 57:1 (October 18, 1919), 202.

¹⁵ “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 68.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

reasons in 1906, remained in use, and “may be a factor in the spread of infectious and contagious diseases.”²⁰ Of school sanitary conditions generally, the investigators concluded, “The sanitary supervision of pupils in many Indian schools leaves much to be desired.”²¹ Future investigations provided more clarity on boarding school conditions.

In late 1913, Congress launched an investigation of Carlisle, the system’s first and flagship institution, in response to Carlisle students’ request. The student body submitted a petition to Congress to investigate the school. Attached were 276 signatures.²² Indian Affairs Inspector E.B. Linnen arrived at Carlisle in January 1914, with four members of Congress’s Joint Committee on Indian Affairs. They interviewed sixty-one witnesses, including many students, and recorded 692 pages of testimony.²³ Linnen’s final report and the supporting testimony highlighted Carlisle’s dangerous conditions, uncovered financial misappropriations, and laid bare employees’ abuses of students.

One of the chief complaints in boarding schools was the food and the lack thereof. Adequate nutrition provides the body with resources to fight infections and is essential to maintaining health. Without sufficient vitamins and minerals provided by a healthy and varied diet, germs more easily invade human bodies. Carlisle Superintendent Moses Friedman provided students under his care with neither adequate nor healthy nutrition. Alvis Morrin (Red Cliff Chippewa), the nineteen- or twenty-year-old Carlisle band member and 1914 Class President,

²⁰ Circular No. 139, in Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 3, 1906, in 88, in Sherman LS, Box 43, NARAR; “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 67.

²¹ “Contagious and Infectious Diseases Among the Indians,” 68.

²² E.B. Linnen, Inspector to The Secretary of the Interior, February 24, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1335.

²³ *Ibid.*, 11:1334.

testified to Congress that the students experienced little variation in rations and ate oatmeal six days a week.²⁴ Morrin explained that much discontent arose from “an insufficient amount of food.” Bread was their dietary staple and the lack of food compelled students to leave meals still hungry. Carlisle students thus went into town to beg, buy, and steal food. Morrin contended, “[Bread] is in the bakery, it is in the shelves, sometimes in the kitchen, but none is there for the students.”²⁵ He added that students received no fruit, few potatoes, and butter and syrup only once a week. Students had “no milk, no eggs, no buttermilk — which the farm produces — and [no] cream.”²⁶ Other students added to Morrin’s complaints.

John Gibson (Akimel O’otham), a twenty-three-year-old student from outside Sacaton, Arizona, described the inadequate meals at Carlisle in his congressional testimony. For breakfast, students received “Sirup (sic), tea, prunes, and bread.” For lunch, they had beef stew without vegetables.²⁷ Gibson continued, “We have two farms ... of 311 acres ... And there have been recorded on the report ... that so many eggs are produced. And yet where those eggs go to we have no knowledge of.... We don’t get them.... No [pork] ... No [milk].”²⁸ C. K. Ballard, a

²⁴ Testimony of Alvis Martin, February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:995; Alvis Morrin (Red Cliff Chippewa), in E-1329, Box 1, NARADC; *The Carlisle Arrow*, March 7, 1913, 2; *The Carlisle Arrow*, April 10, 1914, 6.

²⁵ Martin testimony, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:993.

²⁶ Martin testimony, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:994-995.

²⁷ Testimony of John Gibson, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:992.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11:989.

school farmer, confirmed these conditions, testifying that while Carlisle raised animals, the school sold its meat products in the market and did not use them in the school kitchen.²⁹

Carlisle's scanty servings also prompted student complaints. Carlisle teacher Hattie M. McDowell confirmed the prevalence of student hunger. "The [students] lined up along the wall and said they were hungry.... I said, 'Do you have good food, good bread?' And they said, 'Yes; but the meat was spoiled to-day, and we don't have bread enough.'" ³⁰ Peter Eastman (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), a 1913 Carlisle graduate, who married Germaine Renville (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), a Carlisle student who graduated in 1914, testified that while preparing meals, "[meat] fell on the floor, and then they just picked it up... And sometimes we have fish and it is [so] salty— you can hardly put it to your mouth."³¹ The lack of a balanced nutritious diet coupled with a lack of fresh produce and meats made it easier for pathogens to infect students and amplified the severity of those diseases. While it is impossible to estimate precisely students' daily caloric intake, this congressional investigation made it clear that Carlisle denied students adequate nutrition and subjected them to hunger.

Students then labored, unsupported by sufficient sustenance. They performed the maintenance and upkeep of the school's grounds six days a week. Administrators professed that this policy was intended to educate students in their vocational field, but superintendents exploited student labor to fill the monetary gap created by insufficient congressional

²⁹ Testimony of C.K. Ballard, Second Farmer, February 7, 1914, in *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1149.

³⁰ Testimony of Miss Hattie M. McDowell (Teacher), February 7, 1914, in *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1185.

³¹ Peter Eastman (Sisseton Sioux), in E-1329, Box 1, Germaine Renville (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), in E-1329, Box 1, NARADC; Testimony of Peter Eastman, February 6, 1914 in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1003.

appropriations. As a Carlisle student newspaper article explained “All the repair work on the plant valued at three quarters of a million dollars is kept up by student labor.”³² Howard Gansworth (Tuscarora) recalled falling into a deep depression after completing these menial tasks: “It was easy going until I reported for work and found that my job was to help another boy scrub a hall floor.” After a while the other boy said, “Maybe we better change water now. First thing the scrub major will be around.” The constant pressure and surveillance pushed Gansworth to the brink: “That evening I became terribly depressed. I wondered how I could stand the life at Carlisle any longer. It seemed as if we were always answering roll call, always reporting to someone, always marching somewhere, always keeping step with somebody, always under an officer’s charge.”³³

Estelle Aubrey Browne, the teacher-turned-matron-turned-clerk worked at the Pima Agency when Linnen and Congress conducted their investigations. Over her twelve-year career, she had varied experiences working at the Crow Creek Boarding School, Seneca Indian Training Boarding School, Carlisle, Fort Yuma, Leupp School, Fort Hall Agency, Phoenix Indian School, and the Osage Agency School.³⁴ From these posts, Brown later recalled the brutal conditions under which students labored. Presumably of Phoenix, she remembered: “In a temperature of around 120 degrees, these girls ironed clothing four hours daily six days a week.... I knew these girls were consistently overworked, knew they were always hungry. Simply, they did not get enough to eat.”³⁵ As she told it, Brown and the other employees “were powerless — or too

³² *The Indian Craftsman* 2:5 (January 1910), 37.

³³ Gansworth, “My First Days at the Carlisle Indian School by Howard Gansworth,” 487.

³⁴ Patricia A. Carter, “‘completely discouraged’: Women Teachers’ Resistance in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools, 1900-1910,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 15:3 (1995), 66.

³⁵ Estelle Aubrey Brown, *Stubborn Fool: A Narrative* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printer, 1952), 185.

cowardly — to try to do anything about it.” Still, she recognized that they “were accessories after the fact to the Indian Bureau’s humanity.”³⁶ Boarding school employees were complicit in the lethal system.

By permitting corporal punishment in the schools, the Indian Office opened the door to physical and psychological abuse. Students testified before Congress that they were locked up, beaten with straps, punched, and victims of other physical punishments. Louis Brown (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), a Carlisle student who later worked in the Indian Service, affirmed: “punishments...have been brutal.”³⁷ Braun testified: “There were three boys, Eddie Adams [(Saginaw Chippewa)], George Morrow [Murrow] [(Caddo)], and Paul Black (Spotted Horse) [(Sicangu Lakota Oyate)] were taken into [the disciplinarian’s] office and whipped with a baseball bat, and one of them the arm was hurt so he had to go to the hospital.” Braun continued, “James Kalawat [Kallowat] [(Kootenai)] was punished one time for dropping a [rag] on top of the floor.... Mr. Denny [the school’s assistant disciplinarian] caught him upstairs and hit him [with his fist] and knocked him clear down the first flight of stairs.” Besides, “Milton Brace [Brave] [(Oglala Lakota Oyate)] was hit in the face with his [Mr. Denny’s] fist. Mario (Meroney) French [(Eastern Cherokee)] was hit with his fist, and Edward Woods [(Mohawk)], a very small boy, was hit with his fist. Milford Henderson [(Stockbridge)], another very small boy ... was hit in the face with his fist. John Cox [(Omaha)] and David Crow [(Menominee)] —”³⁸ Before he

³⁶ Brown, *Stubborn Fool*, 185; Cathleen D. Cahill, “‘Seeking the Incalculable Benefit of a Faithful, Patient Man and Wife’: Families in the Federal Indian Service, 1880-1925,” in David Wallace Adams and Crista DeLuzio, eds., *On the Borders of Love and Power: Families and Kinship in the Intercultural American Southwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 84.

³⁷ Testimony of Lewis Braun, February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:996.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11:997.

could go further, Chairman Joe T. Robinson, an Arkansas Senator, interrupted him to inquire if those students were struck with fists. After answering in the affirmative, Braun revealed his most damning evidence yet. Employees incarcerated four band students—Charlie Williams (Caddo), Charles Bellcourt [Bellecourt/Belcourt] (White Earth Chippewa), Robert Nash (Ho-Chunk), and Thomas Nicholas (NTL)—for refusing to play their instruments. Braun swore, “Mr. Stauffer[,] Mr. Rudy[,] Mr. Dickey[,] Mr. Warner[,] and Mr. Dietz ... went down to the guardhouse and whipped those boys...I was speaking to [Nash] and he said he had scars on him yet.”³⁹ Edward Bracklin (NTL, Wisconsin) added that the “punishment imposed on a refractory student is starving him.”⁴⁰ Mr. Denny admitted to locking up and striking students. He also recalled engaging in a struggle and throwing a student down a flight of stairs.⁴¹ During Moses’s testimony, the superintendent also revealed that a farmer, employed by the school, broke a boy’s arm with a stick.⁴² Abuse appeared rampant.

Female Carlisle students also testified about the harsh physical punishments meted out by the school matron, Miss Anna Ridenour. One female student from Minnesota testified, “When Miss Ridenour puts girls in [the lockup] she gives them very little exercise and very little fresh air, and very little water or food to eat and drink... The lockup ... is a very dark room, and there

³⁹ Testimony of Lewis Braun, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:996-997.

⁴⁰ Testimony of Edward Bracklin, February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1006-1007.

⁴¹ Testimony of Mr. Denny, Assistant Disciplinarian, February 7, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1053-1054.

⁴² Testimony of Dr. Moses Friedman, Superintendent [since April 1, 1908], February 7, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1253.

is no ventilation there at all. It is anything but sanitary.”⁴³ A student from Oklahoma added that Ridenour slapped a girl “right and left” for failing to comb her hair properly and she beat a student with a strap to wake another girl.⁴⁴

The worst case of physical abuse at Carlisle, according to Inspector Linnen, was that of Julia Harden (Potawatomi). The eighteen-year-old testified that Carlisle staff members beat her when she refused to participate in the Outing Program. As Julia relayed her story, confirmed by Linnen’s investigation, Mr. Stauffer, Carlisle’s musical director, asked the then seventeen-year-old into an office and slapped her in her face. Julia continued to refuse going to the country. The band leader then “jerked a [wooden] board down from one of the window sills and he pushed me down on the floor (five or six times), and two of the matrons held me; Miss Ridenour was one ... They put down the curtains...and locked the door.” Julia was then “whipped” with the wooden plank about sixty times “on the head, and every place” for ten minutes. Then she was thrown in the lockup.⁴⁵ Student testimonies like these shed important light on conditions at Carlisle.

A student even helped to expose poor medical care at Carlisle. An unnamed Osage student testified, “I went over [to the hospital] and they put me to bed, and they did not give me anything all day but a bowl of soup.... When I came back to quarters that evening I had to ask for medicine. They did not give me anything at all but the bowl of soup for dinner.”⁴⁶

⁴³ Testimony of Miss ---- (Student 1; Chippewa, Minnesota), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1030.

⁴⁴ Testimony of Miss ---- (Student 2; Osage, Oklahoma), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1041-1042.

⁴⁵ Testimony of Julia Hardin, Student, February 7, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1101-1103, 1105, 1106.

⁴⁶ Testimony of Miss ---- ---- (Osage, Oklahoma), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1041-1043.

Representative William Stephens of California then asked if a doctor examined her.⁴⁷ “No, sir,” the young woman responded.⁴⁸ The doctor, A.R. Allen, complained about conditions at the school to the joint committee. Allen testified that the school’s operating room “is a devil of a place for a man to operate” because of dust and pollutants.⁴⁹ He also estimated that 70 to 75 percent of the student body had trachoma in one of its phases while detailing the excruciating treatment. Trachomatous students went to the hospital daily where they had their eyes washed out, then scrubbed, then “sandpapered.”⁵⁰ As for tuberculosis, the doctor contended, the majority of cases were students admitted with the disease.⁵¹ The doctor faced barriers to keeping students healthy. Beyond the dust and other conditions in the hospital, he declared, “it is mighty hard for a doctor to keep patients well in an institution where he gets infected milk.”⁵² Doctors struggled to keep students confined in dangerous and unhealthy conditions alive.

Linnen and Congress’s investigation also confirmed the longstanding practice of falsifying data. Evidence of poor federal record-keeping can be seen with the misnaming of several students who testified before the joint committee. Lewis Braun was Louis Brown. Alvis Martin was Alvis Morrin. Linnen also discovered financial improprieties. Employees embezzled

⁴⁷ Representative Stephens, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1041-1043.

⁴⁸ Testimony of Miss ---- (Osage, Oklahoma), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1041-1043.

⁴⁹ Testimony of Dr. A.R. Allen, February 7, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1173.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11:1174.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 11:1176.

hundreds of dollars by falsifying reimbursement vouchers, destroying records, and exploiting unregulated athletic funds.⁵³ All of these funds were meant for the school and its students.

Much of the investigation centered on Superintendent Friedman's misconduct. Hiram Chase (Omaha), the nineteen-year-old son of one of the first Indigenous lawyers and Society of American Indians member by the same name, exposed Superintendent Moses's fabricating the reasons students left Carlisle. "I know for a fact that Mr. Friedman has practically expelled these students, and a great many of them who have been expelled have been registered 'home on leave,' 'failed to return,' or 'dropped,'" Chase testified.⁵⁴ Chase questioned the practice, "Now, if they are expelled they ought to put it on there 'expelled.'"⁵⁵ Chairman Robinson interjected to ask: "Do you mean to say that he made a fraudulent and false record?"⁵⁶ The boy answered in the affirmative. Friedman also had students locked up in the county jail, including one who received a 30-day sentence for stealing pies to satisfy the hunger generated by insufficient school rations.⁵⁷ Linnen concluded: "I believe that Supt. Moses Friedman has been guilty of gross injustice to members of the student body by having them placed in the county jail ... in some

⁵³ Linnen to Secretary of the Interior, February 24, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1347, 1383.

⁵⁴ Testimony of Hiram Chase (Omaha of Nebraska), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:978.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Chairman, in Testimony of Hiram Chase (Omaha of Nebraska), February 6, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:978.

⁵⁷ Linnen to Secretary of the Interior, February 24, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1377; Joe T. Robinson, Chairman to Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1389.

cases in direct violation of law and the statutes of the State.”⁵⁸ Friedman was not the only superintendent guilty of such crimes.

Ultimately, the student-initiated investigation led to change at Carlisle. Linnen and the joint commission recommended Friedman’s immediate dismissal from Carlisle’s superintendency as well as the reprimand of other responsible parties.⁵⁹ Student testimony was decisive. The investigators emphasized that it was the students’ testimony that “convinced all the members of said joint commission that Supt. Moses Friedman had not been conducting said Carlisle Indian School in a proper manner, and that in the best interests of said school and of the Government service he should be removed.”⁶⁰ While this investigation focused on Carlisle, many of the off-reservation boarding schools exhibited similar conditions as confirmed by investigative reports, student testimony, family correspondence, and official boarding school records.

By August 1915, the Indian Office grew frustrated with the lack of results generated by its public health campaigns. That month, Commissioner Sells addressed a contingent in San Francisco known as the Congress on Indian Progress, outlining the need to combat disease in Indian communities. He emphasized that it “is our duty to protect the Indians health and to save him from premature death.”⁶¹ Without a radical change in conditions, epidemics continued.

⁵⁸ Linnen to Secretary of the Interior, February 24, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1352.

⁵⁹ Robinson to Sells, February 9, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1390.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Cato Sells speech to Congress on Indian Progress, August 1915 in Cato Sells to Indian Service employees, January 10, 1916, in Cato Sells, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 2, 1916, in *ARCIA, 1916*, 5.

Student bodies were overtaxed and undernourished. And, many students contracted tuberculosis as a result. For instance, Carlisle's 1916 annual report revealed "an unusual amount of sickness among the students," including "la grippe," or influenza, and mumps over the winter. These epidemics "had the effect of impairing the general physical condition of the students, and those who were predisposed to tuberculosis, in many cases, had not sufficient resistance to at once rally from these attacks." The school returned forty students to their homes sick while five died on campus.⁶² By October 1916, mortalities were such that the commissioner professed of the entire educational system, "We can not solve the Indian problem without Indians. We can not educate their children unless they are kept alive."⁶³

A little over a year later, the U.S. government faced the most significant epidemic of its existence—the influenza pandemic of 1918. The first wave struck Haskell in March, shortly after it first broke at Camp Funston, an army installation on Fort Riley, Kansas, and home to the Seventh Cavalry.⁶⁴ Within ten days, over 1,000 soldiers came down with influenza.⁶⁵ The disease-causing pathogens spread, reaching Haskell one hundred miles to the east by March 17, when students arrived at the school hospital. On March 18, thirty-nine more entered the hospital. Disease shuttered the school. By the epidemic's peak, 207 students were sick enough to require

⁶² "Annual Report — 1916," 1, in RG75, Office of Indian Affairs, "Superintendents' Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports From Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1907-1938," Microfilm Publication M1011, Reel 9.

⁶³ Cato Sells, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, October 2, 1916, in *ARCIA, 1916*, 5.

⁶⁴ Chas. E. Banks, Senior Surgeon, U.S. P.H.S. to Supt. H.B. Peairs, Haskell Institute, March 30, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC; Albert Marrin, *Very, Very, Very Dreadful: The Influenza Pandemic of 1918* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018), 1. For more on the Spanish Flu at Haskell, see: Mikaela M. Adams, "'A Very Serious and Perplexing Epidemic of Grippe': The Influenza of 1918 at the Haskell Institute," *American Indian Quarterly* 44:1 (Winter 2020), 1-35.

⁶⁵ Banks to Peairs, March 30, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC.

around-the-clock care in hospital wards while employees treated at least 250 more less seriously ill students in their dormitories. Peairs hired four additional nurses to tend ailing students, and a week after the epidemic began, the Indian Office sent Dr. Van Cleave and a nurse to assist.⁶⁶ Sixteen students developed sequelae of severe lung infections, and five students died—four from pneumonia and one from pulmonary hemorrhages.⁶⁷ Ensign requested assistance from the Public Health Service, Kansas State Board of Health, the Indian Service, and the University of Kansas. The relationship between the Indian Service and the Public Health Service remained strong. Inspectors from the Public Health Service arrived at Haskell to investigate the cause of the outbreak before the end of March.⁶⁸

At the end of the epidemic, the school's doctor, Charles F. Ensign, reflected that the school underwent "a very serious and perplexing epidemic of Grippe, not the ordinary Grippe or Influenza but a Strepto-grippe."⁶⁹ Although the strain of influenza responsible for this first wave of infections was less lethal than the better-known 1918 epidemic, Haskell students were particularly hard hit. In addition to the school's chronic overcrowding, underfunding, and unsanitary conditions, they had recently endured a German measles epidemic, leaving many with compromised immune systems.⁷⁰ Between February 3 and 17, seventy-eight students contracted

⁶⁶ Chas. F. Ensign, School Physician, ND, and E.B Meritt Assistant Commissioner to Peairs, Supt., March 25, 1918 telegram, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC;

⁶⁷ Chas. F. Ensign, School Physician, ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁶⁸ Banks to Peairs, March 30, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁶⁹ Ensign, School Physician, ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁷⁰ Peairs, Superintendent to Indian Office, March 21, 1918 telegram, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

rubella.⁷¹ Students afflicted with the highly contagious viral disease would have likely experienced a rash, conjunctivitis, headache, fever, malaise, or swollen lymph nodes in some combination.⁷² The flu thus met weakened student bodies. A comparison of this influenza wave at Camp Funston and Haskell is revealing. Two hundred and thirty-seven soldiers died from the disease and its complications, a death rate of 4.23 deaths per 1,000 soldiers.⁷³ Haskell's death rate was double, or 8.40 deaths per 1,000 attending students.⁷⁴ From Haskell, influenza spread.

In the summer of 1918, two months before influenza engulfed the United States, Carlisle quietly shut its doors and shipped students to other schools. The closure had more to do with the Army's needs than the Indian Office's. At the request of the War Secretary, the barracks reverted to the War Department's control to become a hospital for returning World War I soldiers.⁷⁵ The hospital experienced a surge of patients in the fall.

By the fall of 1918, the second, now more famous wave of influenza, the so-called Spanish Flu, broke out in Boston in September shortly before landing at Philadelphia. The disease appeared in the army's overcrowded Camp Devens before soldiers and sailors spread the disease south and west.⁷⁶ The infection produced symptoms of bloody sputum, chills, cough, generalized pain, headache, hemorrhaging, fever, nosebleeds, sore throat, and weakness. It was

⁷¹ Chas. F. Ensign to Douglas County Health Officer, February 18, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁷² Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 987.

⁷³ John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 96. I have assumed a population of 56,000 (Barry, *Great Influenza*, 95).

⁷⁴ "Location, capacity, enrollment, and attendance, etc., of schools during fiscal year ended June 20, 1918," in *ARCIA, 1918*, 2:174; Ensign, School Physician, ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC.

⁷⁵ Franklin K. Lane to Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, July 16, 1918, in *ARCIA 1918*, 37.

⁷⁶ Barry, *Great Influenza*, 186, 192.

most lethal for people between the ages of twenty and forty, anomalous of most infectious diseases.⁷⁷

The pandemic's second wave spared no school, but it hit Chemawa first and the hardest out of the four schools in this study. One month after reports of the disease in Boston, Geo. Bremer (Chippewa), a new student who entered Chemawa on October 2, 1918, joined the school's hospital two days later.⁷⁸ More followed. Unlike the other schools — which closed to stop the spread of the Spanish Flu, Harwood Hall, now Chemawa's superintendent, kept nearly “every department operated throughout the siege,” except classroom instruction, which he halted for three weeks. Hall also established a quarantine.⁷⁹ With workshops and dormitories still humming with activity, influenza quickly spread. The result was disastrous. At least 550 students, or 97.5 percent of the student body, fell ill. They completely overwhelmed the school's 36-student-capacity hospital.⁸⁰ Twenty-three students died, a staggering 40.78 deaths per 1,000 students.⁸¹ Amidst these conditions, some students took matters into their own hands. During the 1918-1919 school year, sixty-three students fled Chemawa to save themselves.⁸²

⁷⁷ Kiple, ed., *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, 807-810; Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5-8.

⁷⁸ “[Record of Salem Indian School Hospital] for Oct[ober],” in Chemawa Hospital Records, Box 5, NARAS; P2008, 426, NARAS.

⁷⁹ Harwood Hall, Superintendent, “Narrative Section of Annual Report for Salem Indian School year ending June 30, 1919,” 1, in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH10: Annual Reports, 1916-1940, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS [hereafter Chemawa Annual Reports, Box #, Folder].

⁸⁰ Hall, “Narrative Section of Annual Report for Salem Indian School year ending June 30, 1919,” 1, 3, and Harwood Hall, “Statistical [Section of Annual Report for Salem Indian School year ending June 30, 1919],” 6, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS.

⁸¹ “Annual Report, 1919,” Statistical, 4, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS.

⁸² Hall, “Statistical [Section of Annual Report for Salem Indian School year ending June 30, 1919],” 11, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS

Two days after the Spanish Flu reached Chemawa, Sherman Superintendent Conser telegraphed the Indian Affairs commissioner to report that the pandemic had reached the Southern California school. Conser asserted that the pathogen had entered in a recently arrived student who had come via train. The following day, 422 students and eighteen employees were sick. Pacheco Santiago (Pueblo) became the school's first 1918 Influenza death.⁸³ Like Haskell, the school shut down. By October 25, 517 students, twenty-four employees, and nine of their family members, a total of 550 people, had influenza.⁸⁴ Fifty-two then developed pneumonia, a dreaded sequela, or complication of flu.⁸⁵ By the end of October, a total of 530 students had sickened. Eleven more fell ill in November, and December saw seven new cases.⁸⁶ In the first week of 1919, Sherman administrators counted twenty-one new cases.⁸⁷ In all, 569 student cases developed.⁸⁸ Complications were devastating. Conser later reported, "The final results of the epidemic, however, are far-reaching as the disease has developed other latent conditions that have required constant vigilance on the part of all to overcome."⁸⁹ Beyond pneumonia, the

⁸³ FMC-GF, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 25, 1918, NP, in Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [2 of 3], NARAR.

⁸⁴ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 25, 1918, NP, in Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [2 of 3], NARAR.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ GF, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1919, NP, in Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [1 of 3], NARAR.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ "Annual Report, 1919," Narrative 2, in Sherman CCF, Box 5, Folder 051: Statistics: Annual Report 1918-1919, NARAR.

school year saw a 66.67 percent increase in tuberculosis cases.⁹⁰ Twelve Sherman students died at the school from influenza and its various sequelae, including Edward Capon (Tohono O'odham).⁹¹ Edward's mother's expressions of grief standing on the San Xavier Reservation train platform in Tucson waiting to receive her son's body opened this project. Her sadness, and the grief that other parents and family members experienced when their children died at the boarding schools, is difficult to fathom. In the months following the influenza pandemic, an epidemic of mumps struck Sherman.⁹²

Commissioner Sells now cautioned boarding school superintendents across the United States of the dangerous new disease. On October 11, Sells warned Peairs: "Spanish Influenza of virulent type spreading over country with alarming rapidity."⁹³ The telegram ordered the superintendent to shut down Haskell and prepare for the epidemic. The following day, Peairs purchased Aspirin from The Round Corner Drug Co.⁹⁴ On October 13, Peairs sent an urgent telegram to the Indian Office: "One Hundred seventeen cases influenza among students at Haskell. Three cases pneumonia."⁹⁵ For the second time in a year, the disease, now mutated and far more lethal, struck Haskell.

⁹⁰ "Annual Report, 1919," Statistical 5, in Sherman CCF, Box 5, Folder 051: Statistics: Annual Report 1918-1919, NARAR; "Annual Report, 1918, Statistical 5, in Sherman CCF, Box 5, Folder 051: Statistics: Annual Report 1917-1918, NARAR.

⁹¹ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1919, NP, in Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [1 of 3], NARAR.

⁹² The first case appears in November and the last diagnosis is in April (See Kena Bah (Diné), Sherman Student Files, Box 20, NARAR.)

⁹³ Sells, Commissioner to Peairs, Supt., October 11, 1918 telegram, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁹⁴ "Voucher for Purchases," H.B. Peairs, Supt. to [The Round Corner Drug Co.], ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC.

In response, Peairs hired an additional nineteen nurses and two physicians to augment the school's healthcare labor force.⁹⁶ The epidemic quickly exhausted certain drug and hospital stores. On October 14, Peairs purchased hot water bottles, sputum cups, and gum camphor, a narcotic and sedative used to treat influenza.⁹⁷ Two days later, he spent \$19.25 on chloride of lime and formaldehyde. Then, from October 18-20, the epidemic forced the purchase of more aspirin, in addition to ice bags, hot water bottles, a syringe, and libradol, a pain medicine pioneered by Cincinnati pharmacists, the Lloyd Brothers.⁹⁸ Although over 200 students were in bed at one time, by October 25, Peairs reported to the commissioner that he had dismissed school and enlisted employees to care for the sick while forty-one students remained ill, including fourteen cases of pneumonia.⁹⁹ By October 31, Peairs reported that the peak of the epidemic had passed. Still, at least twenty students remained hospitalized, "many with pneumonia."¹⁰⁰ By January, at least two students had developed mastoiditis as a result of the Influenza and required surgery.¹⁰¹ The disease, caused by a bacterial infection of the mastoid process in the ear,

⁹⁵ Peairs, Superintendent to Indian Office, October 13, 1918 telegram, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

⁹⁶ "List of special assistances and physicians employed at Haskell Institute during the epidemic of Influenza," attachment, in Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 31, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC.

⁹⁷ "Voucher for Purchases," H.B. Peairs, Supt. to Dick Brothers, ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC; *King's American Dispensatory*, 1:417-418.

⁹⁸ H.B. Peairs, Supt., "Voucher for Purchases," ND in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC; Finley Ellingwood, "Therapeutic Uses of Libradol," in Lloyd Brothers, *A Treatise on Libradol: An External Remedy for Pain* (Cincinnati, OG: Lloyd Brothers, 1907), 6.

⁹⁹ Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 25, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [3 of 3], NARARKC.

¹⁰⁰ Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 31, 1918, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC.

typically develops after two weeks of an untreated ear infection, producing symptoms usually consisting of redness, swelling, pain, fever, and ear discharge.¹⁰² Seven more Haskell students died from this second wave—six at the school and one shortly after fleeing.¹⁰³

Children and young adults, fearing for their lives, fled Haskell. Superintendent Peairs, who survived a bout of influenza himself, conceded “I suppose the boys must have become alarmed about the epidemic as quite a number of them ran away.”¹⁰⁴ Within nine months, three devastating and lethal epidemics tore through the school. The carnage likely terrified students. In response to these desertions, Peairs wrote to parents requesting that they return their children to Haskell and sent the police after them.¹⁰⁵ Jesse Wapp, the Potawatomi father of two students who fled Haskell during the epidemic, responded, “I cant sent Richard back. He died Wednesday of pneumonia and Leo is under the doctor’s care.”¹⁰⁶ Richard returned home with a 103-degree fever and died within weeks.¹⁰⁷ He and his brother, Leo, told their father that they fled to save their lives: “they were running away from disease.”¹⁰⁸ Jesse Wapp concluded, “I aint gone send Leo until he is well and the disease is over. I lost one boy I hate to loose [sic] another.”¹⁰⁹ Wapp,

¹⁰¹ Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1919, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [2 of 3], NARAKC.

¹⁰² Beers and Berkow, eds., *Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 675.

¹⁰³ Adams, “A Very Serious and Perplexing Epidemic of Grippe,” 24.

¹⁰⁴ HBP/C, Superintendent to Jesse Wapp, October 31, 1918, in Haskell Student Files, Box 124, Leo Wapp, NARAKC.

¹⁰⁵ Jesse Wapp to Supt. H.B. Peairs, October 24, 1918, and Jesse Wapp to C.E. Birch, October 16, 1918, in Haskell Student Files, Box 124, Leo Wapp, NARAKC.

¹⁰⁶ Wapp to Peairs, October 24, 1918, in Haskell Student Files, Box 124, Leo Wapp, NARAKC.

¹⁰⁷ Wapp to Birch, October 16, 1918, 2, in Haskell Student Files, Box 124, Leo Wapp, NARAKC.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

like countless other Indigenous parents and guardians, had experienced the death of a child from disease related to boarding school attendance. Conditions in the schools exacerbated the lethality of the 1918 Influenza pandemic. Indeed, the schools were particularly lethal places. The combined Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman death rate for the 1918 influenza pandemic was 26.42 deaths per 1,000 attending students or more than four times the estimated general U.S. death rate from the pandemic of 6.54 deaths per 1,000 persons.¹¹⁰

As long as unsanitary and overcrowded environments, malnutrition, and underfunding continued, disease proliferated on boarding school campuses. This continued throughout the 1920s. Superintendents could also expect continued Indigenous resistance. Parents and guardians criticized the schools' unhealthy conditions and practices. Superintendents held children and young adults at school in failing health and admitted sick children and young adults to maximize appropriations. One mother told Chemawa's superintendent, "You superintendents let sick pupils go too long before you let the parents know. Another thing why did you enroll Harvey if he was frail as you say he was?"¹¹¹ Still, superintendents did advocate for more funding. In September 1920, Conser complained that the per capita student funding was too little. He requested up to

¹⁰⁹ Wapp to Peairs, October 24, 1918, in Haskell Student Files, Box 124, Leo Wapp, NARAKC.

¹¹⁰ For U.S. death rates: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "1918 Pandemic (H1N1 virus)," <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/pandemic-resources/1918-pandemic-h1n1.html>; Population Estimates Program, Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, "Historical National Population Estimates: July 1, 1900 to July 1, 1999," <https://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/popclockest.txt>. For school rates, see: Ensign, School Physician, ND, in Haskell SCF, Box 5, Folder Contagious Epidemics, 1912-20 [1 of 3], NARARKC; Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1919, NP, in Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [1 of 3], NARAR; "Annual Report, 1919," Statistical, 4, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS; Adams, "'A Very Serious and Perplexing Epidemic of Grippe,'" 24; "Indian and school population, number eligible for school attendance, number in schools, etc., and capacity of schools provided for Indian children during fiscal year ended June 30, 1919," in *ARCIA, 1919*, 2:157-158, 162.

¹¹¹ Mrs. James Bowie to Harwood Hall, May 9, 1920, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2708, NARAS.

\$250 per student, far less than the \$600-\$800 that the Whittier reform school, Preston School, and California School for girls cost per year. Even San Quentin prisoners cost more money to cage than boarding school students.¹¹²

Despite evidence of continued boarding school sickness and death, Congress still failed to provide enough resources to effectively combat disease. In November 1921, Congress passed the Snyder Act. Though the act allocated no money, it authorized the Indian Office to spend money “as Congress may from time to time appropriate,” for education, “relief of distress and conservation of health,” and for employing inspectors, supervisors, doctors, police, farmers, and other employees, among other expenses on reservations.¹¹³ How important Indigenous health was to Congress can be measured. Indeed, as DeJong has demonstrated, the Indian Office had many responsibilities and devoted relatively few resources to Indigenous health. Between 1920 and 1924, DeJong found that the Indian Office spent just 0.7 percent of its annual budget on health.¹¹⁴ The Indian Office expected superintendents to follow the directives that they issued, but superintendents could not always do so with the resources provided to them.

The concealment of critical health data from Congress was one cause of financial scarcity. Without knowing the true health conditions and lethality of the schools, Congress was unlikely to dramatically increase appropriations for them. Yet, in 1922, it was not superintendents underreporting or concealing disease as proven throughout this study; it was the

¹¹² FMC/MGA, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 25, 1920, in Sherman LS, Box 46, July 1, 1920 to Nov 30, 1921 [3 of 3], NARAR.

¹¹³ “An Act Authorizing appropriations and expenditures for the administration of Indian affairs, and for other purposes,” November 2, 1921, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from April, 1921, to March, 1923 Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress and Recent Treaties, Conventions, and Executive Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1923), 42:208-209.

¹¹⁴ DeJong, *If You Only Knew the Conditions*, 159.

commissioner. On March 25, 1922, Burke contracted John Barton Payne, chairman of the American Red Cross, to study health conditions on reservations.¹¹⁵ In October, Payne appointed Florence Patterson, a nurse, to conduct the investigation and she began her tour of the Southwestern United States.¹¹⁶ Patterson's report, "A Study of the Need for Public-Health Nursing on Indian Reservations," recorded poor control wielded by supervisors throughout the Indian service. Patterson critiqued regional Indian Office record-keeping practices and the lack thereof. She estimated that if agents recorded 10 percent of births and deaths, that would have been "generous."¹¹⁷ Physicians' semi-annual reports were, likewise, deficient. Commissioner Burke did not enforce Indian Office requirements.

During her tour, Patterson inspected Sherman and other government schools. Conditions were not favorable. At Sherman, 20 percent of the students had trachoma.¹¹⁸ In both boarding and reservation day schools, she witnessed "marked symptoms of malnutrition," caused by "Faulty diet, including too little food, the wrong kind of food, and bad food habits."¹¹⁹ Boarding schools used a "negligible amount of milk ... while butter and eggs were unknown."¹²⁰ Fresh

¹¹⁵ Testimony of Florence M. Patterson, December 12, 1928, in U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate Seventieth Congress Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79 A Resolution Directing the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States to Make a General Survey of the Condition of the Indians of the United States, Part 3* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1929), 933 [hereafter Patterson testimony, Page #].

¹¹⁶ Patterson testimony, 933-934.

¹¹⁷ "Exhibit No. 143: A Study of the Need for Public-Health Nursing on Indian Reservations," U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate Seventieth Congress Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79 A Resolution Directing the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States to Make a General Survey of the Condition of the Indians of the United States, Part 3*, 956 [hereafter *Patterson Report*, Page #].

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 960, 1002.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 962.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 970.

vegetables were a rare sight. Exhaustion then compounded the collective impacts of students' confinement. "There seemed to be indications that the exacting program of the boarding schools ... frequently facilitated rather than prevented the development of tuberculosis," the nurse reported.¹²¹ Indeed, student exhaustion contributed to sickness.

The nurse critiqued Sherman's health policies and judged Dr. Roblee derelict in his duty. A prodded school nurse confessed, "If you could see Doctor R[oblee] 's office and the room full of patients waiting for him you would understand why he has to hurry so."¹²² After all, Roblee had a private practice in town and responsibilities to Riverside and Riverside County. Moreover, this was not the first time that investigators and others reported Sherman's insufficient healthcare. Two years previously, during an April 1919 outbreak of mumps and pneumonia California Tuberculosis Association nurse Lily Shields determined that, at Sherman, "Many cases of pneumonia following 'flu' are not receiving proper observation and examination owing to limited time the contract physician is able to give to the school."¹²³ Patterson also found that doctors neglected to care for students' teeth while superintendents overcrowded school dormitories.¹²⁴

Students received neither the resources nor the medical care that they needed to maintain their health. At one unnamed school, Patterson observed that "[Physical examinations] of a

¹²¹ Patterson testimony, 966.

¹²² *Patterson Report*, 967.

¹²³ Lily Shields, "Nurse's Report for the Month of April, 1919, Sherman Institute," in Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 45712-1919 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC. There were at least 593 influenza cases, fifty-seven of which developed pneumonia while eight died (W.W. Roblee, Physician in Charge, Sherman Institute, "Recommendations on Report Rendered by Miss Shields, Representing the California Tuberculosis Association, June 11, 1919," in Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 45712-1919 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC).

¹²⁴ *Patterson Report*, 1002.

hundred children required less than 10 minutes.”¹²⁵ Roblee, and other physicians, relied on weighing students as a predictor of health. And generally, it was. This diagnostic technique enabled doctors to isolate patients who were losing weight, furnishing them a supplemental diet and extra attention. Yet the practice “was not infallible, according to the nurse. For instance, one student happened to be losing weight from a tubercular infection at the same time she became pregnant. Patterson found that “her weight showed a slight change and neither was suspected.”¹²⁶ The morning after checking herself into the hospital with a minor ailment, she gave birth. The school learned about her condition when hospital workers found the dead infant “smothered under her pillow.”¹²⁷ The school sent the student home soon after her tubercular infection.

Tuberculosis remained a grave concern. Patterson found that boarding schools, “frequently facilitated rather than prevented the development of tuberculosis.”¹²⁸ Causing Patterson consternation, students’ entrance exams almost universally showed no health defects. Records indicate that they contracted the disease in the school. “This number of children appearing [healthy] on admission and developing active tuberculosis while [at Sherman] indicated the need of a careful study of causes,” she reported while pointing out that at least half of the students transferred to a sanatorium had been at the schools “more than one year before they were sent away.”¹²⁹ Patterson also criticized superintendents’ common practice of sending ill students home. Children, according to Patterson, “were constantly being returned to their

¹²⁵ *Patterson Report*, 975.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 974.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 966.

¹²⁹ Patterson testimony, 941; *Ibid.*, 967.

homes, to live for a time, perhaps, and to spread the disease among other members of the family.”¹³⁰ Reservation superintendents also complained about the practice, though, as Patterson noted, they also committed the same neglect.¹³¹ Again turning to Sherman, Patterson demonstrated the method. With a population of around 800 students, the students lost one among their ranks to the disease while the school returned thirty-one others, twenty-four of whom were tubercular, to their homes or sanatoria on account of their health.¹³² “While statistics relating to causes of death are manifestly inaccurate,” Patterson alleged, “they indicate that the proportion of deaths due to tuberculosis is about six times as high as that of the general population.”¹³³ Patterson’s report was damning.

Burke buried her report. Burke’s commissioned response, which he also hid away, illustrated the Indian Office’s disregard for Indigenous health. Dr. R.E.L. Newberne, the Indian service’s medical director and respondent, proclaimed, “While it is important that the Indian Office shall know of what disease an Indian died, it is of greater importance to know that he is dead.”¹³⁴ How many reports did the Indian Office need to prove that conditions were chronically deplorable?

¹³⁰ *Patterson Report*, 966.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Patterson Report*, 966-967.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1001.

¹³⁴ “Exhibit No. 2-a: A Review of Miss Patterson’s Report Entitled ‘A Study of the Needs for Public Health Nursing on Indian Reservations,’” and Hubert Work, Secretary to Hon. Lynn J. Frazier, Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, May 24, 1928, in U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate Seventieth Congress Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79 A Resolution Directing the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States to Make a General Survey of the Condition of the Indians of the United States, Part 3*, 1006, 1018.

Hubert Work, the Interior Secretary and former Colorado physician, requested another study in 1926. That year he commissioned the Institute for Government Research, now known as the Brookings Institution, to investigate the “educational, industrial, social, and medical activities maintained among the Indians” throughout the United States.¹³⁵ By that November, members of the survey staff, which included Wisconsin law professor Ray A. Brown, American Indian Institute President and Yale graduate Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk), Oklahoma historian Edward Everett Dale, Census Bureau statistician Emma Duke, Medical Field Secretary of the National Tuberculosis Association Dr. Herbert R. Edwards, Juniata College sociologist Fayette Avery McKenzie, Ohio State University sociologist Mary Louise Mark, Swarthmore College education professor W. Carson Ryan, Jr., and William J. Spillman, an agricultural economist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture.¹³⁶ Staff conducted their investigation for seven months over ninety-five jurisdictions (reservations, schools, hospitals, etc.).¹³⁷

The work was difficult. Survey staff found that “The lack of adequate accurate statistics and records” handicapped their investigation.¹³⁸ The failure to keep accurate records baffled the inspectors because regulations mandating their collection dated back to 1916.¹³⁹ The practice also hampered administrators’ abilities to make prudent decisions in running and funding institutions: “The present director of the medical work of the service ... is handicapped by the

¹³⁵ W.F. Willoughby, Director, Institute for Government Research to Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, February 21, 1928, in Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, vii, 56.

¹³⁶ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 59, 79-85.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, vii.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 267

lack of definite concrete information for his own use and for formulating plans for submission to Congress.”¹⁴⁰ Poor record-keeping obscured the impacts of disease, where “adequate records would have disclosed to a qualified public health physician the existence of a very serious health problem in these schools.”¹⁴¹ The staff marveled, “No commercial enterprise of any such magnitude could expect to succeed without far more data respecting its operations than are available regarding the Indian Service.”¹⁴² Still, Indigenous peoples, agents, superintendents, and other individuals concerned with Indian affairs provided access and accommodations, as indicated throughout the final report.

Health issue appeared repeatedly in the report’s 847 pages. The findings were damning: “The hospitals, sanatoria, and sanatorium schools maintained by the [Indian] Service, despite a few exceptions, must generally be characterized as lacking in personnel, equipment, management, and design.”¹⁴³ Moreover, “[P]ractically every activity undertaken by the national government for the promotion of the health of the Indians is below a reasonable standard of efficiency.”¹⁴⁴ Congressional underfunding played the leading role in creating these conditions. The report emphasized: “The fundamental explanation of these low [health] standards in the medical work of the Indian Service is lack of adequate appropriations.”¹⁴⁵ Underfunding, in turn, produced a shortage of doctors, dentists, and nurses. Salaries remained low, resulting in high

¹⁴⁰ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 191.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 189.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

turnover and unqualified individuals filling employee rolls.¹⁴⁶ The annual rate of physician turnover was 54 percent. Many of them could not pass the requirements for appointments in the army, navy, and health service. Thus, the Indian Office tolerated lower standards than other federal agencies. When the survey team conducted their study, 14 percent of physician's positions were vacant.¹⁴⁷ Funding levels also provided far fewer facilities than were needed for the treatment of diseases, and medical providers reacted to rather than prevented disease. By the end of June 1926, all Indian service medical facilities provided 1,672 hospital beds or 4.78 hospital bed per every 1,000 Indigenous persons.¹⁴⁸ That same year, the United States, as a whole, had 7.3 hospital beds per 1,000 people.¹⁴⁹ The staff contended, "For some years, it has been customary to speak of the Indian medical service as being organized for public health work, yet the fundamentals of sound public health are still lacking."¹⁵⁰ This was especially the case in boarding schools.

For the sake of economic necessity imposed by Congress, boarding school doctors failed to use the most up-to-date techniques in diagnosing and treating disease. The danger of this practice can be seen most readily in the Indian Service not sourcing X-ray machines and tuberculin tests when screening students and employees for tuberculosis, which the survey team described as "alarming."¹⁵¹ Moreover, medications purchased with thrift in mind, were of poor

¹⁴⁶ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 189.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 229, 233.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 275, 61.

¹⁴⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1949), 51.

¹⁵⁰ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 190.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 206, 282.

quality.¹⁵² Even soap, necessary for disinfection and sanitation, “was rarely immediately available.”¹⁵³ Dental care was nonexistent in some schools unless a student could personally pay for dental care, an expensive proposition for a child or young adult earning little to no wages for their labor.¹⁵⁴ According to the survey staff, evidence of medical neglect and inadequately trained providers was “nowhere more apparent than in the boarding schools maintained by the government.”¹⁵⁵

Health in boarding schools was a primary focus of the report. The hygiene and welfare of the children and young adults had clearly and consistently been neglected.¹⁵⁶ The survey staff reported a variety of defects, including the fact that students “had the most cursory of physical examinations and wholly inadequate [medical care].”¹⁵⁷ In one instance, Meriam’s staff witnessed a contract physician at an off-reservation boarding school examine students at a rate of seventy-two per hour, spending on average less than fifty seconds with each student.¹⁵⁸ Inadequate examinations in led to missed diagnoses, lost opportunities to treat ill students, the spread of disease from infected students to healthy students, and ultimately more cases of disease.¹⁵⁹ At Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman, the research team found part-time doctors who

¹⁵² Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 253.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 206.

“spent on average ... one full day a week at the schools.”¹⁶⁰ In schools with student populations of approximately one thousand students, this was not enough. Indeed, the authors concluded, “The majority of children in boarding schools are in a questionable state of health and require infinitely more attention than they are securing.”¹⁶¹

The authors also reported that the environmental conditions in which schools confined students worked to destabilize Indigenous bodies. Many buildings suffered from “physical dilapidation.”¹⁶² There were “Old buildings, often kept in use long after they should have been pulled down,” including at the Santa Fe Indian School, where officials boarded students in a condemned building.¹⁶³ The team, however, celebrated Chemawa, where students build a new sanitary dormitory with ample space.¹⁶⁴ Not more than two of the dozens of schools visited had buildings the team described as being in “good condition.”¹⁶⁵ In the dormitories, practices, such as sharing toiletries and overcrowding, then spread disease. Usually, students shared one can of toothpowder. Their toothbrushes, if provided by the school, all touched the powder’s vessel. Students also routinely had to use soiled towels because clean ones were often unavailable or withheld.¹⁶⁶ Inadequate funding made proper boarding school sanitation an unrealistic aspiration.

The staff also reported that overcrowding was all too common. After viewing the dormitories, the report team concluded: “in dormitory after dormitory beds were found very

¹⁶⁰ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian*, 240.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 315, 392.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 393.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 316.

close together, often even touching each other.”¹⁶⁷ Moreover, “The boarding schools are generally crowded beyond their capacity so that the individual child does not have sufficient light and air.” Meriam’s researchers added, “Every possible space that will accommodate beds is often pressed into service.”¹⁶⁸ Overcrowding imperiled students’ health by facilitating the spread of contagious pathogens.

Quality food in adequate quantities is essential to maintain biological defenses, especially for the myriad diseases besieging boarding school students.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, the researchers determined that, “The most important single item affecting health is probably the food supply. Whatever the situation may have been in the past, the Indian is now given, whether as rationer or as pupil in a government school, a very poorly balanced diet.... The cause has been primarily that the government has not allowed sufficient funds with which to feed these children.”¹⁷⁰ Once again, the researchers emphasized the centrality of congressional underfunding as the root cause of the problem. They noted, “appropriations for food for these children are not sufficient to secure them a suitable balanced diet for well children, much less for children whose health is below normal.”¹⁷¹ On average, schools spent eleven cents per day on food for each student.¹⁷² In contrast, the United States Army and Marine Corps spent 37.74 and 50.71 cents per day on food for each soldier.¹⁷³ At boarding schools, the poor quality and low quantity of food led to

¹⁶⁷ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 315.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 192, 316.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 327.

malnutrition. Student meals were “excessively high in starch and meat, stews and gravies [while] milk, milk fats (butter, cream), fresh vegetables, and fruits are served either not at all or in very small quantities.”¹⁷⁴ School kitchen equipment was often old and in poor repair.¹⁷⁵ Out of all the schools under federal control, Sherman provided the greatest diversity of foods, Conser spending more on student meals than all other superintendents.¹⁷⁶ Still, eighteen cents per day did not go far and the investigators concluded that Sherman’s fare “was still faulty.”¹⁷⁷ Boarding school students “frequently suffere[ed] from disease influenced by a deficient diet, notably tuberculosis and possibly trachoma,” the report’s health experts observed.¹⁷⁸ Malnutrition led to disease. Yet overwork was also an important culprit.

As vocational, industrial, or agricultural institutions, the schools required labor to function, and students performed nearly all of it. Their days began at 6 a.m. and often did not conclude until 9 or 10 p.m. Administrators subjected students to “an abnormally long day, which cuts to a dangerous point the normal allowance for sleep and rest, especially for young students; and the generally routinized nature of the institutional life with its formalism in classrooms, its marching and dress parades, its annihilation of initiative, its lack of beauty, its almost complete negation of normal family life.” This, the researchers concluded, negatively impacted student

¹⁷³ Testimony of Maj. Gen. B.F. Cheatham, Quartermaster General, in U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations United States Senate Sixty-Ninth Congress Second Session on H.R. 16249 Bill Making Appropriations for the Military and Nonmilitary Activities of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1928 and for Other Purposes* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1927), 6-8.

¹⁷⁴ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 328.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 321-323.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 330-331.

health and contributed to high mortality rates.¹⁷⁹ They concluded, “The normal day at the boarding schools, with its marked industrial features, is a heavy day even for well, strong children. It is too much for a child below normal. Added to insufficiency of diet and overcrowding, it may be an explanation of the low general health among children in Indian boarding schools.”¹⁸⁰

Ultimately, the Meriam Report concluded that at boarding schools, “Contagious diseases under these circumstances have almost free scope.”¹⁸¹ Indeed, “epidemic[s] of acute infectious diseases ... spread almost unchecked.”¹⁸² Thus, the researchers recommended fundamental policy changes to the operation of the federal Indian school system.

The team insisted, “The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view.”¹⁸³ They recommended a shift from curative medicine to preventative care and public health, increased appropriations for health, more medical facilities for treating Indian people, and a transition to accurate record keeping and data reporting.¹⁸⁴ To the researchers, the choice was a philosophical and ethical one. Either Congress and the Indian Office could choose “doing a mediocre job thereby piling up for the future serious problems in poverty, disease, and crime,” or “spending more money for an acceptable social and educational program.”¹⁸⁵ “Boarding schools that are operated on a per capita cost for all purposes of something over two hundred dollars a

¹⁷⁹ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 392.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 346.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 195, 259.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 347-348.

year and feed their children from eleven to eighteen cents worth of food a day may fairly be said to be operated below any reasonable standard of health and decency.”¹⁸⁶ Indeed, money was the most important social determinant of health.

Unsurprisingly, the report came down hard on Congress. “The inadequacy of appropriations has prevented the development of an adequate system of public health administration and medical relief work for the Indians.”¹⁸⁷ Though the staff could not determine the exact amount that would begin to remedy the conditions, they offered at least ten million dollars per annum for “a number of years” as a starting point.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, they suggested a higher per capita spending rate. For much of the system’s existence, superintendents were capped at spending \$167 per student per year and struggled with limitations on how much money could be spent on buildings. While the per capita rate stagnated, the dollar’s purchasing power decreased due to inflation. Goods that cost \$100 in 1900 cost \$224 in 1927. The researchers thus advocated for a per capita rate of “over \$375” rather than the \$225 per capita rate of 1927.¹⁸⁹

The frugality of federal boarding schools was shocking compared to similar institutions of the day. The Thomas Indian School on the Seneca’s Cattaraugus Reservation cost New York’s state government \$610 per student per year. Even the least expensive private boarding schools in the United States charged upwards of \$700 for room and board in 1927. And, that fee did not include “clothing, transportation, and other items” provided by federal Native American boarding schools.¹⁹⁰ Meriam’s staff concluded that the amount needed “would still be a relatively

¹⁸⁶ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 348.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 428.

small item in the total of national expenditures. The nation could make the appropriation without any serious strain on the taxpayers, and ... the material returns from the investment would be high.”¹⁹¹ Conditions were all about the money. Congressional underfunding was ultimately the single most important driver of lethal conditions in the boarding schools.

Lewis Meriam, the investigation’s technical director, submitted the final report to Work on February 21, 1928.¹⁹² Of the many investigations into federal Indian schools recounted in this dissertation, none was as salient as the Meriam Report. Yet, public attacks by Indian advocates also helped to turn the tide. Some were no longer willing to accept children’s lives as the price for “civilization.” John Collier was an organizer who convinced Secretary Work to commission the report in the first place and a lobbyist for the American Indian Defense Association. On June 1, as the report’s findings became public, Collier proclaimed: “skeletons are being exposed.”¹⁹³ He predicted “a riot in the Senate committee when that report [on the Rice Indian school], and other data on the Indian death rate is made known,” while advocating for “a great change.... to remedy semi-starvation conditions in Indian schools.”¹⁹⁴ One week later, the *San Francisco Daily News* related that the Meriam report staff requested \$1,000,000 from Congress “to stamp out famine among American Indians.” The newspaper reported: “Mal-nutrition, child labor, [and] disease are decimating the 27,600 Indian children wards of Uncle Sam in the 40 odd Indian

¹⁹⁰ Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 428.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁹³ *Pasadena Star News*, June 1, 1928, 14, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 86:271, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Kvasnicka and Viola, eds. *Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 275.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

schools of the west. An Indian ' massacre,' conducted by the ' germ method,' ... is killing off Indians at the rate of 5705 a year."¹⁹⁵ Collier described how boarding school students were "undernourished and, hence, a prey to disease." Moreover, "Child labor, forbidden to white children, if forced upon the Indian lads," contributing to a tubercular death rate between five and seventeen times higher than that for whites.¹⁹⁶ Collier asked, "Do the American people want this charge of wholesale homicide to rest against their officials?"¹⁹⁷ The Senate sought to control the narrative now that the Meriam Report implicated its parsimonious funding as a cause of disease, and the body announced an investigation into Indian Affairs on February 1, 1928. It began in earnest that November.¹⁹⁸

Why was the Meriam Report so shocking? It was so surprising because it was so public. Newspapers across the United States and abroad ran stories about it.¹⁹⁹ Average citizens now knew about the lethality of the federal Indian policies that had been concealed from them for years. Still, none of the findings were novel. Congress, Indian Office officials, and government employees participated, observed, and created these conditions. Indeed, the fact that conditions in Native American boarding schools facilitated rather than prevented disease was known to

¹⁹⁵ *San Francisco Daily News*, June 8, 1928, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 86:273, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁹⁶ *San Francisco Daily News*, June 8, 1928, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 86:273, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ For the text of Senate Resolution 79 that established the investigation, see: U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate Seventieth Congress Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79 A Resolution Directing the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States to Make a General Survey of the Condition of the Indians of the United States, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1929), 1-2.

¹⁹⁹ Selected examples, include: *Evening Star*, May 30, 1928, 5; *New York Times*, May 23, 1928, 17; *Sacramento Bee*, May 25, 1928, 12; *The Guardian* (London, England), August 4, 1928, 9; *The Missoulian* (Missoula, Montana), May 21, 1928, 5.

many government officials. As the Meriam Report made clear, reports about the schools' lethal conditions passed from superintendents, physicians, and inspectors to the halls of Washington, D.C.'s power players and from the Indian school supervisor and the Indian Affairs commissioner to congressmen, senators, and presidents. These conditions had existed since Carlisle's founding in 1879 when students arrived to a campus unready for occupancy without the supplies necessary for healthy conditions. The Meriam Report should not have been such a watershed moment. Yet, it was because it was so widely disseminated.

The Meriam Report had practical implications. An instigator of the Meriam Report, Collier, gained notoriety and power. On April 21, 1933, he became President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Indian Affairs commissioner and a pivotal force in Washington, D.C. during his tenure.²⁰⁰ In addition to the senatorial investigation in 1928, the Meriam Report spawned a Treasury investigation over the yearly mishandling of \$20,000,000 from the Indian Office's appropriations.²⁰¹

The Senate's survey of conditions among Indigenous peoples did little more than confirm and unearth more support for the Meriam Report's findings. However, they did exhume the 1922 report by Florence Patterson that Burke had buried, and brought the public health nurse in to provide testimony. Patterson's December 12, 1928 testimony before the United States Senate imparted how difficult it was to study deaths because "the records were extremely fragmentary and sketchy."²⁰² Louis R. Gavin, the committee's investigator, asked Patterson if she found evidence of "fake records." She responded, "I do not suppose anyone could make that statement

²⁰⁰ Kvasnicka and Viola, eds. *Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 273.

²⁰¹ *San Francisco Daily News*, June 8, 1928, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 86:273, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

²⁰² Patterson testimony, 936.

without actual evidence, but when one finds 100 health records of school children all exactly normal, there seems to be only one logical conclusion and that is that they were faked. I do not think you could get 100 children in any community that are completely normal.”²⁰³ Falsification of records made the study’s findings, and those of the senate investigations, all the more shocking.

Senators then questioned the routine practice of sending ill students home. Oklahoma Senator William B. Pine conceded, “we were told by Indians that when they contracted tuberculosis in these schools, they were sent home to die because they did not want them to die in the school.”²⁰⁴ He then asked Patterson if she uncovered evidence of the same. Indeed, she had. “I think this picture I gave before, of what happened to the children after they went home from that boarding school, shows that the largest percentage of them died, and died very shortly after leaving the school,” Patterson replied.²⁰⁵ She also made it clear that children and young adults were not receiving enough nutrition in the schools: “The manifestation of malnutrition were general and acute in a large proportion of the children seen by the writer.”²⁰⁶ Ultimately, Patterson described Indigenous school students as: “Emaciated, poisoned with fatigue from compulsory labor, bleak with homesickness and emotional starvation—little children inescapably seized by an institutional engine,” according to an Oakland newspaper.²⁰⁷ As DeJong reckoned,

²⁰³ Patterson testimony, 952.

²⁰⁴ Pine, in *Ibid.*, 942.

²⁰⁵ Patterson testimony, 942.

²⁰⁶ *Patterson Report* read by Mr. Gavis, in Patterson testimony, 936.

²⁰⁷ *Post-Enquirer* (Oakland, CA), January 10, 1929, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 86:276, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

“Such indifference on the part of boarding school officials to childhood diseases was most disturbing....The Indian Service was so preoccupied with real estate issues that it ignored basic social and health concerns.”²⁰⁸ One cannot say Congress completely ignored Indigenous health after 1912. However, measured by the levels of funding appropriated to address the dire conditions across Indian Country, Congress was apathetic at best. In combination, the Merriam Report and the congressional investigation did not look good for Commissioner Burke. He resigned in March 1929.²⁰⁹ Meanwhile, investigations continued.

Given the attention to Native American health, Edythe Tate Thomson, secretary of the Tuberculosis Association of California, approached Sherman’s superintendent about surveying Sherman’s students in February 1929.²¹⁰ Thompson went straight to Conser, bypassing Washington, D.C., because she had “not much hope that the U.S. government will do anything as far as the Indians are concerned.”²¹¹ The California State Tuberculosis Association offered its X-ray machine, six specialists, and four nurses to conduct a tuberculosis survey of Sherman’s students.²¹² The school was only responsible for \$300, one-half the cost of the films.²¹³

²⁰⁸ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 59.

²⁰⁹ Kvasnicka and Viola, eds. *Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 260.

²¹⁰ “Annual Report, 1929” Health, 1, in Sherman CCF, Box 7, 051 Statistics: Annual Report (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930) [2 of 3], NARAR; E. Tate Thompson, Executive Secretary to Mr. Conser, Supt., Sherman Indian School, February 26, 1929, in Sherman CCF, Box 32, 700. Health, NARAR.

²¹¹ Thompson to Conser, February 26, 1929, in Sherman CCF, Box 32, 700. Health, NARAR.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

By May of 1929, Conser reported that Roblee had screened every Sherman student with the X-ray machine.²¹⁴ Conser related that the clinic found eight cases of tuberculosis.²¹⁵ In his official response to the association's report, however, Dr. Roblee noted that he recommended nine students for sanatorium care, that he sent home another twelve actively tubercular students, and that two students died with tubercular infections (peritonitis and meningitis).²¹⁶ Taken together, this suggests twenty-three cases of the disease. Still, the Association's statistics show at least ten students with active tuberculosis, including six moderately and one sufficiently advanced case. It recommended observation for 239 students, light duty for forty-nine, dental care for 326, and tonsillectomies for 169.²¹⁷ Congress and other organizations had the data proving tuberculosis remained a terrible threat to boarding school students. What would they do with it?

One student determined to be tubercular in Sherman's tubercular clinic was Homer Koyiyumptewa, a twelve-year-old Hopi student from Hotevilla, Arizona. In June 1929, Conser informed Homer's superintendent Edgar K. Miller, but Homer's parents already knew.²¹⁸ His parents had refused to send Homer to Sherman because he had the disease, but officials took him

²¹⁴ FMC-M, Superintendent to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1929, in Sherman LS, Box 49, July 1, 1928 to June 30, 1929 [1 of 3], NARAR; Thompspon to Conser, February 26, 1929, in Sherman CCF, Box 32, 700. Health, NARAR.

²¹⁵ "Annual Report, 1929" Health, 1, in Sherman CCF, Box 7, 051 Statistics: Annual Report (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930) [2 of 3], NARAR.

²¹⁶ "W.W. Roblee, M.D., Physician Sherman Institute, "Comments and Recommendations in reference to recent survey of Sherman Institute Indian School by the California State Tuberculosis Assn.," in Sherman CCF, Box 32, 700. Health, NARAR.

²¹⁷ "Sherman Institute Chest Clinic Report, April, 1929," in Sherman CCF, Box 32, 700. Health, NARAR.

²¹⁸ Application, F.M. Conser, Superintendent to E.K. Miller, Supt., Hopi Indian Agency, June 26, 1929, in Homer Koyiyumptewa, Sherman, Student Case Files, Box 193, NARAR.

nevertheless. Their Homer's sister had died from the disease at the Phoenix Indian School.²¹⁹ His parents wanted Homer home, maintaining, "no T.B. has ever been cured by white man."²²⁰ Miller consented: "if he has T.B....Better send him when he is in good shape rather when he is near death. It helps the school work and satisfies the parents."²²¹ Dr. Roblee sent the boy home, but how long he lived remains unknown.²²²

Amidst this investigative landscape, Indigenous parents and guardians defended their children from disease and abuse in the schools, and the government often met them with force. That August, William Tahwa (Potawatomi), exposed the brutality of the boarding schools to Wisconsin Representative James A. Frear. Federal officials had taken Tahwa's children to the Lac du Flambeau school in Wisconsin, where they soon ran away. Arriving home with "their shoes all torn to pieces all three stockings torn off so when they got home they could hardly walk or get up," the children did not want to attend the school, and their father did not want them to either. The police came, arrested Tahwa, and "Put [him] in jail for not letting those children stay at Lac du Flambeau school."²²³ Frear alleged, "Thousands of Indian children have been virtually kidnapped by Indian agents under this law and William Tahwa of Soperton, Wisconsin, is far from being the only parent who has been jailed for protesting against this damnable outrage."²²⁴

²¹⁹ E.K. Miller to Supt. Conser, Sherman Institute, June 19, 1929, in Homer Koyiyumptewa, Sherman, Student Case Files, Box 193, NARAR.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Edgar K. Miller, Supt. to Supt. F.M. Conser, July 2, 1929, in Homer Koyiyumptewa, Sherman, Student Case Files, Box 193, NARAR.

²²² W.W. Roblee, June 26, 1929, in Homer Koyiyumptewa, Sherman, Student Case Files, Box 193, NARAR.

²²³ James A. Frear, "Indian Bureau Brutality" *Plain Talk* (August 1928), 165-166, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 82:NP, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California.

Tahwa was wanted to have his children at the school close to his home. Unsurprisingly, parents generally opposed having their children taken far from home. In a January 1929 *Good Housekeeping* article, journalist Vera Connolly recalled visiting Native American communities across the United States. Everywhere she went, Indigenous peoples plead: ““We don’t want boarding schools, away off; our children come home sick; we want day schools here.””²²⁵ The children complained to her: “We work too hard. They don’t give us enough to eat.””²²⁶ Indeed, many Native American parents were not opposed to educating their children, but they wanted them to be well treated, near home, and to survive the experience.

Federal employees also questioned the system. Oscar H. Lipps, Chemawa’s superintendent in 1930 who previously had served as Carlisle’s superintendent and held positions at the Northern Idaho Agency, confessed to the principal of a Pine Ridge school, “I think this whole system is wrong and have always thought so but somehow we keep on separating Indian children from their parents and doing about all we can to break up family ties and then wonder why the Indian doesn't think more of his home and of keeping his children together.””²²⁷ Still, Lipps continued in his post at Chemawa before becoming a field representative until his retirement in 1937. He spent his nearly forty-year career contributing to the federal government’s lethal educational apparatus for Native American youth.

²²⁴ Frear, “Indian Bureau Brutality” *Plain Talk* (August 1928), 165-166, in C. Hart Merriam Papers relating to work with California Indians, 1850-1974, Indian Welfare, Reel 82:NP, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California.

²²⁵ Vera L. Connolly, “The Cry of a Broken People: A Story of Injustice and Cruelty That is as Terrible as it is True,” *Good Housekeeping* 88:2 (February 1929), 235.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ O.H. Lipps, Superintendent to C.J. Guyer, Principal, U.S. Indian School [Pine Ridge], October 20, 1930, in Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder Elsie Broken Rope, NARAS; *The Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA), October 12, 1969, 3.

Despite the investigations and rhetoric, appropriations remained difficult to extract from Congress. For example, Wisconsin Congressman George Schneider introduced a bill to appropriate \$125,000 for an Indian hospital in his state's ninth district in 1929. The Indian Office opposed the bill, and Congress failed to set aside money for the much-needed facility.²²⁸

John Collier assumed his role of Indian Affairs commissioner in April 1933 and immediately set to work reforming the Indian Office. He convinced Congress to allocate more resources to Indian health and to keep investing in local communities by closing off-reservation schools and constructing new day schools closer to Indigenous populations.²²⁹ In July, Collier announced to superintendents that they should prepare for a six-to-seven thousand student cut in boarding school enrollments for the fall.²³⁰ He also closed down Canton, South Dakota's Hiawatha Insane Asylum, the only such institution for Indigenous peoples, because of its deplorable conditions.²³¹

The following year, Collier ushered two landmark bills through Congress. First, in April, the Johnson-O'Malley Act passed Congress.²³² This law enabled states, excepting Oklahoma, to provide schooling, healthcare, and other services to Native American peoples through contracts

²²⁸ DeJong, *If You Only Knew the Conditions*, 110.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

²³⁰ "Enrollment Non-Reservation Boarding Schools," John Collier, Commissioner to Superintendents of Reservations and Schools, July 24, 1933, M1121, Reel 6.

²³¹ DeJong, *If You Only Knew the Conditions*, 67; Carla Johnson, *Vanished in Hiawatha: The Story of the Canton Asylum for Insane Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 275.

²³² "An Act Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to arrange with States or Territories for the education, medical attention, relief of distress, and social welfare of Indians, and for other purposes," April 16, 1934, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at large of the United States of America From March 1933 to June 1934 Concurrent Resolutions Recent Treaties and Conventions, Executive Proclamations and Agreements, Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1934), 48:596.

with the Indian Office.²³³ In June, Collier marshaled the Wheeler-Howard Act through to its passage. The act overturned the allotment era by restoring tribal ownership of “surplus” lands, issued other land protections, exempted trust lands from federal taxation, increased federal appropriations to extend tuition loans to Indigenous peoples attending boarding schools, high schools, and colleges, instituted hiring incentive for Indigenous employees, and vested more powers to tribal governments.²³⁴ Still, Indigenous sovereignty was not fully respected. In some ways, Collier’s reforms denoted a new era. The conclusion of this study marks the transition in federal Indian policy from the Allotment to the New Deal era. Nevertheless, federal bureaucracies were slow to change. The Indian New Deal was a turning point, but conditions did not change overnight. The impacts of this inflection point and subsequent legislation are beyond the scope of this study.

²³³ “An Act Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to arrange with States or Territories for the education, medical attention, relief of distress, and social welfare of Indians, and for other purposes,” in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America From March 1933 to June 1934*, 48:596.

²³⁴ “An Act To conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights to home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes,” June 18, 1934, in U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America From March 1933 to June 1934 Concurrent Resolutions Recent Treaties and Conventions, Executive Proclamations and Agreements, Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution*, 48:984-988.

Conclusion

United States boarding schools for Native Americans grew out of a long history of attempts to educate Indigenous children that began in the English colonial period. Institutions for the “civilization” of Indian peoples, in what is now the United States, began during the Anglo colonization of eastern North America. Missionary education, colonial colleges, and nineteenth-century incarceration proved the wellsprings of Pratt’s educational experiment. Although very different from the kind of Native American boarding schools for which Pratt’s Carlisle was the model, these initial institutions set relevant precedents. Administrators used Native American students to solicit foreign funds, but once colonial colleges came to rely on American donors, Indians became disposable, and enrollments dropped to zero or near zero. Indigenous students were not always the proportional beneficiaries of those funds, and institutionalized conditions were poor.

English schools and colleges had difficulty properly clothing, caring for, and feeding Native American students. Unsurprisingly, students contracted diseases. Harsh physical punishments and strict discipline meant to control behavior added to the students’ burden. The schools drastically transformed Indigenous lifeways, and Native American students, families, and communities often responded to colonists’ demands to educate their children and young adults on a spectrum from accommodation to outright violence.

Diseases killed many Indigenous students before they could complete their colonial era schooling in the English institutions. Of the six who attended Harvard, only one graduated, and five died before graduation or within six months of completing their course of study. Several more died at Moor’s Charity School and at Dartmouth College or shortly after leaving between 1757 and 1768. Underfunding, neglect, inadequate care, and carceral despair all played parts in

these seventeen to twenty-two deaths between 1636 and 1768.

Few graduated. English colonial-era educational institutions were relatively small in what would later become the United States. Less than fifty Indian students attended colonial colleges between 1650 and 1776, and only four are known to have graduated with a degree. The institutions did offer some social mobility as some of the students went on to become respected leaders, preachers, and doctors. Native American education in the colonies foreshadowed the educational assault that came in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The United States then took over the policy when English occupation ended. Education accompanied the colonizing project of removing Indigenous peoples from their land. Often added to treaties in exchange for land cessions, education became a powerful tool wielded by federal officials. Beginning with the “Civilization Fund” in 1819, hundreds of mission schools supported by the federal government and run by church denominations dominated parts of what was then the Old Northwest, Southeast, and Indian Territory. However, the Indigenous prisoners of war at Fort Marion altered the educational landscape. Pratt, learning from previous educational systems, used the prisoners to raise money through public performances, but combined that with their physical labor. By polishing seashells, cutting down trees, selling artwork, and completing public works projects, the Indigenous prisoners produced substantial sums of money for the prison. The experiment convinced influential observers that Native American people could be “civilized” by education. But conditions were bleak. Fourteen percent of those prisoners died in captivity at Fort Marion between 1876 and 1878. Pratt’s advocacy resulted in a group of Indigenous students attending Hampton Institute in 1878, the founding of Carlisle the next year, and the opening of Chemawa in 1880.

After decades of sustained nineteenth-century exterminatory rhetoric by military officials, presidents, and legislators, Native American boarding schools became a “benevolent” alternative to physical extermination. The off-reservation boarding school system that began in 1879 marked a new period of Indian-Anglo relations, but it was not unique. The institutions were rooted in a long history of violence, dispossession, and disease ecologies.

By 1879, educational facilities for Indigenous children and young adults had been chronically neglected, which in turn produced dangerous physical environments and led to elevated rates of sickness. Underfunded by Congress, inadequately supervised by the Indian Office, and poorly administered by local superintendents and their employees, the schools became defined by their dangerous conditions. Despite seeing the lethal consequences of incarcerating American Indian people in dangerous conditions at Fort Marion first-hand, Pratt continued this pattern at Carlisle. Lethality became a hallmark of the United States boarding school system for Native Americans.

Federal boarding schools for Native Americans were sites of militarized discipline, institutionalized malnutrition, forced labor unsupported by a balanced or sufficient diet, unsanitary conditions, and overcrowding. As such, violence, disease, and death became the norm. Carlisle and Chemawa were the blueprint for a federal expansion of the system, starting in 1884. Haskell, Sherman, and hundreds of other schools sprang up across the United States between that year and 1903. Congressional appropriations increased drastically to support the creation of these new schools from \$75,000 in 1880 to \$3,880,740 in 1904, but nutrition and sanitation remained neglected even as forced labor and harsh physical discipline continued.¹

¹ *ARCIA, 1880*, 223; *ARCIA, 1904*, 1.

As more schools opened and ensnared more Indigenous children and young adults, their parents, guardians, and communities often resisted in the face of overwhelming force. Students, families, and Indigenous peoples developed strategies for combatting attacks on their culture and being from all sides. They responded to the schools in a variety of ways. Although their responses were fluid, strategies generally involved resisting sending children to far-away schools. At other times, Indigenous parents preferred attendance to times of starvation and famine at home.² Parents requested their children's return. Students also asked to go home. When that failed, students deserted. Perhaps up to one-third of all boarding school students chose to do so.³ Students sometimes feared for their lives. Like the Sherman student who fled and hid in the mountains during the school's 1903 smallpox epidemic, others considered their chances of survival better if they left the boarding schools. Although Indigenous peoples resisted the schools for a variety of reasons, having a disproportionate amount of their children and young adults come home sick or dying motivated many. Luther Standing Bear (Sicangu Lakota Oyate), possibly the first-ever student at an off-reservation boarding school, recalled, "so many had died there that the parents of the Indian boys and girls did not want them to go."⁴

Still, there was little Indigenous people could do. The power of the schools was overwhelming. The federal government legislated compulsive attendance. Indian agents, imbued with new powers, threatened Indigenous parents and guardians with starvation and loss of annuities if they failed to send their children to school. The children of influential leaders sometimes served as hostages. If these tactics failed, government officials called in police and

² Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 24.

³ See boarding school student files.

⁴ Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 162.

even soldiers. Government representatives arrested and killed parents. Then, those officials took Indigenous children anyway. Superintendents enlisted police chiefs, sheriff's deputies, Indian police, and soldiers to track down runaways, arrest them, and return them to the schools in handcuffs where a cold, dark jail cell awaited them. In a few instances, authorities fired guns at runaways. Disease also underscored the limits of Indigenous agency.

Boarding schools caused disease. Federal reports and correspondence suggest as much. Boarding school archives confirm it. Parsimonious congressional appropriations led directly to gross inadequacies and life-threatening conditions. Funding for federal Native American boarding schools was only a fraction of that for their peer institutions, including preparatory schools, asylums, orphanages, and residential schools for the “deaf, blind, [and] feeble-minded.” Low levels of financial support, in combination with overcrowding, left Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman students often without clothing and shoes, subjected to malnutrition, and routinely missing critical supplies. When supplies did arrive, they were often of shoddy quality and insufficient quantity. Deficiencies forced students to share bathwater, beds and bedding, toothbrushes, towels, utensils, and other goods, easing pathogen transmission. When students became sick, the institutions often did not have enough or any medical professionals or facilities to treat them. These factors also diminished the chances of recovery once a student became infected. Sick students then helped to spread pathogens to healthy students.

The government created Native American boarding schools as the practice of medicine was in flux. The federal government banned Indigenous medical practitioners and medicines, trying to supplant healers and spiritual leaders with government physicians practicing Western medicine. Meanwhile, Heroic medicine's grasp on Western medicine, commonly associated with its emphasis on the Hippocratic balance of humors, had given way to a medicine first informed

by eclectic practitioners and then germ theory and laboratory science over the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁵ Despite all of this medical innovation, however, much about the human body and illness remained unknown. Indeed, Western medical knowledge was and remains imperfect. Treatments such as bloodletting, purging, and sweating fell out of favor while herbal and chemical remedies topped Western physicians' prophylactic toolkit. Without antibiotics, the first of which was only discovered in 1928 and used in 1941, there were few reliable treatments for many of the diseases plaguing students.⁶ Boarding school physicians treated students' ailments with remedies ranging from herbs to poisonous compounds. Ironically, Indigenous ethnobotanical knowledge, part of Native American cultures that the schools sought to destroy, formed the basis of some treatments repackaged in powders, pills, syrups, and tonics. Many of these therapies were no different than the procedures prescribed to ordinary Americans. Still, the Indian Office was generally behind the times. Its physicians were too busy and had too few resources to keep up with developments and trends in modern Western medicine.

Boarding school medical practitioners were not always as proficient as they could have been. Doctors were underpaid and overworked. The expense of a full-time physician was too costly for many boarding schools due to insufficient funding. Physicians spent little time at the schools, and their examinations were often superficial. Poor medical diagnostic techniques allowed sick children and young adults into the student body, jeopardizing the health of all students at each institution. Congressional appropriations forced schools to hire part-time doctors

⁵ For more on Hippocratic humours and the medical transitions of the nineteenth century, see Porter, *Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 56-57, 304-461.

⁶ Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin, the first antibiotic, in 1928, the results of which were published the following year. Still, the drug was not in use until 1941. See Robert Gaynes, "The Discovery of Penicillin — New Insights After More Than 75 Years of Clinical Use," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 23:5 (May 2017), 849-853.

who visited a school only a few days each week. Meanwhile, the medicines supplied by the Indian Office harkened back an earlier era of Western medicine. Substances meant to cause vomiting and sweating filled boarding school medical supply lists even in the 1920s. Meanwhile, most medical equipment was of poor quality. Still, the boarding schools were a focal point of the federal government's healthcare delivery to Native American people.

Beyond unsanitary, inadequate conditions, and poor medical care, underfunding made it extremely difficult for superintendents to follow Indian Office health and sanitation protocols. The per capita funding model based on average attendance strongly encouraged superintendents to maximize student enrollments in order to maximize their appropriations. Knowing that some students would likely die, fail to return, run away, or sicken and need to be sent home, superintendents squeezed as many children and young adults as they could into the dormitories, not providing enough ventilation for each student. They failed to vaccinate students. These practices all increased the spread of contagious diseases. When epidemics did break out, superintendents did not always report them to the commissioner of Indian Affairs or to Congress. Frugality exacerbated the situation. The Indian Office encouraged superintendents' thrift, which then promoted employees based upon on how economically they ran the boarding schools. Thus, superintendents often failed to spend all of their appropriations, sending money necessary to care for enrolled children and young adults back to the United States Treasury.

School superintendents often complained for months or years about low appropriation levels and frequently pleaded with the Indian Office, Interior Department, and Congress for additional funding to offset deficient conditions. Yet, federal policymakers took little action. Congress repeatedly denied requests to improve the conditions at the boarding schools and placed financial restrictions on allocations.

The results were predictable, even given the relatively limited medical knowledge of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In unhealthy conditions, epidemics crippled Native American off-reservation boarding schools. Students feared them. Classrooms stopped for them. Staff quit because of them. And, students ran away from them. The consequences were horrendous. Thousands of Native American bodies fill graveyards at federal off-reservation boarding schools for Native Americans. Many other sick students returned home from these schools only to die shortly thereafter. Yet, high disease rates continued unabated for decades.

On a biological level, being confined in dangerous conditions, underfed, overworked, psychologically stressed, and exposed compromised student immune systems, leaving them vulnerable to pathogens. The state of sanitation at the schools worked against the mitigation of disease. A continuous barrage of nonlethal and dangerous infectious diseases further weakened student immune responses.

Archives reveal tens of thousands of cases of abscesses, anemia, appendicitis, arthritis, bedbugs, bites, boils, broken bones, burns, cholera, chorea, coughs, colds, concussions, conjunctivitis, constipation, contusions, cramps, cuts, cysts, chickenpox, dehydration, diarrhea, ear infections, eczema, epilepsy, exhaustion, fevers, frostbite, fungal infections, gastritis, goiters, headaches, hives, impetigo, lacerations, lactose intolerance, laryngitis, lice, lumbago, nausea, neuralgia, nosebleeds, poisonings, psoriasis, rheumatism, scabies, sore throat, stings, sunburn, tonsillitis, toothaches, trachoma, ulcers, venereal diseases, vomiting, warts, worms, and wounds.

Little sleep, hard labor, physical, sexual, and psychological abuse, as well as willful neglect compounded these effects. Institutionalized conditions were a perfect incubator for infections and promoted contagion. These “social determinants” of health — long recognized by doctors and scholars to include access to healthcare, adequate sanitation, healthy nutrition, and

proximity to contagious individuals — were unsatisfactory on all levels in the boarding schools. In combatting these conditions and nonlethal pathogens, students expended valuable germ-fighting capabilities so that when a serious disease did invade their bodies, it ravaged them. Potentially lethal diseases and conditions prevailing in boarding schools, including accidents, adenitis, bronchitis, cancer, consumption, depression, diphtheria, heart troubles, hemorrhages, erysipelas, gunshot wounds, heatstroke, influenza, kidney failure, malarial fevers, measles, meningitis, mumps, nephritis, peritonitis, phthisis, pleurisy, pneumonia, polio, rubella (German measles), scarlet fever, scrofula, smallpox, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, vaccine fever, whooping cough, quickly spread. Epidemics thus swept through the boarding schools' student populations.

In response to health conditions and to combat diseases, the Indian Office instituted sanitary reforms. They issued rules and guidelines that superintendents and other boarding school employees should have followed. Boarding school officials flagrantly violated these regulations. They failed to vaccinate children and young adults, one of the few preventative methods practiced in the schools. They admitted unhealthy students. And, they failed to maintain buildings. Little could be done given appropriation levels, which remained stagnant on a per capita basis for decades. Indeed, in many cases inadequate appropriations explain flagrant violations of Indian Office health policies. Never, between 1879 and 1934, were appropriations adequate.

Many factors contributed to boarding school mortalities, none more than tuberculosis. Everywhere students went, there were opportunities for contagion, especially when officials did not segregate students with active infections from the non-tubercular school population. The sharing of objects likely to carry infection, a result of Congress's underfunding, helped to spread the deadly disease.

Many environmental and social factors, as well as dairies, produced an excessive prevalence of tuberculosis. Superintendents and physicians allowed sick students to enroll in the schools. Doctors failed to diagnose diseases, especially tuberculosis, in their early, or incipient stages. Unsanitary conditions could also activate latent tubercular infections as could stress. Infected boarding school dairy cows were often a source of the disease. Cows spread tuberculosis through their milk to humans. Typhoid fever and glandular tuberculosis, then called scrofula, are two common diseases associated with this transmission vector. Inspectors found boarding school dairy barns in the most unsanitary conditions. Sick students handled milk and then provided it to other students. Cows frequently tested positive for tuberculosis, levels of which required schools to euthanize whole herds.⁷

Tuberculosis prevalence was ultimately tied to the exorbitant incidence of other infectious diseases. Archival evidence shows that tubercular infections rose after epidemics of acute infectious diseases. Repeated outbreaks depressed immune systems, enabling tubercular infections to establish a foothold. Diseases often struck simultaneously. A phenomenon known as disease synergy—defined as two or more diseases in combination, causing more severe infection than either could when attacking alone. Tuberculosis and other lethal diseases often arose as a complication, or sequela, from these diseases. For instance, mumps patients could develop mastoiditis following an untreated ear infection. Boarding school records reveal that pneumonia frequently followed bronchitis, influenza, measles, and whooping cough. Measles could also cause heart troubles, rheumatism, and croup. Scarlet fever patients developed heart disease and rheumatism. Mumps caused nephritis. Tubercular peritonitis was another common

⁷ For examples, see Sherman CCF, Box 31, Folders 531. Livestock, Cattle (1910-1919) and 531. Livestock, Cattle (1920-), NARAR.

complication. Studies have found that bovine tuberculosis caused half of all peritonitis cases.⁸ Tubercular peritonitis was often a complication of typhoid fever, as Sherman's 1910-14 typhoid epidemic illustrates. Indeed, tuberculosis was common in the majority of these case histories. This comorbidity wrought havoc in children and young adults unsupported by adequate nutrition, experiencing frequent debilitating illnesses, and confined in unsanitary environments. Tuberculosis had no cure, and it was a death warrant for many.

Policymakers and congressmen were partly aware of Native American boarding schools' fatal results. After more than a decade of high mortality, federal officials enacted sanitary guidelines to lessen morbidity in 1895. They ordered inspections, updated regulations, and constructed hospitals. Still, the information available to Congress was imperfect at best and consistently muted the dangerous conditions and lethality of the boarding schools. Superintendents hid the lethality of the schools, making it difficult for Congress to know just how lethal the institutions were. Traveling inspectors often visited schools over the summer when they were not in session. Thus, they gathered information unreflective of in-term conditions: schools were uncrowded, food was relatively plentiful, and schools exhibited a semblance of adequacy. Dangerous policies engrained in institutionalized indifference, during the school year, led to conditions conducive to the spread of disease.

Indian Office officials and school superintendents failed to take Indigenous complaints about boarding school mortalities seriously. Chronic, dangerous conditions continued for nearly four decades, unchecked by local administrators or officials in Washington, D.C. Superiors failed to hold subordinates like superintendents and teachers accountable. The Indian Office allowed superintendents to ignore its directives. If the commissioners were genuinely interested in

⁸ W.J. Mayo, "Secondary Tuberculous Peritonitis," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 71:1 (July 7, 1918), 7.

enforcing their rules, they would have fired employees who continually disregarded their directives. Instead, those violators would go on to receive promotions.⁹ Sometimes, however, as the 1914 investigation of Carlisle proves, the Indian service did terminate wrongdoers.¹⁰ Congress did not force administrators to over enroll the schools, precipitating dangerous conditions conducive to the spread of disease. Likewise, nothing forced the federal government to create an Indian boarding school system. It was a choice to take students from their homes and place them in government designed and run Indian boarding schools supported by student labor. Likewise, the United States Congress chose not to raise appropriations to adequate levels but to keep students confined in dangerous institutions that they knew were dangerous, even lethal.

Ferocious disease outbreaks tore through boarding schools, killing thousands of Indian students while leaving death, devastated families, and horrified communities in their wake. Indeed, thousands of Native American children and young adults died in the institutions or shortly after their return home. Given the sustained mortality even after the institutions' lethal results were publicly known, lawmakers and officials accepted these deaths as acceptable collateral damage in the federal government's larger push to eradicate Indigeneity and confiscate Native American lands. Still, the death toll was far worse than they knew. While high-level Indian Office policymakers had many of the facts about what was happening at the boarding schools, their own school superintendents routinely hid the schools' lethality, concealing large numbers of student deaths.

⁹ For example, despite Indian Office admonishments to Haskell's superintendent Harvey Peairs for violating Indian Office policies in 1908, Peairs was promoted to be the Indian service's Supervisor of Education the following year (*The Daily Gazette* (Lawrence, Kansas), December 25, 1909, 3).

¹⁰ See Robinson to Sells, February 9, 1914, in U.S. Congress, *Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs*, 11:1390.

Why superintendents concealed mortalities remains uncertain. Yet, it seems that they had a host of reasons to do so, including preserving their jobs, hiding what a poor job they were doing, and concealing the truth from Native American communities in order not to cut off the flow of students. Nevertheless, the practice impeded efforts to marshal arguments for federal funding. For many years, superintendents ignored the topic of student health in their reports to Washington, D.C., failing to report epidemics, students sent home sick, and, most importantly, deaths. When they did report deaths, they were often incorrect, routinely underreporting the number of deaths. Superintendents fabricated records, not accurately recording the reason why students departed a school. These practices call into question statistics published by the Indian Office.

Superintendents also concealed student deaths by sending sick students home with little to no hope of recovery. Once home, these students acted as sources of deadly pathogens, introducing disease to their communities. Often these terminally ill students lived for a few months before their death. Because these students did not die at the school, superintendents did not count them in their records. Superintendents blamed Indigenous children and young adults for poor health. However, if two separate doctors deemed a student healthy and worthy of admission to government schools, also knowing that Indian Office directives forbade schools from enrolling sick students, it can be reasonably concluded that the majority of boarding school students came to the schools in good health, or at the very least not overtly symptomatic. If students arrived at the schools healthy, later contracted a disease of condition, and eventually died from the said affliction, the death ought to be attached to the school. Otherwise, the impact of illness on Native American boarding school students will be underestimated, and these institutions will appear healthier than they were.

Between 1879 and 1914, the superintendents of Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman officially reported 356 deaths to the Indian Affairs commissioner, and thus Congress, via annual reports. Boarding school archives, however, reveal a substantially larger tragedy, uncovering officially hidden deaths. From 1879 to 1914, at least 602 students died while in the custody of Carlisle, Forest Grove/Chemawa, Haskell, and Perris/Sherman officials, a 69.10 percent increase over the reported total. Two hundred and twenty-nine more died in the twenty years between 1915 and the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1934 at the four schools.¹¹ At least another 302 died within one academic year after leaving the four schools between 1879-1934. Thus, this dissertation reveals that at least 831 students died at these four schools. Yet, the death toll may have been substantially higher. The institutions collectively sent another 3,947 students home sick during these years. Exactly how many of them died as a result of diseases contracted at the schools remains unknown. Often Indian children and young adults were worse off in the schools that they would have been if left at home. The death rates illustrate the impact of confining people in dangerous conditions without adequate care. None of the death certificates list superintendent, Indian Office, or congressional negligence, but they should.

Studying multiple sites across time allows us to see how the system developed and the differences between institutions. Not all of the boarding schools were the same. Boarding school superintendents applied policies differently. For example, Sherman produced more food on their farms, thus providing a better student diet than other institutions. Did this lead to better outcomes? Also, Sherman had the same superintendent and physician for decades. Did continuity reduce mortalities? Although these are questions for future research, some initial comparative conclusions can be drawn.

¹¹ This does not include any data from Haskell's student files after 1920.

Deaths were normalized. Across the 187 cumulative years of this study, in only twenty-one did the school record zero deaths.¹² Forest Grove/Chemawa recorded both the largest number of deaths in one year (twenty-four in 1919), the largest total number of deaths in custody (297 from 1880-1934), and the highest yearly death rate (65.87 per 1,000 attending students in 1888). On the other end, Perris/Sherman had both the lowest total number of deaths (113 from 1893-1934), and the lowest average death rate (4.8 per 1,000 attending students from 1893-1934). Sherman may have been a healthier place relative to other schools, but it was not a healthy place. It sent home 661 students too sick to continue their schooling, at least sixty-eight of which died within one academic year of returning to their homes or a tuberculosis sanatorium. The school was open far fewer years than the others.¹³ Death rates at the four schools vary widely from year to year and are difficult to compare because of fragmentary data. Their ranks in death rate per 1,000 attending students are (highest to lowest): Forest Grove/Chemawa (12.01), Carlisle (8.52) Haskell (5.71), and Perris/Sherman (4.68).

Generally, death rates decreased over time. Still, death rates for Indigenous children and young adults in the boarding schools were often several times higher than for their white counterparts in the United States as a whole. Boarding school death rates exceeded the rates for white children and young adults between the ages of 15-24, roughly equivalent to the ages of boarding school students, every year between 1879-1926.¹⁴ Including children who died shortly

¹² Carlisle was open for 1879-1918, Chemawa, 1880-1934, Haskell 1884-1934, Perris/Sherman 1893-1934.

¹³ Sherman was not open during the lethal decade of the 1880s.

¹⁴ As measures with three-year rolling averages to normalize for variability between years. Between 1926-1934 the death rates in the schools is better than the rates of white children and young adults. This is likely a result of incomplete data for the schools in the 1930s. Meanwhile, the schools continued the practice of sending terminally ill children home to die.

after leaving the school, reveals even starker disparities.¹⁵

While this dissertation makes significant strides toward understanding morbidity and mortality in boarding schools, much remains to be done. These results for just four schools boarding schools suggest that many thousands of Indigenous children and young adults at the hundreds of other schools operated or funded by the federal government. There were at least twenty-two other off-reservation boarding schools and hundreds of on-reservation boarding schools with similar conditions, about which we still know very little. There were also many day schools. What is clear is a pattern of mortality and indifference that likely permeated many other schools within the federal government's lethal Native American boarding school system.¹⁶

Death at federal boarding schools for Native Americans remains hidden in plain sight: school cemeteries bear mute testimony to the system's lethality. Carlisle's cemetery contains at least 179 students. Chemawa's holds more than 200; Haskell's, at least 102; Sherman's, sixty-seven; and Mount Pleasant's, upwards of 116.¹⁷ Yet the full magnitude of death across the entire boarding school system remains, as yet, unknown. For many U.S. boarding schools, cemetery locations remain unknown. Other cemeteries contain unknown numbers of bodies. Genoa Indian School has a single stone marker memorializing the children and young adults who died there between 1884 and 1934 and who "may be buried near here." Albuquerque Indian School

¹⁵ See Appendix 3 and Appendix 4.

¹⁶ School financial ledgers in NARA repositories and Haskell's student files after 1920, sources not comprehensively used in this study, should also be a fruitful place to investigate.

¹⁷ New South Associates, *Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of the Carlisle Indian School Cemetery, Old Burial Ground, and the Carlisle Barracks Plot Cemetery* (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 2017), 1; M. Dadigan, "Unmarked graves discovered at Chemawa Indian School," *Al Jazeera*, January 3, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/01/unearthing-dark-native-boarding-school-160103072842972.html>; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 206; Bahr, *Students of Sherman Indian School*, 28; M. Ranzenberger, "Tribe to take ownership of former boarding school, cemetery," *The Morning Sun* (Alma, MI), April 22, 2011, https://www.themorningsun.com/tribe-to-take-ownership-of-former-boarding-school-cemetery/article_6225fc6c-9eaa-5479-8687-0fd0b8690153.html.

cemetery is now a city park; all graves remain unmarked. Meanwhile, superintendents sent dead and dying students home so to not to record their deaths at the schools.¹⁸ Yet, carefully excavating and analyzing federal boarding school archives presents one way to gather the data on who died as a result of attending federal boarding schools for Native Americans.

Indigenous youth and tribal governments have begun a movement to repatriate boarding school students who died and were buried away from their homes. Although the work is in its infancy, the Northern Arapahoe, Blackfeet, Oglala Lakota, Standing Rock, Oneida, Iowa, Modoc, and Omaha Nations have returned twelve ancestors home from the Carlisle school cemetery since 2017.¹⁹

Boarding schools are not merely institutions of the past. They never disappeared and remain a significant part of the twenty-first century Native American educational landscape. The Meriam Report of 1928 and the reforms of the New Deal Era altered their trajectory, but federal boarding and church-run schools survived as an integral part of the education system for decades. There were significant changes. The Indian Office instituted curriculum reforms, closed many schools, and added hospitals to others. Many more Native American students attended public schools. Still, abuse, underfunding, epidemics, and deaths continued in Native American boarding schools.

¹⁸ See Entries 1327-1329, in RG75, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, NARADC; R.H. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, in charge to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1880, in *ARCIA, 1880*, 179; “Medical and vital statistics of the Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880,” in *ARCIA, 1880*, 276; Pratt to [Indian Affairs Commissioner], October 15, 1881, in *ARCIA, 1881*, 184; “Table showing prevailing disease among Indians, number of cases of sickness treated, &c.,” in *ARCIA, 1881*, 310-311.

¹⁹ The National native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, “Carlisle Repatriation,” <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/advocacy/carlisle-repatriation/>.

Congressional parsimony continued. In 1949, Indian Affairs Commissioner John Nichols asked for \$11,000,000 to combat tuberculosis. Congress granted him \$2,400,000, just 22 percent of what he had requested.²⁰ That year, the *American Journal of Public Health* called the state of health in Native America an “Indian massacre” born from neglect.²¹ In 1949, the life expectancy at birth of a Tohono O’odham person was seventeen, forty-three years lower than that of a non-Indian.²²

Twenty years later, a United States Senate subcommittee on Indian Education released its report “Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge.”²³ The subcommittee’s 4,527 pages of hearings and reports “constitute a major indictment of our [the federal government’s] failure.”²⁴ The senators concluded that the state of Indian education was “a failure of major proportions,” remarking that those blunders “mark a stain on our national conscience, a stain which has spread for hundreds of years.”²⁵

According to some, it was not until 1970, during Richard Nixon’s pivot towards a policy of Native American self-determination, that conditions in the educational institutions changed because Indigenous communities themselves could exercise more control over the education of their children. Even then, schools continued to be underfunded, continuing many of the conditions described in this dissertation, and federal and state officials took Indigenous children

²⁰ DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 101.

²¹ “Indian Massacre—New Style,” *American Journal of Public Health* 39:11 (November 1949), 1469–70.

²² DeJong, “*If You Only Knew the Conditions*,” 113.

²³ U.S. Senate, “Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge,” 91st Cong., 1st Sess., S. Rpt. 91-501 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IX.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

away from their parents and guardians.

After decades of activism led by Indigenous women and community leaders, Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) in 1978. The act recognized the need to protect Native American children and stop their transfer out of their homes and communities. Congress passed the law after determining that federal, state, and private agencies had removed one in three Native American children from their home. ICWA was one congressional response to the boarding school era.²⁶

That same year, Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act which recognized the sanctity of the religious and cultural practices previously banned by the federal government in the schools and through Indian Courts and Indigenous peoples' right to practice them. This act granted Indigenous peoples the same rights to practice religion as other United States citizens.²⁷

Still, abuse continued. In the decades since the so-called Indian New Deal, ICWA, and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Indian schools continued to be sites of disease and violence. A 1980s investigation by Congress's Indian Affairs Committee exposed high-profile sexual abuse cases. The inquiry detailed how Paul Price molested at least twenty-five young boys at the Cherokee Reservation school, how John Boone sexually assaulted 142 Hopi boys at the Polacca Day School, how Terry Hester sexually abused children at the Kaibito Boarding

²⁶ "An Act To establish standards for the placement of Indian children in foster or adoptive homes, to prevent the breakup of Indian families, and for other purposes," November 8, 1978, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the Second Session of the Ninety-Fifth Congress of the United States of America and Proclamations* (126 vols., Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1980), 92:3069-3078. For more on ICWA, see Margaret D. Jacobs, *A Generation Removed: The Fostering & Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 138-161.

²⁷ "American Indian Religious Freedom," August, 11, 1978, in U.S. Congress, *United States Statutes at Large*, 92:469-470.

School on the Navajo Reservation, and how J.D. Todd molested children at the Greasewood Boarding School, also on the Navajo Reservation.²⁸ The full extent of sexual violence at the U.S. boarding schools remains unknown. Privacy laws preclude us from knowing much about these instances after 1945.

Fraud and corruption also continued. A 1989 Senate report concluded, “We found fraud, corruption and mismanagement pervading the institutions that are supposed to serve American Indians.” Senators then asked: “Why is this pattern of abuse endemic?,” finding that “Because Congress has never fully rejected the paternalism of the 19th century, the U.S. government maintains a stifling bureaucratic presence in Indian country, and fails to deal with tribal governments as responsible partners in our federalist system.”²⁹ “Worse,” the Committee explained, “[when we] found that federal officials in every agency knew of abuse but did little or nothing to stop them.”³⁰ In government-run Native American schools, officials knowingly hired child molesters, then “failed to report or investigate repeated allegations of sexual abuse by teachers, in one case for 14 years.”³¹ Even in the era of “Self-Determination,” Indigenous people had little control over their children or BIA-run schools.

Like the Oneida and Onondaga headmen argued when negotiating with Wheelock for their children’s attendance at Moor’s Charity School, Indigenous peoples have always been better stewards of their children and their futures than newcomers or the U.S. government. Today

²⁸ Select Committee on Indian Affairs, “A Report of the Special Committee on Investigations of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate,” November 1989, 101st Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C: GPO, 1989), 95-100.

²⁹ “Final Report and Legislative Recommendations: A New Federalism for American Indians,” November 20, 1989, S. Report 101-216, 101st Cong., 1st Sess., 4-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*

the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) enshrines that right.³² Article 8 states, “Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.” Article 14 continues, “Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.” Finally, Article 24 protects “the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services.”³³ The United States voted against these rights in 2007, and Native American people still fight for their rights as the citizens of sovereign Indigenous nations.

Under UNDRIP and other legal mechanisms, Indigenous individuals and others have called for official reparations in recognition of the United States’ continued abuses, mortalities, and violations of human rights taking place in Native American boarding schools it ran or funded. The system left many Indigenous languages and traditions damaged, endangered, or extinct. This is to say nothing of the resultant trauma and its ripple effects, described today as a “soul wound” or “intergenerational trauma.”³⁴ The abuses, sickness, and death described in this dissertation lend evidence for these conversations.

The impacts of boarding schools are ongoing. Three of the four schools in this study remain open, still run by the federal government. Sherman and Chemawa continue as Indian

³² United Nations, “United National Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” September 13, 2007, A/61/295.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ For more information, see Mary Annette Pember, *Intergenerational Trauma: Understanding Natives’ Inherited Pain* (Washington, D.C.: Indian Country Today Media Network, 2016).

boarding schools at the high school level while Haskell is an accredited four-year tribal university. In 2018, there were still at least fifty-three federally-operated schools for Native Americans with an enrollment of some 10,000.³⁵ Today, the remaining institutions look different than they did between 1879-1934. School administrators imbed Native languages, traditional knowledge, and cultural practices into the curriculum. Still, they are underfunded and understaffed. Children and young adults still die in them. At least three students died at Chemawa between 2003 and 2017.³⁶

Boarding schools need to be contextualized within broader Indigenous histories. They were not benevolent institutions. Boarding schools were but one policy that attacked Indigenous sovereignty. Fights over the guardianship of children would endure well beyond the allotment era. Through the 1970s and beyond, agencies took custody of Indigenous children. Indeed, forced removal from homes and communities continued. While some attended boarding schools, government agencies funneled other Indigenous children into white homes through state adoption agencies.³⁷ Moreover, the conditions in boarding schools help us to better understand health and educational disparities today.

Boarding schools and the conditions created by Congress have had long-term impacts. Historical inequality has precipitated disparities that continue today. As of this writing, under-

³⁵ Rockey Robbins, Steven Colmant, Julie Dorton, Lahoma Schultz, Tevette Colmant et.al. "Colonial Instillations in American Indian Boarding School Students," *The Journal of Educational Foundations* 20:3/4 (Summer 2006), 69-88; Native American Rights Fund, *Trigger Points: Current State of Research on history, Impacts, and Healing Related on the United States' Indian Industrial/Boarding School Policy* (Boulder, CO: Native American Rights Fund, 2019), 17.

³⁶ Rob Manning and Tony Schick, "Life and Death At Chemawa Indian School," *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, October 30, 2017, <https://www.opb.org/news/series/chemawa/chemawa-indian-school-student-safety-salem-oregon/>.

³⁷ For more on the adoption era, see: Jacobs, *Generation Removed*.

resourced Indigenous nations are fighting COVID-19. Some communities have rates of infection more than double New York's, the worst-hit state in the United States.³⁸ By April 10, 2020, the sociologist and demographer Desi Rodriguez-Lonebear (Northern Cheyenne) noted, "the rate of COVID-19 cases per 1000 people was more than four times higher for the populations residing on reservations than for the US as a whole."³⁹ These high rates of SARS-CoV-2 infections are directly tied to past federal policies toward Native American nations and individuals.⁴⁰ The continued impacts of neglect and underfunding are felt throughout Indian Country.

Confinement, as a means of control, has been a primary tool of the United States government. Boarding schools were carceral spaces. This project, then, offers some broader takeaways for the study of U.S. and Native American carceral history. Confined in dangerous conditions, people die in higher numbers than in unconfined, sanitary conditions. This was as true in 1879 as it is today. The carceral aspect of this project also echoes into the present. Indigenous peoples are incarcerated, sentenced, and killed by police at amongst the highest rates in the United States.⁴¹ Native American women and girls have gone missing and are murdered at appalling rates.⁴²

³⁸ UCLA American Indian Studies Center, "Coronavirus in Indian Country: Latest Case Counts," https://www.aisc.ucla.edu/progression_charts.aspx.

³⁹ "Identifying Differences in COVID-19 Rates on American Indian Reservations," <https://jphmpdirect.com/2020/04/28/identifying-differences-in-covid-19-rates-on-american-indian-reservations/>

⁴⁰ Ostler, "Disease Has Never Been Just Disease for Native Americans."

⁴¹ Eliza Racine, "Native Lives Matter: The Overlooked Police Brutality Against Native Americans," *Lakota People's Law Project*, <https://www.lakotalaw.org/news/2017-11-21/native-lives-matter-the-overlooked-police-brutality-against-native-americans>.

⁴² Urban Indian Health Institute, *Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women & Girls* (Seattle, WA: Seattle Indian Health Board, 2018).

Federal captivity in dangerous conditions continues. From jails, migrant detention facilities, and prisons to asylums, orphanages, and out-patient facilities, institutionalized spaces are ripe for abuse, exploitation, and dismal health outcomes. Confining humans in camps, cages, and cells with dangerous overcrowding, insanitary conditions, and inadequate medical care breeds disease and harms health. One study found that migrants in detention facilities, a population just less than 0.02 percent of the U.S. total, suffered one-third of all 2019 United States mumps cases.⁴³

The protests of #BlackLivesMatter, #IdleNoMore, #NoDAPL, #SayHerName, and countless others remind us of the inequalities inherent in a nation founded, in part, upon the dispossession of Indigenous land, white supremacy, slavery, sexual and gender discrimination, and class divisions. Racism and institutionalized inequality are sicknesses we should be treating.

⁴³ Leung, *et al.*, “*Notes from the Field*,” 749-750; For capacity of detention facilities, see: Laurel Wamsley, “As It Makes More Arrests, ICE Looks For More Detention Center,” *NPR*, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/10/26/560257834/as-it-makes-more-arrests-ice-looks-for-more-detention-centers>.

Appendix 1: Boarding school discharges caused by disease

This appendix documents students that the schools sent home ill, who failed to return because of illness, or who deserted after being diagnosed with a chronic or lethal disease. I have not included the students rejected because of their health or those who stayed at the school for less than one month, unless there is direct evidence for the student contracting a disease at the school (e.g. students entering school in September or October just prior to the 1918 Influenza pandemic). Likewise, pregnancy is not a sickness and, unless a student went home with another disease like tuberculosis, pregnant students do not appear here. Students sent home once appear once in the chart regardless of how many times the school sent them home ill. They are arranged by school chronologically by date of departure.

Carlisle, 1879-1918

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date Left	Reason for Leaving	Source
Howard	Charlton	Southern Cheyenne	1/26/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 7; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Little	Chief	Southern Cheyenne	1/26/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 7; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
White	Man	Southern Cheyenne	1/26/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 8; E1329, Box 14, NARADC
William	Cohoe	Southern Cheyenne	3/2/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 7; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Pankin	Singer	Comanche	3/2/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Tonkeuk	Kiowa	3/2/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 69, NARADC
	White Bear	Southern Arapaho	3/2/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Frederick	[Cloud Bull]	Miniconjou Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1327, Box 150, NARADC
Walter	Bullman	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 38; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Thomas	He Bear	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Valentine	McKenzie	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Hugh	Running Horse	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Arnold	Runs After the Moon	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Bennett	Singer	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Oliver	Spotted Tail	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
William	Spotted Tail	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Charles	Tackett	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Herbert	Yellow Sack	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 4; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Charles	Ohettoint (Buffalo)	Kiowa	6/29/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 15; E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Nathan	[Ear]	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	8/21/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Charles	Bear	Nez Perce	8/21/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Fany [Fanny]	Knife Holder	Kiowa	8/21/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Henry	Thigh	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	8/21/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Walter	Matches	Southern Cheyenne	9/10/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
High	Bear, Jr.	Ponca	12/31/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lawrence	Little Cutter	Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/26/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

William	Curtis [Good Blanket]	Southern Cheyenne	3/15/1881	Unknown	E1327, Box 7; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
William	Young	Nez Perce	5/3/1881	[Measles]	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Henry Pratt	Taawayite	Comanche	5/9/1881	[Measles]	E1327, Box 12; E1329, Box 14, NARADC
William	Allen	Acoma Pueblo	6/15/1881	Crippled	E1327, Box 30, NARADC
Robert	Burns	Southern Cheyenne	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1327, Box 7; E1329, Box 11, NARADC
	Carlos	Comanche	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Myrtle	Flaces	Southern Cheyenne	6/21/1881	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Galpin	Southern Cheyenne	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Henderson	Southern Arapaho	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Grant (U.S. Grant)	Left Hand	Southern Arapaho	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Grant	Willard	Southern Cheyenne	6/21/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Gilbert	Short Leg	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	9/3/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Norman	Wants to be Chief	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	9/3/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
James	White Man	Miniconjou Lakota Oyate	9/3/1881	Unknown	E1327, Box 37; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Jennie	Hammaker [Hawmaker]	Zuni Pueblo	2/6/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Charles	Kawboodle	Kiowa	2/6/1882	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jane	Vane	Acoma Pueblo	2/6/1882	Unknown	E1327, Box 58; E1329, Box 8, NARADC

	Lincoln	Northern Arapaho	2/20/1882	Unknown	E1327, Box 4; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Austin	Mad Blows [Holy Bear]	Miniconjou Lakota Oyate	2/20/1882	Unknown	E1327, Box 69; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Rufus	Strikes the Enemy	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	2/20/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Horace	White Whirlwind	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	2/20/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 4; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Adam	[First Born]	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	6/19/1882	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Joe	Taylor	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/19/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	[Black Short Nose]	Southern Cheyenne	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1327, Box 46, NARADC
Joe	Gunn	Ponca	7/1/1882	Died within one academic year of leaving	<i>The School News</i> 3:5 (October, 1882), 3
Ellis	Kauque	Kiowa	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
O.P.	Morton	Southern Cheyenne	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Eva	Pickard	Wichita	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1329, Box 4; E, Box 1327, Box 147, 5705, NARADC
Sophia	Rachel	Nez Perce	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 6; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Carl	Pinquodle	Kiowa	1/31/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Clara	Yellow Horse	Southern Arapaho	1/31/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Grant	Northern Arapaho	2/21/1883	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Peter	Northern Arapaho	2/21/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
	Raleigh	Northern Arapaho	2/21/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC

William	Shakspeare	Northern Arapaho	2/21/1883	Unknown	E1327, Box 4; E1329, Box [14], NARADC
Clement	Black	Southern Cheyenne	4/3/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Tommie L.	McGillycuddy	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/10/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Kate	La Croix	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/24/1883	Unknown	E1327, Box 62; E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Jane	Freeman	Muscogee	5/24/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Elizabeth	McNac	Muscogee	6/11/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Kaha	Kuh	Kiowa	6/12/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 4; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Fannie	Morning	Southern Cheyenne	6/12/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 4; E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Francisco	[Hollow Loud]	Diné	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
John	Bull	Ponca	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Manuelito	Choni	Diné	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Maria Rufia	Leute	Isleta Pueblo	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1327, Box 58; E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Edward	Myers	Pawnee	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Alice	Gaudelina	Kiowa	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Dora	Hare	Southern Arapaho	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alfrich [Alfred]	Heap of Birds	Southern Cheyenne	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Clarkie	Mad Chief	Osage	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Libbie	Porter	Northern Arapaho	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Porter	Ponca	9/18/1883	Unknown	E1327, Box 29; E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Hettie	Butcher	Kaw	11/20/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 1; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Hattie	Charko	Comanche	1/3/1884	Tuberculosis; sent to Lincoln Institute	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
	Dah-wa-sates	Wichita	1/3/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Pinkie	Datish	Wichita	1/3/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
	Juana	Diné	1/3/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Jock	Bull Bear	Southern Arapaho	1/29/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 3, NARADC
Ella	Moore	Muscogee	1/29/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Edward	Hears Fire	Crow	1/30/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Kills	Jumping Eagle	[Sicangu] Lakota Oyate	2/20/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Lupita	Garcia	San Felipe Pueblo	2/26/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 57, NARADC
Lela	Little Chief	Southern Arapaho	2/26/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Nora	Williamson	Southern Arapaho	2/26/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Thomas	Ekoh-dletah	Kiowa	3/25/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Morris	Omaha	4/22/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
	Amich	Southern Arapaho	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Anna	Big Rain	Osage	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
John	Bonga	White Earth Chippewa	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Louis Jug	Brown	Sisseton- Wahpeton Oyate	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC

Edith (Pipe)	Brushbreaker	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Edward	Chouteau	Osage	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Lettie	Esau	Omaha	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 52, NARADC
Louise	Gallago	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 63, NARADC
Harry	Hoover	Southern Arapaho	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Paul	Jones	Crow	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Tempest	Little Wolf Chief	Southern Arapaho	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alice	Old Star	Southern Arapaho	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Helen	Onion [Omon]	Crow	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Dessie	Prescott	Sisseton- Wahpeton Oyate	6/17/1884	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Katrina	Shane	Crow	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 49, NARADC
Floy	Shepherd	Southern Cheyenne	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Newton	White Hat	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Rainbow	Yellow Horse	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/17/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Clara	Guernsey	Laguna Pueblo	9/23/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Leila	Jones	Southern Cheyenne	10/21/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Earnest	Left Hand	Southern Arapaho	10/21/1884	Unknown	E1327, Box 3, NARADC
Irvine	Chodoque	Comanche	1/15/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
George	Bigheart	Osage	1/20/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
	Josephine	Osage	1/20/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Louie	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	2/2/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Edward	Wilson	White Earth Chippewa	2/2/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Roscoe	Conkling	Osage	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Grace	Cook	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
McKay	Dongan	Osage	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
William	Eywat	Comanche	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jasper	Hadley	Osage	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Noah	Little Eagle	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Augustine	Prisea	Acoma Pueblo	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1327, Box 31, NARADC
Augustine	Risia	Acoma Pueblo	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Ella	Scisewitza	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Agatha	Shitia	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1327, Box 81, NARADC
Hokiyea [Hakiyea]	Toreway [Forewy]	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1885	Unknown	E1327, Box 59, NARADC
Max	Spotted Tail	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/14/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Belle	Yellow Bear	Southern Arapaho	9/15/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Kent	Black Bear [Kills the Enemy]	Oglala Lakota Oyate	11/23/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
DeBett	Cheyenne Chief	Southern Arapaho	5/6/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Vivian	Archiveque	Cochiti Pueblo	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Newton	Big Road	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Charlie	Bird	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Electa	Cooper	Wisconsin Oneida	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Charlotte	Four Horns	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC

James	Fox	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Isaac	Johnson	Wisconsin Oneida	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Henry	Kendall	Isleta Pueblo	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Andrew	Kuhn	Pawnee	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Alfred	Lone Eagle	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Pauline	Seonee [Seonia]	Laguna Pueblo	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
James	Seweyea	Laguna Pueblo	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1327, Box 31, NARADC
Sarah	Sitting Bull	Southern Arapaho	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Chalkley	Stafford	Pawnee	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Eagle	Stray Horse	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Cyrus	Windy	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Theresa	Wyshu [Wyshee]	Laguna Pueblo	6/22/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Laura	Good Nation	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	11/1/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Wamy	Os [Oso]	Laguna Pueblo	11/1/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lena	Black Bear	Southern Arapaho	3/21/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Thomas	Kester	Pawnee	3/28/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Esther	Metoxen	Wisconsin Oneida	4/21/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Frank	Yates	Pawnee	5/10/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Florence	Little Elk	Southern Cheyenne	6/12/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Norris	Stanger Horse	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/13/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC

A.C.	Ainsworth	Southern Arapaho	6/14/1887	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
James	Antelope	Southern Arapaho	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Chloe	Bad Baby	Crow	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Bear	Fire Heart	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John	Peak Hart	Southern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
John	Peakhart	Southern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1327, Box 8, NARADC
Matthew	Red Pipe	Southern Arapaho	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Daisy	Reynolds	Southern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Laura	Standing Elk	Northern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1327, Box 46, NARADC
Ella	Stone Calf	Southern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Stan [Star]	Yellow Eyes	Southern Arapaho	6/14/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Ida	Buffalo Thigh	Southern Cheyenne	1/2/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
John	Davis	Laguna Pueblo	1/2/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Egbert	Eskeltah	Tonto Apache	3/23/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Harry	Raven	Southern Arapaho	3/23/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
	Work Together	Tonto Apache/Mojave	3/23/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
James	Black Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/10/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Herman	Young	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/10/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Nancy	Iron Son	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/22/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Constant	Bread	Tonto Apache	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC

William	Crow	[Northern] Cheyenne	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Agnes	Howeri [Howler]	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Emily	Leon	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Jose	Nadilgodey	Tonto Apache/Mojave	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Julia	Old Camp	Southern Arapaho	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Marion	Rising Elk	Southern Cheyenne	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ira	Yowice	Laguna Pueblo	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Rhoda	Red Wolf	Southern Cheyenne	11/12/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lucy	Day	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/27/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lizzie	Frog	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/27/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
George	Little Wound	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/27/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Adelia	Tyon	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/27/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Robert	Left Hand	Southern Arapaho	5/6/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Bennie	Parr	Southern Cheyenne	5/6/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
William	Short Nose	Southern Arapaho	5/6/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Louise	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	5/13/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lona	Amigoon	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Bessie	Bizeuh	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Elsie Vanse	Chesteum [Chesteun]	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4;E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Amy	Etseltsive	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Arnold	Kinzhuna	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Hulda	Kinzhuna	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Giles	Lancy	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama, within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Joan	Yahutsa	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Effie	Zaienah	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Red Ear Horse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/25/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
[Tiznatahsta]	Blanche	Chiricahua Apache	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Charles	Elk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
George	Kowice	Laguna Pueblo	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Flora	Pretty Lodge	Crow/Gros Ventre	7/8/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Tony	Setfast	Southern Arapaho	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Eddie	Strike Axe	Osage	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lawrence	Toopher	Kiowa	7/8/1889	Unknown	E1327, Box 69, NARADC
William	Kelly	Wisconsin Oneida	10/1/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John S.	Kewaygesich	Odawa	10/1/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Harold	Dodestonay	Chiricahua Apache	10/16/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Henrietta	Iadistsa	Chiricahua Apache	10/16/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Virginia	Nahaklo	Chiricahua Apache	10/16/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Mary	Red Wolf	Southern Cheyenne	10/24/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Mary	Kewagoshkum	Odawa	12/10/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Andrew	Conover	Comanche	12/14/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Richard	Coulter	Laguna Pueblo	12/16/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Charles	Dagenett	Peoria	1/17/1890	Unknown	E1327, Box 134, NARADC
Hector	Cat	Kiowa	1/31/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edith	Abner	Peoria	2/19/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Francis	Ortiz	Acoma Pueblo	2/25/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Bishop	Eatannah	Chiricahua Apache	3/11/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Matthius	Ekieh	Chiricahua Apache	3/11/1890	Tuberculosis; died at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama, within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Sara	Bedell	L'Anse Chippewa	4/18/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Kin-Osh	Adunko	Caddo	5/1/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Theodore	Everett	Arikara	6/25/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Sam	Merrick	Omaha	6/25/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Isabella	Two Dogs	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/25/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Bayard	Boynton	Southern Arapaho	7/1/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Jannette	Whirlwind	Southern Arapaho	7/27/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Lucy	Brown	Ho-Chunk	7/28/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Tawberry [Tawkeny]	Hail	Southern Cheyenne	7/28/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Sarah	Shavings	Crow	7/28/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Josiah	Archiquette	Wisconsin Oneida	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Ethel	Black Wolf	Southern Arapaho	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Cho-a-nit	Caddo	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Louis	Crow on Head	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/29/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Julia	Jackson	Saginaw Chippewa	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Solomon	John	Odawa	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Howard	Logan	Ho-Chunk	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
William	Pawnee	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lucy	Pequonquay	Odawa	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1327, Box 55, NARADC
Michell	Shagonaby	Odawa	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1324, 145, NARADC
Fred	Shance	Crow	7/29/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Mary	Smith	L'Anse Chippewa	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Lucy	Star	Southern Arapaho	7/29/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Maggie	Abbott	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Nellie	Abbott	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Mary	Black	Nakota	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Eliza	Choquette	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
	Gray Cloud	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Delia	Howard	Nakota	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Sallie Wright	Kennerly	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC

Josephina [Josephine]	Langley	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1324, 145, NARADC
Winona	Nice Girl	Gros Ventre	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ella	Wren	Piegan	8/11/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Minnie	Paisano	Laguna Pueblo	8/12/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lulu	Blind	Southern Arapaho	9/17/1890	Unknown	E1327, Box 45, NARADC
Charles	Bravo [Brave]	Crow	9/17/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Thomas	Red Bird	Odawa	9/17/1890	Unknown	E1324, 146, NARADC
Oliver	Williams	Odawa	9/17/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Samuel S.	Davis	Crow	10/10/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
George	Johnson	White Earth Chippewa	10/10/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
James	Walker	Grand Traverse Odawa/Chippewa	10/10/1890	Unknown	E1324, 146, NARADC
Agnew	Chiskisay	Chiricahua Apache	11/10/1890	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Talbot	Goday	Chiricahua Apache	11/10/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Burdett	Tsisnah	Chiricahua Apache	11/10/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	Tsisnah	Chiricahua Apache	11/10/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Harrison	Red Wolf	Nez Perce	11/26/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Laura	Shoots-a-Lodge	Crow	11/26/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Louis	Walker	Odawa	1/28/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Alfred	Batache	Chiricahua Apache	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC

Jennie	Conners	Seminole	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Jennie	Mitchell	Omaha	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Morrison	White Earth Chippewa	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Manuel	Powlas	Wisconsin Oneida	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Lucy [Louisa]	Skipegosh	Odawa	2/6/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
George	No-coch-luke	Alaska Native	2/24/1891	Unknown	E1327, Box 1; E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Fannie	Short Neck	Southern Cheyenne	3/4/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Mack	Short Neck	Southern Cheyenne	4/8/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Robert	Penn	Omaha	4/17/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Martinez	Johns	Wisconsin Oneida	4/30/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Philip	Mann	Southern Arapaho	5/1/1891	Unknown	E1324, 147, NARADC
Ulysses G.	Paisano	Laguna Pueblo	5/1/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Harry	Iron Claws	Nakota	5/11/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Otto	Zotoum	Kiowa	6/4/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
John	Tyler	Southern Cheyenne	6/5/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6; E1329, Box 3, NARADC
Kattie	Bissell	Tuscarora	6/22/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Polly	Browning	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Wallace	Charging Shield	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Mary	Cook	Saginaw Chippewa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Edward	Jackson	Saginaw Chippewa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC

Tilly	Kills-with-his-Brother	Crow	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
John	McFarland	Nez Perce	7/2/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Mary	Persherboy	Odawa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Charles	Porter	La Pointe Chippewa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Moses	Rogers	Nakota	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
George F.	Scott	Omaha	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
William	Smith	Odawa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Nellie	Spruce	L'Anse Chippewa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Fred A.	St. Cyr	Ho-Chunk	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Delia	Strong	Saginaw Chippewa	7/2/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Edward	Clark	Piegan	9/9/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
William	Ellis	Piegan	9/9/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Lizzie	Eagle Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	9/14/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Jennie	Ke-we-yetseh	Laguna Pueblo	9/15/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Ledants	Spotted Horse	Southern Cheyenne	9/15/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Fred	Dangerous Eagle	Kiowa	10/6/1891	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Leeds	Laguna Pueblo	11/16/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Gertrude	Siow [Sion]	Laguna Pueblo	11/16/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Belle	Carroll	Southern Arapaho	12/5/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Dell	Whiting	Southern Cheyenne	12/5/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Johnson	Wave	Ho-Chunk	12/14/1891	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC

Henry	Philips	Tlingit	1/5/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Wallace	Williams	Saginaw Chippewa	1/7/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Justin	Head	Tonto Apache/Mojave	3/1/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Alfred	Eateh	San Carlos Apache	3/2/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Ambrose	Gurnz	San Carlos Apache	3/4/1892	Died at Philadelphia Blind Institute within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Willis	Black Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/17/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Richard	Doanmoe	Kiowa	4/21/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Stiya	Kawacura	Laguna Pueblo	4/21/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Julia	Seward	Southern Cheyenne	4/21/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Barbara	Showainney	Laguna Pueblo	4/21/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Olive	Printup	Tuscarora	4/26/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
George	Baker	Kaw	4/28/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Henry	Keoke	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/28/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lucius	Bird	Tonto Apache	5/9/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Eustace	Pelone	San Carlos Apache	5/9/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lydia	Big Nose	Southern Arapaho	5/11/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Cora	Thunder Bull	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/11/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Jemima	Two Elks	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/11/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
William	Bealieu	White Earth Chippewa	6/2/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC

Elizabeth	Johnson	Wisconsin Oneida	6/2/1892	Unknown	E1327, Box 53, NARADC
Eva	Jordan	Wisconsin Oneida	6/2/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Mary	Prickett	Menominee	6/2/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Baptist	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	6/2/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Katie	Hammond	Nakota	6/14/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Joseph	Big Wolf	Osage	6/20/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Roy	Blind	Southern Arapaho	6/20/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Theodore	Kaha-Kome	Kiowa	6/20/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mark	White Shield	Southern Cheyenne	6/20/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Martha	Powlas	Wisconsin Oneida	7/3/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Dot	Day	Laguna Pueblo	7/21/1892	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Julia	Lone Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/21/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
John	Runninghorse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/21/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
David P.	Hill	Ho-Chunk	7/22/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Orpha J.	Miller	Stockbridge	7/22/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Charles	Clawson	Crow	7/23/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Priscilla	Corbett	Nez Perce	7/23/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Jane	Willis	Odawa	7/23/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Ella	La Rush	La Pointe Chippewa	7/25/1892	Glands	E1327, Box 47, NARADC
Bertha	Pierce	Seneca	7/25/1892	Unknown	E1324, 151, 164, NARADC
Nancy	Burd	Piegan	8/3/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Minnie	Perrine	Piegan	8/3/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lawrence	Gotelay	Chiricahua Apache	8/22/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Sarah	Williams	Saginaw Chippewa	9/26/1892	Unknown	E1327, Box 137, NARADC
Anna	Samuels	Nez Perce	10/3/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Katie	Bent	Nakota	10/5/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Delia	Kisma	Laguna Pueblo	10/19/1892	Eyes	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Nimrod	Davis	Nakota	11/8/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Katie	James	Bad River Chippewa	11/8/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Annie	Medicine	Nakota	11/8/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Richard	Sanderville	Piegan	11/8/1892	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Vista	Gray	Nakota	12/6/1892	Unknown	E1327, Box 45, NARADC
Mary	Johnson	Stockbridge	12/6/1892	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Wilkenson	Johnson	Tuscarora	1/10/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Hiram	Bailey	Southern Cheyenne	3/6/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Nellie	Iddings	Pawnee	3/6/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Jane	Petosky	Odawa	3/20/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Seth	Clear Eyes	Nakota	4/17/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Belknap	Fox	Gros Ventre	4/17/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Dora	Printup	Tonawanda Seneca	5/3/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
David	Shu-vi-uk [Schee-vi-uk]	Alaska Native	5/8/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Frank	Turewy	Laguna Pueblo	5/10/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Charles	Sampson	Umatilla	6/8/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lillie	Eels	Seneca	6/30/1893	Unknown	E1327, Box 59, NARADC
David	Abraham	Saginaw Chippewa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1327, Box 137, NARADC
Millie [Willie]	Bisonette	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Julius	Brown	White Earth Chippewa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Joseph	Burnett [Bennett]	Umatilla	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edward	Davis	L'Anse Chippewa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Joseph	Gordon	La Pointe Chippewa	7/4/1893	Swelling of neck	E1327, Box 10, NARADC
Alex	Kettle	Seneca	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1327, Box 34, NARADC
George	La Dau	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
Alice	Long Pole	Osage	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Paul	Lovejoy	Omaha	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lucy	Medicine Elk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Sabina	Minthorn	Umatilla	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Edward	Nahmais	La Pointe Chippewa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Nicholson	Parker	Seneca	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
Emma	Red Bird	Odawa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
Ida	Schanadore	Wisconsin Oneida	7/4/1893	Eyes	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Justin	Shudee [Shedee]	Tonto Apache	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
Hugh	Thompson	Nez Perce	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
David	Tipscow [Tipscio]	Saginaw Chippewa	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC

Morgan	Toprock	Tonto Apache	7/4/1893	Unknown	E1324, 154, NARADC
Lulu	Allen	Nez Perce	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1327, Box 52, NARADC
Henry	Brave	Chiricahua Apache	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Alene	Conover	Comanche	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1327, Box 49, NARADC
	Eth-a-Girl	Gros Ventre	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Maggie	Hickman	Nakota	7/5/1893	Eyes	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Felix	Iron Eagle Feather	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Florence	Morrison	Pawnee	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
James	Paints Yellow	Southern Arapaho	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Sarah	Petosky	Odawa	7/5/1893	Eyes	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Phemister	Piegian	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Edith	Strong	Nakota	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Elmer	Sweezy	Southern Arapaho	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Parker	Whitney West	San Carlos Apache	7/5/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Mary Jane	Wren	Piegian	7/5/1893	Sore throat	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Ocie	Gray	Nakota	8/17/1893	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Jackson	Overy	Fort Hall Shoshone	8/17/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Star	Bad Boy	White Earth Chippewa	10/8/1893	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Charles	Marvell	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/5/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Margaret	Mantowash	Odawa	3/14/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Alex	Osson	Kalispel	3/15/1894	Unknown	E1324, 156, NARADC

Lucy	Topp	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/15/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Frank	Penn	Osage	3/21/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
George	Fisher	Saginaw Chippewa	3/22/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Prundencio	Talache	Ohkay Owingeh	3/22/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Rose	Wilde	Arikara	4/19/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Albert J.	Minthorn	Umatilla	4/23/1894	Eyes	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Robert	Horse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/30/1894	Unknown	E1327, Box 38, NARADC
Jennie	Thunder Bull	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/30/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Joseph	Gagman	Piegan	5/14/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Amos	John	Wisconsin Oneida	6/11/1894	Eyes	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Cora	Poor Bear	Southern Arapaho	6/19/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Solomon	Collins	Saginaw Chippewa	6/21/1894	Unknown	E1327, Box 9, NARADC
Smith	Shawmegan	Saginaw Chippewa	6/21/1894	Unknown	E1327, Box 11, NARADC
Martha	Van Wert	White Earth Chippewa	6/26/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Luke	Pequongay	Odawa	6/30/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ida	Blue Jacket	Shawnee	7/5/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Jean	Swan	Nez Perce	7/24/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Luther	Dah-hah [Dah- hat]	Kiowa	7/30/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Charles	Wright	Pawnee	7/30/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Thomas	Balmer	Chippewa [MI]	7/31/1894	Unknown	E1327, Box 8, NARADC
Humphrey	Eschanzay [Escharzay]	Chiricahua Apache	8/7/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Chappo	Geronimo	Chiricahua Apache	8/7/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Peter	Cooper	Osage	8/22/1894	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Isac	Johns	Wisconsin Oneida	8/22/1894	Unknown	E1327, Box 21, NARADC
Annie	Lockwood	Laguna Pueblo	8/27/1894	Unknown	E1324, 158; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Cloud	Bird	Nakota	9/3/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Allie	Mullera [Mullen]	Shawnee	9/12/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Emeline	Redbird	Odawa	10/2/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Hattie	Griswold	Laguna Pueblo	10/29/1894	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Thomas	Pelcoya	San Carlos Apache	12/10/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Peter	Cooper	Crow	1/14/1895	Eyes	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Alpha	Essentohate	Comanche	2/25/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lewis	Reuben	Nez Perce	3/13/1895	Disability	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Alexander	Mamabove [Man Above]	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/18/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lizzie	Bear Gets Up	Crow	3/28/1895	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Grace	Moon	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/28/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Esther	Lonestar	La Pointe Chippewa	4/12/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Agnes	Cusick	Tuscarora	4/22/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Nellie	Kennedy	Seneca	4/22/1895	Not Strong	E1329, Box 7; E1327, Box 60, NARADC
Maggie	Simpson	Southern Arapaho	4/23/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Jessie	Spread Hands	Southern Arapaho	4/23/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC

Louisa	Conhepe	Chehalis	4/27/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Annie [Anna]	Harris	Puyallup	4/27/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Amy	Johnson	Eastern Cherokee	4/27/1895	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sophie	Rondell	Crow Creek Oyate	4/27/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
George	Running Horse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/27/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Henry	Smith	Crow Creek Oyate	4/27/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Anna	Wastenabe	Saginaw Chippewa	5/1/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Helen	Patterson	Seneca	5/6/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Harriet	Kennerly [Kennedy]	Piegan	5/8/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Agnes S. [Annie]	Marmon	Laguna Pueblo	5/8/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Allie	Blaine	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	5/31/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Alpha	Scott	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	5/31/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Narcisse	Benway	Kalispel	6/4/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Nellie	Eagle Child	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/4/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Katie	High Wolf	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/4/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Phoebe	Baird	Wisconsin Oneida	6/6/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Elsie	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	6/6/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Dora	Gray	Saginaw Chippewa	6/10/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Bernice	Pierce	Seneca	6/11/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Mary Ann	Napoleon	Puyallup	6/13/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Ernest	Hogee	Chiricahua Apache	7/10/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Alberta	Gandworth	Tuscarora	7/30/1895	Unknown	E1327, Box 137, NARADC
Hayes	George	Eastern Cherokee	8/7/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Kalisecea	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	8/27/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Thomas	Hall	Southern Cheyenne	8/28/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Minnie	Rock	White Earth Chippewa	9/17/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Rose	Rock	White Earth Chippewa	9/17/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
William Moses	Patterson	Tuscarora	9/19/1895	Unknown	E1327, Box 42, NARADC
Josepha	Anton	Tohono O'odham	9/28/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Birdie	Glick	Akimel O'otham	9/28/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Iva	Jones	Akimel O'otham	9/28/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Effie Q. [L.]	Marmon	Laguna Pueblo	9/28/1895	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
John	Lonestar	La Pointe Chippewa	9/30/1895	Not Strong	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Mary	Noy-kin-way	La Pointe Chippewa/[Fon du Lac Chippewa]	9/30/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Little	Sioux	Southern Cheyenne	10/5/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Gail	Marko	Chiricahua Apache	11/7/1895	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Sill within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Mary Jane	Silas	Saginaw Chippewa	11/7/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	Heaton	Laguna Pueblo	11/12/1895	Unknown	E1327, Box 57, NARADC
Gertrude	Renfrew	Shawnee	11/12/1895	Unknown	E1327, Box 61, NARADC
Mary	Day	[Sandy Lake] Chippewa	11/25/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	Cloud	Saginaw Chippewa	12/16/1895	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC

Agnes	Kennedy [Kennerly]	Piegan	12/18/1895	Eyes	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Belle	Black Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	1/6/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Blanche	Melbourne	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	1/6/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Fanny	Settle	Southern Arapaho	2/5/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Electa	Thomas	Seneca	2/7/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Nancy	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	2/24/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
George	Bent	Southern Cheyenne	3/4/1896	Eyes	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Emilie	Bey	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/5/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Spencer	Smith	Tuscarora	3/13/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Joseph	Denomie	Bad River Chippewa	4/5/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jane	Smith	Seneca	4/7/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, E1324, 165, NARADC
Martha	Isaacs	Saginaw Chippewa	4/13/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Mitchell	Barada	Omaha	4/28/1896	Unknown	E1327, Box 136; E1324, 164, NARADC
Jennie	Bisonette	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/28/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Louisa	Marshall	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/28/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Mary	Marshall	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/28/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Edith	Miller	Seneca	5/7/1896	Unknown	E1328, Box 6; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	Lambert	Eastern Cherokee	5/12/1896	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Daniel	Conaby	Sac & Fox	5/18/1896	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Annie	Wilmot	Potawatomi	5/19/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC

John F.	Brown	Siletz	6/29/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Martha	Buziele [Buzille]	[Sandy Lake] Chippewa	6/29/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Isaac	Crane	L'Anse Chippewa	6/29/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jacob	Shaw	L'Anse Chippewa	6/29/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Nellie	Morrison	Southern Cheyenne	6/30/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lewis	Juan	Akimel O'otham	7/3/1896	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lena	Hudson	Seneca	7/6/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Clara	Mohawk	Seneca	7/6/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Frances	Johnson	Tuscarora	7/17/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lizzie	Peters	Wisconsin Oneida	7/23/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lizzie	Moore [Moon]	Nez Perce	7/27/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
William	White Wolf	Oglala Lakota Oyate	8/3/1896	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
James	Fire Cloud [Fine Cloud]	Crow Creek Oyate	8/8/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Walter	Davis	Omaha	9/16/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Walter	Parker	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	9/16/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Julia	Ashquat [Ashquab]	Saginaw Chippewa	11/16/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Allen	Connelly	Chippewa [MI]	11/16/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Joseph	Culbertson	Fort Peck Oyate	11/16/1896	Unknown	E1327, Box 40, NARADC
John	Black	Southern Arapaho	12/14/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Elizah	Brown	Mission	12/15/1896	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Chelala	Enos	Akimel O'otham	1/1/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC

Fred	Richard	Tuscarora	3/8/1897	Unknown	E1327, Box 43, NARADC
Wilson	Cusick	Tuscarora	4/1/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Minnie	Wheeler	Seneca	4/1/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Mary Jane (Margaret)	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	4/12/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
John Calby	Gongie	La Pointe Chippewa/[Fon du Lac Chippewa]	4/12/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Hattie	Matches	Southern Cheyenne	4/12/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Frank	Penn	Southern Cheyenne	4/12/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
George	Romero	Southern Cheyenne	4/12/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
William	Wataghse	Menominee	4/12/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Mamie	Morrell	Spokane	4/16/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
George	Shekee	White Earth Chippewa	4/27/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Hulda	Cleveland	Southern Arapaho	5/12/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Elizabeth	Denny	Wisconsin Oneida	5/12/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lydia	Smith	Nez Perce	5/24/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Lydia	Biddle Eagle Feather	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/21/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Joseph	Adams	Siletz	7/1/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
William	Coulture	Bad River Chippewa	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1327, Box 9, NARADC
Henry	Decora	Ho-Chunk	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Charles	Fineday	White Earth Chippewa	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1324, 169, NARADC
Christopher C.	Fletcher	Clallam	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC

George	Frass	Southern Cheyenne	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Thomas	Smith	Wisconsin Oneida	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1327, Box 23, NARADC
George	Suis	Crow	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Carl	Sweezy	Southern Arapaho	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Wesley	Williams	Saginaw Chippewa	7/3/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Rosa	Denomie	Bad River Chippewa	7/6/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Ralph	Taylor	Cheyenne River Oyate	7/12/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Louis	Chutnicut	Pala Band Cupeño	8/14/1897	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Chester	Smith	Osage	10/4/1897	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Amelia	Thompson	Saginaw Chippewa	10/4/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Nellie	Tyndall	Omaha	10/5/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Katie	White	Seneca	10/14/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Albert	Ackley	Chippewa [WI]	12/7/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
James	Ackley	Chippewa [WI]	12/7/1897	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Corbett	Lawyer	Nez Perce	1/3/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 136, NARADC
Mary	Ayn-mah-sung	La Pointe Chippewa/[Fon du Lac Chippewa]	1/20/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Duiyah [Dinah]	Hornbuckle	Eastern Cherokee	2/21/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Harriet	Maddox	Comanche	2/23/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Jaspar	Methvin	Caddo	2/23/1898	Unknown	E1324, 170, NARADC

Letha	Seneca	Seneca	3/4/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 139, NARADC
Josephine	Warrior	Seneca	3/8/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Robert	Taylor	Osage	3/22/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Sadie	Butler	Stockbridge	3/23/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Ophelia	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	3/23/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Phoebe S.	Brown	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	3/28/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Cham	Juana	Akimel O'otham	4/1/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Rosa [Rossa]	Machy	Tohono O'odham	4/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Flora	Moro	Mission [Cupeño]	4/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Harvey	Pierce	Seneca	4/13/1898	Unknown	E1324, 171, NARADC
Caroline	Peters	Wisconsin Oneida	4/25/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Albert	Silas	Wisconsin Oneida	4/25/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Jesse	Webster	Wisconsin Oneida	4/25/1898	Unknown	E1324, 171, NARADC
Martha	Eagle Elk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/2/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Abram	Isaacs	Chippewa [MI]	5/9/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Anna Rosabelle	Patterson	Seneca	5/9/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Minnie	Paul	Seneca	5/9/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Walter	Paul	Seneca	5/9/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lillie	Schanandorah	Onondaga/Mohawk	5/10/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Benjamin F.	Hardison	Diné	6/8/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Bertha	Dye	Seneca	6/13/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 136, NARADC

Lee	Dailey	Otoe	6/22/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Oscar John	Howard	Arikara	6/22/1898	Eyes	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mamie	Beck	Eastern Cherokee	7/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Delia	Cornelius	[Wisconsin] Oneida	7/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Dahnola	Jassan	Eastern Cherokee	7/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Simon	Standingdeer	Eastern Cherokee	7/1/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Maggie	Wauhickon	Menominee	7/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Juanita	Bibancos	Hupa	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Josie	Bisonette	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Richard	Bozelle	Sandy Lake Chippewa	7/5/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Phillip	De Lormier	Akwesasne Mohawk	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 14, NARADC
Goldie	Enos	Akimel O'otham	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Little Eyes	Northern Cheyenne	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Mary	Logg	Cheyenne River Oyate	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Robert	Parish	Yokáya Pomo	7/5/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Melinda	Porter	La Pointe Chippewa	7/5/1898	Acute Bronchitis	E1327, Box 47, NARADC
John	Smith	Northern Cheyenne	7/5/1898	Dull	E1327, Box 8, NARADC
Sadie	Alfrey	Southern Cheyenne	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Henry	Blind	Southern Arapaho	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Elizabeth	Greeley	La Pointe Chippewa	7/6/1898	Glands	E1327, Box 47, NARADC
Celia	Harold	Southern Arapaho	7/6/1898	Eyes	E1327, Box 45, NARADC

Annie	Machie	Akimel O'otham	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Albert	McCowley	Omaha	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Tyndall	Omaha	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Oliver	Wall	Potawatomi	7/6/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 30, NARADC
Hosteen	Tsoi	Diné	7/8/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Cornelius	Jordan	Wisconsin Oneida	7/11/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Lillie	Treat	Southern Cheyenne	7/11/1898	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Nancy	Tadahsong	Saginaw Chippewa	7/20/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lafayette	Halftown	Seneca	8/1/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Naomi	Wilson	Southern Cheyenne	8/8/1898	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
(Mike) Bruce	Patterson	Chiricahua Apache	8/9/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Eliza	White	Seneca	8/16/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Esther	White Head	Cheyenne River Oyate	8/27/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Addie R.	George	Fort Hall Shoshone	8/29/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Archie	Johnson	Coquille	9/23/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Fannie	Jackson	Eastern Cherokee	9/26/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lucy	Lowin	Eastern Cherokee	9/26/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Minnie	Colombe	Oglala Lakota Oyate	10/3/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Geneva	Jamison	Seneca	10/3/1898	Unknown	E1327, Box 59, NARADC
Melissa	Zephier	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	10/3/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Sam	Little Hoop	Oglala Lakota Oyate	10/4/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Edward	Pensoneau	Kickapoo	10/5/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Cordelia	Halftown	Seneca	10/27/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Sparrow	Standingdeer	Eastern Cherokee	11/28/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ignacio	Casto	Cahuilla	3/27/1899	Disability	E1327, Box 17, NARADC
Miquel	Maxey [Mixey]	Mission	4/16/1899	Sent to National Asylum, Washington D.C.	E1327, Box 17, NARADC
Julia	Hand	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/15/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Isaac	Shanks	Seneca	5/15/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Victor Fungal	Smith	Osage	5/16/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lillie	Smith	Wisconsin Oneida	5/17/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Mary	Webster	Wisconsin Oneida	5/17/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Bert	Charles	Alaska Native	5/18/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Clyde	Oldman	Southern Arapaho	5/20/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Edith	Hill	Tuscarora	6/2/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Alessandro	Lugo	Mission	6/2/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Minnie	Spencer	Hualapai	6/5/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Samuel	Spencer	Hualapai	6/5/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Dora	Saunooke	Eastern Cherokee	6/27/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Hattie	Woodfire	Eastern Cherokee	6/27/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Jesse	Jamison	Seneca	7/3/1899	Unknown	E1324, 175, NARADC

Homer	Anderson	Kickapoo	7/5/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Mary	Bentley	Kickapoo	7/5/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Jane	Marks	[Grand Traverse] Chippewa	7/5/1899	Unknown	E1327, Box 48, NARADC
Emma Miller	Morrell [Marrell]	Spokane	7/5/1899	Eyes	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Alice	Sheffield	Laguna Pueblo	7/5/1899	Unknown	E1327, Box 58, NARADC
Emma	St. Pierre	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/5/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Jonas	Nargemah	Odawa	7/26/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Alena	Casero	Cahuilla	8/10/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Edith	Beale	Clallam	8/22/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Mammie [Nannie]	Sparks	Skokomish	8/22/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Jonah	Penasa	Chippewa	9/6/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Johnathan	Martinez	Kiowa	9/28/1899	Unknown	E1324, 177, NARADC
Sotero [Satero]	Amago	Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians	10/10/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Lane	Bean	White Mountain Apache	11/5/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
John	Bear Robe	Southern Cheyenne	11/8/1899	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas	Duffett	Chiricauhua Apache	11/14/1899	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Miguel	Riveria	Laguna Pueblo	3/7/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Ed	Albert	Osage	3/12/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Fidelis	Chekahla	Osage	3/12/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Yonessa	Lewis	Akimel O'otham	3/26/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC

Sallie	Denny	Wisconsin Oneida	4/17/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Samuel	Patrick	Kickapoo	5/1/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Sarah	La Belle	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	5/2/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Retta	Thomas	Seneca	5/29/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Carrie	Island	Wisconsin Oneida	6/5/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Devore	McMahon	Washoe	6/14/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lula [Lulu]	Nabahrijo [Nabahujo]	San Carlos Apache	6/14/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Charles	Richards	Washoe	6/14/1900	Unknown	E1324, 180, NARADC
Emmeline	Patterson	Tuscarora	6/26/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Bertha	Pradt	Laguna Pueblo	6/26/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Manuel	Stuart	Akimel O'otham	6/26/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Nellie	Valenzula	Tohono O'odham	6/26/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Elizabeth	Baird	Wisconsin Oneida	6/27/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
George Henry	Clark	Bois Forte Band of Chippewa	6/27/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Electa	Schuyler	Wisconsin Oneida	6/27/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Rea	Funk	White Earth Chippewa	6/29/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Misticas	Amago	[San Pasqual Band of Diegueño/Rinco n Band of Luiseño]	7/3/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Jose	Miguel	Akimel O'otham	7/3/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Filomena	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	7/3/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	White Horn	Osage	7/3/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Sophia	Wiggins (Wilkins)	Klamath	7/3/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Allie A.	Slack	Delaware	7/20/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Frank	Vasseur	La Pointe Chippewa	7/21/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Edith	Dutton	Odawa	8/1/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
William	Drives-the-Bear	Standing Rock Oyate	8/7/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Nellie	Wentworth	Crow	9/11/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Hulda	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	9/12/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Edith	Ranco	Penobscot	9/14/1900	Unknown	E1327, Box 56, NARADC
Isabella	Young	Oglala Lakota Oyate	11/21/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Clarissa	King	Seneca	11/22/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Maude	Spyback	Shawnee	11/27/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Robert L.	White	Nez Perce	11/28/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Flora	Howard	Akimel O'otham	11/29/1900	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Louis	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/1/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Bertha	Mohawk	Seneca	1/6/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Edward	Black	Tonawanda Seneca	1/17/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Margaret	Shoulder	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	1/31/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Marie	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/31/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ellen	Moore	Southern Cheyenne	<2/4/1901	Unknown	Pratt to Stouch, February 4, 1901, in Carlisle LS, Box 1, NARADC

Adam	Spring	Seneca	2/5/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
John Thomas	Mohawk	Kickapoo	3/6/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Clayton	Kirk	Klamath	3/9/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
David	Lovejoy	Omaha	3/20/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Elsie Bell	Jackson	Seneca	3/23/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Oliver	Duckett	Arikara	5/8/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
James	Pawnee	Southern Arapaho	5/10/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Clarence	Snow	Seneca	5/15/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Joseph	Poodry	Tonawanda Seneca	5/17/1901	Unknown	E1327, Box 69, NARADC
Dice	Crane	Klamath	5/30/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Christine	Mojado	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	5/30/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Nora	Peawo	Comanche	6/17/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Libbie	Archiquette	Wisconsin Oneida	7/1/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Ella	Moon	Southern Cheyenne	7/1/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Maggie	Starr	La Pointe Chippewa	7/1/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Florence	Welch	Wisconsin Oneida	7/1/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Nicodemus	Billy	Seneca	7/2/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Abraham	Henry	Saginaw Chippewa	7/2/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
James	Kishkataba	Menominee	7/2/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Wallace	Miller	Omaha	7/2/1901	Unknown	E1327, Box 20, NARADC
Samuel	Neal	Shawnee	7/2/1901	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC

Mitchell	Pierce	Seneca	7/3/1901	Unknown	E1327, Box 32 in Printup Wilson, NARADC
Mary	Tallchief	Seneca	7/3/1901	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Harrison	Waterman	Onondaga	7/3/1901	Eyes	E1327, Box 24, NARADC
Lucy	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	7/6/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Pariscovia	Alexandroff	Aleut	8/7/1901	Consumption	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Benjamin	Walker	Omaha	8/16/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Mabel	George	Onondaga	8/20/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Seldon	Kirk	Klamath	8/21/1901	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Bertha	Fritts	Klamath	9/3/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Earl	Augustus	Paiute	9/13/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Saline	Williams	Tohono O'odham	9/25/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Lottie	Smith	Eastern Cherokee	10/10/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Jacob	Smith	Eastern Cherokee	10/24/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Nellie	Orme	Akimel O'otham	11/14/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Myron	Moses	Seneca	12/1/1901	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
August	Alexander	Umatilla	12/23/1901	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Charles	Bent	Southern Cheyenne	1/3/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas	Kenay	Akimel O'otham	2/4/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
William	Wilson	Piipaash	2/4/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Antonio	Lubo	Cahuilla	2/12/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Thomas J.	Morgan	Diné	2/12/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Henry	White Face	Cheyenne River Oyate	2/19/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Ella	Romero	Southern Cheyenne	3/2/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Austin	Wheelock	Wisconsin Oneida	3/21/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Wilson	Hatbread	Tonawanda Seneca	4/8/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lena	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	4/8/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Willie	Stephens	Cayuga	4/8/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Peter	Corndropper	Osage	4/28/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Hilman	Jackson	Akimel O'otham	4/28/1902	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Bessie	Gibson	Osage	5/7/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lum	Chesowah	Osage	5/13/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Sam	Dewatley	Eastern Cherokee	6/10/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Carl W. [Culgaluski]	Standing Deer	Eastern Cherokee	6/10/1902	Unknown	E1327, Box 6, NARADC
Roger	Sullivan	Sac & Fox	6/10/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Manly	Whipporwill	Eastern Cherokee	6/10/1902	Eyes	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Abbie	Big John	Arikara	7/1/1902	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Joseppa	Lewis	Akimel O'otham	7/1/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Oonaleana	Alaska Native	7/1/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Fauny [Fanny]	Owl	Eastern Cherokee	7/1/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Christine A.	White	Akwesasne Mohawk	7/1/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC

Jas. Lee	Patten	Arikara	7/2/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Henry	Arthur	Akimel O'otham	7/3/1902	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Louisa	Jacobs	Munsee	7/3/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Berdina	Seneca	Onondaga	7/3/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Glennie	Waterman	Seneca	7/3/1902	Unknown	E1327, Box 60, NARADC
Grover	Skye	Tonawanda Seneca	7/4/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Ellen	Black Spotted Horse	Cheyenne River Oyate	7/9/1902	Scrofula; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Wallace	Brings the Horse	Cheyenne River Oyate	7/9/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Lena	George	Duck Valley Shoshone	7/9/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Hattie	Pryor	Duck Valley Shoshone	7/9/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	Smith	Laguna Pueblo	7/23/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Anna	Minthorn	Umatilla	7/29/1902	Not well	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Anna	Kittail	San Carlos Apache	8/26/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Orlando	Kenworthy	Osage	8/27/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Elizabeth Eva	Aslin	Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa	9/5/1902	Scrofula	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Rachel	Patterson	Tuscarora	9/17/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Felicita	Medina	Puerto Rican	9/19/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lydia	Jamison	Seneca	9/24/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Josephine	Mars	Potawatomi	9/24/1902	Epilepsy	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Emma	McBride	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	9/24/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC

Libbie	Skye	Tonawanda Seneca	9/26/1902	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Joseph	Trumpe [Treupe]	Cheyenne	1/13/1903	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Marion	Lambert	Clallam	1/20/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Hattie	Williams	Tuscarora	2/5/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ramon	Lopez	Puerto Rican	2/28/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Pedro Enrique	Musignac	Puerto Rican	2/28/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Robert	Iron Nest	Oyate [SD]	4/25/1903	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Mary Louise	Jerome	Chippewa	5/4/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Otto	Coleman	Santee Dakota	5/6/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Rose	Harris	Catawaba	6/3/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Edwards	Tabby-man-aka	Caddo	6/3/1903	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lewis	Girawd	Maidu	6/6/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Fred F., Jr.	Lane	Lummi	6/17/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Madeline	Bruno	Potawatomi	6/30/1903	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Peter	Chatfield	[Saginaw] Chippewa	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Frank	Dutton	Saginaw Chippewa	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1327, Box 9, NARADC
Louis	Jackson	Akwesasne Mohawk	6/30/1903	Epilepsy	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Clara	Jamison	Seneca	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1327, Box 59, NARADC
Ella	King	La Pointe Chippewa	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Homer	Ricketts	Delaware	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1327, Box 14, NARADC
Clara	Schingler	Seneca	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC

Cora	Schingler	Seneca	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Levi	Snow	Alleghany	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Edith	Thomas	Onondaga	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
John	Williams	Onondaga	6/30/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Felix	Highrock	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/3/1903	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
James	Dickson	Nez Perce	8/8/1903	Unknown	E1327, Box 19, NARADC
Fanny	Grayman	Paiute	8/25/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Helen	Feather	Menominee	8/29/1903	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Ray [Roy]	Duncan	Mojave	10/14/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Charles	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	10/23/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Rose	Smith	Seneca	10/24/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Theodore	Williams	Tuscarora	10/25/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Daniel	Tortuga [Fortuga]	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	10/27/1903	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Myron	Moses	Seneca	1/18/1904	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving [previously sent home ill]	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Timothy	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	1/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Bernard	Green Plum	Standing Rock Oyate	1/24/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Sallie	Santiago	Kiowa	3/7/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Jordan	George	Eastern Cherokee	3/14/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Albert M.	Brown	Modoc	4/5/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
William	Macy	Umpqua	4/5/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
George	Corbett	Nez Perce	4/6/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edith	Jackson	Seneca	4/6/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Joseph	Rabbit	White Earth Chippewa	4/6/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Muriel	Carson	Menominee	4/17/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Thomas	Montes	Ute	5/4/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Roger	Star	Ute	5/4/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Claudie	Jamison	Seneca	5/5/1904	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Grover	Skye	Seneca	5/6/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Moses	Welch	Eastern Cherokee	5/17/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Hinkman	Tidzump	Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation	5/24/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Joseph	Webster	Cheyenne River Oyate	5/24/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lizzie	Spaulding	Alaska Native	5/28/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Junalaski	Conseen	Eastern Cherokee	6/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jessie	Ferris	Klamath	6/22/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Samuel	George	Eastern Cherokee	6/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Joseph	Little	Northern Ute	6/22/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Herbert	Little Bird	Southern Arapaho	6/22/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Alfred	Unpepason	Ute	6/22/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Alfred	Ynpepason	Northern Ute	6/22/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Mary Ann	Gray	Akwesasne Mohawk	6/23/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Mary A.	Baily	Piegan	6/24/1904	Unknown	E1327, Box 89, NARADC
Zenobia	Garcia	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	6/24/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Roxie	Snyder	Seneca	6/24/1904	Unknown	E1327, Box 59, NARADC
Irene	Two Guns	Seneca	6/24/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Mattie R.	Wells	Comanche	6/24/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Harold	White Temple	Standing Rock Oyate	6/24/1904	Bad eyes	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Charles	Scott	[Maida]	6/26/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Walter	Young	Alaska Native	6/26/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Rosa	Bear Soldier	Standing Rock Oyate	6/28/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Anna Clara	Cowhead	Standing Rock Oyate	6/28/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Blanche	Hauck [Hawk]	Chippewa [MI]	6/28/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Helena	Maitland	Alaska Native	6/28/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Elizabaeth	Walker	Crow Creek Oyate	6/28/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Rufus	Youngbird	Eastern Cherokee	7/27/1904	Unknown	E1327, Box 5, NARADC
Annie	Sweetcorn	[Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate]	7/28/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Mark	Medicine Crow	Crow Creek Oyate	8/17/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Grover	Morris	Sac & Fox	9/6/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Belle	Jones	Odawa	9/9/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Ida	Mitchell	Omaha	9/14/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC

Thomas	Preston	Omaha	9/14/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Alice	Drives the Bear	Standing Rock Oyate	9/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Mary	Keschinya	Paiute	9/22/1904	Unknown	E1327, Box 57, NARADC
Eunice	Terry	Shivwits Band of Paiutes	9/22/1904	Unknown	E1327, Box 56
Amy	White Buffalo	Southern Cheyenne	9/30/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Tiffany	Bender	Washoe	10/8/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Phoebe	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	10/8/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Homer	Ricketts	Delaware	10/11/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 13
Susanna	Enos	Eastern Shoshone	10/18/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Alfred	Saul, Jr.	Crow Creek Oyate	10/18/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Everista	Calac	La Jolla Band of Luiseño [Temecula]	10/19/1904	Not Strong	E1327, Box 51, NARADC
Edith	Miller	Seneca	11/4/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 4
Seth	Ear	Crow Creek Oyate	11/15/1904	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Sumner	Braman	Eastern Shoshone	11/17/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Irving K.	Long	Paiute	11/18/1904	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Mary	Iron Necklace	Standing Rock Oyate	12/13/1904	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Julia	Tsaitkapta	Kiowa	12/13/1904	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Agnes	Goedker	[Leech Lake] Chippewa [MN]	12/22/1904	Eyes	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Jesse	Jamison	Seneca	1/9/1905	Bright's disease	E1327, Box 149, NARADC
Louis	De Jesus	Puerto Rican	1/27/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Luzenia [Luzena]	Sequoyah	Eastern Cherokee	3/10/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Ruth	Yaimagup [Yannagup]	Northern Ute	3/21/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Robert	Yamtemi	Laguna Pueblo	3/21/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Celinda	King	Wisconsin Oneida	3/26/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Aramantha	Cooper	Wampanoag	3/28/1905	Unknown	E1327, Box 44, NARADC
Rosa	Hawk	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/31/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Amos	Elk Nation	Standing Rock Oyate	4/10/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Adam	Fischer	Ho-Chunk	4/10/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Smells the Log	Cheyenne River Oyate	4/11/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Wilson	Johnson	Saginaw Chippewa	5/18/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Margaret	Bowers	Big Pine Paiute	5/20/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
William B.	Jackson	Saginaw Chippewa	5/30/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Jerome	Walker	Nez Perce	6/4/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Silas	Schrimpacher	Wyandot	6/6/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Theresa	Jarnes	Nez Perce	6/8/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
John B.	Ortego	Pala Band Cupeño	6/24/1905	Unknown	E1327, Box 17, NARADC
Delia	Cayuga	Seneca	6/26/1905	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sara	Jacobs	[Saginaw] Chippewa [MI]	6/26/1905	Unknown	E1327, Box 48, NARADC
Eli	Forman	Shawnee	6/27/1905	Eyes	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Clement	Ironshield	Standing Rock Oyate	6/27/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Juan	Osif	Akimel O'otham	6/27/1905	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 29, NARADC
Malinda	Saunooke	Eastern Cherokee	6/27/1905	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Culgalaski	Standingdeer	Eastern Cherokee	6/27/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Solomon	Webster	Wisconsin Oneida	6/27/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Sydney	Burton	Tsimshian	9/18/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
James	Keith	Tsimshian	9/18/1905	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Charles	Redeye	Seneca	10/3/1905	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Julia	Beechtree	Wisconsin Oneida	11/4/1905	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Nancy	Metoxen	Wisconsin Oneida	11/4/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Agnes	Cheble	Akwesasne Mohawk	11/10/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Maggie	Woodman	Akwesasne Mohawk	11/10/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
John	Thomas	Mni Wakan Oyate	11/15/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Thomas	Wolfe	Eastern Cherokee	12/4/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Clover	Cox	Omaha	1/27/1906	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Belle	Jones	Wichita	1/27/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Eunice	Baird	Wisconsin Oneida	2/20/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Annie	Red Star	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/2/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Theodore	Doxtator	Seneca	3/9/1906	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Charles	Conequah	Lemhi Shoshone	3/17/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lucy	George	Duck Valley Shoshone	4/7/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Ada	Kicks the Iron	Standing Rock Oyate	4/17/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Ida May	Sawyer	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/17/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Mabel	Hood	Klamath	5/5/1906	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Clarisses	Williams	Seneca	5/5/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC

Fred	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	6/2/1906	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 21, NARADC
Thomas	Walton	Tlingit	6/2/1906	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 127, NARADC
John	Deloria	Crow Creek Oyate	6/6/1906	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 38, NARADC
Abram	Katchenago	Menominee	6/28/1906	Chronic enuresis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John	Wheelock	Onondaga	6/28/1906	Chronic enuresis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Anthony	Yellow Bull	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/28/1906	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Moses L.	Elkhorn	Kul Wicasa Oyate	6/29/1906	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Mary	Stone	Odawa	7/2/1906	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Susie	Foster	Crow Creek Oyate	7/18/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Margaret	Burton	Tsimshian	8/11/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Eddie	Norton	Hupa	8/18/1906	Chronic vomiting	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Walter	Snyder	Alaska Native	8/27/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Frances	La Rocque	Chippewa [ND]	9/21/1906	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Rachel	Little Warrior	Standing Rock Oyate	10/20/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	Desantel	Spokane	10/27/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
William	Thompson	Eastern Cherokee	11/6/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Paul	LaRoeque	White Earth Chippewa	12/4/1906	Eyes	E1327, Box 8, NARADC
Amelia	John	Wisconsin Oneida	12/10/1906	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lydia	Danden	Chitimacha	1/8/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Juanita	Robie	Nez Perce	1/8/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Henry	Gray Buffalo	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	1/30/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Stanley	Lamewoman	Northern Cheyenne	3/22/1907	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas S.	King	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/6/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Jose	Luna	Acoma Pueblo	4/6/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Emma	Coyote [Cayote]	Southern Cheyenne	4/11/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Cora	La Faliere	Shawnee	4/11/1907	Unknown	E1327, Box 61, NARADC
Lydia	Faber	Tsimshian	4/17/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Marian Mexican	Cheyenne	Northern Cheyenne	4/23/1907	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
William	High Bear	Northern Cheyenne	5/27/1907	Eyes	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Daniel	Medicine Bull	Northern Cheyenne	5/27/1907	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
George	Two Moons	Northern Cheyenne	5/27/1907	Died within one month of leaving	E1327, Box 127, NARADC
Juan	Osif	Akimel O'otham	6/3/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Mary	Star	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	6/3/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Jacob	Bero	Akwesasne Mohawk	6/5/1907	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Daniel	Has Horns	Standing Rock Oyate	6/7/1907	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Joseph	Kakagon	Bad River Chippewa	7/18/1907	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Dundas	Alaska Native	8/5/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Wheeler	Henry	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	10/1/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Martha	Johnson	Saginaw Chippewa	11/19/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Nelvin [Melvin]	Boise	Fort Hall Shoshone	12/6/1907	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC

John	Porcupine Dress	Northern Cheyenne	12/13/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Hattie	Frost	Onondaga	1/4/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Frank	Calico	Siletz	1/7/1908	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas	Cole	Akwesasne Mohawk	1/17/1908	Epilepsy	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Annie	Prickett	Menominee	1/30/1908	Mental health	E1327, Box 51, NARADC
Sara	Shaycaw	Saginaw Chippewa	2/6/1908	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Margaret	Peters	Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa	2/8/1908	Unknown	E-1327, Box 55, Folder 1346, NARADC
Margaret	Peters	Odawa	2/8/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Tom	Katchenago	Menominee	2/26/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Fred	Roundstone	Northern Cheyenne	2/26/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Isaac	Wilson	Nez Perce	2/26/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Mary Ann	Arquette	Akwesasne Mohawk	3/9/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Hattie	Mitchell	Akwesasne Mohawk	3/9/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Louis	Bero	Akwesasne Mohawk	3/13/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Don	Cooley	White Mountain Apache	3/15/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
George	Burning Breast	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	3/29/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Robert	Frazier	Little Lake Pomo (Round Valley)	5/19/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Harrison	Jabeth	Nez Perce	5/25/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Garfield	Siteranjok	Alaska Native	5/25/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Stella	Sawmick	Chippewa	10/15/1908	[Tuberculosis] Rejected	E1329, Box 8, NARADC

James	Deider	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	10/26/1908	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
John	Simpson	Pawnee	10/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Carlisle CCF, Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC
John	Moscoe	Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa	12/21/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Nelson	Bartlett	Bannock	1/27/1909	Eyes	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Willis	Medicine Bull	Northern Cheyenne	1/27/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lizzie	Rowland	Northern Cheyenne	2/3/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Earl A.	Doxtator	Cayuga	3/4/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 1, NARADC
Elizabeth	Hall	Duck Valley Shoshone	3/23/1909	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Janet	Jackson	Nez Perce	3/26/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lilian	Otterchief	Crow	3/26/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Volcia	Marcott	Chitimacha	4/1/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Alonzo	Patton	Tlingit	4/3/1909	Grad; tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E-1329, Box 3, NARADC
Lucy	Charles	Seneca	4/9/1909	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
James	Henry	Nez Perce	4/20/1909	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Susan	Twiggs	Standing Rock Oyate	6/5/1909	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Edna	Doxtator	Cayuga	6/21/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Daisy	Mingo	Pauquunaukit Wampanoag	6/21/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC; Valentine to Friedman, March 19, 1909, in Carlisle CCF,

					Box 19, Folder 14952/09, NARADC
Bessie	Standing Elk	Northern Cheyenne	6/21/1909	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Bessie	Printup	Akwesasne Mohawk	7/7/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Joseph	Adolph	Colville	7/22/1909	Eyes	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Helen	Magpie Eagle	Northern Cheyenne	8/28/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Nora	Rowland	Northern Cheyenne	9/18/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Shela	Guthrie	Sac & Fox	9/21/1909	Not well	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Nat	George	Nez Perce	10/1/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
John	Weasel Bear	Northern Cheyenne	10/16/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Varice	Marcott	Chitimacha	10/28/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Ned	George	Nez Perce	11/23/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Nathan	Lott	Nez Perce	1/17/1910	Eyes	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Walter O.	Hunt	Pawnee	1/26/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edna	Bisonette	Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/11/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Simon	Fancy Eagle	Pawnee	3/19/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Simon	Cloud	Saginaw Chippewa	3/26/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Curtis	Red Neck	Northern Cheyenne	3/26/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Jerome	Keojima [Keogima]	Odawa	4/12/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Warren	Realrider	Pawnee	4/12/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Joseph	Ross	Laguna Pueblo	5/1/1910	Eyes	E1329, Box 9, NARADC

Laurence	Poodry	Tonawanda Seneca/Mohawk	5/16/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
William	Peters	Wisconsin Oneida	6/1/1910	Consumption	E1327, Box 54 in Electa Schuyler, NARADC
Walter	Robertson	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	6/22/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Virgie	Gaddy	Delaware	7/9/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Walker	Penn	Osage	7/22/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lizzie	Spotted Eagle	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	9/10/1910	Eyes	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Ernest	Bell	Eastern Cherokee	11/4/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
	Holloway	Diné	11/4/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Joseph	Katcheuago	Menominee	11/4/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Celestine	Types	Nez Perce	11/25/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Joe	Katchenago	Menominee	12/1/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Nathaniel	Stevenson	Wichita	12/1/1910	Eyes	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Rachel	Chase	Saint Croix Chippewa	12/7/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Mary	Cox	Osage	12/7/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Charles Moore	Rose	Wichita	12/7/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Benjamin	Good Thunder	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	12/27/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
James	Kills	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	12/27/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Joseph	Cannon	Osage	1/9/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
George	Hancorne	Klamath	2/1/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Kee	Shelly	Diné	3/14/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Mary	Martin	White Earth Chippewa	4/5/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alice	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	4/11/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
George	King	Seneca	4/13/1911	Not well	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Priscilla	Madison	Ponkapoag Massachusetts	6/25/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Minnie	Crowe	Eastern Cherokee	8/6/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Catherine	Crowd	White Earth Chippewa	8/7/1911	Tuberculosis; sent to Mont Alto Sanatorium	E1327, Box 85, NARADC
Chay	Valenski	Diné	8/11/1911	Tuberculosis/tra choma	E1327, Box 74, NARADC
Julia	Guyon	White Earth Chippewa	8/25/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
David	Lincoln	Ho-Chunk	10/9/1911	Eyes	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Edna	Hillman	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	12/8/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sophie	Pleets	Standing Rock Oyate	12/8/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ruth	Jimerson [Zimerson]	Seneca	2/2/1912	Consumption	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Charles	Thompson	Diné	2/8/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Norman C.	Ground	Oneida Indian Nation of New York	2/19/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
John	Dowd [Doud]	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	2/20/1912	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanitorium	E1327, Box 49, NARADC
Robert	Newcomb	Cherokee/Dela ware	3/7/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Arrie	Red Earth	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	3/21/1912	Unknown	E1327, Box 42, NARADC
Jerome	Sheshequon	Menominee	4/9/1912	Unknown	E1327, Box 84, NARADC
Mitchell	Kagnatosh	Menominee	4/17/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC

William	Ball	Quapaw/Modoc	4/27/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Eloy B. [Eloy B.]	Sousa	Mission/Tohono O'odham	4/27/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
William	Foster	Aleut	5/2/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Jessie	Whiteface	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/9/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Nora	McFarland	Nez Perce	5/11/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Malvina	Powlas	Wisconsin Oneida	5/11/1912	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 76; E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Boni	Carpenter	Seneca	5/13/1912	Died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Samuel	Chubby	Northern Cheyenne	5/14/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jesse	Foot	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	5/20/1912	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 80, NARADC
Jack	Jackson	Eastern Cherokee	6/4/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John	Jackson	Eastern Cherokee	6/4/1912	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 78, NARADC
Benjamin	Roy	White Earth Chippewa	6/10/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Torrence	Jamison	Seneca	6/16/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Agnes	Jacobs	Onondaga	6/24/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4; E1327, Box 47 in Evelyn Gheen, NARADC
Alice	Red Bird	Northern Cheyenne	6/24/1912	Tubercular glands	E1327, Box 38, NARADC
Wallace	Hanks	White Earth Chippewa	6/29/1912	Unknown	E1327, Box 63, NARADC
Joseph W.	Pierre	Flathead	7/19/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
St. Peter	Pierre	Flathead	7/19/1912	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Agnes	Bryden	Wichita	12/7/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Frances	Dunbar	Piegan	12/15/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Joseph	Catfish	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	2/14/1913	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Anna	King	Wisconsin Oneida	4/4/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Elizabeth	Hinman	Ho-Chunk	4/15/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Stephen	James	Bad River Chippewa	4/21/1913	Sent to sanatorium	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Ada (Ida)	King	Wisconsin Oneida	5/17/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Hazel	Rainey	Fort Hall Shoshone	5/20/1913	Unknown	E1327, Box 86, NARADC
Isabel	La Vatta	Fort Hall Shoshone	6/6/1913	Unknown	E1327, Box 84, NARADC
Esther	Belcourt	White Earth Chippewa	6/11/1913	Osteitis [Inflammation of bone]	E1327, Box 41, NARADC
Cat	Barnsky	Muscogee	6/23/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Thomas	Starr	Muscogee	6/23/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Harry	One Feather	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/29/1913	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 84, NARADC
Joseph	Chief Eagle	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/13/1913	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 82, NARADC
Benjamin	Lawrence	Red Lake Chippewa	7/21/1913	Unknown	E1327, Box 83, NARADC
Anna Belle	Davis	Leech Lake Chippewa	8/7/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Isaac	Wilson	White Earth Chippewa	9/8/1913	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Preston	Goulette	Potawatomi	10/25/1913	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Marie	Garlow	Delaware	11/17/1913	Tuberculosis; Sent to Mont Alto Sanatorium	E1327, Box 108, NARADC
Andrew	Elm	Oneida Indian Nation of New York	12/1/1913	Skin	E1327, Box 132, NARADC
Susan	White	Akwesasne Mohawk	1/27/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 88, NARADC

Gertrude	Antone	Wisconsin Oneida	2/6/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Marjorie	Jamison	Cayuga	3/4/1914	Unknown	E1327, Box 98, NARADC
James	Solomon	Grand Traverse Odawa	3/19/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 92, NARADC
Joseph	Dog	Standing Rock Oyate	3/20/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Albert	Fremont	Omaha	3/20/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Cecilia	Summers	Wisconsin Oneida	4/7/1914	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Louis	Bitner	Northern Arapaho	4/17/1914	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Jennie	Ross	Laguna Pueblo	4/30/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Laguna Sanatorium	E1327, Box 64, NARADC
Jerusha (Rose)	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	6/4/1914	Unknown	E1327, Box 105, NARADC
Clara	Apeahstone	Kiowa	6/5/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 92, NARADC
Ah-kaum	Minnie	Kiowa	6/5/1914	Unknown	E1327, Box 92 in Clara Apeahstone, NARADC
William H.	Owl	Eastern Cherokee	6/8/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Sam	Robinson	Omaha	6/8/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 90, NARADC
Horace	Poweshilk	Sac & Fox	6/11/1914	Sent to sanatorium	E1329, Box 13; E1327, Box 90, NARADC
Helen	Peters	Saginaw Chippewa	6/27/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
William	Metmong	Odawa	7/2/1914	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Luzena	Swayney	Eastern Cherokee	8/19/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
George	Wynaco	Yakima	8/25/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC

Barney	Shooter	Standing Rock Oyate	9/7/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
David	Belin	NTL	9/14/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 87 in James Carter, NARADC
Peter	Jackson	Duck Valley Shoshone	9/17/1914	Unknown	E1327, Box 144, NARADC
David	Berlin	Mescalero Apache	>9/22/1914	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 97, NARADC
John	Francis	Passamoquoddy	10/5/1914	Unknown	E1327, Box 21, NARADC
Albert	Masquat	Kickapoo	10/5/1914	Not fit	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
James	Carter	Sac & Fox	10/23/1914	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
William	Meade	Mni Wakan Oyate	11/20/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Joe	Sackatuck	Menominee	11/28/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Manuel	Romero	Oglala Lakota Oyate	12/2/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Eunice	Jones	Odawa	12/14/1914	Consumption	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lilian	Parkhurst	Wisconsin Oneida	12/14/1914	Consumption	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Paul	Tomah	Menominee	1/7/1915	Consumption	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Henry	Tomah	Menominee	1/9/1915	Consumption	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Howard	Sheppard	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	1/14/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
J. George	Little Deer	Red Lake Chippewa	1/28/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Johnson	Pahrowdeup	Comanche	2/15/1915	Eyes	E1327, Box 71, NARADC
Hill	Downing	Cherokee [OK]	2/18/1915	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Robert	Edwards	L'Anse Chippewa	2/23/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Felix	Duncan	Cherokee [OK]	3/30/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
David	Iron Elk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/30/1915	Consumption	E1329, Box 12, NARADC

Edward	Sockey	Choctaw	3/30/1915	Consumption	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Peter	Davis	Laguna Pueblo	4/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Newman	Deere	Muscogee	4/25/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
John	Meonghee	Potawatomi	5/10/1915	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Alice	Tyndall	Omaha	5/11/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
David	Owl	Eastern Cherokee	5/13/1915	Unknown	E1327, Box 99, NARADC
Elise U.	Jones	Seneca	6/1/1915	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 103, NARADC
Alvina	Monette	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	6/1/1915	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 102, NARADC
James	Thompson	Cherokee	6/4/1915	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
La Verne	Bonser	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	7/5/1915	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 98, NARADC
Margaret	Bradley	Eastern Cherokee	7/28/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Augustus	McDonald	Ponca	10/14/1915	Pneumonia	E1327, Box 103, NARADC
Lillian	Barnhart	Umatilla	10/15/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Leo	Nolan	Onondaga	11/15/1915	Unknown	E1327, Box 98, NARADC
Mildred	Sheridan	Omaha	11/17/1915	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Blanche	Yeahguo	Kiowa	11/30/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Charles	Black Bird	Omaha	12/3/1915	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 98, NARADC
Florence	Edwards	Seneca	12/7/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

George	Allen	Kickapoo	12/15/1915	Unknown	E1327, Box 97, NARADC
Tom	Standing	Mni Wakan Oyate	12/24/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
William	Pelcher	Saginaw Chippewa	1/10/1916	Tuberculosis following influenza	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Bessie	Eastman	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	1/12/1916	Influenza and Ears	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Charles	Cox	Omaha	1/18/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
James	Cox	Omaha	1/18/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Cecilia	Pelcher	Saginaw Chippewa	2/1/1916	Not well	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Ross	Arch	Eastern Cherokee [Cherokee, NC]	2/10/1916	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Summer	Wisconsin Oneida	2/10/1916	Mumps	E1327, Box 111, NARADC
Clara	Snyder	Eastern Shoshone	2/22/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Mabel	Gilpin	Omaha	2/24/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Stansil	Jumper	Eastern Cherokee	3/11/1916	Inflammatino of kidneys following pneumonia	E1327, Box 104, NARADC
Callie	Wolfe	Eastern Cherokee	3/11/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Burnel	Patterson	Seneca	3/18/1916	Unknown	E1327, Box 127, NARADC
William	Bannock	Eastern Shoshone	3/27/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Herbert	Pappin	Osage	3/28/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Rose	Beauregard	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	4/1/1916	Not well	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Ruth	Jacobs	Seneca	4/1/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Mary	Hill	Wisconsin Oneida	4/6/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 15, NARADC

Edward	Pierce	Seneca	4/7/1916	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 111, NARADC
Josephns	Seneca	Seneca	4/24/1916	Sent to Rochester NY Sanatorium	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Della	John	Seneca	4/25/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 1, NARADC
Annie	Skenandore	Wisconsin Oneida	4/27/1916	Tubercular knee	E1327, Box 108; E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Joseph	Shooter	White Earth Chippewa	4/28/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Lizzie	Lieb	Omaha	5/8/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Lucy	Sheridan	Omaha	5/11/1916	Hemorrhage	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Jesse	Daisy	Red Lake Chippewa	6/6/1916	Tubercular hip	E1327, Box 105, NARADC
Lucinda	Summers	Wisconsin Oneida	6/6/1916	Unknown	E1327, Box 108, NARADC
Albert	Foster	Choctaw	6/19/1916	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Alice	Logan	Seneca	6/24/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Mont Alto Sanatorium	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Clifford	Halftown	Seneca	7/15/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Ulysses	Watt	Seneca	7/20/1916	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 110, NARADC
Philip	Sellew	Blackfeet	8/2/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Amos	Jones	Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe	8/3/1916	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Fred	Broker	White Earth Chippewa	11/10/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 1, NARADC
Ralph H.	Sexton	Choctaw	1/5/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Dora	Crow	Eastern Cherokee	1/9/1917	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Julia	Hill	Wisconsin Oneida	1/9/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 7, NARADC

Harry	Webster	Onondaga	1/18/1917	Erysipelas	E1327, Box 113, NARADC
Levi	James	Choctaw	1/27/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Leonard	Kennerly	Piegan	1/27/1917	Blood poison	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John	Russell	Piegan	1/27/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Paul	Heaney	Fond du Lac Chippewa	1/30/1917	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
Carlenia H.	Bennett	Seneca	2/2/1917	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Richard	Boles	Cherokee [OK]	2/26/1917	Erysipelas	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Maggie	Comes-at-Night	Piegan	3/15/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Edward	Young Thunder	Ho-Chunk	4/2/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
Benjamin	Night Pipe	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	4/13/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Joe	Denny	Wisconsin Oneida	4/18/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
John	Papineau	Akwesasne Mohawk	4/25/1917	Eyes	E1329, Box 13, NARADC
Lucy	Redfeather	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/28/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 8, NARADC
Lucy	Red Feather	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/29/1917	Unknown	E1327, Box 115, NARADC
Esther	Kennedy	Piegan	6/11/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 7, NARADC
Joseph	Bear Chief	Piegan	6/12/1917	Scrofula	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Walter	Winsborough	Piegan/Rocky Boy Chippewa	6/12/1917	Heart trouble	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
John	McDowell	Lummi	6/13/1917	Unknown	E1327, Box 116, NARADC
Joseph	Yeahpau	Plains Apache	7/10/1917	Unknown	E1329, Box 14, NARADC
John	Flattail	Blackfeet	7/19/1917	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 12, NARADC
John	Platt	Blackfeet	7/19/1917	Unknown	E1327, Box 58 in Edith

					Marmon, NARADC
Jarius	Crouse	Onondaga	10/11/1917	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Abner	Benton	Choctaw	10/12/1917	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 11, NARADC
Louisa C.	Caswell	Red Lake Chippewa	3/5/1918	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 6, NARADC
Frank	Long Turkey	Kul Wicasa Oyate	3/21/1918	Scrofulous; Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Cynthia	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	7/8/1918	Not well	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Eva (Evangeline)	Caswell	White Earth Chippewa	7/18/1918	Unknown	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Nettie	Stangingbear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/18/1918	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Nellie	Sanderville	Piegian	8/28/1918	Epilepsy	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Marion	Cooke	Akwesasne Mohawk	8/31/1918	Unknown	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Pablo	Molins	Tohono O'odham	8/31/1918	Unknown	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
George	Wright	Leech Lake Chippewa	8/31/1918	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Martha	Little Plume	Piegian	9/10/1918	Unknown	E1329, Box 15, NARADC
Annie	Half Day	Crow Creek Oyate	ND	Tuberculosis	E1327, Box 124, NARADC

Forest Grove/Chemawa, 1880-1934

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date Left	Cause	Source
Alice	Simon	Puyallup	5/10/1883	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84; H. J. Minthorn May 10, 1883 entry, in "Cash Book, 1883," in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH45: Financial Records, 1879- 1961, NARAS
Annie	Jacobs	Puyallup	11/5/1883	Unknown	P2008, 86, NARAS
Atkinson	Secena	Chehalis	11/22/1883	Unknown	November 22, 1883 entry, in Mary Richardson Walker diary, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS 102, Pacific University; P2008, 86, NARAS
Mary	Wilson	Nez Perce	5/14/1884	Unknown	P2008, 88, NARAS
Amy	Sewokia	Wasco	6/6/1884	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, NARAS
Six unnamed students		NTL	<7/1/1884	Unknown	<i>ARCIA, 1884,</i> 251
Quinn	Paschal	Yakima	2/1/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 94; Chemawa Sanitary

					Record, 1, 2, NARAS
Carrie	Duncan	Clatsop	2/25/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 96, NARAS
Ella	Waters	Klickitat	3/12/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 94, NARAS
Charles	Toms [Thomas]	Puyallup	4/5/1885	Rheumatism	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
John	Blow	Klamath	5/15/1885	Phthisis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Lee	Scott	Klamath	5/15/1885	Hemrrhoids	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Alex	Sidwaller	Wasco	5/26/1885	Phthisis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Henry	Edwards	Nez Perce	6/4/1885	Scrofula; died within one academic year of leaviing	P2008, 88, NARAS
John	Helm	Tulalip	6/4/1885	Phthisis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
David	Richards	Puyallup	6/4/1885	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Charlotte	Whitman	Nez Perce	6/4/1885	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Alice L.	Williams	Spokane	6/4/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 84, NARAS
Caesar	Williams	Tenino	6/4/1885	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary

					Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Charles	Lowry	Umatilla	7/1/1885	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, 102, NARAS
Minthorn	Moses Price	Umatilla	7/1/1885	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, 102, NARAS
Alexis J.	Laughlet	Puyallup	7/18/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 86, NARAS
Lina	Hill	Klamath	7/28/1885	Haemoptysis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 5, 6, NARAS
Fannie	Shellhead	Siletz	7/31/1885	Phthisis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 5, 6, NARAS
Lemuel [Samuel]	Lemo [Lomo]	Wasco	11/6/1885	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 13, 14, NARAS
Mary	Philips	Nisqually	3/1/1886	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Joseph	Tobascat	Puyallup	3/1/1886	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
George	Pollock	Yakima	7/28/1886	Mumps; Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 25, 26, 39, 40, NARAS
David	Antwine	Yakima	11/16/1886	Epilepsy	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 31, 32, NARAS
Rufus	Holiday	Wasco	1/1/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick

					List, 238, NARAS
Fred	Rodgers	Wasco	4/1/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Willie	Charley	Rogue River	5/5/1887	Unknown	P2008, 100, NARAS
Samuel	Shelton	Snohomish	5/28/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 39, 40, NARAS
Nettie	Morgan	Klamath	6/29/1887	Inflammation of stomach	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 47, 48, NARAS
Susette Susan	Secup	Spokane	7/4/1887	Unknown	P2008, 84, NARAS
Hameu [Harvey]	Sampson	Klamath	7/10/1887	Typho-malarial fever; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 11, 238, NARAS
Isaac	Hoptowit	Yakima	7/30/1887	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 11, NARAS
William	Wheler	Umatilla	8/1/1887	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 13, NARAS
Tom	Oits	Paiute	8/11/1887	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 13, NARAS
George	Jake	Puyallup	8/14/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
George	Polic	Yakima	8/14/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS

Annie	Church	Tlingit	10/5/1887	Unknown	P2008, 92, NARAS
Lydie [Lydia	Corner [Conner]	Nez Perce	11/9/1887	Died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one month of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
James	Caleb	Spokane	11/26/1887	Unknown	P2008, 100, NARAS
Jesse	Applegate	Nez Perce	11/30/1887	Unknown	P2008, 88, NARAS
Jake	Hellen	Warm Springs	11/30/1887	Unknown	P2008, 102, NARAS
Eddie	Dick	Klickitat	1/1/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 328, NARAS
Fread	Meeker	NTL	1/1/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 19, NARAS
George	Piute	NTL	3/12/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 22, NARAS
Oscar G. [Orson]	Samuel	NTL	3/12/1888	Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 22, 239; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 49, 50, NARAS
Eugene	Williams	Tenino	3/12/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 22, NARAS
Ed	Pollock	Yakima	3/29/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 22, NARAS
Daniel	Unthank	Santiam	5/1/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick

					List, 24; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 55, 56, NARAS
George	Davis	Warm Springs	8/13/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 29, NARAS
George	Adams	Clallam	8/14/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 29, NARAS
Philip	James	Tlingit	8/14/1888	Consumption	P2008, 106; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 29, NARAS
Daniel	Verthank	NTL	9/14/1888	[Consumption]	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239, NARAS. Possibly same as Daniel Unthank
Chad	George	Makah	11/1/1888	Typhoid fever	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 32, NARAS
Joseph	Elwood	Hupa	12/3/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 33, NARAS
Stephen	John	NTL	1/10/1889	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 81, 82, NARAS
David	John	Klickitat	1/15/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 34, NARAS
Eugene #1	Williams	Tenino	2/26/1889	Scrofula	P2008, 98, NARAS

Belle	Shepard	Puyallup	3/25/1889	Throat operation	P2008, 106, NARAS
Amelia	Allen	Nez Perce	3/26/1889	Consumption	P2008, 88, NARAS
Carrie	Scott	Puyallup	4/10/1889	Scrofula	P2008, 106, NARAS
Eliza	Abraham	Warm Springs	5/18/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 49, NARAS
Jane	Brunoe	Wasco	5/18/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 49, NARAS
Frank	Miller	NTL	5/18/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 49, NARAS
Jerry	Polk	Wasco	5/18/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 49, NARAS
Charlie	Washumps	Wasco	5/18/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 69, 70, NARAS
Clarence	Duncan	NTL	5/21/1889	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 71, 72, NARAS
James	Teller	NTL	6/1/1889	Headache	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 51, NARAS
Frank	Andrews	NTL	6/17/1889	Scrofula; Hemorrhage/Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 71, 72, 137, 138, NARAS
Anna	Gray	Wasco	6/20/1889	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 71, 72, NARAS

Martha	Jacobs	Warm Springs Paiute	6/20/1889	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 50, NARAS
Andrew	Lawrence	Coquille	10/8/1889	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 77, 78, NARAS
Hannah	Nelson	NTL	11/1/1889	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 61, NARAS
Charlotte	Walker	[Samish]	1/9/1890	Eyes	P2008, 116; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 85, 86, NARAS
Stephen	Johns	Hupa	1/10/1890	Consumption	P2008, 106, NARAS
Douglas	Charles	Warm Springs	3/19/1890	Consumption	P2008, 102, NARAS
James	Jordan	NTL	4/2/1890	Chronic diarrhea	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 99, 100, NARAS
Alma [Elma]	Palmer	Wasco	4/5/1890	Consumption	P2008, 90, NARAS
Emaline	Billings	Rogue River	5/1/1890	Bronchitis	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 89, NARAS
Sina	Thompson	Coquille	5/1/1890	Bronchitis	P2008, 104, NARAS
Wallie	Pollock	Yakima	5/26/1890	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 101, 102, NARAS
Jesse	Davis	Rogue River	6/3/1890	Consumption	P2008, 100, NARAS
Ben	Smith	Smith River	6/3/1890	Scrofula	P2008, 110, NARAS
Samuel	Pancha	Victoria [Salish]	6/18/1890	Bronchitis/he morrhage	Chemawa Daily Sick

					List, 93, NARAS
Alice	Archambault	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 105, 106, NARAS
Anastasia	Archambault	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS
Blanche	Archambault	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 95, NARAS
Lizzie	Archambault	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Eyes	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS
Matilda	Archambault	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS
Donnie [Donney]	Flannery	Smith River	6/28/1890	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 105, 106, NARAS
Dan	McCay	San Juan Islands	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS
George	Norman	Smith River	6/28/1890	Scrofula	P2008, 110, NARAS
Elizabeth	Royal	Klickitat	6/28/1890	Eyes	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 95, NARAS
Frank	Verow [Vero]	Coos	6/28/1890	Skin	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 93, NARAS
Angeline	Smith	Klickitat	6/30/1890	Bronchitis	Chemawa Daily Sick

					List, 95, NARAS
Rosa	Oaks	NTL	7/1/1890	Skin	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
Cecelia	Trudell	San Juan Islands	7/1/1890	Bronchitis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
Eddie	Walker	NTL	7/1/1890	Skin	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
William	Walker	San Juan Islands	7/1/1890	Skin	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
Delia	Depo	Rogue River	7/5/1890	Bronchitis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
Eunice	Haha	Crow	8/1/1890	Rheumatism	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 117, 118, NARAS
Henry	Remo [Lemo]	Wasco	8/20/1890	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 109, 110, NARAS
William	Baker	NTL	9/30/1890	Inflammation of bladder	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 113, 114, NARAS
Phillip	Wash	NTL	2/1/1891	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 127, 128, NARAS
Ralph	Summers	NTL	3/1/1891	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 129, 130, NARAS

Catherine	McMann	NTL	5/28/1891	Unknown	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 133, 134, NARAS
Perl	Cummins	NTL	6/1/1891	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 135, 136, NARAS
Ellen	Jones	San Juan Islands	6/17/1891	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 135, 136, NARAS
Lincoln	Treadway	Nisqually	6/17/1891	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 135, 136; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 51, NARAS
Paul	Dick	Klamath	6/24/1891	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 139, 140, NARAS
Lena	Chapman	Siletz	6/22/1892	Eyes	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 113, NARAS
Belle	Berdain	NTL	6/26/1892	Eyes	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 113, NARAS
Amanda	Smith	Klamath	6/27/1892	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 115, NARAS
Walter	Kennedy	NTL	7/6/1892	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 163, 164, NARAS
Herbert	Thornton	NTL	7/20/1892	Pedicula; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 118, NARAS

Mary J.	Smith	NTL	3/7/1893	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 24, NARAS
Julia	Bero [Ben]	NTL	6/7/1893	Endocarditis after influenza	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 36, 66, NARAS
Clorinda	White	NTL	6/7/1893	Abscess Sub Max Gland; Cervical Adenitis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 36, 66, NARAS
Frederick	Brownfield	NTL	6/26/1893	Phthisis/Bronchitis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 68, 72, 74, NARAS
Ines	Chapman	NTL	6/26/1893	Abscess on breast	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 70, NARAS
Santa	Adamapple	NTL	3/2/1894	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 8, NARAS
Carpenter	Elmore	NTL	3/19/1894	Scrofula/Influenza	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 42466, NARAS
Frank	McCarey	Samish	3/31/1894	Phthisis; died within one academic year of leaving	CH35: Daily Sick List, 1883-1897, 1908-45, Box

					1, 210-211, NARAS
Anna	Johns	NTL	5/13/1894	Tubercular glands	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 22, 30, 44, NARAS
Emma	Vierrow	NTL	5/13/1894	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 36, 44, NARAS
James	Ruby	NTL	5/16/1894	Fever	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 46-47, NARAS
Lizzie	Ruby	NTL	5/16/1894	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 44-45, NARAS
Alice	Bicknell	NTL	6/2/1894	Eczema	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 48-49, NARAS
Parthena	Cook	NTL	6/2/1894	Bronchitis/dela yed menstruation/I ncipient Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 2, 34, 36, 49, NARAS
Ida	Siestreen	Siletz	9/27/1894	Unknown	P2008, 114, NARAS
Mary	Segar	NTL	10/17/1894	Too frail to stand the requirements of the school	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 96, NARAS
Mary	Sequin	Rogue River	10/21/1894	Unknown	P2008, 146, NARAS
Louisa	Bellenger	NTL	2/1/1895	Scrofulous eruption	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10 in Rosa Bellenger, Folder 1027 in Rosa Bellenger, NARAS
Rosa	Bellenger	NTL	2/1/1895	Scrofulous eruption	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 1027, NARAS
Nellie	Billings	Rogue River	2/4/1895	Unknown	P2008, 146, NARAS
Mary	Gravelle	NTL	2/14/1895	Eczema	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 162-163, NARAS
Viola	Billings	[Colville]	3/5/1895	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 174; Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 994, NARAS
Alice	Vineyard	Siletz	3/20/1895	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 704, NARAS
Ida	Davis	NTL	4/10/1895	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 6; Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 9, Folder 830, NARAS
William	Kidd	Wintun	4/10/1895	Glands	P2008, 138; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, NARAS
Mary	Siestreem	NTL	5/14/1895	Influenza	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 18-19, 26-27, NARAS
Frederick	Peters	NTL	5/16/1895	Tubercular adenitis; died within one month of leaving	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 28-29, NARAS
Ellen	Hunter	NTL	5/25/1895	Tubercular Adenitis/Amen orrhoea	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 14, 33, NARAS
Mary	McDonald	NTL	7/7/1895	Adenitis Cerv. - Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 56-57, NARAS
Ida	Samuel	NTL	7/12/1895	Fever	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 52, 56-57, NARAS
Edna	Hinch	NTL	7/30/1895	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 64-65, NARAS

Robert	Ingle	NTL	8/13/1895	Skin	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 62-63, NARAS
Jennie	O'Brien	NTL	8/13/1895	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 64-65, NARAS
Daisy	Charkes	Warm Springs	9/7/1895	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 277, NARAS
John	McDougall	NTL	10/6/1895	Phthisis/ enuresis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 62-63, 75, 92, NARAS
Lottie	Whitney	NTL	11/13/1895	Eyes	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 114-115, NARAS
Allie	Carlson	NTL	12/30/1895	Hemorrhage	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 120-121, 140, NARAS
Ora	Wiggins	NTL	3/10/1896	Tubercular hip	CH35: Sanitary Record, 1884- 1892, Box 4, 3, NARAS
Catherine	John	NTL	5/7/1896	Pneumonia/ple urisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NARAS

William	Stillbentim	NTL	6/23/1896	Sent to St. V. Hospital	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 10, NARAS
Robert	Harris	NTL	10/20/1896	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 21, NARAS
Abbie	Wackman	NTL	1/18/1897	Pneumonia	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 27, NARAS
Stella	Moore	NTL	1/20/1897	Pneumonia	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 27, NARAS
Nellie	Dow	NTL	1/21/1897	Pulmonary congestion	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 27
Christina	Ruby	NTL	1/28/1897	Heart	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 25, NARAS
Albert	Reed	[Wintu]	2/8/1897	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 884, NARAS
Lucy	Spring	NTL	3/20/1897	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 28, NARAS
Julia	Moore	NTL	5/13/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 32, NARAS

Lillie	Taylor	NTL	5/13/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 32, NARAS
Mary	McDonald	NTL	5/14/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 32, NARAS
Jennie	Frank	NTL	5/21/1897	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 154-155; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 32 NARAS
Laute	Andrews	NTL	6/7/1897	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 162-163, NARAS
David	Smith	NTL	6/14/1897	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 162-163, NARAS]
Richard	Smith	NTL	7/1/1897	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 162-163, NARAS
Anna	Vierrow	NTL	7/2/1897	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 160-161, 166, NARAS

John	Bean	NTL	7/27/1897	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 44, NARAS
Nellie	Runnels	NTL	8/2/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 45
Charles	Fuller	NTL	8/15/1897	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 45
Marry	Summers	NTL	9/1/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 47
Herbert	Johnson	NTL	11/1/1897	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 51
John	Henry	NTL	12/30/1897	Acute abscess of back	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 54
James	Lane	NTL	1/3/1898	Tubercular glands	James
Guss	Bushman	NTL	1/17/1898	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 188, NARAS
Myrtle	Vincent	NTL	1/19/1898	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 176, 189, NARAS
Albert	Weston [Maston]	NTL	2/9/1898	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 190, NARAS

Minnie	Joe	Koncow	4/19/1898	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 65, NARAS
Ben	Moore	Muscgoee/Seattle	4/19/1898	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 65, NARAS
Newton	Pulcifer	Skokomish	4/19/1898	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 65, NARAS
Miller	Simmons [Simonson]	Wailaki	4/19/1898	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 65, NARAS
Ida	La Flave	NTL	4/30/1898	Hemorrhage	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 66, NARAS
George	Wasson	Coos	5/1/1898	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 65, NARAS
Edward	Warne	Alaska Native	7/1/1898	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 69, NARAS
Edward	Fern	NTL	7/27/1898	Tubercular glands; Unknown	Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 69, NARAS
Joseph	Masten	NTL	11/1/1898	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9 in Felicia La

					Chapelle, Folder 669 in Felicia La Chapelle, NARAS
Margaret	Ben	Chetco	12/8/1898	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 210, NARAS
Racinda	Connaway	Pit River	1/27/1899	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 212; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 77, NARAS
John	Johns	NTL	2/20/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 215, NARAS
Laura	Nomo	Northern Paiute	2/25/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 215, NARAS
Foster	Smith	Siletz	7/8/1899	Tubercular glands	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 221; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 87, NARAS
Rose	Larson	Modoc	7/22/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 221, NARAS

Walter	Rudolph	[Tlingit]	7/27/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 221, NARAS
Edward	Fern	[Umpqua]	8/15/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 222, NARAS
James	River [Simon/Simmonson]	Wailaki	8/18/1899	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 222, NARAS
Dora	Dyke	Pit River	4/2/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 176, NARAS
Emma Jules	Garrison	Lummi/Suquamish	1/1/1902	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9 in Emma, Guel, Folder 651 in Emma Guel, NARAS
Ulysses	French	NTL	4/14/1902	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1818, NARAS
Clara	DeVault	NTL	7/3/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 17, NARAS
Ethel	Jones	NTL	7/3/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 17, NARAS
Clara	Payne	NTL	1/1/1903	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1842, NARAS

Joshua	Gibson	NTL	2/10/1903	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 28, NARAS
Matilda	John	NTL	2/11/1903	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 28, NARAS
Fred	Dixon	Umpqua	3/1/1903	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1809, NARAS
John	Harris	NTL	5/31/1903	Influenza	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 30, 39, NARAS
Jessie	Goodell	NTL	12/13/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 64, NARAS
Ruby	Brown	NTL	12/16/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Bessie	Clark	NTL	12/16/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Margie	Gray	NTL	12/16/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Mary	Nelson	NTL	12/16/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Jennie	Weldfelt	NTL	12/16/1903	[Mumps]	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Ethel	Coburn	[Klamath]	12/20/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Georgie	Jeffers	NTL	12/20/1903	Mumps; Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 64, 89, NARAS
Bessie	Williams	NTL	12/20/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 64, NARAS
Delia	Haight	Klamath	12/22/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65; CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS
Emma	Shepherd	NTL	12/22/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 64, NARAS
Edus	Elliot	NTL	12/23/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 64, NARAS
Annie	Jessen	NTL	12/23/1903	Mumps; later enrolled and died at school	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 64; Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2086, NARAS
Alice	Bettels	NTL	12/26/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Clara	Wilson	NTL	12/30/1903	Mumps	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Maggie	McCorquodale	[Skagit]	4/5/1904	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2120 in Agnes McCorquodale, NARAS
Jennie	Schutzchagen	NTL	5/17/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 87, NARAS
Lena	Charles	NTL	5/20/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 87, NARAS
Amanda	Liljigren	NTL	5/23/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 87, NARAS
Mary	Boles	NTL	5/25/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Eddie	Olofson	NTL	5/25/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 87, NARAS
Edith	Milne	NTL	5/27/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Emma	Cayon	NTL	5/31/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Pearl	La Flumboise	NTL	5/31/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Loretta	Oscar	NTL	5/31/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Louise	Williams	NTL	5/31/1904	Measles	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 88, NARAS
Agnes	Dowd	[Montavillia, OR]	6/1/1904	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2316, NARAS
Sadie	Davis	NTL	7/1/1904	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 97, NARAS
James	French	NTL	7/1/1904	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 97, NARAS
Llewlyn	French	NTL	7/1/1904	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 97, NARAS
Walter	Nason	NTL	7/31/1904	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 97, NARAS
Wallace	Wilson	NTL	7/31/1904	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 97, NARAS
Harriett	Edgar	Tsimshian	11/21/1904	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2284, NARAS
Lloyd	LaBell	Cowlitz	1/1/1905	Measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1965, NARAS
Mary	Campbell	NTL	2/15/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1602, NARAS
Elmer	Sorahan	Washoe	3/21/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2636, NARAS
Maud	Petite	Iroquois/Umpqua	3/23/1905	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2941, NARAS
Noama [Naomie]	Kalama	Puyallup/Pit River	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 151, 442, NARAKC
Jennie	Rosenberger	[Eyak]	4/1/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1816, NARAS
Mary	Wilson	[Shasta]	4/1/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 193, NARAS

Frank	Sylvester	Tlingit	5/13/1905	Unknown; Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2240 in George Sylvester; Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS
Joseph	James	NTL	5/25/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1753, NARAS
Zorita [Loretta]	Oscar	Shasta	2/3/1906	Phthisis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2238, NARAS
Clara	Robinson	[Butler, OR]	2/14/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2607, NARAS
Thos. Edward	Elwood	[Shoalwater Bay Tribe]	3/1/1906	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2380, NARAS
John	Gilmore	Chinook	3/20/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1837, NARAS
Joseph	Samora	Tlingit	4/1/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2230, NARAS
Wallas	Petro	Molalla	6/1/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2229 in Jesse Lee Kirk, NARAS
Fred	Toby	Lummi	6/16/1906	Lung trouble; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder

					2325, NARAS'
Myrtle	Johnson	NTL	7/1/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1958, NARAS
Lena	Kirk	Klamath	7/1/1906	Cough	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2229 in Jesse Lee Kirk, NARAS
Irene	Lane	NTL	7/1/1906	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1561, NARAS
Seymour	Goudy	Yakima	9/1/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1929, NARAS
James	French	Lummi	9/16/1906	Brain fever; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2308, NARAS
Sarah	Smith	NTL	10/29/1906	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2001, NARAS
Annie	Galbraith	Flathead	11/13/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2692, NARAS
Ollie	Larkin	Wiyot	12/1/1906	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2710, NARAS
Pearl	Clark	[Colville]	1/1/1907	Cough	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2570, NARAS
Charles (Carl)	Geffe	Alaska Native	1/1/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 10, Folder 989, NARAS
Daisy	Nelson	Chinook	5/23/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 20, Folder 2815, NARAS
William	Norris	Lower Klamath/[Yurok]	6/29/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 21, Folder 2845, NARAS
Harvey	Wright	Wiyot	9/18/1907	Heart trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2708, NARAS
Grace	Carson	Siletz	11/26/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1383, NARAS
Harry	Long	Shasta	12/1/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2235, NARAS
Annie	Keeler	Flathead	4/1/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3125, NARAS
Roy	Clausen	West Coast	5/27/1909	Cold	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3081, NARAS
Angeline	Ashue	Yakima	6/16/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2458, NARAS
Charles	Wilson	Nez Perce	6/25/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3135, NARAS
Viola Alafrata	Brown	Smith River	7/1/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2783, NARAS

Norvel	Morais	Flathead	7/1/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 3002, NARAS
Viola Allen	Stuart	Nez Perce	7/1/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2799, NARAS
Susie	Moody	Nez Perce	11/1/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2796, NARAS
Gilbert	Brown	Yakima	3/18/1910	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 32, Folder 3493, NARAS
Thomas	Davis	Chinook	3/25/1910	Tuberculosis; died at sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 2996, NARAS
Harry	Joe	NTL	3/26/1910	Died at sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2029, NARAS
Katie	Holland	Makah	4/1/1910	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 21, Folder 2888, NARAS
Alex	Covington	San Poil	4/21/1910	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2915, NARAS
Charles	Weaver	Tlingit	5/14/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 28, Folder 3307, NARAS
McKinley	Moses	Clallam/Twana	5/18/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 3023, NARAS
Paul	Leschi	Nisqually	6/1/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 27, Folder 3278, NARAS
Sadie	Chapman	Modoc or Paiute	7/27/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 28, Folder 3312, NARAS
Margaret May	Huff	Okanagan	7/30/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3232, NARAS
Nellie	Spencer	Yakima	8/4/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3064, NARAS
Letsie [Letsy]	Brown	NTL	9/1/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3190; Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3189 in James Brown, NARAS
Margaret	Collins	Tlingit	12/1/1910	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3411, NARAS
Charles	Scott	NTL	1/1/1911	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3417 in William Chuck, NARAS
Caroline	Normandine	Kalispel	2/20/1911	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3407, NARAS
Robert	Dundas	Tsimshian	3/27/1911	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2250, NARAS

Louise	Stewart	NTL	8/23/1911	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2157, NARAS
Peter	John	[Clallam]	9/6/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1945, NARAS
Alice	Boldt	Chinook	11/20/1911	Lost hand in industrial accident	Chemawa Student Files, Box 33, Folder 3529, NARAS
Robert	Cameron	Wailaki	1/1/1912	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1501 in Emily (Emma) Cameron, NARAS
Charlie	Seguin	Rogue River/Cree	1/20/1912	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3051, NARAS
Sarah	Wilbur	Tlingit	2/8/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2481, NARAS
Katherine	Dionne	Iñupiat	3/13/1912	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3251, NARAS
Clyde	Field	NTL	3/13/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3412 in Carrie Natkong, NARAS
Carrie	Natkong	Haida	3/13/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3412, NARAS
Annie F. [Anna]	Williams	Tlingit	3/13/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 33, Folder 3526, NARAS
Florence	McDonald	Nez Perce/Flathead	3/19/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3550, NARAS
Mary	McDonald	Nez Perce/Flathead	3/19/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3549, NARAS
Daniel	Herron	Colville	3/31/1912	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3061, NARAS
Felix	Isadore	Spokane	3/31/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3151, NARAS
Frank	Laderoute	Flathead	4/13/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3546, NARAS
Peter	Scott	Tlingit	4/14/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 31, Folder 3433, NARAS
James	Wilcox	Tlingit	4/14/1912	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3102, NARAS
Lela	Jackson	Puyallup	5/10/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3126, NARAS
Roy	Braden	Walla Walla	6/1/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 3039, NARAS
Mamie	Young	Haida	6/1/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 33, Folder 3544, NARAS

Thomas M.	Jones	Haida	6/23/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3274, NARAS
Jennie	Vandel	Haida	7/19/1912	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3413, NARAS
Earl	Dillstrom	Modoc	8/27/1912	Tubercular hip	Chemawa Student Files, Box 21, Folder 2899, NARAS
Elmer	Desaitel	Spokane	11/14/1912	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3575, NARAS
Ralph	Copeland	Chinook	12/1/1912	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2517, NARAS
Phillip	Darrow	Tlingit	12/25/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 31, Folder 3438, NARAS
Esther	Jackson	Alsea	1/1/1913	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3593, NARAS
Celia	Sorenson	Chinook	1/1/1913	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3634, NARAS
Elgood	Towner	Rogue River	1/1/1913	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2486, Louis Towner, NARAS
Louis	Towner	Rogue River	1/1/1913	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2486, NARAS

Aleck	Lee	NTL	2/1/1913	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2930, NARAS
Ollie	Haight	Klamath	2/19/1913	Disability	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2208, NARAS
Lester	Bellinger	Siletz	5/1/1913	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3566, NARAS
John Dave	Adams	Siletz	5/3/1913	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3296, NARAS
Frank	Campbell	Shoshone	5/14/1913	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Ellen	Hill	Eastern Shoshone	5/26/1913	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3641, NARAS
Agnes	Williams	Nez Perce	6/1/1913	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 40, Folder 3813, NARAS
Guysbert	Brazelle	Klamath	10/1/1913	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 40, Folder 3797, NARAS
Willie	Anderson	Klickitat	12/2/1913	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3869, NARAS
Clara	Sellew	Piegan	12/8/1913	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3656, NARAS

Nellie	Johns	Tlingit	3/1/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 32, Folder 3519, NARAS
Eleanor	Hall	Flathead	3/13/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 40, Folder 3825, NARAS
Cora	John	Haida	4/1/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 33, Folder 3524, NARAS
Laura	Takenouchi	Tlingit	4/1/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 32, Folder 3520, NARAS
Annie	Bennett	Haida	4/20/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 3996, NARAS
Nellie	Tassatsie	Eastern Shoshone	5/4/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3630, NARAS
Elsie	Killingsworth	Cherokee	5/10/1914	Lungs	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3934, NARAS
Licinda	Harney	Warm Springs Paiute	5/18/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4082, NARAS
Anna	Jackson	Piegán	6/1/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3649, NARAS
Jame	Latattie	Flathead	6/6/1914	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS

Johnnie	Brigham	Walla Walla	6/17/1914	Arm	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4029, NARAS
Ione	Cardin	Walla Walla	6/27/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3938, NARAS
Ida	MonLee	Tlingit	7/24/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3841, NARAS
Peter	Myne [Rickteroff]	Dena'ina	7/24/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3891, NARAS
Matthew	Hubbard	Alaska Native	8/24/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3763 in Sarah Hubbard, NARAS
Sarah	Hubbard	Alaska Native	8/24/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3763, NARAS
Rickteroff	Peter	NTL	8/24/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3763 in Sarah Hubbard, NARAS
Myrtle Mattie	Wilson	[Samish]	10/3/1914	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2660, NARAS
Edna	Des Champs	Cree/Nakota	10/31/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 43, Folder 3929, NARAS
Hazel	White	Rogue River	12/1/1914	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3571, NARAS
Nathan	Nelson	Okanagan	1/1/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3234, NARAS
Francis	Aubery	[Umpqua]	1/2/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3661, NARAS
Sidney	Lawson	Tsimshian	2/23/1915	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4019, NARAS
Ella	Wilson	Siletz	3/11/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3883, NARAS
Richard	Sha-coo-tah	Tlingit	3/19/1915	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Major	Washington	Western Shoshone	4/1/1915	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4299, NARAS
Victor	Mage	Wailaki/Konco w	4/28/1915	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4195, NARAS
Mesa	Skedaddle	Duck Valley Paiute	5/1/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4157, NARAS

Rose	Aragon	Eastern Shoshone	6/1/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3643, NARAS
Dollie	Lahoe	Eastern Shoshone	6/1/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 36, Folder 3644, NARAS
Richard	Shawcootah	Tlinit	6/1/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3773, NARAS
David	Lott	Tlingit	6/3/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4143 in Margaret Blake, NARAS
Johnnie	Murree	Shasta	6/3/1915	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 46, Folder 4069, NARAS
Leona	Peconam	[Maidu]	6/14/1915	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4128, NARAS
Norman	Stearn	Shoshone	6/18/1915	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Susie	Dixon	Tlingit	6/24/1915	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3879, NARAS
Thomas	Harris	Tlingit	6/24/1915	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4011, NARAS

Thomas	Nuskan	Tlingit	6/25/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4010, NARAS
Robert	Harris	Tlingit	6/26/1915	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Margery	Keluche	Shasta	6/26/1915	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4089, NARAS
Marie	Jackson	Tlingit	6/27/1915	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS
Ruby	John	[Smith River]	6/29/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3616, NARAS
Josephine	Black	Western Shoshone	7/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4292, NARAS
Mary	Andrew	NTL	8/1/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3873 in John Miyamoto, NARAS
John	Miyamoto	Tlingit	8/1/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3873, NARAS
Emma	Forgery	NTL	8/6/1915	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder

					3874 in Dennis Simeonoff, NARAS
Dennis	Simeonoff	Alaska Native	8/6/1915	Stomach trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3874, NARAS
Mary	Andrews	Koyukon	8/26/1915	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 298; CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS
Emma	Blackhat	Shoshone	9/4/1915	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS
Myrah	Moses	Nez Perce	9/15/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4099, NARAS
Joseph	Jackson	Alesea	10/1/1915	Chills and fever	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3592, NARAS
Thomas	Johanson	Aleut	10/5/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 37, Folder 3693, NARAS
Edmund	Brown	Tlingit	11/25/1915	Lungs following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4008, NARAS
Isabel	Nix	Haida	11/25/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 37, Folder 3721, NARAS
Bessie	Goins	Blackfeet	12/1/1915	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 40, Folder 3810, NARAS

Ella	[Earle Ely]	NTL	1/1/1916	Tuberculosis; Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3252 in Mary Andrews, NARAS
Anna	Hansen	Inuit	2/1/1916	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 52, Folder 4308, NARAS
Martha	Kinninook	Tlingit	2/11/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3770, NARAS
James	Andrews	Tlingit	2/20/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4004, NARAS
Sallie	Curl	Tillamook	2/27/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4395, NARAS
Thomas	Phillip	Tlingit	2/27/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 52, Folder 4322, NARAS
Alex [Alexani]	Emanof [Emanoff]	Aleut	3/1/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4351, NARAS
Julia	Forsman	Aleut	3/1/1916	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4147, NARAS
Samuel	Zeliznoff	Aleut	3/1/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4214, NARAS
Otto [Arthur]	Rhodes	Tlingit	3/20/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium;	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3911, NARAS

				died within one academic year of leaving	
Leo	Ludson	Alsea	4/14/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4393, NARAS
Jeff	Secena	Chehalis	4/15/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Jeff	Seneca	Chehalis	4/15/1916	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 37, Folder 3718, NARAS
Fannie	Brown	Tlingit	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3767, NARAS
Mary	Buchart	Inuit	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3791, NARAS
Adeline	Burton	Tsimshian	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 44, Folder 3983, NARAS
Mary	Moss	Kootenai	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4227, NARAS
Emma	Sexton	Eyak	4/19/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919,

					Box 1, NARAS
Vasili W.	Alexander	Aleut	4/20/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3860, NARAS
Chris	Hobucket	Quileute	4/30/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
Cora	Pike	Coquille/Yuch i	5/1/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4391, NARAS
Mamie	Shellhouse	Haida	5/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3887, NARAS
Charles	Morse	Tlingit	5/3/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS
William	Andrews	Tlingit	5/4/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4255, NARAS
Daniel	Temple	Klamath	5/7/1916	Tuberculosis/p neumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3889, NARAS
Frank	Johnson	Cayuse/Umatil la	5/8/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4390, NARAS
Lukelia	Nelson	Eyak	5/8/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3915, NARAS

Margaret	Tortes [Tortez]	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	5/9/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3881, NARAS
Annie #2	Woods	Klamath	5/9/1916	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4222, NARAS
Johnnie	Williams	NTL	5/14/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3409 in Anna M. Williams, NARAS
Laura	Sherman	[Wailaki]	5/18/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4125, NARAS
Charles	Hartless	Kalapuya	5/20/1916	Rupture of bowels	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4132, NARAS
George B.	Williams	Tlingit	5/22/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4188, NARAS
Stella	Grimes	Hupa/Smith River	5/23/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4283, NARAS
Mabel	Hooper	Western Shoshone	5/25/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4294, NARAS
May	Thacker	Paiute	5/25/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4291, NARAS
Agrafina	Fratis	Aleut	5/29/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 2, NARAS

Irene	Harney	Shoshone	6/1/1916	Unknown	CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS
Margarite	McCoy	Umpqua	6/1/1916	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3178, NARAS
Minnie	Ned	Coos	6/2/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4462, NARAS
Josephine	Parker	Yakima	6/2/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4364, NARAS
Anna M.	Williams	Tlingit	6/3/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3409, NARAS
William B. [Walter]	Holland	Aleut	6/5/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4166, NARAS
Stanley	Sutton	Nisqually	6/6/1916	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4134, NARAS
Rena	Hill	Klamath	6/20/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4449, NARAS
Willie	Kinninook	Tlingit	6/22/1916	Scrofula	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4461, NARAS
Emma	Whitman	Tlingit	6/22/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4262, NARAS

Charles	Sawyer	Diné	6/23/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 52, Folder 4339, NARAS
Cecelia	Kambout	Yakima	7/2/1916	Appendicits	Chemawa Student Files, Box 37, Folder 3681, NARAS
Agnes	Hill	Nez Perce	7/8/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4146, NARAS
Clarence E.	Brown	Aleut	7/18/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4409, NARAS
Agnes	Sheperd	Alaska Native	7/18/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2000, NARAS
Peter	Ashouwak	Aleut	7/19/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4422, NARAS
Mabel	John	Smith River	7/30/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3193, NARAS
Andrew	Davis	Aleut	8/1/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3605, NARAS
Grace [Gladys]	Temple	Klamath	8/1/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3890, NARAS
Willie	Hoopen	Yup'ik	8/9/1916	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4149, NARAS
Philip	Cooda	Tlingit	8/17/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 52, Folder 4323, NARAS
Fred	Mason	Tlingit	11/20/1916	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4184, NARAS
Lizzie	Williams	Tlingit	11/21/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4648, NARAS
Adeline	Robinson	NTL	12/1/1916	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2554, NARAS
Alvin	Todd	Flathead	12/5/1916	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4520, NARAS
Theodore	Tompkins	Wiyot	12/6/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4638, NARAS
Fee	Heath	Wailaki	12/11/1916	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4528, NARAS
Herbert	Kluche	Wintun	12/11/1916	Measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4442, NARAS
Alexis [Alex]	Beyers	Aleut	1/1/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died with 1 year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1970, NARAS
Elden	Miller	Klamath	1/12/1917	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4451, NARAS
Allen	Weston	Chinook	1/13/1917	Heart trouble	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 58, Folder 4563, NARAS
William	Weston	Chinook	1/13/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4564, NARAS
Elsie	Silverthorne	Wintun	2/5/1917	Ear trouble following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4586, NARAS
Sarah	Blodgett	Flathead	2/13/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2976, NARAS
Mercella	Silvers	Klamath	3/1/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4541, NARAS
Frank	Barris	Tlingit	3/2/1917	Tuberculosis following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 52, Folder 4300, NARAS
Louis	Gunyah	Haida	3/2/1917	Lungs	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4609, NARAS
Frank	Mark	Alaska Native	3/3/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Ernest	Snook	Tlingit	3/5/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4617, NARAS
Stella	Williams	Cayuse	4/9/1917	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4460, NARAS
Robert	Gist	Hupa	5/1/1917	Bowel trouble; tonsilectomy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4380, NARAS

Hughie	Seymour	Chetco	5/1/1917	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4691, NARAS
Sidney	Wesley	Tlingit	5/3/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4606, NARAS
Ralph	Konesh	Alaska Native	5/4/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Fred	Karluk	Alaska Native	5/26/1917	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 26, Folder 3193 in Mabel John, NARAS
Paul	Smartlowit	Yakima	5/26/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 31, Folder 3448, NARAS
John	Gibson	Pit River	5/28/1917	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4696, NARAS
Earl	LaPointe	[Wailaki]	6/1/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4637, NARAS
Ethel	Taylor	Cherokee	6/1/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4487, NARAS
Sylvia	Taylor	Cherokee	6/1/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4486, NARAS
Susan	Young	Inuit	6/1/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3792, NARAS

Lizzie	Mason	Tlingit	6/6/1917	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4592 in Katie Mason, NARAS
Bertha	Mason	Tsimshian	6/6/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4495, NARAS
Florence	Landergreen	Flathead	6/7/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4231, NARAS
Jessie	Milton	Tsimshian	6/8/1917	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4493, NARAS
Fannie	Twist	Tlingit	6/11/1917	Pleurisy/tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4369, NARAS
Lena	Cleveland	Klamath	6/18/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4503, NARAS
Delia	Fann	Wintun	6/18/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4412, NARAS
Mabel	Fox	Piegan	7/1/1917	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 38, Folder 3726, NARAS
Allison	Stone	Crow	8/30/1917	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4491, NARAS
Albert	Emeline	Rocky Boy Chippewa	9/28/1917	Nervous affliction	Chemawa Student Files, Box 52, Folder 4338, NARAS

Blanche	Green [Arquette]	Nomlaki	10/23/1917	Sore throat	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3254; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Richard	Byers	NTL	11/13/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4423 in Lycondra Squartzsoff, NARAS
Venus	Brown	Konkow	11/21/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4886, NARAS
Agnes	Cayuse	NTL	12/2/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Venus	Brown	NTL	12/4/1917	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Richard	Beyers [Byers]	Inuit	1/2/1918	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4900, NARAS
John [Jack]	Newksick	Inuit	1/4/1918	Tuberculosis after mumps; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4940, NARAS
Gordon	Albert	Tlingit	1/9/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4466; Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, NP, NARAS
Albert	Spencer	Nez Perce	1/17/1918	Tuberculosis following mumps	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4913, NARAS
Joseph	Kipp	Nez Perce	1/19/1918	Tuberculosis following pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4845, NARAS
Frank	Lindoff	Tlingit	1/21/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4596, NARAS
Sophie	Reinertsen	Chinook	1/21/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4932, NARAS
Frank	Montgomery	[Karuk]	2/26/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4519, NARAS
Annie	James	Tlingit	2/27/1918	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4494, NARAS
Annie Selina	Parker	Tsimshian	2/28/1918	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4635, NARAS
Mamie	Hancorne	Klamath	3/1/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4763, NARAS
Fannie	Funst	NTL	3/22/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Laura	Squiqui	Lummi/Snohomish	3/28/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4218, NARAS
James	Brown	Rogue River	4/1/1918	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 64, Folder 4901, NARAS
Orlando	Cimino	White Earth Chippewa	4/1/1918	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3628, NARAS
Raymond	Gray	Rocky Boy Chippewa	4/2/1918	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4582, NARAS
Joseph	Nightgun	Blackfeet	4/2/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4889, NARAS
Louis	Four Horns	Blackfeet	4/5/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4888, NARAS
Clinton	Langley	Umpqua	4/5/1918	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4893; Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5522 in Minnie Kutslaie, NARAS
Joe	Jackson	NTL	4/22/1918	Influenza	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Joseph	Johnson	Tlingit	4/26/1918	Tuberculosis following pneumonia; Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 38, Folder 3728; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Deta	Smith	NTL	4/28/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4724 in

					Rosetta Gervais, NARAS
Daniel	Shabalin	Aleut	5/1/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4743, NARAS
Vida	Smith	Chinook	5/1/1918	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4872; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Rosetta	Gervais	Tillamook	5/4/1918	Pulmonary trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4724; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Ida	Guardipe	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	5/14/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4881, NARAS
Alicia	Kimball	NTL	5/15/1918	Pneumonia	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Timothy	Mike	Aleut	5/15/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4551, NARAS
Eileen	Wike	[Karuk]	6/1/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4470; CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS

Gladys	Lowry	[Round Valley]	6/20/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4198, NARAS
Josephine	Johnson	Klamath	7/10/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4765, NARAS
Feoktist	Rapen	Aleut	7/16/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4452, NARAS
Rose	Ridley	Tlingit	7/20/1918	Quick Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4497, NARAS
Nellie	Flett	Spokane	8/12/1918	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4903, NARAS
Agnes	Henderson	Blackfeet	8/12/1918	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4876, NARAS
Earl	Charles	Klamath	10/11/1918	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4916, NARAS
Thomas	Peterson	Nez Perce	10/22/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4103, NARAS
George	Lone Chief	Blackfeet	10/28/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5153, NARAS
Della	Moss	Flathead	11/1/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4902, NARAS

Robert	Parr	Walla Walla	11/12/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 4998, NARAS
Edward	Hayes	Nez Perce	11/15/1918	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5144, NARAS
Elijah	Simmons [Timmons]	NTL	11/16/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Fred	Moses	Skagit	1/7/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5000, NARAS
Robert	Parr	NTL	1/9/1919	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Anita	Reed	NTL	1/12/1919	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Charlotte	Davis	Klamath	1/14/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4838, NARAS
Adeline	Matt	Flathead	2/3/1919	Glands following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5033, NARAS
Annie	McKiver	Flathead	2/3/1919	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4796, NARAS
Theodore	Toulon	Colville	2/11/1919	Rupture requiring operation	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5019, NARAS
William	Marks	Nez Perce	2/18/1919	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 4977, NARAS
John	Craig	Cayuse	2/25/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 69, Folder 5178, NARAS
Christine	Parker	Tsimshian	2/26/1919	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4496, NARAS
Joe	Bird Rattle	Blackfeet	3/1/1919	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5176, NARAS
Willie	Mufflet	NTL	4/18/1919	Pulmonary trouble	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Ben	Johnson	NTL	4/27/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
John	Emanoff	Aleut	5/26/1919	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4671, NARAS
Peter	Tetoff	Aleut	5/26/1919	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4670, NARAS
Ada	Snell	Quinault	6/7/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5128, NARAS
George	Wolf Chief	NTL	6/17/1919	Glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Joseph	Bonnors	Inuit	6/29/1919	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3253, NARAS
Lillian	Ashouwak	Blackfeet	7/1/1919	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5088, NARAS
Rosetta	Hamilton	Blackfeet	7/1/1919	Chronic constipation and operation at home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4882, NARAS

Jack	Kipp	Blackfeet	7/1/1919	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5082, NARAS
Alice	Toulou	Colville	7/1/1919	Tonsils and adenoids	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5020, NARAS
Laura	Williams	Wasco/[Yakima]	7/1/1919	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5131 in Nora Williams, NARAS
Clara	Vielle	Blackfeet	7/2/1919	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5099; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Jack L.	Pete	Western Shoshone	7/8/1919	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4290, NARAS
Sarah	Marlowe	Shasta	7/9/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4735, NARAS
William	Gray	NTL	7/21/1919	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Esther	Paul	Nez Perce	8/29/1919	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5207, NARAS
Carl	Madsen	Inuit	9/1/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5203, NARAS
Henry	Thomas	Klamath	10/21/1919	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 67, Folder 5050, NARAS
Victor	Zuboff	Tlingit	11/3/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5325, NARAS
Isaac	Davis	Nez Perce	11/19/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	P2008, 394; Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4653, NARAS
Asa John	Jones	Umpqua	11/24/1919	Lungs	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4729, NARAS
Robert	Natkong	Haida	11/28/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 59, Folder 4626, NARAS
Ella	Davis	Klamath	12/27/1919	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4837, NARAS
Harvey	Milton	Tsimshian	1/1/1920	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5391 in Fred Milton, NARAS
Edith	Percival	Lummi/Snohomish	3/20/1920	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5048, NARAS
Ruby	Stevens	Paiute/[Maidu]	3/22/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4955, NARAS
Nellie	Craig	Cayuse	3/26/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5177, NARAS
Joseph	Howard	Blackfeet	3/27/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 74, Folder 5473, NARAS
Deffie	Gray	NTL	3/29/1920	Influenza	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Beulah	White	Klamath	4/2/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 57, Folder 4544, NARAS
Cora	Youlrin	NTL	4/8/1920	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Robert H.	Ferry	Tlingit	4/16/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5227, NARAS
Vernon	Keaton [Weston]	[Shasta]	4/20/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4757, NARAS
John A.	Johnson	Tlingit	4/30/1920	Hemorrhage; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4600; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Periscovia	Pesnikoff	Aleut	5/3/1920	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4741, NARAS
Raymond	Kyona	Yakima	5/14/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8108, NARAS
Dorothy	Sommers	Koyukon	5/16/1920	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5258, NARAS

Edith	Percival	NTL	5/18/1920	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Velma	Bravo	Paiute [Harbor, OR]	5/22/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5244, NARAS
Agnes	Wolf Tail	Piegan	5/27/1920	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5285, NARAS
Polly	Pessnikoff	NTL	5/28/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5285 in Agnes Wolf Tail, NARAS
Willie	Anderson	Warm Springs	6/9/1920	Heart/pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5331; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Edna	Phillips	Tlingit	6/10/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5225, NARAS
George	White Dog	Blackfeet	6/15/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5173, NARAS
Harvey	Wright	NTL	6/18/1920	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Harvey	Milton	NTL	6/19/1920	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Elizabeth	Blacketer	Rogue River	6/28/1920	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 74, Folder 5479, NARAS
Andrew	Fox	Gros Ventre/Nakota	7/1/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5158, NARAS
Alice	Wilson	Siletz	7/7/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3884, NARAS
Thomas	Brendible	Tsimshian	8/25/1920	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5326, NARAS
Patrick	Miller	Inuit	9/27/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5255, NARAS
Eddie	Olinger	NTL	9/27/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5255 in Patrick Miller, NARAS
Edward	Klinger	Alaska Native	10/1/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5471, NARAS
Edward	Trenton	Yup'ik	11/13/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5283, NARAS
Veliso	Alexander	NTL	12/20/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Ft. Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Josephine	Corbett	NTL	12/31/1920	Rheumatism	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Melissa	Morgan	Tlingit	1/1/1921	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 72, Folder 5358, NARAS
Virginia	Lee	Washoe	1/12/1921	Sent to Carson Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5423, NARAS
Pearl	Patterson	Washoe	1/12/1921	Tubercular glands; sent to Carson Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5422; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Clarence	Bathle	Tsimshian	1/24/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4611; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Arthur	Motanic	Umatilla	1/26/1921	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5634, NARAS
Gayling	[Susan]	NTL	1/30/1921	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Daniel	Reynolds	Nez Perce	1/31/1921	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5461, NARAS
Rosie	Fisher	Gros Ventre	2/7/1921	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5193, NARAS
Theodore	Dailey	Lummi	2/16/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4120, NARAS
Mary	Lot	Spokane	2/17/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort	Chemawa Student Files,

				Lapwai Sanatorium	Box 76, Folder 5608, NARAS
Peter	Moses	Colville	2/17/1921	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5555, NARAS
Carrie	Pablo	Flathead	2/17/1921	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5742, NARAS
Minnie	Kutslaie	Nez Perce	2/21/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5522, NARAS
Fanny	Desmond	Tlingit	2/23/1921	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5451, NARAS
William	Percival	NTL	3/3/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
John	Whitelaw	Colville	3/9/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5558, NARAS
John	Whitlow	NTL	3/10/1921	Influenza	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Amelia	Bronche	Nez Perce	3/14/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5623, NARAS
Justine Cecelia	Allard	Lummi	3/16/1921	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5570, NARAS
Thomas	Dailey	NTL	3/19/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Gilbert	Gould	Maidu	3/23/1921	Tuberculosis/glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5126, NARAS

Silas	Barkley	Klamath	4/1/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5658, NARAS
Abraham	Fayas	Kalispel	4/19/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4760, NARAS
William	Whalah	Yakima	5/2/1921	Tubercular hip	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5749, NARAS
Louis	Crowe	Walla Walla/Yakima	5/9/1921	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5659, NARAS
Felix	Pierce	NTL	5/31/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Eliza Mary	Bernard	Haida	6/1/1921	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5445, NARAS
Miranda	Anderson	Redwood Valley Pomo/Little Lake [Round Valley]	7/2/1921	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4805, NARAS
Charles	Desautel	NTL	7/19/1921	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Bob	Sloan	NTL	7/19/1921	Pleurisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Mage	Sloan	NTL	7/19/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Frank	Thomas	NTL	7/19/1921	Unknown	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Nellie	Nobe	Paiute	7/20/1921	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 79, Folder 5798, NARAS
Anita	Reed	Siletz	8/5/1921	Eyes and teeth	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4150, NARAS
Victoria	Sansaver	Oyate [Kalispell, MT]	8/22/1921	Gravel in bladder	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5174, NARAS
Vivian	Sparks	Skagit/Skokomish	9/13/1921	Lungs	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5574, NARAS
Henry [Harvey]	Rosela	NTL	11/30/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Virginia	Lee	NTL	12/23/1921	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Julia	Grandchamp	Nakota	1/1/1922	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 81, Folder 5874, NARAS
Elias	Moses	Nez Perce	1/14/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5963; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
James	Fawcett	Alaska Native	2/1/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5315, NARAS
Charles	Dean	Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/11/1922	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6069, NARAS

Alfred	Normandin	Flathead	2/15/1922	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5601, NARAS
Frank	Peterson	Skokomish	3/3/1922	Glands/influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5868; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Mabel	Frank	Haida	3/10/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5705, NARAS
[Freeman]	Thorpe	NTL	3/18/1922	Pleurisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Clara	Martin	Umatilla	3/21/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6008, NARAS
Ed	Chadwick	NTL	3/22/1922	Unknown	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Joseph	Wapipe	Yakima	3/22/1922	Ear and gland trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5664, NARAS
Joseph	Pichette	Colville	3/27/1922	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5503, NARAS
Larry	Powlas	NTL	3/28/1922	[Tuberculosis]	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Theodore	Mitchell	Nakota	3/31/1922	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 81, Folder 5888, NARAS

William	McMaster	San Poil	4/1/1922	Intestinal trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4076, NARAS
Eliza	Melbourne	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate/Chippewa	4/11/1922	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 81, Folder 5877, NARAS
Benjamin	James	Suquamish	4/21/1922	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 79, Folder 5758, NARAS
Minnie	Bennett	Makah	4/24/1922	Pleurisy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 79, Folder 5796, NARAS
Susie	Gambler	Blackfeet	4/27/1922	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5286, NARAS
Thomas	Thorpe	NTL	5/1/1922	Pleurisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Dorothy	Hudson	Quinault	5/9/1922	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5869, NARAS
Louis	Peone [Xavier]	Coeur d'Alene	5/11/1922	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 79, Folder 5776, NARAS
Susan	Cain	Nakota	5/14/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5617, NARAS
Leo	Louie	Coeur d'Alene	5/18/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5959, NARAS
Ruth	Lot	Spokane	5/22/1922	Pneumonia/heart/tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5607, NARAS

Lillian	Arms	Gros Ventre	6/1/1922	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5734, NARAS
William	Buckman	Gros Ventre	6/1/1922	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5945, NARAS
Elizabeth	Poitra	[Fort Peck Nakota]	6/1/1922	Tyroid tumor	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5672, NARAS
Frank	Montgomery	NTL	6/8/1922	Pleurisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Edith	Armstrong	[Maidu]	6/14/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6085, NARAS
Annie	Thomas	Tlingit	6/30/1922	Climate	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5472, NARAS
Martha	Ivanoff	Alaska Native	7/1/1922	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4682, NARAS
Alfred Henry	White	Alaska Native	8/17/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5538, NARAS
Antoinette	Le Count	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	8/23/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5927, NARAS
Louise	Sanderson	Hupa	9/1/1922	Rheumatism/tubercular tendencies	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5728, NARAS
Edgar	Desautel	NTL	9/30/1922	Glands	Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, NP, NARAS
Sadie	Gowen	Tlingit	11/1/1922	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6148, NARAS
Gertrude	Colby	Klamath	11/16/1922	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6042, NARAS
William	Davis	NTL	11/24/1922	[Unknown]	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Katherine	Goodlata	Ahtna	12/1/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5740, NARAS
Edna	Phillips	NTL	12/4/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Ft. Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Alfred	White	NTL	12/5/1922	Tubercular glands; sent to Ft. Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Ramona	Ball	NTL	1/1/1923	Skin	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Effie	Milton	Alaska Native	1/1/1923	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6305, NARAS
Clarence	George	NTL	2/6/1923	Skin	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Lincoln	Van Alstine	[Snohomish]	2/10/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6352, NARAS

Blanche	Edenshaw [Cleveland]	Haida	2/16/1923	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5353, NARAS
Celina	Ell [Eel]	Blackfeet	3/26/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5284, NARAS
Amanda	Heay [Healy]	NTL	3/28/1923	Operation	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Thomas	Dewey	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	4/7/1923	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6002, NARAS
Lois	Jackson	Makah	4/7/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5680, NARAS
Anna	Enick	Puyallup/Skagit	4/27/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6223, NARAS
Mathias	McConville	Nez Perce	5/1/1923	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6396, NARAS
Frances	Collins	Tlingit	5/9/1923	Recovering from gland surgery	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6192, NARAS
Edward	Matte	Gros Ventre	6/1/1923	Eyes and glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6161, NARAS
John	McClusky	Alaska Native	6/1/1923	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6060, NARAS
Anna	Running [Illeg.]	NTL	6/1/1923	[Tuberculosis]	Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, NP, NARAS
Zeda	[Coature]	NTL	6/4/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Porter	Mahone	NTL	6/4/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Mathias	McConnville	NTL	6/5/1923	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Margarite	Frank	NTL	6/11/1923	Operation	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Celia	Green	Makah	6/13/1923	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6168, NARAS
Regino	[Reams]	NTL	6/25/1923	Rheumatism	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Joseph	Drunk	Alaska Native	7/9/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 87, Folder 6265, NARAS
Joseph	Shannon	Inuit	8/4/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5533, NARAS
Susie	Trapp	Aleut	8/15/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5359, NARAS
Juanita	Rhinback	NTL	9/23/1923	Ear	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS

Mary	Bernard	NTL	10/1/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Oka	Pauline	Paiute	10/1/1923	Died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 464, NARAS
Patrick	Grimes	NTL	10/8/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Daisy	Ballard	Bannock	10/14/1923	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5546, NARAS
Obed	Hoyt	Nez Perce	10/29/1923	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5696, NARAS
Dallas	Emmith	NTL	11/20/1923	Endocarditis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Joe	St. Germaine	Little Shell Chippewa	11/23/1923	Operation	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6437; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Mary #2	Williams	Alaska Native	12/4/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6382, NARAS
Alice	Peratrovich	Tlingit	12/14/1923	Pneumonia; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6737; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS

Alfred	Mecum	Rogue River	12/29/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6755, NARAS
William John	Hilburn	Colville	1/2/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6449, NARAS
Norma [Naomi]	Hilburn	Colville	1/4/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6450, NARAS
John	Healy	Gros Ventre	1/28/1924	Tuberculosis following pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5863, NARAS
Morgan	Poindexter	NTL	1/29/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Anna	Richmond	NTL	2/7/1924	Sent to Salem Hospital	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Alex [Alexani]	Williams	Nez Perce	2/9/1924	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4946, NARAS
Aurora	Littlelight	Crow	2/12/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6587, NARAS
John	Sampson	Umatilla	2/18/1924	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6719, NARAS
Anthony	Blackhawk	Umatilla	3/5/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6710, NARAS

Frounie [Suphronia]	Grant	Pit River	3/14/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6432, NARAS
Mary	Mulligan [Dupree]	Fort Peck Oyate	3/14/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5694, NARAS
Juanita Jessie	Rinehart	Tlingit	4/1/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6336, NARAS
Viola	Cool	Alaska Native	4/18/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6673, NARAS
Alice	Fiander	Yakima/Flathead	4/18/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6782, NARAS
Thomas	Jefferson	Klamath	4/28/1924	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6186, NARAS
Gilbert	Galler	Colville	5/3/1924	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6667, NARAS
Katie	Pharis	Gros Ventre	5/7/1924	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6171, NARAS
Mary	Adams	Nakota	5/21/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5612, NARAS
John	Morris	Alaska Native	5/31/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6770, NARAS
James #2	Medicine Tail	Crow	6/1/1924	Glands	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 92, Folder 6571, NARAS
Marcus	Day	Grand Ronde	6/7/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6708, NARAS
Peter	Pablo	Flathead	6/12/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6530, NARAS
Clarence	St. Germaine	Little Shell Chippewa	6/13/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6345, NARAS
Adeline	Plouffe	Flathead	6/16/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 87, Folder 6241, NARAS
Mary	Bernard	Koyukon	7/18/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5512, NARAS
Audrey	Alvares	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate/Blackfeet	7/31/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 91, Folder 6500, NARAS
Philip	Hooker	Tlingit	8/3/1924	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6340, NARAS
Marie	Escholt	Inuit	8/6/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6684, NARAS
Christine	Nelson	Inuit	8/6/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5822, NARAS
Mike	Uttecht	Alaska Native	8/29/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6423, NARAS

Lucy	Borg [Berg]	Inuit	9/16/1924	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6426, NARAS
Mary	Celestine	Lummi	9/16/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6745, NARAS
Lillian	Marcell	Inuit	10/1/1924	Eyes; sent to Oregon Blind School, Salem, OR	P2008, 532, NARAS
Eliza	Cowapoo	Walla Walla	10/3/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6332, NARAS
Ole	Strom	Quinault	10/31/1924	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4772, NARAS
Winifred	McLean	Oyate [Roseburg, OR]	11/25/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6605, NARAS
Alex	Peratrovich	Tlingit	12/3/1924	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6016, NARAS
Clarence	LaFleur	Colville	12/17/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5018, NARAS
Alvina	Markishtum	Makah	12/18/1924	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6829, NARAS
Rosalie	Absolum	Inuit	12/29/1924	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6124, NARAS
Mary	Buck	Inuit	12/29/1924	Died at Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 480; Chemawa Student Files,

				within one academic year of leaving	Box 81, Folder 5921, NARAS
Kenneth	Barker	Makah	12/31/1924	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5626, NARAS
Stephen	Nohiktah [John]	Alaska Native	12/31/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5267, NARAS
Luther	Jefferson	Klamath	1/6/1925	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6185, NARAS
Rena [Lena]	Left Hand	Crow	1/9/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6586, NARAS
Marion	Eagleman	Fort Peck Oyate	1/13/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6825, NARAS
Angelita	Hoover	Klamath	1/14/1925	Ears	Chemawa Student Files, Box 101, Folder 7087, NARAS
Jennie	Game	Tlingit	1/19/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6412, NARAS
Archie	Polty	Inuit	1/19/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6133, NARAS
Margaret	Polty	Inuit	1/19/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6134, NARAS

Augustine	Smith	Yakima	1/22/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 101, Folder 7070, NARAS
Frederick	Kirk	Klamath	1/25/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7269, NARAS
Joe	Verney	Tsimshian	2/2/1925	Unknown	P2008, 440; Chemawa Student Files, Box 71, Folder 5342, NARAS
Leo	David	Flathead	2/12/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 532, NARAS
Margaret	George	Colville	2/12/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6894, NARAS
Maggie	Parson	Colville	2/12/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6646, NARAS
William	Eagleman	Standing Rock Oyate	3/2/1925	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 101, Folder 7088, NARAS
Orsen	George	Nez Perce	3/6/1925	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 70, Folder 5226, NARAS
Sadie	Parr	Umatilla	3/10/1925	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 100, Folder 7036, NARAS
Nora	Tonasket	Colville	3/16/1925	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6895, NARAS

Joe	Wallpipe	NTL	3/18/1925	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Rosalie	Absaline	Inuit	4/1/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 494, NARAS
Stella	Balch	Lummi	4/1/1925	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6961, NARAS
Dora	Jackson	Alaska Native	4/1/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5812, NARAS
Frank	Melton [Minton]	Alaska Native	4/2/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6390, NARAS
Paul	Trepesten	Aleut	4/2/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 446; Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5433, NARAS
Ina	Hodge	Quinault	4/9/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6784, NARAS
Naomi	Hatfield	Cherokee/Cowlitz	4/15/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6870, NARAS
Lavina	Skultka	Haida	4/25/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6651, NARAS
Marie	Skultka	Haida	4/25/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6650, NARAS

Robert	Fielder	Cheyenne River Oyate	4/27/1925	Tubercular fistula	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6987, NARAS
Theodore	Holden	Makah/Clallam	4/29/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6835, NARAS
Lizzie	Hunts the Enemy	Cheyenne River Oyate	5/1/1925	Tumor	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6929, NARAS
Mary	Nicholas	Inuit	5/4/1925	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6771, NARAS
Oscar	Barney	Klamath/[Paiute]	5/11/1925	Tubercular glands; sent to Carson Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6853, NARAS
Lott	Nesbit	Nez Perce	5/16/1925	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6922, NARAS
Stella	Wyman	Yakima	5/17/1925	Bright's disease	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6727, NARAS
Nicholas	Galishoff	Aleut	5/21/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 87, Folder 6246, NARAS
Violet	Skultka	Haida	6/1/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6649, NARAS
Pearl	Moto	Inuit	6/8/1925	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6438, NARAS
Pearl	Mancell [Muto]	Inuit	6/9/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 516, NARAS

					[Might be same as above]
Pearl	Mots	Inuit	6/9/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	P2008, 532, NARAS
Alma	Bendixen	Alaska Native	6/10/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6424, NARAS
Floyd	Parazoo	Klamath	6/10/1925	Tuberculosis	P2008, 516; Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6430, NARAS
Aaron Alexander	Johnson	Alaska Native	7/14/1925	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5829, NARAS
Alvin	Stensgar	Coeur d'Alene	7/15/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6891, NARAS
Gabriel	Stepetin [Kochergin]	Aleut	7/29/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6442, NARAS
John	Hopoff	Aleut	7/30/1925	Hemorrhage	Chemawa Student Files, Box 101, Folder 7075, NARAS
Zelma	McGuire	[Wailaki]	10/11/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6798, NARAS
Raymond	Kirk	Klamath	12/1/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7268, NARAS
Mary	Andrew	Flathead	12/22/1925	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort	P2008, 540, NARAS

				Spokane Sanatorium	
Marie	Roberts	Klamath	12/22/1925	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7180, NARAS
Arthur	Lowell	Inuit	1/21/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6038, NARAS
Gladys	Wilson	Klamath	2/17/1926	Unknown	P2008, 564; Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7178, NARAS
Robinson	Peratrovich	Tlingit	2/18/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6761, NARAS
Tillie [Matilda]	Deputee	Crow	3/7/1926	Tuberculosis	P2008, 518; Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6582, NARAS
Wilson	Whitefoot	Yakima	3/8/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 79, Folder 5787, NARAS
James	Kow	Inuit	3/19/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5525, NARAS
Albert	Desautel	NTL	3/20/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7258 in Abraham Edward, NARAS
Abraham	Edward	Colville	3/20/1926	Tuberculosis	P2008, 565; Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 104, Folder 7258, NARAS
Frank	Benjamin	Inuit	3/21/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5580, NARAS
Cornelius	Tawatoy	Cayuse	3/26/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6758, NARAS
Alice C.	Collins	Aleut	4/5/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7359, NARAS
James	La Roque	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	4/19/1926	Tubercular bone; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 103, Folder 7250, NARAS
Florence	Pitt	Pit River/Wasco	4/29/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6973, NARAS
Helmer	Ute	Shoshone	5/3/1926	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6864, NARAS
Edith	Jack	Klamath	5/13/1926	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 5989, NARAS
Lenora	Logdsen	Umpqua/Siletz	5/13/1926	Pleurisy/tuberc ulosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7338, NARAS
Caroline	Sitton	Grand Ronde	5/13/1926	Tubercular glands; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105,

					Folder 7328, NARAS
Louie	Skullnah	Flathead	5/13/1926	Tubercular glands; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	P2008, 552; Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6980, NARAS
Harry	Louie	Colville	5/20/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6909, NARAS
Leona	Logsdan	Siletz	5/23/1926	Unknown	P2008, 568, NARAS
Joseph	Lucei [Sitwell]	Yakima	5/24/1926	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7373, NARAS
Sadie	Kalama	Nisqually	5/26/1926	Tubercular glands; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6740, NARAS
Marie	Morgan	Blackfeet	5/26/1926	[Tuberculosis]	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7405, NARAS
Stella	Bolster	Nakota	6/1/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6542, NARAS
Alice	Potts	[Maidu]	6/1/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6367, NARAS
Martin	Highbackbone	Fort Peck Oyate	6/2/1926	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 91, Folder 6483, NARAS
Thomas	Bushman	Yakima	6/7/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 100,

					Folder 7055, NARAS
Florence Geneva	Ray	Colville/Flathead	6/9/1926	Influenza/glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7288, NARAS
Jane	Littlelight	Northern Arapaho	6/11/1926	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 103, Folder 7213, NARAS
Eli	Spencer	Hupa	6/12/1926	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6819, NARAS
Sophia Mary	Paul	Coeur d'Alene	7/2/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5956, NARAS
Lena	Eyle	Yakima/Cowlitz	7/5/1926	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6010, NARAS
Ada	Noseep	Shoshone	7/13/1926	Tubercular glands; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6876, NARAS
Agnes	Orr	Colville	7/21/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6655, NARAS
Mary	Minard	Klamath	7/29/1926	Convulsions	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7182, NARAS
Bert	Kow	Inuit	8/1/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5524, NARAS
Emma	Escholt	Inuit	8/17/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 94, Folder 6683, NARAS
Velma	Fred	Pomo	9/23/1926	Tubercular glands; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6301, NARAS
Ray	Smith	Alaska Native	9/23/1926	Glands; sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6413, NARAS
David	Conner	Nez Perce/Cayuse	9/24/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5632, NARAS
Florence	Lambert	Coos/Alsea	10/11/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7126, NARAS
Agnes	Hansen	Pomo	10/19/1926	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 88, Folder 6302, NARAS
Viola	Gay	Spokane	11/3/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7314, NARAS
Margaret	Baughman	Flathead	11/4/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6778, NARAS
Frances	Paul	Blackfeet	11/12/1926	Fainting	Chemawa Student Files, Box 107, Folder 7496, NARAS
Mariam	Packineau	Gros Ventre/Arikara	11/22/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7145, NARAS

Edwin	Edsall	Cherokee/Tulalip	11/23/1926	Unknown	P2008, 574, NARAS
Maggie	Sutton	Tsimshian/Nisqually	11/23/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4402, NARAS
Isabel	Nomee	Rocky Boy Cree/Chippewa	11/29/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 103, Folder 7206, NARAS
Lawrence	Smith	Umpqua/Klickitat	12/1/1926	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6969, NARAS
George Harrison	Pitt	[Warm Springs]	12/9/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7761, NARAS
Henry	Pitt	Warm Springs	12/9/1926	Unknown	P2008, 582, NARAS
Blanche	Pete	Chehalis	12/10/1926	Eyes	P2008, 583, NARAS
Wallace	Hatch	Snohomish	1/1/1927	Mastoid operation; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7663, NARAS
Thomas	Weaver	Inuit	1/2/1927	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	P2008, 454; Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5540, NARAS
Patrick	Martin	Colville	1/4/1927	Tubercular spine	Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7591, NARAS
Reno (Ronald)	Booth	Tsimshian	1/8/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	P2008, 526, NARAS

Lawrence	Beaurais	Flathead	1/12/1927	Unknown	P2008, 574, NARAS
Lawrence [Alphe]	Beauvais	Flathead	1/13/1927	Pericarditis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7522, NARAS
Gerald	Smith	Fort Peck Oyate	1/14/1927	Ear and gland trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7545, NARAS
Harold	Smith	Fort Peck Oyate	1/14/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7546, NARAS
Lucy	Weaselhead	Blackfeet	1/15/1927	Tuberculosis	P2008, 548, NARAS
Aubrey	Shaquanie	Tlingit	1/19/1927	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7667, NARAS
Myra	Frank	Nez Perce	1/25/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7661, NARAS
William	James	Tlingit	1/31/1927	Tuberculosis; Sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5382, NARAS
Roy	Brown	Inuit	2/1/1927	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5526, NARAS
Bert	James	Clallam	2/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7754, NARAS

Francis	Parliament	Colville	2/1/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7440, NARAS
Lawrence	Sisson	Eastern Cherokee [Klamath Falls, OR]	2/1/1927	Pneumonia/ple urisy; pneumonia	P2008, 571; Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7434; Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6590 in Kathryn Sisson, NARAS
Oscar	Queahpama	Warm Springs	2/5/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7637, NARAS
Bernice	Frye	Rogue River	2/14/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7433, NARAS
Allie	Boyd	Colville	2/23/1927	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6212, NARAS
Louis [Louie]	Rickman	Coeur d'Alene	2/24/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7775, NARAS
Alice	Lozeau	Flathead	3/3/1927	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7539, NARAS
Floyd	Miller	Warm Springs	4/4/1927	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110,

					Folder 7634, NARAS
Phillip	Miller	Warm Springs	4/4/1927	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7635, NARAS
Alfred	John	Klamath	5/4/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7410, NARAS
Etrich	John	Klamath	5/4/1927	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7409, NARAS
Finley	Wilson	NTL	5/10/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Myrtle	Manpin	NTL	5/12/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Nellie	Hawley	NTL	5/18/1927	Tuberculosis/P leurisy	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Cassie	Browning	NTL	5/23/1927	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Joe	Perry	NTL	5/23/1927	Influenza; sent to Dornbecker Hospital	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Nellie	Hawley	Nakota	5/25/1927	Tuberculosis following pleurisy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7147, NARAS

Peter	Muller	NTL	5/25/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Elvina	Stacona	NTL	5/25/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Julia	Calfrobe	NTL	5/27/1927	Tubercular intestine	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Kesina	Mishikoff	Aleut	5/31/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 78, Folder 5726, NARAS
Cassie	Browning	Fort Peck Oyate	6/1/1927	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7527, NARAS
Julia	Calf Robe	Blackfeet	6/1/1927	[Intestinal tuberculosis]	Chemawa Student Files, Box 107, Folder 7475, NARAS
Delmer [Delman]	Colegrove	Hupa	6/1/1927	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7740, NARAS
William	Gardipee	Cree/Nakota	6/1/1927	Pleurisy with effusion following pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6945, NARAS
Joe	Parry	Walla Walla	6/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7803, NARAS
Charles	Plummer	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	6/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 100,

					Folder 7030, NARAS
Elvina	Stacona	Warm Springs	6/1/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6905, NARAS
Edith	White Bull [White]	Cayuse	6/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7678, NARAS
Caroline	Avery	Flathead	6/2/1927	Deafness following spinal meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 101, Folder 7111, NARAS
Dora	Gardipee	Cree/Nakota	7/2/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6941, NARAS
Roy	Brown	NTL	7/6/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
John	Nelson	NTL	7/6/1927	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Edith	White	NTL	7/7/1927	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Amelio	Barntheau	NTL	8/3/1927	[Skin]	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Katy	Gartleman	Yup'ik	8/3/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6068, NARAS
Edna	Miles	NTL	9/1/1927	Cold	Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, NP, NARAS
Francis Lee	Mitchell	Nakota	9/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7806, NARAS
Susie	Heart	Arikara	10/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6822, NARAS
James	Edward	Nez Perce	10/3/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7798, NARAS
Albert	Oebis	NTL	10/16/1927	Cold	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Mollie	Cleveland	Fort Peck Oyate	10/20/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7672, NARAS
Alexander	Haldame	Tlingit	10/25/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6654, NARAS
Gilbert	Johnson	Nez Perce	11/16/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7408, NARAS
Dora [Etbol]	Dawes	Crow	11/4/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7337, NARAS
Leo	Cottonwood	NTL	11/12/1927	Tonsilitis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS

Maria	Oakes	NTL	11/14/1927	Cold	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Justin	Saxon	NTL	11/14/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Cecelia	Nomee	Rocky Boy Cree/Chippewa	11/16/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 103, Folder 7205; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
William	Eacobeg	NTL	11/17/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Elinor	Gilham	Blackfeet	11/17/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 107, Folder 7482, NARAS
John	Hocabilarkoff	NTL	11/17/1927	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Ruth	Pete	Cayuse	12/1/1927	Tuberculosis/pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7675; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Phonolia	Van Pelt	Klamath	12/1/1927	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8120, NARAS
Joseph Jr.	Sam	Colville	12/16/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 109, Folder 7584, NARAS
Frank	Mann [Buffalo Man]	Cheyenne River Oyate	12/29/1927	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6603, NARAS
Vivian	McIntyre	Rogue River	1/1/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7804, NARAS
Verna	Gunyah	Tlingit	1/4/1928	Hemorrhage	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7618, NARAS
Sandy	Haldone	NTL	1/4/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Peter	Miller	NTL	1/4/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
William	Covington	Colville	1/5/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7581, NARAS
Loiha	Thompson [Singh]	Kānaka Maoli/Cherokee	1/10/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7839, NARAS
Joe	Wallet [Mallet]	Little Shell Chippewa	1/16/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117, Folder 8099, NARAS
Wallace	Iron	Crow	1/18/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102,

					Folder 7177, NARAS
Peter	Big Hair	Crow	1/23/1928	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6541, NARAS
Eva	Turcotte	Nakota	2/1/1928	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 99, Folder 6931, NARAS
Richard	Matte	Duwamish	2/2/1928	Polio	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7633, NARAS
George #2	Foster	Yakima	2/6/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117, Folder 8091, NARAS
Donald	Wetzel	Blackfeet	2/7/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117, Folder 8086, NARAS
Percy	Rush [Roushe]	Mandan/Gros Ventre	2/15/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7848, NARAS
Frances	Paier	Cree	2/17/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117, Folder 8060, NARAS
Myrtle	Maupin	Cheyenne River Oyate	2/29/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7389, NARAS
Florence	Ross	Arikara	3/5/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117,

					Folder 8087, NARAS
Ruth	Black	Quileute	3/10/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7641, NARAS
George #2	Peratrovich	Tlingit	3/12/1928	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6688, NARAS
Loren	LaClair	Yakima	3/14/1928	Head injury	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6152, NARAS
May	Pepion	Blackfeet	3/19/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6916, NARAS
Florence	Guardipee	Blackfeet	3/30/1928	Operation	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7875, NARAS
Douglas	George	Washoe	4/1/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 116, Folder 7976, NARAS
Florence	Grazier	Cheyenne River Oyate	4/1/1928	Tubercular bone	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8147, NARAS
Stella	Iron	Crow	4/2/1928	Tuberculosis following pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7176, NARAS
Joseph	George	Nez Perce	4/18/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7809, NARAS

Earl	Hassen [Thompson]	Blackfeet	6/1/1928	Not strong	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7690, NARAS
Samuel	Hoptowit	Yakima	6/1/1928	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7791, NARAS
Helen	Stone	Klamath	6/1/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6874, NARAS
George	Cavyell	Modoc/Sioux	7/1/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 115, Folder 7959, NARAS
Helen	Champagne	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	7/1/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7828, NARAS
Joseph	Running Crane	Blackfeet	7/1/1928	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7901 in William Runnign Crane, NARAS
William	Running Crane	Blackfeet	7/1/1928	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7901, NARAS
Olive	Morigeau	Flathead	7/7/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 115, Folder 7944, NARAS
Lorene	Peone	Colville	7/23/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 110, Folder 7612, NARAS
Anna	Peone	Flathead or Colville	7/23/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 115, Folder 7949, NARAS
Walter	Hatfield	Cherokee/Cow litz	7/31/1928	Epilepsy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6858, NARAS
Mary	Poitra	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	7/31/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 107, Folder 7462, NARAS
Leona #2	Paul	Blackfeet	8/2/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7360, NARAS
Pauline	Doney	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	8/13/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7847, NARAS
Irene	Spotted Eagle	Blackfeet	8/21/1928	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7896, NARAS
Annie	Belcour	Rocky Boy Chippewa	9/12/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 64, Folder 4868, NARAS
Cecelia	Winishut	Warm Springs	12/1/1928	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6903, NARAS
Delbert	Hoffer	Grand Ronde/Yakima	12/13/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121,

					Folder 8291, NARAS
Rosella	Leno	Grand Ronde	12/13/1928	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8277, NARAS
Blanche	Montgomery	Karuk	1/5/1929	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 119, Folder 8178, NARAS
Lois	Jenks	Yakima	1/31/1929	Rheumatism	Chemawa Student Files, Box 116, Folder 8002, NARAS
Ronald	Leask	Haida	2/15/1929	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7858, NARAS
James [Jim]	Whitegress	Blackfeet	2/18/1929	Paralyzed from football injury	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7509, NARAS
Catherine	Queahpama	Warm Springs	3/2/1929	Hemorrhage following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7646, NARAS
Ollie	Kelly	Yakima	5/1/1929	Recovering from appendectomy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6616, NARAS
Regina	Zachariah [Basil]	Coeur d'Alene	5/15/1929	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7835, NARAS
Louise	Running Wolf	Blackfeet	5/20/1929	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108,

					Folder 7502, NARAS
Lester	Jim	Wasco/Klickit at	6/1/1929	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8279, NARAS
Elizabeth	Thompson	Warm Springs	6/1/1929	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8338, NARAS
Annie	Wahpipe	Yakima	6/1/1929	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 116, Folder 8010, NARAS
Elsie	French	NTL	6/2/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Ft. Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Joseph	Absolum	Inuit	6/3/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6451, NARAS
Edgar	Desautel	Colville	6/3/1929	Tubercular glands; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6201, NARAS
Eddie	Grimes	Smith River	6/3/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7714, NARAS
John	Toontot	Yakima	9/3/1929	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 119, Folder 8161, NARAS
John	Karabelnikoff	Aleut	9/30/1929	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6461, NARAS

Leo Leonard	Brown	Blackfeet	10/3/1929	Typhoid fever; homesick	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8441, NARAS
Edna	French	Yakima	10/18/1929	Epilepsy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 116, Folder 8000, NARAS
Earl	James	Quinault	10/25/1929	Epilepsy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8123, NARAS
Sarah	Harrison	Nez Perce	10/29/1929	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8374, NARAS
Juanita	Olin	Koyukon	11/18/1929	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6446, NARAS
Jesse	Kipp	Nez Perce	11/19/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7733, NARAS
Edith	Riggs	Grand Ronde	11/24/1929	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8293, NARAS
Jessie F.	Wilson	Nakota/Yankton	11/30/1929	Tuberculosis following pleurisy; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7679, NARAS
Aaron	Sookum	Tlingit	12/4/1929	Sent to Toppenish Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5669, NARAS

Elida	Hunter	Clallam	12/5/1929	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8490, NARAS
Billie	Shurlock	Nakota	12/10/1929	Nervous affliction	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7300, NARAS
Fannie	Shurlock	Nakota	12/11/1929	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6561, NARAS
Idora	Farlow	Rogue River	12/30/1929	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8134, NARAS
Hilda	Jackson	Quinault	1/3/1930	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6554, NARAS
Alice	Surrell	Eastern Shoshone	1/12/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 125, Folder 8501, NARAS
Ida	Seelatsee	Yakima	1/24/1930	Pleurisy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8157, NARAS
Harry	Archambault	Standing Rock Oyate	2/1/1930	Pneumonia; later died of pneumonia	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1; Chemawa Student Files, Box 116,

					Folder 8015, NARAS
Isaac	Curley	Blackfeet	2/5/1930	VD	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7909, NARAS
Sallie	Stahl	Yakima	2/8/1930	Pleurisy; later sent to sanatorium in 1931	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8484, NARAS
Thomas	Buckles	Nakota	2/16/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 91, Folder 6510, NARAS
Alice Jane	Brown	Coos/Chequa	2/22/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 120, Folder 8255, NARAS
Viola	Dean	Puyallup	2/25/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 127, Folder 8639, NARAS
Amelia	Olin	Koyukon	2/25/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6447, NARAS
Lois	Godawa	Modoc	3/1/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7173, NARAS
Donald	Belledoux	Blackfeet	3/19/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8443, NARAS
Una	Oohiho	Fort Bidwell Paiute	4/5/1930	Tuberculosis following pleurisy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122,

					Folder 8365, NARAS
Nancy	Sam	Fort Bidwell Paiute	4/5/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8287, NARAS
Leslie	John	Fort Bidwell Paiute	4/7/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8294, NARAS
Raymond	Kyona	NTL	5/13/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Edna	Mike	Clallam	5/13/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8487, NARAS
Leonard	Purcell	Tulalip/Yakima	5/13/1930	Influenza following typhoid fever; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 127, Folder 8657, NARAS
Asa	Day	NTL	5/26/1930	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
James	Scott	[Tsmishian]	5/26/1930	Tubercular glands; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8131, NARAS
Jeanette	McKay	Umatilla/Cayuse	6/1/1930	Meningitis/pneumonia; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8119, NARAS
William	Penter	Samish	6/7/1930	Stomitis from ulcerated tooth; died within one	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124,

				academic year of leaving	Folder 8452, NARAS
Rose Mary	Smith	Rogue River/Umpqua	6/14/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 128, Folder 8697, NARAS
Lucile	Dorris	Pit River	6/17/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8370, NARAS
Wallace	Brings the Horses	Cheyenne River Oyate	6/18/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 128, Folder 8678, NARAS
Billy	Mayes	Cherokee	6/18/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 128, Folder 8698, NARAS
Edna	Gabriel	Alaska Native	6/30/1930	Sent to Oregon State Tuberculosis Hospital	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6127, NARAS
Margaret	Purcell	Yakima	7/8/1930	Pleurisy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7370, NARAS
Hazel	Swaville	Colville	7/17/1930	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 123, Folder 8394, NARAS
Patsey	Shavanaux	Ute	9/1/1930	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8348, NARAS
Albert	Miller	Tlingit	9/3/1930	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 83, Folder 6013, NARAS
Raymond	Burt	Hupa	9/5/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7837, NARAS
Virginia	Washington	Siletz	9/29/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 115, Folder 7939, NARAS
Nelson (Elson)	Enich	Skagit	10/1/1930	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Pearl	White	Flathead	10/5/1930	Ears; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 105, Folder 7345, NARAS
Newton	Baldy	Hupa	10/10/1930	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 129, Folder 8714, NARAS
Roselda	Jackson [Turner]	Pit River/Modoc/Paiute	11/1/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8843, NARAS
Florence	Underwood	Yakima	11/1/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 104, Folder 7301, NARAS
Etta	Eagleman	Northern Shoshone	11/2/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 121, Folder 8320, NARAS

Edna	Birdinground [Birds in Ground]	Crow	11/3/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8819, NARAS
Sallie	Emett	Yakima	11/18/1930	Heart	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6729, NARAS
Elson	Enick	Skagit	12/1/1930	Glands; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8453, NARAS
Iola	Lobehan	Muckleshoot	12/2/1930	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8765, NARAS
Elizabeth	Harrison	Clallam	12/4/1930	Hysteria and heart condition	Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder 8927, NARAS
Harriett	Walks on Ice	Crow	12/18/1930	Homesickness	Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder 8917, NARAS
Falician	Caltomes	Flathead	2/22/1931	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 123, Folder 8397, NARAS
Samuel	Bourgeau	Colville	2/23/1931	Tuberculosis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 129, Folder 8723, NARAS
Felician	Calbomee	Flathead	2/23/1931	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s,

					Box 1, NARAS
Earl Marple	Matt	Flathead	2/23/1931	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 8977, NARAS
May	Plaster	Lummi	2/23/1931	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 126, Folder 8577, NARAS
William #2	Warren	Grand Ronde	2/23/1931	Sent to Cushman Hospital	Chemawa Student Files, Box 135, Folder 9039; CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Josephine	Runnels	Colville/Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/25/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8870, NARAS
George	Clark	Piegan	3/6/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 119, Folder 8206, NARAS
Joseph	Bedard	Colville	3/24/1931	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder 8904, NARAS
Frank	Tecummeets	Bannock	4/1/1931	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 9026, NARAS

Catherine	Chief Allover	Blackfeet	4/4/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 114, Folder 7871, NARAS
Joe	Taquena	Bannock	5/5/1931	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 9022, NARAS
Sarah	Loboben	Muckleshoot	6/1/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8461, NARAS
Clarence	Cavyell	Modoc/Sioux	6/3/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 115, Folder 7971, NARAS
Susan	Pellew	Flathead	7/10/1931	Ears	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8800, NARAS
Idell	Richards	Hupa or Klamath	8/1/1931	Endocarditis following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 129, Folder 8710, NARAS
Myrtle	Williams	NTL	8/13/1931	Eyes	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP
Lorrin Clifford	Jones	Turtle Mountain Chippewa [Colquille, OR]	9/15/1931	Asthma	Chemawa Student Files, Box 123, Folder 8391, NARAS
Lorraine	Walton	Smith River	10/8/1931	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 112, Folder 7762, NARAS

Sherman	Alexander	Umatilla	10/15/1931	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8813, NARAS
Nellie	Walking Bull	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	11/1/1931	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 135, Folder 9049, NARAS
Ruby	Butler	Klamath/Modoc	11/16/1931	Eyes	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9118, NARAS
Eddie	Nampooya	Colville	12/2/1931	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Melvin	Jackson	Quileute	12/5/1931	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8489, NARAS
Louise	Bellique	Chinook	12/8/1931	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8344, NARAS
John	Arnous	Blackfeet	1/8/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8785, NARAS
Irene	Bastian	Quinault	1/13/1932	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 135, Folder 9071, NARAS
Alfred	Obi	Quileute	1/21/1932	Chest condition	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 132, Folder 8893, NARAS
Jack	Tendoy	Northern Shoshone	1/21/1932	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 9023, NARAS
Harvey [Harry]	Monroe	Blackfeet	1/23/1932	Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 138, Folder 9214, NARAS
Woodrow	Ball	Klamath	3/4/1932	Tuberculosis	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1; Chemawa Student Files, Box 122, Folder 8358, NARAS
Lena	Elk	Gros Ventre	3/4/1932	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 125, Folder 8533, NARAS
William Francis	Moore	Lummi	3/13/1932	Pneumonia following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 120, Folder 8223, NARAS
Azilda	Morigeau	Flathead	3/24/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9144, NARAS
Earl	Russell	Northern Cheyenne	4/8/1932	Died at Yakima Sanatorium within one	Chemawa Student Files, Box 137, Folder 9199, NARAS

				month of leaving	
Henry	Wolfname	Northern Cheyenne	4/8/1932	Tuberculosis following influenza; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8744, NARAS
Willis	Ironhand	Northern Cheyenne	4/15/1932	Tuberculosis following influenza; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9133, NARAS
Gus	Rieke [Riecke]	Klamath	5/1/1932	Tubercular peritonitis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 129, Folder 8719, NARAS
Marie	Adams	Burns Paiute	5/4/1932	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 135, Folder 9090, NARAS
Ada	Block	Quileute	5/4/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8482, NARAS
Bruce	McKay	Yakima	5/6/1932	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Dora	McBride	Warm Springs	5/27/1932	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 125, Folder 8504, NARAS
Nellie	Sorimpt	Colville	5/28/1932	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8804, NARAS

Juanita	Norwest	Rogue River/Klamath	6/1/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 9027, NARAS
Angeline	Raymond	Colville	6/12/1932	Tuberculosis; sent to Tacoma Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8867, NARAS
Elery	Leno	Rogue River	6/15/1932	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8763, NARAS
Edith	Beartusk	Northern Cheyenne	7/14/1932	Tuberculosis; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9127, NARAS
Sabastian	George	Swinomish	10/11/1932	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Sebastian	George	Swinomish	10/11/1932	Chest complication following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8887, NARAS
Barbara Carrie	Monroe	Blackfeet	10/24/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 134, Folder 8978, NARAS
Phoebe	Archambault	Standing Rock Oyate	11/6/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8784, NARAS
Bessie Iola	Pachpy	Yakima	11/18/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 127, Folder 8650, NARAS
Robert	Hewson	Tsimshian	12/10/1932	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 128, Folder 8665, NARAS
Bessie	Scitt	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	12/24/1932	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 119, Folder 8166, NARAS
Ignatius D.	Kwina	Lummi	1/8/1933	Glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9109, NARAS
Louise	Adams	Flathead/Coeu r d'Alene	1/9/1933	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 127, Folder 8634, NARAS
Franklin	Hoover	Klamath/Modo c/Shasta	1/9/1933	Kidney or bladder trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 97, Folder 6851, NARAS
Harold	Willis	Klamath	2/17/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8901, NARAS
Leslie	Evans	Klamath	2/24/1933	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7424, NARAS
Dominici	Dog eagle	Standing Rock Oyate	3/1/1933	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS

Lonnie	Weeks	Gros Ventre/Nakota	3/1/1933	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Claire	Sams	Umatilla	3/25/1933	Sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7738, NARAS
Victor	Smith	Warm Springs	4/10/1933	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 136, Folder 9152, NARAS
John	Trottier	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	4/21/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 117, Folder 8045, NARAS
Albert	White	Blackfeet	5/2/1933	Sent to sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder 8954, NARAS
Myrtle	Clairmont	Flathead	5/6/1933	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 138, Folder 9218, NARAS
Freda	Ribaloff	Aleut	5/20/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to Yakima Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8869, NARAS
Bennie	Jones	Klamath/Paiute	6/7/1933	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 127, Folder 8617, NARAS

Naomi	Red Cloud	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/1/1934	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8868, NARAS
Clementine	Hughes	Wailaki/Delaw are	7/1/1934	Tuberculosis of the spine; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 126, Folder 8611, NARAS
James	Billrack	Crow	10/1/1934	Unknown	CH30: Index to "Old" Student Files, Boys, ca. 1900-1930s, Box 1, NARAS
Geneva	Billedeaux	Blackfeet	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 38, Folder 3729, NARAS
Ellen	Bruno	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4763 in Mamie Hancorne, NARAS
Teoter	Charles	NTL	ND	Cancer of the bowels	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 39, 40, NARAS
Effie	Coburn	Klamath	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2587, NARAS
Josephine	Fayas	Kalispel	ND	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4718, NARAS
Sam	Golestin	NTL	ND	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 45, 46, NARAS

Ellen	James	NTL	ND	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 115, 116, NARAS
Cora	Johns	NTL	ND	Died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3252 in Mary Andrews, NARAS
Ruth	Jones	Alaska Native	ND	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4682 in Martha Ivanoff, NARAS
Isaac	Jones	Quileute	ND	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 3985, NARAS
Henry	Lovelace	Cherokee	ND	Unknown	P2008, 190, NARAS
Johnny	NN	NTL	ND	Died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Chemawa Student Files, Box 27, Folder 3252 in Mary Andrews, NARAS
Della	Poland	Coquille	ND	Sent to Oregon Insane Asylum	P2008, 132, NARAS
Osker	Spencer	NTL	ND	Scrofula	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 11, NARAS
Rosa	Walker	Inuit	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6138, NARAS
Martha	Washumps	NTL	ND	Proplaptic Uteri	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 125, 126, NARAS

C.B.	Webster	NTL	ND	Bronchitis	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 125, 126, NARAS
Ann	White	Blackfeet	ND	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 133, Folder 8954 in Albert White, NARAS

Haskell, 1884-1920

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date Left	Cause	Source
Harbert	Lizzard	Southern Arapaho	5/11/1884	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Jimmie	Matches	Southern Cheyenne	5/19/1885	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 78, NARAKC
Nellie	Keokuk	Potawatomi	7/3/1885	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Caleb	Deshane	Shawnee	5/11/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 33, NARAKC
Harry	Hanneno	Comanche	6/3/1886	Later enrolled and died in 1891	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [56], NARAKC
John	Richards	Pawnee	6/29/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Morris	Blackstone	[Southern] Cheyenne	7/1/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Rachel	Rising Fire	Southern Cheyenne	9/15/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 101, NARAKC
Reuben	Miller	Southern Arapaho	2/2/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 81, NARAKC
Helen	Sage	Southern Cheyenne	2/13/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 104, NARAKC
Walter	Spotted Horse	Pawnee	2/21/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC

Mamie	Rouse	Southern Cheyenne	3/13/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Gracie	Wahtan	Southern Cheyenne	3/13/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Calkley	Stafford	Pawnee	4/2/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Owen	Honancheke	Kiowa	4/5/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 55, NARAKC
James	Moore	Pawnee	4/5/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 82, NARAKC
Nellie	Sage	Southern Cheyenne	5/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 104, NARAKC
Mary	Degu	Oyate [White Cloud, KS]	6/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 32, NARAKC
Emily	Bayhyllle	Pawnee	6/29/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 7, NARAKC
Frank	Murphy	Southern Cheyenne	6/29/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 84, NARAKC
Annie	Dickinson	Southern Arapaho	6/30/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 33, NARAKC
Mary	Goodwin	Oyate [Goodwin OK or Cheyenne, WY]	8/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 46, NARAKC
Clarence	Shepherd	Southern Cheyenne	8/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Harry	Face	Southern Arapaho	8/22/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 38, NARAKC
Daniel	Rice	Kaw	8/29/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 100, NARAKC
James	Bent	[Anadarko, OK]	10/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Morris	Oberly	Osage	10/28/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 87, NARAKC
Clinton	Atkins	Pawnee	11/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Sarah	Crow	Southern Cheyenne	11/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 28, NARAKC
Enoch	Yellow Eyes	Southern Arapaho	1/1/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 132, NARAKC
John	Grayhorse	Osage	2/10/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Emma	Brien	Iowa	4/15/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Willis	Joe	Caddo	5/26/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 59, NARAKC
Polly	Kernell	Muscogee	5/29/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 63, NARAKC

Charlie	La Force	Osage	6/13/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 66, NARAKC
Susie	Acton	Potawatomi	7/3/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 1, NARAKC
Amos	Spray	Kaw	7/5/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Julia	Stand	Shawnee	7/5/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Reuben	Taylor	Southern Cheyenne	9/6/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Edith	Cobol [Cobal]	Southern Cheyenne	10/11/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Webb	Hayes	Pawnee	10/31/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 52, NARAKC
Peter	Sioux	Potawatomi	11/6/1888	Later enrolled and died in 1890	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [238]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Smith	Quilly	Southern Arapaho	1/1/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 98, NARAKC
Fritz	Burgess	Southern Cheyenne	1/11/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 18, NARAKC
Willie	Broken Dish	Southern Cheyenne	1/21/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 15, NARAKC

Ester	Buffalo	Southern Cheyenne	3/9/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 17, NARAKC
Nora	Ross	Southern Cheyenne	3/9/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 102, NARAKC
Ben	Carter	Kaw	3/21/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Mary	Reynolds	Southern Cheyenne	4/15/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Julia	Sioux	Southern Cheyenne	4/15/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Maddie	Taylor	Southern Cheyenne	4/15/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Arthur	Fields	Pawnee	5/24/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 39, NARAKC
Eddie	Mingo	Seneca	6/2/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 81, NARAKC
Jesse	Townsend	Osage	6/10/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 119, NARAKC
James	Hayes	Pawnee	6/11/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 52, NARAKC
Cal [Colonel]	Meachem	Pawnee	6/11/1889	Lung disease	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 79, NARAKC
Calvin	Red Wolf	Southern Cheyenne	6/11/1889	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-,

					[138], NARAKC
Major	Smith	Wichita	6/11/1889	Asthma	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Ada	Fletcher	Cheyenne	6/30/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 40, NARAKC
Etta	Reynolds	Southern Cheyenne	6/30/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Simon	Payson	Southern Cheyenne	7/31/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Samson	Kelly	Southern Cheyenne	8/10/1889	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 62, NARAKC
Hattie	Harris	Southern Cheyenne	9/5/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Martin	Williams	Wisconsin Oneida	11/9/1889	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [187]; Haskell LS, Box 156, 419, NARAKC
Thomas	Kemmis	Pawnee	11/18/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Joseph	Morgan	Pyramid Lake Paiute	12/5/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 83, NARAKC
Johnnie	Plake	Chippewa/Muns ee	12/9/1889	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [115], NARAKC
May	Gray	Cherokee [OK]	12/20/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 47, NARAKC

May	Shay	Cherokee [OK]	12/20/1889	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [52], NARAKC
Gertie	Wilde	Pawnee	12/20/1889	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [181], NARAKC
Cilcelia	Doxtator	Wisconsin Oneida	12/26/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 34, NARAKC
Gilbert	Hall	Wichita	2/17/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 49, NARAKC
Gerome	Pokagon	Potawatomi	2/19/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Nathan	Black	Southern Cheyenne	3/7/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC
David [Davis]	Elmer	Southern Arapahoe	3/7/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 38, NARAKC
Thomas	MacKey	Potawatomi	3/9/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [104], NARAKC
Archie	Candsell	Osage	3/20/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 20, NARAKC
Julian	Cedar	Osage	3/20/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Ned	Contester	Southern Cheyenne	4/5/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Richard	Thompson	Caddo	4/5/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC

Fremont	Yellow Mann	Southern Arapaho	4/5/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 133, NARAKC
Lola	Pertfer	Potawatomi	4/22/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [122], NARAKC
Bruce	Cerrie	Ponca	5/13/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Florence	Horn	Southern Cheyenne	5/19/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC
Josephine	Van Horne	Southern Cheyenne	5/19/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Mattie	Howell	Pawnee	6/22/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 56, NARAKC
Sidney	Kilbie	Osage	7/1/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [77], NARAKC
Napoleon	Bonaparte	Shawnee	7/25/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Charles	Louwalk	Pawnee	7/25/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 72, NARAKC
Frank (Inyantanka)	Big Stone	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	8/13/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Harry	Butler (Butter)	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	8/13/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [199], NARAKC
Dessie	Hawkan	Southern Arapaho	9/1/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [66], NARAKC

Frank	Keokuk	Sac & Fox	10/17/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Helena	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	11/5/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [327], NARAKC
Carrie	Deroin	Iowa	11/20/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 32, NARAKC
Rebecca	Hale	Potawatomi	11/20/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [306], NARAKC
Ben	Gun	Ponca	12/1/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 48, NARAKC
Charlie	White Eyes	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	12/22/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
John	Van Horn	Southern Cheyenne	1/20/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, NARAKC
John	Foretop	Ponca	2/23/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [46], NARAKC
Charles	McDonald	Ponca	2/23/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [103], NARAKC
Len	Smith	Mescalero Apache	2/24/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
John	Vandever	Diné	2/24/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Vincent	Oskinway	Potawatomi	3/7/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 88, NARAKC

Bessie	Pendleton	Southern Cheyenne	3/12/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 91, NARAKC
John	Florer	Osage	4/1/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 40, NARAKC
Abraham	Swamp	Wisconsin Oneida	4/7/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [331], NARAKC
Edward	Wabska	Potawatomi	4/28/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 122, NARAKC
Evaline	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	4/30/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 27, NARAKC
Hattie	Watson	Potawatomi	4/30/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Jame P.	Gorman	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	6/10/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 46, NARAKC
Henry	Bozille	Potawatomi	6/20/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 14, NARAKC
Tirzah	Wauquakeshig	Odawa	6/23/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Ellen	Cerrie	Ponca	6/30/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Elsie	Weerner	Southern Arapaho	6/30/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [183], NARAKC
Lucy	Day	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/9/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 31, NARAKC
Luther	Benson	Pawnee	7/18/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [17]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Joshua	Johnson	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/31/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 59, NARAKC
James	Sitting Crow	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/31/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 108, NARAKC
James	Macatee	Odawa	8/2/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [107], NARAKC
Jane (Goney)	Bozille	Potawatomi	8/4/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 14, NARAKC
Jesse R.	Peters	Wisconsin Oneida	8/6/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [127], NARAKC
William	Bronson	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	8/25/1891	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [197], NARAKC
Virginia	Bull	Ponca	9/1/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 17, NARAKC
Sam	Foreman	Shawnee	9/14/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Paul	Walking Sky	Ponca	9/14/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 124, NARAKC
William	Vandever	Diné	9/16/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Paul	Red Eagle	Osage	9/19/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Charles	Bozille	Potawatomi	10/4/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 14, NARAKC
Clement	Roy	Ponca	11/11/1891	Mental trouble	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [133]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Louise	John	Wisconsin Oneida	12/9/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 59, NARAKC
Joseph	Mee Mee	Potawatomi	1/26/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 79, NARAKC
Mary	McMillan	Grand Traverse Odawa/Chippewa	2/1/1892	Mental trouble	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [392], NARAKC
Lizzie	Blue Cloud	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/7/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Lucy	Johnson	Potawatomi	3/10/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 60, NARAKC
Julia	Shaw	Potawatomi	3/10/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Mary	Louis	Odawa	6/4/1892	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [6], NARAKC
Louis	Hunt	Iowa	8/21/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC

John	Black Wolf	Potawatomi	8/24/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Carrie	Stackhouse	Potawatomi	12/23/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Louis	Chingwash	Chippewa [Star City, MI]	1/31/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 23, NARAKC
James	Holt	Shawnee	2/21/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC
William	Wea	Peoria	2/24/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Obit	House	Wisconsin Oneida	3/21/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC
John (Hy-goss)	Alber	Apache	3/24/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 1, NARAKC
John	Heder	San Carlos Apache	3/24/1893	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [33], NARAKC
Hervey	Peairs	San Carlos Apache	3/24/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Alice	Pedonquete	Grand Traverse Odawa/Chippewa	4/25/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Mary	Pedonquete	Grand Traverse Odawa/Chippewa	4/25/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Abe	Lincoln	Pawnee	5/18/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC

Antonio	Biattas	San Carlos Apache	8/31/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Harlow	Miller	Osage	10/9/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 80, NARAKC
Fannie	Jackson	Potawatomi	10/20/1893	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [78], NARAKC
Francis	Jackson	Potawatomi	10/20/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Edwin F.	Lyford	Hopi	10/26/1893	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [50], NARAKC
Thomas	Powell	Southern Cheyenne	12/8/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 95, NARAKC
Solomon	Coon	Odawa	12/22/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Frank	Crampton	Odawa	2/28/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 28, NARAKC
Moses	Webster	Wisconsin Oneida	2/28/1894	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [167], NARAKC
Rosa	Kishgogua	Potawatomi	3/14/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 65, NARAKC
Henry	Nullake	Sac & Fox	3/20/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARAKC
Willie	Kimes	Potawatomi	4/6/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC

Elizabeth	Walker	Potawatomi	4/16/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Felix	Elliot	Caddo	6/5/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 37, NARAKC
Deforest	Antelope	Southern Cheyenne	7/10/1894	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [5], NARAKC
Fenton (Stand Twenty)	Antelope	Southern Cheyenne	7/10/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 3, NARAKC
Hazel	Not Afraid	Ponca	10/8/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARAKC
Arthur	Rose	Shawnee	10/28/1894	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [245], NARAKC
Andrew	Ross	Shawnee	10/28/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 102, NARAKC
Nora	Propeck	Miami	11/14/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 97, NARAKC
James	Slussman	Miami	1/11/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [290], NARAKC
Charles	Spooner	Munsee	1/26/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [150], NARAKC
Osborne	Little Swift	Ponca	2/8/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [47], NARAKC
Walter	Roman Nose	Southern Cheyenne	2/12/1895	Died within one month of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [136], NARAKC

Willie	Watkins	Potawatomi	3/1/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [96], NARAKC
Rosa	Good Traveler	Delaware	3/21/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 46, NARAKC
Alfred	Hawk	Southern Cheyenne	3/31/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 52, NARAKC
Anna	McCoonse	Chippewa/Munsee	4/9/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 73, NARAKC
Minnie	Supernaw	Munsee	4/30/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Cyrus	Standing Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	8/7/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Carrie	Roubidoux	Iowa	9/1/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [205], NARAKC
Leona	Tabbott	Potawatomi	9/21/1895	Eyes	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [101], NARAKC
Zena (Yellow Ball)	Hoag	[Southern] Cheyenne	10/31/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Pat	Seward	Southern Cheyenne	10/31/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 106, NARAKC
Willie	Sharp	Wyandot	10/31/1895	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [103], NARAKC
Benjamin Harrison	Hall	Delaware	11/17/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 49, NARAKC

Henry	Hall	Delaware	11/17/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 49, NARAKC
Arthur	Vandall	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate/Wisconsin Oneida	11/19/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Charlie	Connelle	Sac & Fox	1/9/1896	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Ralph	Green	Iowa	2/5/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [222], NARAKC
Charles	White	Omaha	2/9/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [203], NARAKC
Timothy	Howe	Caddo	2/11/1896	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 56, NARAKC
St. John	Murray	Southern Arapaho	2/11/1896	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 84, NARAKC
Ada	Patterson	Shawnee	2/25/1896	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 90, NARAKC
Pearl	Starr	Delaware	3/14/1896	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Louis	Gordon	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	5/1/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [370], NARAKC
Andrew	Johnson	Potawatomi	5/22/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [364], NARAKC
Charles	Grant	Omaha	6/4/1896	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Eva	Green	Iowa	6/4/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [250], NARAKC
Rachel	Killbuck	Chippewa/Munsee	6/4/1896	Mental troubles	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Peter	Cournoyer	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	6/8/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [324], NARAKC
Otis	Anderson	Kickapoo	6/27/1896	Not well	Matriculation Records, 1885- [87], NARAKC
William	Johnson	Shawnee	8/16/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [273], NARAKC
Charles	Robitaille	Wyandot	10/5/1896	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [23], NARAKC
Clarence	Blace	Southern Arapaho	12/10/1896	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Charley	Melloich	Potawatomi	2/18/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [353], NARAKC
Hugh	Tossitt	Comanche	2/21/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 119, NARAKC
Louise	Muskachaka	Sac & Fox	2/26/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 84, NARAKC
Alice	Price (Sac-se- quah)	NTL	3/12/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [388], NARAKC
Pearl	Starr	Delaware	3/14/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [388], NARAKC

					[343], NARAKC
Hugh	Antelope	Southern Cheyenne	3/16/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [3], NARAKC
David	Owner	Odawa	3/17/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [11], NARAKC
Alfred	Herron	Seneca/Odawa	3/22/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 53, NARAKC
Hugh	Foster	Bay Mills Indian Community	4/19/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [56], NARAKC
Joseph	Washington	Delaware	5/15/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Hannah G.	Clifford	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/20/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [50], NARAKC
Andrew	Beard	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/24/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 8, NARAKC
Homer	Sitting Up	Oglala Lakota Oyate	8/2/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Josephine	Armstrong	Wyandot	9/1/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [25], NARAKC
Edwin	Vix	Chippewa/Muns ee	9/6/1897	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [170], NARAKC
Grace	Merriss [Merrin]	Peoria	12/21/1897	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 80, NARAKC
Guy	Little Axe	Shawnee	1/12/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Benedict	Vandall	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	1/12/1898	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Daniel	Hodgekiss	Wyandot	2/23/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Peter	McCoonse	Odawa	3/1/1898	Injured in accident	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 74, NARAKC
M.G.	Couture	Bad River Chippewa	4/14/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [91], NARAKC
Frank	Smith	Wisconsin Oneida	4/14/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Mary	Zawalk	Potawatomi	4/14/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 133, NARAKC
Lucious	Eldridge	Potawatomi	4/19/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [44], NARAKC
John	Fly	Menominee	4/30/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Jennie	Stan	Southern Arapaho	6/4/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [33], NARAKC
Fannie	Foster	Diné	6/6/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Maggie	Campbell	Oyate [Sacaton, AZ]	6/9/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 20, NARAKC

Julia	La Clare	Potawatomi	6/24/1898	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 66, NARAKC
Jacob [Lacob]	La Motte [La Mott]	Menominee	6/24/1898	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 67, NARAKC
Frank	Mahardy	Shawnee	6/24/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC
William	Spruce	L'Anse Chippewa	6/24/1898	Eyes	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [101]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Moses	Summers	Wisconsin Oneida	6/24/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 34, in Doxtator Louise, NARAKC
Jennie	Starr	Southern Arapaho	6/30/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC [Might be same as above]
Gus	Roubidoux	Iowa	9/12/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Thomas	Skye	Peoria	10/31/1898	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Antoine	Pryor	Osage	11/1/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [157], NARAKC
Albert	Wilson	Southern Cheyenne	11/6/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [257], NARAKC

Anna [Annie]	Lockwood	Laguna Pueblo	12/10/1898	Died at Albuquerque school within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Maud	Hodgekiss	Wyandot	12/26/1898	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [309], NARAKC
Ida	Snow	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	1/6/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Harry	Hand	Crow Creek Oyate	1/10/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Anna	Doughterty	Shawnee	2/22/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 34, NARAKC
William	Barnum	White Mountain Apache	2/24/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Miller	Harlow	Osage	3/28/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, in Winnie Harjoe, NARAKC
Stuart [Stewart]	Jamison	Seneca	4/12/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Bessie	Powderface	Southern Arapaho	4/15/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 95, NARAKC
Melinda	Hunter	Shawnee	4/22/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Hattie	Smith	Southern Arapaho	4/22/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC

George	Frass	Southern Cheyenne	5/2/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [77], NARAKC
Mathew	Seattle	Puyallup	5/11/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 105, NARAKC
Mary	Evans	Potawatomi	6/28/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 38, NARAKC
James	Jandreau	Oyate [March, SD]	6/28/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Amos	La Pointe	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	6/28/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 67, NARAKC
Bessie	Harris	Mescalero Apache	6/29/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [115], NARAKC
Cecil	Doyon	Chippewa [WI]	6/30/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 34, NARAKC
Philip	Halsey	Standing Rock Oyate	7/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 49, NARAKC
William	Holeintheday	White Earth Chippewa	7/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Joseph	Tippencanoe	Diné	7/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 118, NARAKC
Ursula	Padilla	Diné	7/4/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 89, NARAKC
Jouquin	Williams	Cahuilla [Walters, CA]	7/12/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-

					1909, [117], NARAKC
John	Oberley	Osage	8/31/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [156], NARAKC
Franklin J.	Barnes	Shawnee	9/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Robert	Johnson	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	9/1/1899	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 60, NARAKC
Daniel	McDougal	White Earth Chippewa	9/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 74, NARAKC
Thomas	Lyburger	Potawatomi	9/15/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 73, NARAKC
John	Bogle	Potawatomi	9/21/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Hedwig	Chandonnette	White Earth Chippewa	9/22/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Joseph	Swamp	Wisconsin Oneida	9/29/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [9], NARAKC
Martin	Flying Bird	Southern Cheyenne	12/1/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 41, NARAKC
John	Mack	Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla	12/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Caliverio	Quate	Torres Martinez Cahuilla	12/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 98, NARAKC

Obed	Kitto	Santee Dakota	12/23/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [199], NARAKC
Grover	Cleveland	Diné	2/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 24, NARAKC
Norman	Jerome	Chippewa [Walhall, ND]	2/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 59, NARAKC
Jack	White	Northern Arapaho	2/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Joaquin	Williams	Cahuilla [Waltus, CA]	2/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Alexander	Woods	Fond du Lac Chippewa	4/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 131, NARAKC
Minnie	Riley	NTL	5/23/1900	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 147, 319, NARAKC
Mary	Otter	Menominee	6/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 88, NARAKC
Robert	Strike Axe	NTL	6/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 147, 74, NARAKC
Frank	Beaulieu	White Earth Chippewa	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 8, NARAKC
Jane	Frazier	Santee Dakota	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 42, NARAKC
Flora	Lewis	Potawatomi	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC

May	Lustey	Menominee	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 73, NARAKC
Elizabeth	Marmon	Laguna Pueblo	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 77, NARAKC
Lydia	Palmer	Stockbridge	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 89, NARAKC
Ben	Tarbrates	San Carlos Apache	6/20/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Irene	Padilla	Diné	7/10/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 88, NARAKC
Harvey	Cooper	Potawatomi	8/19/1900	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [77], NARAKC
Louis	Pryor	Osage	8/31/1900	Eyes	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [158], NARAKC
Lillie	Reames	NTL	11/10/1900	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 147, 55, NARAKC
Lucy	Beaver	Shawnee	11/16/1900	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [217], NARAKC
Sallie	Hill	Shawnee	11/16/1900	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [217], NARAKC
David	Falls	Sac & Fox	12/13/1900	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [229], NARAKC
James	Frazier	Santee Dakota	5/21/1901	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell LS, Box 147, 126, NARAKC

Hall	Red Nose	Northern Cheyenne	6/10/1901	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Nettie	Hale	Potawatomi	6/20/1901	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 49, NARAKC
Edith	Tourillott	NTL	8/1/1901	Eyes	Haskell LS, Box 148, 256, NARAKC
Petrits	[Falon]	Pueblo [Santa Fe, NM]	8/16/1901	Eyes	Haskell LS, Box 148, 431, NARAKC
George	Hardman	Ponca	9/1/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [189], NARAKC
John	Laforce	Osage	9/1/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [286], NARAKC
Martha	Kapotyah	San Carlos Apache	9/23/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [174], NARAKC
Anna	Godfrey	Santee Dakota	9/25/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [197], NARAKC
Esther	Brien	Iowa	1/1/1902	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Joseph	Clark	L'Anse Chippewa	1/1/1902	Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 24; Haskell LS, Box 144, 30-31, NARAKC
Sam	Ross	Santee Dakota	1/16/1902	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 102, NARAKC
Pearl	Wickens	Potawatomi	2/15/1902	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 128, NARAKC
James	Edick	Menominee	2/22/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [271], NARAKC
Vernon	Lane	Shawnee/Wyan dot	2/22/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [272], NARAKC
Teresa	Jones	Sac & Fox	2/26/1902	Eyes	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [141], NARAKC
John	Cornanican	Menominee	2/28/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [289], NARAKC
Edward	Handley	L'Anse Chippewa	2/28/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Earl	Gladys	Pueblo	3/4/1902	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Charlotte	Givens (Pettrqua)	Sac & Fox	3/10/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [352], NARAKC
Hiram	Good Chief	Pawnee	3/10/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [375], NARAKC
Lizzie	Grey Eyes	Sac & Fox	3/11/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [230], NARAKC
Jose Maguil	Montano	Tohono O'odham	3/12/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [239], NARAKC
Rebecca	Frazier	Santee Dakota	3/29/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [258], NARAKC

James	Brown	Otoe	4/2/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [317]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 16, NARAKC
Mariana [Marion]	Peake	White Earth Chippewa	4/14/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Susan	Selkirk	White Earth Chippewa	4/14/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 106, NARAKC
George	Jefferson	Western Shoshone	4/15/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [174], NARAKC
Phillip	Skenandore	Oneida	4/15/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Joseph	Stone	Red Lake Chippewa	4/15/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC
J.H.A.	Smith	Eastern Cherokee	4/18/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Thomas Jose	Antone	Tohono O'odham	4/21/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [239], NARAKC
Ojino	Flores	Tohono O'odham	4/21/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [241], NARAKC
Concepcion Yitea	Hishtia	Laguna Pueblo	4/25/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [242], NARAKC
Edith	Navarre	Potawatomi	6/27/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [18], NARAKC

Willie	Lincoln	Pawnee	6/30/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [303], NARAKC
Jessie	Hollock	Caddo	7/1/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC
Charles	Crawling	Northern Cheyenne	10/13/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 28, NARAKC
Jesse	Ghost Dog	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	10/23/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Fred	Duncan	Pawnee	11/4/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 35, NARAKC
Robert	Marmon	Laguna Pueblo	11/8/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 77, NARAKC
Jennie	Mason	Pawnee	11/30/1902	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 78, NARAKC
Agnes	Pelky	Ho-Chunk	12/11/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Bruce	Means	Oglala Lakota Oyate	12/29/1902	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 79, NARAKC
Ralph	Jennison	Odawa	1/10/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 59, NARAKC
Robert	Thompson	Quapaw	2/20/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC
Lillie	Pretty Elk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/18/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 96, NARAKC
Robert	Yellow Horse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/18/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 133, NARAKC
James C.	Webber	Munsee	3/22/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Celia	Restoule	[Fond du Lac] Chippewa [Superior, WI]	3/25/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [251], NARAKC
Ralph	Bates	Wichita	4/1/1903	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 7, NARAKC
Edwin	Bob Tail Bull	Northern Cheyenne	4/19/1903	Tuberculosis	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [335]; Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Minnie	Stands Up	Northern Cheyenne	4/19/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [340], NARAKC
Charles L.	Whiteman	Northern Cheyenne	4/19/1903	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 128, NARAKC
Edward	Tall Bull	Northern Cheyenne	5/5/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [338], NARAKC [May be same as above]
Ignacio	Martinez	Jicarilla Apache	5/7/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [2], NARAKC
Jacob	Nehmaise	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	5/14/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [35], NARAKC

Jane	Joe	Ute	5/16/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [237], NARAKC
Lizzie R.	Seaut	Pawnee	5/26/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [53], NARAKC
Josephine	Washington	Pawnee	5/26/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [394], NARAKC
Charlotte	Bracklin	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	6/26/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [35], NARAKC
Charles	Antell	Mille Lacs Chippewa	9/10/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [52], NARAKC
Emma	Restoule	[Fond du Lac] Chippewa [Superior, WI]	11/10/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [251], NARAKC
Alexander	Graves	Red Lake Chippewa	11/13/1903	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [163], NARAKC
Lucy W.	Randall	Oglala Lakota Oyate	1/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [20], NARAKC
Carrie	Muck	Sandy Lake Chippewa	1/13/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [52], NARAKC
Arthur	Grosventre	Northern Cheyenne	1/14/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [338], NARAKC
Della	Test	Kickapoo	4/7/1904	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Mabel West	Scoascia	Wichita	4/20/1904	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 105, NARAKC
Bernice	Welch	Stockbridge	4/20/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [123], NARAKC
Charles	Roughface	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/30/1904	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Alice	[Burr]	[Shawnee]	6/1/1904	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 148, 392, NARAKC
Amanda	Roubidoux	Iowa	6/1/1904	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 102, NARAKC
Bessie	Standing Elk	Northern Cheyenne	6/1/1904	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 113, NARAKC
George	Bear Chief	Ho-Chunk	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [125], NARAKC
Frank	Cadotte	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [13], NARAKC
Sarah	Coon	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [35], NARAKC
Peter S.	Crawford	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [102], NARAKC
Henry	Cross	Leech Lake Chippewa	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [92], NARAKC
Jane	Fox	Pawnee	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [302], NARAKC
Walter	Greenback	Quapaw	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-

					1909, [79], NARAKC
Charles	Hindsley	Ho-Chunk	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [121], NARAKC
Rena	Hindsley	Ho-Chunk	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [122], NARAKC
Harry	Little Moon	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [41], NARAKC
John	Smith	Red Lake Chippewa	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [105], NARAKC
Hannah	White	Pawnee	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [304], NARAKC
Ida	White Spirit	Ho-Chunk	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [69], NARAKC
Walter	Whiteagle	Ho-Chunk	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [124], NARAKC
Daniel	Zawalk	Potawatomi	6/7/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [45], NARAKC
Patricio	Lugo	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	7/1/1904	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 148, 419, NARAKC
Lucy	Veix	Munsee	7/15/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [209], NARAKC
John J.	Jollie	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	9/17/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [96], NARAKC
John	Wallace	Comanche	9/18/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-

					1909, [160], NARAKC
Joseph	Goden [Godin]	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	9/30/1904	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Maggie	Frederick	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	11/21/1904	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 148, 427, NARAKC
Joe	Tsaikopeta	[Kiowa]	12/2/1904	Lung trouble	Haskell LS, Box 148, 144, NARAKC
Lucy	Pritchard	Pawnee	2/4/1905	Tuberculosis	Haskell LS, Box 148, 333, NARAKC
Charlotte	Boone	Quapaw	2/27/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 148, 459, NARAKC
Demorest	Bushy Head	Southern Cheyenne	2/28/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [16], NARAKC
Graham	Swamp	Oneida	3/5/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 156, 417, NARAKC
Emma	Brapeau	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/9/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 83, NARAKC
Moses	Summer	Oneida	3/12/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 156, 417, NARAKC
Joe	Shotwell	NTL	3/20/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 99, NARAKC
Maggie	Navare	Potawatomi	3/22/1905	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 85, NARAKC
Tonay	Locojim	White Mountain Apache	3/24/1905	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Joel	Wheelock	Wisconsin Oneida	3/24/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [89], NARAKC

Irene	Archiquette	Wisconsin Oneida	3/25/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [59], NARAKC
Wesley W.	Barnett	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Willie	Bird	Muscogee	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 151, 101, NARAKC
Charlie	Bruner	[Seminole]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Samuel	Checote	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Taylor	Chissoe	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Sam	Davis	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Bettie	Deer	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
George	Fisher	[Choctaw]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Peter	Knight	[Muscogee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Sallie	Marrs	[Cherokee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Minnie	Metoxen	Wisconsin Oneida	3/25/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [208], NARAKC
Isaac	Nelson	[Choctaw]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Irene	Parkhurst	Wisconsin Oneida	3/25/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [59], NARAKC

Joseph	Polk	[Choctaw]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Moses	Primer	[Choctaw]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Oliver	Running-over-Water	Ponca	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Joseph	Simmer	Muscogee	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Noah	Tiger	[Shawnee]	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Alvey	Yarger	Muscogee	3/25/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Albert	Cooley	White Mountain Apache	3/26/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [233], NARAKC
Mary	Charging	Sioux	3/30/1905	Tuberculosis following influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 22, NARAKC
Bessie	Arch	Eastern Cherokee [Cherokee, NC]	4/3/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [174], NARAKC
Lottie	Boone	Wyandot	4/3/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [216], NARAKC
Rose	Hildebrand	Osage	4/26/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [99], NARAKC
Nellie	Antell	Mille Lacs Chippewa	5/9/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [52], NARAKC
Nettie	Waenod	NTL	5/15/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 493, NARAKC

Arthur	Peters	Crow	5/23/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 51, NARAKC
Emma	Skenandore	Wisconsin Oneida	6/1/1905	Scrofula	Haskell LS, Box 149, 143, NARAKC
Myrtle	Dates	Wichita	6/6/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 210, NARAKC
Jennie	Pike	[Ute]	6/7/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 215, NARAKC
George L.	Regnier	Potawatomi	6/10/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [117], NARAKC
George	[Beshler]	[Potawatomi or Shawnee]	6/13/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 261, NARAKC
[Sister of Sam]	Smith	Seneca	6/22/1905	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 328, NARAKC
Nora	Rider	Pawnee	6/30/1905	Scrofula	Haskell LS, Box 149, 491, NARAKC
Rebecca	Hale	Sac & Fox/Potawatomi [Reserve, KS]	10/11/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [239], NARAKC
Louis	Wimett	Potawatomi	11/4/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [251], NARAKC
Stanley	Rye	Gros Ventre	11/10/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [298], NARAKC
George	Block	Southern Cheyenne	11/16/1905	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [77], NARAKC
Edward G.	Crow	Cayuse	1/4/1906	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [388], NARAKC
Louisa	Zebrick	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	2/28/1906	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-

					1909, [287], NARAKC
Jasper	Long Tail	Crow	3/7/1906	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 21, NARAKC
Hugh	Medicine Crow	Crow	3/7/1906	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 21, NARAKC'
John	Negahnquett	Potawatomi	5/18/1906	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [24], NARAKC
Walter	Dubay	Flathead	8/7/1906	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902- 1909, [267], NARAKC
Amelia	Smith	NTL	3/8/1907	Appendicitis	Haskell LS, Box 149, 30, NARAKC
Miguel	[Valasequez]	NTL	3/12/1907	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 59, NARAKC
Mary	Beale	NTL	3/12/1907	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 149, 57, NARAKC
Antonio	Lucero	Diné	4/4/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 72, NARAKC
Daniel	Arthur	Nez Perce	5/8/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Mamie	Valley	Western Shoshone	5/21/1907	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 121, in Maud Valley, NARAKC
Fannie	Anderson	Crow	6/24/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 2, NARAKC
Grace	Dion	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	6/25/1907	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 33, NARAKC

Leon	Shangreau	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/25/1907	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 106, NARAKC
Myrtle	Levermont	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/1/1907	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Rebecca	Vieux	Kickapoo	8/1/1907	Lungs	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 122, NARAKC
Grace	Wade	Potawatomi	12/30/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 122, NARAKC
Maurice	Chatto	Ft. Sill Apache	1/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Herber	George	Ute	1/1/1908	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Milo	Donohoe	Munsee	2/1/1908	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 34, NARAKC
Albert	Pappan	Pawnee	2/4/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Maggie	Mitchell	Ponca	2/24/1908	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 81, NARAKC
Benjamin H.	Warren [Harrison]	Leech Lake Chippewa	3/7/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 124, NARAKC; Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Norman	Whistler	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/16/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Bert	White Chief	Southern Arapaho	3/16/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Vincent	Binday	Ft. Sill Apache	3/18/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Maggie	Navarre	Potawatomi	3/20/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Paul	Green	Potawatomi	3/24/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Harold	Brabant	Ponca	3/26/1908	Pneumonia following tonsillitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 14, Folder Marjorie Brabant, NARAKC
Marjorie	Brabant	Ponca	3/26/1908	Whooping cough	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 14, NARAKC
Claude	Stanton	Peoria	3/27/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Lucy	Little Chief	Pawnee	4/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Felipe	Garcia	Diné	4/10/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
May	Regneger [Regnier]	Potawatomi	4/21/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Sampson	Bob Tail Crow	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	4/24/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Owen	Gould	Nez Perce	4/30/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Sam	Kip	Nez Perce	4/30/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Albert	Seelto	Chiricauhua Apache	5/8/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 106, NARAKC
Ella	Trudo	Piegan	5/8/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 119, NARAKC
Owen	Gould	Nez Perce	5/15/1908	Pneumonia/lung trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 46, NARAKC; Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
George	Means	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/25/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
William	Picotte	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	5/25/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Mark	Graham	Standing Rock Oyate	5/26/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 46, NARAKC
John	Burt	Ponca	5/29/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 19, NARAKC
Lizzie	Bull Tongue	Crow	6/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 17, NARAKC

Louis	Gassman	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	6/1/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Eugene	Williams	Nez Perce	6/5/1908	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Reuben	Spotted Horse	Crow	6/8/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Frank	Treadsontwo	Ponca	6/8/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Gilbert	Bad [Back] Wound	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Lizzie	Bull Tongue	Crow	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Orrin	Curry	Northern Ute	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Demisio	Gomez	Pueblo [Logan, NM]	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
John	Lynch	Yuchi	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Andres	Montoya	Laguna Pueblo	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 82, NARAKC
Joseph	Yellow Thunder	Ho-Chunk	6/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Charles	Mohee	Otoe	6/29/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 81, NARAKC
John	Moore	Potawatomi	6/29/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
John	Crooked Foot	[Sicangu Lakota] Oyate	6/30/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Otis	Burnett	Potawatomi	7/1/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 18, NARAKC
Felix	Candilaria	Pueblo	7/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Bert	Means	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 79, NARAKC
Julius	Brown	Miami	7/5/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Barney	Cornelius	Shawnee	7/10/1908	Pneumonia/tube rculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 27, NARAKC
Joseph	Sacto	Miami	7/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Martin	Gravelle	[Red Lake/White Earth] Chippewa	7/15/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Nahnnie	Tanequah	Kiowa	7/23/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Charles	Mokee	Otoe	7/31/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC

Henry	Red Owl	Oglala Lakota Oyate	8/4/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Elizabeth	McGeary	Western Shoshone	8/12/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Emma	McGeary	Western Shoshone	8/12/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Julia	Bonga	White Earth Chippewa	8/19/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Nellie	Bungo	[White Earth Chippewa]	8/25/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
John	Cratzer [Crotzer]	Wyandot	8/28/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 28, NARAKC; Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
James T.	Cloud	White Earth Chippewa	9/1/1908	[Tuberculosis]	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 24, NARAKC
James	Thick Cloud	White Earth Chippewa	9/1/1908	Lungs	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 117, NARAKC
Francis	Kitchommie	Potawatomi	10/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 65, NARAKC
Lena	Bearskin	Seneca	10/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 8, NARAKC
Juanita	Chapqua	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	10/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 21, NARAKC
William	Coffey	Fond du Lac Chippewa	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, NARAKC; Haskell CCF, Box 42, Folder 60340 [2 of 2], NARADC
Elizabeth	Dailey	Otoe	10/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 29, NARAKC
Flora	DePutee	Northern Cheyenne	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 32, in Jennie DePutee, NARAKC
Jennie	DePutee	Northern Cheyenne	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 32, NARAKC
Frances	Dick	Yakima	10/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 33, NARAKC
Esther	Kalama	Puyallup/Pit River	10/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 61, in Oliver Kalama, NARAKC
Naomie	Kalama	Puyallup/Pit River	10/14/1908	Hemorrhage	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 61, in Oliver Kalama, NARAKC
Francis	Killbuck	Munsee	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Jeremiah	Killbuck	Munsee	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC

Henry	Wabashaw	Santee Dakota	10/14/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 122, NARAKC
Lizzie	Asah	Kiowa	10/26/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Matilda	Brown	La Pointe Chippewa	10/29/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 16, NARAKC
John	Mackuck	Potawatomi	11/6/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Jesse	Scowlole	Yakima	11/6/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 105, NARAKC
John	Bearskin	NTL	11/9/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 8, Folder Ernest Bearskin, NARAKC
Joshua	Worldturner	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	11/9/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 132, NARAKC
Jonas	Jackson	Eastern Cherokee	11/15/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Carrie	Drapeau	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	11/24/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 35, NARAKC
Andrew	Jackson	Akimel O'otham	11/24/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
James	Baker	White Earth Chippewa	12/1/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 5, NARAKC

Nellie	Besaw	Menominee	12/1/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, Folder Emmanuel J. Besaw, NARAKC
Louis	Sacquat	Kickapoo/Potawatomi	12/1/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 104, NARAKC
Iva	McArthur	White Earth Chippewa	12/7/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 73, NARAKC
Jacob	Fox	Potawatomi	12/8/1908	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Winifred	DeCoteau	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	12/11/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 31, NARAKC
Lydia	Murray	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	12/11/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 84, NARAKC
Emma	White	Bad River Chippewa	12/11/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
John	Kime	Shawnee	12/14/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Max	Wilson	Leech Lake Chippewa	12/15/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 130, NARAKC
Alfred	Barrett	L'Anse Chippewa	12/16/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Louis	Gadoury	L'Anse Chippewa	12/17/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 43, NARAKC

Annie	Hill	Crow	12/17/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 53, NARAKC
Amy [Emma]	Larvie	Cheyenne River Oyate	12/19/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 68, NARAKC
Adolph	Kealer	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate/Shoshone	1/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 62, NARAKC
Julie	Maines	Potawatomi	2/23/1909	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Joseph	Martin	White Earth Chippewa	2/24/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 77, NARAKC
Alice	Thomas	Eastern Shawnee	3/15/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC
Daniel	Hunt	Wichita	5/12/1909	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Ferhua	James	[Wichita]	5/12/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, in Daniel Hunt, NARAKC
Jimmia	Terhua	Comanche	5/12/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Eugene	Cooper	Potawatomi	6/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 27, NARAKC
Joseph	Hart	Nez Perce/Umatilla	6/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Rose	Miller	Delaware	6/1/1909	Tuberculosis	Asst. Superintendent

					to Gilluly, February 28, 1910, in "Students-Haskell, 1909-11 [1 of 2]," in Haskell SCF, Box 21
Dora	Olney	Yakima	6/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARA KC
Frank	Pettit	[Osage or Delaware]	6/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 92, NARA KC
Rachel	Thomas	Munsee	6/30/1909	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARA KC
William	Jackson	Akimel O'otham	8/25/1909	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1907-, [169], NARA KC
Grace	Thompson	[Choctaw]	10/1/1909	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 478, NARA KC
Charles	Lightfoot	Otoe	1/22/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARA KC
John	Bosin	Kiowa/Comanche	2/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 14, NARA KC
Annie	Youree	Diné	2/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 133, NARA KC
William	Chisholm	Fond du Lac Chippewa	3/17/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell LS, Box 150, 335, NARA KC
Fred	Lincoln	Ho-Chunk/Sac & Fox	4/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARA KC

Robert	Molka	[Mescalero Apache]	4/7/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, in Blanche Teo, NARAKC
James	Red Hawk	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/11/1910	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Cordelia	Olney	Yakima	6/1/1910	Arm and health	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARAKC
John	Blackbird	Omaha	6/17/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, Folder James Blackbird, NARAKC
Thomas	Wilborne [Welberne] [Drawing Behind]	Southern Arapaho	6/17/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 128, NARAKC
Paula	Guzman	Kickapoo	6/18/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 48, in Peter Guzman, NARAKC
Peter	Guzman	Kickapoo	6/18/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 48, NARAKC
Frank	Pelerin	Fond du Lac Chippewa	6/18/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Robert	Jay	Plains Apache	8/22/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Gabriel	Aveline	Miami	8/24/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 5, NARAKC

Lucinda	Smith	Little Lake Pomo (Round Valley)	8/31/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Gift	Isaac	Choctaw	9/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57 and Haskell LS, Box 152, 101, NARAKC
Flora [Florence]	Smith	NTL	9/1/1910	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Albert	Keeble	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	9/10/1910	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 62, NARAKC
John	Peter	Choctaw	9/21/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 92, NARAKC
Robert	Armstrong	Piegan	9/30/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 4, NARAKC
John	Kelly	Muscogee	10/12/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 62, NARAKC
Mary	Johnson	[Choctaw]	10/13/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 7, Folder William Bayhulle, NARAKC
Washa	Stover	Muscogee	10/15/1910	Ear and bronchial trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Gabriel	Bruner	[Union Agency]	10/16/1910	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 150, 475, NARAKC
Joshua	Colbert	Chickasaw	10/16/1910	Abscesses/bronchial trouble following measles	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25 & Haskell Student

					Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, in Joseph Colbert, NARAKC
Albert	Darlette	[Union Agency]	10/16/1910	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 150, 475, NARAKC
Willie	Kolata	Muscogee	10/16/1910	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 150, 475, NARAKC
George	Oainter [Painter]	Muscogee	10/16/1910	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 150, 475, NARAKC
Ben	Robinson	Muscogee	10/16/1910	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 150, 475, NARAKC
Daniel	Robinson	Muscogee	10/17/1910	Ear and bronchial trouble; bowel Hemorrhages in 1913	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 101, NARAKC
Henry	McClure	Choctaw	10/26/1910	Pneumonia following typhoid fever	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 73, NARAKC
Lillie	Cochran	Cherokee [OK]	11/1/1910	Constitutionally weak	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Wilbur	Riegert	Bois Forte Band of Chippewa	11/5/1910	Serious injury playing baseball; fractured 7th cervical vertebra	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Willie	Tebe	Muscogee	11/23/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
James	Blackbird	Omaha	12/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Willie	Holata [Holatz]	Muscogee/Semi nole	12/1/1910	Tuberculosis following measles	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Chulma	Roosevelt	Seminole	12/7/1910	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 102, NARAKC
Thomas	Pappan	Ponca	12/16/1910	[Tuberculosis]	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 90, NARAKC
Sampson	Cole	Choctaw	12/21/1910	Tuberculosis; later sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium 1911	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Hoke	Tehee	Cherokee [OK]	12/25/1910	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 116, NARAKC
William	St. Clair	Big Sandy Chippewa	12/29/1910	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 115, NARAKC
Pilot	Billy	Muscogee	1/1/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Willis [Willie]	Hudson	Choctaw	1/25/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 56, NARAKC
William	Upshaw	[Diné]	1/27/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 3, Folder Samuel Anderson, NARAKC
Charles	Eder	Fort Peck Oyate	1/28/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 37, NARAKC
Leah	Factor	Seminole	1/28/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 38, NARAKC
Emma	Simmer	Muscogee	2/8/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Severino	Valdez	Diné	2/13/1911	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 121, in Juan Valdez, NARAKC
Albert	Devorigan	Yakima	3/1/1911	Rheumatism/[tu bercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 33, NARAKC
Richard	Gayton	Ponca	3/3/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Rachel	Pappan	Ponca	3/6/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 89, NARAKC
Edward	Jones	Otoe	3/7/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 60, NARAKC
Fred	Compelube	Choctaw	5/1/1911	Typhoid fever/mastoiditi s	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Amos	Bent	Southern Ute	5/9/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Willie	Holatch	NTL	6/3/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 151, 206, NARAKC
Samuel	Roubideau	NTL	7/1/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 156, NARAKC
Hanna	Small	Crow	7/1/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 34, NARAKC
Lousta [Louise, Louisa]	Harjo	Muscogee/Semi nole	7/27/1911	Kidney trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Louise	Byrd	[Seminole]	7/29/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 152, 410, NARAKC

Isaac	Iron Cloud	Sioux	8/12/1911	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Mary J.	Ishomer	[Choctaw]	9/6/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
John	[Lockwood]	NTL	9/29/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 57, NARAKC
Chona	Mieco [Tiger]	NTL	9/30/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 67, NARAKC
Jacob	Jackson	Choctaw	10/20/1911	Tubercular ankle	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Antonio	Salgoda	Soboba Band of Luiseño	10/30/1911	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 415, NARAKC
Lulu [Lula]	Eskey [Easkey]	Cherokee [OK]	11/7/1911	Pneumonia/meningitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Nellie	Dagenett	Peoria	11/13/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 29, NARAKC
Archie	Mmore	Potawatomi	11/14/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 82, NARAKC
Rebecca	Hale	Potawatomi	11/24/1911	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 49, NARAKC
John B.	Hayes	Choctaw	11/28/1911	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 52, NARAKC
Katie	Benson	Muscogee	12/16/1911	Epilepsy	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC

James	[McEwing]	NTL	1/19/1912	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 153, 204, NARAKC
Waddie	Albert	Muscogee	2/1/1912	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 1, NARAKC
Blanche	Teo	Mescalero Apache	2/12/1912	Pleurisy, possible tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Joseph [Jose]	Flores	Pueblo	3/12/1912	Tuberculosis; sent to Laguna Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Robert	Sheldon	Diné	3/15/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Charley	Hunt	Yakima	3/29/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Lester	Fadden	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	5/16/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 38, NARAKC
Sadie	McIntosh	Muscogee	6/1/1912	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 75, NARAKC
Glen	Stokely	Wichita	6/1/1912	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Lottie	Atsyse	Pueblo	6/21/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Lottie	Atyse	Laguna Pueblo	6/21/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell LS, Box 146, 474, NARAKC
Thomas	Looking Horse	Standing Rock Oyate	8/1/1912	Eyes	Haskell LS, Box 154, 131, NARAKC
Jacob	Toolibites	Yakima	8/29/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 119, NARAKC
Condy	Martinez	Comanche	8/31/1912	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 78, NARAKC
Ida	Jackson	Kiowa	9/6/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Peggy	Bolyn	Cherokee [OK]	9/17/1912	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Fannie	Eaves	Pawnee	9/20/1912	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Gibson	Fife	[Muscogee]	9/29/1912	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 155, 333, NARAKC
John	Shoptese	Potawatomi	10/4/1912	Pleurisy	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Coleman	Bird	NTL	10/9/1912	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 155, 414, NARAKC
Grover	Chisholm	Muscogee	10/9/1912	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 19, in Coleman Byrd, NARAKC
Mary	Burns	Laguna Pueblo	10/14/1912	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 155, 463, NARAKC
Stella	Joseph	Seminole	11/11/1912	Appendicitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 61, NARAKC
Jackson W.	Ellis	Cherokee [OK]	2/17/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 37, NARAKC
Mary	Blandin	Potawatomi	2/22/1913	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Webster	Buffington	Cherokee [OK]	2/24/1913	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 17, NARAKC
George J.	Williams	Yakima	2/24/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Effie	Lena	Seminole	3/10/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 69, NARAKC
Lonie	Foley	Muscogee	4/26/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 41, NARAKC
Matthew	Iron	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/26/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Ethel	Coburn	Klamath	5/26/1913	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Martha	Good Boy	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/1/1913	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Millie	Poor Dog	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/1/1913	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Etta	Saracino	Laguna Pueblo	6/1/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 104, NARAKC
John	Jackson	Muscogee	6/9/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 58, NARAKC
Lala	Harris	[OK]	7/1/1913	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 157, 386, NARAKC
Celia	Hunt	Acoma Pueblo	7/11/1913	Tuberculosis; died within one	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

				academic year of leaving	1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Terry	Roberts	NTL	8/4/1913	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 157, 224, NARAKC
Coleman	Byrd	Muscogee	8/25/1913	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 19, NARAKC
Clarence	Orange	Southern Cheyenne	9/12/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 88, in Frank Orange, NARAKC
Emmett	King	Muscogee	9/20/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Doane	Red Eagle	Quapaw	9/22/1913	Gonorrhoea rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Emily	Wildcat	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	10/1/1913	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 128, NARAKC
Frank	Wildcat	Lac du Flambeau Chippewa	10/1/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 128, NARAKC
Howard	Downing	Caddo	10/3/1913	VD	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 34, NARAKC
John	Harrison	Muscogee	10/24/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Julia	Hernasy	Comanche	10/27/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 53, NARAKC
Tom	Scott	Seminole/Musc ogee	11/1/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 105, NARAKC

Mark	Hampton	Cherokee/Easter n Shawnee	11/7/1913	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Joe	Shobenay	Potawatomi	11/7/1913	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Albert L.	Thomas	Akimel O'otham	11/29/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 117, NARAKC
Mariana	Naranjo	Pueblo [Española, NM]	12/18/1913	Rheumatism following tonsilitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 85, NARAKC
Emma	Wyatt	Kiowa	1/29/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 132, NARAKC
Arch	Christie	Cherokee [OK]	2/1/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 23, NARAKC
John	Kabance	Potawatomi	3/6/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 61, NARAKC
George	Nado	Odawa	3/6/1914	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 85, NARAKC
Albert	Burns	L'Anse Chippewa	3/9/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 18, NARAKC
William	Chisholm	Muscogee	3/13/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 23, NARAKC
Mary	Warrior	Osage	3/14/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Alfred	Wilkins	Choctaw	4/1/1914	Died at Glockner Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

				within one academic year of leaving	1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Eva	Young Hawk	Standing Rock Oyate	5/1/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell LS, Box 159, 412, NARAKC
Myrtle	Pollock	Pawnee	5/4/1914	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Lillian Mary	DeCoteau	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	5/5/1914	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 31, NARAKC
Josie	Gray	Muscogee	5/7/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 47, NARAKC
John	Stevens	Odawa	5/8/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Charles	Scruggs	Cherokee [OK]	5/12/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 105, NARAKC
Angeline	Crow	Seneca	5/19/1914	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 28, NARAKC
Annie	Sunday	Cherokee [OK]	6/1/1914	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Eva	Walton	Cherokee/Easter n Shawnee	7/1/1914	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Kelly	Yellowhead	Muscogee	7/1/1914	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 133, NARAKC
Sam	Wanieh [Wanish]	Acoma Pueblo	7/7/1914	Lungs	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 124, NARAKC

Ida	McGlaslin	Otoe	7/16/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 75, NARAKC
Mamie	Smith	Fond du Lac/Lac Courte Orielle Chippewa [Reserve, WI]	7/22/1914	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Ralph	Pepper	Kaw	10/29/1914	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 92, NARAKC
Lucian	Farnsworth	Kaw	10/30/1914	VD	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 39, NARAKC
Bertha	Bohanah	Choctaw	1/1/1915	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Gladys	Skye	Peoria	1/29/1915	Bronchial breathing	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Thomas	Roughface	Ponca	2/6/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Hugh	Oliver	Wichita	3/3/1915	Died at Sac & Fox Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARAKC
Topsy	Yellowberry	Ponca	5/28/1915	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 132, NARAKC
Frank	Cooper	Kaw	6/1/1915	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 27, NARAKC
Ida	McGlaslin	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	6/1/1915	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 47, in Mary Louise

					Grant, NARAKC
Felix	Pretty Bird	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/21/1915	Tubercular glands; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 96, NARAKC
Topsy	Yellow Berry	Ponca	6/21/1915	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 74, in Laura McDonald, NARAKC
Henry	Cochran	Cherokee [OK]	6/28/1915	Epilepsy	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 25, NARAKC
George	Elders	Cherokee [OK]	7/23/1915	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 37, NARAKC
Harris	Warjack	Northern Shoshone	7/26/1915	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Allen	Hunt	Acoma Pueblo	8/11/1915	[Tuberculosis]	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Osie	Waitie	Muscogee	8/13/1915	Tuberculosis following malaria; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Nellie	Charloe	Seneca	9/2/1915	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 22, NARAKC
Emily	Washee [Rouse]	Southern Cheyenne	9/18/1915	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Kent	Solomon	Iowa	9/27/1915	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Hailman	Whittail	Southern Cheyenne	10/11/1915	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 128, NARAKC
Preston P.	Goulette	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate/Potawato mi	10/24/1915	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 46, NARAKC
Daisy	Furgeson	Chippewa [WI]	11/24/1915	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 39, NARAKC
Frances	Deon	Oglala Lakota Oyate	11/25/1915	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 32, NARAKC
McKinley	Standing	Wichita	12/1/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Samuel	Harlan	Omaha	12/16/1915	Appendicitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Jimmy	Walker	Seminole	12/21/1915	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Elizabeth M.	Berryhill	Muscogee	2/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Vincent	Dennis	Fond du Lac/Lac Courte Orielle Chippewa [Reserve, WI]	2/3/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 32, NARAKC
Naomi	Russell	Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/7/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 104, NARAKC
Julia	Nicholas	Wyandot/Senec a	2/26/1916	Heart trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 86, NARAKC
Cherokee	McCoy	Cherokee [OK]	3/3/1916	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 74, NARAKC

David	Thompson	Choctaw	3/14/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC
George	Sharp	Cherokee [OK]	3/24/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 106, NARAKC
John	Wah-was-suck	Potawatomi	3/27/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Peter	Greenskye	Chippewa [MI]	4/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 48, NARAKC
Effie	Raiford	Muscogee	4/3/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 98, NARAKC
Charles	Bearslariat	Southern Arapaho	4/17/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 8, NARAKC
Clara	Kakkak	Menominee	5/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 61, NARAKC
Rosa	Peacock	Delaware/Munsee	5/8/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Mamie	Bear Bow	Southern Cheyenne	5/10/1916	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 8, NARAKC
Joseph H.	Bellanger	White Earth Chippewa	5/17/1916	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 9, NARAKC
Ida	Harper	Muscogee	6/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Lida	King	Odawa/Peoria	6/1/1916	Pleurisy/double pneumonia; sent	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

				to Colorado [sanatorium]	1920, Box 64, NARAKC
John	Shot in the Nose	Crow	6/1/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Victor	Connors	Bad River Chippewa	7/1/1916	Tubercular glands; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Eva	Tasso	Southern Cheyenne/South ern Arapaho	9/6/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Anna	Hitcher	Cherokee [OK]	11/6/1916	Acute Articular Rheumatism, typhoid fever complication	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Josito	Atole	Apache	11/23/1916	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Elizabeth	Lieb	Omaha	1/1/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Mary	Elkins	Osage	1/24/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 37, NARAKC
George	Haspuash	Wichita	1/24/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Eva	Jones	Kiowa	2/12/1917	Sent to sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 60, NARAKC
Richard	Blackbird	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/1/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Richard	Stover	Wisconsin Oneida	4/1/1917	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, in Chester

					Smith, NARAKC
Sequoyah	Quinton	Cherokee [OK]	4/13/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 98, NARAKC
Lucy	One Star	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	4/19/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 88, NARAKC
William	Stover	Muscogee	4/23/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Chester	Smith	Wisconsin Oneida	4/26/1917	Sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Julia	Chesley	White Earth Chippewa	5/3/1917	Tubercular glands; sent to sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 22, NARAKC
Alex	Turn	Cherokee [OK]	5/9/1917	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 120, NARAKC
Iva [Ivy]	Owens	Cherokee [OK]	5/16/1917	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 88, NARAKC
Lizzie	Gagnon	Bois Forte Band of Chippewa	6/1/1917	Tuberculosis following measles	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 43, NARAKC
Reuben	Stover	Muscogee	6/1/1917	Malaria	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Paul	Valandry	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/16/1917	Accident	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Charled	La Mere	Ho-Chunk	6/19/1917	Lung/VD	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 67, NARAKC

Felicite	LaMoose	Flathead	7/1/1917	[Tuberculosis]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 67, NARAKC
Ida	Moore	[Choctaw]	7/5/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 82, NARAKC
Minerva	Le Flore	Choctaw	7/17/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Eastern Oklahoma Tuberculosis Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 69, NARAKC
Mary Louise	Grant	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	8/1/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Rosa	Tusinger	Wyandot	8/1/1917	Insantiy	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 120, NARAKC
Agnes	Alexander	Seminole	8/23/1917	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 1, NARAKC
Vincenti	Laell	[Jicarilla Apache]	8/25/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 90, in Joe Paseta, NARAKC
Joe	Paseta	Jicarilla Apache	8/25/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 90, NARAKC
Zack	Smith	Ponca	9/3/1917	Eyes and bronchial roughness	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 110, NARAKC
Pearl	Glenn	Crow	10/17/1917	Hysterical after appendicitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Angeline	Morigeau	Kootenai	12/11/1917	Kidney trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 83, NARAKC

Mary	Randall	Nakota	12/26/1917	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 98, NARAKC
Marie	King	Oneida/Cherokee	1/1/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Jennie	Lingletten	Bois Forte Chippewa	1/12/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Ishtia	Via	Jicarilla Apache	2/25/1918	Tuberculosis following German measles; sent to sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 122, NARAKC
Jacob	Lewis	Cherokee [OK]	3/18/1918	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Walter	Soocey	Potawatomi/Cherokee	4/1/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 111, NARAKC
Simon	Williams	Nez Perce	4/3/1918	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 130; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 83, in James Morris, NARAKC
Tonner	White Deer	Ponca	4/6/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza; died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Irene	Choate	Choctaw	4/7/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 23, NARAKC
Naomi	Choate	Choctaw	4/7/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 23, in Naomie

					Choate, NARAKC
Rachel	Greeley	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	4/9/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 47, NARAKC
Nellie	Roughface	Ponca	4/9/1918	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza; sent to sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 103, NARAKC
Mary	Sargent	Caddo	4/11/1918	[Tuberculosis]	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 104, NARAKC
James	Morris	Nez Perce	4/13/1918	Hemorrhage	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 83, NARAKC
Nancy	Hopper	Cherokee [OK]	4/16/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 55, NARAKC
Adelaide	Williams	Kickapoo/Potaw atomi	4/17/1918	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Wendell Geo	Williams	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/1/1918	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 130, NARAKC
John	Zhuck-Kah-o- See	Kickapoo/Potaw atomi	5/6/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 133, NARAKC
Josephine	Pryor	Osage	5/8/1918	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 97, NARAKC
Zoe	Leeds	Kul Wicasa Oyate	6/1/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 69, NARAKC
Louisa	McLemore	Cherokee [OK]	6/1/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 75, NARAKC

Mary	Wistar	Odawa	6/13/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 131, in Willis Wister, NARAKC
Charles	McLane	Delaware	7/7/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 75, NARAKC
Theodore	Eagle Chief	Pawnee	7/25/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Aurelia	Porter	Nambé Pueblo	8/31/1918	Heart lesion and rheumatism; died at Albuquerque Indian School within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Maggie	Reese	Cherokee [OK]	9/6/1918	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Mary	Watson	Choctaw	9/10/1918	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Erna	Brisk	Menominee	10/1/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Elsie	Price	[Chippewa]	10/11/1918	Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 96, NARAKC
James B.	Dailey	Otoe	10/15/1918	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 29, NARAKC
Alice	Eagle Bear	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	11/1/1918	Tubercular glands following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Clarence	White	Southern Cheyenne	11/5/1918	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Vera	Shangreau	Oglala Lakota Oyate	11/7/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 106, NARAKC
William	Vann	Cherokee [OK]	11/8/1918	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 121, NARAKC
Noah	Black Horse	[Southern Cheyenne or Arapaho]	11/13/1918	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Clarence	Nightpipe	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	11/26/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 86, NARAKC
Norman	Loco	Chiricauhua Apache	12/2/1918	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Nellie	Bills	Potawatomi	1/1/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Amelia	Skenandore	Oneida	1/17/1919	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Julia	Thunder Hawk	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	1/20/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 118, NARAKC
William	Harrison	Southern Arapaho or Cheyenne	3/26/1919	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Jesse	Wind	Muscogee	4/5/1919	Lungs	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 130, NARAKC
Jennie	Keef	[Pokagon Band of Potawatomi]	4/12/19	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 62, NARAKC

John	Lucero	Jicarilla Apache	4/28/1919	Tubercular pleurisy	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 72, NARAKC
Christian	Hansel	[Southern Cheyenne or Arapaho]	4/29/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Lucy	Williams	Ponca	4/29/1919	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Hiawatha [Hie]	Coleman	White Earth Chippewa	5/3/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Ada	Powless	Wisconsin Oneida	6/1/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 95, NARAKC
Albert	Sorelle	Fort Hall Shoshone	6/1/1919	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 111, NARAKC
George	Tahdoohnippan	Comanche	6/1/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 115, NARAKC
Willie	Cooley	White Mountain Apache	6/13/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Eunice	Eagle	Ponca	6/13/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Dora	Brown	Ho-Chunk	6/18/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Pearl	High Eagle	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/30/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 53, NARAKC
Isabell	Thacker	Diné	7/1/1919	1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Lee	Anderson	Piegan	7/30/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 2, NARAKC
Joseph	Colbert	Choctaw	8/8/1919	Sent to Choctaw- Chickasaw Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Jessie	Hale	Potawatomi	9/10/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 49, in Louis Hale, NARAKC
Neal	Little Chief	Kiowa	9/25/1919	VD	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Zoie [Zoye]	Monroe	Oglala Lakota Oyate	10/1/1919	Rheumatism	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 82, NARAKC
Minnie	Muggins	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	10/2/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 84 and Folder Ollie Muggins, NARAKC
Charles	Barlesse	Fort Bidwell Paiute	10/19/1919	Tubercular glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Joseph	Summers	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	10/23/1919	Measles/1918 Influenza/abcess of ear	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 114, NARAKC
Ellen	Mason	Sac & Fox	10/30/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 78, NARAKC
Hattie	Mason	Sac & Fox	10/30/1919	Eyes	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 78, NARAKC
George	Hanita	Walapai	11/11/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Josephine	St. Arneaud	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	11/24/1919	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 115, NARAKC
Nora	Frank	Muscogee	12/23/1919	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 42, NARAKC
Leaster [Lesta]	Knight	Muscogee	1/16/1920	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 65, NARAKC
Irene	Hardy	Seneca	1/18/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Sac & Fox Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Henry	Lieb	Omaha	1/30/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Sandy	Larney	Seminole	2/24/1920	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 67, NARAKC
Mary	Sixkiller	Cherokee [OK]	3/1/1920	Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 109, NARAKC
Louis	Hale	Potawatomi	3/26/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 49, NARAKC
Frances	Leslie	[Flathead]	3/28/1920	Nervous affliction	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 69, NARAKC
Julia	Stone	Blackfeet	4/8/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Katherine [Grace]	Spooner	Munsee	5/21/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 112, NARAKC

Rosia	Blue Back	Ponca	6/1/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Ada	McCurtain	Choctaw	6/1/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 74, NARAKC
Josephine	Thomas	Kickapoo/Potaw atomi	6/1/1920	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC
Edith	Sitting Bear	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/18/1920	Pneumonia following influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 108, NARAKC
John	Harper	Mojave	6/24/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Harry	Lakota	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/5/1927	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 66, NARAKC
Jerome	Church	Fond du Lac Chippewa	5/24/1928	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 24, NARAKC
John	Bogel	Potawatomi	ND	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [25], NARAKC
Julius	Brien	Iowa	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Augustine	Cedar	Osage	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 21, NARAKC
John	Gibson	Shawnee	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Thomas	Kernell	Muscogee	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Edward	Mann	Pawnee	ND	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [237], NARAKC
Sophie	Sitting Crow	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	ND	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [158], NARAKC
Step toe	Sitting Crow	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Miles	Standish	Mescalero Apache	ND	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 113, NARAKC

Perris/Sherman, 1893-1934

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date Left	Cause	Source
Antonio	Garcia	Luisseño	11/12/1894	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:26, Sherman Indian Museum
Virginia	Calac	Luisseño	11/18/1894	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:20, Sherman Indian Museum
Louisa	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luisseño	11/12/1896	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:54, Sherman Indian Museum
Jose M.	Williams	Torrez-Martinez Cahuilla	12/23/1896	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:48, Sherman Indian Museum
Ventura	Saubel	Cahuilla	5/31/1897	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:46, Sherman Indian Museum
Mary	Guavish	[Pechanga Band of Luisseño]	9/1/1897	Injured by runaway [team]	Perris Registration Ledger 2:159, Sherman Indian Museum
James	Morongó	Morongó Band Serrano	10/2/1897	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:1, Sherman Indian Museum
Martina	Lechuza	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	1/3/1898	Weak minded	Perris Registration Ledger 2:10, 162, Sherman Indian Museum
Unknown	Unknown	NTL	2/1/1899	Unknown	Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, [February 18,

					1899], 90, Perris LS, Box 42, NARAR
Florence	Ringlero	Cahuilla	10/6/1900	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:70-71, Sherman Indian Museum
Matilda	Morongo	Morong Band of Mission Indians [Serrano]	11/3/1900	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:70-71, Sherman Indian Museum
Fernando	Pachita	Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:62-63, Sherman Indian Museum
Julio	Tortes	Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:64-65, Sherman Indian Museum
Maggie	Ward	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:72-73, Sherman Indian Museum
Adella	Calac	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/29/1900	Heart	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, 149, Sherman Indian Museum
Maggie	Cabrillos	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/29/1900	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, Sherman Indian Museum
Nadia	Arzo	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	12/15/1900	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, Sherman Indian Museum
Filomena	Amago	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	12/24/1900	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, Sherman Indian Museum

Lebrado	Peenao	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	1/5/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:64-65, Sherman Indian Museum
Joe	Couso	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	1/13/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:60-61, Sherman Indian Museum
Hypolite	Chiavadoro	Morongo Band of Mission Indians [Serrano]	1/28/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:58-59, Sherman Indian Museum
James	Pico	San Luis Rey/Tule River	2/4/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:74-75, Sherman Indian Museum
Nicandro	Gomez	Rincon Band of Luiseño	2/15/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:60-61, Sherman Indian Museum
Felipe	Guavish	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	3/5/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:60-61, Sherman Indian Museum
Flora	Mora	Agua Caliente Cupeño	3/15/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:72-73, Sherman Indian Museum
Ambrosia	Lechuza	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	3/29/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:68-69, Sherman Indian Museum
Annie	Morongo	Morongo Band of Mission Indians [Serrano]	3/30/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:70-71, Sherman Indian Museum
Amelia	Sobenes	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	4/5/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:70-71,

					Sherman Indian Museum
Terdoseo	Couso	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	4/15/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:60-61, Sherman Indian Museum
Julian	Oakrillas	Rincon Band of Luiseño	6/1/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:58-59, Sherman Indian Museum
Cristina	Mojada	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	6/12/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:72-73, Sherman Indian Museum
Marie	Lechuza	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	6/15/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:68-69, Sherman Indian Museum
Leonardo	Oakrillas	Morongo Band of Mission Indians [Luiseño]	6/20/1901	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:58-59, Sherman Indian Museum
Miguel	Williams	Walters Serrano	9/1/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:84-85, Sherman Indian Museum
Zella	Niell	Akimel O'otham	9/11/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:90-91, Sherman Indian Museum
Cecelia	Dickey	Tejon	10/21/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:86-87, Sherman Indian Museum
Clandina	Nolasquez	Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla and Cupeño Indians	11/5/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:90-91, Sherman Indian Museum

John	Estrada	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	11/20/1901	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Thomas	Fedelio	Agua Caliente Diegueño	12/16/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Nettie	St. Marie	Morongo Band of Mission Indians [Serrano]	12/28/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:92-93, Sherman Indian Museum
Pastor	Garcia	Riverside Luiseño	12/28/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Mariano	Blacktooth	Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla and Cupeño Indians	1/2/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:76-77, Sherman Indian Museum
Adelina	Arenas	Cahuilla	1/6/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:86-87, Sherman Indian Museum
Hypolite	Escallier	Oak Grove Luiseño	1/10/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Joe	Guatelias	Morongo Band of Mission Indians [Serrano]	1/11/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:96-97, Sherman Indian Museum
Marie	Guavish	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	1/11/1902	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:88-89, Sherman Indian Museum
Deda	Costo	Cahuilla	1/12/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:86-87,

					Sherman Indian Museum
Sovada	Contreras	Casa Blanca Luiseño	1/12/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:94-95, Sherman Indian Museum
Pio	Martos	San Manuel Band of Mission Indians	1/28/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:80-81, Sherman Indian Museum
Antonio	Lubo	Cahuilla	2/25/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:96-97, Sherman Indian Museum
Lorenzia	Nickolas	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	4/1/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:90-91, Sherman Indian Museum
Viviana	Osuna	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	6/30/1902	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:92-93, Sherman Indian Museum
Clemente	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	9/15/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:200-201, Sherman Indian Museum
Filomena	Soberano	Pala Band of Luiseño	9/15/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:208-209, Sherman Indian Museum
Louisa	Subish	Rincon Band of Luiseño	9/15/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:208-209, Sherman Indian Museum
Willie	Smith	[Luiseno] Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	9/15/1902	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:200-201, Sherman Indian Museum

Alphonsa	Nassaria	Tule River	3/16/1904	Tuberculosis	Sherman LR, Box 53, NP, NARAR
Madeline	Alves	NTL	12/7/1904	Typhoid fever	Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, 356-358, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR
Veranda	Alves	NTL	12/7/1904	Typhoid fever	Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, 356-358, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR
Louise	Estrada	Mission	12/7/1904	Typhoid fever	Parker to Hall, December 7, 1904, 356-358, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR
Bertha	Barber	[Bayles, CA]	12/21/1904	Consumption	Harwood Hall, Supt. to The Honorable, The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1904, 370, in Sherman LS, Box 42, NARAR
Majel	Barbara	Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians	1/1/1905	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:68-69, Sherman Indian Museum
Stokes	Canillia	[Luiseno] Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	1/1/1905	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:72-73, Sherman Indian Museum
Martinez	Jim	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/1/1905	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:62-63, Sherman Indian Museum

Antonio	Jose	Cahuilla	1/1/1905	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:42, Sherman Indian Museum
Despiesta	Victoria	Rincon Band of Luiseño	1/1/1905	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, Sherman Indian Museum
Merill	Evelyn	NTL	4/12/1905	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1929 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Patty	Gabriel	NTL	4/12/1905	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1929 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Lillian	Touyewansis	NTL	4/12/1905	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1929 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Brown	Jerry	NTL	4/13/1905	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1930 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Estrantzso	Sarah	NTL	4/13/1905	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1930 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Escalante	William	NTL	4/13/1905	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1930 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Napa	Woody	NTL	4/13/1905	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 00-1930 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Thomas	Antone	Akimel O'otham	3/23/1906	Lungs	107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-

					9/13/1909, 126, NARAR
Belle	Jones	[San Carlos Apache]	5/17/1906	Unknown	107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, 128, NARAR
Louisa	Mack	Akimel O'otham	12/30/1906	Tuberculosis	107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, 149, NARAR
Angel	Calac	Rincon Band of Luiseño	1/1/1907	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one month of leaving 1917	Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR
Freddy	[Not-woon-tewa]	Hopi	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Santor	Alvarez	Mission	5/7/1908	Empyema; sent to County Hospital	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Stanley	Brown	Pomo	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Marie	Gabriel	Mission	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Carl	Geffe	[Inloot]	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis; sent to County Hospital	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Illeg.	Illeg.	Mission	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
May	Jarmillo	Mission	5/7/1908	Hip joint disease	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
James	Lloyd	Mission	5/7/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Haska	Bancroft	NTL	8/19/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market

					Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Modge	Hoopi	NTL	8/30/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Roy	Seyueretewa	NTL	9/16/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Reyes	Lucian	NTL	9/18/1908	Pott's disease	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Rosando	Pajimini	NTL	10/12/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Julia	Fredo	NTL	11/28/1908	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Aurelia	Angel	NTL	12/12/1908	Kidney and Bladder tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases:

					Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Aurice	Dandy	NTL	1/11/1909	Tubercular peritonitis	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Tom	Brown	NTL	2/22/1909	Tuberculosis/ple urisy	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Eliz.	Santiago	NTL	2/22/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Joe	Kie	NTL	3/3/1909	Tubercular glands	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Ammon	Charles	NTL	3/13/1909	Meningitis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Lizzie	San Cheago	Tohono O'odham	3/24/1909	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR
Michael	Anton	Akimel O'otham	4/9/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 11, NARAR
Mark	Sewatewa	Hopi	4/12/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 328, NARAR
Irene	Kinnear	Eastern Shoshone	5/21/1909	Unknown	107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904- 9/13/1909, 210, NARAR
Mina	Hill	Klamath	5/24/1909	Tuberculosis following measles; died at home within one academic year of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs; Sherman Student Files, Box 149, NARAR
Emily	Enos	Shoshone	5/25/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 108, NARAR
Chas.	Armstrong	Seneca	6/5/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 15, NARAR
Lily	Bowen	Sherwood Valley Band of Pomo	6/5/1909	Tuberculosis following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 42, NARAR
Vickie	Burns	Cahto	6/5/1909	Tuberculosis following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 49; Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Amanda	Campbell	Round Valley	6/5/1909	Tuberculosis following measles; died	Sherman Student Files, Box 54;

				within one academic year of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Mark	Hopi	NTL	6/22/1909	Tuberculosis following measles	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Otto	Telasvenia	NTL	6/22/1909	Tubercular bone in hand	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Amanda	Campbell	NTL	7/1/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 52778-1-1909 Sherman Inst. 732, NARADC
Juan [Juanito]	Alvarez	NTL	7/20/1909	Tuberculosis; sent to County Hospital	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Juanita	Lisalda	Soboba Band of Luiseño	11/22/1909	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 210, NARAR
Carmelita	Jaramillo	San Manuel Band of Mission Indians or Soboba Band of Luiseño	12/1/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 172, NARAR
Josephine	Nichols	Seneca/Wyando t	12/1/1909	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 264, NARAR
Levis	Morgan	Mission [Greenville, CA]	12/7/1909	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 255, NARAR
Rose	Golsh	[Rincon or San Pasqual]	1/1/1910	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 127, NARAR
Willie	Penoma	Mono	1/1/1910	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 283, NARAR
Stephen	Chaqua	La Jolla Band of Luiseño/[Pecha nga]	1/26/1910	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR
Charles	Colby	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	2/1/1910	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 71, NARAR
Modesto	Subish	Rincon Band of Luiseño	2/1/1910	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 349/28 in Frank Beatty, NARAR
Pauline	Leotz	Quechan	2/7/1910	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 205, NARAR
Julian	Duro	Pala Band of Mission Indians	2/10/1910	Tubercular foot	Sherman Student Files, Box 103, NARAR
Cecelia	Hoptowit	Yakima	3/21/1910	Appendectomy on outing	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
Bertha	Captain	Seneca	5/27/1910	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 55, NARAR
Pearl	Allen	Klamath	6/17/1910	Eyes	Sherman Student Files, Box 5, NARAR

Elgood	Belingache	Diné	6/20/1910	Tuberculosis following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 31, NARAR
Martha	Silvers	Mechoopda	7/1/1910	Measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 332, NARAR
Dick	Graves	[Pomo]	7/18/1910	Tubercular bone in Arm	Sherman Student Files, Box 132, NARAR
Peter	John	Akimel O'otham	7/19/1910	Brain Fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 175, NARAR
Eva	Jones	[Madera Co., CA]	7/26/1910	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 180, NARAR
Florence	Pratt	Hupa	9/26/1910	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Gregoria	Mojado	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/28/1911	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 249, NARAR
Frank	Beatty	Paiute	2/17/1911	Phthisis	Sherman Student Files, Box 28, NARAR
Josephine	Rodriguez	San Pasqual Band of Diegueño Mission Indians	3/1/1911	[1910-1914 Typhoid fever]	Sherman Student Files, Box 310, NARAR
Bertha	Hilliard	Yosemite Miwuk	3/4/1911	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 150, NARAR
Dewitt	Blackwater	Akimel O'otham	3/16/1911	Hemorrhages	Sherman Student Files, Box 38, NARAR
Susie	Trujillo	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	4/1/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 365, NARAR
Robert	White	[Kai Pomo]	4/1/1911	Typhoid fever possible tubercular complications	Sherman Student Files, Box 386, NARAR
Antonio	Rafael	Laguna Pueblo	4/6/1911	Tubercular bone	Sherman Student Files, Box 299, NARAR
Amanda	Heath	Yuki	5/1/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 144, NARAR
Horace	Hill	Klamath	5/1/1911	Typhoid fever/tuberculos is; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 149, NARAR
Blanche	Masten	Klamath	5/1/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 232, NARAR
James	Alexander	Yakima	5/15/1911	Hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 4, NARAR
Andrew	Hoptowit	Yakima	5/15/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 4 in James Alexander, NARAR
Rose	Sikyahhongisi	Hopi	6/3/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 331, NARAR
Sarah	Patton	Akimel O'otham	6/5/1911	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 281, NARAR
Mabel	Washoe	Washoe	6/12/1911	Joint trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 379, NARAR
Lottie	Tawamanema	Hopi	9/7/1911	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 353, NARAR

Rudolph	Pratt	Klamath	9/9/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Owen	Keaki	Diné	10/4/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 185, NARAR
Lottie	Unknown	Diné	10/4/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 185 in Owen Keaki, NARAR
Mary	Katawa	Fort Hall Shoshone	10/30/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR
Nathan	Reid	Laguna Pueblo	10/30/1911	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 304, NARAR
May	Roberts	Akimel O'otham	11/5/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 307, NARAR
Juan T.	Emarcia	Akimel O'otham	11/6/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 107, NARAR
Elsie	Smoker	Klamath	11/10/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 339/202 in Minerva E. Leary, NARAR
James	Hono	Laguna Pueblo	12/8/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 155, NARAR
Martha	Lew	Yuki	12/11/1911	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 205, NARAR
John (Tsi-Ge)	Hevewah	Bannock	1/1/1912	Typhoid fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 148, NARAR

Modesta	Chapull	Serrano	2/22/1912	Rheumatism and weak heart	Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR
George	Ike	Moapa Band of Paiute	2/24/1912	Lungs	Sherman Student Files, Box 163, NARAR
Felicidad	Arenas	Soboba Band of Luiseño	6/1/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 306 in Dario Ringlero, NARAR
Theodore	Bulldontshow	Crow	6/1/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 48, NARAR
Dario	Ringlero	Soboba Band of Luiseño	6/1/1912	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR
Jose, Sr.	Pablo	Tohono O'odham	6/18/1912	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR
Nettie	Allen	Klamath	6/19/1912	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 5, NARAR
Peter (Many Goats)	Begay	Diné	6/19/1912	Tubercular hip	Sherman Student Files, Box 30, NARAR
Mary	Sandy	Fort Hall Shoshone	6/27/1912	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 320, NARAR
John	Wellington	Akimel O'otham	8/21/1912	Tuberculosis following typhoid- pneumonia; sent to sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 382, NARAR
Myrtle	Tendoy	Fort Hall Shoshone	9/23/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 354, NARAR

Dorothy	Allen	Klamath	11/25/1912	Stomach hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 4, NARAR
Cepha	Allen	Klamath	12/30/1912	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 4, NARAR
Grace	Golding	Quechan	1/16/1913	Lump	Sherman Student Files, Box 127, NARAR
Edward	Elkins	Osage	2/12/1913	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 106, NARAR
Nellie	Johnson	Big Pine Paiute	2/27/1913	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
Bell H.	Giddens	Pala Band of Mission Indians	3/12/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 125, NARAR
Westley (Wasley)	Wilson	[Miwuk]	4/1/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 395, NARAR
Ida	Westerville	Big Pine Paiute	4/15/1913	Heart	Sherman Student Files, Box 383, NARAR
Blanche	Piper	Bishop Paiute	5/27/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 289, NARAR
Caroline	Harry	Klamath	6/1/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 141, NARAR
Brigida	Ward	Campo Kumeyaay/La Jolla Band of Luiseño	7/9/1913	[Tubercular meningitis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 377, NARAR
Phillip	Calac	Mission	8/11/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 53, NARAR

Reginaldo	Lachusa	Iipay Nation of Santa Ysabel	8/25/1913	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 196, NARAR
Carmie	Richards	Akimel O'otham	9/18/1913	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR
Filomena	Guassac	[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]	10/2/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 316 in Pedro Salgado, NARAR
Reginalda	Guassac	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	10/2/1913	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 134, NARAR
Asa	Lathiyo	Hopi	10/11/1913	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 200, NARAR
Norris	Williams	Tohono O'odham	10/11/1913	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 391, NARAR
Fred	Nelson	La Jolla or Rincon Band of Luiseño	10/16/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 262, NARAR
Evert	Cheshewalla	Osage	10/24/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 65, NARAR
Antone	Jose	Akimel O'otham	11/1/1913	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 181, NARAR
Peter	Kennedy	Osage	11/1/1913	Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 187, NARAR
Samuel	Bird	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	11/6/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 37, NARAR
Jose Garcia	Laguna	Laguna Pueblo	11/17/1913	Tubercular peritonitis; died	Sherman Student Files,

				within one month of leaving	Box 196, NARAR
Wade	Gelvins	Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony	12/1/1913	Sick and old	Sherman Student Files, Box 125, NARAR
Osebio	Salgado	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	12/1/1913	Tuberculosis following pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 316, NARAR
Emily	Joseph	Akimel O'otham	12/6/1913	Bronchitis/hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR
Vera	Osif	Akimel O'otham	12/6/1913	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 182 in Emily Joseph, NARAR
Mike	Jose	Mono	1/12/1914	Fever	Sherman LS, Box 45, Folder Sept 18, 1916 to Jan 19, 1918 [1 of 2], NP; Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR
Virginia	Pearoita	Tohono O'odham	1/24/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 282, NARAR
Emma	Whitaker	Akimel O'otham	2/9/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 384, NARAR
Billy	Poor	Mojave	2/17/1914	Tubercular glands and knee; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Hannah	Ahneevuk	Inuit	2/28/1914	Bronchitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 2, NARAR

Ahill	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	3/5/1914	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Minerva E.	Leary	Klamath	3/28/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 202, NARAR
Leonard	Jose	Tohono O'odham	3/30/1914	Typhoid like fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR
Shirley	Norton	Hupa	3/31/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 267, NARAR
Pauline	Manulito	Diné	4/20/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 224, NARAR
Jessie	Porter	Akimel O'otham	4/30/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 292, NARAR
Kee	Chee	Diné	5/13/1914	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 65, NARAR
Emma	Drink	Northern Shoshone	5/18/1914	Hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 100, NARAR
Francis	Leupp	Diné	6/1/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 205, NARAR
Minnie	Patton	Akimel O'otham	6/1/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 281, NARAR
Linsa	Angelo	Tohono O'odham	6/11/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 11, NARAR
Gus	Grigsby	Tule River Mono	6/28/1914	Tuberculosis; died within one	Sherman LS, Box 45, Folder Sept 18, 1916 to

				academic year of leaving	Jan 19, 1918 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Minnie	Grant	Ute	8/17/1914	Whooping cough/[tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 132, NARAR
Jettie	Eades	Pit River	9/14/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 104, NARAR
Lulu	Johnson	Chukchansi/[Paiute]	10/27/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
Isaac	Blackwater	Akimel O'otham	11/2/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 38, NARAR
Alexandria	McCloud	Aleut	11/2/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 236, NARAR
Nancy	Blakesley	Mojave	11/27/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 395 in Pearl Wilson, NARAR
Pearl	Wilson	Mojave	11/27/1914	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 395, NARAR
Sampson	Ramon	NTL	1/1/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 221 in May Rose Maddux, NARAR
Avilina	Valdez	Tohono O'odham	2/19/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 369, NARAR
Mollie	Valdez	Tohono O'odham	2/19/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 369, NARAR

Mary	Buffalo	Osage	3/18/1915	VD	Sherman Student Files, Box 48, NARAR
Pedro	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	4/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Louis	Tl' Atso	Diné	4/28/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 360, NARAR
Petra	Juan	Tohono O'odham	5/1/1915	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 183, NARAR
Ed	Horn	Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony	6/12/1915	Intestinal trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
James	Holona	Diné	6/14/1915	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 154, NARAR
Ned	Plummer	Diné	6/18/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 289, NARAR
May	LaRose	Ute	6/22/1915	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 86 in Mentora Daniels, NARAR
Eloise	Hoselina	Tohono O'odham	7/24/1915	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 157, NARAR
Chester	Hutchen	Mono	9/15/1915	Cough	Sherman Student Files, Box 162, NARAR
Chester	Hutchins	Tule River	9/15/1915	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 45, Folder Sept 18, 1916 to Jan 19, 1918 [1

					of 2], NP, NARAR
Elizabeth	Ramon	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	11/1/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Simona	Ramon	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	11/1/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Luemma	[Unknown]	Fort Independence Paiute	11/15/1915	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 105 in Ora Earl, NARAR
Susan	Tony	Pomo	11/17/1915	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 361, NARAR
Ida	Dolores	Tohono O'odham	1/22/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 97, NARAR
Freddie	Ollrich	[Yokut or Maidu]	2/1/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 270, NARAR
Peter	Demanti	Serrano	2/9/1916	Losing weight	Sherman Student Files, Box 91, NARAR
Cornelius	Hosea	Pomo	3/25/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 157, NARAR
Philippi	Murallo	Tohono O'odham	4/1/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 258, NARAR
Frances	Valdez	Tohono O'odham	5/9/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 369, NARAR
Chico	Juan	Tohono O'odham	5/14/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR

Molly	Lucio	Tohono O'odham	8/11/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 218, NARAR
Frances	Luis	Tohono O'odham	8/11/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 219, NARAR
Harry	Lewis	Laguna Pueblo	9/1/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 206, NARAR
Josefa	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	9/2/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Ivan	Simms	Mojave	9/3/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 333, NARAR
Henry	Harris	Ute	9/23/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 140, NARAR
Juan	Lopez	Tohono O'odham/Akime l O'otham	11/1/1916	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 214, NARAR
Marcelino	Cascara	[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]	11/2/1916	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 57A, NARAR
Florence Hammond	Chino	Quechan	11/4/1916	VD	Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR
Dewey	Whipple	Konkow	11/10/1916	Tuberculosis following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 384, NARAR
Henry	Antonio	Pueblo	11/13/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR
Johnny	Sterling	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/13/1916	Measles; died within one	Sherman Student Files,

				academic year of leaving	Box 344, NARAR
Roy	Chappo	Las Vegas Paiute	12/12/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR
Joseph	Vicenti	Laguna Pueblo	12/22/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 373, NARAR
Stella	Miller	Pomo	1/1/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 247, NARAR
Jose	Francisco	Tohono O'odham	1/19/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 116, NARAR
Nettie	Williams	Pomo	2/21/1917	Measles/latent tuberculosis; sent to Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 391, NARAR
Rose	Paddy	Yerington Paiute	2/28/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Louis	Hart	Wailaki	3/17/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 141, NARAR
Harry	Watson	Big Pine Paiute	3/20/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 379, NARAR
Peter	Nortez	Morong Band of Mission Indians	4/1/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 267, NARAR
Sarah	Tampa	Barona Band of Mission Indians	4/12/1917	Tuberculosis; died at Phoenix Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 352, NARAR
Ivy	Marks	Klamath	4/21/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 225, NARAR
Andy	Bowers	Big Pine Paiute	4/23/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 42, NARAR
Opal	Griffith	Pit River	4/25/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 133, NARAR
Leo	Lealy	Pomo	4/27/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 202, NARAR
James	Works	Mono	5/1/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 397, NARAR
Joseph	Norris	Klamath	5/19/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 266, NARAR
Ascension	Ortiz	Tohono O'odham	6/1/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 273, NARAR
Ernest	Gibson	Akimel O'otham	6/2/1917	Tuberculosis; later died of tubercular meningitis in 1921	Sherman Student Files, Box 125, NARAR
Jonah	Roberts	Akimel O'otham	6/18/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 307, NARAR
Alice	Reed	NTL	6/21/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 353 in Cora Tasce, NARAR
Laura	Scott	Akimel O'otham	6/21/1917	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 323/353 in Cora Tasce, NARAR
Cora	Tasce	Diné	6/21/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 353, NARAR
Andrew (Sam)	Potter	Pomo	8/7/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 293, NARAR
Nora Stella	Atwine	Ute	10/31/1917	Tubercular sinus	Sherman Student Files, Box 18, NARAR
Fred	Grant	[Ute]	10/31/1917	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 18 in Nora Stella Atwine, NARAR
Lydia	Pratt	Akimel O'otham	3/22/1918	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Claude	Marcus	Tohono O'odham/Akime l O'otham	3/25/1918	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 226, NARAR
Hattie	Cook	Modoc	4/15/1918	Tubercular peritonitis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 75, NARAR
Jack	Root	Ute	4/21/1918	Brain tumor?	Sherman Student Files, Box 312, NARAR
Annie [Anna]	Tully	Mono	4/25/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 366, NARAR
Johnson	Jackson	Akimel O'otham	4/29/1918	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 167, NARAR
Philip	Pachito	Mesa Grande Diegueño	5/13/1918	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Mabel	Thomas	Maidu	5/24/1918	Heart trouble	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 357, NARAR
Roy	Miller	Pomo	6/4/1918	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 247, NARAR
Marie	Oso	Laguna Pueblo	6/10/1918	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 274, NARAR
Ethel	Sperry	Wintun	6/10/1918	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 342, NARAR
Pearl	Davis	Mono	6/18/1918	Glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 89, NARAR
Lena	Poog	Fort Hall Shoshone	6/19/1918	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Lucy	Earl	Big Pine Paiute	8/21/1918	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 104, NARAR
Dina	Hutchen	Mono	9/19/1918	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 162, NARAR
Fred	Navarro	Fort Hall Shoshone	10/1/1918	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 261, NARAR
Lloyd	Jenkins	Hopi	10/7/1918	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 172, NARAR
Lydia	Osuna	Santa Ysabel Diegueño	10/29/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 274, NARAR
Ella	Parker	Bishop Paiute/[Round Valley]	11/18/1918	Tuberculosis following pneumonia following 1918 Influenza; died	Sherman Student Files, Box 278, NARAR

				within one academic year of leaving	
David	Miller	Fort Independence Paiute	11/28/1918	Tuberculosis following pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 245, NARAR
Jose Maria	Ortiz	Tohono O'odham	12/1/1918	Spanish Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 273, NARAR
McKinley	Jackson	Pit River/Modoc	12/20/1918	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 167, NARAR
Josephine	McDonald	Klamath	1/7/1919	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 237, NARAR
Daisy	Sheayea	Laguna Pueblo	1/23/1919	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 329, NARAR
Nellie	Bowie	Klamath	2/15/1919	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 42, NARAR
Martha	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	2/17/1919	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Martin	Johns	Yuki	2/18/1919	Tuberculosis following influenza; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
Josephine	Roberts	Akimel O'otham	3/3/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 307, NARAR
Elna	Dick	Pomo	3/17/1919	Heart	Sherman Student Files, Box 94, NARAR

Douglas (Newhall)	Clahpah	White Mountain Apache	4/16/1919	1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 68, NARAR
Lawrence	Walker	Klamath/Pit River	4/16/1919	Eyes	Sherman Student Files, Box 375, NARAR
Washington	Kewanhongiva	Hopi	5/25/1919	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 187, NARAR
Ramon	Mackit	Tohono O'odham	5/27/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 221, NARAR
Francis	Kirk	Klamath	6/1/1919	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 190, NARAR
Albert	Mariano	Laguna Pueblo	6/1/1919	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 226, NARAR
Mamie	Crozier	Walapi	6/19/1919	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 81, NARAR
Lee	Warlie	NTL	7/1/1919	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 143 in Harvey Hawley, NARAR
Grace	Dick	Maidu	9/29/1919	Tuberculosis; sent to Carson Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 95, NARAR
Joseph	Phillips	Akimel O'otham	10/1/1919	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 287, NARAR
Pearl	Hosteenyazze	Diné	10/16/1919	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Defiance Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 157, NARAR

Jack	Moustache	Diné	12/4/1919	Tubercular hip; sent to Fort Defiance Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 256, NARAR
Mabel	Ikes	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	12/5/1919	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 163, NARAR
Olive	Spencer	Maidu	1/1/1920	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 342, NARAR
Andres	Cascara	Pala Band of Mission Indians	1/10/1920	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 57A, NARAR
Gladys Ardis	Lowry	Maidu	4/2/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Carson Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 217, NARAR
Serenus	Shively	Crow	4/8/1920	Tubercular glands; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 330, NARAR
Ilwooty	Hoskey	NTL	4/24/1920	Tubercular laryngitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 223 in Andreas Mano, NARAR
Andreas	Mano	Akimel O'otham	4/24/1920	Tubercular laryngitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 223, NARAR
Lily	Osuna	Santa Ysabel Diegueño	6/1/1920	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 274, NARAR
Ernest	Elkins	Osage	6/22/1920	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 106, NARAR
Mary	Baca	Kha'po Owingeh	6/29/1920	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 19, NARAR
Ralph	Ashe	Diné	8/5/1920	Tubercular Pleurisy	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 17, NARAR
John	Dixie	NTL	8/9/1920	Tubercular peritonitis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 96, NARAR
Lupius	Estrada	Tohono O'odham	10/11/1920	Tubercular glands and heart trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 109, NARAR
Hostina	Smith	Diné	10/28/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 337, NARAR
Henry	Tuwahena	Hopi	10/28/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 368, NARAR
Fidel	Aguilar	Mesa Grande Diegueño	11/18/1920	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 2, NARAR
Juanita	Lala	Soboba Band of Luiseño	12/20/1920	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 197, NARAR
Regina	Perez	[Akimel O'otham]	12/22/1920	Chronis abcess in back	Sherman Student Files, Box 284, NARAR
Joe	Alto	Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay	12/23/1920	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 6, NARAR
Edward	Delgabiye	Diné	12/27/1920	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 91, NARAR
Fernando	Amago	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/15/1921	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 7, NARAR
Lena	Duckey	Bishop Paiute	2/28/1921	Bronchial pneumonia/pluri sy	Sherman Student Files, Box 101, NARAR
Josie	Flores	Kumeyaay	2/28/1921	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 115, NARAR
Eleanor	Glynn	NTL	2/28/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 126, NARAR
Alvin	Rhoan	Maidu	4/6/1921	Gland complication following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 305, NARAR
Shelton	Bates	Diné	4/14/1921	Tubercular glands; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 27, NARAR
Pupine	Estrada	Tohono O'odham	5/20/1921	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 109 in Lupius Estrada, NARAR
Louise	Speckerman	[Miwuk]	6/1/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; Tuberculosis; sent to Ahwahnee Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 341, NARAR
Elsie	Noneo	Fort Bidwell Paiute	6/20/1921	Eyes, blinded by trachoma	Sherman Student Files, Box 266, NARAR
Frank	Burns	Mono	7/29/1921	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 49, NARAR
Jose Augustine	Jeronimo	Tohono O'odham	8/1/1921	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 173, NARAR
Claude-Bega	Denetsous	Diné	8/30/1921	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 92, NARAR
Essie	Sevenimptewa	Hopi	1/26/1922	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 328, NARAR

Lillie	McDonald	Diné	1/30/1922	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Defiance Sanatorium with 1 academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 237, NARAR
Ben	Wagner	Diné	1/30/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 374, NARAR
Emil	Ah-za	Diné	2/1/1922	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 3, NARAR
Anna	Bedaybega	Diné	3/28/1922	Tuberculosis/he morrhages; sent to Fort Defiance Sanatiroium	Sherman Student Files, Box 29, NARAR
Mark	Santago	Diné	4/5/1922	Influenza leading to bronchitis and possible tuberculosis; sent to Fort Defiance Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 320, NARAR
Silbert	Turner	Bishop Paiute	4/15/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 367, NARAR
William	Ish Kee Hapai	Diné	4/16/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 164, NARAR
Percy	Hongi	Walapai	5/2/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 155, NARAR
Sydney	Pete	Wailaki	5/2/1922	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 285, NARAR
Roger	Williams	White Mountain Apache	5/15/1922	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 392, NARAR
Eva	George	Mono	6/1/1922	Heart	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 123, NARAR
Clarence	Goodman	Diné	6/6/1922	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 129, NARAR
Elsie	Yarlott	Crow	6/24/1922	Tubercular glands/chronic nephritis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 399, NARAR
Victoria	Hosten Chee	Diné	6/28/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 157, NARAR
Havachatt	Pete	Quechan	6/28/1922	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 285, NARAR
Clarence	Royheptewa	Hopi	6/28/1922	Sepsis in foot	Sherman Student Files, Box 313, NARAR
Nora	Coyadito	[Pueblo Bonito Indian School]	7/15/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 79, NARAR
Samuel	Josay	White Mountain Apache	7/19/1922	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 181, NARAR
Ernest	Naquayowma	Hopi	9/13/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 260, NARAR
Claire	Tony	Diné	9/13/1922	Tuberculosis/to nsilitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 361, NARAR
Tichenor	Cummings	Diné	9/15/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 82, NARAR
Charley	Ketchen	Diné	9/15/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 187, NARAR

Zena	Jones	Chukchansi	10/6/1922	Tubercular peritonitis following whooping cough	Sherman Student Files, Box 181, NARAR
Wallace	San Ohe	Diné	11/15/1922	Heart trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR
John	Torro	Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla	12/5/1922	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 362, NARAR
Sylvestro	Torro	Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla	12/10/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 362, NARAR
Alice	Brown	Diné	12/26/1922	Tuberculosis/pleurisy	Sherman Student Files, Box 44, NARAR
Frances	Talowyse	Hopi	12/28/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 352, NARAR
Nancy	Rhomoritz	Diné/Paiute	2/7/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 305, NARAR
Robert (Selistoni)	Henry	Diné	2/8/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 146, NARAR
Carl	Khe	Diné	2/8/1923	Tubercular bone in foot and ankle	Sherman Student Files, Box 188, NARAR
Nancy	R	Diné	2/8/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 188 in Carl Khe, NARAR
Shirely	Skeen	Modoc	2/13/1923	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 335, NARAR
Elsie	Bowers	Big Pine Paiute	2/20/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 42, NARAR
Arthur	Pena	Mesa Grande Diegueño	3/18/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 283, NARAR
Ramona	Beocitty	Diné	3/26/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 33, NARAR
Rosabelle	Fridley	Diné	3/26/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 118, NARAR
Ernest	Hatahla	Diné	3/27/1923	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 142, NARAR
Elsie (Secakuku)	Sekanguimpka	Hopi	4/4/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 326, NARAR
Walter	Wilson	Hupa	4/13/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 395, NARAR
Kenneth	Bates	Diné	4/21/1923	Pneumonia following influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 26, NARAR
Julian	Trujillo	Diné	4/21/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 365, NARAR
Mary	Laird	Chemehuevi	4/24/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 197, NARAR
Edward	Nal La	Diné	4/26/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 259, NARAR
Milton	Taybor	Hopi	4/26/1923	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 353, NARAR

Ukospah	Nelewood	Diné	5/1/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 262/317 in Margaret Samuels, NARAR
Lily	Hall	White Mountain Apache	5/9/1923	Tubercular laryngitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 136, NARAR
Clara	Rodriguez	[Rincon or San Pasqual]	5/18/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 309, NARAR
Eloysia (Eliza Chico)	Chago	Tohono O'odham	5/22/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR
Francis I.	Allen	Pomo	5/26/1923	Lung trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 4, NARAR
Natalie	Cooper	NTL	5/29/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR
Evelyn	Casinez	Diné	6/4/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 58, NARAR
Beskey	Beday-bega	Diné	6/16/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 29, NARAR
Edith	Green	Diné	6/21/1923	Cough	Sherman Student Files, Box 132, NARAR
Mac	She Na	Diné	7/6/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 329, NARAR
Helen (Begay)	Chief	Diné	8/10/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR
William Red Cloud	Harris	Standing Rock Oyate	8/17/1923	Hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 140, NARAR
Danton	Honohni	Hopi	10/1/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 154, NARAR
Adam	Kowanveoyeoma	Hopi	10/1/1923	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 193, NARAR
Shirley	Spencer	Diné	10/5/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 342, NARAR
Mae	Pomona	Mono	12/5/1923	Tuberculosis/pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Benny (Betty)	Magee	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	12/7/1923	Pneumonia following pleurisy; later died pneumonia following pleurisy	Sherman Student Files, Box 221, NARAR
Edna	Cachora	Quechan	12/16/1923	Tuberculosis of the skin	Sherman Student Files, Box 51, NARAR
Augustus	Henalio	Tohono O'odham	2/7/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 145, NARAR
John	Williams	Diné	2/8/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 390, NARAR
Evelyn	Dixon	[Diné]	2/11/1924	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 47, Folder July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1924 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Ruth	Powsey	Walapai	2/14/1924	Rheumatism	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR

Jason	Groves	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	3/3/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 134, NARAR
Marsah	Koyamamse	Hopi	3/14/1924	Tubercular glands; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 193, NARAR
Eleanor	Howell	Diné	3/21/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 159, NARAR
Elvin	McDonald	Diné	3/30/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 237, NARAR
Rosalie	Almejo	Diné	3/31/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 6, NARAR
Mary	Attencia	Diné	3/31/1924	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 18, NARAR
Florence	Uinthnez	Diné	3/31/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 368, NARAR
Precia	Vera	[Yokut or Maidu]	3/31/1924	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 373, NARAR
Edgar	McMurtry	Mono	4/2/1924	Measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 239, NARAR
Dorothy	Dandy	Mono	4/25/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 86, NARAR
Jeanette	Dandy	Mono	4/25/1924	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 86, NARAR
Edna	Johnson	Mono	5/30/1924	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 176, NARAR

Saraphina	Largo	Soboba Band of Luiseño	5/31/1924	Recovering from bad measles case	Sherman Student Files, Box 199, NARAR
Johathan	Kyhange	Hopi	6/2/1924	Tubercular glands; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 194, NARAR
Nellie	Martin	Tohono O'odham	6/25/1924	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 229, NARAR
Nona	Riggs	Diné	7/31/1924	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR
Joe	Goode	Mono	9/3/1924	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 129, NARAR
Albert	Ortez	Diné	9/4/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 272, NARAR
Bob	Lay	Moapa Band of Paiute	9/13/1924	Tubercular glands; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 202, NARAR
Sadie	Franklin	Diné	10/14/1924	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 117, NARAR
Alberto [Alberta]	Ochoa	Tohono O'odham	11/4/1924	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 268, NARAR
Domingo	Alvarez	Tohono O'odham	11/19/1924	Eyes	Sherman Student Files, Box 7, NARAR
Myrtle	Chopre	Diné	12/19/1924	Thyroid cyst likely to be tubercular	Sherman Student Files, Box 67, NARAR
Sam Captain	Begay	Diné	1/1/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 31, NARAR

Rachel	Henry	[Paiute]	1/6/1925	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 47, Folder July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1924 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Baron (Kanuho)	Bahhe	Diné	1/14/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 20, NARAR
Baron	Kanhuo	[Diné]	1/14/1925	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 47, Folder July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1924 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Evelyn	Dickson	Diné	1/30/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 95, NARAR
Roseta	Lola	Tohono O'odham	1/30/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 211, NARAR
Edith	Shepherd	Bishop Shoshone	2/10/1925	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 329, NARAR
Clara	Elbert	Colorado River Indian Tribes	3/14/1925	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 47, Folder July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1924 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Walter	Woo Loo	Diné	3/14/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 397, NARAR
Davis [David]	Hicks	Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony	3/21/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 148, NARAR
Matilda	Patencio	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla	4/1/1925	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 280, NARAR

Rose	Johnson	Diné	4/4/1925	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 179, NARAR
Margaret	Samuels	Tohono O'odham	5/23/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR
Jacob	Ahowonema	Hopi	6/29/1925	Lung trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 3, NARAR
Alfred	Bennett	Diné	7/9/1925	Tuberculosis/pn eumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 32, NARAR
George	Porter	Tohono O'odham	9/3/1925	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 292, NARAR
Zelma	Smalley	[Pomo]	10/22/1925	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 48, Folder July 1, 1925 to June 30, 1926 [2 of 2], NP, NARAR
Samuel	Jolsanny	Mescalero Apache	11/6/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 179, NARAR
Willette	Thompson	Diné	11/23/1925	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 358, NARAR
Verna [Vernie]	Robinson	Hupa	1/4/1926	Tubercular peritonitis following pleurisy	Sherman Student Files, Box 308, NARAR
Ernest	Boney	Hopi	1/14/1926	Lobar Pneumonia/tube rculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 40, NARAR
Sam	Maze	Pomo	1/14/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 234, NARAR
Homer	Tessay	White Mountain Apache	1/19/1926	Cancerous Growth	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 354, NARAR
Amelia	Silvas	La Jolla Band of Luiseno	2/4/1926	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 332, NARAR
Josephine	Pachito	Pauma Band of Luiseno Mission Indians	2/6/1926	Influenza with possible fluid	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Arthur	Nashio	White Mountain Apache	2/16/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 260, NARAR
Early	Hoveitz	Moapa Band of Paiute	2/23/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 158, NARAR
Oscar	Bizadi	Diné	2/28/1926	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 37, NARAR
Harold	Coggeshall	Diné	2/28/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 71, NARAR
Florian Steven	Garcia	Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla	3/14/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 121, NARAR
Martha	Enospah	Diné	3/18/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 108, NARAR
Dorothy	Diastisie	Diné	3/25/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 94, NARAR
Anna	Gray	Diné	3/25/1926	Tuberculosis following pneumonia; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 132, NARAR
Sadie	Cowen	Klamath	3/26/1926	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 79, NARAR

Lorena	Weldon	Paiute [Loraine, CA]	3/26/1926	Influenza; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 381, NARAR
James	Patrick	Mojave	3/27/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 280, NARAR
Thomas	Keawni	Diné	3/29/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 185, NARAR
Joseph	Merritt	Diné	3/29/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 242, NARAR
Carmelia	Munoa	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	4/3/1926	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 258, NARAR
Agnes	Navarro	Soboba Band of Luiseño	4/12/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 261, NARAR
Oscar	Bazadi	[Diné]	4/13/1926	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 48, Folder July 1, 1925 to June 30, 1926 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Thomas	Keewani	[Hopi/Diné/Apache?]	4/13/1926	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 48, Folder July 1, 1925 to June 30, 1926 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Oliver	Garland	White Mountain Apache	4/28/1926	Mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 122, NARAR
Dana	Page	Diné	4/28/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Amos	Chilebagay	Diné	5/20/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 65, NARAR
Lillian	Barcello	Barona Band of Mission Indians	5/25/1926	Mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 23, NARAR
Mary	Johnston	Diné	6/1/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 351 in Doris Tachinninez, NARAR
Joe	Connell	Maidu	6/6/1926	Influenza following mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 74, NARAR
Willie	Gomez	Tejon	6/6/1926	Mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 128, NARAR
Olive	Evans	Akimel O'otham	6/9/1926	Hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 110, NARAR
Ramona	Cordero	Tejon	6/10/1926	Tuberculosis following mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 77, NARAR
James	Eskey	Diné	6/10/1926	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 109, NARAR
Ezra	Hongeva	Hopi	6/10/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 155, NARAR
Jesse	Williams	Diné	6/10/1926	Mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 390, NARAR
Bruce	Spencer	Diné	6/17/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 341, NARAR
Flora	Fall	Apache	6/22/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 111, NARAR
Florence	Edwards	Diné	6/25/1926	Mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 105, NARAR
Kee	Bah	Diné	7/27/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 20, NARAR
Kent	Natawetah	Hopi	7/27/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 260, NARAR
Mollie	Duarte	Tohono O'odham	8/2/1926	Losing weight and permitted to go home	Sherman Student Files, Box 100, NARAR
Nora	Hall	Akimel O'otham	8/8/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 136, NARAR
Arabella Vinea	Skeen	Klamath/Modoc	10/2/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 334, NARAR
Fernando	Vejar	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	10/12/1926	Lung trouble	Sherman Student Files, Box 372, NARAR
Ellen Joyce	Hamley	Chippewa [Supai, AZ]	10/22/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 137, NARAR
Baxter	Holmes	Diné	10/31/1926	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 153, NARAR
Caroline	Tsedcody	Diné	11/20/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 365, NARAR
Mary Elsie	Concho	Laguna Pueblo	11/22/1926	Tubercular pneumonia; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one	Sherman Student Files, Box 74, NARAR

				academic year of leaving	
Evelyn	Merrill	Karuk	11/22/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 242, NARAR
Juanita	Rhoan	[Yokut or Maidu]	11/23/1926	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 305, NARAR
Wilmer	Roberts	Diné	11/30/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Defiance Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 307, NARAR
Louis	Burbank	Diné	12/15/1926	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 48, NARAR
Loretta	LaMar	Pit River	12/17/1926	Tuberculosis; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 197, NARAR
Evelyn	Murrell	NTL	1/12/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 74 in Mary Elise Concho, NARAR
Edna	Knight	Hopland Band of Pomo	2/3/1927	Meningitis following pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 192, NARAR
Alexander	Ditzkiema	Hopi	2/15/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 96, NARAR
Charles Melvin	Dickens	Diné	3/25/1927	Pleurisy	Sherman Student Files, Box 95, NARAR
Stella	Nippah	Diné	3/26/1927	Hemorrhage; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 265, NARAR

Arnett	St. Marie	Mission [Los Angeles/St. Boniface]	3/27/1927	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 346, NARAR
Ethel	Dave (David)	Klamath	4/6/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 87, NARAR
Frieda	McGee	Big Pine Paiute	4/6/1927	German measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 238, NARAR
Isabel	Brown	Kumeyaay	4/10/1927	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 45, NARAR
Carrie A.	Nobles	Bishop Paiute	4/17/1927	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 265, NARAR
Linda	Lachusa	Iipay Nation Of Santa Ysabel	4/29/1927	Heart; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 196, NARAR
Anthony	Paddock [Tsosie]	Diné	4/29/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Walter	Riggs	Diné	4/29/1927	Pleurisy with effusion/tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR
Helen	Bassett	Diné	5/6/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 26, NARAR
Calvin	Beale	Klamath	5/14/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 27, NARAR
Dave	Martinez	Tongva	5/30/1927	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 230, NARAR
Mabel	Joe	Klamath	6/1/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 174, NARAR
Marcellus	Kane	White Mountain Apache	6/1/1927	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR
Louise Hazel	Magee	Flathead	6/1/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 221, NARAR
Torreon	Long	Campo Kumeyaay	6/4/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 213, NARAR
Leota	Lesieur	Bannock/Easter n Delaware	6/10/1927	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 205, NARAR
Lawrence	Pike	Pomo	6/10/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 288, NARAR
John	Kane	Hupa	6/11/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR
Juana M.	Juan	Tohono O'odham	6/17/1927	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 183, NARAR
Cyprian	Ashini	Diné	6/21/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 17, NARAR
Elizabeth	George	Diné	6/21/1927	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 123, NARAR
Robert	Charles	Shoshone	7/18/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR
William	Escalanti	Quechan	9/12/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 109, NARAR

Gertrude	Fisher	Chemehuevi	10/7/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 114, NARAR
Josephine	Orcutt	Klamath	11/2/1927	Tuberculosis following influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 271, NARAR
Lena	Orcutt	Klamath	11/2/1927	Tuberculosis following influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 271, NARAR
Caroline	Scholder	Mesa Grande Diegueño	11/4/1927	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 322, NARAR
Stanley	Conklin	Quinault	11/17/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 74, NARAR
Genevive	Anderson	Apache	12/14/1927	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 9, NARAR
Edward	Offield	Karuk	12/19/1927	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 269, NARAR
Tom	Skai	Diné	1/2/1928	Hemorrhage	Sherman Student Files, Box 334, NARAR
Alonza	Mendez	Tohono O'odham	1/16/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 240, NARAR
John	Stago	White Mountain Apache	1/17/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 343, NARAR
Flora	Pena	Mesa Grande Diegueño	1/26/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 283, NARAR
Edna	Captain	Klamath	2/15/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 55, NARAR

Alfred	Garcia	Tohono O'odham	2/17/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 120, NARAR
Evalina [Evelyn]	Scott	Bishop Paiute	2/17/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 323, NARAR
Emily	Cooper	Quechan	2/28/1928	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR
Marjorie	Scott	Quechan	2/28/1928	[Tuberculosis]	Sherman Student Files, Box 324, NARAR
Leonard	Graham	Chukchansi	3/6/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 131, NARAR
Gladys	Leggett	Wailaki	3/14/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 203, NARAR
Britton	Alchesay	Apache	3/15/1928	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 3, NARAR
Raymond	Thompson	Akimel O'otham	3/15/1928	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 358, NARAR
Martina	Leggett	Wailaki	3/17/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; reenrolled and died from pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 203, NARAR
Opal	Dinehdeal	Diné	3/20/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 96, NARAR
Willie	Jackson	Mono	3/29/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 168, NARAR
Rebecca Cynthia	Jackson	Pit River/Modoc	4/9/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 168, NARAR
Clyde	Horne	Hupa	4/11/1928	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
George	Taveapont	Ute	4/24/1928	Tuberculosis; later enrolled and died	Sherman Student Files, Box 353, NARAR
Firby	Anderson	[Pomo]	4/30/1928	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 48, Folder July 1, 1926 to July 30, 1927 [2 of 2], NP, NARAR
Luke	Ruby	NTL	4/30/1928	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman LS, Box 48, Folder July 1, 1926 to July 30, 1927 [2 of 2], NP, NARAR
Kathleen	Barberbitcilly	Diné	5/7/1928	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 23, NARAR
Ruth	Pablo	Akimel O'otham	5/26/1928	Tuberculosis; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR
Mae	Johnson	Washoe	5/29/1928	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
Edna	Aubrey	[Karuk]	6/1/1928	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 18, NARAR
Peter	Homer	Mojave	6/1/1928	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 154, NARAR
Amy	Washoe	Washoe	6/1/1928	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 379, NARAR
Beulah	Queacut	Ute	6/5/1928	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 298, NARAR
Yanapa	Gamble	Diné	6/6/1928	Heart	Sherman Student Files, Box 120, NARAR
Dorothy	Garcia	Tohono O'odham	6/18/1928	Irritable heart condition	Sherman Student Files, Box 121, NARAR
Isabelle	Smith	Duck Valley Shoshone	6/19/1928	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 337, NARAR
Terrell	Collins	Chippewa- Wyandot	6/28/1928	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 73, NARAR
Rowena	Kayser	Walapai	8/13/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 185, NARAR
Agatha	James	Yokáya Pomo	8/20/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 169, NARAR
Florence	Sireech	Ute	9/3/1928	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 333, NARAR
Violet	Wiston	Akimel O'otham	9/17/1928	Tubercular glands	Sherman Student Files, Box 396, NARAR
Ned L.	Redfoot	Ute	10/3/1928	Tubercular glands; sent to Laguna Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 301, NARAR
Zella May	Smalley	[Wiyot]	10/16/1928	Sores	Sherman Student Files, Box 335, NARAR

Leta	Herren	Big Valley Pomo	10/20/1928	Heart	Sherman Student Files, Box 147, NARAR
Herman	Mendoza	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/2/1928	Eyes	Sherman Student Files, Box 241, NARAR
Chas. G	Armijo	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	12/1/1928	Pleurisy	Sherman Student Files, Box 15, NARAR
Fern	Browning	Apache/Akimel O'otham	12/19/1928	Tuberculosis following influenza; sent to Fort Apache Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 46, NARAR
Jesse	Blackwater	Diné	1/27/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 38, NARAR
Fred	Duffer	Klamath	2/28/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 101, NARAR
Inez	Duckey	Bishop Paiute	3/1/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 101, NARAR
Irene	Duckey	Bishop Paiute	3/15/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 101, NARAR
Wave	Poola	Hopi	3/21/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Alice	Geary	Spokane	3/25/1929	Bronchitis following influenza; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 123, NARAR
Domingo	Manuel	Akimel O'otham	4/16/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Sacaton Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 223, NARAR

Angelina	Priceado	NTL	4/18/1929	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 123 in Alice Geary, NARAR
Hannah	LaChappa	Viejas Band of Kumeyaay	4/22/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 195, NARAR
George	Tony	Pomo	4/24/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 361, NARAR
Isabel	Lopez	Tohono O'odham	4/30/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 213, NARAR
Juana	Manuel	Tohono O'odham	4/30/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 224, NARAR
John Alfred	Keith	Bishop Paiute	5/15/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 185, NARAR
John Anthony	Joseph	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	5/16/1929	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 182, NARAR
Carl	Rios	Acjachemen	5/27/1929	Fibrous pleurisy after influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 306, NARAR
Alph Talawyma	Secakuku	Hopi	5/31/1929	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 324, NARAR
Lucy	Whiterock	Western Shoshone [Owyhee, NV]	6/1/1929	Sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 386, NARAR
Esther	Dave	Duck Valley Paiute-Shoshone	6/4/1929	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 87, NARAR

Eva	Dave	Duck Valley Paiute- Shoshone	6/4/1929	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 87, NARAR
James	Goff	Miwuk	6/4/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 127, NARAR
Ruby	Masten	Hupa	6/5/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 233, NARAR
William	Thompson	Hopi	6/5/1929	Tubercular spine caused by burn	Sherman Student Files, Box 358, NARAR
Ida	George	Modoc	6/6/1929	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 124, NARAR
James	Godowa	Modoc/Paiute	6/7/1929	Pleurisy with effusion	Sherman Student Files, Box 127, NARAR
Homer	Koyiyumptewa	Hopi	7/2/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 193, NARAR
Oliver	Brown	[Shasta]	7/5/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Paul	Lobo	NTL	7/5/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Alice	Pablo	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	8/3/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR
Josie	Robinson	Hupa	8/15/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 308, NARAR

Ellen	Dawahanema	Hopi	8/31/1929	Rales; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 90, NARAR
Elmer	Louden	Klamath	9/25/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 215, NARAR
Lillian	Youyouwensie	Hopi	10/8/1929	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 402, NARAR
Aubrey	Johnson	Karuk	10/19/1929	Tubercular glands; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 176, NARAR
Gabriel	Fatty	Mescalero Apache	10/20/1929	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 111, NARAR
Jeanette	Horne	Hupa	1/16/1930	Pleurisy with effusion; sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
Herman E.	Freeman	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	5/28/1930	Measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 118, NARAR
Gertrude	Pope	White Mountain Apache	5/28/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 292, NARAR
Clorinda	Moreno	Tule River	6/1/1930	Measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 255, NARAR
William	Murphy	Goshute	6/1/1930	Tubercular glands following mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 258, NARAR
James	Pena	Mesa Grande Diegueño	6/1/1930	Measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 283, NARAR

Raymond	Pompey	Klamath	6/1/1930	Mumps/trachoma	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Laura	Premo	Duck Valley Shoshone	6/1/1930	Measles and mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 295, NARAR
Fred Lawrence	Ruff	Shasta	6/1/1930	Measles and mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 313, NARAR
Curtis	Stevenson	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	6/1/1930	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 345, NARAR
Thomas	Beeler	Mojave	6/4/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 29, NARAR
Cyetta	Heenan	Pit River	6/11/1930	Measles/mumps	Sherman Student Files, Box 144, NARAR
David	Evanston	Mojave	7/16/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 110, NARAR
David	Jackson	Mono	7/31/1930	Pleurisy following measles; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 165, NARAR
Sarah	Estzan-Tso	Diné	8/18/1930	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 109, NARAR
Woody Francisco	Napa	Diné	10/1/1930	Tubercular glands; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; later died at Sherman from tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 259, NARAR

Dorothy	Saubel	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla	10/4/1930	Epilepsy; sent to Soboba Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 321, NARAR
Ralph	Cameron	Piipaash	11/9/1930	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 54, NARAR
Betty [Betsy]	Bilai	Diné	12/27/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 36, NARAR
Ruth	Paymella	Hopi	1/31/1931	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 281, NARAR
Eugene	Thomas	Wiyot	2/16/1931	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; sent to Pyramid Lake Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 356, NARAR
John	Wilder	NTL	9/12/1932	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Carl Long	Jim	Diné	10/5/1932	Tuberculosis; died at Phoenix Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 173, NARAR
Carl	Long Jim	Diné	10/13/1932	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Victor	Archambeau	NTL	1/7/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Ramona	Hurtado	NTL	1/7/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933

					Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Melissa	Harris	NTL	3/23/1933	Sent to Sanitorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Carrie	Westervelt	NTL	4/12/1933	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Clarence	Garcia	NTL	6/5/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Myrtle	Barney	NTL	6/14/1933	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Ralph	Kniffin	NTL	6/30/1933	Tuberculosis of hip	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Julia	Subish	NTL	8/25/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Louise	Alhandra	NTL	10/25/1933	Tuberculosis; sent to sanatorium	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Ramon	Duro	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 45712-1919 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Daniel	Ford	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR

Willie	George	Mono	ND	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 125, NARAR
Jimmie	Godwa	Klamath	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Margaret	Hanson	Redwood Valley Pomo	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Hiram	Hayes	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Posena	Jessie	NTL	ND	Trachoma	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Gifford	Johnson	[Wiyot]	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Jesse	Ketrano	NTL	ND	Eyes	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Gerald	Lambert	Diné	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Lillian	Masheisnema	NTL	ND	Trachoma	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR

Charles	McCabe	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Lynn	Perry	[Phoenix, AZ]	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Adolph	Sambo	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Anna	Silvas	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 332, NARAR
William Sr.	Strombeck	Chukchansi	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 348, NARAR
Emma	Tortuga	[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR
Oscar	Wheeler	NTL	ND	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 32, Folder 700: Health, NARAR

Appendix 2: Native American boarding school student deaths in federal custody

This appendix documents students who died in federal custody, while at a boarding school, on outing, while running away, or at a non-Indian institution while being treated for their health (e.g., Philadelphia Institute for the Blind). They are arranged by school chronologically by date of death.

Carlisle, 1879-1918

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date of Death	Cause	Source
Amos	La Frambois	Sisseton Wahpeton/Ihank tonwan Dakota Oyate	11/26/1879	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Abe	Lincoln	[Southern] Cheyenne	1/17/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Henry	Jones	Iowa	3/20/1880	Unknown	E1327, Box 39; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Yonkeuh [Zonkeuh]	Kiowa	4/27/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
John	Renville	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	8/10/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Beau	Niel	Southern Arapaho	8/20/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Albert	Henderson	Sac & Fox	9/15/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Ernest	Knocks Off	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	12/14/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Maud	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	12/14/1880	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Dennis	Strike First	Oglala or Sicangu Lakota Oyate	1/19/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Albert	Seminole	4/21/1881	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Dora	[Her Pipe]	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	4/24/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Rose	Red Rose	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/29/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Edward	Upright	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	5/5/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
	Giles	Southern Cheyenne	5/8/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Willie	Curley	Southern Arapaho	5/14/1881	Unknown	E1328, Box 1; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Cushing	Zuni Pueblo	7/22/1881	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Kate	Ross	Wichita	1/10/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 6; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Louise	Lou	Southern Cheyenne	2/8/1882	Scrofula	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Matavito	[Black Kettle]	Southern Cheyenne	2/19/1882	Typhoid-like fever	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Alvan	One that Kills Horse	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	3/29/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Hayes	Northern Arapaho	4/15/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Horace	Northern Arapaho	6/12/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Chester	Arthur	Southern Cheyenne	7/1/1882	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alfred	Charko	Wichita	12/16/1882	Unknown	E1328, Box 1; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Dickens	[Sharp Nose]	Northern Arapaho	1/22/1883	Pneumonia	E1328, Box 1; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
William	Snake	Ponca	1/28/1883	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
John	Bitzclay	Diné	3/10/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 5; E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Taylor	Ealy	Zuni Pueblo	7/10/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 1; E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Adam	McCarty	Modoc	7/24/1883	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Gertrude	Spotted Tail	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	8/31/1883	Unknown	E1329, Box 4; E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Alice	Springer	Omaha	11/12/1883	Consumption	E1327, Box 94; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Leah	Roadtraveller	Southern Arapaho	12/20/1883	Unknown	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Frankie	Bear	Pawnee	1/3/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Lucy	Pretty Eagle	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	3/9/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Libbie	Standing	Southern Cheyenne	7/20/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Warren	Painter	Oglala Lakota Oyate	9/30/1884	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Mabel	Kelcusaway	Chiricahua Apache	12/25/1884	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Wah-she-he	Southern Arapaho	1/29/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Eva	De-zey	Tonto Apache	2/22/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Wendell	Young	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/20/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Dora	Morning	Southern Cheyenne	6/25/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Jim	Foxcatcher	Tonto Apache	6/27/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Margaret	Edgar	Acoma Pueblo	8/3/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
(Koshetsenekah)	Dorland	Osage	8/17/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Guy	Basket	Tonto Apache	8/30/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Rebecca	Little Wolf	Nez Perce	9/18/1885	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Titus	Deerhead	Tonto Apache	12/17/1885	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Corinne	Simahatie	Acoma Pueblo	1/11/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC

	How-se-eh	Laguna Pueblo	4/12/1886	Suicide	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Pedro	Sanchez	Cochiti Pueblo	5/9/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Friend	Hollow Horned Bear	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	5/21/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Ella	Soysewitzsa	Laguna Pueblo	6/4/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Owen	Fire	Tonto Apache	6/26/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
	Young Eagle	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/28/1886	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Charlie	Fisher	Crow	9/17/1886	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Charley	White Shield	Southern Cheyenne	2/1/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Jane	Lumpfoot	Southern Arapaho	5/20/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lorenzo	Bonito	Chiricahua Apache	5/25/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Frederick	Skuhsejah [Shahsejah]	Chiricahua Apache	6/3/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lena	Carr	Laguna Pueblo	6/11/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Roderic	Fatty	Chiricahua Apache	6/15/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edna	Graham	Chiricahua Apache	7/5/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Seth	Contanito	San Carlos Apache	7/8/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Penelope	Zaen	Chiricahua Apache	8/28/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Eric	Gotay	Chiricahua Apache	10/3/1887	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Anthony	Neiskez	Chiricahua Apache	10/7/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Bruce	Hayman	Pawnee	10/12/1887	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Luke	Phillips	Nez Perce	1/10/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Jack	Mather	Lipan Apache	2/5/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Samuel	John	Nez Perce	2/11/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Sibyl	Marko [Marks]	Chiricahua Apache	2/11/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Given	Bat	San Carlos Apache	3/2/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Judith	Kainkah	Chiricahua Apache	3/8/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Basil	Ekarden	Chiricahua Apache	3/20/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Henry	Ouita	Plains Apache	3/27/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Helen	Yot-Soza	Chiricahua Apache	4/13/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alida	Booth	Chiricahua Apache	4/17/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Albert	Casadore	San Carlos Apache	4/18/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
William	Summers	[Northern] Cheyenne	5/21/1888	Unknown	E1327, Box 8 in Abe Summers, NARADC
Horace	Chato	San Carlos Apache	5/25/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lucia	Yai-tсах	Chiricahua Apache	5/26/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Simon	Dakosin	Chiricahua Apache	6/22/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Florence I.	Barnett	Odawa	7/5/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Neal	Suison	Chiricahua Apache	7/5/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
John	Miller	Miami	7/6/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ada	Fox Catcher	Tonto Apache	7/13/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Eva	Anosaien	Chiricahua Apache	7/31/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Aaron	Yalosha [Yalosla]	San Carlos Apache	8/2/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Rogers	Dudzarda	Chiricahua Apache	9/9/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Nora	Iznacho	Chiricahua Apache	11/12/1888	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	Londrosh	Ho-Chunk	11/26/1888	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Rudolph	Esenday	Chiricahua Apache	3/1/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Samson	Noran	Chiricahua Apache	3/9/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Henry	Morning	Southern Cheyenne	3/28/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Mira	Kiecha [Kie-Cha]	Chiricahua Apache	3/31/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Caleb	Kechjolay	Chiricahua Apache	4/13/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Hannah	Dehegin [Dechezin]	Chiricahua Apache	5/4/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Susie	Nachekea	Chiricahua Apache	5/14/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Elliot	Kiowa	Kiowa	5/26/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Katie [Kate]	Dionta	San Carlos Apache	5/27/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Ezra	Anigoon	San Carlos Apache	5/30/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Geoffrey	Iskee	Chiricahua Apache	7/5/1889	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Beulah	Istone	Chiricahua Apache	8/12/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Maggie	Iahanetha	Chiricahua Apache	10/14/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
James	Shawbush	Saginaw Chippewa	11/6/1889	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Wilkie	Sharp	Pawnee	1/11/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Arthur	Adams	Southern Cheyenne	1/17/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Harry	Marmon	Laguna Pueblo	2/8/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Ira	Goso	Chiricahua Apache	4/3/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mary	Paisano	Laguna Pueblo	4/28/1890	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Belle	Cohoe	Southern Arapaho	4/29/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Wilbur	Dechezin	Chiricahua Apache	6/9/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Fred	Harris	Tlingit	6/9/1890	Unknown	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Bishop L.	Shield	Gros Ventre	7/30/1890	Pneumonia	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Godfrey	Palatchay	Chiricahua Apache	7/31/1890	Hemorrhage	E1324, 185, NARADC
George	Harrison	Southern Cheyenne	9/12/1890	Consumption	E1324, 188, NARADC
Ophelia	Powlas	Wisconsin Oneida	2/21/1891	Pneumonia	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
John Walking	Pipe	Southern Arapaho	3/5/1891	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Richard	Morgan	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	3/25/1891	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
George	Ell	Piegian	4/7/1891	Hemorrhage	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
James	Cornman	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/21/1891	Consumption	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
John	Bull	Gros Ventre	5/7/1891	Consumption	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
George	Rusk	La Pointe Chippewa	6/21/1891	Inflamation of the bowels	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Susie	King	[Grand Traverse] Chippewa	10/21/1891	Typho-malarial fever	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lawney	Shorty	Piegian	2/16/1892	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Fannie	Charging Shield	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/7/1892	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Boisie	Bassford	Paiute	4/16/1892	Consumption	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas	Suckley	Mandan	4/16/1892	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Willie	Norkok	Fort Hall Shoshone	5/23/1892	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Margaret	Davis	L'Anse Chippewa	12/31/1892	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sophy [Sophia/Sopley]	Coulon	Wisconsin Oneida	1/19/1893	Tuberculosis of bladder	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Tabitha	Carroll	Southern Arapaho	2/3/1893	Consumption	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Flora	Patterson	Tuscarora	5/12/1893	Consumption; died in Philadelphia	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Samuel	Flying Horse	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/31/1893	Consumption	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Elsie	Davis	Cheyenne	7/16/1893	Consumption	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Solomon	Brown	Nakota	7/15/1894	Consumption	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Almeda	Heavy Hair	Gros Ventre	8/28/1894	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Minnie	Tope [Topa/Lopa]	Pawnee	8/28/1894	Tuberculosis; died at Methodist Hospital in Philadelphia	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Margaret	Yates	Chiricahua Apache	12/9/1894	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Nannie	Little Robe	Southern Cheyenne	2/15/1895	Pneumo Hydrothorax	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Eli	Hunlona	Chiricahua Apache	3/9/1895	Consumption	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frances	Bones	Comanche	5/7/1895	Catarrhal Pneumonia	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Moses	Neal	Sac & Fox	5/10/1895	Heart disease	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Susie	Reid	Chiricahua Apache	7/29/1895	Tubercular peritonitis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Martha	Anton	Akimel O'otham	9/5/1895	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Samuel	Gilbert	Ho-Chunk	10/24/1895	Pneumonia	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Herbert	Good Boy	Oglala Lakota Oyate	10/29/1895	Pneumonia	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Henry [Harry]	Greenbird	Saginaw Chippewa	11/5/1895	Inflammatory rheumatism	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mattie	Ocumma	Eastern Cherokee	11/9/1895	Cerebral Lesion	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Cora E.	Price	Cheyenne River Oyate	4/2/1896	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Edward	Spott	Puyallup	4/18/1896	Consumption	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Jemima	John	Wisconsin Oneida	5/10/1896	Consumption	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Miriam	Patton	Chiricahua Apache	5/22/1896	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Peter	Howe	Nakota	6/5/1896	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 2, NARADC

Fred	Senoche	Sac & Fox	6/5/1896	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Fiddle	Amowie	Menominee	11/12/1896	Suicide	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Melissa	Metoxen	Wisconsin Oneida	4/6/1897	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Julia	Jonas	Nez Perce	5/6/1897	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Victor	Seneca	Seneca	11/7/1897	Concussion	E1327, Box 110, NARADC
Sara K.	Smith	Fort Hall Shoshone	3/12/1898	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Ida	Bennett	Klamath	3/18/1898	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Frank	Green	Wisconsin Oneida	6/25/1898	Run over by train	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Antonio	Naneco	White Mountain Apache	11/26/1898	Tubercular meningitis	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Reuben	Tahpers	Southern Cheyenne	4/13/1899	Consumption	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Thomas	Marshall	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/23/1899	Black measles	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Leonidas	Chawa [Chaura]	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	6/24/1899	Hemorrhage of lungs	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Edward	Hensley	Ho-Chunk	6/29/1899	Pneumonia	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Christine	Redstone	Nakota	7/19/1899	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Percy	White Bear	Southern Cheyenne	7/22/1899	Consumption	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
	Laublock	Inuit	9/15/1899	Consumption	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Louisa	Juan	Akimel O'otham	3/20/1900	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
	Tomiclock	Alaska Native	4/8/1900	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Raleigh	James	Washoe	4/18/1900	Consumption	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Fannie	Gibson	Shawnee	12/6/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
John	Quagin	Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa	12/18/1900	Lung Fever	E1328, Box 6, NARADC

Della Tuscarora	Aitkens	Duck Valley Shoshone	12/25/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Robert	Scott	Seneca	12/30/1900	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Sarah Cook	Kirk	Kickapoo	3/6/1901	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Annie	Vereskin	Aleut	9/30/1901	Diphtheria	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Charles	Paisano	Laguna Pueblo	7/20/1902	Appendicitis	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
George	Bear's Arms	Gros Ventre	1/8/1903	Appendicitis	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Ada	Sanakwitzegats	Paiute	2/19/1903	Spinal meningitis	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Katie Helen	Adams	Crow	8/17/1903	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Helen	Fraties	Alaska Native	12/14/1903	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Mitchell	Solomon	St. Regis Mohawk	12/24/1903	Pneumonia	E1324, 253, NARADC
Cooki	Glook	Alaska Native	1/4/1904	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Albert	Thomas	Onondaga	1/6/1904	Pneumonia	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Wade	Ayres	Catawaba	1/18/1904	Vaccine fever	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Jemima	Metoxen	Wisconsin Oneida	4/6/1904	Spinal meningitis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Anastasia	Achwack	Aleut	6/20/1904	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Mabel	Stack Hark	Alaska Native	8/16/1904	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Wolfe	Sac & Fox	9/17/1904	Hemorrhages	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	Spulding	Alaska Native	3/25/1905	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ellen	Macy	Umpqua	4/3/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Delia	Williams	Saginaw Chippewa	5/2/1905	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ephriam	Alexander	Inuit	8/11/1905	Tuberculosis	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Nora	Printup	Seneca	8/22/1905	Drowned	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Edward	Andalook	Alaska Native	9/24/1905	Tuberculosis	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lattie	Sireech	Ute	1/28/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Albert	Williams	Seneca	4/9/1906	Scarlet fever	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Pariscovia	Fiedoff	Aleut	4/30/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sophia	Tetoff	Aleut	5/6/1906	Consumption	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
John	Phillips	Mohawk	8/28/1906	Unknown	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Alfred	Jackson	Seneca	12/7/1906	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Clariskey	Winnie	Seneca	2/19/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Henry	Fox	Pawnee	11/1/1907	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Fred	War Bonnet	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	2/1/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 10, NARADC
Claudie	Marie	Menominee	3/25/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Mary	Kinninook	Alaska Native	12/28/1908	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Roscoe	Conklin	Wichita	5/12/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Homer	Onondaga	6/22/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Paul	Sanders	Chitimacha	12/31/1909	Unknown	E1329, Box 9, NARADC
Ernest	Iron	Crow	3/10/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Peazzone	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	7/1/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Wallace	Berryman	Seminole	7/12/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mabel	Hart	Saginaw Chippewa	10/18/1910	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Wilson	Carpenter	Seneca	1/21/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Amy	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	5/13/1911	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Wesley	Two Moons	Northern Cheyenne	9/17/1911	Unknown	E1328, Box 6, NARADC

Mary	Hutchinson	White Earth Chippewa	5/31/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Carrie	Dunbar	Piegan	12/14/1912	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alice	Isoutea	Laguna Pueblo	4/4/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Pauline	Paezzone	[Maidu/Paiute: D]	6/17/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Henry	Buffaloe	Red Cliff Chippewa	6/29/1913	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Oscar	Derrisaw	Muscogee	2/27/1914	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Agnes	White	St. Regis Mohawk	10/3/1914	Appendicitis	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Katie	Cochran	Laguna Pueblo	10/23/1915	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Addie B.	Foster	Choctaw	1/29/1916	Tuberculosis following influenza	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Madeline	Goslin	La Pointe Chippewa	1/31/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Graybeard	Eastern Cherokee	2/1/1916	Pneumonia	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Charles	Duncan	Cherokee [OK]	3/9/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Joseph	Johnson	Laguna Pueblo	4/22/1916	Unknown	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Louis	Godfrey	Fond du Lac Chippewa	12/5/1917	Infected knee	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Finley	Colville	6/15/1918	Pneumonia	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Forest Grove/Chemawa, 1880-1934

First Name	Last Name	Nation	Date of Death	Cause	Source
Martha	Lot [Lott]	Spokane	10/16/1881	Unknown	P2008, 84, NARAS
Samuel	Orson	Nez Perce	1/1/1883	Unknown	P2008, 92, NARAS
William	Skitus	Wasco	3/16/1883	Unknown	March 16, 1883 entry, in Mary Richardson Walker diary, transcribed by Eva Guggemos, in Walker Family Papers, MS 102, Pacific University; P2008, 82, NARAS
Lila (Lillian)	Jack	Wasco	5/18/1883	Unknown	P2008, 84, NARAS
Winnie	Abrahams	Umatilla	6/28/1883	Tuberculosis	P2008, 84, NARAS
Emma	Winnun [Winampsnoot]	Umatilla	12/1/1883	Consumption	(Philadelphia, PA), April 12, 1884, 4-5; P2008, 84, NARAS
Emma [Amma]	Lowery	Umatilla	12/22/1883	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Sophia	Santiago	Nisqually	4/14/1884	Unknown [Also reported sent home sick]	P2008, 86, NARAS
Madge [Eunice]	James	Spokane	6/23/1884	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Abelia	Lyle [Loyie/Lyell]	Puyallup	1/15/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 96, NARAS
Thomas	Hunter	Paiute	1/22/1885	Scrofula	P2008, 90; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Sarah	Adams	Clallam	1/30/1885	Capillary Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9 in Charlotte

					Adams, Folder 231, NARAS
Charles	Thompson	Nez Perce	3/13/1885	Consumption/Scrofula	P2008, 88; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Romulus (Romie)	Sidwaller	Wasco	5/25/1885	Inflam. of brain	P2008, 90, NARAS
James	George	Spokane	6/5/1885	Consumption	P2008, 84; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239, NARAS
Rosa	Weeks	Klamath	8/5/1885	Pneumonia/Phthisis	P2008, 98; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 3, 4, NARAS
Ethel	Dowase	Klamath	8/23/1885	Unknown	P2008, 98, NARAS
Caesar [Cassius]	Brown	Klamath	11/4/1885	Typhoid-malarial fever	P2008, 98; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 11, 12, NARAS
Julia	Jopps	Spokane	2/5/1886	Typhoid pneumonia/consumption	P2008, 84, NARAS
Joseph	Terbascot	Puyallup	3/16/1886	Pneumonia	P2008, 96, NARAS
Lizzie	Varner	Puyallup	3/31/1886	Consumption	P2008, 82; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239, NARAS
Nancy	Amos [Amors]	Nez Perce	5/31/1886	Consumption	P2008, 94, NARAS
Charles	Lowry [Lowrie/Lowery]	Umatilla	7/5/1886	Consumption/Typhoid pneumonia	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 23, 24, NARAS
Philip	Star [Starr]	Snake-Piute	12/28/1886	Consumption	P2008, 98; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238-239, NARAS
Ellen	Abraham	Spokane	1/2/1887	Unknown	P2008, 82, NARAS

Celia	Lane	Puyallup	1/2/1887	Unknown	P2008, 80, NARAS
Joseph	Jim Lucy	Wasco	2/12/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238- 239, NARAS
Charlotte	Adams	Clallam	3/31/1887	Consumption	P2008, 94, NARAS
Bell	Preston	Klamath	5/11/1887	Pneumonia	P2008, 98; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238- 239, NARAS
Mary	Wilson	Nez Perce	6/5/1887	Consumption	P2008, 92; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239, NARAS
Amelia	Linsley	Nez Perce	6/21/1887	Consumption	P2008, 88, NARAS
Ellen	Wilson	Nez Perce	8/8/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238- 239, NARAS
Peter	Charles	Snohomish	8/29/1887	Acute Bronchitis	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Sauet	Secup	Spokane	8/29/1887	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Walter	Burwell [Bunnell]	Tlingit	9/2/1887	Consumption	P2008, 82; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238- 239, NARAS
Hattie	Bary	Skokomish	10/15/1887	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238- 239, NARAS
Aggie (Angie)	Adams	Clallam	12/4/1887	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 232, NARAS
Frank	Rice	Spokane	2/28/1888	Consumption	P2008, 84, NARAS
Jesse	Geary	NTL	3/1/1888	[Unknown]	Chemawa Death List, NARAS
Ellen	Price	Nez Perce	4/7/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239, NARAS

Sophie	Santago	Puyallup	4/15/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239, NARAS
Susie	Harte	Skokomish	4/30/1888	Unknown	P2008, 94, NARAS
Margaret	Thomas	Clatsop/Coquille	5/15/1888	Consumption	P2008, 104; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 55, 56, NARAS
Norah	Fray [Fraï]	Yakima	7/15/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 239, NARAS
Rose	Maxwell	Nez Perce	11/25/1888	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Ajax	Elwood	Hupa	12/2/1888	Consumption	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 33, NARAS
Daniel	Boone	Nez Perce	1/13/1889	Heart disease	P2008, 88, NARAS
Ellen	Davis	Wasco	3/10/1889	Consumption	P2008, 102, NARAS
Charles	Lewis	Suquamish	1/2/1890	Inflam. of brain	P2008, 112, NARAS
Junior	Piute	Paiute	3/2/1890	Consumption	P2008, 88, NARAS
Lawrence	Pippin	[Samish]	3/9/1890	Consumption	P2008, 116, NARAS
Raleigh [Riley]	Billings	Rogue River	4/20/1890	Galloping Consumption	P2008, 116, NARAS
Estelle [Stella]	Flannery	Tlingit	10/7/1890	Typho malarial fever	P2008, 90; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 117, 118, NARAS
Minnie	Guthrie	Samish	11/22/1890	Inflam. lungs	P2008, 116, NARAS
Lucy	Ross	Clallam	6/22/1891	Chronic Bronchitis; Consumption	P2008, 94, NARAS
Michael	Charlie [Charley]	Yakima	6/23/1891	Heart disease	P2008, 100; Chemawa Sanitary

					Record, 135, 136, NARAS
Wm.	Johnson	Klamath	11/1/1891	Unknown	P2008, 126, NARAS
Wm. C.	Beckwith	Hupa	12/10/1891	Unknown	P2008, 126, NARAS
Ida	Watson	Alsea	12/14/1891	Unknown	P2008, 128, NARAS
Isaac	La Chapelle	Shuswap First Nation	1/1/1892	Unknown	P2008, 124, NARAS
Cora	Sutherland	Klamath	1/2/1892	Purpura Hemorrhage	P2008, 130; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 145, 146, NARAS
George	Underville	[Puget Sound]	1/2/1892	Purpura Hemorrhagica	P2008, 108; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
Daniel	Hosler	Hupa	1/13/1892	Typhoid fever	P2008, 124; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
Augustine [August]	Woods	Shanochena	1/15/1892	Pneumonia	P2008, 126; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
Nettie	Freddie	Paiute	1/22/1892	Tuberculosis	P2008, 90; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
Frank	Le Plante	[Samish/Lummi]	1/28/1892	Pneumonia	P2008, 114; Chemawa Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
Louise	La Plant	[Samish/Lummi]	2/13/1892	Acute Mania/Cerebral Softening	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 145, 149, 150, NARAS
Moses	Woods	Shanochena	2/21/1892	Cancrum Oris	P2008, 126; Chemawa

					Sanitary Record, 147, 148, NARAS
William	Stokes	Hupa	12/20/1892	Valvular defect/bronchitis	P2008, 126; Chemawa Daily Sick List, 134, NARAS
Nettie	Whitley	Tenino	1/10/1893	Capillary Bronchitis	CH35: Sanitary Record, 1884-1892, Box 4, 9, 10, NARAS
Grant	Cass	Rogue River	2/6/1893	Unknown	P2008, 108, NARAS
Frank	Howard	Chehalis	4/2/1893	Pneumonia	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 34, 38, NARAS
Thomas D.	Johnson	Samish	5/13/1893	Phthisis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 56, NARAS
Louisa	George	Klamath	6/7/1893	Phthisis Pulm	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 66, NARAS
Christina	Poland	NTL	3/13/1894	Phthisis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 14-15, NARAS
Frank	Granvelle [Gravelle]	Stickeen	4/13/1894	Tubercular Scrofulous Sores	P2008, 144; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 28, NARAS
Maggie	Pugh	Sound	4/18/1894	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 977, NARAS
Lucy	Granger	San Poil	5/10/1894	Tuberculosis	P2008, 142, NARAS
Angeline	McDougall	Colville [Okanagan]	5/25/1894	Tuberculosis	CH35: Daily Sick List, 1883-1897, 1908-45, Box 1, 212-213; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-

					1909, Box 2, 34, 36, 45, NARAS
Julia	Antoine	NTL	6/10/1894	Tuberculosis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 34, 52, NARAS
Stephen	Arden	Siletz	2/20/1895	Unknown	P2008, 146, NARAS
Norbert	McDougall	Okanagan	3/20/1895	Phthisis Pulm.	P2008, 142, NARAS
Maggie	Chesaw	San Poil	4/10/1895	Unknown	P2008, 142; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 238, NARAS
Frederick	Wasson	Coos	5/14/1895	Pertussis; Bronchitis	P2008, 146; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 20-21, 24, 29, 239, NARAS
Fred (Beda Bede)	Peter	Klickitat	5/18/1895	Unknown	P2008, 130, NARAS
Rosa	Shurtleff [Shurtloff]	Wintun	5/28/1895	Tuberculosis	P2008, 138; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 22-23, 238, NARAS
James	Ingram	NTL	9/8/1895	Meningitis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 72-73, 76, NARAS
David	Sisk	Wintun	11/5/1895	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 844, NARAS
Christine	Poniton [Poynton]	San Poil	12/11/1895	Tuberculosis	P2008, 142; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 14, 128-129, 239, NARAS
Amelia	Dow	NTL	12/17/1896	Gangrene of mouth	P2008, 152; Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, 24, NARAS
Michael	Leshi	Puyallup	1/6/1897	Pulmonary congestion	P2008, 148; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 24, NARAS
Maggie	Wiggins	[Chinook/Samish/Lummi]	1/7/1897	Jaundice	Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 24, NARAS
Lena [Levi]	Safford	[Maidu or Paiute]	3/9/1897	Tubercular meningitis	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Louisa	Favell	San Poil	8/6/1897	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Death List; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 45, NARAS
John	Henry	[Honnah]	12/31/1897	Acute abscess of back	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 186; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 45, NARAS
Ada	Baldwin	Snake River	9/3/1898	Typhoid fever	Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-1899, 71, NARAS
Eddie	Temple	Hupa	1/12/1899	Influenza	Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896-

					1899, 79, NARAS
Sarah	Kuhn	Yuki	4/23/1899	Acute paralysis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 218, NARAS
Jessie	Simmons	Wailaki	4/25/1899	Meningitis	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 218, NARAS
Henry	Cameron	Wailaki	9/7/1899	Meningitis	P2008, 166; Chemawa Sanitation Records, 1896- 1899, 90, NARAS
Illeg.	Illeg.	Yuki	11/23/1899	Unknown	P2008, 178, NARAS
Vivian	Ayalla	Round Valley	1/23/1900	Tubercular meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1294, NARAS
Andrew	Bagnell	Rogue River	2/12/1900	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Walter	Dow	Hupa	3/16/1900	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
George	Wilcox	NTL	4/18/1900	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Emily	Evans	NTL	5/14/1900	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Arthur	Mitchell	[Tsimshian/Sant iam]	4/29/1901	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1727, NARAS
Henry	Wiggins	Chinook	4/29/1901	Smallpox	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 547 in Charles Wiggins, NARAS
Lucinda	Riggs	Klamath	6/2/1901	Peritonitis	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 11, Folder 1418, NARAS
Della	Dow	Hupa	6/19/1901	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Francis	Waydelich	Tlingit	6/21/1901	Consumption	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1616 in John Waydelich, NARAS
Charles	McFarland	Alaska Native	7/18/1901	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1502, NARAS
Elijah	Brown	Cascade	8/29/1901	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 639, NARAS
George	Logan	Yakima	4/6/1902	Acute Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1768, NARAS
Edna	Baldwin	Snake River	5/13/1902	Brain Inflammation	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 10; Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1400, NARAS
Charles	Koepp	Alaska Native	5/24/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 10, NARAS
John	Dixon	Karuk	7/15/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 17, NARAS
Matilda	Romeo [Romer]	Tlingit	7/20/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 17, NARAS
Effie P.	Kavanaugh	Lummi	9/10/1902	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 20, NARAS

Elmer	Mitchell	Tsimshian	2/24/1903	Scarlet fever	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1744, NARAS
Charley	Hicks	Alaska Native	3/31/1903	Tuberculosis and appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 10, Folder 1247, NARAS
Albert	Evo [Ero/Errough]	Chinook	4/26/1903	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 37, NARAS
Ephie	Moore	Rogue River	5/19/1903	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 40, NARAS
Alice [Annie]	Hayes	Alaska Native	6/14/1903	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 43, NARAS
Lily	Dow	Hupa	7/20/1903	Tubercular pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1591, NARAS
Jesse	Oscar	Tsimshian	12/24/1903	Pneumonia	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Rose	Guthrie	Samish	1/1/1904	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 9, Folder 558, NARAS
Bertha	Meeker	Puyallup	2/26/1904	[Mumps]	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2199 in Maud Meeker, NARAS
Lucinda	Wilson	Shasta	5/1/1904	Remittent Fever	CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS
Englebert	Smithers	Alaska Native	9/20/1904	Tubercular meningitis	CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS

Jessie	Johnson	Tlingit	1/6/1905	Tuberculosis; died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1483, NARAS
Viola M.	Jones	Tulalip	1/16/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2175, NARAS
Viola	Anderson	[Paiute] [CA]	1/18/1905	Meningitis Acute	CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS
Tillie	Nappo	Shoshone	2/25/1905	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2173; CH35: Hospital Records, 1893- 1909, Box 2, 65, NARAS
Louisa	Newton	Klickitat	4/1/1905	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1828, NARAS
Nicolai	Steptin	Aleut	4/8/1905	Drowned	P2008, 416, NARAS
Seth	Van Pelt	Chetco	6/16/1905	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2538, NARAS
Mary	Smokalem	Puyallup	8/8/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2414, NARAS
Frank	Walters	Shoshone	10/24/1905	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Adolph	Olafson	Tlingit	1/1/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1980, NARAS
Delia	Haight	Klamath	5/16/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Joseph	Towersap	Northern Shoshone	6/2/1906	Tuberculosis	CH40: Births and Deaths,

					1903-1945, NARAS
Rosa	Burns	Coos	6/19/1906	Hemoptysis	CH40: Births and Deaths, 1903-1945, NARAS
James	Flemming	Aleut	9/1/1906	Unknown	P2008, 214, NARAS
Sarah	Smith	Siletz	11/24/1906	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Nellie	Sanderson	Hupa/Modoc	1/11/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Louis	Scott	Shasta	2/14/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Elmer	Burt	[Wailaki]	3/24/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2741 in Ira Burt, NARAS
Walter	Burt	[Wailaki]	4/2/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2741 in Ira Burt, NARAS
Charles	Fiester	NTL	4/20/1907	Gunshot wound head	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1796, NARAS
Barry	Jeff	Yucca	5/1/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Oscar	Bowie	Hupa	6/22/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Annie	Jensen [Jessen]	Chinook	7/4/1907	Drowned	Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2086
Jennie	Shutzchagen [Shootshagen]	Chinook	7/4/1907	Drowned	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder

					2086 in Annie Jessen, NARAS
John	Miles	NTL	10/28/1907	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
David	Brewer	Puyallup	2/14/1908	[Unknown] Former student?	P2008, 80, NARAS
Charles	Bettles	Alaska Native	3/1/1908	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1985, NARAS
Hattie Dick	Zedlath [Zadlath]	Puyallup	5/17/1908	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2563, NARAS
Silas	Albert	Klamath	8/9/1908	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2705, NARAS
Ellen	Woods	Walla Walla	11/16/1908	Accidental Burns	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3054, NARAS
Frank	Pierce	Klamath	2/4/1909	Unknown	P2008, 244, NARAS
Charlie	Walton	[Alaska Native/Chinook]	3/21/1909	Drowned	Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, Folder 2994, NARAS
Christine	Dick	Puyallup	4/2/1909	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2562, NARAS
Abe	Wheeler	Kalapuya	4/28/1909	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3124, NARAS
James	Joe	Lummi	7/1/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2027, NARAS
Frank	Madison	NTL	7/2/1909	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 140, NARAS

Ebenezer	Phillips	Wailaki	7/9/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Sadie	Durkee	Chinook	7/16/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 21, Folder 2894, NARAS
Noval	Moris	NTL	9/1/1909	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 149, NARAS
Roy	Vanpelt [Van Pelt]	NTL	9/1/1909	Unknown	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 149, NARAS
Andrew	Bettles	Aleut	9/9/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 1984, NARAS
Charles	Bardwell	Duwamish	9/20/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Michel	Anthony	Coeur d'Alene	11/1/1909	Died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 20, Folder 2811, NARAS
Milton	Godova	Northern Paiute	12/8/1909	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2497, NARAS'
Helen E.	Dillstrom	Modoc	12/9/1909	Unknown	P2008, 262; Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2725, NARAS
Bibia	Agalla	Round Valley	1/23/1910	Tubercular meningitis	P2008, 166, NARAS
Thomas	Davis	Chinook	3/8/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker; Chemawa Student Files, Box 23, 2996, NARAS
Harry	Joe	Lummi	3/26/1910	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker;

					Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2029, NARAS
Frisco	Day	Clatsop	6/1/1910	Unknown	P2008, 168, NARAS
Frank	Gay	Siletz	9/4/1910	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3133, NARAS
Clarence	Bardwell	Duwamish	10/15/1910	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2664, NARAS
Gorham	Hickox	Klamath	4/21/1911	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 30, Folder 3427, NARAS
Peter	John	Alaska Native	9/1/1911	[Unknown]	Chemawa Death List, NARAS
John	Ketchikoff	Aleut	2/25/1912	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 28, Folder 3299, NARAS
Ralph	Narcisse	Cayuse	7/23/1912	Tubercular meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3600, NARAS
James	Benjamin	Nez Perce	8/1/1912	[Unknown]	Chemawa Death List, NARAS
Nellie	Fayne	Ahtna	1/7/1913	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 25, Folder 3122, NARAS
George	Cooper	Blackfeet	2/9/1913	Electrocution from street car	Chemawa Student Files, Box 37, Folder 3720, NARAS
Wallace	Farrow	[Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation]	3/28/1913	Railroad Accident	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2234, NARAS
Joseph	Teabo	Cowlitz	1/1/1914	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Martha	Alfaro	[Konkow]	3/1/1914	Bronchitis	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 24, Folder 3086, NARAS
Wanka (John)	Crain	Inuit	4/18/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 24, Folder 3063, NARAS
Paul	Dirk	Aleut	4/28/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3627, NARAS
Henry	Nekita	Tlingit	9/11/1914	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3913, NARAS
Daniel	Brown	Tlingit	11/4/1914	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4007, NARAS
Peter	Nelson	Aleut	11/27/1914	Pneumonia with heart trouble; tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3603, NARAS
George	Charles	Tlingit	6/5/1915	Drowned	Chemawa Student Files, Box 50, Folder 4253, NARAS
Sallie	Jackson	Tlingit	8/6/1915	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4191, NARAS
Hazel	Major [Mage]	Yuki	2/2/1916	Childbirth/Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4431, NARAS
Willie	Greeley	Warm Springs Paiute	3/18/1916	Tubercular pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4155, NARAS
Edward	Fields	Tlingit	7/24/1916	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4355, NARAS
Adolph	Seidner	[Wailaki]	10/25/1916	Heart failure from tubercular pneumonia and measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4572, NARAS

Jennie	Dick	Tlingit	12/29/1916	Measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 53, Folder 4357, NARAS
Bertha	Kamhout	Yakima	4/30/1917	Tubercular meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4477, NARAS
Lycondra	Squartzsoff	Aleut	1/8/1918	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 54, Folder 4423, NARAS
Ben	Hanniff	Oglala Lakota Oyate	1/18/1918	Tubercular meningitis following appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4702, NARAS
Edna	Deschamp	Cree/Nakota	1/26/1918	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3929, NARAS
Terenty	Merculief	Aleut	6/18/1918	Hemorrhage following pneumonia, heart trouble, and tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 61, Folder 4742, NARAS
Alex	Emanoff	Aleut	10/14/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Jack	Vielle	Blackfeet	10/16/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 4972, NARAS
Evan Edge [Ivan]	Anderson	Aleut	10/18/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 34, Folder 3545, NARAS
William	Sanderville	Blackfeet	10/18/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 4976, NARAS
Isaac	Spencer	Nez Perce	10/18/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5141, NARAS
Calvin	Davis	Gros Ventre	10/19/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 67, Folder 5061, NARAS
Edith	Potter	Yuki/Nomlaki	10/19/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5017, NARAS
Adeline	Quinby	Hupa	10/22/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 4990, NARAS
Joseph	Bear Chief	Piegan	10/23/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5175, NARAS
Blanche	Moore	[Round Valley]	10/23/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 69, Folder 5164, NARAS
Cecelia	Nye	Yakima	10/24/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5133, NARAS
Lucy	Bennett	[Rocky Boy] Chippewa/Sioux	10/25/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5095, NARAS
Gertrude	Hostler	Hupa	10/25/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4756, NARAS
Alex	Marks	Nez Perce	10/25/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5038, NARAS
Raymond	Wilson	Suquamish	10/27/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5142, NARAS
Mary	Murphy	Rocky Boy Cree	10/28/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 66, Folder 5023, NARAS
Buchert	Mary	Inuit	11/2/1918	1918 Influenza	Chemawa Cemetery Marker

Victor	Davis	Siletz	12/20/1918	Tuberculosis following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5055, NARAS
Dulcie	Howard	Klamath	3/28/1919	Heart following 1918 Influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5043, NARAS
Alice	Parsons	Nez Perce	4/11/1919	Chronic peritonitis following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4662, NARAS
Myra	Dailey	Lummi	6/8/1919	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4762, NARAS
Martha	Kash Kask	Cayuse/Nez Perce	7/1/1919	Tubercular glands	Chemawa Student Files, Box 68, Folder 5117, NARAS
Freda	Liljagren	Chinook	4/27/1920	Tuberculosis of bowels	Chemawa Student Files, Box 29, Folder 3355, NARAS
Sarah M.	Adams	Shasta/Klamath	4/28/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4849, NARAS
Anna [Annie]	Davis	Siletz	5/14/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
George	Churchill	Tlingit	7/1/1920	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4843, NARAS
Myrtle	Murree	Shasta/Klamath	8/25/1920	Meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4786, NARAS
Helen #2	Johnson	Tlingit	11/1/1920	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5366, NARAS
Lena	Johnson	Koyukon	1/23/1921	Inflammation of bowels	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5507, NARAS

Ella	Davis	NTL	5/13/1921	Pneumonia [following measles]	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Eugene	Grandchamp	Nakota	5/29/1921	Inflammation of brain	Chemawa Student Files, Box 81, Folder 5885, NARAS
Wilfred	Eaton	Tsimshian	6/28/1921	Meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5384, NARAS
Cora	Kennedy	Tsimshian	11/7/1921	Rheumatism/Tu berculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 77, Folder 5651, NARAS
William	Ryan	Colville	11/23/1921	Nephritis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5962, NARAS
Tillie	Franklin	[Nisenan]	2/4/1922	Hemorrhage	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6089, NARAS
Grace	Flanders	Spokane	3/27/1922	Lethargic Encephalitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5853, NARAS
Mabel	Harriman	Snohomish/Tula lip	5/1/1922	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 83, Folder 6020, NARAS
[Isaacs]	[Mulerfiss]	NTL	6/24/1922	Indigestion	Chemawa Sanitation Records, Box 4, NARAS
Alexander	Nashoulook	Inuit	7/24/1922	Gland operation	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5926, NARAS
Norma	Weeks	Eyak	8/13/1922	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5597, NARAS
Lawrence	Larsen	Aleut	10/12/1922	Brain fever	Chemawa Student Files,

					Box 73, Folder 5429, NARAS
Vincent	Marcell	Alaska Native	1/3/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Kate	Dahlgren	Tlingit	3/15/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 75, Folder 5548, NARAS
Mabel	Osuk	Inuit	4/29/1923	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 73, Folder 5463, NARAS
William	Drunk	Alaska Native	5/26/1923	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 87, Folder 6266, NARAS
Winifred	Demmert	Tlingit	6/21/1923	Burns	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5370, NARAS
Ignace	Mulcapsee	Coeur d'Alene	6/26/1923	Heart trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 82, Folder 5960, NARAS
Martha	Francis	Inuit	1/5/1924	Pneumonia following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6763, NARAS
Martha	Francisco	NTL	1/5/1924	Measles	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Amelia Mary	Normandin	Flathead	1/12/1924	Heart attack following asthma following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 92, Folder 6528, NARAS
Charles	Wellington	Tlingit	1/17/1924	Tubercular pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6663, NARAS
Charles	Wellington	NTL	1/18/1924	Measles	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS

Frank	Guest	Alaska Native	2/3/1924	Meningitis [following measles]	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6056, NARAS
Abraham	Polty	Inuit	2/3/1924	Meningitis [following measles]	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6170 in Zida Tucker, NARAS
Florence	Snyder	Iñupiat	2/21/1924	Mastoid operation following measles	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6662, NARAS
Thomas	Ballard	Bannock	4/10/1924	Hemorrhage	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6190, NARAS
Henry	Brendible	Tlingit	6/1/1924	Died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6174, NARAS
Andrey	Rukovishnikoff	Aleut	10/25/1924	Heart trouble	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6718, NARAS
Fred	Shaughnessy	Inuit	12/23/1924	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 96, Folder 6772, NARAS
Alexander	Paul	Nez Perce	2/20/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 98, Folder 6924, NARAS
Charles	Wells	Inuit	3/12/1925	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6188, NARAS
Dan	Lavadure	Nakota/Chippe wa	3/31/1925	Tubercular meningitis following influenza	Chemawa Student Files, Box 100, Folder 7028, NARAS
William	McClusky	Alaska Native	5/9/1925	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6387, NARAS

Harry	McClusky	Tlingit	6/4/1925	Pericarditis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6627, NARAS
Albert	Uttecht	Aleut	6/5/1925	Meningitis resulting from TB arthritis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5826, NARAS
Joseph	Connor	Fort Peck Oyate	6/9/1925	Died running away	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6709, NARAS
Samuel	DeLorm	Chippewa [DeSmet, ID]	8/18/1925	Drowned	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6144, NARAS
James Merton	Dupuis	Flathead	11/21/1925	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 100, Folder 6992, NARAS
John	Jackson	Mono	3/29/1926	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 84, Folder 6078, NARAS
Mary	Brass	Crow	5/14/1926	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 102, Folder 7181, NARAS
Liberty	Shelton	Shasta	8/5/1926	Fell through dormitory window; Fractured skull	P2008, 571; Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7427, NARAS
Lillian M.	Marion	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	10/23/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 103, Folder 7243, NARAS
Stanley	Orton	Rogue River	10/30/1926	Injury	P2008, 402, NARAS
Ole	Strom	Quinault	11/3/1926	Football accident	Chemawa Student Files, Box 62, Folder 4772, NARAS
Fred	Nystrum	Tlingit	12/20/1926	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 94, Folder 6692, NARAS

Bessie	Dick	Klamath	1/18/1927	Myocarditis and pneumonia following influenza	P2008, 577; Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7599, NARAS
Harry	Petite	Grand Ronde	1/22/1927	Croup	P2008, 572, NARAS
Freda	Moore	Klamath	2/9/1927	Tetany	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7645, NARAS
Pauline	McNeil	Alaska Native	4/14/1927	Tuberculosis and whooping cough	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6441, NARAS
James	McMann	NTL	5/23/1927	Cardiac nephritis	Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Vina	Cleveland [Zambesi]	Eastern Shoshone	7/8/1927	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7566, NARAS
Viella	Hurley	Alaska Native	11/9/1927	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6108, NARAS
Mae	Pias [Piaz]	Blackfeet	1/13/1928	Pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 113, Folder 7844, NARAS
Joseph Ambrose	Matt	Flathead	6/18/1928	Drowned	Chemawa Student Files, Box 108, Folder 7540, NARAS
Margaret	Borg	Inuit	8/4/1929	Tuberculosis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 90, Folder 6425, NARAS
Ellen	Hurtado	Eastern Shoshone	5/19/1930	Appendectomy	Chemawa Student Files, Box 125, Folder 8514, NARAS
Harry	Archambeau	Oyate	9/29/1931	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker

Kenneth	Saxon	Wiyot	11/17/1931	Tubercular meningitis; died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7577, NARAS
Edward	Bellinger	Umatilla	3/17/1932	Appendicitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 93, Folder 6610, NARAS
Etheline	Babawena	Western Shoshone [Washakie, UT]	5/14/1932	Tubercular meningitis following pneumonia	Chemawa Student Files, Box 130, Folder 8797, NARAS
Ruth Louise	Hurtado	Eastern Shoshone	6/26/1932	Meningitis	Chemawa Student Files, Box 125, Folder 8515, NARAS
Edna	Gabriel	Inuit	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Fred	Meaker	NTL	ND	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 49, 50 (Dates stop consistency; Only Month and Year Given), NARAS
Joe	Meaker	NTL	ND	Consumption	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 55, 56, NARAS
Nick	Nelson	Alaska Native	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 47, Folder 4112, NARAS
George	Paiute	NTL	ND	Scrofula	Chemawa Sanitary Record, 51, 52, NARAS
Emma	Williams	NTL	ND	Unknown	Chemawa Student Files, Box 17, Folder 2480 in Clara Williams, NARAS
Unnamed Student [1 of 3]				1918 Spanish influenza	"Annual Report, 1919,"

					Statistical, 4, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS.
Unnamed Student [2 of 3]				1918 Spanish influenza	“Annual Report, 1919,” Statistical, 4, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS.
Unnamed Student [3 of 3]				1918 Spanish influenza	“Annual Report, 1919,” Statistical, 4, in Chemawa Annual Reports, Box 1, Annual Report 1919, NARAS.

Haskell, 1884-1920*

*Haskell student files after 1920 not included

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date of Death	Cause	Source
Eugene	Barber	Cheyenne	1/1/1885	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Cora	La Fromboise	Potawatomi	1/1/1885	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Thomas	Tuttle	Osage	1/11/1885	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 120, NARAKC
Norman	Brockley	Pawnee	1/23/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Edward	Harrold	Southern Arapaho	2/11/1885	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Charley	Panther	Osage	2/14/1885	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 89, NARAKC
Seth	Thomas	Osage	2/15/1885	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 117, NARAKC
William	Eyre	Pawnee	2/26/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Andrew	Williams	Pawnee	3/17/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Chester	Long-walk	Pawnee	4/3/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Lizzie	King	Peoria	4/17/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Steve	Kimball	Ponca	5/18/1885	Pneumonia	ARCIA, 1885, 230
Frank	Clark	Potawatomi	11/11/1885	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 24, NARAKC
Nellie	Hand	Arapaho	1/1/1886	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker

Herbert	Scheshewalla	Osage	1/1/1886	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Fred	Yellow Eyes	Southern Cheyenne	4/2/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 132, NARAKC
John	Buell	Cheyenne	4/20/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 17, NARAKC
Susie	Walker	Southern Cheyenne	4/29/1886	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Agnes	McCarty	Modoc	5/1/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 73, NARAKC
Moses	Holmes	Ponca	6/4/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC
Fred	Buffalo	Ponca	6/6/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 17, NARAKC
Sophie	Cadue	Kickapoo	8/19/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 19, NARAKC
John	Curley	Potawatomi	8/23/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 29, NARAKC
Ollie	Walker	Southern Cheyenne	12/30/1886	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 123, NARAKC
Lena	Cage	Pawnee	1/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
May	Mahojah	Kaw	1/1/1887	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Eberhald	Howell	Pawnee	3/7/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 56, NARAKC
Peter	Eiles	Mojave	6/24/1887	Consumption	Matriculation Records, 1885- [149], NARAKC
Peter	Siler [Silas]	Mojave	6/24/1887	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 108, NARAKC
Clarence	White	Pawnee	8/13/1887	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Maggie	Big Fire	Southern Cheyenne	8/19/1887	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Bird	McGuire	Osage	11/5/1887	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 75, NARAKC
Martha	Campbell	Seminole	1/1/1888	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Metapo	Cheateau	Osage	1/1/1888	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Edna	Eaves	Pawnee	1/1/1888	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Perry	Little Elk	Cheyenne	1/1/1888	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Charley	Reynolds	Southern Arapaho	1/2/1888	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 100, NARAKC
John	Guy	Caddo	2/13/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 48, NARAKC
Willie	Gibson	Caddo	3/10/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 44, NARAKC

Guy	Meacham	Pawnee	4/17/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 79, NARA KC
Fred	Sumner	Kaw	4/17/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 114, NARA KC
James	Beaver	Wyandot	5/2/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 9, NARA KC
Andrew	Big Snake	Ponca	5/6/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARA KC
Jesse D.	Murie	Pawnee	5/9/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 84, NARA KC
Chester	Big Tree	Ho-Chunk	5/15/1888	[Pneumonia]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARA KC
Willie	Sears	Oyate [Kaw Agency, IT]	5/18/1888	Accidentally killed	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 105, NARA KC
Samuel	Vallier	Quapaw	5/22/1888	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, NARA KC
Mary	Riley	Seminole	10/7/1888	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARA KC
Joseph	Banks	Paiute	1/1/1889	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
George	Clark	Pawnee	1/1/1889	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker
Joseph	Blackburn	Pawnee	2/16/1889	Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARA KC

Peter	Pearson	Pawnee	5/16/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Lee	Hall	Wichita	10/10/1889	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 49, NARAKC
Henry	La Clair	Ponca	4/14/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 66, NARAKC
Ora	Mathews	Osage	4/14/1890	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 78, NARAKC
Annie	Dickson	Southern Arapaho	10/13/1890	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [233], NARAKC
Christopher	Big Joe	Odawa	2/2/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Jerry	Wolf Chief	Southern Cheyenne	2/16/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 131, NARAKC
Eva	White	Iowa	3/25/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Harry [Marry]	Hanneno	Comanche	6/29/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 50, NARAKC
Agnes	Ricketts	Pawnee	9/8/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Jonah	Maharty	Shawnee	10/23/1891	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Ckayton	Wind	Odawa	1/23/1892	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885-,

					[296], NARAKC
George	Pishabay	Odawa	2/2/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Fred	Ingalis	Modoc	11/6/1892	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Adam	Swamp	Wisconsin Oneida	12/14/1892	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [375], NARAKC
Josiah	Patterson	Pawnee	1/11/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 90, NARAKC
Ada	Mahojah	Kaw	1/21/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Carrie	Pendleton [Roman Nose]	Southern Cheyenne	5/29/1893	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 91, NARAKC
Esther	Hill	Wisconsin Oneida	2/18/1894	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 54, NARAKC
George G.	Evans	Shawnee	5/13/1894	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 38, NARAKC
Jack [Jackson]	La Force	Osage	5/24/1894	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1885- [3], NARAKC
Ambrose	Pequonga	Grand Traverse Odawa	2/4/1895	Consumption	Matriculation Records, 1885- [284], NARAKC
Johnnie	Mankoka	Potawatomi	3/1/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 76, NARAKC
Peter	Bundy	Miami	3/22/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 18, NARAKC
Fred	Big House	Southern Cheyenne	5/17/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Charley	Dean	Potawatomi	7/20/1895	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 31, NARAKC
Grover Cleveland	Spooner	Munsee	12/9/1895	Gastritis	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [213]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Nettie	Pequah	Kickapoo	12/13/1895	Abscess in ear and running into the train	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 92, NARAKC
Martin (Nodh-sioo-hioo)	Blue Back	Ponca	9/1/1896	[Unknown]	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
William	Pollock	Pawnee	1/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Martin	Blue Back	Potawatomi	2/28/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 12, NARAKC
Joseph	Bigfoot	Potawatomi	4/8/1899	Died on way home	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
James	Goes in the Lodge	Northern Arapahoe	4/20/1899	Died on way home	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Nelson	Swamp	Wisconsin Oneida	5/6/1899	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [8], NARAKC
William	Warren	White Earth Chippewa	6/1/1899	Died running away	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Ovid	Dechon	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	7/1/1899	Died running away	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 31, NARAKC
Frank	Shaw	Miami	10/1/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 107, NARAKC
Josephine	Choate	Nakota	10/6/1899	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 23, NARAKC
Charles	Edge	Caddo	3/21/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 37, NARAKC
Charles	Adams	Pawnee	4/30/1900	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [193], NARAKC
Sam	Ketchum	Delaware	6/1/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 63, NARAKC
Mary	Pahmahine	Potawatomi	8/27/1900	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 89, NARAKC
Button	Profit	Shawnee	1/4/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [76], NARAKC
Johnson	Peabody	Omaha	1/6/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [128], NARAKC
Arleigh	Perry	Chippewa [Celestine, IT]	1/31/1901	Pneumonia	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [164]; Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 92, NARAKC

Nelson	Bitolia	Tohono O'odham	2/15/1901	Pneumonia	Lawrence Daily World, February 16, 1901, 3
Nelson	Vitolis	Akimel O'otham	2/16/1901	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 144, 124, NARAKC
Lizzie	Picotte	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	10/7/1901	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 93, NARAKC
Job	Long	Eastern Cherokee	11/24/1901	Pneumonia	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [309], NARAKC
Nina	Beaupre	[St. Croix] Chippewa [Wabasha, MN]	11/26/1901	Uremic poisoning	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 9, NARAKC
Andrew	Smith	Eastern Cherokee	12/14/1901	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [214], NARAKC
Willie	Burnette	Potawatomi	12/22/1901	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 18, NARAKC
Willie	Wamego	Potawatomi	2/13/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [321], NARAKC
John	Taylor	Ute	2/19/1902	Typhoid fever	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [125], NARAKC
Robert	Archiquette	Wisconsin Oneida	4/13/1902	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 4, NARAKC
Charles	Quein	Wyandot/Seneca	7/1/1902	Sunstroke	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 98, NARAKC
Alex	King	L'Anse Chippewa	8/2/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1896- 1909, [106], NARAKC

Lomo	Congwhio	Hopi	9/9/1902	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Willie	Hanson	Ho-Chunk	9/28/1902	Hemorrhage	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [10], NARAKC
Joseph	Rousseau	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	10/7/1902	Cholera Marbus	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [182], NARAKC
Sophie	Waubonsee	Potawatomi	11/14/1902	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 125, NARAKC
Luella	Bronson	Delaware	11/23/1902	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [42], NARAKC
Barrett	Longmarsh	Ho-Chunk	5/23/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [67], NARAKC
Charles	Rough Feather	Oglala Lakota Oyate	5/30/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [41], NARAKC
Gorman	Carter	Caddo	6/8/1904	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [127], NARAKC
Sophia	Webster	Wisconsin Oneida	1/1/1905	Chorea	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [88]; Haskell LS, Box 148, 144, NARAKC
John	Little Eyes	Northern Cheyenne	3/19/1905	Quick Consumption	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Herbert	Horse Chief Eagle	Ponca	5/9/1906	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 55, NARAKC

Nettie	Wicks	Klamath	9/6/1906	Died on way home	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [323], NARAKC
Paul A.	Primeau	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	12/12/1906	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [370], NARAKC
Richard	Jack Rabbit	Crow	1/1/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Patrick	Levaie	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	1/18/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Sadie S.	Miles	Miami	4/13/1907	Inflammatory rheumatism and heart trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 80, NARAKC
Albicio	Sena	Diné	5/5/1907	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 106, NARAKC
Romando	Chavez	Pueblo [Albuquerque, NM]	6/22/1907	Drowned	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 22, NARAKC
Earl	McEvers	Potawatomi	12/29/1907	Unknown	Matriculation Records, 1907-, [68], NARAKC
Tom	Little Wolf	Oglala Lakota Oyate	1/17/1908	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Tom	Marshall	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/16/1908	Electrocution	<i>Ottawa Daily Republican</i> , June 18, 1908, 6
Roy	Spybuck	Wyandot	12/9/1909	Broken neck football injury	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
David	Hanson	[Maidu/Paiute]	1/1/1910	Unknown	Haskell Cemetery Marker

George	Brown	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate	7/21/1910	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Ellis	Carpenter	Choctaw	11/21/1910	Pneumonia/tube rculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 20, NARAKC
Roman	Harjo	Muscogee	2/4/1911	Meningitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 50, NARAKC
James	Reece	Leech Lake Chippewa	3/16/1911	Run over by team of frightened horses hitched to a wagon loaded with hay	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 99, NARAKC
Bertha	Pattequa	Sac & Fox	6/16/1911	Typhoid fever	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 90, NARAKC
Christian	Tehee	Cherokee [OK]	10/5/1911	Died running away	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 116, NARAKC
Antonio	Prieto	Soboba Band of Luiseño [Cahuilla]	11/7/1911	Tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 96, NARAKC
Sarah	Jordan	Wisconsin Oneida	12/28/1911	Appendicitis	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 61, NARAKC
Wesley	Bohanan	Choctaw	1/26/1913	Pneumonia	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Joseph	Laundry	Fond du Lac Chippewa	3/4/1913	Heart lesion	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 67, NARAKC
John	Willmot	NTL	6/19/1913	Unknown	Haskell LS, Box 160, 78, NARAKC
Caleb	Lew	Yuki	7/10/1913	Tuberculosis	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Sallie	Daniels	Muscogee	8/23/1913	Typhoid fever	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 30, NARAKC
Peter	Tanner	Cherokee [OK]	11/10/1915	Meningitis following middle ear trouble	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 116, NARAKC
William	Barnaby	Flathead	12/26/1915	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Red Eagle	Childers	Muscogee	1/2/1916	Sepsis following gunshot wound hunting/tubercul ar glands	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 22, NARAKC
John	Tiger	Muscogee	9/5/1916	Malarial chill causing heart failure	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 118, NARAKC
James	Mantel	Bois Forte Band of Chippewa	3/29/1917	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 77, NARAKC
Davis	Bond	Chickasaw	3/25/1918	[Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza]	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 13, NARAKC
Carrie	Rice	Sac & Fox	3/28/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 100, NARAKC
Alice	Pepper	Kaw	3/29/1918	Hemorrhage following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 92, NARAKC
Edward	Stephenson	Wichita	3/29/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 113, NARAKC
Unnamed student		NTL	<5/1/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell SCF, Box 5, NARAKC

Okfuckee	Bean	Muscogee	6/27/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 7, NARAKC
Banjamin	Barnaby	Ponca	7/16/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 6, NARAKC
Preston	Harley	Choctaw	10/15/1918	Pneumonia/intestinal complications following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Ruby	Daily	Otoe	10/16/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza/Child birth	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 29, NARAKC
Richard	Wapp	Potawatomi/Sac & Fox	10/16/1918	Died running away from 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 124, NARAKC
Irwin	Harrington	Southern Arapaho	10/18/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, NARAKC
Grace	Butler	Sac & Fox	10/20/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 19, NARAKC
Roy	Eastman	Santee Dakota	10/22/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 36, NARAKC
Thelma	Bedford	Choctaw	10/23/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 9, NARAKC
Victor	Bergevin	Flathead	10/29/1918	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Pansy	Westman	Santee Dakota	12/5/1918	Bright's disease following 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 126, NARAKC
Joseph	Gates	Standing Rock Oyate	8/25/1919	Drowned	Haskell Student Files, 1884-

					1920, Box 44, NARAKC
Jefferson	Pickens	Chickasaw	2/14/1920	Pneumonia following Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 93, NARAKC
Charles	Holden	Eastern Shawnee	6/1/1920	Unknown	Haskell Student Files, 1884- 1920, Box 54, NARAKC
Two students			<7/1/1921	Unknown	Annual Report, 1921, M1101, Reel 60.
One student			<7/1/1922	Drowned	Annual Report, 1922, M1101, Reel 60.
Three students			<7/1/1923	Unknown [2 lung trouble]	Annual Report, 1923, M1101, Reel 60.
NN	NN	Ute	<7/1/1924	Meningitis	Annual Report, 1924, M1101, Reel 60.
Two students		NTL	<7/1/1925	Appendectomy	Annual Report, 1925, M1101, Reel 60.
One student			<7/1/1926	Meningitis following influenza	Annual Report, 1926, M1101, Reel 60.
NN	NN	Cherokee	10/22/1927	Peritonitis following appendectomy	Annual Report, 1928, S2, M1101, Reel 60.
NN	NN	Bannock	12/6/1927	Concussion [Football injury]	Annual Report, 1928, S2, M1101, Reel 60.
NN	NN	Chippewa	5/30/1928	Acute endocarditis following influenza/pneu monia	Annual Report, 1928, S2, M1101, Reel 60.
NN	NN	Chippewa	<7/1/1929	Meningitis	Annual Report, 1929, M1101, Reel 60.
Charlene	Wilson	NTL	6/6/1930	Tuberculosis following	Annual Report, 1930, M1101, Reel 61.

				pneumonia/scarl et fever	
NN	NN		<7/1/1931		Annual Report, 1931, M1101, Reel 61.
Two students			<7/1/1923		Annual Report, 1934, M1101, Reel 61.

Perris/Sherman Deaths, 1893-1934

First Name	Last Name	Tribe	Date of Death	Cause	Source
Samuel	Scholder	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	6/1/1894	Typhoid fever	<i>ARCIA, 1894, 373</i> ; Perris Registration Ledger 1:52, Sherman Indian Museum
Angelina	Manuel	Tejon	3/24/1897	[Unknown]	Perris Registration Ledger 1:52, Sherman Indian Museum
Pedro	Quileg	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	4/19/1897	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 1:46, Sherman Indian Museum
Margarita	Guache	Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla	1/24/1899	Heart trouble	Sherman LS, Box 42, 82, NARAR
Cabauna	Nelson	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	2/6/1899	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:30, Sherman Indian Museum
Ramundo	Blacktooth	Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla and Cupeño Indians	11/1/1901	Unknown	Perris Registration Ledger 2:76-77, Sherman Indian Museum
William	Gabriel	Morongo Band Serrano	12/18/1902	Typhoid pneumonia	Sherman LS, Box 42, 52, NARAR
Nicholas	Tortas	Santa Rosa or Soboba Band of Cahuilla	3/24/1903	Pneumonia	Sherman LS, Box 42, 138-139, NARAR
Ben	Ardilla	San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians	7/6/1903	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 42, 368, NARAR
Chester	Moore	Rogue River	1/1/1904	Typhoid pneumonia with brain complication	Sherman LS, Box 42, 455, NARAR

John	Pugh	NTL	5/8/1904	Unknown	Sherman LS, Box 42, 151-153, NARAR; Sherman Cemetery Marker
Lizzie	Edwards	Koncow	5/17/1904	Unknown	Keller, "In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness," 106.
Harry	Seonia [Sepnta]	Laguna Pueblo	7/24/1904	Pneumonia	Sherman Institute, Box 107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, 24, NARAR
Nancy	Lawrence	Tejon	7/27/1904	Pneumonia following measles	Keller, "In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness," 106; Sherman Cemetery Marker
Lillie	Edwards	Round Valley	10/29/1904	Typhoid pneumonia	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR
Mateo	Couts	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/6/1904	Typhoid fever	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR
Johnnie [Dan]	Edwards	Round Valley	11/9/1904	Typhoid fever	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR
Mamie	Alphus	Klamath	11/10/1904	Typhoid fever	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR
John	Powers	Wailaki	11/12/1904	Typhoid fever	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR
George	Summersall	Pomo	11/14/1904	Typhoid fever	Sherman LS, Box 42, 328, NARAR

Sampson	Burns	Laguna Pueblo	3/1/1906	Tubercular glands	Sherman Institute, Box 107, Folder Telegrams sent 4/1/1904-9/13/1909, 124, NARAR
Unknown	Unknown	NTL	7/16/1906	Heart failure	Sherman LS, Box 42, 30-31, NARAR
John	Pablo	Akimel O'otham	11/30/1907	Injured in Football game	Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR
Charles	Tsosal	Diné	4/27/1908	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman LS, Box 43, 302, NARAR
Adam	Nakhaha	Hopi	11/19/1908	Heart failure superinduced by pneumonia	Sherman LS, Box 43, 30, NARAR
Charles	Ammon	[Chumash]	3/15/1909	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 8, NARAR; Sherman Cemetery Marker
Albert	Juan	NTL	6/4/1909	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Lojio	Panjamin	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	6/19/1910	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 277, NARAR
James	Hancock	Mono	10/2/1910	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 138, NARAR
George	Lawrence	Moapa Band of Paiute	4/27/1911	Tubercular peritonitis following typhoid fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 201, NARAR
Carmel	Calac	Rincon Band of Luiseño	4/30/1911	Sub-acute nephritis	Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR

Jose	Lawyer	NTL	9/2/1911	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Raymond	Powett	Cahuilla	10/31/1911	Typhoid fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Raymond	Casera	Cahuilla/[Pechanga Band of Luiseño]	11/3/1911	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 57A in Frederick Casera, NARAR
Julia	Antonio	Tohono O'odham	2/8/1912	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR
Ernest	Sampson	Kaibab Paiute	2/23/1912	Phthisis	Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR
Clyde	Cookman	Klamath	5/3/1912	Died running away	Sherman Student Files, Box 76, NARAR
Minnie	Montoya	Cochiti Pueblo	6/1/1912	Tubercular meningitis following typhoid	Sherman Student Files, Box 252, NARAR
Lena	Tido	Moapa Band of Paiute	6/1/1912	Tubercular peritonitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 359, NARAR
Frank	Beatty	Paiute	8/24/1912	Phthisis	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Daria	Lugo	Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians	3/16/1913	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 218, NARAR
San Juan	Miller	Acoma Pueblo	10/17/1913	Pneumonia, liver infection, acute pericarditis	Sherman Student Files, Box 247, NARAR
Antonio	Ardilla	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	1/1/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 14, NARAR
Emma	Johnson	Mono	3/1/1914	Fever	Sherman Student Files, Box 176, NARAR
Sam	Marvin	Mono	6/22/1914	Unknown	Sherman Student Files, Box 232, NARAR
Juan	Chilino	Tohono O'odham	11/4/1914	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR
Lady [Lydia]	Jamison	Mono Lake Kutzadika'a Paiute	3/2/1915	Spinal meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 171, NARAR
Robert	More	Mono	5/14/1915	Concussion of brain from hammer throw	Sherman Student Files, Box 255, NARAR
Ignacio	Mariano	Tohono O'odham	10/7/1915	Killed by streetcar	Sherman Student Files, Box 226, NARAR
Nicholas	Jastey	NTL	11/28/1915	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Maud	Hope	Fort Hall Shoshone	1/4/1916	Gangrene poisoning	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
May Rose	Maddux	Karuk	1/4/1916	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 221, NARAR
Lyda	Deloya	NTL	6/10/1916	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Clyde	Himeletztewa	Hopi	3/29/1917	Tuberculosis	Sherman LS, Box 45, Folder Sept 18, 1916 to Jan 19, 1918 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR

Isabel	Luff	Pomo	4/11/1917	Kidney Failure	Sherman Student Files, Box 218, NARAR
Thoams	Compton	NTL	11/4/1917	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Santiago	Pacheco	Laguna Pueblo	10/11/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Fred	Smith	Diné	10/12/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 336, NARAR
Faith	Dickerman	Mojave	10/15/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 95, NARAR
Joe	Linton	Soboba Band of Luiseño	10/16/1918	1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 209, NARAR
Bayazzee	Jones	Diné	10/18/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 179, NARAR
Lucy	Antone	Akimel O'otham	10/19/1918	Pneumonia following Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 12, NARAR
Edward	Capon	Tohono O'odham	10/22/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 55, NARAR
Felipa	Magee	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	10/22/1918	1918 Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 221, NARAR
James	Vicenti	NTL	4/4/1919	Unknown	Chemawa Cemetery Marker
Amos	Addington [Lomakatchya]	NTL	4/24/1919	Tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 45712-1919 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC;

					Sherman Cemetery Marker
Nona	Burkhead	Mono	4/28/1919	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 49, NARAR
Mildred	Scott	Mojave	6/18/1919	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 324, NARAR
Mildred	Komopah	NTL	6/24/1919	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder Jan 23, 1918 to June 30, 1919 [1 of 3], NP, NARAR
James	Sowsea	Laguna Pueblo	6/25/1919	Gas explosion in bakery	Sherman Student Files, Box 341, NARAR
Jose Juan	Francisco	Tohono O'odham	6/23/1920	Killed by street car	Sherman Student Files, Box 117, NARAR
Salvador	Lopez	Tohono O'odham	6/23/1920	Killed by street car	Sherman Student Files, Box 117 in Francisco, Jose Juan, NARAR
Juan	Chilino	NTL	11/13/1920	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Elizabeth	Wright	Bishop Paiute	2/6/1921	Pneumonia following measles	Sherman Student Files, Box 398, NARAR
Fernando	Amago	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	2/11/1921	Pneumonia following measles	Sherman LS, Box 46, Folder July 1, 1920 to Nov 30, 1921 [2 of 3], NP, NARAR
[Sylvas]	Kahiyah	Diné	2/18/1921	Hemorrhage from the Muceus membrane of	Sherman Student Files, Box 183, NARAR

				nose and ear due to streptococcus infection following measles. Complications of pulmonary tuberculosis of the left lung	
Jennie	Akeah [Ahkeah]	Diné	3/6/1921	Tuberculosis/pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 3, NARAR
Elizabeth	Chinuppa	Diné	4/17/1921	Ptomaine; Botulism poisoning	Sherman Student Files, Box 66, NARAR; Sherman CCF, Box 8, Folder 101 Death Certificates, Etc., NARAR
Olin	Zhe He Nulli	Diné	7/2/1921	Died running away	Sherman Student Files, Box 402, NARAR
Chester	Denetclaw	Diné	8/15/1921	Tubercular laryngitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 92, NARAR
Walter	Swanston	Hupa	8/25/1921	Electrocution at Cannery	Sherman Student Files, Box 350, NARAR
Jerry	Horne	Klamath	1/13/1922	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 156, NARAR
Ivan	Jones	Little Lake Pomo (Round Valley)	5/1/1922	Influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 180, NARAR
Meta	Reece	Maidu	11/27/1922	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 301, NARAR
Keith	Santiago	Diné	8/20/1923	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 320, NARAR
Charlie	Chepo	Mono	3/8/1924	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 65, NARAR
Francis	Donnelly	Klamath	11/28/1924	Endocarditis	Sherman Student Files, Box 98, NARAR
Modesta	Villareal	Tejon	3/9/1925	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 373, NARAR
George	Barchum	Shoshone	3/22/1925	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 23, NARAR
Timothy	Sekiehongeva	Hopi	1/30/1926	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 326, NARAR
Frank	Myers	Diné	2/8/1926	Lobar Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 259, NARAR
Luke	Willis	Klamath/Paiute	3/9/1926	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 393, NARAR
Adolph (Manuellito)	James	Diné	3/21/1926	Concussion of brain cause by being accidentally struck on back of head by a shot-put	Sherman Student Files, Box 169, NARAR
Phyllis	Yanatza	Diné	3/25/1926	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 399, NARAR
Loraine	McCoy	Karuk	4/7/1926	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 237, NARAR
Donald	Warlie	Bishop Paiute	7/8/1926	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 378, NARAR
Esther	Pino	Laguna Pueblo	12/15/1926	Spinal fracture	Sherman Student Files, Box 289, NARAR
Douglas (Edmonds)	Tateekinve	Hopi	3/18/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 353, NARAR
Helen	Dodge	NTL	5/1/1927	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
George	Casner	NTL	5/21/1927	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Christine	Lewis	Akimel O'otham	9/11/1927	Toxic jaundice	Sherman Student Files, Box 206, NARAR
Peter	Stanshaw	Klamath	9/21/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 343, NARAR
Narcha [Nocho]	Garcia	Tohono O'odham	12/4/1927	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 121, NARAR
John	Bia	NTL	12/26/1927	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Lloyd Francis	Harvery	Akimel O'otham	2/18/1928	Died running away	Sherman Student Files, Box 142, NARAR
Merton	Pahuse	Hopi	3/9/1928	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 277, NARAR
Emma	Collins	Bishop Paiute	4/6/1928	Tubercular meningitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 73, NARAR
Hope	Lomahoema	Diné	5/16/1928	Tubercular meningitis following influenza	Sherman Student Files, Box 212, NARAR

Susan	Kewanvema	Hopi	2/23/1929	Tubercular peritonitis	Sherman Student Files, Box 187, NARAR
Dorothy	Tongockyownim	Hopi	3/30/1930	Killed in car accident while on outing	Sherman Student Files, Box 361, NARAR
Homer	Boho	Diné	11/22/1930	Tuberculosis	Sherman Student Files, Box 40, NARAR
William J.	Harris	Eastern Shoshone	1/2/1932	Pneumonia	Sherman Student Files, Box 140, NARAR
Woody	Napa	NTL	2/13/1932	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Robert	Welfelt	NTL	4/16/1932	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker
Christine	Fisk	NTL	8/6/1932	Cerebrospinal tuberculosis	Sherman CCF, Box 16, Folder 10827-1933 Sherman Inst. 700, NARADC
Mary	Bush	NTL	5/25/1933	Unknown	Sherman Cemetery Marker

Appendix 3: Student deaths within one academic year of discharge

Students listed here died within one academic year of leaving boarding school. They are arranged by school chronologically by discharge date.

Carlisle, 1879-1918

First Name	Last Name	Nation	Date of discharge	Notes/Cause	Source
Oliver	Spotted Tail	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/23/1880	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Myrtle	Flaces	Southern Cheyenne	6/21/1881	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Three additional students	Unknown	NTL	<7/1/1881	Died within one academic year of leaving	ARCIA, 1881, 242
Joe	Gunn	Ponca	7/1/1882	Died within one academic year of leaving	The School News 3:5 (October, 1882), 3
	Grant	Northern Arapaho	2/21/1883	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Dessie	Prescott	Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate	6/17/1884	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3; E1329, Box 4, NARADC
James	Fox	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/22/1886	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
A.C.	Ainsworth	Southern Arapaho	6/14/1887	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Daisy	Reynolds	Southern Cheyenne	6/14/1887	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
John	Davis	Laguna Pueblo	1/2/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
James	Black Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/10/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Herman	Young	Oglala Lakota Oyate	4/10/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC

William	Short Nose	Southern Arapaho	5/6/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Bessie	Bizeuh	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Hulda	Kinzhuna	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Giles	Lancy	Chiricahua Apache	5/30/1889	Died at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama, within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Flora	Pretty Lodge	Crow/Gros Ventre	7/8/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Harold	Dodestonay	Chiricahua Apache	10/16/1889	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edith	Abner	Peoria	2/19/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Bishop	Eatannah	Chiricahua Apache	3/11/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Matthius	Ekieh	Chiricahua Apache	3/11/1890	Tuberculosis; died at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama, within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Isabella	Two Dogs	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/25/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Bayard	Boynton	Southern Arapaho	7/1/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Louis	Crow on Head	Oglala Lakota Oyate	7/29/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC

Fred	Shance	Crow	7/29/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Charles	Bravo [Brave]	Crow	9/17/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Agnew	Chiskisay	Chiricahua Apache	11/10/1890	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Fannie	Short Neck	Southern Cheyenne	3/4/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Mack	Short Neck	Southern Cheyenne	4/8/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Martinez	Johns	Wisconsin Oneida	4/30/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5; E1329, Box 5, NARADC
John	Tyler	Southern Cheyenne	6/5/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6; E1329, Box 3, NARADC
John	McFarland	Nez Perce	7/2/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Ambrose	Gurnz	San Carlos Apache	3/4/1892	Died at Philadelphia Blind Institute within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Willis	Black Bear	Oglala Lakota Oyate	3/17/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Katie	Hammond	Nakota	6/14/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lawrence	Gotelay	Chiricahua Apache	8/22/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Anna	Samuels	Nez Perce	10/3/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Katie	Bent	Nakota	10/5/1892	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ocie	Gray	Nakota	8/17/1893	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Jean	Swan	Nez Perce	7/24/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Humphrey	Eschanzay [Escharzay]	Chiricahua Apache	8/7/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Chappo	Geronimo	Chiricahua Apache	8/7/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Thomas	Pelcoya	San Carlos Apache	12/10/1894	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Lizzie	Bear Gets Up	Crow	3/28/1895	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Amy	Johnson	Eastern Cherokee	4/27/1895	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Gail	Marko	Chiricahua Apache	11/7/1895	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Sill within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
William	White Wolf	Oglala Lakota Oyate	8/3/1896	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Frank	Penn	Southern Cheyenne	4/12/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Mamie	Morrell	Spokane	4/16/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Louis	Chutnicut	Pala Band Cupeño	8/14/1897	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Nellie	Tyndall	Omaha	10/5/1897	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Duiyah [Dinah]	Hornbuckle	Eastern Cherokee	2/21/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ophelia	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	3/23/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Simon	Standingdeer	Eastern Cherokee	7/1/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Richard	Bozelle	Sandy Lake Chippewa	7/5/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lillie	Treat	Southern Cheyenne	7/11/1898	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Lucy	Lowin	Eastern Cherokee	9/26/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Melissa	Zephier	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	10/3/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Sparrow	Standingdeer	Eastern Cherokee	11/28/1898	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Clyde	Oldman	Southern Arapaho	5/20/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Emma	St. Pierre	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/5/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
William	Drives-the-Bear	Standing Rock Oyate	8/7/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Maude	Spyback	Shawnee	11/27/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Louis	Subish	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	1/1/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Oliver	Duckett	Arikara	5/8/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Bertha	Fritts	Klamath	9/3/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Earl	Augustus	Paiute	9/13/1901	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 1, NARADC
Lena	Schanandore	Wisconsin Oneida	4/8/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Hilman	Jackson	Akimel O'otham	4/28/1902	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Lum	Chesowah	Osage	5/13/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Sam	Dewatley	Eastern Cherokee	6/10/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Jas. Lee	Patten	Arikara	7/2/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Ellen	Black Spotted Horse	Cheyenne River Oyate	7/9/1902	Scrofula; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lydia	Jamison	Seneca	9/24/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Robert	Iron Nest	Oyate [SD]	4/25/1903	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
Edwards	Tabby-man-aka	Caddo	6/3/1903	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 4, NARADC
Felix	Highrock	Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate	7/3/1903	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Myron	Moses	Seneca	1/18/1904	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving [previously sent home ill]	E1328, Box 3, NARADC
Timothy	Cornelius	Wisconsin Oneida	1/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Bernard	Green Plum	Standing Rock Oyate	1/24/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Jordan	George	Eastern Cherokee	3/14/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Claudie	Jamison	Seneca	5/5/1904	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Junalaski	Conseen	Eastern Cherokee	6/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Samuel	George	Eastern Cherokee	6/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mattie R.	Wells	Comanche	6/24/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alice	Drives the Bear	Standing Rock Oyate	9/22/1904	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1328, Box 5, NARADC
Edward	Thompkins	Klamath	2/16/1906	Tuberculosis; died on way home	E1328, Box 6, NARADC
Charles	Conequah	Lemhi Shoshone	3/17/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Mabel	Hood	Klamath	5/5/1906	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Frances	La Rocque	Chippewa [ND]	9/21/1906	Died within one month of leaving	E1328, Box 2, NARADC
John	Desantel	Spokane	10/27/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
George	Two Moons	Northern Cheyenne	5/27/1907	Died within one month of leaving	E1327, Box 127, NARADC
Joseph	Kakagon	Bad River Chippewa	7/18/1907	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Frank	Calico	Siletz	1/7/1908	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Lizzie	Rowland	Northern Cheyenne	2/3/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

				academic year of leaving	
Lilian	Otterchief	Crow	3/26/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Alonzo	Patton	Tlingit	4/3/1909	Grad; tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E-1329, Box 3, NARADC
Nora	Rowland	Northern Cheyenne	9/18/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Walter O.	Hunt	Pawnee	1/26/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Edna	Bisonette	Oglala Lakota Oyate	2/11/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Simon	Fancy Eagle	Pawnee	3/19/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Priscilla	Madison	Ponkapoag Massachusett	6/25/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Minnie	Crowe	Eastern Cherokee	8/6/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Edna	Hillman	[Maidu/Paiute:D]	12/8/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Boni	Carpenter	Seneca	5/13/1912	Died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Torrence	Jamison	Seneca	6/16/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Agnes	Jacobs	Onondaga	6/24/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4; E1327, Box 47 in Evelyn Gheen, NARADC
Agnes	Bryden	Wichita	12/7/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC

Frances	Dunbar	Piegan	12/15/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Albert	Fremont	Omaha	3/20/1914	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Peter	Davis	Laguna Pueblo	4/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Alice	Tyndall	Omaha	5/11/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Lillian	Barnhart	Umatilla	10/15/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one month of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Florence	Edwards	Seneca	12/7/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 4, NARADC
Ross	Arch	Eastern Cherokee	2/10/1916	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC
Amos	Jones	Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe	8/3/1916	Died within one academic year of leaving	E1329, Box 5, NARADC

Forest Grove/Chemawa, 1880-1934

First Name	Last Name	Nation	Date of discharge	Notes/Cause	Source
Alice	Simon	Puyallup	5/10/1883	Unknown; Died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84; H. J. Minthorn May 10, 1883 entry, in "Cash Book, 1883," in RG75, Chemawa Indian School, RG75, Chemawa Indian School, CH45: Financial Records, 1879-1961, NARAS
Amy	Sewokia	Wasco	6/6/1884	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, NARAS
Henry	Edwards	Nez Perce	6/4/1885	Scrofula; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 88, NARAS
Charles	Lowry	Umatilla	7/1/1885	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, 102, NARAS
Minthorn	Moses Price	Umatilla	7/1/1885	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 84, 102, NARAS
Hameu [Harvey]	Sampson	Klamath	7/10/1887	Typho-malarial fever; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 11, 238, NARAS
Lydie [Lydia]	Corner [Conner]	Nez Perce	11/9/1887	Died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one month of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 238, NARAS
Oscar G. [Orson]	Samuel	NTL	3/12/1888	Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Daily Sick List, 22, 239; Chemawa Sanitary

					Record, 49, 50, NARAS
Nine additional students		NTL	<7/1/1888	Died within one academic year of leaving	ARCIA, 1888, 272
Two students		NTL	<7/1/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	ARCIA, 1890, 306
Frank	McCarey	Samish	3/31/1894	Phthisis; died within one academic year of leaving	CH35: Daily Sick List, 1883-1897, 1908-45, Box 1, 210-211, NARAS
Frederick	Peters	NTL	5/16/1895	Tubercular adenitis; died within one month of leaving	CH35: Hospital Records, 1893-1909, Box 2, 28-29, NARAS
Dora	Dyke	Pit River	4/2/1900	Died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 176, NARAS
One student		NTL	<7/1/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	ARCIA, 1902, 466
Hayes	Willie	Chinook	2/21/1903	Killed by train; died running away?	Chemawa Death List, NARAS
Jessie	Johnson	Tlingit	1/6/1905	Tuberculosis; died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 11, Folder 1483, NARAS
Frank	Sylvester	Tlingit	5/13/1905	Unknown; Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2240 in George Sylvester; Chemawa Student Files, Box 12, Folder 1689, NARAS
Zorita [Loretta]	Oscar	Shasta	2/3/1906	Phthisis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder 2238, NARAS
Wallas	Petro	Molalla	6/1/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 15, Folder

					2229 in Jesse Lee Kirk, NARAS
Fred	Toby	Lummi	6/16/1906	Lung trouble; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2325, NARAS'
James	French	Lummi	9/16/1906	Brain fever; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 16, Folder 2308, NARAS
Viola Allen	Stuart	Nez Perce	7/1/1909	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 19, Folder 2799, NARAS
Michel	Anthony	Coeur d'Alene	11/1/1909	Died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 20, Folder 2811, NARAS
Harry	Joe	NTL	3/26/1910	Died at sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 14, Folder 2029, NARAS
Peter	John	[Clallam]	9/6/1911	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1945, NARAS
Aleck	Lee	NTL	2/1/1913	Sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 22, Folder 2930, NARAS
Ida	MonLee	Tlingit	7/24/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3841, NARAS
Peter	Myne [Rickteroff]	Dena'ina	7/24/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 42, Folder 3891, NARAS

Myrtle Mattie	Wilson	[Samish]	10/3/1914	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 18, Folder 2660, NARAS
Sidney	Lawson	Tsimshian	2/23/1915	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 45, Folder 4019, NARAS
Mesa	Skedaddle	Duck Valley Paiute	5/1/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 48, Folder 4157, NARAS
Richard	Shawcootah	Tlinit	6/1/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3773, NARAS
Ruby	John	[Smith River]	6/29/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 35, Folder 3616, NARAS
Josephine	Black	Western Shoshone	7/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 51, Folder 4292, NARAS
John	Miyamoto	Tlingit	8/1/1915	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 41, Folder 3873, NARAS
Mary	Andrews	Koyukon	8/26/1915	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 298; CH29: Index of Enrolled Students, 1913-1919, Box 1, NARAS
Otto [Arthur]	Rhodes	Tlingit	3/20/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium;	Chemawa Student Files, Box 43, Folder 3911, NARAS

				died within one academic year of leaving	
Fannie	Brown	Tlingit	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3767, NARAS
Mary	Buchart	Inuit	4/19/1916	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 39, Folder 3791, NARAS
Fred	Mason	Tlingit	11/20/1916	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 49, Folder 4184, NARAS
Alexis [Alex]	Beyers	Aleut	1/1/1917	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died with 1 year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 13, Folder 1970, NARAS
John	Gibson	Pit River	5/28/1917	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 60, Folder 4696, NARAS
John [Jack]	Newksick	Inuit	1/4/1918	Tuberculosis after mumps; died at Fort Lapwai Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4940, NARAS
Gordon	Albert	Tlingit	1/9/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 55, Folder 4466; Chemawa Sanitation

					Records, NP, NARAS
Rose	Ridley	Tlingit	7/20/1918	Quick Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 56, Folder 4497, NARAS
Jack	Kipp	Blackfeet	7/1/1919	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 67, Folder 5082, NARAS
Harvey	Milton	Tsimshian	1/1/1920	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5391 in Fred Milton, NARAS
John A.	Johnson	Tlingit	4/30/1920	Hemorrhage; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 58, Folder 4600; Chemawa Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Elizabeth	Blacketer	Rogue River	6/28/1920	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 74, Folder 5479, NARAS
Miranda	Anderson	Redwood Valley Pomo/Little Lake [Round Valley]	7/2/1921	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 63, Folder 4805, NARAS
Benjamin	James	Suquamish	4/21/1922	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 79, Folder 5758, NARAS
Blanche	Edenshaw [Cleveland]	Haida	2/16/1923	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 72, Folder 5353, NARAS
Oka	Pauline	Paiute	10/1/1923	Died within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 464, NARAS
Alice	Peratrovich	Tlingit	12/14/1923	Pneumonia; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 95, Folder 6737; Chemawa

					Sanitation Records, NP, NARAS
Alex [Alexani]	Williams	Nez Perce	2/9/1924	Tuberculosis; sent to Fort Lapwai Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 65, Folder 4946, NARAS
Henry	Brendible	Tlingit	6/1/1924	Died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6174, NARAS
Mary	Buck	Inuit	12/29/1924	Died at Fort Spokane Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	P2008, 480; Chemawa Student Files, Box 81, Folder 5921, NARAS
Luther	Jefferson	Klamath	1/6/1925	Died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 86, Folder 6185, NARAS
Margaret	Polty	Inuit	1/19/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 85, Folder 6134, NARAS
Dora	Jackson	Alaska Native	4/1/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 80, Folder 5812, NARAS
Frank	Melton [Minton]	Alaska Native	4/2/1925	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 89, Folder 6390, NARAS
Frank	Benjamin	Inuit	3/21/1926	Sent to Fort Spokane Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 76, Folder 5580, NARAS

Wallace	Hatch	Snohomish	1/1/1927	Mastoid operation; died within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 110, Folder 7663, NARAS
Etrich	John	Klamath	5/4/1927	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 106, Folder 7409, NARAS
Jessie F.	Wilson	Nakota/Yankton	11/30/1929	Tuberculosis following pleurisy; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 111, Folder 7679, NARAS
Elida	Hunter	Clallam	12/5/1929	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8490, NARAS
Idora	Farlow	Rogue River	12/30/1929	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 118, Folder 8134, NARAS
William	Penter	Samish	6/7/1930	Stomitis from ulcerated tooth; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 124, Folder 8452, NARAS
Wallace	Brings the Horses	Cheyenne River Oyate	6/18/1930	Sent to Tacoma Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 128, Folder 8678, NARAS
Kenneth	Saxon	Wiyot	11/17/1931	Tubercular meningitis; died on way home	Chemawa Student Files, Box 109, Folder 7577, NARAS
Earl	Russell	Northern Cheyenne	4/8/1932	Died at Yakima Sanatorium within one month of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 137, Folder 9199, NARAS
Nellie	Sorimpt	Colville	5/28/1932	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 131, Folder 8804, NARAS

Naomi	Red Cloud	Oglala Lakota Oyate	6/1/1934	Died within one academic year of leaving	Chemawa Student Files, Box 132, Folder 8868, NARAS
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Haskell, 1884-1920*

*Haskell student files after 1920 not included

First Name	Last Name	Nation	Date of discharge	Notes/Cause	Source
Gerome	Pokagon	Potawatomi	2/19/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Nathan	Black	Southern Cheyenne	3/7/1890	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 11, NARAKC
Ellen	Cerrie	Ponca	6/30/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 21, NARAKC
Luther	Benson	Pawnee	7/18/1891	Died within one academic year of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [17]; Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
Walter	Roman Nose	Southern Cheyenne	2/12/1895	Died within one month of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1885-, [136], NARAKC
Charlie	Connelle	Sac & Fox	1/9/1896	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 26, NARAKC
Anna [Annie]	Lockwood	Laguna Pueblo	12/10/1898	Died at Albuquerque school within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 71, NARAKC
Harry	Hand	Crow Creek Oyate	1/10/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 50, NARAKC
William	Barnum	White Mountain Apache	2/24/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 6, NARAKC

Miller	Harlow	Osage	3/28/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 51, in Winnie Harjoe, NARAKC
Joseph	Bigfoot	Potawatomi	4/8/1899	Died on way home	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 10, NARAKC
James	Goes in the Lodge	Northern Arapahoe	4/20/1899	Died on way home	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Mathew	Seattle	Puyallup	5/11/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 105, NARAKC
Martin	Flying Bird	Southern Cheyenne	12/1/1899	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 41, NARAKC
James	Frazier	Santee Dakota	5/21/1901	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell LS, Box 147, 126, NARAKC
Esther	Brien	Iowa	1/1/1902	Died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 15, NARAKC
Joseph	Clark	L'Anse Chippewa	1/1/1902	Consumption; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 24; Haskell LS, Box 144, 30-31, NARAKC
Edith	Navarre	Potawatomi	6/27/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	Matriculation Records, 1896-1909, [18], NARAKC
Dick	Paul	Caddo	6/1/1906	Died within one academic year of leaving	Peairs to Weller, December 16, 1904, 39, in Haskell LS, Box 148, NARAKC

Nettie	Wicks	Klamath	9/6/1906	Died on way home	Matriculation Records, 1902-1909, [323], NARAKC
Mamie	Valley	Western Shoshone	5/21/1907	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 121, in Maud Valley, NARAKC
Eugene	Williams	Nez Perce	6/5/1908	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Charles	Lightfoot	Otoe	1/22/1910	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 70, NARAKC
Lottie	Atyse	Laguna Pueblo	6/21/1912	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell LS, Box 146, 474, NARAKC
Ethel	Coburn	Klamath	5/26/1913	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 25, NARAKC
Martha	Good Boy	Sicangu Lakota Oyate	6/1/1913	Died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 45, NARAKC
Celia	Hunt	Acoma Pueblo	7/11/1913	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 57, NARAKC
Alfred	Wilkins	Choctaw	4/1/1914	Died at Glockner Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 129, NARAKC
Myrtle	Pollock	Pawnee	5/4/1914	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Thomas	Roughface	Ponca	2/6/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 103, NARAKC

Hugh	Oliver	Wichita	3/3/1915	Died at Sac & Fox Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 87, NARAKC
McKinley	Standing	Wichita	12/1/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 112, NARAKC
Marie	King	Oneida/Cherokee	1/1/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 64, NARAKC
Tonner	White Deer	Ponca	4/6/1918	Pneumonia following 1918 Influenza; died within one month of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 127, NARAKC
Aurelia	Porter	Nambé Pueblo	8/31/1918	Heart lesion and rheumatism; died at Albuquerque Indian School within one academic year of leaving	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 94, NARAKC
Richard	Wapp	Potawatomi/Sac & Fox	10/16/1918	Died running away from 1918 Influenza	Haskell Student Files, 1884-1920, Box 124, NARAKC

Perris/Sherman, 1893-1934

Last Name	First Name	Nation	Date of discharge	Notes/Cause	Source
Pachita	Fernando	Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:62-63, Sherman Indian Museum
Tortes	Julio	Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:64-65, Sherman Indian Museum
Ward	Maggie	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	11/5/1900	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:72-73, Sherman Indian Museum
Arzo	Nadia	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	12/15/1900	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:66-67, Sherman Indian Museum
Oakrillas	Leonardo	Morongó Band of Mission Indians [Luiseño]	<6/20/1901	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:58-59, Sherman Indian Museum
Estrada	John	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	11/20/1901	Unknown; died within one month of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Guavish	Marie	Pechanga Band of Luiseño	1/11/1902	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:88-89, Sherman Indian Museum

Philip	Costo	Cahuilla	1/17/1902	Died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:78-79, Sherman Indian Museum
Osuna	Viviana	Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño	6/30/1902	Unknown; died within one academic year of leaving	Perris Registration Ledger 2:92-93, Sherman Indian Museum
Angel	Calac	Rincon Band of Luiseño	1/1/1907	Sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one month of leaving 1917	Sherman Student Files, Box 52, NARAR
Freddy	[Not-woon-tewa]	Hopi	<5/7/1908	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman LS, Box 43, 306, NARAR
Eliz.	Santiago	NTL	2/22/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Ammon	Charles	NTL	3/13/1909	Meningitis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Lizzie	San Cheago	Tohono O'odham	<3/24/1909	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 317, NARAR
Mina	Hill	Klamath	5/24/1909	Tuberculosis following measles; died at home within one	Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual

				academic year of leaving	Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs; Sherman Student Files, Box 149, NARAR
Amanda	Campbell	Round Valley	6/5/1909	Tuberculosis following measles; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 54; Sherman CCF, Box 30, Folder 510.181 Annual Estimate or Open Market Purchases: Medicine, Drugs, NARAR
Carmelita	Jaramillo	San Manuel Band of Mission Indians or Soboba Band of Luiseño	12/1/1909	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 172, NARAR
Stephen	Chaqua	La Jolla Band of Luiseño/[Pechanga]	1/26/1910	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 61, NARAR
Bertha	Hilliard	Yosemite Miwuk	<3/4/1911	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 150, NARAR
Amanda	Heath	Yuki	>5/1/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 144, NARAR
Horace	Hill	Klamath	5/1/1911	Typhoid fever/tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 149, NARAR
Blanche	Masten	Klamath	5/1/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 232, NARAR

Rose	Sikyahhongisi	Hopi	6/3/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 331, NARAR
Rudolph	Pratt	Klamath	9/9/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Owen	Keaki	Diné	10/4/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 185, NARAR
Mary	Katawa	Fort Hall Shoshone	10/30/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 184, NARAR
Juan T.	Emarcia	Akimel O'otham	11/6/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 107, NARAR
Elsie	Smoker	Klamath	11/10/1911	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 339/202 in Minerva E. Leary, NARAR
Felicidad	Arenas	Soboba Band of Luiseño	6/1/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 306 in Dario Ringleo, NARAR
Theodore	Bulldontshow	Crow	6/1/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 48, NARAR
Myrtle	Tendoy	Fort Hall Shoshone	9/23/1912	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 354, NARAR
Reginalda	Guassac	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	<10/2/1913	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 134, NARAR
Jose Garcia	Laguna	Laguna Pueblo	11/17/1913	Tubercular peritonitis; died	Sherman Student Files,

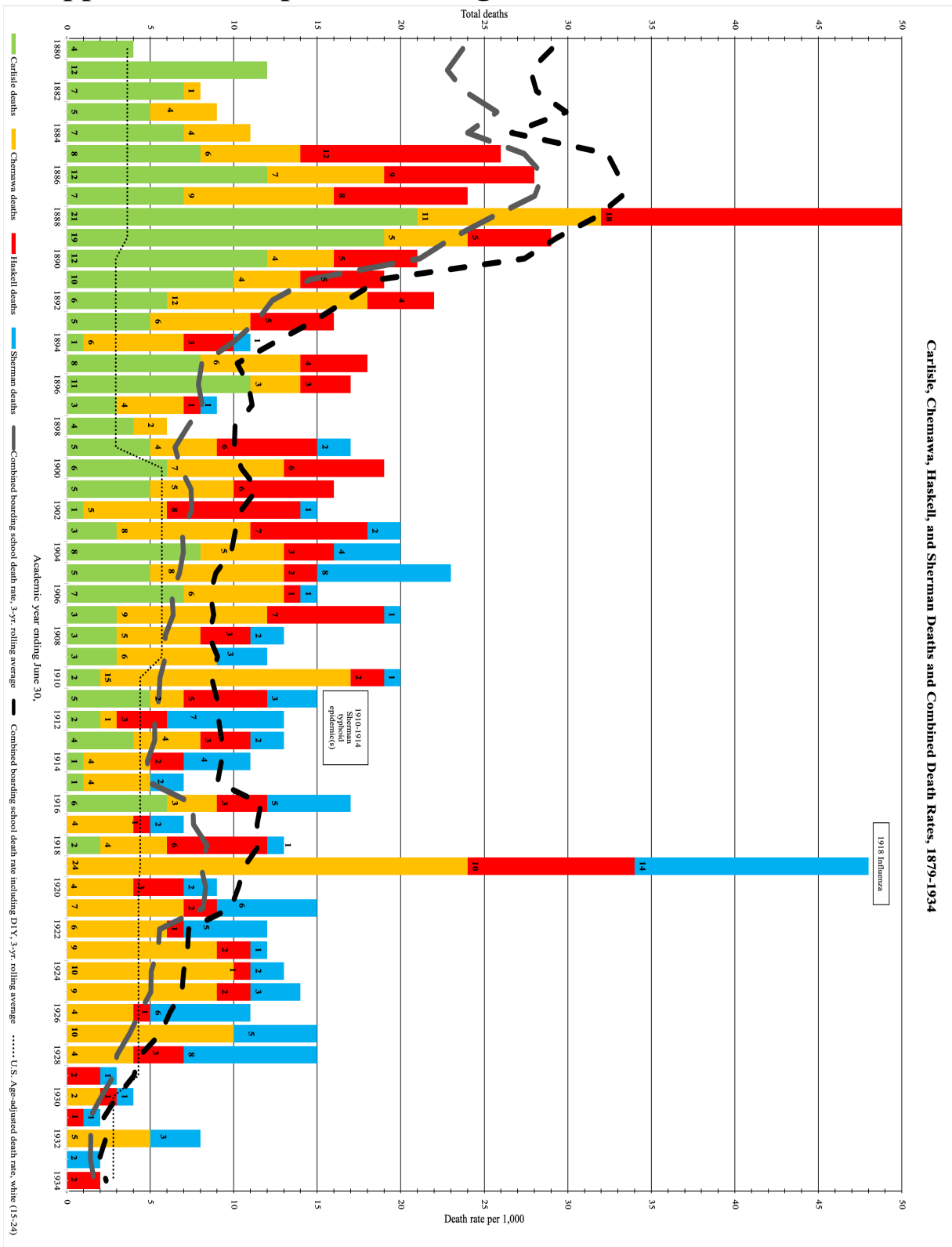
				within one month of leaving	Box 196, NARAR
Billy	Poor	Mojave	2/17/1914	Tubercular glands and knee; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 291, NARAR
Ahill	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	3/5/1914	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Gus	Grigsby	Tule River Mono	6/28/1914	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman LS, Box 45, Folder Sept 18, 1916 to Jan 19, 1918 [1 of 2], NP, NARAR
Jettie	Eades	Pit River	9/14/1914	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 104, NARAR
Pedro	Ramon	Tohono O'odham	4/20/1915	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Louis	Tl' Atso	Diné	4/28/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 360, NARAR
Elizabeth	Ramon	Morongo Band of Mission Indians	11/1/1915	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 300, NARAR
Johnny	Sterling	Rincon Band of Luiseño	11/13/1916	Measles; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 344, NARAR
Rose	Paddy	Yerington Paiute	2/28/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 276, NARAR
Harry	Watson	Big Pine Paiute	3/20/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 379, NARAR

Sarah	Tampa	Barona Band of Mission Indians	4/12/1917	Tuberculosis; died at Phoenix Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 352, NARAR
Opal	Griffith	Pit River	4/25/1917	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 133, NARAR
Laura	Scott	Akimel O'otham	6/21/1917	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 323/353 in Cora Tasce, NARAR
Lydia	Pratt	Akimel O'otham	3/22/1918	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 294, NARAR
Claude	Marcus	Tohono O'odham/Akimel O'otham	3/25/1918	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 226, NARAR
Hattie	Cook	Modoc	4/15/1918	Tubercular peritonitis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 75, NARAR
Annie [Anna]	Tully	Mono	4/25/1918	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 366, NARAR
Ella	Parker	Bishop Paiute/[Round Valley]	>11/18/1918	Tuberculosis following pneumonia following 1918 Influenza; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 278, NARAR
Martin	Johns	Yuki	2/18/1919	Tuberculosis following influenza; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
John	Dixie	NTL	>8/9/1920	Tubercular peritonitis; died within one	Sherman Student Files,

				academic year of leaving	Box 96, NARAR
Louise	Speckerman	[Miwuk]	<6/1/1921	Tuberculosis; sent to Phoenix Sanatorium; Tuberculosis; sent to Ahwahnee Sanatorium	Sherman Student Files, Box 341, NARAR
Jose Augustine	Jeronimo	Tohono O'odham	8/1/1921	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 173, NARAR
Lillie	McDonald	Diné	1/30/1922	Tuberculosis; died at Fort Defiance Sanatorium with 1 academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 237, NARAR
Nellie	Martin	Tohono O'odham	6/25/1924	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 229, NARAR
George	Porter	Tohono O'odham	9/3/1925	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 292, NARAR
Amelia	Silvas	La Jolla Band of Luiseño	2/4/1926	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 332, NARAR
Mary Elsie	Concho	Laguna Pueblo	11/22/1926	Tubercular pneumonia; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 74, NARAR
Loretta	LaMar	Pit River	12/17/1926	Tuberculosis; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 197, NARAR
Stella	Nippah	Diné	3/26/1927	Hemorrhage; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 265, NARAR
Juana M.	Juan	Tohono O'odham	6/17/1927	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files,

					Box 183, NARAR
Ruth	Pablo	Akimel O'otham	5/26/1928	Tuberculosis; died at Soboba Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 275, NARAR
Mae	Johnson	Washoe	5/29/1928	Tuberculosis; died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 178, NARAR
Beulah	Queacut	Ute	6/5/1928	Died within one month of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 298, NARAR
Isabelle	Smith	Duck Valley Shoshone	6/19/1928	Tuberculosis; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 337, NARAR
Alph Talawyma	Secakuku	Hopi	5/31/1929	Died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 324, NARAR
Gertrude	Pope	White Mountain Apache	5/28/1930	Tuberculosis; sent to Soboba Sanatorium; died within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 292, NARAR
Carl Long	Jim	Diné	>10/5/1932	Tuberculosis; died at Phoenix Sanatorium within one academic year of leaving	Sherman Student Files, Box 173, NARAR

Appendix 4: Graph of boarding school deaths and death rates



* Data for Haskell missing student files after 1920 not included. Carlisle closed in 1918.

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