

### Notes

1. See Census Bureau, *Current Population Reports: The Foreign Born Population: 1994* (Washington, DC: US. Department of Commerce, 1995); Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989, 109th ed.* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1989); and Pamel L. Tiedt and Iris Tiedt, *Multicultural Teaching: A Handbook of Activities, Information, and Resources* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995).
2. C. A. Bowers and David J. Flinders, *Responsive Teaching: An Ecological Approach to Classroom Patterns of Language, Culture, and Thought* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1990).
3. C. Greer, *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1972, p. 91). From Wendy Walker-Moffat, *The Other Side of the Asian American Success Story* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995), 114.
4. For an exemplary discussion on these questions, specifically about the Southern Asian students, see Wendy Walker-Moffat, *The Other Side of the Asian American Success Story*.
5. Amy Gutmann, "Challenges of Multiculturalism in Democratic Education," *Philosophy of Education, 1995* (Urbana: Philosophy of Education Society, 1996), 87.
6. My thanks to Drs. Dawn-Lisa Buchanan and Marti Sherman for reading the earlier versions of this writing.

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**Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928.** David Wallace Adams. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995. Pp. xi, 396. \$34.95.

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In the state of Washington, where there are over twenty distinct Indian tribes, the education of Native Americans remains a contemporary issue with a disturbing legacy. The historical record begins for the United States in 1789 with the federal government recognizing particular groups of indigenous peoples through treaty relationships, connections characterized constitutionally as the supreme statutory arrangement between nations. An ambiguous attitude at a minimum existed for expansion-minded European immigrants toward these laws, with U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Marshall in 1832 characterizing the arrangements with native peoples as "domestic dependent nations." As a 1989 report of the U.S. Senate explains, the federal government's involvement with Native Americans has been marked for over two centuries, not by partnerships, but by imperialism:

Since the first European settlers arrived on this continent, Indians have lost 97% of their land and their population has been decimated by military assaults and fatal disease. These attacks were also designed to rob Indians of their very identity, pushing them to relinquish their language, arts and religion.<sup>1</sup>

Living in a region such as the Northwest, where various native peoples strive to have their sovereignty recognized, and working on a campus with a Native American designed longhouse, which serves as an active meeting and cultural center rather than as a museum, I approach documents about Indian history through a lens that is focused on both the past and the future of U.S. policy toward indigenous peoples.

David Adams's account of Indian boarding schools provides an historical foundation for understanding the current condition of Native American education and cultural identity. Going beyond a mere retelling, Adams has placed the events of the schooling of North American aboriginal children and youth in a social-political context driven by the European applications of such notions as civilization, commerce, and Christianity. He masterfully introduces *Education for Extinction* with a chapter outlining both the similarities and disparities among Euro-American reformers operating within an ideology of rugged individualism, setting his tone for the entire book. Without an understanding of the nineteenth-century zeitgeist of European culture, the sequence of events surrounding the attempts to assimilate Indians into a colonized society could be represented in a flat, one-dimensional manner—much like the unfortunate few paragraphs provided in some educational foundations textbooks for prospective teachers. Adams, however, has done just the opposite by contributing a rich, multi-layered history with a wide diversity of voices from primary sources enriching his story and our understanding of Indian education.

If readers are going to this book for quick answers to the why and how of Indian education during the turn of the beginning of this century, they will need to look elsewhere. Although the text is in no way inaccessible, Adams is nevertheless uncompromising and methodical in bringing the myriad perspectives on Indian education and their accompanying complexities to the forefront of consideration. While conclusions and generalizations are made about trends and aspirations regarding Indian education, the contradictory stances *within* groups of policy makers, reformers, tribal leaders, and Indian youth are artfully woven into Adams's presentation. For example, troublesome, conflicting goals of reformers or various degrees of resistance, as well as willing participation by some Indians in the colonial schooling process, are not avoided but brought forward for detailed description, clear consideration, and articulate analysis.

Discrete groups of indigenous peoples had never perceived themselves as a unified culture of "Indians" until placed in schools where tribal affiliations were not recognized, creating inadvertently into the twentieth century a "pan-Indian consciousness" (p. 336). For the Euro-American, all Native Americans were lumped together as an homogeneous group to be moved along a spectrum from "savagism" to "civilization." Adams explores and pursues the appli-

cation of the savagism-civilization paradigm throughout *Education for Extinction*, laying the groundwork in the opening chapter with the European notion of “social evolution”:

Depending upon the particular tribal group, American Indian societies were classified as being at the level of either upper savagery, lower barbarism, or in a few instances, middle barbarism. In no instance had an Indian ever achieved civilization. But it was inevitable that they would eventually do so. (p. 14)

The basis of the title Adams chose for his book seems less sensational when placed in a nineteenth-century context where the perceived choice for aboriginal peoples was entrance into American civilization by “extinction” of their cultural ways, an intellectual and pragmatic goal accepted from key government officials to passionate reformers out to save Indians from themselves and from genocide. The solution for reformers was to find ways to bring Indian youth into public schools infused with Protestant values trumpeting individual achievement and property rights over communal loyalty.

Adams traces the movement from day school and reservation-based boarding schools to the preferred model, the off-reservation boarding school because “sustained confinement was now deemed to be the key element in the civilization process” (p. 30). Using the twisted colonial logic of Richard Pratt, a military man who took on the mission of trying to create the ideal demonstration boarding school, the Carlisle Indian School, Adams amplifies how someone like Pratt could rationalize that, while reservation schools were “colonizing” Indians, the Carlisle School was more nobly pursuing the goal of “individualizing” them (p. 53). From the rise of the boarding schools as the predominant approach for handling Indian education to the eventual questioning of assimilation tactics covers the historical time period that Adams investigates. Reformers, who formerly saw as a humane purpose efforts to prove that Native Americans could become just like any other United States citizens, had their ideals debunked by the time John Collier (who would eventually become U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs) founded the American Indian Defense Association in 1923 on a program in opposition to a public policy for schooling, which, he explained, sought to “proselyte the child and shame him away from his tribal setting” (p. 331).

Through governmental reports, news accounts, letters, and journals, Adams has amassed a very clear picture of the workings of boarding schools. Supplementing limited, but appropriate, use of quantitative data, we learn primarily through case studies about the recruitment of teachers and the difficulty of their retention, conflicts between school superintendents and U.S. Indian agency administrators, forced labor of Indian children in the name of voca-

tional training, the onset of malnutrition among Indian students from inadequate federal subsidies to boarding schools, rampant and fatal diseases among pupils, degrees of corruption among those who were gaining financially through patronage systems extended to boarding schools, and the struggle to present a curriculum designed to socialize Indian youth into an alien world where, according to U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Pratt in 1907, learning “what a dollar means [is probably] the most important part of their education” (p. 155).

Using the same technique of case studies based on primary sources, Adams paints a picture for us containing the varying hues of interpretations and experiences from indigenous peoples toward formal Western education and all its cultural trappings and expectations. Indians are found in contradictory stances of going away to unknown schools as an act of warrior bravery or being bribed away from their parents, running away from schools to their reservation homes or learning willingly the ways of whites, defecating in their prison-locked dormitory rooms as a protest against the lack of toilet facilities or being a model student in the school kitchen, being proud of their European clothes or mourning over the ritual of males having their hair sheered off, finding teepee and hogan living difficult upon return to their homelands or simply reverting to native ways, extolling the virtues of Euro-American culture in school speeches or ingesting hallucinatory plants on school grounds, and resisting sending their children away to schools on the basis of treaty agreements or seeing no other alternative to the encroachment of white settlers. In the battle for Indian accommodation to schooling, Adams notes, “Even Geronimo was convinced” (p. 249). Adams provides a range of Native American responses to the boarding school experience, from the Hopi youth who declares, “I am thankful that Uncle Sam taught me to read in order that I may understand the Scriptures and take my steps along God’s road” (p. 171), to the group of Navajo students who constructed the following poem about school:

If I do not believe you  
 The things you say,  
 Maybe I will not tell you  
 That is my way.  
 Maybe you think I believe you  
 That thing you say,  
 But always my thoughts stay with me  
 My own way. (p. 231)

Regardless of the degree of involvement of the Native American in the life of schools, Adams reminds us, “Accommodation was not synonymous with surrender” (p. 240). Today we can hear the continuing resistance to assimilation through the insights of photographer Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie:

I will never be American enough because you have to be a foreigner to be a true American, and no matter how hard my skin is scrubbed it will always be brown, no matter how hard my mind is bombarded with thoughts of Americanization my mind will always return to the stories of Native survival. The books in my mind contain endless pages of Native intelligence, Native resistance, Native pride, countless pages I will carry for the rest of my life.<sup>2</sup>

The organization of *Education for Extinction* is quite powerful through the use of one word chapter and section titles, serving to focus crisply this reader's attention to the direction of the discussion as the following examples highlight: the development of "Models" (chapter 2) of types schools for "how much institutional hegemony was it necessary to establish over the child to accomplish this transformation?" (p. 28); a "System" (chapter 3) of Indian education "for schools to become effective civilizing machines" (p. 60); the boarding school as the government's choice of "Institution" (chapter 4) "to completely restructure the Indians' mind and personalities" (p. 97); the "Classroom" (chapter 5) as the location of "the curriculum of the white man's civilization" (p. 136); the incorporation of "Rituals" (chapter 6) in school life, including extended celebrations of Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, and Memorial Day with "the pathetic scene of Nez Percé children decorating graves of those 'who slew their fathers'" (p. 205); "Resistance" (chapter 7) to schooling by students, "often in collaboration with their parents" (p. 210); the range of student "Accommodation" (chapter 8) from "complete identification with white ways to a pragmatic strategy of cultural adaptation" (p. 240); "home" (chapter 9) as the place where the impact of the schooling experience was mediated; and a shifting U.S. Indian education "Policy" (chapter 10) from reformers' disillusionment with boarding schools to the acknowledgment that "Indian assimilation must necessarily be a gradual process and in the end might never be entirely achieved" (p. 308). The scope and approach of Adams's undertaking is an invaluable survey to not only Indian education but also to a deeper understanding of the relationship between Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples. His chapter end notes are ripe for further investigation, but, somewhat surprisingly, the index for the text is less than adequate, given the magnitude of his study.

In many regards *Education for Extinction* can stand alone as an excellent introduction to the history of U.S. policy for Indian education. However, to the reader unfamiliar to the unique historical relationship founded upon treaties, which Adams does not address beyond an instructive example, interpretations of Native American culture and education could be unfortunately lined up equally in a multicultural education course's potentially indistinguishable litany of ethnic minorities within the United States, failing to discern the contemporary meaning and struggle for tribally-controlled schools in the wider

context of self-determination based on a history of treaties. Placed in the historical era of world-wide colonialism by Europeans, the actions of the United States are congruent to the development of economic dependency upon European capital within many Asian, African, and Latin American countries where similar patterns to Native American colonization have been documented. For that reason, *Education for Extinction* has a rightful place for inclusion in courses examining comparative education systems under imperialistic conditions. Adams's text is invaluable for exploring the relationship between culture and language and the subsequent impact on oppressed peoples when a dominant group dictates the terms of the schooling process. What Frantz Fanon had discovered in his native Algeria over thirty years applies to the education of Indians in the U.S., that is, "The history which [the settler] writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves."<sup>3</sup> Or, as David Adams chillingly ends *Education for Extinction*, "The white man had concluded that the only way to save Indians was to destroy them, that the last great Indian war should be waged against children. They were coming for the children" (p. 337).

### Notes

1. United States Senate, *A Report of the Special Committee on Investigations of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 4.
2. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie, "Visions of an Aboriginal Savant," *Multicultural Education* 2:4 (Summer 1995): 2.
3. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967), 40.

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## Philosophy of Education

**Dewey's New Logic: A Reply to Russell.** Tom Burke. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994. Pp. 288.

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The infamy of John Dewey's confusing writing style might only be overshadowed by the perplexing nature of his theory of logic. It was Dewey, after all, who rejected the traditionally held notion of logic as fundamentally the

