The effect of abundant resources on the history of Crow Reservation schools
by Charles Crane Bradley Jr

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:
This dissertation is about the effect of resource abundance on the Crow Reservation schools. Using a historical approach, the writer investigated federal, missionary, and public school records dating from 1870 to 1976. From this research it was concluded that during the period of abundant energy the Crow Reservation schools shifted away from concern for physical survival. The availability of cheap energy began on the Crow Reservation in 1888. This period of cheap energy came to a close in 1975. During this period of abundant energy, technology and later money also became available to schools. The effect of increasing these resources was that beginning in the 1890s the Reservation schools gradually took survival for granted. Students and educators labored less. In fact, the period of abundant resources liberated educators so they could focus primarily on academic subjects in 1917-1975. About the time of World War II athletics grew in priority, thus competing with the interest in academic subjects. Another effect of abundant resources, particularly with the influx of large government grants which began in 1937, was that schools demonstrated increasing tolerance for Indians and individuality. As the period of abundant resources began to close in the 1970s, many of the effects also came to an end. The Reservations schools once again became concerned about survival.
THE EFFECT OF ABUNDANT RESOURCES ON THE HISTORY
OF CROW RESERVATION SCHOOLS

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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August, 1982
I am indebted to Dr. Elnora A. Old Coyote. Her dedication to Crow Indian education afforded me a second fellowship, and also opportunity to continue my research.

The following people provided me places to stay while conducting my research: Janet and Gary M. Stevenson, Rose and Ted Gran, and Father Randolph.

I thank the following people for providing me information or interpretation of information: Janet and Gary M. Stevenson, Rose and Ted Gran, Josephine Russell, Fred Howe, Merle Jean Harris, Betty Rafferty, Marjorie MacClean, Jordan Bishop, Sister Karen, Roberta Snively, Altha Montgomery, Genevieve Fitzgerald, Caroline Riebeth, George Bull Tail, Joe Medicine Crow, Joy Toineeta, Luis Camilli, and William Ausmus.

Nina Leopold Bradley, Lois Remple, Kay Jenkins, and Jeff Jarvi all helped type this work.

I acknowledge my wife, who tended to the sons and the farm while I wrote this dissertation.
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I. INTRODUCTION

This history is about the schools located on the Crow Reservation in 1871-1976. The Crow Reservation itself is located in southeastern Montana. In 1869 the Reservation included all the land between Livingston and Hysham and between the Yellowstone River and the Wyoming border. After 1904, however, the Crow Reservation included only a little more than two million acres southeast of Billings and north of the Wyoming border.

The Crow Reservation Schools

The main types of schools on the Crow Reservation have been boarding schools, which removed students from their families, and day schools, which allowed the children to live in the Indian camps. These types of schools are the same as other reservations have had. Furthermore, with the exception of federal boarding schools, the types of schools on the Crow Reservation resemble the schools most Americans attend.

The federal government opened the first school on the Crow Reservation. The government subsequently operated schools on the Crow Reservation until 1921. The government schools were mostly boarding schools.

Missionary societies also established schools on the
Crow Reservation. Both Protestants and Catholics began schools on the Crow Reservation in 1887. Initially all of these missionary schools were boarding schools. But in 1904 Protestants and, later, Catholics opened schools which only operated in the day time. Most of the missionary schools were closed in the 1920s.

Beginning in 1904 counties lying nearby the Crow reservation established public schools. Since 1921 most Crow Indian students have attended public schools. Thus by the end of the school year in 1976 there were only two schools on the Crow Reservation that were not public schools.

The public schools in Hardin have been included in this history for three reasons. To begin with, Hardin was part of the Crow Reservation until 1937. Furthermore, about 40% of the students in the Hardin public schools are Crow Indians. In fact, the Hardin public school district has the largest number of Crow students of any school district.

The Period of Abundant Energy

Cheap energy was available on the Crow Reservation at the same time as in the rest of the United States. This period of abundant energy stretched roughly from the 1880s,
when Americans used more coal than wood, to about 1975, when the price of petroleum rose sharply. Use of coal on the Crow Reservation, and in the United States, reached a peak in the 1920s then declined after the 1940s. Thus, from the 1940s to the 1970s, petroleum was the most common source of energy on the Crow Reservation, as well as in the United States. Petroleum, moreover, proved to be the cheapest source of energy until the demands for it outstripped the supplies in the 1970s.

The Need for This Study

This history of the Crow Reservation schools has implications for educators in general, not only because the trends in the Crow Reservation schools are similar to the trends on other reservations, but also because some of the effects on abundant resources could also be generalized to other public schools. Professors engaged in training future teachers should learn from a historical examination of various school systems. This history should be useful for taxpayers interested in knowing the effect of money spent in schools. Conversely, this study should be informative for leaders desiring to bring about changes in schools made necessary by limitations in resources.
This history also has implications for people who are involved with Crow education. Such a history could combat interruption and confusion in the Crow Reservation schools by informing the new staff members about what educators have been doing. Too, understanding Crow education in its entirety could help educators overcome hidden biases, become more patient, and strive to bring about improvements. The progress in the Crow Reservation schools as measured by history may relieve some of the frustration among both educators and students. This history could also help Crows, who are becoming involved in the schools, to understand the institution. Because Indians and non-Indians on the Crow Reservation associate with each other more in schools than in any other institution, schools document the nature of cultural acceptance.

Summary

School administrators and educators are increasingly confronted with having to decide priorities. In the past, educators simply added new education programs to schools the same way they added new buildings and techniques. But now a shortage of funds is forcing some schools to make cuts. It seems appropriate, therefore, to examine the past
effect of resources on schools since resource limitations underlie the present shortage of funds. Perhaps by examining what was added to the schools during the period of abundant resources, educators and professors can have a basis for directing change rather than letting change take its course, which will probably mean that those school programs added last will be cut first.

The educational situation on the Crow Reservation constitutes convenient parameters for studying the effect of resources on schools. The Crow Reservation schools reflect the types of education most prevalent in United States. The period of abundant resources in United States occurred simultaneously with that on the Crow Reservation. In addition, there is adequate documentation of the effect of resources on the Crow Reservation schools.
II. THE SOURCES

This chapter differs from the typical review of the literature because not much has been published on the subject. The writer deliberately relied on primary rather than secondary sources. In this chapter the writer will discuss what sources were available to him and what sources exist but were not available to him.

Sources about the Crow Reservation Boarding Schools

The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of Interior are available at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. They are also at the BIA building at Crow Agency and at the Montana State University library in Bozeman, Montana. These reports contain statistics, reports, and costs of the Reservation schools in 1870-1909. Furthermore, the annual report for 1890 contains a description of the duties of the government school employees and the boarding school curriculum which was implemented in all of the reservation boarding schools.

The writer's *After the Buffalo Days* is a general history of the Crow tribe from the 1880s to the early 1900s. This work is based primarily upon letters concerning the
Crow Indians which were received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D.C. These records are stored in Room 11-E-2 of the Natural Resources Section of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. These records in the National Archives contain the most complete documents on the government boarding school at Crow Agency. The records also include information concerning the missionary boarding schools, the missionary day schools, and the Reservation public schools. The information in the government records is biased against the Protestant missionaries and their day schools. On the other hand, the government records are the only documentation of the transition of Crow students from the boarding schools to the public schools. The Crows' point of view in the government records is limited to tribal resolutions and minutes of tribal council meetings.

Sister Karen of the Catholic Church Research Center in Lodge Grass, Montana, has researched the Catholic archives in Portland, Oregon, and Great Falls, Montana, as well as at Saint Xavier on the Reservation. She obtained house diaries which the Jesuit fathers kept at Saint Xavier. She has deciphered and typed these diaries into a notebook temporarily called, "Excerpts from the Jesuit House Diaries: Written at St. Xavier Mission." This notebook covers the period 1893
to the 1960s with several gaps. Sister Karen has also collected clippings from *The Indian Sentinel*, published by the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions, which had articles about the Crow Reservation. In addition, Sister Karen has collected letters and memoranda from the missionaries at Saint Charles in Pryor and St. Xavier. The Catholic missionaries tended to be concerned with the Crows' attitudes towards church rather than education. Yet the missionaries kept the most detailed accounts of summer activities in the boarding school.

Janette Woodruff's book, *Indian Oasis*, describes three of the schools on the Crow Reservation in 1900-08. Woodruff was a matron in the boarding schools and worked with Crow students. She was also one of the original staff members when the Pryor Boarding School was opened in 1903-1904.

Sources about the Crow Reservation
Public Schools

The unpublished edition of *After the Buffalo Days*, Volume II, by the writer, has a chapter about the competition among the Catholic and Protestant missionaries to attract Crow students until their entry into the public schools. Again, this work is based upon the government records at the National Archives.
The manuscript, "From Individualism to Bureaucracy," by the writer and his wife, is a continuation of research done at the National Archives. It covers the general political history of the Crows from the 1920s to the 1940s.

The government records concerning the Crows since the early 1940s are stored in federal record centers at Auburn, Washington, and at Suitland, Maryland. These records seem to be open to tribal members and government officials only, unless one wishes to pay an exorbitant fee to have the public records separated from the private records. Furthermore, the writer was unsuccessful in obtaining permission to research the minutes of the Crow Tribal Council meetings, copies of which are stored at the BIA building in Crow Agency. Someone who can avoid the government fees and tribal politics should try to research these records.

While living at Lodge Grass from 1969-1977, the writer kept a journal primarily concerning the politics at the school. This journal is cited only twice in this thesis.

Although the minutes of public school boards itemized nearly every penny spent, they did not focus on students or Indians. Unfortunately the clerks took short cuts, writing down names without explaining who the persons were. Sometimes the clerks neglected to report details or school
customs. Another problem with the public school minutes is that clerks often recorded scheduled events and approved purchases without verifying whether they actually took place later or not. The writer assumed that these events and transactions did take place. The trustees sometimes handled major problems in executive sessions, which were recorded in minutes unavailable to the writer.

The most complete public school records concerning Crow students are at Hardin, Montana. The Hardin minutes cover 1907-1976. The only gap that appears in the records is for 1910-1914. All of the minutes are in order, and the clerk keeps them in the safe. The trustees’ annual reports contain receipts and expenditures for the district in 1930-1976. Moreover, the Hardin administration building has the most complete set of Montana Education Directories, containing enrollment figures going back to 1930.

The next most complete records are for the Lodge Grass District. Recently the minutes have been moved from the safe to cardboard boxes in the attic of the gymnasium under the custody of the janitor. The minutes cover the period 1920-1976. Two gaps in the records are major, 1910-1920 and 1929-1946. The Lodge Grass minutes, unlike the other minutes, had some letters from teachers, administrators, and
businessmen, along with some state accreditation reports.

The briefest minutes of board meetings are those for Wyola. The minutes are in boxes in the teacherage. The Wyola minutes cover only the periods 1941-1954 and 1975-1976. It is unfortunate that the minutes are so brief because the Wyola clerks could have documented more clearly the effect of the government programs on such a small school.

To some degree the Pryor minutes complement the Wyola records in that they document some of the effect of the government programs on a small school. Unfortunately, the Pryor records are the most incomplete because the minutes before 1963 have been destroyed.

The state audits were the only documents containing the total expenditures for any of the schools on the Crow Reservation since 1909. The writer was able to research most of the reports for the period 1962-1976. These records were in Hardin at the office of the Big Horn County Superintendent of Schools.

The state reports on Indian education, available at the Education Office at the Billings BIA Area Office, contain statistics and enrollments of Indians and non-Indians in some of the Crow Reservation schools. The purpose of these reports is to explain how the Johnson O'Malley funds
Curriculum Guides

The state curriculum guides for various subjects in 1917-1949 were at the Office of the Big Horn County Superintendent of schools. These guides reflected the philosophy of teaching current at the time and no doubt influenced the Reservation schools. Several teachers who taught on the Reservation in the 1930s and 1940s recalled that they followed the state guides. Some kindergarten guides for 1964-1975 were obtained from Janet Stevenson of Lodge Grass. Janet indicated which Reservation schools used these kindergarten guides.

Sources about the Bilingual Programs on the Crow Reservation

John Dracon gave the writer permission to use the results of his questionnaire of Crow Reservation teachers concerning bilingual education taken before the first bilingual program was established at Crow Agency. Most of the information about the bilingual programs was obtained in the office of Dr. Elnora A. Old Coyote at Montana State University. These records included notification of grants awarded in 1971-1974, applications and continuation proposals for
bilingual programs in 1970-1976, and evaluations and audits in 1970-1975. The records concern mostly the program at Crow Agency, but a few of the records cover the programs at three other schools. The 1976 evaluation of the Wyola bilingual program was obtained from Steve Chesarek, also at Montana State University. The bilingual proposals and evaluations reported success in the bilingual programs; whereas, the outside evaluations criticized the programs.

Letters and Conversations

Rather than using random sampling and impersonal questionnaires, the writer selected human resources upon the basis of their length and type of involvement in the Crow Reservation schools. The writer attempted to get people of various races, occupations, levels of education, and different locations on the Reservation. The writer was successful in contacting ten of the twenty-eight people he tried to reach.

Genevieve Fitzgerald's father founded the Baptist Home Mission School at Lodge Grass in 1903. This school was the first day school on the Crow Reservation. Petzoldt, her father, also helped found the first public school in Lodge Grass in 1910. Fitzgerald attended public school in Lodge
Grass when it first opened. She graduated with the first class in 1919. She later taught at Lodge Grass for twenty years. Her letter and an article in Lookin' Back were all that the writer could find to complement the government's critical information about the Protestant day schools on the Reservation.

Several people provided information about the Reservation public schools. Altha Montgomery referred to some notes she had kept while teaching at Wyola in 1925-1967. George Bull Tail attended the Pryor Boarding School in 1910-1920. He knew Oberlander, the first superintendent of the school. Rose and Ted Gran have taught at Lodge Grass and Hardin since 1970. Caroline Riebeth was a student at Crow Agency Public School when it opened; she was also a teacher and a clerk in the Hardin School District in the 1940s and 1950s. Josephine Russell was a student at Lodge Grass in 1921-1933. She taught on the Reservation in 1942-1972. She was the first certified Crow Indian public school teacher. Gary Stevenson was a student at Lodge Grass in the 1950s. Two of his grandfathers contributed buildings to the public school. Janet Stevenson taught kindergarten and substituted in both Lodge Grass and Wyola.
Summary

This history refers to federal, missionary, and public school records. In spite of the diversity of documents, references are scarce concerning the Protestant missionary day schools and the teaching techniques used in the early schools on the Crow Reservation. Nevertheless, the documents which are available inadvertently describe the effect of abundant resources on the Reservation schools.
III. PHYSICAL SURVIVAL AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY
IN THE RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS
1870-1921

Before the establishment of the Crow Reservation and the first schools, the Crow Indians had a system for teaching youngsters how to survive. For the males survival depended upon skill in warfare and hunting. The boys probably learned hunting from their fathers.

They usually went to their maternal uncles to learn the art of warfare. This part of Crow education was competitive and active. The boys learned to run faster by smashing butterflies against their chests. They learned to swim harder by racing to see who could gather the most sticks floating on the water. They learned stealth by stealing meat from the old ladies in camp. In their early adolescence, the boys accompanied war parties. They went as water carriers and fire builders.

Boys also learned from sponsors and medicine men, too. Sponsors encouraged and prepared the boys for the vision quest, for example. Most boys went on a vision quest for a few days when they were teenagers. Once at the vision quest site, the boys were by themselves with no food or water. Old men sometimes interpreted the visions the boys received.
The visions seemed to give direction to the lives of the young men.¹

Traditionally the Crow women were in charge of the rest of the necessities for survival, including gathering wood for the fires and butchering the buffalo. So the girls learned by assisting the women. They dried meat, gathered wild berries, dug for wild roots, constructed teepees, and made clothing.²

The resources for traditional Crow survival, nevertheless, began to disappear before the Crows were settled on the Reservation. The Crow tribe suffered from famine and diseases. As hunting became less feasible, the government sent rations to the Reservation. By 1868 government officials believed the Crows needed to learn how to homestead in order to survive. Homesteading required numerous skills that could be taught in schools. Thus, in Article 7 of the Treaty of 1868, the government promised to build schools and send teachers, and the Crows agreed to send their youngsters to the schools.³ Actually the Crows understood the need for homesteading, but they did not understand the need for schooling. So in the 1880s the government officials forced Crow parents to cooperate by withholding food rations from those who did not send their children to school.⁴
Educators on the Crow Reservation in the late 1880s experienced harsh conditions. So these educators taught Crow youngsters to work with them in order to survive. By hard labor, the early educators and students provided heat, food, and some of the school buildings. Together the educators and students made the schools of the 1880s as self-sufficient as possible. Since survival seemed to require cooperative effort, most of the early Reservation schools were boarding schools.

The Establishment of Boarding Schools

The first school on the Crow Reservation was part of the government's first agency for the Crow Indians. (See Map 1.) The agency was in the western part of the Reservation, near present-day Livingston. Even though there was a school building, no school was held in 1870. In 1871, J. H. Aylsworth opened a day school for the children near the agency. The school became a boarding school on 27 October 1873. By that time a matron took care of the children while a minister taught the students. The government moved the boarding school twice. Then the school continued steadily at Crow Agency until 1921. The government also established a boarding school at Pryor in 1903.
Crow Reservation Boarding Schools

Crow Reservation in 1868

Montana Industrial School (Unitarian) 1847-1898

Agency School 1871-73
Boarding School 1873-75

Agency Boarding School 1875-83

Pryor Boarding School 1903-19

St. Xavier (Cath.) 1887-1976

St. Charles (Cath.) 1891-98, 1923-present

Crow Reservation in 1904

Map 1
Missionaries, too, established boarding schools on the Crow Reservation. The Unitarians settled on the lower Big Horn River. In 1887, Henry F. Bond, their leader, opened the Montana Industrial School. This school was also known as the Bond School. On 1 October 1887 Peter Paul Prando, a Jesuit, opened Saint Xavier Mission School, near Saint Xavier. Later four or five missionaries joined Prando in opening the Saint Charles Mission School at Pryor. The first students arrived in 1890 or 1891.

Most Crow youngsters did not go to school until 1911. But those who did go to school in 1873-1909 usually went to boarding schools. (See Figure 1.) From 1871-1912 educators rationalized that boarding schools on the Crow Reservation were necessary in order to separate the students from the influences of the Indian camps. This separation provided educators with what they thought was the ideal environment for teaching Crow Indians how to survive by working.

The Harshness of Survival in Boarding Schools

Physical survival must have been constantly on the minds of the educators in the late 1880s. There were so many dangers to face. One of the early sources of danger was Indian raids. The conflicts between the Crows and Sioux
Crow Attendance in Boarding and Day Schools
1871-1921

Fig. 1
disrupted the agency school in 1873, for example. Indian conflicts seem not to have affected the schools much after 1873, even though the Sioux continued to occupy the eastern end of the Crow Reservation until the aftermath of the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876. Moreover, the Crow "scholars" continued to attend school peacefully in spite of the Crow Indian uprising at Crow Agency in 1887.

Diseases threatened the Crow Reservation schools more than Indian raids. Diseases were the principal cause for the population decline of the Crow tribe throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore the Reservation schools sometimes had to be closed because of diseases. The agency school was closed in the spring of 1880 because of scarlet fever. All Reservation schools were quarantined in 1909 because of scarlet fever. Measles also affected the Reservation schools. The Crow Boarding School was closed for a month in 1897 because of measles. The entire staff joined together to help all 108 students recover from the disease. All but a few students got the measles at Saint Xavier Mission School.

The worst disease on the Crow Reservation during the early nineteenth century was smallpox. This disease threatened the schools in 1900. Even though the staff and
students at Saint Xavier Mission School had been vaccinated, the Crow Indians seemed to sense that smallpox was going to strike there. In March 1900 the chiefs brought horses for the children. But the missionaries refused to give up the children. As the Crows headed into the mountains, a case of smallpox developed at the mission. The government agent and the agency physician went to Saint Xavier and closed the school quickly. Some children went home, but the missionaries kept the older girls and three boys. By 1 April the school was quarantined. Another smallpox case developed a week later. Soon all the Reservation schools had to be closed temporarily. When smallpox struck Crow Agency in February 1903, no one was allowed to leave the various districts on the Reservation. The Crows did not even have their usual George Washington Birthday dance that year. Smallpox then spread to Pryor. Students stricken with smallpox camped in teepees 600 feet in back of the Pryor Boarding School. Chief Plenty Coups helped calm the Crows who demanded to see their children. A few months later measles, too, struck the Pryor Boarding School. Smallpox continued to haunt the Reservation schools as late as 1914.

Tuberculosis was another disease that affected the
Reservation schools. Children with tuberculosis were not admitted to the schools. Yet, the disease was the most common problem among the students in the early 1900s.\(^\text{24}\) Students who caught the disease in 1900-08 left school and went home, usually to die.\(^\text{25}\) By 1911 half the Crow students had tubercular infection. After 1911, however, tuberculosis declined as a cause of death among the Crow Indians.\(^\text{26}\)

Meningitis and poliomyelitis also forced Reservation schools to close. The Reservation schools were closed in 1906 because of cerebro-spinal meningitis.\(^\text{27}\) In the fall of 1916 the whole Crow Reservation was under quarantine for poliomyelitis which spread from Pryor. The government officials did not allow people to move from one district to another.\(^\text{28}\) The public schools on the Reservation opened a month late because of the disease.\(^\text{29}\) To help contain spinal meningitis in 1918 the Hardin city schools were delayed from opening for a week. Then Hardin teachers had to teach on Saturdays for a month to make up for the days "lost on account of influenza and infantile paralysis epidemics ..."\(^\text{30}\)

Minor diseases troubled the Reservation schools, too. After the weekends when the parents visited the children at the boarding schools, hair lice usually spread among the children.\(^\text{31}\) In addition, Crow students suffered from
trachoma. Trachoma even blinded some students. 32

Besides diseases, fires endangered the early boarding schools. With one possible exception the Reservation school buildings were made of wood until 1891. 33 Although frame and log buildings were easy to erect, they were very vulnerable to fires. Wood stoves, coal stoves, and kerosene lamps were especially hazardous during cold spells. Fire protection was minimal and usually consisted of little more than buckets and pumps. 34

Thus, with one exception, all the boarding schools on the Crow Reservation suffered disastrous consequences from fires. The boys' dormitory at the agency boarding school burned down on 1 August 1883. The school became crowded and lessons had to be held in the girls' dormitory. 35 The boys' dormitory at the Montana Industrial School burned down in 1895. Living quarters became cramped, and in the summer the Unitarians turned the school over to the government. 36 Saint Xavier Mission School had fires in 1902 and 1906. 37 In October 1922 a fire destroyed the water system at the Mission School. 38

Not only were living conditions in the schools hazardous, but transportation on the Crow Reservation in the late
1800s was limited. Employees traveling to the Reservation after 1883 took the Northern Pacific Railroad to Custer Station, present-day Custer, Montana. From there they rode in a stage coach to the Big Horn River, near present-day Hardin.

Travel across the Reservation was treacherous at times. For example, in February 1891 three Ursuline Sisters, a Jesuit, and a lay brother left Saint Xavier to help establish Saint Charles Mission School in Pryor. They began their journey after a three weeks' storm. They rode in a sleigh "wrapped in fur coats and blankets." They had with them a larger sleigh conveying trunks, bedding, and provisions. As soon as they had crossed the Big Horn River, the ice broke. Muddy roads made sleighing difficult and slow. They camped fifteen miles from a cow camp. The Sisters slept in the sleigh, the men on the ground. A wagon arrived from the cow camp, and the missionaries spent the next night sitting up in a tent during a wind storm. They drank water that was collected in the hoof prints. Upon arriving at Saint Charles Mission, the missionaries followed Prando to the chapel where they offered thanks. 39

Crossing the Big Horn River was dangerous. In the early 1880s, there was a ferry across the Big Horn at Fort
Custer. By 1892 employees crossed the Big Horn by a cable car known as the "air ship." Later they crossed the River on a pontoon bridge, but in winter they rode horses over the ice. Crossing the Big Horn at Saint Xavier proved to be still risky in June 1898 when a Catholic priest was drowned. A layman, who was with the priest, somehow saved the wagon, a horse, and the student.

Thus, deadly diseases, hazardous fires, and dangerous modes of transportation combined to make harsh living conditions on the Crow Reservation. Similarly, the early school policies reflected the harsh conditions. Government policies prohibited dancing and gambling at the schools. Furthermore, the Reservation schools did not have summer vacations until after 1893, and the twelve-month school continued at Saint Xavier Mission School until 1904.

Not only did the early boarding schools operate all year, but around the clock, too. Teachers had to teach evening classes. At night the employees of the schools had to watch the buildings for fires and intruders. Sometimes the employees of the Crow Boarding School took turns sitting up all night with patients in the hospital, too.

Hence, the employees had little relief from the students. Even the superintendent had to live at the boarding
school and teach and punish students. The boarding schools also employed full-time matrons to live with the girls.

Not only did survival require work, but studying required work, too. The students learned by memorizing and reciting. The superintendent of the Crow Boarding School exemplified the proper way to teach in 1889 when he used drill and when he required the students "to read and recite constantly."

Working Together at the Boarding Schools

The employees and students met the harshness of survival by working together to make the boarding schools as self-sufficient as possible. The girls in all the Reservation boarding schools swept the dormitories and washed the clothes. The girls mended stockings. The small boys, too, learned to darn stockings and sew on buttons.

By 1890, with the help of matrons and seamstresses, the girls produced sheets, pillow cases, towels, and all the clothes needed at the Crow Boarding School.

The industrial work usually came in the afternoons. As with the housework and sewing, the industrial work contributed to the self-sufficiency of the boarding schools.
The students cut and hauled most of the wood used to heat the dormitories. Until 1896 the employees and the students at the Crow Boarding School hauled water from a ditch in buckets. At Saint Xavier Mission School the boys helped paint the buildings. More importantly, in all of the boarding schools the employees and older students worked together in the school gardens, milk barns, and hay fields.

Concern for Food in the Boarding Schools

The government granted farms to each of the first boarding schools. These farms helped make the boarding schools self-sufficient. The importance of farm work in the Reservation boarding schools was symbolized by the industrial teacher, who was the highest paid teacher in the government schools.

Farming was one reason why the early boarding schools ran all summer. For example, by 1900 half the boys stayed at the government school to do farm work for half the summer. Then the other half of the boys returned to the school farm.

Besides teaching the students how to farm, the purpose of agricultural work was to produce food for the boarding schools. By 1887 the students at the Crow Boarding School
raised more vegetables than the school required. Thus, in 1894 they sold enough surplus produce to buy the school a new piano.

To help the Crows understand the relationship between work and survival, the students sometimes raised individual gardens. The employees at the Crow Boarding School carried the connection between gardening and survival a step further. Each student harvested and ate his own produce.

The Reservation boarding schools were responsible for preparing food as well as raising it. Thus, the boarding schools employed cooks and bakers. Furthermore, the students in all of the Reservation boarding schools learned how to cook and make butter.

Storing and preserving food was another way in which the Reservation schools worked toward self-sufficiency. The employees usually cut and hauled the ice, while the boys put the ice in the ice houses. Some of the schools had root houses in which the boys learned to store vegetables. Sometimes the boarding school students camped in the mountains so they could pick wild fruit for canning or for making preserves for the school.
Relaxation in the Boarding Schools

The school employees and students at the boarding schools not only lived and worked together, but occasionally, they relaxed together. On Sundays the employees and students went to church together.\textsuperscript{70} Sports involved both the employees and students. For instance, the Pryor Boarding School superintendent, who was also a physician, took the time to play baseball with the students.\textsuperscript{71}

From 1889-1908 the students at the boarding schools sang at least one evening each week.\textsuperscript{72} The employees usually sang with the students.\textsuperscript{73} At Saint Xavier the students even played the guitar and the mandolin.\textsuperscript{74}

Boarding school students took a little time off from the continual work for survival and self-sufficiency. The Saint Xavier students used Thursdays for "pic-nics, fishing and hunting parties, riding, and similar amusements . . ."\textsuperscript{75} Beginning in 1893 the students and employees of Saint Xavier sometimes went on camping trips in the summer.\textsuperscript{76} The students at the Crow Boarding School usually had classes in the evenings. But on Friday nights they played games.\textsuperscript{77} Saturday afternoons were also considered holidays in the government schools. In the early 1880s the agency school
students went for Sunday afternoon rides in the wagon with the agent. Not until 1900 were the students free to walk, ride horses, or ride in the buggy on Sundays.\textsuperscript{78}

There were a few holidays, too. The Crow Boarding School students had the following eight holidays: New Years, Franchise Day, Washington's Birthday, Arbor Day, Decoration Day, July Fourth, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day.\textsuperscript{79} The mission students had fewer holidays than the government school students. Sometimes the Catholic missionaries celebrated the Fourth of July. For instance, they raised the flag on 4 July 1893 amidst shooting. The children each spent five cents at the store. The boys and priest also shot at targets and at prairie dogs. The best shots received extra lunches.\textsuperscript{80} The missionaries also celebrated Christmas. A Crow Indian Santa Claus distributed gifts among the children on Christmas Day in 1900.\textsuperscript{81}

The missionary and government school students occasionally went to fairs and circuses in Billings.\textsuperscript{82} In 1904 the superintendent of the Reservation introduced the Crow Fair primarily as a way of keeping the Crows farming at home, instead of attending fairs off the Reservation. At the Crow Fair the Crows displayed their produce and stock. They received prizes for individual work and district projects.
Beginning in 1906 the Crow Fair became an annual custom. The students at both Saint Xavier Mission and Crow Boarding Schools attended the Crow Fair in 1906. The missionaries usually let the students out for a week to ten days to attend the Crow Fair.  

The Shift Away from Concern for Self-Sufficiency

To some extent the boarding schools, along with other government programs for the adult Indians, produced the intended results. The Crow Indians seemed to be headed on the road toward self-support. In the 1890s, they began selling surplus farm products. By 1906 they were off government rations. Slowly the population of Crows began to increase after 1911.

As the Crows became more self-supporting, however, the Reservation boarding schools became less self-sufficient. Wood shortages forced schools to purchase coal. In 1888 the Catholic mission school began using coal. The government installed coal stoves at the Crow Boarding School in 1894. By 1914 most of the Reservation schools used coal.

Furthermore, schools began to replace frame and log structures with imported brick for buildings. In 1891-1892
the Catholics built a new three-story brick building at Saint Xavier Mission School. In the 1890s the government built three brick buildings at the Crow Boarding School. When the Pryor Boarding School was opened in 1903, the school had a two-story brick dormitory, complete with steam heat and gas lights.

School officials began to rely upon new technology for water systems, too. The Unitarians used a windmill water pump at the Montana Industrial School. In 1894 they got a new one to provide water for the school but continued to use the old one to irrigate the school gardens. The Crow Boarding School may have been the first Reservation school to have indoor plumbing. The school abandoned the easily constructed outhouse in 1896 when the government completed a new water and sewage system which included "water closets." These changes eventually affected the curriculum; for, the government boarding schools implemented courses in plumbing.

The mode of travel changed, too. In 1902, for instance, the Saint Xavier Mission School went to Billings to give a band concert. Although the students could have ridden a train from Hardin to Billings, the boys and prefect
rode horses and spent the night somewhere on Pryor Creek. In 1913, the Mission School still used horses and wagons. In 1915, nevertheless, the mission girls went to the Crow Fair in autos. In addition, the Mission had a telephone by 1914. The government boarding schools adjusted the curriculum to the age of motors with courses on gas engines.

Though they made school life more comfortable and perhaps less hazardous, fossil-fuel heat, brick buildings, indoor plumbing, motorized transportation, and electric communication required money, rather than local materials and labor. Therefore, inadequate finances forced all but one boarding school to close on the Crow Reservation. The Unitarians could not find funds to maintain the Montana Industrial School so they turned it over to the government. The government supported the school for a while but abolished it in 1897. The Catholics ran into financial difficulty and had to close Saint Charles in 1898. In the 1890s and early 1900s, the government maintained its schools on the Reservation in part with Crow tribal funds. The Acts of 1891 and 1904 sold large portions of the Reservation. From these sales the government obtained money for school buildings. By 1920, however, these funds were nearly depleted.
As financing World War I preoccupied the government officials, they allowed the standards in the government schools to decline. Hence, they were as ready as the Crow tribe to close the government schools on the Reservation in 1921 and turn the students over to the public schools.

Summary

As long as educators had to struggle to survive, they worked toward making the schools self-sufficient. Thus, the employees and students labored together in the school gardens and in the dormitories. Beginning in the late 1880s, however, living conditions became more comfortable and schools became less self-sufficient when they no longer needed to labor for such aspects of physical survival as building materials, heat, and transportation. The reduction of labor came as a result of the availability of cheap energy.

Hence, as the use of energy increased, labor declined. Likewise, money became more important than labor. The decline in labor at schools led to an increasing separation between educators and students.
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IV. THE TRANSITION FROM SELF-SUFFICIENCY TO RELIANCE UPON ENERGY AND TECHNOLOGY, 1904-1975

The shift away from concern for physical survival and self-sufficiency continued into the twentieth century. Schools became more comfortable, and educators took survival for granted. They closed the boarding schools and established day schools which were cheaper. Then they consolidated the day schools, making schools even more economical and consequently, more energy consuming. But energy was cheap because the sources seemed to have no limits.

The Missionary Day Schools

Before the boarding schools closed, educators were already founding a different type of school on the Crow Reservation. This new type of school operated only in the day time. Although both missionary day schools and county public schools began in the same year on the Reservation, the missionary day schools provided a transition for most Crow students from boarding schools to public schools. In fact, the Reverend Petzoldt, who established the first missionary day schools, intended them to be a transition for Crow students.¹
Unlike the missionaries before Petzoldt, the Crow Indians petitioned for him. In 1904 White Arm moved to a tent and William Augustus Petzoldt and his family moved into White Arm's house. Like the previous missionaries, however, Petzoldt established his first school on good farm land. In addition, he knew how to use local labor and materials. He sent the Crows into the Wolf Mountains to haul logs to Lodge Grass. They helped him build the Baptist Home Mission School, which was ready in the fall. Petzoldt also used local transportation. The Crow students, who transferred to the Baptist Home Mission, traveled by buggies from the Crow Boarding School. They continued to ride to school on horses, or their parents brought them in buggies.

Petzoldt established day schools in other parts of the Reservation. (See Map 2.) In 1912 he opened a Baptist day school at Wyola. With the help of the Crows in 1917, he established the Big Horn Mission Day School in the Big Horn Valley. The Indians hauled logs to the site, they contributed money to the school, and Sharp Nose gave his house to a Baptist teacher. Petzoldt also opened a school in Pryor.

The American Missionary Association (AMA) followed Petzoldt's plan. Although the AMA missionaries were Congregationalists, they cooperated with the Baptists and confined
Missionary Day Schools on the Crow Reservation
1904-1976

- Black Lodge Day School (AMA) 1911-21
- Two Leggins Day School (Catholic) 1911-
- Kinsman Indian School 1974-76
- Reno Day School (AMA) 1911-19
- San Xavier (Cath.) 1911-12, 1921-28
- Big Horn Mission Day School (Bap.) 1917-29
- Baptist Home Mission School 1904-22
- St. Mary's (Cath.) 1920-30
- St. Ann's Day School (Cath.) 1912-28
- Wyola Day School (Bap.) 1912-21

Not Plotted
Sacred Heart Day S. (Cath.) 1927-28
Absarokee Day S. (Bap.) 1928-29

Map 2
themselves to the northeastern part of the Reservation. In 1911 the AMA opened a day school near Crow Agency. With the help of the Crows living near Dunmore, the AMA also opened the Black Lodge Day School.

The missionary day schools were economically more efficient than the boarding schools had become. Since the students lived at home or in camps around the day schools, Petzoldt did not need dormitories, matrons, and laundresses, so he operated the Baptist schools with very little money. From 1904-1909, for instance, the Catholic boarding school at Saint Xavier spent nearly six times more money per student than the Baptist Home Mission School.

The day school students did not provide food, fuel, and clothing for the schools. Therefore, self-sufficiency declined in the schools. Furthermore, Petzoldt took the industrial training away from the schools and aimed it at the homesteads. He thought agricultural training should teach the Crows how to survive on their homesteads. Thus, he taught students how to use the implements the Crows already had, and his wife taught the girls by taking them to their homes where they helped her clean house and cook.

Petzoldt's success created so much enthusiasm among the Crows that the Catholics, too, were encouraged to
experiment with day schools. On 25 September 1911 the Catholic missionaries opened a day school for the smaller children. The day school at Saint Xavier continued for only a year, but the Catholics also opened two other day schools.\textsuperscript{10}

The government officials were skeptical about the value of day schools. Although they changed Pryor Boarding School to a day school in 1912-1913, government regulations continued to favor boarding schools. The Catholic missionaries heartily supported the government orders in 1912-1917 to enroll all Crow teenagers in the boarding schools.\textsuperscript{11}

Nevertheless, the government rules did not prevent Crow students from attending day schools. In 1912, six more Crow students were enrolled in day schools than in boarding schools. In 1917 and 1919, 40\% more Crow students attended day schools than attended boarding schools. (See Figure 1 on page 21.) In a sense, the government officials and Catholic missionaries succumbed to the popularity of day schools. Hence, the government changed the Pryor Boarding School to a day school again in 1920-1921.\textsuperscript{12} In December 1920 the Catholics opened another day school, and from 1921-1928 Saint Xavier Mission School was a day school instead of a boarding school.\textsuperscript{13}

Eventually, one Catholic missionary changed his
opinion about day schools. In 1912 Father Thomas Grant argued vehemently against allowing Petzoldt to establish day schools. After a decade of no boarding schools on the Crow Reservation, though, Father Grant felt the day schools were the "only hope." The day schools not only cost less than the boarding schools, but he also noted an educational advantage in not separating the students from the parents as the boarding schools had. The day school children carried home to their parents their daily lessons. Thus, the missionaries reached the parents through the children.

In spite of the success, missionary day schools did not last long. The AMA abandoned its schools in 1919. By 1922 two of the Baptist schools were closed. The Big Horn Mission Day School was finally closed in 1929; it became a public school in the 1930s. Protestants did not again venture to educate Crows on the Reservation until the Reverend James Roper ran the Kinsman Indian School at Crow Agency in 1974-1976.

The Catholics, too, closed most of their schools on the Reservation. Saint Ann's was converted to a public school in 1928. Saint Mary's became a public school in the 1930s. The Catholics rebuilt and reopened Saint Charles Mission School in 1925, but it was closed during the
Depression. In 1933 the public schools used the building. The missionaries reopened Saint Charles in 1936 or 1937, but they closed it again for a couple of years in the 1940s. Saint Xavier Mission School continued more steadily until 1976, then the Catholics turned it over to the Crow tribe.  

The Establishment of the Crow Reservation Public Schools

Public schools gradually replaced most schools on the Crow Reservation. The first public school was at Crow Agency. In 1904 Rosebud County established this school for non-Indian children, most of whom were offspring of government employees. The first public school at Hardin was organized in 1907. The Yellowstone County School Superintendent in Billings administered the first public school in Hardin. In 1910 there was a public school in Wyola. William A. Petzoldt and Albert M. Stevenson helped found the first public school at Lodge Grass. Rosebud County ran this school in a private home. The school was moved a couple of times between 1911 and 1912.

Most of the Crow Reservation was actually in Big Horn County. (See Map 3.) Thus after outside counties had established the first three or four public schools, the trustees at Hardin and Lodge Grass established others within
Public School Districts, Big Horn County, and Crow Reservation
Big Horn County.

The number of public schools on the Crow Reservation increased rapidly in 1914-1920. (See Map 4.) Hardin trustees opened twelve new schools on the Reservation and had nine new buildings constructed. Lodge Grass trustees opened a couple of rural schools, too.

Crow Indians began attending public schools in 1911. Then the Crow Act of 4 June 1920 permitted all Crow students to attend public schools, and by 1921 more Crow students attended public schools than missionary schools. (See Figure 2.) From 1939-1970 about 79% of the Crow students went to public schools.

After observing the transfer of Crows to public schools, the government officials in 1934 recommended day schools for all reservations, and in 1945 they recommended public school education for all Indians. Thus, by 1970, 61.7% of the Indian students in the United States attended public schools. Only 25.8% went to federal schools and 5.8% attended missionary schools.

Self-Sufficiency in the Rural Public Schools

Like the missionary day schools, rural public schools provided a transition from the boarding schools to the
Key to Map 4

1. Coburn Public School, 1928-1940
2. Morgan Public School, 1933-1934
3. East Pryor Public School, 1933-1934
4. Upper Pryor Public School, ?
5. Pryor Public School, 1914-Present
   Plenty Coups High School, 1974-Present
6. Middle Creek Public School, ? -1923
7. Case Public School, 1933-1934
8. Hardin Grades, 1907-Present
   Hardin High School, 1920-Present
9. Finlayson Public School, 1921-1926
10. South Bench Public School, 1914-1918
    Hart Public School, 1918-1929
11. Two Leggins Public School, 1918-1920
    Blackburn Public School, 1920-1922
    Halfway Public School, 1926-1932
12. Ogborn Public School, 1919-1931
13. Beauvais Public School, 1926-1939
15. Mountain Pocket Public School, 1927-1931
16. Lemp Public School, 1918- ?
17. Camp Five Public School, 1934-1938
    Soap Creek Public School, 1921-1926
    Lower Soap Public School, 1930-1938
19. Saint Mary's Catholic Day School, 1920-1930
    Warman Public School, 1930-1942
20. Grapevine Public School, 1924-1925
21. Dam Site Public School, 1947-1948
    Fort Smith Public School, 1962-Present
22. West Soap Creek Public School, 1928-1943
23. Dunmore Public School, 1917-1922
24. Crooked Arm Public School, 1919
25. Crow Agency Public School, 1904-Present
26. Garryowen Public School, 1921-1923
27. Reno Creek Public School, 1938-1945
28. South Reno Public School, 1948-1953
29. Ionia Public School, 1918- ?
30. Davis Creek Public School, 1946-1950
31. Sand Creek Public School, ? -1924
32. Corral Creek Public School, 1925- ? and 1974-Present
33. Lodge Grass Elementary, 1910-Present
    Lodge Grass High School, 1917-Present
Key to Map 4 (continued)

34. Good Luck Public School, 1939-1940
35. Gray Blanket Public School, 1928-1929
36. Green Public School, 1927-1929 and 1933-1934
37. Saint Ann's Catholic Day School, 1912-1928
   Albright Public School, 1928-1934
38. Upper Rotten Grass Public School, 1928-1929
40. Owl Creek Public School, 1922-1929
41. Miller Public School, 1918-1920
   Owl Creek Public School, 1920
   Little Owl Creek Public School, 1933-1934
42. Rotten Grass Public School, 1950-1955
43. Wyola Public School, 1910-Present
44. Upper Owl Creek Public School, 1933-1934
45. Rim Rock Public School, 1933-1934
46. Little Horn Public School, 1921-1923
   Powers Public School, 1933-1934
47. Upper Little Horn Public School, 1921-1934
48. Pass Creek Public School, 1933-1934

Not Located on Map

Cope Public School, 1917- ?, in Pretty Old Man's Building
S U Ranch Public School, 1919-1920, in Lodge Grass District
Wallace Public School, 1927- ?
Crow Attendance in Reservation Schools
1871-1921

Fig. 2
consolidated city schools. The rural public schools used many of the same self-sufficiency practices as the missionaries had used. Whereas in the boarding schools the employees and students worked together to make the school as self-sufficient as possible, in the rural public schools and missionary day schools the parents supplied many of the necessities.

Usually local patrons built the rural school buildings. Furthermore, the patrons transported the frame or log structures to wherever they were needed. The local patrons also provided the transportation to the rural schools and the food for lunches. The rural schools did not have to hire cooks, as the teachers and students cooked lunch. The rural schools did not need dining rooms as the students ate at their desks. The rural communities even provided some of the necessities for teachers. The patrons either boarded the teachers free or teachers lived in the school buildings.

The public school officials, however, did not value the rural schools, in spite of the self-sufficiency practices. They paid rural teachers less than town teachers, and the rural teaching positions tended to be less secure than the town positions. Often school officials paid rural
teachers only if four or more children attended the school.\textsuperscript{30}

The decline in the value placed on self-sufficiency led to the demise of the Reservation rural schools from 1919-1960. (See Figure 3.) The Public school trustees closed most of the rural schools between 1919 and 1921 in favor of consolidating the town schools.\textsuperscript{31} Crow Agency Public School, which was considered a rural school at the time, began losing its secondary grades in 1934 when the Hardin administrators took away the second year of high school.\textsuperscript{32} The administrators finished reducing the secondary grades at Crow Agency in 1971 when they removed the seventh grade. The largest rural school closed was Saint Xavier Public School, which had a two-year high school for a time. The school was doomed when the Hardin trustees opened a new school at Fort Smith. In 1962 all Saint Xavier high school students traveled to Hardin. In 1967 the elementary students began traveling to Fort Smith.\textsuperscript{33}

The Availability of Food in Public Schools

Survival seemed no longer to be a problem on the Crow Reservation. In 1918 the Crows celebrated 4 July with a lot of dancing and racing.\textsuperscript{34} Dancing and rodeo shows replaced
Number of Crow Reservation Schools
1871-1976

Fig. 3
the agricultural and industrial exhibitions at the Crow Fair. The government officials gave up trying to make farmers out of the Crows, and the Crows began to lease their homesteads instead of working on them.

Likewise, survival and self-sufficiency were not high priorities in the Reservation public schools. The Public schools, and probably the day schools, eliminated personnel who had helped make the boarding schools somewhat self-sufficient, namely, seamstresses, bakers, farmers, and, until the 1920s, the cooks. In a sense the public schools did not have an incentive to be as self-sufficient as the early boarding schools. Technology and energy made food easy to obtain. Therefore, schools became less concerned about obtaining food.

About the only concern the public schools had toward food in the 1920s was obtaining the equipment to cook it. Even the small rural schools obtained equipment for hot lunch programs. In the 1930s the schools indicated there was a surplus of food by providing free lunches to the Indian students. For some students the hot lunch at public schools may have been the only daily meal they got in the early 1930s. Yet food must have been plentiful by 1935, for Hardin students threw tomatoes through the grade school
Although Saint Xavier Public School did not have a hot lunch program in 1943-1945, it was not because of lack of food; rather it was lack of funds. By contrast to the 1880s when the Crows had to give up hunting as a way of survival, from 1945-1965 the tribe gave buffalo meat to the schools.

Officials rarely closed public schools because of agricultural work as the Catholic missionaries had done in the 1890s. From 1922-1932 children of the sugar beet farmers usually missed a few weeks of school, but the schools were not closed and the farm children had to make up the school work in summer. The only time the public schools on the Crow Reservation were closed for farm work was during the first year of World War II. In 1942 the public schools on the Reservation were held on Saturdays so that in spring the students in grades 5-12 could help with the planting. In the fall of 1942, the secondary schools were closed for two weeks so students could help with the sugar beet harvesting.

There was less concern about agricultural work the following year. In the spring of 1943, the boys and girls were allowed to skip school to help with planting, but they had to make up the school work as the schools were not...
closed. At the same time, educators deleted vocational agriculture from the Hardin High School curriculum.43

The Reservation public schools may have regained a small measure of self-sufficiency in food storage beginning in 1948 when officials purchased freezers.44 Yet freezers had their own vulnerability, different from the ice houses at the boarding schools. For example, when electricity failed or when the freezers did not operate properly, large quantities of food spoiled.45 Freezers and coolers had an additional vulnerability in that students could easily disconnect them from the power supply.46

The Reduction of Diseases in Public Schools

Neither were diseases a major problem for public schools on the Crow Reservation. The schools did not close in spite of the scarlet fever epidemic in 1933 and diphtheria in 1934. Probably the last time the Hardin Schools were closed because of disease was for a few days in 1937. Spinal meningitis was only a "scare" in 1944.47 By 1976 the only health problem any school officials took note of was venereal disease.48

The public schools used a number of preventive measures to deal with health problems. In 1914 Hardin public
school teachers had to file a physician's certificate stating they had no contagious diseases or tuberculosis. Hardin trustees could request teachers be reexamined, and they could terminate a teacher's contract if he was proven to have a contagious disease. Cooks had to furnish health certificates, too. By 1914 students were immunized.\textsuperscript{49}

The public schools also used health regulations to prevent diseases. For example, school laws regulated cooks, kitchen utensils, and food.\textsuperscript{50} The County health department regulated numerous items from dish soaps to milk.\textsuperscript{51} When the schools received buffalo and elk for the lunch programs, the meat had to be inspected.\textsuperscript{52} Health officials even regulated the number of toilets and fans in the schools.\textsuperscript{53}

Furthermore, the public schools had access to a wide variety of health personnel. Hardin and Lodge Grass districts employed doctors in the 1920s and 1930s.\textsuperscript{54} In the 1940s some schools began employing nurses.\textsuperscript{55} Schools developed infirmaries, too.\textsuperscript{56} Eventually the Reservation schools had access to dentists and psychiatrists.\textsuperscript{57}

Shelter and Comfort in the Public Schools

Nor was housing a major concern for educators on the Crow Reservation. Crow Agency and Pryor public schools had
Beginning in 1955 teachers could hook up mobile homes at or near public schools. There were only a few times when housing was a problem. Lodge Grass had a brief housing shortage in 1963.

Especially in towns the public school buildings sheltered students and teachers from harsh conditions. In 1910 Hardin and Wyola had brick school buildings. Crow Agency had a brick school building in 1918. Lodge Grass replaced its frame school hall in 1919 with a brick building on top of a hill overlooking the town.

Besides using bricks, school officials replaced stoves, lamps, and buckets of the 1890s with automatic systems. For instance, most of the buildings had plumbing. By 1917 the Hardin grade school had indoor plumbing and toilets. The Crow Agency building constructed in 1918 had plumbing and a septic tank. The students at Lodge Grass had showers by 1929, though they pumped their own water.

Expansion in the Use of Energy in the Public Schools

Schools became increasingly dependent upon electricity. The 1918 Crow Agency building had electricity. By 1928 all the classrooms at Hardin had electric lights. Probably the last time a Reservation teacher used kerosene
Telephones became available even to individuals. In 1916 the Hardin superintendent had a telephone in his office. Saint Xavier Public School had a telephone in 1954. By 1961 there were phones in the kitchen and in the coaches' room at Saint Xavier.67

Schools made increasing use of electrical equipment beginning in the 1940s. For example, buffing machines and vacuum cleaners were available.68 Up to 1945 the Hardin district schools ran on teachers' watches. The first automatic bell system was installed at Hardin, Crow Agency, and Saint Xavier in 1945.69 Lodge Grass had bells the following year.70 Later school shops had electrical machines.71 Yard lights lit the Hardin football fields and school grounds at Crow Agency and Saint Xavier Public Schools.72 Some school buildings were wired with burglar alarms and electric garbage disposals.73 Schools used electric thermal transfer, photocopying, and xerox machines.74 In the 1970s electric ditto machines replaced hand cranked ones used since 1929.75 Schools also exchanged adding machines for electronic calculators.76

The chief reason that schools were able to depart from concern for basic survival was the availability of cheap
fuels. The cost of heating the Reservation schools was minimal compared to the total cost of operating them. Heat was a little less than 1.5% of the total cost of operating Lodge Grass Public Schools in 1924. In 1975 heat cost just a little more than 1.5% of the total cost of operation. Yet the amount of fuel used grew tremendously. Between 1923 and 1975 the annual amount of energy consumed for heating Lodge Grass Public Schools increased by almost 500%. Lodge Grass used 70 tons of coal in 1923-1924. Since one pound of coal was equivalent to about 14,000 to 15,000 btu, Lodge Grass Schools consumed about 1.92-2.1 billion btu in 1923-1924. In 1975 Lodge Grass Schools used 76,200 gallons of fuel oil. One pound of fuel oil was equivalent to about 19,000 btu; therefore, Lodge Grass consumed about $1.15824 \times 10^{10}$ btu in 1975.

Increasing Mobility in the Public Schools

The Reservation schools used energy in many other ways besides for heating and electricity. The most notable increase in the use of energy was in transportation. Although the Reservation schools did not record the total amount of energy consumed in transportation, the trends in school transportation hinted at the increasing consumption.
Beginning with the missionary day schools, students rode to school on horses. They continued to ride horses to rural schools until the 1940s. While the boarding school officials frowned upon horse riding, especially when the students engaged in races at lunch time, the public school officials encouraged transportation. Beginning in 1914 they hired drivers to transport the students to school. Moreover, the Lodge Grass trustees in 1923 preferred to buy a horse for a rural teacher than to allow her to live in the room at the back of the school.

The conversion to autobuses was slow because they were not as easily adapted to winter conditions. Drivers of horse wagons simply put stoves aboard. Sometimes they put on "bobs" when the snow was deep. Yet, in 1930 state laws required public schools to provide transportation for most rural students. So autobuses replaced most horse wagons in the 1930s, and transportation expanded to include high school students, too. By 1944 half the students in the Hardin district rode to school in buses. Indian parents found it more convenient to send their children to public schools on the bus than to take them to the Catholic boarding school. The bus routes increased in length so that high school students in Fort Smith traveled 44 miles to
Hardin. In 1970 schools sent additional buses across the Reservation for students in after-school athletics. In 1973 the Pryor trustees felt so responsible for reaching all children that they purchased the ultimate in motorized transportation - a four-wheel drive kindergarten bus.

Besides consuming fuel, transportation in the public schools consumed more money, unlike transportation in the early, more self-sufficient, boarding schools. For example, transportation costs increased when the public schools sold the horse wagons and paid for fuel and maintenance of autobuses. Costs increased again when public school districts became so dependent upon transportation that in 1956 they began purchasing their own buses.

Students used other means than buses to get to school. They also used private means of transportation. They progressed from bicycles in the 1930s to automobiles in the 1950s. So many Hardin students drove cars to school that by 1953 the trustees had to regulate parking. Later the trustees had to regulate driving at noon time, and educators implemented driver's training.

The expanding uses of transportation included sending athletic teams across the state, sending students to education conferences, and bringing the bookmobile to the
Reservation from Billings. Further use of transportation occurred when field trips became considered part of learning.\(^87\) Whereas in 1921 the high schools sent one or two students 200 miles to vocational conferences;\(^88\) by 1965 whole classes of students went 275 miles to see the state legislature.\(^89\)

Field trips became longer, as well as more numerous. In 1969, for example, some Reservation children went on a 1400-mile field trip to the Black Hills of South Dakota then to Colorado.\(^90\) In 1973 Crow students traveled more than 2000 miles to visit the Navajo and Hopi reservations.\(^91\)

The Reservation schools also made increasing use of transportation for meetings. From 1920-1968 public school officials, usually the superintendent and the chairman of the trustees, traveled to meetings and conferences. Usually these conferences and meetings were within Montana. Between 1965 and 1975 the number of conferences attended each year increased to over five times those attended in 1920-1965. By 1974 school representatives, including teachers, attended meetings out of state. Some attended meetings as far away as Florida. Some educators even traveled out of the country during the school year. For instance, a Hardin teacher received a leave of absence in 1970 to travel...
abroad for a few weeks, and in 1975 another teacher obtained personal leave to go to Mexico.92

The Prominence of Janitors in Public Schools

Another indication that public schools were not concerned with obtaining food or fuel was the employment of janitors. It was the public schools that hired janitors, and janitors were hired when students began using paper tablets and ditto materials instead of slates. That janitors' salaries were consistently higher than cooks' salaries, indicated cleaning was more important than preparing food in the public schools.

Moreover, the janitors acquired increasing responsibilities for the technology which schools acquired. The janitors handled minor plumbing problems, they checked on the boilers in the central heating plant, they changed fluorescent light bulbs, they cleaned the gymnasium, and they took care of school grounds. Sometimes they were in charge of such school equipment as projectors.93 The machinery that janitors handled became larger and more complex, from the first power lawn mower of 1917 to the first tractor mower of 1949 and the rotary snow plow of the late 1960s.94
Summary

The increasing use of technology led to two trends. First, schools needed more funds than district taxes provided and so the schools became dependent on the American economy. Then, relying on technology and energy liberated educators to focus on more facets of the education program than they were when schools were more self-sufficient.

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Schools needed money for new buildings, transportation, and technology. The growing reliance upon money was noticeable in the transition from boarding to public schools. The early boarding schools spent money for whatever they could not produce or grow. But the public schools paid for everything they needed, including food and fuel. Schools were so tied to economics that the officials requested federal assistance. Except during the 1920s, federal funds dominated the Crow Reservation school finances partly because federal officials felt responsible for Crow education and partly because they had abundant funds to contribute. For, Americans generated abundant funds by using cheap energy.

The way schools spent money was only one indication of the growing reliance upon money. Many trends in the Reservation schools indicated there was a pervading interest in money. Changes in the curriculum, for example, marked this change in attitude. Whereas in 1890 boarding school students learned how to count change for less than a dollar; by 1918 they could take courses in farm accounting and rural economics. Hardin Public Schools showed greater
interest in money by the addition of commercial courses in 1918 and economics in 1921. Changes in salaries provided further indication of interest in money and business. Whereas the industrial teacher, who supervised student labor, had been the highest paid teacher in the government boarding schools, by 1919 at Hardin High School the commercial teacher had the highest salary. The students, too, showed an interest in money, for in 1929 the Hardin High School thrift club had 250 members. The school also had a commercial club. Business continued to be of some value as shown by the fact that in 1975 four students from Hardin qualified at the state meet to go to the National Business Education Conference in Chicago.

The Push for More Pay in the Public Schools

The clearest indication of the change in attitude toward money was the mounting control educators gained over their salaries. The boarding school employees had little control over their salaries or over the expenditures in the schools. The Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., determined the salaries for the employees in the government schools. Moreover, the teachers on the Crow Reservation even seemed to accept inadequate salaries in 1877 when the
cost of living on the Reservation was considered higher than in Washington, D.C.\textsuperscript{5}

Public school educators, on the contrary, exerted pressure for salary raises. They began to bargain individually. From 1910-1930 public school teachers sometimes requested individual pay raises, and the trustees sometimes agreed. The Hardin principals continued to request individual raises in the 1930s. Some teachers still bargained individually with trustees until about 1960.\textsuperscript{6}

In the meantime other teachers organized. In the early 1930s the Hardin teachers began using committees to bargain with the trustees.\textsuperscript{7} Lodge Grass teachers used committees to present proposals from 1958-1968.\textsuperscript{8} Wyola was so small that usually the entire board and all the teachers negotiated the salaries together.\textsuperscript{9}

In spite of the attempts at negotiating, the Reservation teachers failed to obtain much control over their salaries until the 1970s. The trustees usually raised or cut all teachers' salaries by an equal amount or by certain percentages. These raises or cuts, from the 1930s to the 1960s, usually depended upon the budgets and the mill levies.\textsuperscript{10} From 1970-75, nevertheless, collective bargaining became formal in all Reservation public schools.\textsuperscript{11}
Thus, probably the last time teachers had no control over their salaries was in 1973 when the Pryor trustees let a professor at Eastern Montana College figure out what the salaries should be.  

More important than the gain in control over salaries was the fact that educators obtained more money. Although superintendents' salaries rose before teachers' salaries, the teachers' salaries rose faster than the janitors' and cooks' salaries. From 1945-1969 the salaries in the Reservation public schools followed the general trend in Montana.

The range of Reservation teacher salaries indicated more than a gain in control over salaries. For, the range of salaries became increasingly steep after 1945. (See Figure 4.) Therefore, the rapid rate of inflation in 1945-1975 suggested this was a period in which the public schools on the Reservation showed increasing reliance upon money from outside the school districts.

Teachers showed their increasing interest for more money in other ways besides demanding higher salaries. They requested sick leave. Hence, in 1914 the Hardin trustees had to pay teachers' salaries even if the teachers
The Range of Teachers' Salaries in Federal and Public Schools on the Crow Reservation 1890-1975

Fig. 4
became so sick they had to resign. The amount of sick leave, moreover, nearly doubled. Between 1932 and 1957 sick leave for Reservation public school teachers increased from about four or six days to eight or ten days a year. In the 1950s Hardin even paid teachers for unused sick leave, too.

In addition to sick leave, public schools paid teachers for an increasing realm of activities. In 1915 the Hardin trustees began paying for traveling expenses. They even paid teachers when schools were closed for two weeks. In the 1960s schools also paid teachers for sponsoring the school newspapers, annuals, chorus, band, drama, speech, twirlers, pom poms, pep clubs, and other activities. In contrast to the lists of assumed duties in the boarding schools, the Hardin district teachers in 1972 received pay for sponsoring fifteen different activities and for coaching twenty-one teams. In 1973 Lodge Grass trustees even paid teachers to sell basketball game tickets.

Not only did educators become dependent upon money, but they tried tying students to money. In the boarding schools the students were expected to help clean the school and prepare the meals. Beginning in 1936, however, the
public schools paid students to help janitors.\textsuperscript{21} By 1965 they paid students to help cooks, janitors, teachers, secretaries, and librarians.\textsuperscript{22}

Financial Insecurity in 1920-1937

World War I, the Depression, and World War II delayed the effect of the push for more pay. The wars and the Depression also absorbed the money generated by the use of cheap energy. During this period, therefore, the parochial schools suffered more than the public schools. Money for the missionary day schools on the Crow Reservation was inadequate. The missionaries tried to run schools solely on donations, instead of on land grants plus labor as they had done in the late 1800s. At the Big Horn Mission day school, for example, the Crows set up camp and took up a collection to support the new school.\textsuperscript{23} The Crows also managed to keep the Black Lodge Day School going in 1921.\textsuperscript{24} But collections on the Reservation were usually minimal. The Catholics took in only about $2 per Sunday at the church in Hardin in 1922.\textsuperscript{25} By 1933 one Catholic missionary began to look upon the public schools with envy. He felt the teachers' pay, the buses, and the hot lunch programs made the public schools more successful among the
Crow Indians than the missionary schools.26

The public schools, nevertheless, did not start with all the money the trustees wanted. The trustees faced a financial squeeze in the early 1920s. The squeeze sprang from several causes. By 1914, for instance, the Hardin district had to provide free text books for the students, and the district began to assume the cost of transporting students.27 The public school trustees also signed long-term building loans in the late teens in order to expand the schools. An indication that trustees had invested a lot of money was that they began insuring buildings in 1919.28

The need to spend more money for buildings was related to the fact that the public schools had to admit Crow students. Under the Crow Act of 1920 the government gave Reservation land to the State.29 The State officials leased the unused school lands on the Reservation and distributed the money equally among all Montana schools. The arrangement under the Act meant that the Crow Reservation contributed money to Montana education, but Big Horn County public schools financed Crow education.30 Tribal officials realized, too late, that a more equitable arrangement would
have resulted if the land had been given directly to the County, instead of to the State.

The state superintendent of public instruction thought the State law of 26 February 1921 admitting Crow students into public schools "on the same conditions as the children of white citizens" meant Indian parents were going to pay school taxes as non-Indians did. But federal officials barred that interpretation. Hence, most land on the Crow Reservation was untaxable. For instance, only 7% of the Lodge Grass school district was taxable in 1925. In addition to the problem of taxation, the government did not allot the Crow land to the schools until 1923, so the State did not realize lease income from the surplus lands for two years.

The lack of public school funds in the early 1920s was related to two other events on the Reservation, too. The ranchers on the Reservation suffered from a drought in 1921 which reduced tax income for the schools. A bank holding school funds closed in 1923; Hardin and Lodge Grass officials could not obtain those funds for three years.

One way the public school officials financed Crow education during the 1920s was to spend less county money.
In 1925, for example, the money from the State lands leased on the Reservation brought about $5 per student to Big Horn County, but the County paid $75 per student that year. In 1927, however, Big Horn County received $7.60 per student from the Indian land on the Reservation and paid $19.37 per student.\(^{33}\)

At the same time, the public school finances became more diverse. The government began paying tuition for Indian students in 1926. The railroad paid taxes to the Reservation public schools which in 1927 probably amounted to over $18,000.\(^{34}\)

The Great Depression drastically decreased school funds again. In 1932 the Hardin district, alone, lost a quarter of a million dollars in tax revenues because of livestock reductions.\(^{35}\) The Reservation schools survived the Depression by broadening the tax base as well as by reducing expenditures. The taxable land in Lodge Grass increased from 7\% to 12\%. Until the late 1930s about 64\% of the land in the Hardin school district was untaxable.\(^{36}\) The percentage of taxable land at Hardin changed in 1937 when the Crow tribe ceded the town. In the meantime, the trustees in all of the Reservation schools cut salaries and
expenditures. The Hardin trustees, for instance, eliminated three teaching jobs and an administrative position.\textsuperscript{37}

In 1933 the Hardin teachers received no raises, and the trustees eliminated another position.\textsuperscript{38} Only two or three teachers of the Hardin district went to the MEA conventions.\textsuperscript{39}

By 1937 the Great Depression seemed to be over. The Hardin schools opened after the townspeople celebrated "the recent progress" which they saw in the agricultural development and in the construction of four new projects, including a new junior high school.\textsuperscript{40} The celebration of 1937 was also a clear sign that the townspeople had become dependent upon federal money, for the government paid for the school building.

The Dominance of Federal Funds in the Reservation Schools

Except in the 1920s the largest source of money for the Crow Reservation schools was the federal government. The growth of federal funds for schools was phenomenal. Federal expenditures in the Crow Reservation boarding schools increased from $850 in 1877 to over $24,000 in 1908.\textsuperscript{41} (See Figure 5.) Federal funds in the Hardin
Expenditures in Crow Reservation Schools
1876-1909

Fig. 5
Public School District climbed from over $100,000 in 1957-1958 to over $700,000 in 1970-1971. (See Figure 6.) In the 1970s the government grants became enormous. For example, the Pryor trustees applied for more than $2 million for the construction of Plenty Coups High School. Thus the Crow Reservation schools became reliant upon federal money.

In the 1890s government funds dominated the missionary schools. The government issued contracts to the missionary schools in 1887-1900. In 1894-1897 the government provided 100% of the funds for the Unitarian school and also 52.3% of the funds used at Saint Xavier Mission School in 1890-1900. In 1900 the government contributed only supplies to missionary schools; then in 1901 the government cut all contracts with the missionary schools. In 1976 the government again contributed to missionary schools on the Reservation. For example, the government provided funds for a program shared at Saint Charles. Furthermore, when the Catholics turned Saint Xavier Mission School over to the Crow tribe, the tribe obtained federal funds to run the school.

In the early 1920s, however, the government probably
Sources of Funds at the Hardin School District
1950-1975

Fig. 6
did not spend anything beyond the cost of sending an inspector to report on the Reservation public schools occasionally. A little money for schools came indirectly from the Federal prohibition against liquor in the 1920s.  

As early as 1923 public school trustees begged the government to pay tuition for each Indian student. The government resumed its responsibilities for Crow education in 1925 by contributing $600 for transportation. When Congress passed the Act of 10 April 1926 granting tuition support for Indian students in public schools, officials of all the public school districts on the Crow Reservation applied for support. The public school trustees were not satisfied with the tuition money and wanted more.  

So the government paid for an increasing range of needs. Hardly any aspect of Reservation education remained unaffected by federal funds. Beginning in 1932 the government contributed to the hot lunch programs in the Reservation schools and later to the breakfast programs, too. Between 1937 and 1974 the government paid most of the cost for five new school buildings on the Crow Reservation and also for most of the construction of two buildings at Hardin. The government also financed programs to pay
students to work at schools. In 1947 the government donated to Hardin three surplus trucks loaded with shop tools, kitchen equipment, a light plant, and scissors, a scarce item at the schools.

In the 1960s Congress began appropriating federal funds to school via acts. These laws provided money for personnel, programs, and equipment. For example, the government cancelled loans or parts of loans for college graduates teaching in Reservation schools. The public schools used federal funds to pay teacher aides, counselors, nurses, and home-school coordinators. The government also supported teacher training on the Reservation. Besides lunch programs, the government paid for kindergartens, remedial instruction, enrichment programs, testing, summer programs, vocational classes, career education, science programs, individualized instruction, Indian studies, and even graduation expenses. Federal funds provided expensive equipment, too. For instance, the government reimbursed the Hardin trustees for over $11,000 spent on science equipment and furniture in 1960. The public schools also used government funds to purchase buses and mobile classrooms, computers, and off-set presses.
In the 1970s the government made appropriations for experiments in Indian education on the Crow Reservation. For example, in 1970-1976 the federal government contributed a total of $1,090,011 to the bilingual program at Crow Agency. The government also contributed $99,790 for the first bilingual program at Wyola in 1975. In 1975-1976 the government financed bilingual programs in six schools on the Crow Reservation. There were other federally funded experimental programs besides bilingual education.

Thus the Reservation schools became increasingly reliant upon the growth of federal funds, for federal funds in Reservation public schools increased in proportion to the total budgets. At the Hardin district federal funds amounted to 1.6-5.7% of the total money received in the 1950s. Federal funds increased to 30% of the 1969-1970 receipts, and it reached a peak in 1970-71 of 43.9% of the total money received. At Lodge Grass federal funds were 27% of the money received in 1966; in 1973-1974, however, the federal funds were 57% of the money spent and probably over 60% of the funds received. In 1975-1976 federal funds were 83% of the money received at Wyola Public School. Therefore, as their dependence upon federal funds grew,
school officials became increasingly concerned about obtaining and retaining federal funds.64

Growth and Complexity of School Finances

As a result of dependency upon money-consuming technology and upon federal funds, Reservation school finances became enormous in the 1970s. The average annual expenditure in the Crow Reservation schools in 1876-1884 was a little over $1400. The annual cost of the Reservation schools in 1890-1909 was over $36,000.65 (See Figure 5.) From about 1924 to about 1970 the total cost of running the public schools on the Reservation increased steadily in spite of the fact that the total enrollment in the Reservation schools declined in the 1960s. In 1970 the expenditures rose sharply. (See Figure 7.) The annual operating cost of the Hardin district, for example, was $33,683 for the fiscal year 1916-1917.66 The total disbursements in the Hardin district in 1975-1976 amounted to $2,839,574.78.67 Hence, the total cost of running the Crow Reservation public schools including Hardin, which was off the Reservation, was almost $5 million in 1975-1976.68

As school funds became bigger, the employment of business experts increased rapidly, too. In the boarding
Total Disbursements in Reservation Schools
1924-1976

Fig. 7

 Millions of Dollars

Dist. 17-H

Lodge Grass Dist.

Wyola Pryor
schools the teachers assisted with clerical work, but beginning in 1908 the Hardin public school district employed a clerk. In 1970-1971 Hardin added a business manager to the administration. Other public schools on the Reservation soon employed business managers, too.

School officials also hired experts to apply for federal funds. In the summer of 1961 the Hardin trustees began employing an administrator specifically to obtain a couple of federal programs for the district. The new position was confusing, at first to the trustees, then to the administrators. But the position continued, in spite of the disagreements.

Large expenditures, even when handled by financial experts, eventually produced some strain in the public schools. In 1971, for example, the trustees worried about bomb threats, disasters, and explosions, all of which seemed aimed at expensive property. Another sign of growing financial strain was the change in insurance policies. Hence, while trustees bought "accident" insurance in the 1920s, in the 1970s they paid for "catastrophic" insurance.

The complexity of school finances led to confusion.
A signal of financial confusion was the accumulated debts at Hardin in 1971, which amounted to over half a million dollars. The trustees replaced the superintendent quickly. The teachers threatened to walk out when their checks were delayed. The students did walk out. There had been scattered incidents of financial corruption before. But the mismanagement at Hardin in 1971 was more than a case of misusing money. It was a case of having too much money.

Summary

School funds were abnormally abundant in the 1960s and the early 1970s. It was true that the most unwieldy funds, the federal grants, led educators toward some degree of tolerance of minorities. Yet, this wealth from the government had ultimately sprung from the use of abundant resources. Thus, as the period of abundant resources reached limits, the wealth it had generated also had to face limitations.

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VI. THE LIBERATION OF EDUCATORS

Abundant resources not only made survival easier and provided large sums of money, but they liberated educators in several ways. During the period of abundant energy, educators became detached from students, from schools, even from teaching. Thus, freed from labor, schools focused on academic subjects and athletics.

One hidden indication of the detachment of teachers was the relationship between employment and enrollment. There was a high correlation between the average student attendance and the number of employees in the Crow Reservation schools in 1871-1909. The number of employees and Crow students reached peaks together in 1894 and 1907. Likewise, a high correlation between the number of teachers and the number of students seems to have continued until 1961, as exemplified by the Hardin district. After 1963, however, the teacher-pupil ratio in the Reservation schools decreased steadily from 1:23 in 1963-63 to 1:14 in 1975-76. In fact, during the 1960s the number of teachers employed rose while the number of students enrolled declined. Therefore, in 1962-1976 there appeared to be no correlation between the number of teachers and the enrollment in the
The liberation of Crow Reservation educators from students occurred more noticeably after the transition from boarding schools to public schools. In the boarding schools, for instance, the teachers and students lived together, worked together, worshiped together, and relaxed together. But the public schools greatly reduced association between teachers and the students. Except in a few rural schools, public school teachers did not live at school. Thus, teachers and students lived apart and spent more time apart than they had in the boarding schools. Whereas in the boarding schools the educators were involved with the daily lives of students, in the public schools the educators reduced their involvement with students to academic subjects and sports. Even the administrators became detached from students. For example, the superintendent of Lodge Grass in 1967 was probably the last superintendent on the Reservation to teach in classrooms.

Vacations

The lengthening of vacations was another sign of liberation in the Reservation schools. The students gained this kind of freedom from schools before teachers did. The
Crow students at the Montana Industrial School may have had summer months off in the late 1880s. The Crow Boarding School students received summer vacations about 1893. Regular summer vacations at that school began around 1897. The only students who did not receive summer vacations were the teenaged girls. But when the Pryor Boarding School opened, the older girls got summer vacations on an individual basis.

The Catholic missionaries were strict about summers. They used the Agency police force to keep the students at school during the summer of 1893. But in the fall of 1893 and 1895 all children except girls eleven and older received a short vacation. In 1896-1898 the Catholic missionaries gave the children to Chief Pretty Eagle who returned them in two months. By 1903 the students, except for older girls, were let out of the mission school for most of the summer. Finally in 1913 one older girl was allowed to go home for summer vacation.

The missionaries gradually let the students go home for holidays, too. The mission boys were allowed to go home for one day in March 1907. Then in 1910 the mission children had five to seven days for spring vacation.
first time Catholic mission students spent Christmas vacation at home was probably in 1914-1915.13

Teachers, too, acquired vacations. By 1900 the government school employees each had a one-month vacation in summer.14 In 1905 the government and the Baptist teachers on the Reservation may have had three months off in the summer.

When public schools were established on the Crow Reservation, students seemed to take for granted the three months off in summer. Christmas vacation increased from one week to two weeks in 1917.15 In the 1920s Thanksgiving became a two-day holiday.16

As in the boarding schools, the teachers in public schools became liberated more slowly than the students. In the early 1900s the Hardin teachers were on twelve-month contracts. The trustees required all teachers to attend summer school. When the teachers refused to attend summer school or help with the summer repairs, the trustees put them on nine-month salaries.17

Although the Hardin city teachers got one-week vacation for Christmas in 1909, they had to make up the time at the end of the school year.18 The teachers of the Hardin
district finally had a week vacation for Christmas in 1916, and by 1917 Christmas became a paid vacation. Later, the teachers in the Reservation public schools obtained personal leaves from schools, too.

The Decline in Job Commitment, 1890-1966

As teachers became less concerned about physical survival and as they became more detached from schools and students, they also showed less commitment toward their positions. In the 1890s probably more teachers were fired or relieved from their jobs than those who left by choice. In the Hardin public school district in 1910-1920, however, more teachers seemed to have quit than were fired. The trustees seemed aware of this problem when they passed a rule in 1914 that teachers who resigned after signing their contracts forfeited a half month's salary.

Gradually trustees seemed to expect less commitment. Until 1956, for example, teachers in the Hardin district could not hold outside jobs. Then the Hardin trustees allowed teachers to work on weekends. In 1959 a teacher was allowed to sell insurance during the school year. By 1966 a teacher was allowed to deliver milk every morning. Thus teachers were able to hold separate jobs, and teaching
was no longer a full-time task. In this manner, teachers became liberated from schools, as well as from students.

The Academic Emphasis, 1917-1975

As teachers became liberated from schools, they also became freer to concentrate upon academic subjects. The trend toward reducing education to academic subjects was noticeable in the public schools. Unlike the boarding school curriculum of 1918, the Hardin high school curriculum in 1914-1915 contained only academic courses. The curriculum at Lodge Grass in 1922-1931 was also academic.

By 1930 the academic emphasis showed progress. First graders in public schools were learning some things which students in 1890 did not learn until their second year of school. In 1890 elementary students probably did not work with numbers beyond 1000. In 1930, on the contrary, they supposedly worked with numbers in the billions.

Furthermore, the public school officials searched for ways to reinforce academic achievement. In 1926 the Hardin trustees endorsed the superintendent's plan for "an interschool scholarship contest at Hardin ..." The purpose of the contest was to help "subordinate athletics and exalt achievement in the fields of scholarship and citizenship."
Students at Hardin entered the scholarship contests on the county and state levels until about 1937. In the late 1920s Lodge Grass students competed with Hardin students in the contests. Each school of the Hardin district had scholarship contests in 1930. Some reinforcement for academic achievement in the Reservation schools may have continued later with the establishment of honor societies.

Although a boarding school superintendent in 1892 believed students needed intellectual discipline to appreciate manual labor, the emphasis in the boarding schools had been upon learning to work, rather than upon learning academic skills. (See Chapter IV.) While in the 1890s students at school helped with summer farm work, beginning in 1922 students attended summer school for remedial academic programs. Indian parents may have complained that the boarding schools had trained them for jobs that did not exist. Nevertheless, as a government supervisor pointed out in 1933, the Reservation public schools did not train the Crows for jobs at all.

Often, public schools treated vocations as an academic exercise. It was true that Hardin High School implemented manual training courses in 1916, and in 1919 it
added agriculture and domestic science, which included sewing and cooking.\textsuperscript{36} No doubt these courses taught students how to work. But the agriculture course, for instance, was designed primarily for academic practice. Hence, while the boarding school students had a farm practice course each year in the four-year agriculture curriculum,\textsuperscript{37} the agriculture students in the public schools observed and studied. For practice outside the classroom, teachers assigned booklets and projects. The purpose of writing booklets was not to learn how to do farm work, but rather to learn how agriculture is related to other subjects. The booklets also gave the students practice in language, penmanship, originality, and investigation. The purpose of the project assignments was to give the students "an opportunity to apply the theories, formulas and facts learned in the schoolroom."\textsuperscript{38} The projects, then, focused on the theoretical nature of agriculture. By 1930, moreover, the teaching of intellectual skills was the main goal of instruction in the arts, including industrial arts.\textsuperscript{39}

Another indication of the academic emphasis was that public schools tended to use laboratories instead of the out-of-doors. Beginning in 1919 students began learning
high school science in laboratories as well as from books and lectures.40 Furthermore, public schools extended laboratory learning. With a simulator machine, for example, driver's training became adapted to laboratory learning, too.41 In fact, classrooms became laboratories. Thus, by 1972 elementary students planted seeds indoors instead of in gardens as boarding school students did.42 Likewise, children camped in the gym instead of in the mountains.43

The growing interest in college education was an additional indication of the academic emphasis in the Reservation schools. In the 1940s Reservation students began attending high school week at Bozeman to learn about college education. Interest in college education soon spread throughout the Reservation. The stated goal of schools became preparing students for college.44 In 1974, for instance, the Lodge Grass School-Community Council agreed that the preparation of college-bound students was the top priority out of 359 recommendations.45

Occasional anti-intellectual movements threatened the academic focus. In 1918, for example, the Hardin trustees decided to discontinue German courses. All German texts were publicly burned at a fair.46 In 1940, moreover, the
Hardin trustees destroyed certain texts on the list of un-American books. A more serious threat to academic learning came during World War II when the army wanted strong young men. Consequently, the Reservation schools shifted their focus from academic subjects to athletics.

Although the 1970 BIA kindergarten curriculum, used at Crow Agency and Wyola, and the bilingual program at Crow Agency were both designed to help Indian students grow intellectually, there were signs that academic standards were changing. In 1945 the Hardin superintendent showed the trustees two papers written by junior high students; both papers "were almost unintelligible" because of spelling and penmanship. Despite an explicit objective at Lodge Grass High School of improving the student's "intellectual development," a growing tolerance for individual differences (see Chapter VII) seemed to replace competitive scholarship. For, the superintendent told the trustees in 1976 "that a child working to the best of his ability should receive an A." So he promoted and graduated eighth graders who failed every course they took.

The Dominance of Sports in the Public Schools, 1943-1975

When the Reservation boarding schools were concerned
with survival, playing was subordinated to studying and working. The public schools, however, subordinated work to studying, and eventually, to playing. In fact, public schools liberated educators and students from working together. The rise of team sports in the Reservation public schools was further indication that schools took survival for granted. Moreover, the availability of cheap energy, motor buses, and large funds helped intensify sport competition as it transformed from the intramural games of the boarding schools to the rivalries among the public schools.

In the Reservation public schools athletics grew in variety, as well as in popularity. Baseball may have continued throughout the early 1900s. Schools added basketball gyms beginning in 1915. By 1921 the high schools had track teams. Students began playing volleyball in 1930. By 1931 they played handball. Football came in the late 1930s. Teachers conducted dancing lessons in 1942-1952. Wrestling began in the schools in 1959. Lodge Grass had rodeo by 1964. Golfing, gymnastics, and cross country came in the 1970s. By the mid-1970s Plenty Coups High School at Pryor had basketball, dodgeball, field hockey, kickball, soccer, volleyball, gymnastics, tennis,
Increasingly schools placed higher value on athletics. In the midst of World War II the War Board requested schools to have "a more rigid" physical education program. Immediately the Hardin junior high and high school boys began having more physical education each day. The implication was that the army needed tougher men, perhaps because they no longer labored as men used to. But the War seemed to present the schools with an opportunity to implement more athletics.

Salaries responded to the new focus on athletics. In 1944 all the Hardin teachers received a $50 raise, but the coach got a $175 raise "in appreciation of his work as basketball coach." In that year the coach became the highest paid teacher in the Hardin district. In 1948 the assistant coach earned more than the principals. By 1950 the coach was the highest paid teacher at Lodge Grass, too. Furthermore, the number of coaching positions grew faster in proportion to the number of teaching positions. For example, there were usually only one or two coaches in each school in the 1920s. But in 1972-1973 coaches were almost a quarter of the teaching staff in the Hardin district.
Sports soon gained in priority and affected many aspects of schools. By 1948 classes were dismissed so children could attend the games. Sports also affected the music programs when school bands became part of the sport events by 1953. Sports even affected the missionary schools. For, Crow students transferred out of Catholic mission schools to participate in athletic programs at public schools.

School officials openly acknowledged the high priority of sports. For example, the Hardin trustees voted against giving athletic awards to grade school students in 1955, but in 1960 the trustees decided to invest $600 in grade school athletics so that the players would be trained for high school sports. In Lodge Grass the superintendent criticized an elementary teacher for opposing the grade school basketball program.

Travel, too, showed the high value public schools placed on sports. No group of students traveled as much as the athletes. Travel was not limited to high school varsity teams. Handicapped students went over 300 miles to special Olympics, an elementary basketball team and cheerleaders traveled nearly 250 miles into Wyoming in
1973, and a junior high basketball squad went on a three-day 850 mile-trip into Alberta, Canada, to play games.

The attitude toward athletics shifted again in the mid-1970s. Teachers tried to convince students that education should come first, then sports. At least one coach on the Reservation warned that there was too much emphasis upon winning games. Parents, too, became concerned about the standards for athletic eligibility. Perhaps they believed that learning how to make a living was more important than learning how to play ball.

Summary

Hence, abundant resources liberated educators from struggling for physical survival. Longer school vacations also liberated them from students and schools. Educators were freer in the period of abundant resources than they had been before that period. They used this freedom to focus on salaries, academism, and later on athletics, rather than upon survival. Another trend like the growing academic emphasis was a trend toward tolerance of human differences, especially racial differences.

Liberation and tolerance, however, sprang from the use
of abundant resources and from the enormous funds generated by the use of those resources. Thus, limited resources threatened to reduce some of the freedom educators had become accustomed to. The decline in academic standards coincided with the beginning of limited resources.

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1 Adapted from figures in *Annual Reports*; Hardin, Lodge Grass, Pryor, and Wyola minutes; Montana Education Directories (State Supt. of Public Instruction, Helena, Montana, 1930-1977); and letters and memoranda from missionaries at St. Charles in Pryor and St. Xavier (courtesy of Sister Karen, Catholic Church Research Center). The correlation for 1962-1976 includes the number of teachers and students at Edgar and Hardin, both off the Reservation, but where Crow students attended school. This correlation is probable because there are only eight pairs of figures available, and if 1964-1965 is eliminated, then there is a 90% probability of a positive correlation.


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VII. TOLERANCE FOR INDIANS AND INDIVIDUALITY

Coinciding the period of enormous funds, and also the period of focus on academism, there was a trend toward tolerance for human differences, both racial and cultural. The trend toward tolerance was noticeable when educators accepted Indians into public schools. This trend continued when educators accepted Indian culture and language in the classrooms. Eventually schools accepted Indians as educators. In addition to racial differences, schools adjusted to handicapped people, females, and ultimately to individuals, even individuals who misbehaved in serious ways.

Tolerance of Indians

Accepting Indian students was not much of a problem in the boarding schools on the Crow Reservation. The early educators on the Reservation built the schools for the Crow children. The boarding school educators competed with each other to attract Crow students. Yet these educators experienced difficulty in accepting the Indian parents and the Indian way of living.

Although a government agent in 1881 noticed the difficulty of trying to educate the Crow children in the
boarding schools without the support of the parents,\(^1\) most officials seemed to have little regard for parents. They advocated boarding schools for the purpose of separating the children from the parents. The Crow parents disagreed with this philosophy. By 1885 they vigorously opposed off-reservation boarding schools, and they indicated a preference for day schools on the Reservation.\(^2\) But the boarding schools did not pay much attention to the parents. In fact the employees at the Crow Boarding School resented the parental visits. One employee remarked that the Indians came with many horses and dogs, and they left behind "piles of empty cans, papers, and orange peels" for the employees to clean up.\(^3\)

For their part the parents showed their distaste for the boarding schools. They sometimes used force to take their children out of schools. In 1881 Wood Tick got his son out of the agency school with the help of his older son who held a loaded rifle nearby.\(^4\) Even though the government permitted parents to remove their children from the boarding schools by 1890,\(^5\) parents went on abducting their children.\(^6\) Gun Chief, for instance, used a knife to get his daughter out of the Catholic mission school.\(^7\) As late
as 1925 Barney Old Coyote and Mike Bull Chief abducted their daughters from a school in Rapid City, South Dakota. The superintendent chased them in his auto for four days all the way to Crow country. 8

Nevertheless, the boarding schools did make some concession to the Crow parents. The Catholic missionaries, after negotiating with the Crow parents, finally established a small summer vacation for the students in 1893. 9 In 1895 Chief Pretty Eagle and other Crows met with the missionaries again to make arrangements for vacations. 10 In 1911 the missionaries yielded further to the Crow parents by establishing a Catholic day school. 11 When the Catholics closed the day school in 1912, the Crow parents protested for several years. 12 Eventually the missionaries gave in to the Crows again. Hence by 1974 the missionaries used questionnaires to consult parents about the education programs. 13 Catholics entrusted the Crow tribe further in 1976 with Pretty Eagle School.

The Protestant day schools showed more acceptance of Crow parents than the boarding schools had. While the Crows resisted the boarding schools, they actually petitioned for the first day school. 14 In 1915, moreover, the
Crows contributed money to send representatives to Washington, D.C., to protest against the government regulations favoring boarding schools.\textsuperscript{15} The Baptist missionaries, unlike the boarding school officials, went out of their way to deal with Indian parents. In the 1920s the Crow parents and teachers at the Big Horn Baptist Day School, for instance, held monthly meetings. The teachers explained their plans to the parents. The Indians examined the children and tried to help the teachers.\textsuperscript{16}

The first public school educators, however, treated the Crows in similar fashion as the early boarding schools had. They paid little attention to the Crow parents, and the parents had almost no influence in the public schools. Officials of the early 1900s did not let most Crows vote in the public school elections, as most of them were not yet citizens. In 1924 all Indians became citizens, but officials still did not let them vote in the elections because Indians did not pay property taxes.\textsuperscript{17} The trend toward accepting Crows finally came in the 1970s when officials had to let non-tax-paying Indians vote in the elections.

The first public schools also treated Crow students much the same as they treated the parents. While
Protestants and Catholics competed with each other for Crow students, the public schools deliberately turned them away. In 1912 Lodge Grass Public School refused to allow mixed-blooded Indians to attend, even though their parents paid taxes. Hardin Public School officials removed Indian students who did not attend school on a regular basis. The Montana attorney general reinforced the public school actions against Indian students, saying Indians could not attend public schools if they qualified for government schools. So in 1914 the trustees instructed the Hardin clerk to notify Chief Bell Rock of Pryor "that no Indian children would be admitted to any school in this district this year." The only children admitted were offspring of white fathers who paid personal and real property taxes.

But the public schools modified this policy in order to obtain land for schools. When the Hardin trustees were ready to expand Pryor Public School, the government offered a site providing they accepted non-taxpaying Indians. On 22 December 1915 the trustees decided Pryor Public School should admit an Indian child if he had a health certificate.

The acceptance of Crow students took a step forward
with the Crow Act of 1920 which opened the way for all Crow students to attend public schools. The acceptance was so complete that Crow students gradually dominated the public schools of Big Horn County. Indian students were a majority at Crow Agency after 1929, at Pryor by 1933, and at Lodge Grass by 1961. In 1969 Crows were a majority of the first graders in Big Horn County. Not only did Indian students become a majority in the Reservation public schools, but enrollment of non-Indians declined.

Employment of Indians in schools was another sign that educators accepted Indians gradually. The boarding schools, for example, hired Indians as assistants for the cooks and laundresses. In the 1920s the public schools hired Indians to help drive the wagons. But when the automobiles were used, most of the Indian drivers lost their jobs.

Schools eventually accepted Crows as educators. Russell White Bear was the industrial teacher at Pryor Boarding School in 1903. Alexander Upshaw also taught at Pryor Boarding School. In 1921-25 the Catholics used Crow Indian teachers in the missionary schools. Thus, Barney Old Coyote taught at Saint Mary's Catholic Mission School.
John Chicken taught at Saint Ann's, and Austin Lion Shows taught at Saint Charles Mission. When a government supervisor, however, insisted that these Indian teachers were not educated enough or responsible enough for the jobs, the Catholics replaced them by 1926.

Since public school teachers had to be certified, it was a long time before there was a Crow teacher for the public schools. The first one was Josephine Pease Russell. She commenced teaching in 1941 at West Soap Creek Public School. In November 1942 she was transferred to the first grade at Crow Agency. Josephine Russell also taught at Pryor and Saint Xavier as well as in various grades in Crow Agency. She supervised Indian and non-Indian teacher corps trainees, and in 1972 she directed the headstart program.

Her brother, Oliver Pease, also taught in the public schools. But the trustees felt the matter of hiring Pease for Saint Xavier Public School would have to be brought up at a PTA meeting. After hiring him in 1955, the trustees checked with the people of Saint Xavier to make sure the community accepted him. Ramona Real Bird, Josephine Russell's daughter, taught in the Hardin district beginning
There were other Crow teachers, too. Joy Yellowtail Toineeta was certified and taught at Lodge Grass beginning in 1946.\textsuperscript{35} Later she taught at Crow Agency in the bilingual program. By 1964 Mrs. Stands taught first and second grades at Pryor.\textsuperscript{36} Lucy Russell headed a federal program at Wyola in 1975.\textsuperscript{37}

Indians moved into other public school positions besides teaching. In 1966 Nappy White Arm, employed at Lodge Grass, was probably the first Crow head cook.\textsuperscript{38} Luanna White was perhaps the first certified Crow guidance counselor.\textsuperscript{39} In 1971-1975 Henry Old Coyote became the Indian studies coordinator at Hardin. The bilingual programs on the Reservation employed many Indians. Besides bilingual teacher aides, the programs used Crow language specialists, culture specialists, reading specialists, bilingual mathematics specialists, consultants, and home-school coordinators.

Federal money helped bring about a change in attitude toward Indians. In 1935 the Hardin trustees needed to have the Crow tribal officials' cooperation to obtain a new school building for Crow Agency. The trustees met with
Superintendent of the Crow Reservation Robert Yellowtail, then they met with the tribal officials. A tribal committee helped the trustees obtain the government offer of loans. Then the Crow tribal officials continued to lend some support to the schools. For example, they employed truant officers, and in 1966 they enforced curfews in the Reservation towns to help get children to school. Furthermore, the tribal officials acknowledged the value of schools by rewarding the graduates of Plenty Coups High School in 1975 with $200 each.

Crows gradually became involved in the decision-making process in the public schools. At first they tried to influence personnel decisions. In 1960 the trustees promoted a teacher at Saint Xavier, as an Indian said the community wanted him to be principal. In another instance about forty people, mostly Indians, were able to apply enough pressure in 1969 to force a Lodge Grass principal to resign. The parents felt he expelled too many students and treated them too roughly.

Indian parents organized in the 1970s. Beginning in 1971 Indian committees advised schools about the use of federal funds. These Indian advisory committees screened...
applicants, recommended personnel and policies, requested programs, and organized portions of teacher orientations. That the kindergarten teacher applicants had to meet with an Indian parent committee as well as with the Lodge Grass trustees in 1971, was one indication that Indian committees exerted influence. Indian parents also became involved in the bilingual programs, too.

Crow Indians had even more direct influence in the public schools when elected to the board of trustees. Robert Yellowtail may have been the first Crow elected to a school board. In 1935 he was a trustee at Lodge Grass. In the 1950s and 1960s there were Crows on the Lodge Grass and Wyola boards. Then Crows began to dominate school boards. By 1963 Crows dominated the Pryor board; soon all three members were Crows. By 1965, Indians were a majority of the Lodge Grass trustees, then the number of Crows on the board declined to none. In 1974-76 the Crows again dominated the Lodge Grass board. By 1975 Indians dominated the Wyola board as one was an Indian and one was married to an Indian. In 1973 and 1976 Crows even tried running for the board in Hardin where the non-Indians were an obvious majority.
The Indian trustees at Pryor made perhaps the greatest impact on public schools to the point of affecting an off-Reservation school. In 1974, the Pryor trustees retrieved federal funds already destined for Edgar where Pryor students went to high school. Edgar trustees had to drop their plans and consolidate with other nearby schools, while the Pryor trustees obtained the federal money to build a new high school. ⁴⁹

Tolerance of Indianness

Tolerance for Indianness followed tolerance for Indians. Cultural biases among educators, it seems, ran deeper than racial prejudice. The boarding schools, which showed no difficulty in accepting Indian students, showed some difficulty accepting the student's names. At the agency school, for instance, each student received an English name.

The boarding schools were not concerned with preserving Crow culture, but rather with helping Crows to survive. The educators knew only one way of surviving — white man's way. Hence, the government curriculum implemented in the Reservation boarding schools in 1890 was designed to train the Indian student "to make his own way along side the
white citizen ..." So by 1900 the superintendent of the Crow Boarding School viewed the process of education as training the Indians to do white man's work.51

As survival became less harsh, nevertheless, white man's work became easier. Educators then showed sympathy for the Crow way of living. By 1903 the Crow Boarding School girls earned money, like white people, but they earned it by doing bead work.52 Furthermore, a boarding school employee acknowledged that Crow girls were happier living "in a reservation home" than trying to be like white girls. She also believed the schools should limit their attack on Indian ways to persuasion instead of coercion.53 By 1918 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs implied Indians had some valuable traits. In particular the Commissioner accepted Indian "religion, art, deftness of hand, and ... temperament."54

At first public schools demonstrated increasing cultural bias. The Hardin trustees, for example, forbade the Crow Agency teachers to attend the Crow Fair in 1914.55 Then for three years Crow Agency Public School was either opened after the Fair or was closed during the Fair.56 But in 1917 the trustees discouraged dismissing schools for
In 1927 the public schools tried to fine fifty Crow families for taking their children out of school for fairs or rodeos; yet the Hardin schools were closed for a half day or full day for the county fair.

Superintendent Bess R. Stevens, who was married to a Crow, initiated a different approach toward Indian culture. She envisioned Lodge Grass Public School becoming a center for the preservation of Crow traditions. Thus in 1934 she added Indian topics to domestic science courses, such as, "Crow delicacies," "tanning buckskin, bead work" and Crow designs. She also tried to implement Indian designs into the art courses and Crow leaders into the history courses. Stevens' progress was cut short when the Lodge Grass trustees removed her as superintendent in 1935, but she continued teaching and applying her ideas.

Support for Indian courses began again in 1970 and reached a peak in 1974-75. For example, Lodge Grass had Crow history, Crow government, and Indian rhetoric in the high school. For a time Hardin had Crow history. Plenty Coups High School had a course in Crow tribal laws and government. The Pryor students also had activities in beading, basket weaving, and moccasin making.
archery. In biology, moreover, they learned the effects of European culture on the Crows.63

Finally, in the mid-1970s, the acceptance of Indian culture reached the state level. The Montana legislature ratified a new state constitution. This new constitution mandated a law that required teachers, at schools which received federal funds for Indian students, to be certified with Indian studies credits by 1979.64

Acceptance of the Crow Language

Accepting the Crow language presented a special problem for educators on the Reservation. Most educators seemed to think that the Crow language was an impediment for Crow students. The exceptions, however, formed a movement toward a bilingual education.

As early as 1872 a government agent thought little progress could be expected among Crow students until someone wrote a "Crow primary and dictionary."65 Agent Fellows D. Pease reiterated his feelings the following year, saying, "the only way to accomplish anything in the way of educating these Indians, is by having a series of books published in their own language."66 Another agent in 1875 thought a teacher ought to learn Crow.67 Thus in the
following year the teacher at the agency school commenced learning the Crow language. 68

It was a hundred years before Pease's idea could be realized. In the meantime, the government stamped out the early attempts at bilingual education. Under regulations of the Office of Indian Affairs in 1890, native Indian languages were forbidden in the schools. "Every effort should be made to encourage them to abandon their tribal language," said the Commissioner. 69 Employees were to compel students to speak to each other in English. 69

A reversal of the policy that banned Indian languages in school finally came in 1942. The superintendent of the Hardin district sent Josephine Russell to Crow Agency Public School because he felt she could teach the Indian children better than the other teachers, as she spoke the "native tongue." 70 For three years she taught students who spoke only Crow. Using Crow explanations for words and numbers, she prepared them for the regular first grade. 71

Educators who opposed the use of the Crow language were practically helpless. Although teachers tried to prevent them, Crow children spoke Crow on the playgrounds and in the classrooms. 72 In 1965-1966 the Saint Xavier
principal, John Dracon, would not allow the students to speak Crow anywhere on the school grounds. Yet, Dracon changed his mind as he noticed forcing Crow students to practice only English discouraged them from thinking and left them with "demonstrable, serious deficiencies in oral English ability ...".

Other educators agreed with Dracon. By 1970 about as many teachers in Big Horn County heartily welcomed the coming of the bilingual program as opposed it. The teachers who favored bringing the Crow language into the curriculum were the young primary and the high school teachers.


The use of Crow orthography, as developed by Ray Gordon, Dale Old Horn, and Hugh Matthews, spread with the bilingual program. Crows began writing primers and stories. In 1972 teachers used the Crow orthography experimentally in the Crow Agency third grade, Lodge Grass junior high, and adult education at Lodge Grass and Pryor. Then educators
implemented courses on oral and written Crow into grades 3-12 at Hardin. By 1976 a Crow teacher at Wyola taught Crow reading and writing to the first two grades.

The main use of the Crow orthography was as a bridge to learning English. The Crows seemed to experience difficulty learning to read Crow. Furthermore, after eight years of bilingual instruction, the Crows hardly used the Crow orthography except in school.

Acceptance of Other Groups of People in the Schools

The public schools on the Crow Reservation identified other groups besides Indians. Beginning in 1929 the government provided funds to the Reservation schools for educating deaf, blind, and mentally deficient. Special education programs became more permanent in the Reservation schools beginning in 1962. The schools distinguished different types of handicapped students. In 1967 Saint Xavier Public School had a summer program for migrants. Hardin had programs for the poor, the dropouts, and, later, for disadvantaged children.

School officials eventually accepted elementary teachers as equal to secondary teachers. In the 1920s and 1930s
high school teachers usually had more education, thus they had higher salaries. In 1927 at Lodge Grass, for instance, an elementary teacher with five years of experience earned less than a first year high school teacher. The Hardin trustees eliminated the differences in salaries for the elementary and high school teachers by 1942. The trustees at Lodge Grass finally accepted equal salaries for the elementary and high school teachers in 1964.

The treatment of females in schools paralleled the treatment of Indians. The boarding schools isolated the Indian students from the non-Indians. Likewise, the boarding school officials separated boys from girls. Boys and girls had separate play grounds and sitting rooms. The children at the government schools came together only in classes, in the dining rooms, and on special occasions. Until 1914 the Catholic missionaries practically ran separate schools for each sex, with separate dining rooms and separate classes.

Furthermore, the boarding schools tended to keep closer track of the teenaged girls than of the boys. The older girls, for example, did not have summer vacations until 1903-1913 when a few girls were allowed to go home.
(See Chapter VI.) The boarding schools also went so far as to investigate the men the girl students were to marry. 89

The public schools on the Crow Reservation accepted co-education before integration. Nevertheless, public school officials were ambiguous in their treatment of female educators. On one hand the Hardin trustees selected a female to be principal at Crow Agency in 1917, and at Hardin in 1921 they selected what was probably the first female high school principal on the Crow Reservation. 90 But until the 1940s the Hardin trustees banned married women from teaching in the city schools. By 1921 as soon as a city teacher married, she had to resign. The trustees lifted the ban briefly in 1923. Then they used the ban in 1925-1940. 91 Lodge Grass trustees, too, tried to ban married female teachers in 1929. 92 Beginning in 1941 the Hardin trustees had to modify the policy so married women could be hired if men or single women could not be found. 93 The teacher shortage was so acute in March 1943 that the Hardin trustees lifted the ban against married females with provision, however, "that their teaching comes first above all other responsibilities." 94

The next problem, after accepting married females,
was accepting pregnant teachers. In 1957 the Hardin trustees treated maternity leave as sick leave. But the county superintendent in 1965 told the Pryor trustees not to hire pregnant teachers. Title IX of federal regulations forced schools to accept pregnant teachers.

School officials had difficulty accepting the involvement of girls in athletics in more ways than merely as cheerleaders, pom poms, and twirlers. For instance, to make room for all the boys' teams to practice at Wyola in 1946, girls no longer practiced basketball. The Hardin trustees paid bills for injured football players, but they would not pay the bill for a girl who injured her foot in physical education. Beginning in the 1970s, however, schools accepted girls in athletics by providing them basketball and track teams. Moreover, federal regulations attempted to equalize opportunities where federal money was used. For example, coaches' pay became equalized or prorated on the basis of the number of games each sponsored.

Tolerance for Individuality

As in accepting Indians and females, educators showed increasing acceptance of individuality. Even within the Reservation boarding schools this trend was noticeable. In
1890 boarding school employees were not allowed to express their individuality in such ways as smoking, gambling, or using profane language. Furthermore, all the Reservation boarding schools, even the missionary schools, had to implement the government curriculum of 1890. Thus most Indian students received the same education until 1918. Then the government finally allowed the schools to deviate from the curriculum in order to fit in or adjust courses to the local students.

The curriculum in the Crow Reservation public schools showed more concern for individuality than the boarding school curriculum had shown. A 1928 state course guide, for instance, arranged public high school science so students could gather information useful for themselves. The purpose of ninth grade English, according to a 1947 guide, was to get students to "see the opportunities offered them within their own state for building satisfactory and complete lives ..."

The focus on the self culminated in the 1970s. For example, educators designed the bilingual programs at Crow Agency and Wyola to help students acquire positive self-attitudes. An HEW curriculum guide indicated that health
education should help the student know himself and improve his self-image. The student should also come to understand "the wonderful, adjustable and adaptable organism that he is-- 'Me.' "

The teaching methods on the Reservation marked a trend toward individualized instruction. Drill and recitation, used in the boarding schools, continued to be the main teaching techniques in the public schools throughout the 1920s and 1930s. These oral techniques taught all the students the same information. For instance, an outstanding teacher at Lodge Grass, Genevieve Fitzgerald, repeated authors, titles, and lines from literature until all the students knew them.

In the meantime some teachers experimented with individualizing instruction by assigning outlines. This technique met objections in 1933 when the Hardin trustees asked the elementary teachers to return the seats to rows and spend more time on "recitations and instruction" instead "of outlining." Yet, outstanding teachers assigned reports and projects to allow students individual choices of subjects to study. Eventually educators resorted to individualized instructional materials. By the mid-1970s,
for instance, Pryor students learned mathematics individually in workbooks. 111

The Pryor educators experimented most extensively with individualized instruction. In 1972-73 they individualized the entire instructional program. Each student in every class used individualized materials. The trustees and administrators showed how serious they were about the individualized program by not rehiring two or three teachers who refused to cooperate and developed their own methods of teaching. 112

Along with individualized instruction, the Reservation students gained permission for more self-expression in clothing. Some individual dressing styles brought about objections. Thus in 1963 the Hardin student council prescribed what kind of pants and sweaters could be worn and also specified what buttons had to be buttoned. 113 The Lodge Grass trustees specified boys' hair length and when girls could wear overalls. 114 But the dress codes did not last long. Beginning in 1971 the Hardin and Lodge Grass trustees relaxed the codes by permitting pant-suits. 115 Then in 1973 the Lodge Grass trustees reduced the code to neatness and cleanliness. 116
Tolerance of Misbehavior

The acceptance of individuality in learning and clothing led to tolerance for some deviation in behavior. While physical survival was harsh, discipline in the schools tended to be harsh, too. Nevertheless, school officials restrained punishments so that by the 1970s the punishment of the 1890s seemed ridiculous.

Boarding school officials used corporal punishment when students ran away. Students at the Montana Industrial School also received punishment by losing privileges or food. The Montana Industrial School superintendent, however, did not punish students with work because he did not want work to become a "curse" to them.\(^\text{117}\)

In the 1890s the Catholic missionaries punished students severely. Girls who ran away were punished for a month.\(^\text{118}\) Boys were whipped.\(^\text{119}\) A boy ran away for twenty-two days. A priest brought him back then "put [him] in a dark room for a ninety days retreat ..."\(^\text{120}\) The Crow parents noticed the severity and complained about the punishments used at Saint Xavier Mission School.\(^\text{121}\)

The boarding schools tempered punishments in the early 1900s. This was noticeable at Saint Xavier Mission.
stead of punishing students, the Catholic missionaries removed them or refused to admit them. For example, the missionaries would not admit students who misbehaved or were spoiled. The missionaries also sent students away for trying to run away.

Furthermore, harsh punishments disappeared at the government schools. The girls, who were punished at the Crow Boarding School in 1906-1908, lost playing time or had to darn stockings. Since so few required punishment, darning had to become part of the sewing class. The disciplinarian at Pryor Boarding School punished a couple of boys by having them stand quietly while she talked to them about the offense.

The public schools continued moderating punishments. Trustees criticized educators who disciplined students by slapping, for example. Except in Pryor, trustees made it difficult for drivers to put students off the buses for discipline. Drivers in the Hardin district could only prevent students from getting on the buses in the first place. By 1960 principals could not discipline students by keeping them at school so they missed the bus, unless the parents were notified by certified mail beforehand.
The state law allowed punishment of students but not abuse. The distinction between punishment and abuse changed in the 1970s. School officials feared that spanking students might be considered a form of abuse.

Thus punishment in the public schools tended to be limited to expulsion or suspension. Trustees even restricted these forms of punishments. The Lodge Grass trustees passed a policy in 1966 that students had to be warned for three violations before being suspended. At Pryor the principal had to warn the student and the parents twice before they went before the trustees.

Moreover, school officials became increasingly reluctant to remove students from the classrooms. This change became noticeable between 1926 and 1954. The Lodge Grass trustees easily removed a child in 1926 because he could not be educated and "his presence in the school was detrimental to others in attendance." But in 1953-1954 a student caused trouble for three elementary teachers at Hardin before he was finally suspended, and in 1955 the Hardin trustees readmitted a high school student who had been suspended twice. Such tolerance for misbehavior met protest in 1955. For example, the Hardin janitor resigned because
of the trouble he had with boys' behavior, and parents became concerned about discipline problems. Yet, school officials tolerated more misbehavior, and students misbehaved more seriously. Until 1969 no fighting with educators seems to have occurred on the Reservation except in 1918. In 1918 the Hardin trustees unanimously supported the superintendent in his method of punishing a boy who fought with him. In the meantime, such unanimous support for administrators disappeared. School officials punished educators for students' misbehavior. For instance, after suspending seven basketball players for drinking and placing them on probation for the remainder of 1968, the Hardin superintendent relieved the coach of his coaching duties. In 1969-1970 an Indian student at Lodge Grass hit two teachers and a coach before he was finally suspended. The superintendent recommended expulsion, but the trustees unanimously readmitted the student, and they did not raise the coach's salary. In another incident at Lodge Grass, several drunk Indian students fought with teachers sponsoring a dance in October 1971. At the hearing a trustee decided that the teacher should not have explained the incident by quoting the exact words one of the students
used before knocking the teacher into the wall, nearly breaking his jaw. The other trustees agreed and reinstated the students. Some of the trustees were motivated to tolerate this violent misbehavior as they leased land from the parents and relatives of the students. The teacher who was assaulted, however, never felt properly requited. It was obvious that order had broken down at Lodge Grass when another teacher quit and the Lodge Grass students walked out. The students drew up a list of grievances and used Indian lawyers to represent them at a board meeting where they called for the resignation of the superintendent.

The Pryor trustees demonstrated the greatest amount of tolerance for misbehavior. In 1973 they suspended three Indian boys separately. The trustees refused to suspend one of them again even though he had three more misbehavior slips and he hit a teacher after the first suspension. Another of the students had been expelled from Saint Charles. Pryor Public School warned him twice, suspended him once, and finally expelled him. The trustees readmitted the student soon because his father would not send him to Yellowstone Boys Ranch. He was suspended once more, and in 1975 the coach suspended him from the team. But the
superintendent permitted him to ride the athletic bus to the games.\textsuperscript{143}

Reservation school officials not only tolerated deviation in students' behavior, they also accepted more deviation in teachers' behavior. Removing a teacher became increasingly more difficult between 1890 and 1971. In 1890 boarding school employees could be removed on any "adverse report" for such causes as "immorality, ... indolence, flagrant infirmities of temper, and neglect of or refusal to perform duty, ..."\textsuperscript{144} But by 1971 teachers could not be dismissed during their contracts except for "immorality, unfitness, incompetence, or violation of the adopted policies of such trustees."\textsuperscript{145} Dismissing a teacher during a contract probably occurred only once in the Reservation public schools. With a great deal of difficulty the Lodge Grass superintendent eventually succeeded in dismissing a non-tenure teacher in 1971.\textsuperscript{146}

An easy method for public school officials to get rid of non-tenure teachers who misbehaved was not to reelect them. Although public school officials did not reelect some teachers they considered as behavior problems,\textsuperscript{147} more often they gave teachers another chance by issuing warnings or
placing them on probation.\textsuperscript{148}

Furthermore, officials showed increasing tolerance for deviant behavior by reconsidering teachers they did not re-elect. As early as 1937, some teachers who were not re-elected requested hearings before the trustees.\textsuperscript{149} Janitors actually received hearings before teachers did. Until the 1960s, though, most of the teachers and janitors who had hearings were unsuccessful in keeping their jobs.\textsuperscript{150} Once the teachers began winning their cases, the school officials began a policy of not issuing the reasons for not renewing the non-tenure employees.\textsuperscript{151} A few years later non-tenure teachers received legal protection.

In the 1970s teachers showed a new determination to hang on to their jobs. The fight for jobs was part of another major change in attitude toward work. As they reconsidered teachers, the trustees portrayed tolerance for individuality. But teachers arguing their cases before trustees signified a rebirth of concern for survival. The scarcity of jobs coupled with a teacher surplus prompted this concern for survival, which had been very much a part of the first schools on the Crow Reservation.
Summary

The trend toward tolerance of human differences, like the emphasis upon academism, was very much part of the period of abundant resources. Tolerance arose from the expenditures of enormous funds generated by the use of resources. While resources were abundant, educators became increasingly more tolerant of minorities, females, and deviant behavior.

Resource limitation forced schools to focus on survival. In fact, survival gradually became more important than tolerance or academic standards. When educators faced limited resources in the late 1880s, they labored hard to survive. But when resources became limited again in the 1970s, schools considered conservation instead of labor.

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VIII. CONSERVATION IN THE RESERVATION SCHOOLS

Public schools had become accustomed to cheap energy, large federal grants, and accelerating growth when the whole nation began confronting the problem of resource limitations in the mid-1970s. Reaching a peak in the availability of resources meant not only that fiscal growth was in jeopardy. It also meant that in the near future school finances, as well as academism and tolerance, might actually decline in value.

Although some administrators in the mid-1970s noticed a drop in population growth, most educators were not prepared to work in schools where the general trend more closely resembled a bell-shaped curve rather than a hyperbola. School officials seemed more concerned about the money spent rather than the energy consumed in the schools. But wiser use of funds sometimes led to more efficient use of energy. Anyway, larger schools conserved funds by reducing their reliance upon federal programs. The first programs they dropped were related to Indians. Hence, some schools shifted from concern with Indianness. In place of Indians, the schools began to focus on survival. Once again, schools began directing attention to jobs, including
the job of raising food.

Concern for Energy in the Reservation Schools

Before energy became fully abundant, some school officials were concerned with saving energy. In the winter of 1917, for instance, the Hardin school windows were weather stripped "for the health of the pupils as well as a saving in coal ..."¹ The trustees must have been convinced of the merit of weather stripping, for in 1922, they paid for the installation of storm windows.² Furthermore, the trustees condemned wasteful and needless use of lights.³

But once energy was more abundant, school officials became more concerned about saving money, rather than energy. During the Depression, for example, the Hardin trustees were interested in the quality of heating fuels so they could get more for their money. So, for the first time, they requested information about the btu of the fuels offered for sale.⁴

Fuel conversion also indicated that school officials were trying to find cheaper energy, instead of ways to conserve energy. For example, when the Hardin city schools were converted to natural gas in 1933, the gas rate was 25¢ per million cubic feet. The proof that this rate was
cheap came the next year when the gas company raised the rate a thousand fold. Other schools made conversions to cheaper fuels, too. Crow Agency was switched back and forth between coal and fuel oil. In the 1950s Lodge Grass used fuel oil, which was cheaper than coal. Pryor was probably the last public school to use coal. In 1972 it was converted to natural gas.

Like the energy prices, however, energy limitations also affected fuel conversions at schools. For instance, Hardin ran out of natural gas so that in 1937 and 1943-45 the schools had to use coal. Labor became important during energy shortages. Thus a coal strike in December 1946 forced trustees to close Saint Xavier Public School for awhile and convert the Hardin schools to gas again. When another gas shortage occurred in 1948, some of the Hardin school buildings had to be converted to different fuels.

In the 1970s the trustees may have regretted going off coal. It had taken nearly forty years for fuel oil prices on the Reservation to double, from 5¢ per gallon in 1935 to about 10¢ per gallon in 1974. In the following year, 1975, the price nearly tripled, to 27¢ per gallon. Some educators looked for alternatives to fossil fuels. Some
were willing to haul wood.\textsuperscript{9}

School transportation had to meet limitations, too. The first limitation was the interstate highway system. By 1959 highway transportation had passed the peak of efficiency in Hardin. For, the construction of Interstate 90 around Hardin meant school buses had to stop and cross the railroad tracks more often. It also made bus schedules longer, as the buses had to use the frontage roads to get around the Interstate.\textsuperscript{10}

Rising fuel prices and gasoline shortages challenged the transportation system directly. In the 1970s school districts coped with fuel costs in part by purchasing mini buses and vans.\textsuperscript{11} Bus transportation also ran up against an old idea. In 1974, on the eve of the energy crisis, Lodge Grass trustees reopened a rural school at Corral Creek. Consolidation of schools on the Reservation may have halted only temporarily, but rural communities seemed eager to reorganize their schools. Such a movement back to self-reliance could become conservational. Moreover, the custodian at Crow Agency, and later at Lodge Grass, avoided commuting by modifying an old custom that had died with the rural schools.\textsuperscript{12} They lived at the schools.
Conservation of Funds

While the amount of money consumed at the Reservation schools continued to increase, some signs indicated that school officials were beginning to examine the use of money a little more thoroughly. Educators attended fewer conferences in 1976 than they did in 1975. Furthermore, the number of federal financial programs decreased in the larger Reservation schools.

In 1970, for instance, Lodge Grass participated in twenty-eight programs paid for by other-than-district funds. Most of these programs were federal. In 1972 Lodge Grass had only eleven programs, and by 1975 Lodge Grass had only ten federal programs. The reduction of federal programs primarily meant the reduction of Indian programs. Thus, the Lodge Grass bilingual program lasted only one year, and in 1977 Lodge Grass did not have any Indian-related courses.

Hardin reduced its reliance upon federal funds even more significantly than Lodge Grass did. In 1970-71 the Hardin district received the greatest amount of federal funds in the history of the district up to 1975. Then the officials began reducing the number of federal financial programs in the district. In 1975 they transferred one program to the Crow tribe. Within a year they discontinued two
more programs. Consequently, the federal funds used at Hardin decreased in proportion to the total expenditures. In 1970-71 federal funds were 43.9% of the total money used in the Hardin district, but federal funds were only 22.7% of the total used in 1974-75. (See Figure 6.)

Hardin also showed a trend toward conserving funds. The district operated at nearly a zero balance from the early 1950s to the early 1960s. After plunging into a debt of over half a million dollars by 1971, Hardin then began to use less funds than it received. Thus, in 1976 the district had over a half million dollars of surplus funds.

Besides reducing the number of federal programs, the Reservation schools conserved money by showing some measure of planning.

As early as 1934 public schools acquired a reputation for efficient use of funds. An official in the BIA in Washington, D.C., believed the Hardin trustees could run a school "more efficiently" with government funds than the federal government could. Furthermore, the Hardin officials invested in planning. They began planning the landscape at the High School in 1966. In 1975 the trustees paid a firm to draw up a master building plan. Other schools planned, too. A parent advisory committee at Pryor
worked with a firm to develop a ten-year master building plan. The Lodge Grass trustees contracted two professors at the University of Montana for two years to draw up plans, including financial plans, for a new school building.

Schools also showed some planning in curriculum innovations. The Pryor trustees paid federal funds to a professor at Eastern Montana College who spent two years developing a school-wide program. The individualized instruction implemented into the entire school did not take the teachers into full consideration. Hence problems among personnel erupted. Hardin individualize with more caution. In 1973 the home economics teacher individualized the instruction in her courses after a semester of planning and observation.

Concern for Survival in the Reservation Schools

In addition to the trend toward conservation of funds, there was also a growing concern for survival. The Depression presented an occasion for schools to be concerned with old problems of survival. The solution, according to national leaders, was job training. The Crow Reservation public schools responded by implementing vocational courses. Hence, vocational courses became the most obvious
indication of the growing focus on survival.

Vocational courses soon gained prominence in the Reservation schools. By 1948 the industrial arts teacher earned more than the principals in the Hardin district. In 1967 the Lodge Grass principal, who had an industrial arts teaching license, was promoted to superintendent, and the industrial arts teacher became the principal.27

Furthermore, other school programs focused on vocations. The Saint Xavier Public School pilot summer program of 1967 seemed to consider vocational counseling important for migrants.28 In addition, Hardin administrators plugged a work-study program into special education in 1972.29

Thus, schools began shifting their curricula from academism to vocations. In the 1920s and early 1930s Lodge Grass had mostly academic courses. In 1975 a third of the high school courses were vocational and only half were academic.30 The parents of students at Pretty Eagle School also showed interest in vocational education by placing shop and home economics toward the top of priorities.31 Students began valuing vocational training, too. Hardin High School, for instance, had a vocational industrial club.32

The return of agriculture to the Reservation schools further demonstrated a renewed concern for survival. In
1934 the superintendent added farming and stock raising to the Lodge Grass curriculum. Agriculture continued at Hardin until 1943. Although the high school dropped its agriculture courses in 1943-1967, the most active student organization at Hardin seemed to be the Future Farmers of America (FFA). In 1944-1976 the FFA students attended meetings and went on summer trips. Furthermore, the students of the Hardin district had some instruction about soil conservation in 1956. In 1976 Lodge Grass had vocational agriculture, too.

Agriculture was treated more as a vocation than it had been. In the 1920s agriculture was treated as an academic experience. By 1972 it became reminiscent of boarding school farm practice. The Hardin vocational agriculture teacher, for instance, hoped to have the students raise an animal on leased ground. The students were to plan and construct the improvements and pay for electricity and water.

Summary

Therefore, the Crow Reservation schools of the mid-1970s seemed to be returning to a focus on self-reliance. Reservation educators of the 1880s had approached the problem of survival by working toward making the schools
self-sufficient. The educators of the 1970s, however, approached the problem by implementing vocational training to help make the students more self-sufficient.

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IX. Conclusions and Discussion

Abundance of resources has affected schools. For example, abundance has influenced changes in school types. On the Crow Reservation abundant resources brought about a transition from boarding schools to day schools. When labor fulfilled the needs of physical survival, it was convenient for educators and students to reside together in boarding schools, as they once did in early universities. But when resources became abundant, physical survival became less laborious. In fact, educators took much of survival for granted. Hence, after the late 1880s the Reservation became less self-sufficient by relying on abundant energy, technology, and money. In this period of abundance, Reservation educators also focused on academic subjects, athletics, individuality, and minorities.

Likewise, limitation in resources has affected schools. When the period of plenitude began to close, educators shifted their focus. They allowed academic standards to decline, and they dropped Indian programs. The more conservative educators replaced individualized instruction with teacher-directed lessons. While modern Reservation schools have not yet returned to labor and self-sufficiency, they
have already begun focusing on vocations, more so than they did in the 1950s. In due time, schools will probably restrict athletic programs because the nation needs the fuel and possibly the labor for producing food.

Therefore, the limitation of resources is forcing educators to take a look at an old problem—physical survival. Educators and school officials must begin to make decisions in light of the fact that resources are declining in availability for most people, and consequently developing just means of allocating resources is important for physical survival. Scarcity of resources and struggle for survival could become excuses for selfishness and violence. But hopefully most people understand the old solution to the problem of survival—working together.

With the exception of the federal funding, schools on the Crow Reservation developed according to a pattern that resembled the pattern of development in schools throughout the United States. That pattern was the result of political influences. For example, after 1905 the Crow Indians became increasingly individualistic. To some extent the government transformed the Crows from a tribe of Indians to a tribe of individuals. World War I tied the Crows to the rest of the
United States and to the world. So the post-War depression affected the Reservation as well as America and western Europe. The public schools, too, helped weld the Crows to America, because since 1921 the majority of Crow students have attended public schools.

In addition to politics, energy and technology influenced the Crow Reservation. In fact, abundant resources flowed on the Reservation in the same historical sequence as in the rest of the United States and the world. Since the Reservation has become a microcosm of the United States in terms of education and resources, it is safe to conclude that the effect of resources on the Reservation schools is similar to what has happened to other schools in the United States. Thus, schools across the nation are facing declining test scores, financial shortages, and increasing interest in vocations, all of which now seem to be related to resource limitations.

Moreover, abundant resources have affected other aspects of American life besides schools. Many white Americans in the 1960s were apparently satisfied with their private materialism so that they were ready to turn their attention to minorities and share some of the nation's
wealth. In the meantime, minorities have found avenues to success, especially in professional athletics, an avenue which did not exist before abundant resources were available.

Resources have affected not only the nation's elementary and secondary schools, but also the colleges and universities. By the last half of the twentieth century, professors showed an obvious interest in money. As soon as fall registration was over, professors regrouped for negotiations, and collective bargaining in institutions of higher learning became as formalized as it had become in business, industries, and public schools. Collective bargaining in modern universities stands in stark contrast to the beginning of the period of abundant resources, when it would have been futile for a matron of a government boarding school to think of asking her superintendent for a pay raise. Yet, realizing that professors in the late 1960s focused on how to better educate minorities, is also to realize that the development of collective bargaining in educational institutions seems to be another example of the decline in academic standards. Educators may be guilty of spending more time on what constitutes a fair salary than
on how they could better teach the students they have.

More studies on various reservation and state education systems would benefit knowledge, but professors and graduate students should not lose sight of the pending problem of limited resources. Professors need to begin thinking about what is essential in an education system and what should be saved from budget cuts. They need to stop thinking that bigger is better and start thinking about the value of smallness and the opportunity that conserving resources presents. They need to envision that future as a challenge.

Educators must develop a new strategy. Schools cannot much longer have all the financial, educational, and extra-curricular programs that are nice to have. Therefore, personnel in institutions of higher learning should develop equitable methods for conserving limited resources. A fair method of conservation would save not only schools, but other institutions, both governmental and religious, from becoming increasingly irrelevant or inhumane.
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The effect of abundant resources on the history of Crow...
ABSTRACT

This dissertation is about the effect of resource abundance on the Crow Reservation schools. Using a historical approach, the writer investigated federal, missionary, and public school records dating from 1870 to 1976. From this research it was concluded that during the period of abundant energy the Crow Reservation schools shifted away from concern for physical survival.

The availability of cheap energy began on the Crow Reservation in 1888. This period of cheap energy came to a close in 1975. During this period of abundant energy, technology and later money also became available to schools.

The effect of increasing these resources was that beginning in the 1890s the Reservation schools gradually took survival for granted. Students and educators labored less. In fact, the period of abundant resources liberated educators so they could focus primarily on academic subjects in 1917-1975. About the time of World War II athletics grew in priority, thus competing with the interest in academic subjects. Another effect of abundant resources, particularly with the influx of large government grants which began in 1937, was that schools demonstrated increasing tolerance for Indians and individuality. As the period of abundant resources began to close in the 1970s, many of the effects also came to an end. The Reservations schools once again became concerned about survival.