

A History of Potawatomi Language Planning and Policy:

Education Funding from 1819 to 1848

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Goals

- This presentation argues that the United States and the Potawatomi Nation both sometimes found certain education policies to be “safe” while at other times one party deemed a policy “unsafe”.
- I focus on policies surrounding the English language, other academics, and religion.
 - I show that the Potawatomi Nation considered English as an additive skill to accomplish new trade and leadership roles while the United States considered it an index of being civilized.
 - I show that the United States considered agriculture and other trades (not actual traders) as an index of being moral and civilized while the Potawatomi Nation had mixed thoughts about agriculture and other trades.
 - I use funding (and directives) as evidence to build my case.

Road Map

Part 1. What is Safety Zone Theory?

Part 2. Baptist Mission Schools

Part 3. Choctaw Academy

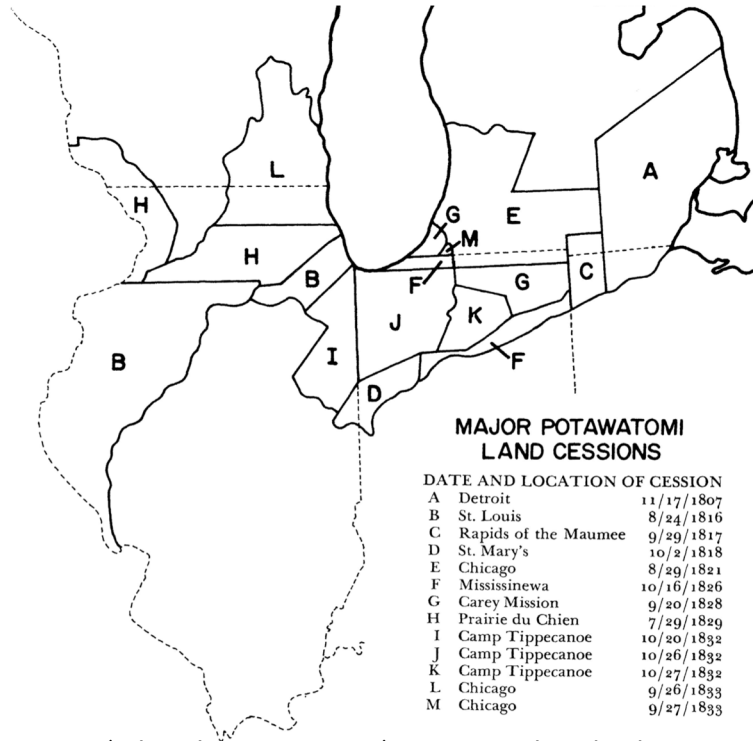
Concluding thoughts

Part 1. Safety Zone Theory

Safety Zone Theory ...

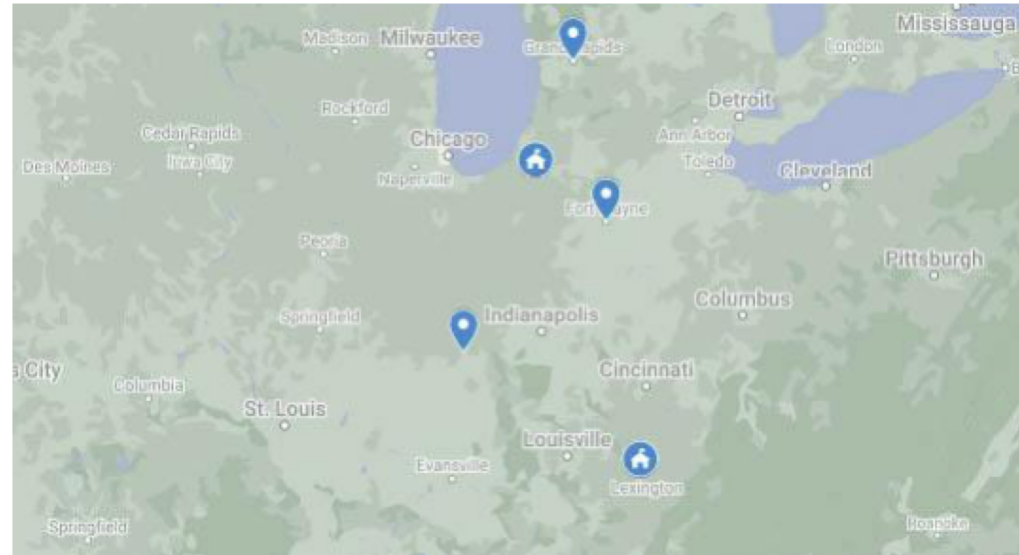
- “traces the ‘swings’ of Indian policy - including educational policy - to an ongoing struggle over cultural differences and its perceived threat, or benefit, to a sense of shared American identity” (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006:6).
 - E.g. languages in boarding schools

Maps of Potawatomi Nation



Source: (Edmunds, 1978, 245), accessed 03/06/20.

Figure 1. Baptist Mission Schools and the Choctaw Academy. Source: Google maps.



Part 2. Baptist Missions

Wea mission school

- Isaac McCoy
- Wea mission school at Raccoon Creek
- “The Indians might be persuaded to accept of such articles as part of their annuities, as incline them to Civilization such as Cattle, hogs, etc and knowing that he could obtain stock, and implements of husbandry, he [the Indian] would hardly fail to become a **farmer**, a Citizen of the U.S. **A *Christian***” (McCoy to Staughton, March 30, 1818).

Miami Mission School

- Miami mission school at Fort Wayne
- Nan-Wesh-Mah (Abraham Burnett)'s mother placed him in McCoy's school at Fort Wayne.
- Chief Menominee from Yellow River.
- McCoy visited Yellow River villages and Nan-Wesh-Mah's village on the St. Joseph River led by Chief Topinbee.
- Joseph Bourassa from Memoninee's village and several boys from Topinbee's village were added to McCoy's mission school.

(Edmunds 1978:222-226)

Funding McCoy's schools

- Started at \$500 a year from Baptist Mission.
- On March 3, 1819, the United States Congress passes the Civilization Fund Act (Pub.L. 15-84). The Act set the stage to fund Native American education by appropriating **\$10,000** annually to:
 - “educate Native students in ***agriculture, reading, writing, and arithmetic***”
- 1821 Treaty at Chicago
 - ART. 4. “... And the United States also engage to pay to the Potawatamie nation five thousand dollars in specie, annually, for the term of twenty years, and also to appropriate annually, **for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars**, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith and a Teacher. ... and one mile square on the south side of the **St. Joseph**, and within the Indian lands not ceded, upon which the **blacksmiths** and **teachers** employed for the said tribes, respectively, shall reside”
- He had \$3,000 budget annually of governmental, denomination, and donations (Wellman 2017:31).

Carey and Thomas Mission Academics

- Carey and Thomas
- Reading, writing, ancient history, and scripture lessons for all.
- But only 33 of the 92 students were listed as being able to read and write in 1826 (Lieb to Cass, December 1, 1826).
- Boys: field/agriculture and mechanical labor.
- Girls: spinning, knitting, sewing.

Attendance

Table 1. Carey Mission School attendance

Year	1823	'24	'25	'26	'27	'26	'29	'30	'31
Potawatomi Students		44*		67**					
Total Students	10B/29	61*	66/90***	71/92**	70	70-80	70	50B	8

Table compiled from McCoy's 1824 Report to Cass*, Lieb's 1826 Report to Cass**, and the ABFMS Annual Reports (1823:25, 1827:7, 1828:10, 1829:16, 1830:174, 1831:16), B=boarders, Wellman (2017:42)***, / means multiple sources.

Who attended the Carey Mission School first?

- The children of chiefs and traders

Bailley	Esther		Potawatomi/ half	12	1822-01	17
Bailley	Rosann/Roseann		Potawatomi/ half	10	1822-01	15
Burnett	Martha		Potawatomi/ one fourth	5	1822-01	yes
Burnett	Martha		Potawatomi/ half	5	1822-01	
Farmell	Prudence	Sheshko	Mohegan/Oj half	8	1822-05-23	12
Nimham	Celicia/Cilicia	Cilicia	Mohegan/Oj half	9	1822-12-1	13
Bailley	Eleanor		Potawatomi/ half	7	1823-02-11	10
Wilmett	Lewis		Potawatomi/ half	13	1823-03-10	16
Turner	William		Potawatomi/ half	3	1823-03-20	5
Saukinineek	Bob	Saukinineek	Potawatomi/ full	25	1823-03-20	died
		Numpkee	Potawatomi/ full	12	1823-03-3	
		Shawnaunuk	Potawatomi/ full	17	1823-03-3	
Jones	John		Potawatomi/ half	17	1823-04-10	20
Wallingsford	Isel	Aspemukque	Potawatomi/ full	3	1823-05	6
Winchell	James M.	Chaukenozw	Potawatomi/ full	3	1823-07-10	6
Wilmett	Mitchel		Potawatomi/ half	12	1823-07-24	15
Wilmett	Luzette/Lejett		Potawatomi/ half	9	1823-07-24	12
Young	John	Hinko	Potawatomi/ full	13	1823-07-24	
Bourissaw	Achan		Potawatomi/ half	6	1823-07-8	9
Beaubien	Lazarous		Ottawa/ half	7	1823-07-8	
Blair	Nelicea/Rebe	Jukoah/Tuka	Potawatomi/ full	11	1823-08-18	14
Beaubien	Madart/Mador		Potawatomi/ half	14	1823-09-12	17

Source: Compiled from McCoy's 1824 report Lieb's 1826 report.

Who attended the Carey Mission School?

- There were 61 students in 1824.
 - 44 were Potawatomi, 9 were Mohegan, 7 were Ottawa, and 1 was Miami.
 - 31 were full-blooded, 23 were half, 5 were one-fourth, and 2 were three-fourths.
- There were 92 students in 1826.
 - 67 were Potawatomi, 17 were Ottawa, 6 were Mohegan, and 2 were Miami.
 - 54 were full-blooded, 28 were half, 11 were a quarter, 4 were three-quarters, and 2 were three-eighths.

Taking stock so far

- The United States/Carey Mission School:
 - Sought to turn Potawatomis into **farmers, tradesmen, Protestant Christians**, while teaching them **English** reading, writing, and ancient history.
 - \$3,000 annual budget (including the treaty money).
- The Potawatomi Nation:
 - Sought out western education.
 - Sought to procure a **teacher** and **blacksmith** for the Nation plus **religious freedom** - no monopoly.
 - Put up \$1,000 for this for 15 years.
- Outcomes:
 - Some Potawatomi became farmers and some became Christians.
 - Few Potawatomis actually learned to read and write.
 - English played no significant role in language shift during the time period.

A great big fiasco

Columbian College 8

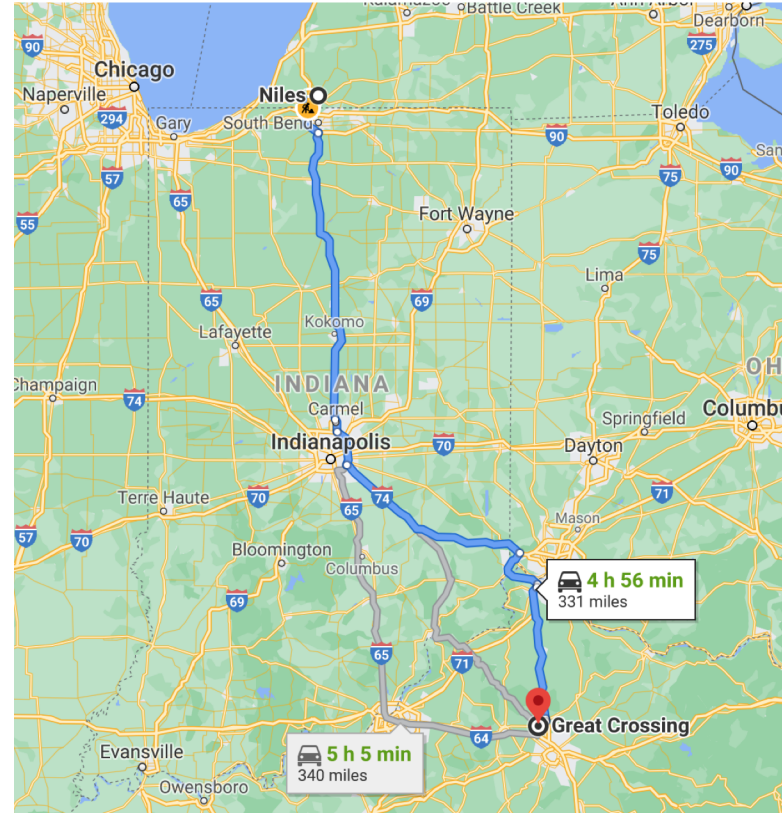
Hamilton-Oneida Institute 7

Castleton College 2

Part 3. Choctaw Academy

Choctaw Academy

- Richard M Johnson
- Great Crossings, KY
- Choctaw and then Creeks
- John Payne (Chopytuck)



Source: Google maps.

Funding

Indian Civilization Fund

Annual portion of the \$10,000.

Treaty of 1826 at Mississinewa

\$2,000 as long as Congress likes

Treaty of 1828 at Carey Mission

\$1,000 as long as Congress likes

Treaty of 1832 at Camp Tippecanoe

\$2,000 as long as Congress likes

Treaty of 1833 at Chicago

Interest from \$70,000 until the U.S. turns the funds over to the Potawatomi Nation

Why attend the Choctaw Academy?

- Ottawa/Potawatomi Chief Nawkwégizhêk expresses how the Potawatomi Nation saw the Choctaw Academy:

“I wish our children to be instructed like the whites; then these educated children will become capable of assisting us in the **transaction of business** with white people” (Excerpt from Speech of Noonday, January 11, 1827 in Snyder 2017, p.14, emphasis added).

Academics

- The Secretary of War dictated English in the classroom (Snyder 2017:82; William Ward to Thomas Henderson, December 16, 1825).
- Potawatomi Chiefs decided that only boys between the ages of 8 and 15 could attend (Potawatomi Chiefs to the Secretary of War, October 16, 1826).
- Arithmetic, English, spelling, geography, elocution, bookkeeping, law, and medicine in some rare cases (Snyder 2017).
- Trades (wheelwright, blacksmith) were added.
- Religion available, but not required.
- Lancastrian system

Attendance

Table 2. Choctaw Academy attendance

Year	1826	'27	'28	'29	'30	'31	'32	'33	'34	'35	'36		
Pot.	1	11	10	10	14	15	16	20	24	18	20		
Total	94	100	98	94	92	107	127	128	137	170	-		
Year		'37	'38	'39	'40	'41	'42	'43	'44	'45	'46	'47	'48
Pot.		21	19	20	24	20							34
Total		147	-	147	129	122							-

Table compiled from quarterly reports from the Choctaw Academy to the Secretary of War (Peter Perkins Pitchlynn Collection). Blue cells indicate the years new funding was applied.

Who attended the Choctaw Academy?

- Some students who attended Carey early on, some returning Hamilton student, and Genl. Jackson.

Last	First	Native Name	Nation	Degree of blk	Age when re	Date when re	Age in 1826	Attended Ha	Attended Ca	Attended Wc	Age when re	Date when re
Charles	Dick		Mohegan	half	11	1818-12-1	19					
Isaacs	Harriet		Mohegan	full	12	1819-0-15	19					
Isaacs	Susanna		Mohegan	full	14	1819-09-15	21					
Plumed/Plun	Betsey		Mohegan	one fourth	12	1819-11-4	17					
Isaacs	Angelica		Mohegan	full	10	1819-11-4	17					
Isaacs/Isaack	Jemima Wilkinson		Mohegan	full	8	1819-12-10	15					
Ash	Betsey		Potawatomi	half	12	1820-05-29	18					
Corthay/Corl	Jacob	Kaukafoot/K	Mohegan/M	full	10	1820-08-11	16					
Langlois	Peter	Kenozakqual	Miami	half	17	1820-08-14	23	yes				
Burnett	William	Nan Wesh M	Potawatomi	three fourths	7	1820-09-26	yes					1827
Laline/Lalinn	John		Potawatomi	half	9	1820-09-26	15	yes				
Bourissaw	Jude/Judi	Toto	Ottawa	half	8	1820-09-26	14					
Bourissaw	Joseph	Ke Kahn	Ottawa	half	12	1820-09-28	18	yes				1832
Bourissaw	Mark	Chickloh	Ottawa	half	10	1820-09-28	16					
Bertrand	Joseph		Potawatomi	one fourth	13	1820-11-25	yes					
Bertrand	Samuel	Levineek	Potawatomi	one fourth	11	1820-11-25	yes					1832
Bertrand	Benjamin		Potawatomi	one fourth	7	1820-11-25	13					
Furman/Thu	Richard	Onnowssan/	Potawatomi	full	6	1821-02-21	11					
Baldwin	Thomas	Monnotuk	Potawatomi	full	8	1821-02-21	14		yes			
Rice	Luther	Noaquett	Potawatomi/	full	11	1821-05-24	16	yes				

Transylvania

- Joseph Bourassa (Ke kahn)
- John Jones
- Joel Barrow (Arcmuggue)

(Snyder 2017)

Alleged mismanagement

- Food, boarding, clothes, and morals reported as sub-par.
- Choctaw Superintendent became Peter Pitchlynn.
- He removed the Choctaw Boys who wanted to go west.
- 1842 Audit (H.Doc.27-2-231).
- D. Vanderslice takes over.
- 1845 Report (H.Rpt.28-2-193).

Severing Ties

- Article 8 of the 1846 Treaty at Council Bluffs and Osage River
 - ... It is also agreed that, **after expiration of two years** from the ratification of this treaty, **the school-fund of the Pottowautomies shall be expended entirely in their own country**, unless their people, in council, shall, at any time, express a desire to have any part of the same expended in a different manner.

Summary

- The United States/Choctaw Academy:
 - Sought to teach Potawatomis the basics of **English** (in order to be farmers) and some **trades** if students wished.
- The Potawatomi Nation:
 - Sought to gained leaders with knowledge of the **English** language **without being required to give up their religion**.
- Outcomes:
 - Most students at the Choctaw Academy learned to read and write English.
 - English did not lead to a language shift, but it might have set up the next generation for that shift.
 - Some students learned trades.
 - A few students learned law and medicine.

Concluding thoughts ...

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- The Carey Mission School and the Choctaw Academy sought to civilize Potawatomi students.
 - The Choctaw Academy was more effective than the Carey Mission School at teaching **English**, likely because of the War Department's edict.
 - The Carey Mission School was more effective than the Choctaw Academy at making actual **Protestant Christians**, likely because it was a mission school.
 - Both turned some Potawatomi students into **laborers**.
 - The Choctaw Academy helped a few into law and medicine professions.
- The Potawatomi nation sought to create leaders.
 - The Potawatomi scholars gained **English** to become future leaders, traders, interpreters, and more.
 - There were mixed thoughts about **agriculture** and **trades**.
- Carey Mission closed in 1831 and the Choctaw Academy closed in 1848.

New era of schooling in Kansas (1848-1861)!

Baptist Manual Labor School

St. Mary's Mission School

igwiyen - Thank you!

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