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## American Indian Culture and Research Journal

### Title

White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation. By Jacqueline Fear-Segal.

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/67d465fd>

### Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 32(2)

### ISSN

0161-6463

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### Publication Date

2008-03-01

### DOI

10.17953

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Métis singer of tales is internationally collaged back and forth across the Big Water. Lee pays detailed attention to tare and texture in Barnes's lines, shows gracious understanding of Native sites, place-names, towns, and soil in this Choctaw-Anglo-Celtic master of lyric lines. Jim Barnes finds his multiple heritages, the archaeological end of *Transatlantic Crossings* and Native fusalional renaissance, preserved in a Missouri cave:

Two fish,  
definitely carp,  
picassoed in stone.

*Kenneth Lincoln*

University of California, Los Angeles

**White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation.**

By Jacqueline Fear-Segal. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. 422 pages. \$55.00 cloth.

Books long in the making often disappoint. *White Man's Club* is more than worth the wait. This study has its roots in Jacqueline Fear-Segal's doctoral dissertation, completed at the University College of London in 1978. Although focused on American Indian reservation schools, the dissertation's discussion of federal Indian education policy and of the meaning of schools for the Indian students foreshadowed the argument presented in *White Man's Club*. Even then she placed Indian education in the larger context of American schooling and offered compelling analysis of its cultural aggressiveness. Her phrase that "the school cut into the fabric of Indian culture like a million little knives," stands for this reviewer as one of the most evocative characterizations in the literature (422). This widely cited dissertation helped initiate a generation of extraordinarily rich literature on American Indian schooling and the late-nineteenth-century effort to erase Native cultures and communities. The author's rephrasing of her twin goals, "to interrogate the overt and covert agendas of white education programs and probe the actions and reactions of Indians who struggled to resist as well as claim the power of white schooling," suggests a much richer study than her preliminary work (xv). Fear-Segal has mastered the literature and archival sources on American Indian education, demonstrated the value and relevance of the broader postmodernist studies of colonialism and subalterns, drawing especially on Michael Foucault and James C. Scott, and, through fieldwork and interviews, connected the events of a century ago to the contemporary scene.

In the title, *White Man's Club*, we see the author's interest in implementing James C. Scott's conception of the interplay between the public and hidden transcripts of the powerful and the dominated, respectively (*Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, 1992). The phrase comes from the memoirs of a returned Indian student and was used by his Shawnee elders who advised him to go to school so that he would be able "to use the club of white man's

wisdom against him in defense of our customs” and religious values (xi). Fear-Segal argues that Indians viewed the schools as clubs against Indian cultures in which whites used them as places (that is, clubs) where they “debated and enacted not only Indian education but also racial formation” (xv).

The broad outline of Fear-Segal’s story is familiar, but she brings new insights to each component. The prologue, “Prisoners Become Pupils,” describing the oft-told story of the southern Plains Indian prisoners sent to Fort Marion, Florida, sets it in the context of colonialism. She points to growing racialism and argues that rather than a generational divide between external and internal conqueror as described in Ashish Nandy’s *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (1983), Pratt represented both and embedded in Indian education the regime of the prison. The first three chapters explore the development of an Indian educational system. She unveils a thread of racist thought among a subset of the so-called friends of the Indian, such as Lyman Abbott and Samuel C. Armstrong, and explores the tensions between missionaries and federal officials as schools shift from tools of religious conversion to instruments of cultural destruction. Missionaries could help Native languages continue; schoolmen called for their abandonment. She also offers a nuanced discussion of the Indians’ approaches to education and their varied initial reactions to the schooling program.

Having established Samuel C. Armstrong and Richard Henry Pratt as representing the racialistic and assimilationist counterpoints to the schooling movement, the author then turns to discuss their schools separately. The analysis of Armstrong’s less-optimistic vision is consistent with the book-length studies of the Hampton Institute by Robert Engs and Donal Lindsey. Her exploration of the appeal of Armstrong’s emphasis on sending his students back as “missionaries of civilization” to their communities to those students who wished to go home and her discussion of how those students took Hampton’s lessons in their own directions, however, treads new ground. From a close reading of scarce archival records pertaining to Harry Hand, who returned to Crow Creek, and an unpacking of Thomas Wildcat Alford’s autobiography aided again by Hampton’s useful archives, Fear-Segal reveals both the contradictions that schooling wrought in these men’s lives and each man’s “creative capacity to reconcile them” (156). The four chapters devoted to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School are the most innovative. Her recognition that Armstrong’s Hampton, not Pratt’s Carlisle, represented the mainstream of the US Indian education policy seems somewhat inconsistent with making Carlisle the focus of six of the eleven chapters in the book. In exploring Carlisle with imaginative attention to the organization of space and systems of control, however, Fear-Segal demonstrates the drift of explicitly nonracist instruments of control toward tools of racial subordination. From an analysis of how Pratt reshaped the physical setting of the school to an exploration of the segregation of the school cemetery, Fear-Segal explicates Pratt’s complicity with Carlisle’s shift toward conformity with the growing racism in the broader society. The previously published chapter, “The Man-on-the-Bandstand,” exemplifies her sensitivity to the assertions of control through a fictional figure as well as to the subtle strategies of resistance pursued by the students

(Clifford E. Trafzer et al., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, 2006, 99–122). Least persuasive is her challenge to the view, most widely identified with Fred Hoxie's *A Final Promise* (1984), that the turn of the century saw a policy shift from optimistic to pessimistic assumptions about Native capacity. Although some "friends of the Indians" doubted their capacity from the beginning, the central policy makers, most notably Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan, who created a comprehensive Indian School Service, and William Hailmann, who served as superintendent of Indian schools following the Morgan administration, called for an egalitarian albeit ethnocentric approach. Fear-Segal points to no decisions by policy makers that are inconsistent with the Hoxie thesis. She subsequently recognizes the significance of the 1901 shift (123). She does, certainly, unpack the stream of ideas that makes the reversal unsurprising.

The final two chapters and the epilogue explore "modes of cultural survival" through the lives and legacies of two individuals, one largely invisible and the other surprisingly celebrated, and an event, Powwow 2000, held to commemorate the legacy of the Carlisle School. The stories of Kesetta, a Lipan Apache orphan, and Susan Rayos Marmon, great aunt of and inspiration to Leslie Marmon Silko, add to her earlier examples of the agency of Native peoples in facing the political and cultural onslaught and, to that extent, reinforce a current theme in studies of assimilationist-era schooling. The originality of these chapters and the epilogue, however, comes through the powerful demonstration of the ongoing force of the "white man's club." Kesetta's story, re-created with difficulty because of her anonymity, exemplifies the marginalization that such schooling could cause. Fear-Segal's discovery that the contemporary Lipan Apache community continued to mourn the loss of this child and their appreciation to learn finally of her fate speak powerfully to both damage to and persistence of Native communities. Susan Rayos Marmon's life represents the important role many returned Indian students played in their communities. Her unswerving commitment to her Laguna Pueblo and her "hybrid" knowledge made her a powerful, if sometimes contested, force for good in her community. No small part of her legacy lives on in the writings of her great niece. In the epilogue, Fear-Segal movingly evokes the mixed theme of resentment and celebration of the Carlisle legacy among descendants of its students with whom she gathered on Memorial Day weekend in 2000. Jim West (Cheyenne), who had come to honor his grandmother, reflected on the presence at the powwow of languages and traditional regalia that the school had forbidden. "We were still dancing that day on the grounds of the school that was going to 'kill the Indian and save the man' and had long since disappeared. It was a good day" (312).

*White Man's Club* should have an impact on scholarship and policy makers. For the latter, its evocation of the ongoing impact of boarding schools underscores the failure of the United States to follow Canada's example of redressing the damages of the boarding school system. Scholars need to be more attentive to comparative studies in order to place the US experience in the broader world of colonial and indigenous experiences. Her challenge to the "Hoxie thesis" invites further exploration. Her attention to the

first generation of students in a federal Indian School Service encourages a comparison with subsequent generations: did the increased custodialization of the Indian School Service lead to a more constrained future for subsequent generations? Her use of individuals to represent a broad pattern of experience, finally, demands more inclusive examination of the actors. Who were the educators involved in the Indian School Service, and how closely did they follow official policy? What variety of experiences and strategies existed for the Native students, and did they fall between or surround those of Kesetta and Susan Rayos Marmon?

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