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“In the Fall of the Year We Were Troubled with Some Sickness”: Typhoid Fever Deaths, Sherman Institute, 1904

JEAN A. KELLER

On July 1, 1904, the new school year began at Sherman Institute, a nonreservation Indian boarding school in Riverside, California, with an enrollment of 722 students. By November 14, 1904, nine of these students were dead. Seven of the children died from an epidemic of typhoid fever between October 29 and November 14, and at least thirty-five other students were stricken with the disease.¹ Yet in his annual report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sherman Institute Superintendent Harwood Hall did not mention the deaths of these students. Instead, he stated only that in the fall of the year they had been troubled with some sickness.²

By most accounts, Hall was a man dedicated to the health and well-being of his young Indian charges, yet he chose not only to dismiss the deaths of the seven children killed by typhoid fever in the fall of 1904, but the deaths of four children earlier in the year as well. This exclusion was particularly relevant because the 1904 mortality rate at Sherman Institute exceeded that of all previous years combined, including those at its predecessor, the Perris Indian School.³ The death of eleven children, seven of which were from typhoid fever, was clearly an uncommon occurrence. In his official report, however, Hall did not acknowledge that anything out of the ordinary had transpired, apparently deciding that the deaths of these children were irrelevant to his report.

Prior to becoming superintendent of Sherman Institute, Hall had been superintendent of the Phoenix Industrial Boarding School (hereafter, the Phoenix Indian School) near Phoenix, Arizona. The school had been established in September 1891 for the specific purpose of preparing Native

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American children for assimilation.⁴ By the time Hall arrived at the Phoenix Indian School in 1893, the school had already experienced considerable growth and was on its way to becoming a major component in the federal assimilation program. During his tenure at the school, Hall fostered this growth, equating it with progress and accomplishment.⁵

Hall was an experienced educator who, at the age of thirty-four, had already spent eight years in the Indian Service, the last four supervising boarding schools at the Quapaw and Pine Ridge agencies.⁶ As such, he recognized the potential of the Phoenix Indian School and strove accordingly to create an institution of increasing size and reputation. The Phoenix Indian School was to be the quintessential Indian boarding school of the western United States. Hall lobbied relentlessly for additional funding to expand and improve the school, and his efforts had a significant impact. Between 1893 and 1895, he succeeded in obtaining sufficient funding to build a boys' dormitory, hospital, employees' quarters, and a small office, enabling the school to accommodate three hundred students.⁷ By the end of the 1895–96 school year, almost 350 students were in attendance, and the school continued to grow, primarily due to Hall's efforts.

In addition to his fundraising skills, Hall recognized the value of public relations and succeeded in creating strong community ties between the Phoenix Indian School and the citizens of Phoenix. In many ways, the community's relationship with the school was dominated by economic factors.⁸ The Phoenixians supported the school in large part because it contributed to their financial well-being through Hall's outing and apprentice programs, as well as through the federal expenditures that resulted from Hall's lobbying. However, perhaps of equal importance was the fact that the Phoenix Indian School, through Hall's instigation and promotion, became a center of community social life.⁹ With its fountains, manicured grounds, and shaded walkways, the school became a mecca for local citizens, as well as a destination point for tourists. The school also provided a vast amount of free entertainment for the citizens of Phoenix, which served to relieve the boredom that came with living in such an isolated area and, as such, became a highly valuable commodity.¹⁰ Graduation ceremonies at the end of each year became an important annual social event, and by the end of 1894, one thousand visitors reportedly attended.

Under the direction of Harwood Hall, the Phoenix Indian School also became integral to the promotion of tourism, which was beginning to assume importance in Arizona. Prominent civic leaders in Phoenix staged a multitude of special events at the school, all of which were designed to attract visitors and bring in tourist dollars. The Indian students maintained a high profile at these events and proved to be a big asset to their success.¹¹

Superintendent Hall was a popular schoolmaster, reportedly respected by students, their parents, and the community. By the end of 1895, his fundraising and public relations efforts were paying off, and the Phoenix Indian School seemed ready to fulfill Hall's expectations of its potential. It was becoming, in fact, a realization of his dreams of the ideal Indian school. The only problem was that Hall simply could not stand the hot weather of Arizona.

Therefore, despite having to take leave of his successful work-in-progress, Hall commenced a quest to be transferred from Phoenix to another Indian boarding school. After several requests to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, he was placed in charge of the industrial boarding school at Perris, California.¹²

The Perris Indian School opened on January 9, 1893, in a rural area of Southern California, approximately midway between Los Angeles and San Diego. Its existence was the result of efforts made by Horatio N. Rust, Indian agent from Colton, to find a suitable site in Southern California for an Indian training school that was to be located near an established settlement rather than on a reservation. A local citizen had donated the eighty acres of land the school was built on, and after approval of the location by Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. J. Morgan, \$25,000 was appropriated for construction of the necessary buildings.

Rust was very enthusiastic about the school site, envisioning it to be surrounded eventually by vineyards and orchards, which would be cultivated by Indian students who would thus learn to become citizens.¹³ According to Agent Rust's schedule, the buildings were to be completed in 1892, and under the guidance of the newly appointed school superintendent, M. H. Savage, the Perris Indian School was to open in October 1892. Unfortunately for Rust, this was not to be the case.

The uncultivated nature of the land necessitated substantial expenditures of time and labor to prepare it for irrigation. Since the water supply of the Perris irrigation district was 2.5 miles distant from the school, lateral lines had to be laid within the district's system in order for the school to receive an adequate supply of water. This required five months and a cost of \$18,000 to the irrigation district.¹⁴ Upon completion, the water supply was abundant and under such pressure that a stream could be thrown over the tower of the girls' building.¹⁵

The Perris Indian School formally opened on January 9, 1893 with only eight enrolled students. By the first of March, 113 students were enrolled, and by the end of 1893, 118 students were boarding at the school. Shortly after the school began functioning as a vocational boarding school, Superintendent Savage began to request funding for additional buildings to accommodate the growing number of students who were applying for admission. By 1897, the physical plant of Perris Indian School included boys' quarters, girls' quarters, a hospital, and several miscellaneous buildings such as a laundry, barn, boys' wash house, and a shop building equipped with a carpenter shop, paint shop, shoe and harness shop, engineering shop, and storeroom.¹⁶ Despite an almost continuous building program, the enrollment was always larger than the available living space could properly accommodate.

In addition to problems in the physical plant, it became apparent within the first year of operation that there existed inherent problems in the geographical location of the Perris Indian School. The school was situated on the path which Indians traveled going to and from the Indian agency in Colton. In addition, it was also in an area that Indians traveled through on their way to more settled areas to find work. This was clearly not an environment considered healthy for the assimilation of Indian youth; there

were simply too many Indians around. In his annual report of 1893, Savage lamented that,

It is to be regretted that a site was not secured in the vicinity of one of the many thriving cultural communities with which Southern California abounds, where the highest type of civilization would be a constant example to inspire these Indian youths with lofty ambitions to become intelligent industrious men and women assimilating with this progressive age.¹⁷

Despite these problems, the school continued to be productive and to grow. An academic program coincident with that of public school programs was instituted and later expanded to include an extensive music program. The school had an orchestra, brass band, and chorus, and girls were given instruction in piano and organ as a reward for well-done household chores.¹⁸ Religious instruction was provided when possible. Social gatherings between students and employees were frequent, as were holiday celebrations and programs. Both Superintendent Savage and his successor, Edgar A. Allen, recognized the spacial and locational problems of Perris Indian School, but apparently felt that they were not insolvable and strove to improve conditions at the site throughout their respective tenures.

Upon his arrival at Perris Indian School in 1897, the school's isolation, inadequate facilities, and what he perceived as the generally poor quality of its employees immediately struck Harwood Hall. In his first annual report as superintendent, he deplored the school's inadequacies, going so far as to state that "a poorer place for an Indian school, it seems to me could not have been found in Southern California."¹⁹ It may be that compared to the established and relatively cosmopolitan Phoenix Indian School, from which Hall had only recently arrived, almost anything would look bad. However, Hall's annual report clearly indicates that the conditions and problems he faced at the school appalled him. No doubt he was also probably questioning his sanity at having requested such a transfer. It is quite apparent that the Perris Indian School did not conform to Hall's perception of what constituted his ideal Indian vocational boarding school—this certainly did not promise to be the quintessential Indian school of the West, as had the Phoenix School.

Like his predecessors, Hall labored to improve conditions at the school. Unlike them, a substantial element of his improvement program involved making the Perris Indian School and its plight known to the surrounding communities. He felt that any recognition of the potential value of such a school could only be achieved if the public was exposed to the students' talents while at the same time being apprised of the conditions under which the students had to live. During the years 1897–1900, recognition for the school was gained through the band, chorus, girls' mandolin and guitar club, and the boys' football and baseball teams.²⁰ These community outreach and entertainment venues were similar to those Hall had initiated in Phoenix. However, because of the relative isolation in which the school existed, it was necessary to extend the geographic extent of performances significantly farther in

order to develop a similar level of recognition, appreciation, and support for the students and school.

Much of Hall's first year at Perris had been spent essentially laying the groundwork for what he considered to be the very obvious and necessary next step in the development of the school—moving it to a better location. During the fiscal year 1898–1899, Hall formally suggested that a new site be found for the Perris Indian School. Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian Schools, made an investigation into Hall's allegations regarding the inadequacies of the school in June 1899. Her report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs stated,

The general condition of this school, so far as regards buildings, management and supervision is excellent. The Perris school could easily be made one of the largest nonreservation schools in the service were it not for the fact that so far it has been impossible to obtain sufficient water supply.... While I was at Perris the Bear Valley Irrigation Company entirely closed off the water supply.... The Superintendent stated that the school had been dependent upon this supply of water, both for domestic and irrigation purposes, since the school was first located in 1891. Now that the supply is entirely cut off this condition of affairs involves the serious question of no water, no sewerage, etc. A well about 500 feet furnishes about 5 inches of water but I was informed by the Superintendent that it would be useless to try to develop a well of this kind for more water.... I earnestly recommend that an appropriation be granted by Congress for the establishment of an Indian Industrial School plant at some suitable location in Southern California where sufficient water facilities can be obtained, and where farming and orchard culture can be profitably taught.²¹

The respect and admiration Reel holds for Harwood Hall is evidenced elsewhere in this letter:

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the excellent management of this school. Notwithstanding the arid country, and the lack of facilities for industrial work, excellent results are accomplished, due, principally, to the untiring energy and devotion of the Superintendent and his wife, who have been many years in the service, and who thoroughly understand the Indian and how best to obtain practical results from their labors.²²

Her feelings for Hall no doubt influenced her evaluation of his charges, particularly regarding the water situation. Despite the fact that Superintendent Hall's primary argument for removal of the Perris Indian School from its present location was its inadequate water supply, Reel did not conduct an independent investigation. Instead, Hall's word was taken as fact.

On November 13, 1899, Reel wrote to Hall,²³ reassuring him that she would do everything she possibly could to acquire a large appropriation from the Senate. She enclosed a copy of her report on the Perris School and said she hoped it met with his approval. Also included in Reel's letter were two very important pieces of information. First, she congratulates Hall on the fact

that both Los Angeles and Riverside have taken so much interest in the location of the school. This indicates that Hall was confident enough that his request for a new school would be granted that he had discussed its new location with two competing cities. It also suggests that Hall recognized the potential value his new school would have to a community, as well as the benefits to the school that such value could reap. The second piece of information found in Reel's letter was that there already existed considerable opposition to the school's move from Perris. It seems that not everyone concurred with Hall's assessment of the current site's inadequacies, especially concerning the water and soil.

According to further correspondence between Hall and Reel,²⁴ the influential people of Riverside had begun taking an active interest in the location of the large Indian school by November 1899. One of these individuals was Frank Miller, owner of the Glenwood Mission Inn and Riverside's streetcar company.²⁵ At the same time, opposition to the move was apparently increasing, with letters from landowners and residents of the Perris area being sent to the commissioner of Indian Affairs. The most scathing indictments of Hall's reasons for moving came in letters from T. Gibbon of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company²⁶ and from Horatio Rust, Indian agent of Colton, California.²⁷ Both accused Hall of misrepresenting the facts, that independent investigations had shown that there was abundant water available for use by the school, and that there existed no logical reason for moving the school to another location. Rust went so far as to say that Hall's influence on the students was bad because he was teaching them that they needed city life for their education. The impact of these particular letters was considerable because they arrived only days before the formal Senate hearing on Indian appropriations, that is, funding for Hall's new Indian school.

During the May 22, 1900 session of the United States Senate, discussion of these letters in relation to Hall's request resulted in an argument that caused Senator Stewart to remark, "This is about the worst case of conflicting testimony that has come under my observation."²⁸ Every effort was made by Hall to counteract the effect of Gibbon's and Rust's letters. He collected letters from local people who testified to what he considered to be the true environmental conditions in Perris and even sent a soil sample to the University of California College of Agriculture in Berkeley for testing to prove his claim that the soil was too alkali for agriculture.²⁹

Despite considerable Senate and local opposition, the Indian Appropriation Act for a new school in Riverside, California was passed in the United States Senate on May 31, 1900. The secretary of the Interior subsequently approved an appropriation of \$75,000 for the purchase of land and erection of new buildings. In June of 1900, United States Supervisor of Schools Frank Conser was instructed to investigate a site located on Magnolia Avenue, 5.5 miles from the center of Riverside and three-quarters of a mile from Arlington Station on the Santa Fe Railroad.³⁰ It is not known who instructed Conser to investigate this particular site, but it is interesting that the site was adjacent to Frank Miller's streetcar company in Chemawa Park, owned by Miller's sister and brother-in-law, and that apparently no other sites

were offered for consideration. On July 31, 1900, the Department of the Interior granted permission to negotiate with Frank and Alice Richardson for the purchase of the land and on August 18, 1900, a deed was executed conveying the land to the United States for \$8,400.

Local businessmen and other influential citizens had been instrumental in procuring the new Indian school for Riverside and they were diligent in their efforts to expedite its foundation. They saw the school as representing a significant financial benefit to the city and were anxious to get things going. As an exuberant commentary in the *Riverside Enterprise* stated shortly after the purchase of the school property had been completed:

The securing of this government institution is one of the great strides in the progress of Riverside. It will provide for a large number of Indian children and must in a very few years grow to proportions and importance that few people can imagine. It will be a feature to attract tourists and secure their money in permanent investments. It will enhance values of taxable real estate in the vicinity and thereby proportionately increase public revenues. And in addition, the Indian school will bring to the city for the benefit of merchants no insignificant amount of trade.³¹

Superintendent Hall played an important part in the design of the new school. In a letter to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 1, 1900, Hall submitted a detailed explanation of his plans for the school.³² While on one hand, this plan showed a genuine concern for the physical and mental health of his young charges, and it is clear that a great deal of thought went into his plan, realistically, many of Hall's ideas were not born of compassion as much as of a desire to maximize assimilation and expedite the "civilization" of his Indian board students. His attitude was paternalistic, as was common in Indian school administration during most of its history. However, if viewed in the context of the time, Hall's plans for the new school were somewhat revolutionary because they took into consideration the individuality and vulnerability of the students. Two particular passages are illustrative of Hall's rather ambitious plans:

It is very unwise, I find, to have a mixed set of employees to room in children's quarters, outside of matrons and disciplinarians, as the children cannot feel free and are always subject to the whims and idiosyncrasies of tired, sick, and nervous employees. The herding of larger children in dormitories simply breeds disease and immorality, and lessens a larger boy or girl's self respect. They can have no individuality or privacy in dormitories, as everything of a necessity is held in common and no privacy for any one. Boys and girls both will take great interest in their rooms, manufacturing various little room decorations, making them attractive and homelike; will advance them in my opinion along lines of general civilization greater and faster, than in any other way, as it will give them an idea of the possibilities in arranging a home of their own.

In his plans for the new school, Hall not only took into consideration the needs of his young Indian students, but the needs of the community and school as well. He clearly acknowledges the important symbiotic relationship between a successful Indian school and the community in which it exists. His tenure at the Phoenix Indian School proved that a community would strongly support an Indian school in a variety of ways if the members of the community perceive that they in turn will derive benefit from the school, financially or otherwise. In his plan for the school, Hall takes this into consideration:

I may say, without exaggeration, the school at Riverside will need an auditorium, in order to accommodate the people of Southern California, tourists and residents, who will flock to the school when located at the beautiful and convenient spot on the famous Magnolia Avenue, of a capacity for not less than 6,000 people, a most conservative estimate.

The cornerstone of the Sherman Institute, named after James Schoolcraft Sherman, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives and considered a true friend of the school, was laid on July 18, 1901. Another friend of the school, Frank Miller, had apparently decided to take on the planning of the cornerstone ceremony because he assumed full responsibility for sending the invitations out and responses were sent not to the attention of Harwood Hall, but to Frank Miller.³³ Miller also had commemorative volumes of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* printed for select guests of the ceremony.³⁴ The local newspapers were filled with detailed accounts of the festivities, which proved to be the major social of the year:

Riverside was in gala attire today, the occasion being the laying of the cornerstone of Sherman Institute, the new United States Indian Industrial School. And more than 7000 persons were present at the ceremony. This was the most significant event in its history as a city since the water, which has transformed the arid plains into a fertile garden, was first turned on thirty years ago. The town was prettily decorated.³⁵

Harwood Hall had obviously been correct in his vision of Sherman Institute being a prime attraction for people in the city of Riverside. He had also been correct in his recognition of the benefits resulting from strong community support, particularly by as influential a businessman as Frank Miller.

Exactly one year later, Superintendent Hall met a group of eight children from the Pima reservation in Arizona at the train station in Riverside. When the school formally opened on September 8, 1902, these children joined the children who had previously been in residence at the Perris Indian school, making the total initial enrollment for Sherman Institute 350 students.³⁶ Unfortunately, problems obtaining furnishings and supplies in a timely manner necessitated sending forty-three of the younger children back to the Perris school location. Presumably, the inadequacies claimed by Hall were not

so great as to preclude the housing of this small number of children.

The formal dedication of Sherman Institute was held on February 10, 1903. Newspaper reports of the dedication ceremonies stated that visitors marveled at the neat and orderly appearance of both the children and the school grounds: "Truly the science of handling the young Indian which the government has adopted is complete, thorough, and wonderful."³⁷ The size and quantity of the equipment in the utility compound, particularly the kitchen and laundry, were apparently awe-inspiring. A hospital had not been built at this time, but this oversight was apparently believed to be of little or no consequence because the nutritious food and clean clothing would undoubtedly keep the Indian children healthy. During the evening dedication ceremony, several prominent men in the community voiced their pride in the fact that the government was visibly doing something to better the education of the Indians. There was also a great deal of pride that such an institution had been built in Riverside. The guest speaker, Albert K. Smiley, expressed the sentiments of many guests: "We want to help them to earn their living and we want to give them the means for doing it by teaching them our language and showing them how to make their way in the world."³⁸

Despite the grand show made during the previous month, by March 1903, Sherman was faced with serious financial problems, which ultimately led to the dismissal of all but the most essential employees. Of the teachers, only the industrial teacher was retained. In April, the students decided that they could run the school, serving as principal teacher, teachers of various classrooms, matrons, and seamstresses.³⁹ This continued until Hall could obtain additional funding to re-hire the employees, many of whom Hall thought very little of and probably would have preferred not return.

Conditions improved during the 1903–1904 fiscal year, and Hall's annual report presents a glowing picture of progress being made at the school, especially in terms of the physical plant expansion.⁴⁰ By June 30, 1904, the average enrollment was 583 and average attendance was 501. Hall stated that the most difficult problem encountered during the year was in securing competent employees, "persons who have right temperaments, good health, sufficient energy and interest, and who have all-around fitness for successful institutional work." This problem was particularly vexing in relation to finding a competent farmer to run the 100-acre school farm. Fiscal year 1903–1904 had already realized Hall's vision of Sherman Institute's capacity to garner community support and increase tourism in Riverside:

The residents of Southern California take no little interest in the school and are ever ready to lend a helping hand. A fair library has been donated by individuals of Riverside, and the pupils have the privileges of reading standard works, of which they may avail themselves. By reason of location the school is visited by thousands throughout the tourist season; and while it would seem, where so many sightseers are shown through the school, the pupils and employees would be demoralized, such is far from the true facts, for it seems to stimulate all concerned to do their best work and really is a help, as the general routine is not permitted to be affected thereby."⁴¹

In closing his report, Hall again lamented the conditions at the Perris Indian School, at which some of the younger students were still housed. He proposed that upon completion of the buildings at the Riverside school, all children should be transferred to it from Perris and the Perris plant should be abandoned, at least for use as a school. Shortly after his annual report had been submitted, there was a complete failure of the water system at Perris and the danger of disease and sickness was so great that Hall felt immediate action should be taken. He telegraphed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington stating the conditions and seeking permission to move the children to Riverside, even if it meant housing them in tents. On October 6, 1904, Hall wired the commissioner of Indian Affairs that he had received permission from the BIA to close the school and transfer the students to Riverside.⁴²

Superintendent Hall's concern for the health of the children at Perris Indian School was commendable. However, there existed health problems at the Riverside school that he apparently chose not to recognize. By the time Hall wrote his annual report on September 1, 1904, four children had already died at the Riverside school.⁴³ This was particularly significant because the annual mortality at either Perris or Riverside had never exceeded two children, yet within less than a year at Sherman Institute, that number had doubled. In Hall's official annual report, however, he mentioned nothing of these deaths or of student health in general.

On January 1, 1904, a fourteen-year-old Rogue River boy by the name of Chester Moore died at Sherman Institute, and on May 17, eighteen-year-old Lizzie Edwards (Concon) died.⁴⁴ The cause of their deaths is unknown. Death certificates were never filed with the County of Riverside Recorders Office, and although the National Archives maintains classified student records from the Sherman Institute beginning in 1903, there are no records of either these children or of the others who died in 1904.⁴⁵ The Sherman Indian Museum archives contains almost the entire set of Perris Indian School and early Sherman Institute letter press books; only that for the year 1904 is missing. With the exception of the 1904 student register, all that remains of the records for this year is a single small ledger book in which expenditures are noted. It is as if these children ceased to exist, even (or perhaps, especially) on paper, when they died.

The other two children who had died by the time Hall wrote his report were fourteen-year-old Harry Seonia (Pueblo) and six-year-old Nancy Lawrence (Tejon). Death certificates were filed for these children and are currently on microfilm at the County of Riverside Recorder's Office.⁴⁶ Harry died on July 20 of pneumonia and Nancy died on July 27 of pneumonia following measles. During their illnesses, Dr. A. S. Parker of Riverside attended to the children at Sherman Institute, but to no avail. School officials buried both children in Sherman's cemetery; Harry on the day of his death and Nancy on the day following hers. At the time of the children's illnesses, a hospital had not yet been built at Sherman and it is unclear why they were treated at the school instead of being admitted to Riverside General Hospital, which was less than a mile away. It is possible that Dr. Parker did not realize the seriousness of the illnesses. Cost would not have been a factor since the hospital was estab-

lished specifically to care for the indigent of the county, and it is unlikely that charges would have been incurred for the children's medical care.

Since the deaths of Nancy Lawrence and Harry Seonia occurred shortly after the beginning of fiscal year 1904–1905, which was also considered the beginning of the new school year, it may be that Hall planned to report their deaths in that year's annual report. However, he failed to do so. Perhaps in dealing with the events and problems of 1903 and 1904, the deaths of the children slipped Hall's mind, particularly because there were only four and they had been spread out over the year. In fiscal year 1904–1905, this was not to be the case.

On November 2, 1904, a single line appeared in the "Local News at Arlington" column of the *Riverside Enterprise*: "There are thirty cases of typhoid fever in Sherman Institute." Nothing more appeared until November 9, 1904. In the "Items of News from Arlington" column of the *Riverside Enterprise*, another single sentence stated, "There have been three deaths from typhoid fever at the Indian School within the last few days." Although no further information was forthcoming, action was apparently being taken, for in the November 16, 1904 edition of the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, the following news article appeared:

TYPHOID FEVER AMONG INDIANS—SERIOUS CONDITION AT THE SHERMAN INSTITUTE—Riverside Board of Health Trying to Find the Source of the Disease. Three Deaths and Thirty Cases the Present Record—Result of Official Canvas. Riverside, Nov. 15—The Riverside Board of Health made a trip this morning to the domestic wells of the Riverside Water Company and tested them for evidences of typhoid germ life. The water was entirely pure. This and kindred investigations being made by the Board of Health all over the city is the result of the outbreak of typhoid at the Sherman Institute Indian School. Three deaths have resulted within the last few days from the epidemic, and thirty other cases are reported today. The seriousness of the outbreak has stirred the entire community, and every effort known to medical science is being made to locate the root of the trouble and to try in some manner to remedy it. The Board of Health promises to make a report to the Trustees at their next session, and that report may be something of a nature startling in the extreme.

It is interesting that this article states that the seriousness of the outbreak stirred the entire community, since beyond the two sentences printed in the November 2 and 9 editions of the local newspaper, nothing else was ever written about the epidemic. The *Los Angeles Daily Times* article provided far more comprehensive coverage, and the newspaper certainly did not have the circulation enjoyed by the local press. Unless news of the typhoid fever epidemic spread by word of mouth, it is unlikely that there was widespread knowledge of its existence, let alone concern over the Indian children at Sherman Institute. However, those who were aware of the typhoid fever epidemic were obviously very concerned, not by the fact that it was at Sherman Institute, but because the possible source of contamination could infect the general population. The wells of the Riverside Water Company provided domestic water

not only to Sherman Institute, but also to the residents and businesses of the city of Riverside. Consequently, if the well water was contaminated, typhoid fever could potentially spread throughout the entire city. Of further concern to knowledgeable citizens was that some of the city's most influential citizens were shareholders in the Riverside Water Company. Typhoid contamination of their wells would certainly have proved catastrophic, thus the expeditious, but ill-publicized, investigation by the Board of Health.

Typhoid fever is a bacterial infection caused by *Salmonella typhi*. It is spread via contaminated food and water supplies. Following ingestion, the bacteria spreads from the gastrointestinal tract to the lymphatic system, liver, and spleen where they multiply. *Salmonella* can also directly infect the gallbladder and seed other areas of the body via the bloodstream. Common early symptoms include fever, malaise, and abdominal pain. Diarrhea eventually develops along with weakness, fatigue, delirium, and obtundation. A rose-colored rash consisting of flattened spots about one-quarter inch across appears on the chest and abdomen. Complications include intestinal hemorrhaging, intestinal perforation, kidney failure, and peritonitis. Treatment includes intravenous hydration and antibiotics, with the illness usually being resolved in two to four weeks. Cases in children are usually milder than in adults.

While water is not the only source of typhoid fever, it was the principal one during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The usual mode of transmission was through well water that had been contaminated by "discharges from the bowels" of carriers—persons with the bacteria already in their system.⁴⁷ From the privy, fecal material traveled into a cesspool, soaked into a well through the soil, and infected the drinking water. Milk was also a relatively common mode of typhoid transmission during this period because it was often mixed with contaminated water. Flies could also transmit typhoid fever by carrying germs from a carrier's fecal matter to others upon whom they landed.⁴⁸

Although the local press did not publicize the tests that the Board of Health ran on the Riverside Land Company domestic wells, they were quick to print the full text of the investigation results—even before they were formally presented to the County Board of Trustees. Both the *Riverside Enterprise* of November 17 and the *Riverside Press and Horticulturist* of November 18, 1904, carried the official report that was to be presented to the Board of Trustees at their November 25, 1904 meeting. In addition to providing a lengthy, detailed description of the source of water for the wells (flowing artesian wells in San Bernardino County, 400 to 500 feet deep, with iron casings), they concluded that at no time was water in the wells exposed to contamination from any source. The water was pure, absolutely free from all pollution and disease. Once it was known that the general population was not in danger of being exposed to typhoid fever from the domestic water wells, nothing further was written about the epidemic at Sherman Institute; it had become an internal problem. The County Board of Trustees took no action after receiving the report, except perhaps to breathe a sigh of relief.

It is interesting that more concern was not shown regarding this issue, since by this time the Sherman Institute and its resident Indian children had

become quite a tourist attraction in Riverside. The possibility of tourists contracting typhoid fever while visiting the school or of the school no longer being accessible to tourists because of the epidemic were apparently not considered, at least not publicly. Whether a source of the Sherman Institute typhoid fever was ever found is not known. Records prior to 1950 have been discarded at what is now the County of Riverside Public Health Department, so it is not possible to determine whether their investigation included more than just the Riverside Water Company's wells. According to the report of Dr. A. S. Parker, Sherman Institute's contract physician:⁴⁹

Cause of the epidemic—previous to Oct. 18th there had never been a case of typhoid fever in the school, this enumeration shows that during the first week of the outbreak over half of the total number of cases came down. It was observed also that they were about equally distributed among the four dormitories, this points to the conclusion that either the water or the food supply became infected at that time. That it was not the water would seem to be proven by the fact that there was no outbreak in the town at large other than a scattering case here and there, the school using the same domestic water supply as the town. It is decidedly uncertain as to how the food could have become infected, other than the fact that there were swarms of flies on the premises that could spread an infection once started. The grounds, kitchen, cellars, urinals, every thing that could possibly figure in contagion, were immediately and rigorously cleansed and renovated, and it was ordered that every drop of milk should be boiled.

Newspaper accounts noted that thirty cases of typhoid fever existed as of November 2 and three deaths had occurred by November 9. According to Dr. Parker's report, the total number of students infected with typhoid between October 18 and November 28 was forty-two, and the total number of deaths occurring between October 29 and November 14 was six. However, the information contained within Parker's report frequently does not concur with that found on death certificates filed with the Riverside County Recorder, so the figures presented in his report may be somewhat suspect.

Based on information contained within death certificates of the Indian children who succumbed to typhoid fever, the first student apparently became ill on October 15, 1904. The name of this student was Mateo Coutts, a seventeen-year-old Luiseño boy from Rincon, who had gone to Perris Indian School as a six-year-old. Mateo was attended by Dr. A. S. Parker until his death on November 6; he was buried sometime thereafter in Temecula. Interestingly, in Parker's report, forwarded to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, the first students (five) were said to have taken sick on October 18, and Mateo Coutts was not listed as being ill until October 20. The reason for the discrepancies in Parker's reports is unknown, although it is apparent that he either had difficulty maintaining consistent records or keeping track of student identities.

Three students, including fourteen-year old Lilly Edwards (Round Valley), seventeen-year-old Mamie Alpheus (Klamath), and seventeen-year-

old John Powers (Wylachi) took ill on October 22. Parker treated them for seven, twenty, and twenty-two days respectively, but unfortunately, all of them died. School officials buried the children in the Sherman cemetery in caskets purchased from the undertaking firm, Squire & Flagg. Again, Parker's report differs from the death certificates, listing the onset of illness as October 24 for Edwards and Powers, and October 27 for Alpheus. On October 24, two more students became ill. Their names were Dan Edwards (Round Valley) and George Summersell (Pomo). Dan was fourteen years of age and was ill for seventeen days before his death; twenty-two days passed before twelve-year-old George finally succumbed to typhoid fever. The place of burial for each of these boys was listed as U.S.A. Grounds, but it is unclear exactly where this was. Parker's report does not even list Dan Edwards and gives a date of November 1 as the onset of Summersell's illness.

In each case, Parker's report, which had been compiled at the request of the commissioner of Indian Affairs, indicates that the victims of the typhoid fever epidemic were ill for significantly shorter periods of time than what was entered on their death certificates. Whether parents were notified of their children's illnesses and deaths is not known; Hall stated that such was the case, but corroborating correspondence has not been found. None of the children who died during this period were from the local area so it is improbable that their parents would have learned of the epidemic and their children's illnesses unless specifically notified by Hall.

At the time of the typhoid fever epidemic, a hospital had not yet been built at Sherman Institute. However, there were two resident nurses, Mrs. Lida Bartlow and Mrs. Lucretta Wrigley, to care for the children; each was paid a salary of fifty dollars per month.⁵⁰ Two additional nurses, Minnie Virtue and Mattie Higgins, also received salaries, but apparently did not live at the school. Dr. Parker, a local physician, was under contract at a salary of \$180 per quarter.⁵¹ Dr. Parker's office was located in the Glenwood Building on Main Street between 6th and 7th streets, which was also the location of Frank Miller's hotel, the Mission Inn. The hours he kept were rather odd, being limited to nine to eleven A.M.; one to three P.M.; and seven to eight P.M.⁵² Perhaps he attended to the students at Sherman Institute between these office hours.

Despite the fact that Riverside County Hospital was located on Magnolia Avenue, less than one mile from the school, the Indian children at Sherman Institute suffering from typhoid fever were not treated there.⁵³ Instead, the children were kept at the school, where Parker and the nurses took care of them. According to Sherman Institute's 1904 ledger book, in addition to the salaried nurses and Dr. Parker, during the period of the epidemic five "irregular" nurses were hired at \$3.60 per day to work at Sherman Institute for varying numbers of days. None of these women were listed in the Riverside City Directory, so it may be that they were hired from out of the area. It is apparent that instead of sending the children to the hospital to be cared for, Hall decided to keep them at the school and simply hire extra practitioners to care for them. In a request for authorization to pay for these irregular employees, Hall states that it was at the direction of Parker that the "most skilled nurses" were brought in to care for the children.⁵⁴

According to Hall's correspondence with the commissioner of Indian Affairs on October 7, 1904, he had received permission to move the remaining students from Perris and transfer them to Riverside, even if he had to house them in tents until the buildings under construction were finished. On October 27, Hall purchased eight tents from Wilcox-Rose Mercantile at a cost of \$485. Although these tents may originally have been intended to serve as temporary housing for the transferred students, it is probable that at least some of them were used for the sick children, particularly if by November 2 thirty students were ill. Since the living quarters of Sherman Institute students were broken up into a series of individual rooms, it would have been far more difficult to care for the ill students if they had been left in these rooms instead of being moved into large tents. This would also be in keeping with the prevailing medical opinion that a typhoid fever patient's sick room should be kept well ventilated day and night.⁵⁵ It is doubtful, however, that a tent infirmary such as this would have had sufficient facilities for disinfecting bodily discharges, beds, linens, and toilet facilities, practices critical to controlling the spread of infection. Available records do not specify where the sick students were housed.

Although neither treatment nor medication records have been found, drugs were only purchased by Sherman Institute on September 30, approximately three weeks before the epidemic began, and on December 31, six weeks after it ended. It is unlikely that sufficient medication was in stock to treat the forty-two children suffering from typhoid fever at the same time.⁵⁶ The method of treatment utilized by Dr. Parker and the nurses can only be imagined, but it obviously was not terribly effective.

The last student, George Summersell, died of typhoid fever on November 14, 1904 and was buried the same day. Additional deaths did not occur during the year, so the total deaths for 1904 remained at eleven. Considering that the cumulative number of student deaths at both Perris and Riverside schools locations since 1892 had only been six, the mortality rate for 1904 was extraordinarily high. Yet the deaths of these eleven children, seven from a typhoid fever epidemic, did not warrant mention or recognition in Harwood Hall's report, which was the official government statement regarding Sherman Institute for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905. Further, although the commissioner of Indian Affairs' office had been minimally notified of the typhoid fever epidemic and resulting deaths, Hall's report was accepted as submitted and no attempt was made to require elucidation or change.⁵⁷ In not recognizing the deaths of the children, they were essentially dismissed as irrelevant, and as a result, not only was the official report falsified, but the lives of these children were trivialized.

According to available accounts, Harwood Hall was reputedly a compassionate man who had dedicated his life to the education of Indian children. Of course, realistically, this equated to encouraging their assimilation, teaching them to be more white and hence more "civilized." His letters to the commissioner of Indian Affairs and others reveal a man who seemed to be trying to do the right thing, a man of good intentions. The superintendent of Indian Schools for the Department of the Interior, Estelle Reel, admired and respected Harwood Hall. Considering the many Indian school superintendents she

had to deal with, it seems plausible that she would be able to recognize traits that were exemplary in a superintendent, and she found them in Hall. Mary Jamison and her sister, Mary Fish, who were students at Sherman Institute in the early days, expressed their great love for Hall and his wife.

We loved them. We were so happy because they were so wonderful. They were just like our parents. Mrs. Hall especially. Every Christmas time Mr. Hall would invite all the little girls to his home (located on the grounds). He would have a party on the lawn and have a present for all there. We cried when Superintendent and Mrs. Hall left Sherman.⁵⁸

It is difficult to understand why such a man as Harwood Hall reacted to the deaths of his students as he did. Certainly he felt some sense of grief or sorrow, especially for Mateo Coutts, who had literally grown up at the school. However, instead of truthfully reporting what had happened during the year, he chose effectively to deny that children under his care had died. Hall did notify the commissioner of Indian Affairs about the existence of a typhoid fever epidemic, but his letters provided cursory information at best and were typically only requests for reimbursement of funds. It was in his *official* report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs for inclusion in the annual report of the Department of the Interior, presented to the House of Representatives, that Hall neglected to mention the depth of the troubling sickness.

The fact that it was typhoid fever to which the children succumbed should have had no relevance, because in 1904, numerous epidemics of typhoid fever occurred throughout the state of California. However, it is possible that Hall felt he had not provided adequate care for the students by keeping them at the school instead of admitting them to the local hospital. By not reporting the students' deaths, he would not be held accountable for the inadequacy of their treatment. This may in fact have played a part in Hall's falsified reporting. According to the California State Board of Health report for October 1904, typhoid fever had increased to a considerable degree and was quite prevalent throughout the state; the cause was usually found to be the water supply.⁵⁹ In thirty-two reports covering a population numbering 1,009,500, there were twenty-eight deaths from typhoid fever. The student population at Sherman Institute during the epidemic period was approximately 600, and of those, seven children died of typhoid fever. Obviously, the mortality rate was significantly higher at Sherman Institute than throughout the state of California during the same time period. It is quite possible that Hall recognized this and chose to ignore the deaths instead of explain them. This may also be the reason the commissioner of Indian Affairs requested a report from the school physician. Why the information provided by the school physician was not then required to be included in Hall's report is inexplicable.

In reality, Hall's reason for not reporting the student deaths at Sherman Institute in 1904 probably had far less to do with accountability than with his professional credibility and career aspirations. Harwood Hall was a man who from his earliest days with the Indian Service had visions of building the ideal

vocational school for assimilating young Indians; he sought to create the quintessential Indian school of the West. His dream began with the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona and would have continued there had it not been for his inability to adapt to the hot weather. In Phoenix, Hall was able to put into practice his personal ideas concerning Indian education and assimilation, although his abilities in these areas were somewhat questionable. Of critical importance to his tenure at the school was the institution of outing and apprentice programs he had developed. Primarily through these programs, the community saw Phoenix Indian School as representing a considerable financial benefit to them. Hall's tenure at the Phoenix Indian School gave him a taste of what could be, provided the climate was better.

Moving the Indian school to Riverside was the first concrete step in the realization of Hall's ideal Indian vocational boarding school, and he took full advantage of the situation. Preliminary lobbying for his vision of the proper design resulted in the school essentially being built to his specifications. Hall's mastery of public relations resulted in the creation of a strong community support network before construction of the school had even begun. Despite a somewhat rocky financial start, Hall succeeded in obtaining sufficient federal funding to continue his expansion program. Under Superintendent Hall's skillful direction, Sherman Institute was growing nicely and becoming a thriving tourist destination and cultural center for the city. In its very short existence at the new location, the school promised to be everything Phoenix Indian School had been, and more. A thriving Indian school with considerable community support, in a beautiful city, with a perfect climate—Hall's vision of creating the quintessential Indian school in the western United States was seemingly a reality.

In the year 1904, however, Hall was forced to deal with some rather important distractions. During the early part of the year, two children died, but this was not a wholly unusual occurrence and probably did not warrant much concern. In July, two more children died within two days of each other, both from pneumonia. Again, this probably did not cause any alarm on Hall's part, despite the fact that the children were only six and nine years old. Then, there was the problem of finally closing the Perris school, which he had been very anxious to do for some time. It was twenty-two miles distant, and running both schools was very difficult. In October, the water system fortuitously suffered complete failure, and Hall was finally given permission to transfer the remaining children to Riverside. Unfortunately, just as this was to occur, a typhoid fever epidemic broke out at Sherman Institute, and Hall was faced with the very significant, very real problem of many sick and dying children. He made choices in the care of these children that may or may not have been wise or responsible, but they were choices he alone had the authority to make as their temporary guardian. It is unlikely that others in his position would have made vastly different choices.

Not only did Hall consciously disregard his fiduciary duty to report accurately the condition of students in his care at Sherman Institute to the federal government, but by denying the deaths of these students, he denied their short lives. The complicity of the commissioner of Indian Affairs's office in not

requiring at least some elucidation regarding the sickness and its victims, even if it was simply a bureaucratic oversight, further negated the lives of Indian children they were required by federal law to protect.

Although Hall must certainly have felt some degree of sorrow for the children at the time they died, nine months had passed by the time he wrote his annual report, and the children were then just memories. The Sherman Institute, on the other hand, was rapidly expanding, running smoothly, and becoming ever more successful. Superintendent Hall's vision of the ideal Indian school was finally coming to fruition and there was nothing that he would allow to tarnish that. What had happened in the fall of 1904 was over and done with, and except for being a little troublesome, it really had very little to do with the big picture of Sherman Institute's continuing success.

NOTES

1. "Local News at Arlington," *Riverside Enterprise*, Wednesday, November 2, 1904. The single sentence, "There are thirty cases of typhoid fever in Sherman Institute," was the first public acknowledgment of the epidemic. However, according to the report of Dr. A. S. Parker, Sherman Institute's contract physician, to Harwood Hall on December 7, 1904, a total of forty-two students were stricken by typhoid fever between October 18 and November 28, 1904. Report on file at the Pacific Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives, Laguna Niguel, California, in "Letter Press Book—Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" (1904), 357–358.

2. "Report of School at Riverside, California, August 31, 1905," *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal year Ended June 30, 1905* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 416. Regarding student health, Superintendent Harwood Hall states, "The general health of the pupils has been good, although in the fall of the year we were troubled with some sickness. We have been handicapped, however, owing to the fact of not having our hospital completed. It is now finished and in use." Neither the seven deaths from typhoid fever, nor the additional four deaths that had occurred earlier in the year were noted, nor was the fact that at least thirty-five other children had been stricken by typhoid fever.

3. *Pupil Registers, 1892–1904*. Deaths recorded between 1892 and 1903 totaled six. Original registers on file at the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California. Microfilmed registers at the California State Library, Sacramento.

4. Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), xi.

5. *Ibid.*, 32–33.

6. *Ibid.*, 41.

7. *Ibid.*, 45.

8. *Ibid.*, 51.

9. *Ibid.*, 54–55.

10. *Ibid.*, 54.

11. *Ibid.*, 55.

12. Letter from Harwood Hall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 3, 1897. On file at the National Archives, Record Group 75, Letters Received, 13036–1897.

13. Horatio N. Rust, "Report of the Mission Agency," Colton, California, September 10, 1891, *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the 52nd Congress 1891–1892* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1892), 225.
14. M. H. Savage, "Annual Report of the School at Perris, California," August 15, 1893, *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the 2nd Session of the 53rd Congress, 1893–1894* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1895), 407.
15. *Ibid.*, 407.
16. Harwood Hall, "Report of School at Perris, California," August 31, 1897, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1897* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1898), 345.
17. Savage, "Annual Report of the School at Perris, California," 408.
18. Sister Kathleen Svani, "The Last Song: History of Sherman Institute, Riverside, California," Unpublished manuscript (1966), 17.
19. Hall, "Report of School at Perris, California," 345.
20. Svani, "The Last Song," 22.
21. Letter from Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington DC, June 3, 1899. Copy of letter on file at Sherman Institute, Riverside, California.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Letter from Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, to Harwood Hall, Superintendent of the Indian School, Perris, California, November 13, 1899. Copy on file at Sherman Institute, Riverside, California.
24. Letter from Estelle Reel to Harwood Hall, December, 5, 1899.
25. Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California* 2nd ed. (Riverside: The Museum Press, 1996), 240. According to Patterson, Miller was universally given the major credit for bringing Sherman Institute to Riverside in 1902. Its location next to his streetcar company's Chemawa Park was no accident. By 1900, Miller's was probably the most influential voice in Riverside in matters of city planning and design as well as in politics. Presumably, Sherman's Mission Revival style (to match that of his hotel) was also his idea.
26. Letter from T. Gibbon, Los Angeles Terminal Railway Company, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1900.
27. Letter from Horatio N. Rust, Indian Agent, Colton, California, to Honorable Merrill E. Gates, Secretary of the Indian Commission, Washington, DC, May 10, 1900.
28. United States *Congressional Record Proceedings*, May 22, 1900.
29. Letter from University of California College of Agriculture, Berkeley, California, June 12, 1900. Copy on file at Sherman Institute, Riverside, California.
30. Svani, 29–30.
31. *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, September 28, 1900.
32. Letter from Harwood Hall, Superintendent of the Indian School, Perris, California, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1900, in "Book of Letters—Indian School Perris, California—September 1, 1898 to April 6, 1901," 349–355.
33. Personal communication with Ms. Lori Sisqouc, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California. Copies of the invitations and responses are on file at the museum.

34. Personal communication with Dr. Vincent Moses, curator of history, Riverside Municipal Museum, Riverside, California. The Frank Miller Collection, containing many of his personal papers, is housed at the museum, including one of the commemorative volume sets.

35. *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, July 18, 1901.

36. Svani, 35.

37. *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, February 11, 1903.

38. Ibid.

39. Svani, 36–37.

40. Harwood Hall, "Report of Riverside School, California," September 1, 1904, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904* (1905), 436–438.

41. Ibid., 437–438.

42. Letter from Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 7, 1904. Letter on file at the National Archives, Laguna Niguel, "Letter Press Book—Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" (1904), 288.

43. Initial information regarding all student deaths was obtained from the Pupil Registers, beginning in 1892. These registers contain information regarding individual students and the student population as a whole, including the date of original entry, current enrollment date, name, age, blood quantum, tribe, residence, parents' names, and whether the parents were dead or alive. Student activities such as outing, going home for vacation, returning from vacation, being dropped for sickness, and date of death were also recorded. In four registers, vital statistics for each student (height, weight, pulse, forced expiration, forced inspiration, etc.) were also recorded.

44. Although actual names are often not used in papers such as this, a decision was made to use them in this case because not to do so would give the lives and deaths of these children even less importance than they were already accorded by Harwood Hall. It is important to remember that these were real people, not just statistics. They were someone's children and their deaths had meaning.

45. Classified student records for these children no longer exist, but the National Archives does have a letter press book from 1904 containing correspondence to the commissioner of Indian Affairs. Letters regarding the deaths of the typhoid fever victims are as follows: p. 328, dated November 16, 1904, Harwood Hall; p. 356, dated December 7, 1904, A.S. Parker, School Physician. Correspondence regarding the remaining children was limited to requests for expenditures for coffins and the decontamination of sick rooms.

46. Death Certificates—Microfilm Roll #1893-1906; Harry Seonia—Death Certificate #182 and Nancy Lawrence—Death Certificate #194.

47. William Budd, *Typhoid Fever* (New York: Arno Press, 1977; reprint of 1931 edition, originally published in 1874), 176–177.

48. *Nineteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the Fiscal Years from July 1, 1904 to June 30, 1906* (Sacramento: State Publishing 1906), 15.

49. Report from Dr. A. S. Parker to Harwood Hall, dated December 7, 1904, regarding typhoid fever epidemic causes, morbidity/mortality, etc. On file at Pacific Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives, in "1904 Letter Press Book—Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 358. Transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Harwood Hall on December 8, 1904, 359.

50. *Riverside City Directory 1905* (Los Angeles: Riverside Directory Co., 1905), 42, 292. A city directory for 1904 was apparently not published, or at least a copy of it does not currently exist, so information regarding Sherman Institute medical staff and purveyors was obtained from the 1905 directory; the names were originally obtained from the ledger book held within the Sherman Indian Museum Archives.

51. Information regarding all medical personnel's salaries was obtained from the 1904 ledger book, which listed all monetary disbursements for the year.

52. *Riverside City Directory 1905*, 206.

53. Riverside General Hospital Book of Admissions, 1904.

54. Letter from Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1904, in "Letter Press Book—Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1904." On file at the National Archives, Laguna Niguel, 354. No indication was found in any of the correspondence as to why Hall, or Parker, chose to keep the children at Sherman, particularly when so many were critically ill and the regular nursing staff was apparently not trained in dealing with a typhoid fever.

55. Budd, *Typhoid Fever*, 177.

56. In a transmittal of cash vouchers from Hall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated October 20, 1904, Hall states that the supply of various medicines was exhausted and in order to prevent disease and save lives it became necessary to purchase some (Voucher 49: \$21.45 to Boyd Keith for medicines and empty barrels), and, later, that since there were no medicines on hand as needed for the sick, they were purchased (Voucher 63: \$4.10 to Chas. E. Weck). "Letter Press Book—Letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1904," 299–300. On file at National Archives, Laguna Niguel. However, records of these purchases were not found in the cash ledger book at Sherman Institute.

57. In both the narrative and statistical reports submitted by superintendents or agents to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, it was common that a request for clarification, elucidation, or changes be made prior to the report being accepted as the official annual report. Several such "errata" sheets for Sherman Institute exist within available records, but none was found for this particular report, despite the fact that the commissioner of Indian Affairs was aware that the typhoid fever epidemic had been considerably more than some troubling sickness.

58. Interview with Mary Jamison, former pupil of Sherman Institute, Riverside, California, April 27, 1968. In Svani, 46–47.

59. "California State Board of Health Report," *Riverside Enterprise*, Saturday, November 26, 1904.