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Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902–1930

Kevin Whalen

Just after sunset on June 5, 1925, Dick Foinill jumped down from the bed of an oversized truck and touched his feet to the dusty Kansas soil for the first time. Foinill and twenty-four Navajos from near Tuba City, Arizona, had just completed a long journey crowded shoulder to shoulder into the bed of a pickup. For five days and four nights, they rode northeast from Tuba City through the mountains and high deserts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. After arriving on the high plains of Kansas, Foinill and his companions worked there for two months. Ten hours a day, they stooped in the dreadful Kansas heat and humidity, topping and harvesting sugar beets. The labor would be performed under the auspices of the "outing program" of Sherman Institute, an Indian boarding school in Riverside, California.[1] According to reformers, bureaucrats, and Indian schools administrators, such work would inculcate young Indians with the prerequisite qualities of racial "uplift": thrift, economy, and a willingness to work. All of this would be done for the wages of a migrant laborer. Torturously long days, shoddy living quarters, and inadequate food made employer-run living quarters hellish places on other farms that utilized migrant labor. This one would likely be much the same.[2]

Despite these looming challenges, Foinill awoke on his first morning in Kansas filled with excitement rather than dread. Before trudging out to the fields for the first time, he wrote a letter to his love interest back at Sherman

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Institute. "I am getting along pretty fine and dandy with my every day live," he wrote, "and sure injoy riding in truck from Tuba City, Arizona to Kansas." Foinill assured his sweetheart that his time away would pass quickly and that they would be reunited when he returned to Sherman in the fall. In closing, he left little doubt as to his optimism. "Kansas," he told his sweetheart, "is a wonderful place."[3] With these words, Foinill captured some of the most important complexities of the outing system. His participation in the outing system entailed hardship from the beginning, when he endured five straight days of bumpy roads and likely sleepless nights as he traveled from Arizona to Kansas. On the job, he faced long hours, low pay, and poor living conditions. Moreover, the work aimed to inculcate within him a resignation to a life of hard, manual labor. Yet Foinill embraced the experience, relishing the chance to see new places, make new friends, and earn money. For Foinill, the outing program became an adventure.

At best, the outing system functioned as a vital part of a larger federal Indian boarding school system that sought, in the words of historian Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, to make Indian students "think, behave, work, and look less like Native people, and more like white Protestant Americans."[4] Laboring in places as varied as print shops and beet fields would help, as Indian educator Richard Henry Pratt said, to "kill the Indian . . . and save the man."[5] At worst, the outing system saw government boarding schools function as employment agencies, sending young Indian people to perform dangerous, physically demanding tasks at discount wages.[6] These negative impacts have been the foci of what little scholarly work has been done on the outing system. To be sure, the outing system proved harmful to many boarding school students: a gateway to lifelong marginal employment for some, and for others, a site of short-term suffering and exploitation.[7] Yet if Foinill embraced the outing system and used it at least somewhat for his own purposes, surely others must have too. A deep look at the outing program at Sherman Institute reveals a complicated story, one that saw limited expectations and the significant risks of isolated, menial labor set against the lures of money, adventure, and for some, significant work experience.

Much like the Indian School system, the outing system arose from the early Progressive Era conviction that Native American peoples could be "uplifted," that "savage" ways of thinking and acting could be completely abandoned in favor of the fruits of non-Indian civilization. Pratt developed the first version of the outing program at Hampton Institute, the Virginia school for freedmen that counted Booker T. Washington among its alumni. A former cavalry member, Pratt began his assimilationist experiment with a group of Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa prisoners in St. Augustine, Florida. During the fall of 1877, Pratt accompanied his charges to Hampton. Two years later,

the War Department awarded Pratt a cluster of dank, abandoned military barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The Carlisle Industrial School was born.[8]

At Carlisle, Pratt made the outing system a centerpiece of the educational curriculum. A strong believer in the democratizing influence of yeoman agriculture, he sought to place his students on small, family operated farms. "Good country homes," he argued, would help young Indians "break away from the tribal commune and go out among our people and contend for the necessities and luxuries of life."[9] Students could enter the outing program in one of three ways. Most finished with academic work in late May and worked out for the summer, returning for classes in the fall. A smaller group remained on outing for the entire year. Pratt required these students to attend a local public school and perform their labor after school and on weekends. Finally, a select few learned skilled trades in urban settings. Ever suspicious of the morally corrosive properties of city life, Pratt presented this option only to his most trusted students. Pratt designed the outing system with the greatest confidence that under the watchful eyes of virtuous yeomen, Carlisle students could abandon indigenous cultures and abide by what he saw as the hallmarks of American "civilization"—Christianity, the English language, and a love of manual labor. Forces beyond the control of Pratt would soon disrupt his vision.[10]

At the turn of the twentieth century, the United States came into increasing contact with unfamiliar peoples, at home and abroad. To many, it appeared as if the so-called island communities of the nineteenth century were being pulled apart at the seams by newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe. During the years after 1900, immigrants poured into the United States at an unprecedented rate of close to one million per year.[11] Many Americans responded with what immigration historian John Higham has called a "loss of confidence."[12] Where Americans had once been confident in the ability of "savage" peoples to undergo the process of "uplift." Now, their optimism waned. American Indians did not hold immunity to these trends, as legislators and bureaucrats in the United States lost faith in the ability of indigenous Americans to change.[13] It was into this climate of fear and doubt that Sherman Institute and its outing program entered the world.

Sherman Institute opened its doors in Riverside, California, during the fall of 1902. The school had opened eight years earlier in Perris, California, sixteen miles south of its new location. At Perris, the outing system remained relatively small and restricted to female students. Between ten and twenty girls had worked in the outing system each year, and the program generally operated only from June through August. Once placed into homes, female student-laborers from the Perris Indian School performed a variety of tasks, depending upon their age. The youngest girls, usually between ten and twelve

years of age, normally served as "nurses" to young children. Older girls were assigned a host of other responsibilities, including laundry, cleaning, and washing dishes. Only the oldest, most experienced female students prepared meals for outing families.[14]

Citing a lack of drinking water and a desire to move his students into a more urban environment, Harwood Hall advocated moving the Perris Indian School to Riverside from the day he became superintendent. His predecessor, Edgar Allen, had began exploring the feasibility of a move to Riverside as early as 1895.[15] Upon his appointment to the Perris Indian School, Hall quickly adopted Allen's plans for a move to Riverside. Tantalized by the prospects of cheap labor and an influx of federal money, a small group of Riverside boosters lobbied Washington in support of a new Indian school. Frank Miller, owner of the Glenwood Hotel in downtown Riverside (later renamed the Mission Inn), led the charge.[16] Construction of the new school at Riverside began in 1900, and the last few pupils transferred from Perris to Sherman Institute during the spring of 1902.[17]

More than bad drinking water and a lack of urban amenities paved the way from Perris to Riverside. As Hall gathered support among affluent community members in Riverside, he sought to demonstrate that a new Indian school would provide easy access to a pool of cheap, pliable laborers. To do so, he followed the lead of Wellington Rich, the man he had once succeeded as superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School.[18] Hoping to move his school from a remote desert location into the heart of Phoenix, Rich had lobbied local ranchers and businessmen. In large, town hall–style meetings, Rich had loudly asserted that the construction of an Indian school in Phoenix would bring abundant "cheap and efficient labor" to area cotton and citrus growers. The citizens of Phoenix took the bait. Local newspapermen proclaimed that the presence of Native laborers would be a boon to the local economy, going so far as to claim that indigenous peoples were better suited than "the Mexican" for working in the sun.[19] The people of Phoenix hastily built an Indian school, largely on the wings of visions of cheap, brown labor. Though he operated more subtly, Hall worked from a similar playbook as he gathered support for an Indian school in Riverside. In the years leading up to the relocation of the school from Perris to Riverside, he shifted the balance of the school's outing laborers from Perris and Redlands, California, into Riverside. Hoping to build support for a new Indian school, Hall flooded the citrus-laden neighborhoods of downtown Riverside with low-wage domestic laborers. Miller, the de facto head lobbyist for Hall's move from Perris to Riverside, received a steady flow of student-laborers at his home and in his hotel. Whenever Miller requested a student-laborer for a friend or family member, Hall quickly obliged. Hall's

message rang clear: those who supported Sherman Institute could expect to receive remuneration in the form of discount-rate student labor.[20]

During its early years at Sherman Institute, the outing program functioned as a haphazard employment agency. Young women from Sherman worked steadily and with one family throughout the course of the summer, returning to school by the start of September. A select few students lived and worked in the outing program all year. Following the year-round outing template set by Pratt, Hall required these students to attend at least eighty days of classes at the nearest public school. Rather than being paid for their work, year-round outing students attended class during the week and worked for room and board on the weekends.[21] All student-laborers—male and female, year-round and seasonal—had the cost of meals deducted from their final paychecks.[22]

During the first few years at Sherman Institute, Hall also formed plans to send male students to work on Riverside-area farms. Although he placed very few boys into jobs during the first years at Sherman Institute, those who were placed worked more sporadically than their female counterparts. Hall's successor, Frank Conser, would hire multiple employees under the title of outing agent to arrange jobs for students, provide minimal supervision at work sites, and keep track of wages owed and paid to student-laborers. While Hall presided over Sherman Institute, he stacked these tasks on top of his already heaping pile of daily responsibilities. Such woeful understaffing affected the nascent system in two ways. First, it restricted the size and scope of the program. Hall had neither the time nor the money to keep any records on the outing program, let alone track the conditions of students. He responded to this functional limitation by largely restricting the program to female student labor. Second, early underfunding of the outing program left student-laborers in relatively vulnerable positions. Although students in the outing program after 1911 received at least minimal care and protection from specialized employees, those who experienced problems during the earlier years could expect little more than a letter from Hall, encouraging them to continue working.

From the beginning of his time in Riverside, Hall led local families and businesses to believe that Sherman Institute would function as an employment agency. Correspondence between Hall and the recipients of student labor often read more like exchanges between a salesman and a buyer than communication by a concerned father figure ensuring proper care for his charges from surrogate parents. Hall promised to provide replacements whenever problems arose between student-laborers and their employers. On June 16, 1902, just more than two weeks after receiving a male student-laborer to help with baling hay, mega-rancher S. S. Hotchkiss wrote to Hall to express his dissatisfaction. The boy, it seemed, had little experience with

horses, making plowing a difficult, time-consuming task. Hall responded promptly and apologetically, promising to replace the original student-laborer with "a capable worker . . . who understands horses."[23] More commonly, Hall switched female student-laborers from house to house in order to mollify angry employers. When sending out final notification to families who had been selected to receive female student-laborers, Hall never failed to assure a labor recipient that he would be happy to send another student if the first one did not work out. "Of course if the girl is not satisfactory," he said to one labor recipient, "you may return her at once."[24]

Hall promised total control of student-laborers to families and businesses taking on outing students. He tantalized S. R. Smith, who requested two boys to work on his ranch: "They are . . . accustomed to taking orders, and will come to you with that understanding—not only in work, but in general conduct as well." Hall rounded out his letter by making explicit the degree of power a labor recipient had over Sherman student-laborers. "I am sure that such cannot be objectionable," he said, "as it will only make their services more valuable to you."[25] He also offered recipients of student-laborers the chance to ship their charges to and fro in order to perform labor for friends, family, or nearby businesses. Without fail, Hall permitted employers to "loan" student-laborers to friends and family in need of an extra hand, sometimes for a weekend and sometimes for months. In April 1901, George Winterbothem asked Hall for permission to lend the services of student-laborer Mary Barker to the Hillegas family.[26] Hall responded with characteristic nonchalance. "I have to state that I have no objection to the matter," he said. "Please explain the matter to Mary, and let Mrs. Hillegas know regarding the girls [*sic*] disposition. . . . Kindly advise me what day she goes to the home of Mrs. Hillegas." He did not solicit the wishes of Barker as he shipped her about.

Although the ability to share laborers freely between family and friends no doubt enticed potential suitors of Sherman student-laborers, the discount prices for which they could be had probably stood as the biggest selling point for the program. Non-Indian employers hired younger female students, usually between the ages of ten and thirteen, for as little as one dollar a month. The oldest, most expensive students cost no more than ten dollars a month.[27] These wages may seem scant, but female student-laborers actually held higher ground than their male counterparts during the early years of the outing system at Sherman Institute. Although he meticulously determined wages before sending young women out to work, Hall rarely negotiated wages for his male students. Replying to an inquiry about expected wages for a male student to do ranch work, he responded with a nonchalance that almost bordered on flippancy. "I'll supply you at any time," he said. "You can take the young man and pay him whatever he is worth."[28]

Upon arrival at ranches and farms of the Inland Empire and the Imperial Valley, Sherman boys faced conditions that could not be even loosely connected to the stated goal of the outing system—to "uplift" young Indian men by contact with white families and business owners. Hall likely knew as much, as ranchers often requested that male student-laborers come prepared with tents and bedding so that they might be able to sleep in barns or migrant-style labor camps. When the Riverside Orange Company asked Hall to send bedding with his boys so that they might sleep outside, he gave a perfunctory defense that focused more on the safety of government property than on the well-being of his students: "I regret to say that I am not authorized to allow any of the Government bedding to leave [Sherman Institute]. Consequently will not send the boys until I hear from you further."[29] One week later, Hall dispatched a group of boys to Riverside Orange Company. How long they remained and what conditions they faced went undocumented. Nonetheless, it appears certain that Riverside Orange Company surely held more interest in extracting cheap labor than in preparing young Indian men for equal participation within white mainstream society.

Just as they had at Perris, girls continued to predominate within the outing system at Sherman Institute. If Hall paid relatively little attention to where male student-laborers worked or how much they were paid, he gave more notice to the whereabouts and health of his female students. Before sending female student-laborers out during late May, throughout the months of February and March Hall corresponded extensively with families that sought female student-laborers. He used these correspondences to determine which families would be most fit to receive student-laborers and, among those chosen, to figure out which girl would be best suited for each household. Hall kept no rosters of outing students, making it impossible to decipher the exact ratio of male to female student-laborers during his tenure.[30] However, correspondences between Hall and student-labor recipients reveal that more female than male laborers participated in the outing program. This gender imbalance may at least partly explain his more thorough attitude in keeping track of Sherman girls.

Although Hall left no explicit evidence as to why he preferred to use girls in the outing system, he provided at least a few clues. He likely needed to keep at least some male students at Sherman throughout the summer in order to provide crucial labor and upkeep at the school. Classes ended by June 1, but the physical plant and the school farm required year-round maintenance.[31] Hall's experience with the outing system at the Phoenix Indian School also likely shaped his approach with the system in Southern California, first at Perris and then at Riverside. As Robert Trennert notes, obtaining domestic help from young Native women had come into vogue among the residents of

Phoenix by the time that Hall finished his tenure at the Phoenix school in 1897. Male students proved to be a different story, as Hall struggled to place boys from the Phoenix school on area citrus and cotton farms through the end of his tenure in Arizona.[32] In sending out mostly girls, Hall gave Southern Californians what he was sure they wanted. Moreover, Hall held up female students as superior representatives of the Sherman Institute when compared to their male counterparts. Hall saw his female students as generally "quite neat in their work as well as in their person" and more likely to "reflect credit on their school and their race."[33] Male students worried him. On the rare occasion that Hall sent a male student out to work, he did so only after sending extensive instructions regarding discipline and control.[34]

Although Hall clearly trusted young women more than young men, his approach to sending female students out to work was nonetheless shaped by a potent blend of Victorian gender ideals and racial assumptions. Hall went to great lengths to protect Sherman girls from what he perceived as their sexual proclivities. As Hall prepared to send a female student-laborer to work in a downtown Riverside home, he gave explicit instructions regarding the best way to cloister her. "Under no conditions permit her to be out evenings," he warned, unless the girl would be accompanied by "yourself or other responsible persons." In years past, Hall admonished, outing hosts had let their charges "run around considerable," allowing young Indian girls to congregate away from the watchful eyes of white adults.[35] When outing employers provided anything less than constant surveillance over their charges, Hall stepped in swiftly. In June 1902, Hall learned that the Sharpe family of Riverside had allowed one of his students, Manuella Pakil, too much freedom: "It has been reported to me that Manuella Pakil . . . is frequently seen at the street railway park in company with girls whose reputations are said to be not good and also with young Indian boys or Mexicans, and that in one or two instances the young men were partially intoxicated and deported themselves unseemly [*sic*]. It seems that Manuella is at the park a great deal and often times late in the afternoon when it is particularly dark."[36] Hall wasted no time in calling Pakil back to school. "While I regret to discommode you," he said, "my duty prompts me to recall her."[37]

Historian Jean Keller notes that Sherman students and staff regarded Hall as a warm, caring man. A career educator, Hall often surpassed his fellow boarding school superintendents in demonstrating concern for his charges.[38] Yet if Hall clearly cared for the health and well-being of his students, the way in which he operated the outing system suggested that he did not hold much faith in their intellectual capabilities. If the outing system would bring Indian children what Hall called "the influences gained by contact with higher civilization," it also funneled young Indians into jobs that would never "uplift"

them from their supposed positions at the bottom of the hierarchy of civilization: bailing hay, picking fruit, and keeping house.[39] The vision of Pratt had died away with surprising speed, and Sherman administrators rested assured in their belief that the only way to help young Indians was to prepare them for lives of manual labor and economic marginalization. Indians who wished to survive would have to take their places beside others labeled as problem peoples by Progressive Era reformers: African Americans, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Asians. Hall believed that most Indians would only interact with whites as nurses to their children, cooks and maids to their families, or wage laborers on their farms. Pratt created the outing system as a vehicle to propel Indians onto equal footing with white Americans. Hall used outing as a means to prepare students for a second-class existence. Although the size and the gender balance of the outing program would change dramatically following the departure of Hall, this underlying tenet remained in place under his successor.[40]

Conser became the second superintendent of Sherman Institute in April 1909, when Hall accepted the position of supervisor of Indian schools.[41] Although the outing program maintained the same look and feel as it did under Hall, Conser expanded it significantly and sought more male participation in the outing system. Ranchers and farmers in the Inland Empire and Imperial Valley proved eager to utilize male student-laborers from the Sherman Institute. By 1925, more male than female student-laborers participated in the program.[42] This proved a significant change from the first days of the outing system, when Hall sent only a handful of male student-laborers to work at local citrus ranches.[43] Although the vast majority of students working under the outing system continued to toil in menial positions, students began laboring in skilled positions during the tenure of Conser. A few relatively fortunate students worked as engineers, printers, and carpenters, or in shoe shops.[44]

Where Hall paid relatively little attention to the well-being of his outing students, Conser gave some notice to the whereabouts and conditions of Sherman student-laborers. Hall had fixated on protecting female student-laborers from the dangers of sexuality as they encountered temptations outside the purifying confines of Sherman Institute. Conser held more genuine concern for the well-being of male and female students. He required employers of Sherman students to send in weekly and monthly time cards. In addition, Conser hired staff members to give their full energies to the supervision of Sherman's student-laborers.[45] The first of these employees was Ms. Orrington Jewett, hired in 1911 as the girls' "outing matron."[46] During the winter months, Jewett corresponded with prospective recipients of Sherman student-laborers and supervised female Sherman students who remained with their employers year-round. During the summer months, she remained in almost constant

motion. She answered the letters of concerned Native American parents, forwarded letters from parents to children, and met students at train stations as they traveled to and from their jobs. Beckoned by angry employers and homesick or obstinate student-employees, Jewett made frequent house calls. At times, she served as a sort of surrogate parent, attending recitals and award ceremonies.[47] She remained at Sherman Institute until 1921, when she accepted a position as a home economics teacher in the California public school system.[48] After Jewett left Sherman Institute in 1921, Conser hired Etta Long to replace her.

In 1915, Conser promoted Etta's husband, Fred Long, from school carpenter to "boys outing agent." This move provided much-needed, if nominal, supervision to the rapidly expanding outing program for male student-laborers. A Kansan, Long joined the Indian School Service at age twenty-three as a school farmer at the Haskell Institute in 1887. After arriving at the Perris Indian School in 1897, he worked as the school carpenter until his promotion.[49] In supervising the hundreds of male student-laborers fanned out among the ranchers of Southern California, Long filled a dire need at Sherman. When ranchers or citrus operators requested laborers, he often visited and inspected work sites before sending students. Once student-laborers departed Sherman for their outing work sites, Long rode a motorcycle from ranch to ranch in order to monitor their living and working conditions.[50] Long also made personal visits to employers who failed to pay student-laborers.[51]

In addition to creating the positions of boys outing agent and girls outing matron, Conser also contracted with two additional outing matrons. Mrs. M. G. Ewing and Rilla DePorte supervised Sherman students and alumni who worked in the Los Angeles area. Most alumni and students in Los Angeles worked as housekeepers and domestic laborers. The duties of Ewing and DePorte largely mirrored those of Jewett and Long. When Conser received requests for laborers from businesses and families in Los Angeles, he forwarded them to Ewing and DePorte. The two collected the payments for Sherman students working in the area. If problems arose between Sherman students and their employers, Ewing and DePorte resolved them.

Nominal supervision of student-laborers and haphazard employment assistance for a few Sherman graduates did not alter the fundamental nature of the outing system as it changed hands from Hall to Conser. Under Conser, the outing program came to resemble an employment agency even more so than it did under Hall. When Conser arrived in 1909, no coherent outing program for boys existed. By 1913, Conser sent hundreds of male student-laborers from Sherman to more than one hundred businesses across Southern California, the majority of them ranches (see table 1). Like his condescending correspondences with alumni, Conser's patterns of job placement reflected his low expectations

Table 1
Employers of Male Student-Laborers from Sherman Institute

Year	Number of Employers	Average Pay Per Day ($)	Number of Agricultural Employers	Number of Skilled Employers	Percent Agricultural Employers	Percent Skilled Employers
1913	113	1.69	105	1	93	1
1914	98	1.43	86	5	88	5
1915	89	1.42	78	5	88	6
1921	92	2.40	84	0	91	0
1922	133	2.28	124	1	93	1
1923	101	2.46	84	2	83	2
1924	125	2.52	94	3	75	2
1925	176	2.38	147	3	84	2
1927	152	2.40	132	2	87	1
1928	136	2.63	109	0	80	0

Source: Data taken from Time/Pay Cards, 1912–29, Records of Sherman Institute, National Archives, Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, CA, Record Group 75.
Note: Employers of skilled labor include blacksmiths, printers, tailors, carpenters, shoe repairers, and garage mechanics.

of Sherman students. In 1915, Outing Agent Long arranged outing positions for 210 male Sherman students. Of those students, 205 worked on ranches. Common duties for these student-laborers included cutting and baling hay, digging irrigation ditches, picking and washing fruit, and digging potatoes. Of the five students who avoided agricultural labor, a lucky two gained valuable experience working in the printing trade, one cleaned rooms at a local hotel, and two worked under the vague description of "chores."[52]

By 1924, Sherman Institute placed 536 student-laborers across Southern California, providing a significant source of cheap labor for area families and businesses.[53] Why did Sherman administrators expand the outing program so quickly? The most obvious answer lies in the rhetoric of Hall and Conser. Little doubt exists that the first two superintendents of Sherman Institute held the genuine and ethnocentric belief that exposing Indians to hard, manual labor would provide the most realistic preparation for life after boarding school. However, a closer look reveals that balancing the books probably played an equal, if not greater, role than ethnocentrism in the growth of the outing system at Sherman Institute.

Sherman Institute received its scant federal funding on a per-student basis. In 1908, the school received $157 per year for each student enrolled.[54] Through the 1920s, these per-student funds failed to keep pace with the rising costs of operation. As Sherman administrators dealt with budget shortfalls,

crowding more students into the school provided the most reliable influx of money. When the school reached or surpassed capacity, Conser accepted additional female students and placed them in the year-round outing system. Sherman Institute received per-annum funding for each student who worked year-round in the outing system. But because Conser required these students to cover their own room, board, and transportation costs, he could move the funding from these additional students into the general operating budget. When Supervisor of Education E. H. Hammond asked Conser whether he could take more students at Sherman, the superintendent replied that he had no more beds. "But we can use more girls," he said, "as we can place them on outing and take care of them very nicely."[55] Placing male students in year-round jobs proved more difficult, as area ranches needed fewer laborers during the winter. Nonetheless, the few male students who worked year-round also provided budget relief.

Admittedly, the first half of this study amplifies the voices of bureaucrats and administrators hired to eradicate indigenous peoples and their cultures. In doing so, it follows the same tortuous path as many studies of boarding schools. A bureaucratic blow-by-blow account of the development of the outing system at Sherman reveals a program that grew from an ethnocentric foundation. It placed students at significant risk and impeded their academic progress. Although the degree of harm done by the outing program may have varied from student to student, it cannot be argued that the outing system consistently fulfilled its stated goal of providing its students the tools necessary to join mainstream, white, protestant America after leaving school.[56] Rather, it prepared hundreds of young Indians for lives of menial labor and limited expectations. But, as anthropologist James C. Scott notes, to examine the bureaucratic records that now dominate most archival holdings is to unearth accounts and narratives that are "resolutely centered on the state's interests." Records of tragically misguided programs administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) contain much important information on the assimilationist mission; however, straightforward readings of these documents often provide incomplete narratives.[57] To accept the words of Hall or Conser as totally representative of the events that took place at Sherman Institute is to take the path of least resistance, to see only half the story. Such a viewpoint transforms Indian students from what they were—the most important players in any of the myriad stories within the giant debacle that was assimilationism—into passive statuettes within games controlled by administrators like Pratt and Hall.

Ethnohistorians have done much to detail how Indian students and their families navigated their experiences at boarding schools. Indigenous students, argues historian Clyde Ellis, proved remarkably adept at adapting information

from ethnocentric school curricula and utilizing it within the cultural frameworks of their home communities. Far from eliminating Native American cultures, boarding schools often positioned their students to negotiate the fluid, ever-changing confluences of white and indigenous worlds effectively. Historians Bert Ahern and Scott Riney note that after quitting academic work or graduating from boarding schools, many students found employment at BIA institutions, sometimes exerting powerful influence over the educational experiences of young Indians. At times, argues historian David Wallace Adams, boarding schools could even be places of fun and romance.[58] These authors have forged an important and relatively new approach for ethnohistorians, one that emphasizes the difficult and often-tedious work of culling indigenous voices where few seem to exist. Surviving records related to the outing program at Sherman Institute offer an opportunity to do just that. Archival narratives from Hall and Conser position the outing system as part of a larger bureaucratic machine that pulled in young students and forced them into exploitative situations. Yet the voice of Foinill, faced with grueling and ill-paid labor, so full of excitement and anticipation, should remind us that such a scenario rarely played out. Many Sherman students managed to enter the outing system on terms of their own choosing. Once there, they exercised the tools at hand in order to make the best of their situations.

Historians Brenda Child and Myriam Vuckovic note that for many Native American families, government boarding schools served as crucial resources that helped to offset the harsh economic realities of reservation life.[59] In much the same way, the outing program at Sherman Institute often stood as a resource to be sought out by Indians, rather than some sort of monster that pulled them in against their will. When Charles Davis struggled to find work during the spring of 1930, he called on Sherman Institute Outing Agent Long for help. A thirty-two-year-old Pima from the Salt River Reservation near Phoenix, Davis apparently had extensive experience working on citrus ranches. "I want to get a steady job so I can work all the time," he said. "I work on farms around here, so I know I can work out there too."[60] Women also used the Sherman outing program as a resource when seeking work. Outing Matron Pearl Ryan frequently received letters from older Indian women, many of them nonalumni, requesting placement as domestic help in white homes.[61]

Letters sent from job seekers to outing matrons Long and Ryan reveal some important trends. First, the outing system provided employment opportunities not only to young Indians enrolled at Sherman Institute but also to Sherman alumni, and even nonalumni living on reservations with strong connections to the school. Although the vast majority of outing employees attended Sherman, not a few students continued to work within the outing system after graduating or leaving Sherman. In these cases, Outing Agent Long often provided

continued supervision. A smaller group, like Davis, sought outing system employment through friends or relatives who had once attended Sherman Institute.[62] More importantly, though, the words of Davis reveal that in times of extended unemployment, many Indians viewed the outing program with a sense of pragmatism. To be sure, the menial positions offered by the Sherman Institute outing program reflected low expectations for Indians held by the BIA. Yet employment in the outing system offered money and food to people living on reservations where both could be scarce. In times of hunger, employment within the outing system may have felt more like relief than coercion.

For the young women of Sherman Institute, the outing system presented unique challenges. Where male students most often tackled agricultural tasks in teams of at least three or four, female student-laborers almost always worked individually as domestic servants. At job sites, these students often became islands unto themselves, completely removed from family, friends, and kin. Yet archival sources show these young women to be anything but passive, pliable, or completely controlled by their employers. Confronted with such harsh realities, many female student-laborers did not hesitate to exercise available means of resistance in order to better their situations.

The first line of defense against the outing program involved a simple refusal to participate. During the spring of 1901, Lorenzia Nicholas refused to return to the Bakewell home in Riverside for a second summer of work, apparently objecting to her treatment there. "Lorenzia Nicholas will not work out this year," Hall informed the Bakewells. "For some reason she objects very strongly to being sent out."[63] Native American parents and siblings often assisted in efforts to bring Sherman students home for the summer months when time spent with family trumped the importance of earning money. This was the case during the spring of 1901, when the father of Catherine Cabrillas insisted that his daughter be allowed to return home for the summer rather than work in the outing program. "Catherine Cabrillas' father insisted that I permit his girl to come home at once, as he did not want her to work out," Hall told the Waldman family. "In as much as he is a man of some means, and has a very fair home, I felt that it was proper for me to send her; in fact, there was nothing else for me to do."[64] Homesick student-laborers often took it upon themselves to gain permission to take leave from their outing duties in order to visit home. The families of Sherman Institute students often took an active role in making sure that the school met their needs, rather than vice versa.[65] If coming home for the summer proved more beneficial than working within the outing system, students and their families went to great lengths to make it happen.

Once on the job, discontented female student-laborers wielded a number of different strategies in order to improve their conditions or, if need be, to get sent home. It appears as though the most common form of resistance involved

feigning incomprehension of instructions. Shortly after receiving a girl from Sherman to help clean her house and take care of her children, Mrs. Charles Martin of Glendora, California, complained bitterly to Outing Matron Long. "When she first came I took considerable pains in showing her the things I expected of her, but after two weeks it is necessary for me to do over almost everything she does," said Martin. Apparently, the student would not complete simple tasks like cleaning dishes, washing clothes, and sweeping the kitchen floor. Martin had reached the end of her patience. "The lack of progress in her understanding discourages me and I find I cannot even depend on her to keep an eye on my year old baby and therefore she is no benefit to me whatsoever."[66] It is certainly possible that this student failed to comprehend the instructions of her employer or that Mrs. Martin proved so overbearing that nothing short of a perfect job done could please her. It is likely, though, that this student knew that Conser shared the alacrity of his predecessor when it came to providing new student-laborers to unsatisfied customers. Conser's propensity for switching laborers, combined with the simplicity of the tasks requested, raises the possibility that this student feigned the inability to sweep dust or scrub dirty diapers as a means of escape from an overbearing employer.

As historian Vuckovic notes, male students at federal Indian boarding schools encountered more opportunities than their female counterparts to resist unfavorable working conditions.[67] This held true for the outing system. In particular, running away from an outing site often proved easier for male students. Whereas outing labor for girls involved near-constant confinement to the home, male student-laborers often received tasks that required independent labor and, at times, solitude. The most frequent among these tasks included threshing and baling hay, thinning beets, harvesting citrus fruits, and fighting fire. These jobs provided ample opportunity for disgruntled male student-laborers to run away, and run away they did with frequency. At least fifteen Sherman boys took the same form of recourse during the year 1928 alone, making desertion one of the most significant forms of resistance available to male student-laborers.[68]

Challenges related to outing work did not end with the summer, as students and nonstudents alike often had to fight for months after leaving their jobs to receive pay owed to them by their employers. Sherman Institute policy dictated that its student-laborers should only receive one-third of their payment at their job sites. Employers sent the remaining wages to the school superintendent, who deposited the money in individual savings accounts for each student. When a nonstudent worked under the auspices of the outing program, the money was to be sent to a reservation agent to be deposited. As one might imagine, this system of delayed payment offered ample opportunity for employers to withhold hard-earned money from student-laborers. At the

close of the 1914 and 1915 school years, male student-laborers still awaited 10 and 20 percent of the money earned in those years, respectively.[69]

One case of late payment occurred in 1930, when M. K. Thompson failed to pay the remaining two-thirds wages he owed to eight outing laborers who had pressed hay for two months on his ranch near Brawley, California. Thompson, who had received outing laborers from Sherman for nearly a decade, had become ill and fallen into debt. It mattered not to the laborers to whom he owed money. They rose with a fury, writing letter after letter to Outing Agent Long. Robert Chaleco started the firestorm of letters. "Well Mr. Long," he wrote, "what I wanted to ask you is that do you remember when I worked on a hay presser down in the imperial valley for K. Thompson and he never pay us. Did he send money yet. I like to know if you please."[70] Before the end of the week, Long received letters from Damian Pachito and Herman Lomahoema, both looking for wages owed to them by Thompson. Long tried in vain for two months to set up a meeting with Thompson, who simply did not have the money. After receiving another round of letters from Pachito, Chaleco, and Lomahoema, Long finally decided to forward the case to the California State Labor Commission. On June 1, 1930, the State Labor Commission sent twenty dollars each to Chaleco, Pachito, and Lomahoema. Upon receipt of the money, all three queried Long as to when they might expect the remainder of their money. Unfortunately, Long retired before the conclusion of the Thompson debacle, so his records do not reveal how the rest of the story played out.[70]

Although documentary records do not reveal a satisfying ending to the Thompson fiasco, much can still be gathered from this story. To these three, outing labor provided a crucial opportunity to earn much-needed money. This was especially so for Pachito. Born on the Pala Reservation in 1905, Pachito lost both of his parents by the time he reached five years of age. Pachito came under the care of an aunt in Los Angeles, where he attended public schools intermittently. Life there apparently proved difficult, however. By the time he arrived at Sherman Institute during the fall of 1922, Pachito was an orphan again—tired, hungry, and wearing tattered clothing. Sherman Institute, with its steady meals and clockwork routines, must have seemed like a sanctuary. Pachito excelled. He chose the agricultural vocational track and received high marks throughout seven full years at school. As he neared the end of his time at Sherman, Pachito must have felt a strange blend of excitement and dread, for he had no family awaiting him after graduation. Whatever money he earned as an outing student would be all he had as he started a new life.[71]

Although archival records reveal far less about Chaleco and Lomahoema, it appears as though they needed their outing funds almost every bit as badly as Pachito. Like Pachito, Chaleco lost his father early in life. A Quechan from

the Fort Yuma-Quechan Reservation, Chaleco arrived at Sherman in 1925 at the age of sixteen. He studied gardening and vocational painting and made frequent trips home to visit his mother throughout Christmas and summer breaks. Although Lomahoema came from a two-parent household, it appears as though life at Sherman provided him an escape from poverty. A Hopi from Keams Canyon, Arizona, Lomahoema arrived at school suffering badly from trachoma, a painful, potentially blinding eye disease that plagued many reservations during the early twentieth century.[72] Nineteen years of age and a first grade–level student when he arrived at Sherman, Lomahoema entered the vocational program in carpentry. Whether he wished to avoid his home life or he simply enjoyed making money, Lomahoema consistently chose to work in the outing system rather than make a customary late-summer visit to his home. Pachito, Chaleco, and Lomahoema came from different tribes, educational backgrounds, and family situations. All three, however, saw opportunity within the outing system. When denied fair compensation for their work, all three acted quickly and forcefully to recover wages from their employer.[73]

For those students who worked frequently, the outing system sometimes proved to be a means to productive, if not lucrative, employment. Sherman Institute student Hugh Bell provides a prime example. A Navajo from Tohatchee, New Mexico, Bell arrived at Sherman in August 1921 at the age of nineteen and enrolled in the vocational program in agriculture. Bell began working in the outing system during the summer of 1922. Between June and August, he worked for the Fontana Farms Company, the largest employer of male student-laborers from Sherman Institute during the 1920s. He worked for three-and-a-half weeks at a rate of $2.65 per day, pulling in seventy-nine dollars. Bell then worked through late August and early September on the ranch of A. E. Kinsley in Corona, California, where he made an additional forty-four dollars, leaving him with total earnings of $123 for the summer. Throughout the next two summers, Bell worked only sporadically. He earned thirty-five dollars and fifty-eight dollars, respectively. During 1925, he did not work under the outing system at all. In 1926, Bell once again went to work for Fontana Farms. This time, he remained at work from June 1 through October 1, earning three dollars per day. By the end of the summer, Bell had pulled in $220. Bell's participation in the outing program became more profitable than ever in 1927, when he began working full-time on the ranch of Douglas Fairbanks. Between September 1927 and June 1928, he earned just short of six hundred dollars. The progression of Bell through the outing system was a typical one. In the beginning, Bell worked only sporadically, earning little money. As he aged, though, Bell continued to take on longer stints of labor, until he finally began working full time at age twenty. By 1930, Bell had accumulated almost eight hundred dollars in his bank account at Sherman Institute.[74]

Although Bell and other student-laborers like him managed to collect potentially life-altering sums of money within the outing program, these earnings often carried a hefty price tag. During his final year in the outing system at Sherman Institute, Bell worked a migrant laborer's schedule, performing backbreaking labor and putting in as many as eighty-four hours per week. It appears as though labor conditions faced by Sherman students in Southern California and migrant workers in the Central Valley were similar. While an experienced Mexican cotton worker in 1930 earned an average of three dollars per day, Sherman student-laborers usually made about $2.50 per day at cutting, shocking, and bailing hay in 1928.[75] During the late 1920s, Sherman students who worked steadily between June and August could expect at least two hundred dollars, while Filipino lettuce workers in the San Joaquin Valley averaged earnings of about $250 for a four-month season.[76] It is likely that Filipino, Mexican, and Native laborers faced similar living conditions on ranches and farms. Mexican workers in the San Joaquin Valley dealt with shoddy tents, dirt floors, and contaminated water.[77] Correspondence between Hall and the ranchers suggested that Sherman students faced similar circumstances on their job sites, as prospective employers frequently asked the superintendent to send his students equipped with their own tents and cots.[78] Finally, it appears as though increased participation in the outing system often came at the expense of academic education. Even though Bell's final year of labor occurred under the watch of Sherman Institute Outing Agent Long, it is doubtful that he attended day school during his time at the Fairbanks Ranch. As Hall and Pratt had done before him, Conser required students to attend at least eighty full days of public school in order to remain enrolled. Bell did no such thing, as he worked an average of fifty-two hours during each week that he remained at the Fairbanks Ranch, making eighty days at school all but impossible.[79]

A select few Sherman students used the outing system to gain not just substantial pay but also marketable job skills. Existing scholarship argues that outing programs, and vocational curricula in general, provided students with few usable skills.[80] Young Indians, the story goes, floated through years of vocation-oriented educational curricula without absorbing any information that might be useful after leaving school. Sherman Institute students Joe Blackwater and Ross Townsend did not follow such a path of futility. Blackwater, a Pima from near Scottsdale, Arizona, arrived at Sherman as a thirteen-year-old boy during the fall of 1910. Short and slim—he weighed less than one hundred pounds when he enrolled—Blackwater arrived at Sherman in ill health, suffering from trachoma. As his health improved, Blackwater came to excel in school. An A student in both his vocational and academic courses, he played clarinet in the school orchestra. Blackwater declined to go on outing for the summers of 1911 and 1912, opting to visit home instead.

When he finally did decide to participate in the outing system, Blackwater managed to do so within the field that he had chosen as his vocational focus: printing. Throughout the summers of 1914 and 1915, he gained valuable experience working in the printing office of the *Riverside Enterprise*, making $57 and $107, respectively. Blackwater graduated from Sherman in 1916. Shortly thereafter, he married classmate May McAdams and moved with her to Los Angeles, where he worked for Llewellyn Iron Works. Blackwater returned to Sherman to work in the school print shop in 1923. Whether Blackwater obtained steady employment in the field of printing is yet unknown, but his brief stint back at Sherman makes it appear likely that he continued pursuing print work for at least a decade after graduating.[81]

Many scholars note that employment within the Indian School Service stood as perhaps the most viable career option for graduates of federal Indian boarding schools.[82] Townsend's experience provides a case study of this trend. A Pauite from Fort Bidwell, California, Townsend arrived at Sherman at the age of eighteen. Quiet and well rounded, Townsend earned high marks in both his academic and vocational courses, and he played key roles on the Sherman baseball, football, basketball, and wrestling teams. After a year of prevocational courses, he chose to be trained as a carpenter during his final three years at school. During the summer of 1928, Townsend worked for Cresmer Manufacturing Company, where he helped construct a new building for the West Coast Theater Company near downtown Corona, California. Despite his unassuming nature, Townsend drew the attention of Conser. As he did for many of his most promising students, Conser attempted to secure Townsend a position within the Indian School Service but to no avail. After graduation, Townsend made his way back home to Fort Bidwell. Townsend must have felt elation when he received a letter from Sherman Assistant Principal A. P. Westhafer offering him an assistant carpenter position at the school. Noting that he had not yet found a job at Fort Bidwell, Townsend promptly accepted the position and headed for Riverside.[83]

Townsend spent the remainder of his life serving Sherman Institute, with the exception of a four-year stint in the military during World War II. He married classmate Laura Premo, a Shoshone who worked as an assistant matron at Sherman Institute after graduation. Newly married, the Townsends moved into a small house on the Sherman campus. Townsend used his carpentry skills to build new rooms onto the house at night and on weekends. School records list Townsend as an assistant carpenter and assistant mason, but he worked mostly in maintenance. "He was a 'jack-of-all trades,'" remembered Townsend's son, Galen. "He did a little bit of everything for the school." Important tasks performed by the elder Townsend included plumbing, electrical work, and automobile repair—skills that he likely first developed

as a vocational student and outing laborer. After hours, he served as a wrestling coach. Townsend's teams produced state and national champions and defeated the likes of the University of Southern California and the University of California, Los Angeles.[84]

Existing scholarship tends to characterize life within the Indian School Service as a sort of second-rate existence for Native American employees. To be sure, Ross and Laura Townsend faced challenges that their white coworkers did not. During his first ten years as an assistant carpenter at Sherman Institute, Ross drew an annual salary of $1,200, while head carpenter Charles Hoffstetter earned a yearly salary of $1,800. Schoolwide, white employees earned in excess of five hundred dollars per year more than their Native counterparts for the year 1931. In addition, white employees almost always held relatively secure, full-time job appointments, while Indian employees often worked in part-time positions.[85] Indigenous employees, it seems, received unfair treatment. Yet the story of the Townsend family complicates this picture. Townsend surely knew that Native employees received poorer pay and fewer promotions than white coworkers. When confronted with a choice between unemployment at Fort Bidwell and a relatively menial position at Sherman Institute, though, he did not hesitate to choose his alma mater. Within the walls of the Sherman campus, the Townsends managed to raise five children comfortably. "We weren't rich," said Galen, "but we had everything we needed."[86]

Boarding schools and their outing systems did not prepare Indian students for equal participation in the majority culture. By the time that Sherman Institute came into existence, BIA administrators and bureaucrats had already deemed Native people incapable of equal participation within the dominant culture. But Indian voices that speak from remaining records on Sherman Institute remind us that low expectations, poor working conditions, and scant pay comprised part, but not all, of the outing system. For Davis and Foinill, the chance to earn money and see new places at least partly obscured the poor wages and conditions that characterized their work. Far from helpless, students like Nicholas fought hard to exercise a measure of control over when, and for whom, they worked. Blackwater and Townsend participated in the system not because they were coerced, but because they wanted to, whether for much-needed money or a break from the often-mundane institutional rhythms of boarding school life. These voices remind us that fixating on the ethnocentric roots and sometimes brutal outcomes of the outing system is to ignore its complexity, at best, and, at worst, to assume a condition of helplessness among boarding school students and their families. Like almost all aspects of federal Indian boarding schools during the early twentieth century, the outing system presented difficult and sometimes overwhelming challenges to young Native Americans. But, like students at federal Indian boarding

schools everywhere, the young people at Sherman Institute demonstrated courage and creativity in drawing from the outing system the most that they could. We should not forget it.

Notes

Many thanks to Clifford Trafzer, Rebecca Kugel, Catherine Gudis, and Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, all of whom provided helpful advice as I wrote this piece. I would also like to thank the anonymous referees for this journal.

1. Dick Foinill to Emily Jasper, June 3, 1925, Time Pay Records/Applications for Girls, 1921–1922, Records of Sherman Institute, National Archives, Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, CA, Record Group 75 (hereinafter referred to as RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75).

2. For information on the connections between federal boarding schools and beet producers, see Alice Littlefield, "Learning to Labor: Native American Education in the United States, 1880–1930," in *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, ed. John H. Moore (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 54.

3. Foinill to Jasper, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

4. Matthew T. Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), xxi.

5. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 52.

6. At the outing system's peak during the mid-1920s, Sherman Institute maintained three full-time employees to supervise more than 500 student-laborers. Frank Conser to Supervisor of Education E. H. Hammond, February 13, 1924, Letters Sent and Received, 1924, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

7. Alice Littlefield argues that federal Indian boarding schools proletarianized students. See Littlefield, "Learning to Labor." See also Littlefield, "Indian Education and the World of Work in Michigan, 1893–1933," in *Native Americans and Wage Labor*, ed. Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 100–21.

8. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 54–57. On the assimilationist attitudes of Richard Henry Pratt, see *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904* (New Haven: University of Connecticut Press, 1964); and Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 223.

9. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 157. Original quote in Carlisle Industrial School, *Red Man* 10, no. 9 (September 1898): 2.

10. For information on the mechanics of Pratt's outing system at Carlisle, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 156–63. For a good summary of how the system functioned in the western United States, see Robert Trennert Jr., "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Outing System, 1878–1930," *The Pacific Historical Review* 52 (Summer 1983): 267–75.

11. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 193.

12. For information on the growth of antiimmigration sentiment during the early twentieth century, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 145–55. See also Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 18–57, 221–59.

13. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, esp. ch. 3 and ch. 4.

14. Harwood Hall to Frank Miller, January 30, 1901, Outing System Letters (hereinafter referred to as OSL), 1900–1901, Sherman Institute Collection, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA (hereinafter referred to as SIC, SM).

15. R. C. Mertinson to Edgar Allen, May 30, 1895, SIC, SM. Allen took out advertising space in the *Riverside Press* in search of construction bids for a new campus in Riverside.

16. Hall to Miller, OSL, 1900–1902, SIC, SM. For a detailed account of Miller's involvement in bringing Sherman Institute to Riverside, see Nathan Gonzalez, "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute," *Southern California Quarterly* 84 (Fall/Winter 2002): 193–222.

17. Jean Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902–1922* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), xv, 16–17.

18. Robert Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 41.

19. Ibid., 28–29.

20. Hall to Miller, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM. During the years before the Perris Indian School moved to Riverside, Miller served as a liaison between Harwood Hall and wealthy community members of Riverside. When an unknown citizen of Riverside requested a student-laborer, Hall solicited Miller for a character reference. Rather than contacting Hall directly, families in search of live-in help often directed their requests through Miller.

21. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 157; Harwood Hall to Mrs. Thomas Bakewell, July 22, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

22. Timecards for student-laborers included deductions for meals. Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

23. Harwood Hall to S. S. Hotchkiss, June 16, 1902, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM.

24. Harwood Hall to W. P. Gulick, February 15, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

25. Harwood Hall to S. R. Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

26. Harwood Hall to George S. Winterbothem, April 16, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

27. Harwood Hall to J. H. Reed, February 25, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

28. Harwood Hall to Colonel J. F. Ritchey, February 6, 1902, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM.

29. Hall to Smith, February 28, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

30. Frank Conser, who became superintendent of Sherman Institute in 1909, kept timecards for every student-laborer in the outing program. Letters are the only surviving outing system records from Hall's tenure.

31. Although this article focuses on the relatively little-studied subject of student labor performed under the auspices of the outing system, many other works have provided in-depth looks at student labor as related to the upkeep and operation of boarding schools. See Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 149–56; K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 65–79; and Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930* (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 1993), 105–14.

32. Trennert, *The Phoenix School*, 54.

33. Harwood Hall to Mrs. Harold Lacy, February 12, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

34. Hall to Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

35. Harwood Hall to Mrs. Francis Ellis, January 22, 1902, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM.

36. Harwood Hall to Mrs. A. Sharpe, June 21, 1902, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM.

37. Ibid. For excellent analysis of the role of Victorian gender ideologies within the functioning of the outing system, see Katrina Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute,

1907–1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford Trafzer, Jean Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 181–84.

38. Keller, *Empty Beds*, 1–40. Hall allowed his students to bathe at all hours of the day, thus providing an unprecedented amount of self-control within the boarding school system, even if only related to personal hygiene. Hall also encouraged students to write home, welcomed the families of students to visit Sherman, and regularly allowed students to visit home during the summer months.

39. Hall to Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

40. As anthropologist K. Tsianina Lomawaima notes, curricula at federal Indian boarding schools and vocational institutions for African American and white students closely resembled one another. See Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 65–67. For information on curricula at vocational schools designed for black students in the American South, see James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). For vocational curricula at public schools, see David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974). Lomawaima, Anderson, and Tyack all argue that vocational institutions sought to create and maintain laboring underclasses. For connections between vocational programs for black and Indian students, see Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1887–1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

41. Keller, *Empty Beds*, 30.

42. In 1924, 272 boys and 264 girls participated in the outing system. Conser to Hammond, February 13, 1924, Letters Sent and Received, 1924, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

43. Hall to Smith, February 28, 1900, OSL, 1900–1902, SIC, SM.

44. Time/Pay Records, 1912–1928, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75. The term *menial position* refers to jobs related to agriculture. The most common agricultural tasks for male students on outing included shocking and cutting hay; smudging, picking, and packing citrus fruits; and picking potatoes. The term *skilled position* refers to blacksmiths, printers, tailors, carpenters, shoe repairers, and garage mechanics.

45. Ibid.

46. Employee Register, 1911, SIC, SM.

47. Report of the Outing Matron from Sherman Institute, Daily Bulletins, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

48. Frank Conser to California State Board of Education, March 7, 1921, Letters Sent/Received, 1921, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

49. Employee Register, 1897–1914, SIC, SM.

50. *Sherman Bulletin III*, no. 22, June 22, 1909, SIC, SM; *Sherman Bulletin III*, no. 26, September 1, 1909, SIC, SM.

51. Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, 1917–1930, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

52. Report on Outing Boys of Sherman Institute, 1915, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

53. Conser to Hammond, February 13, 1924, Letters Sent/Received, 1924, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

54. Office of Indian Affairs Circular No. 240, September 21, 1908; Disciplinarian's Notes, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

55. Conser to Hammond, February 13, 1924, Letters Sent/Received, 1924, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

56. The goal referred to here is that of outing system founder Pratt, who wished to use the program as a device to bring Indian children into social and economic parity with whites.

57. James C. Scott, *The Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1985), xv.

58. Clyde Ellis, "We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn't the School Part: Life at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920," in Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*,

66–67; Wilbert Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881–1908," *Ethnohistory* 42 (Spring 1997): 263–304; Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), esp. 167–92; David Wallace Adams, "Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Boarding Schools, 1870–1940," in Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*, 36–60.

59. Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Myriam Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 123.

60. Charles Davis to Fred Long, March 6, 1930, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, 1917–1930, RSI, NA, Laguna Niguel, CA, RG 75.

61. Report of the Outing Matron from Sherman Institute, 1930, Daily Bulletins, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

62. On occasion, ranchers requesting student-laborers lived far from Sherman Institute. In these cases, the school superintendent or outing agent contacted a superintendent from a nearby reservation, who gathered men from the reservation and sent them to the rancher.

63. Hall to Bakewell, February 25, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

64. Harwood Hall to Mrs. L. C. Waldman, February 3, 1902, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC, SM.

65. For other examples of Native parents actively engaging administrators of boarding schools, see Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 15–25.

66. Mrs. Charles Martin to Girls Outing Matron Etta Long, June 15, 1925, Girls Outing Applications, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

67. Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell*, 124.

68. Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

69. Report on Outing Boys of Sherman Institute, 1914, 1915, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

70. Robert Chaleco to Fred Long, April 26, 1930, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

71. Student Case Files, 1903–1981, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

72. For information on trachoma in indigenous communities and boarding schools, see Keller, *Empty Beds*, 86–88.

73. Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

74. Time/Pay Worksheets, 1912–1930, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75; Frank Conser to John Hunter, February 11, 1930, Student Case Files, 1903–1981, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75. Michael Coleman notes that, among boarding school alumni who left biographical accounts of their experiences, many expressed excitement and pride over the chance to work and earn money. See Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 114–16, 170.

75. Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994), 64.

76. Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 100–6.

77. Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*, 72–74.

78. Hall to Smith, February 28, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC, SM.

79. Time/Pay Worksheets, 1912–1930, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

80. For examples see Donald J. Berthrong, "The Bitter Years: Western Indian Reservation Life," in *They Made Us Many Promises: The American Indian Experience, 1524– Present*, ed. Philip Weeks (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2002), 134.

81. Time/Pay Worksheets, 1912–1930, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75; Student Case Files, 1903–1981, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

82. See Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 18, 72. See also Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted," 282–83. Ahern notes that, in 1898, Native Americans comprised 45 percent of staff at schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although the percentage of Native employees within Indian boarding schools dropped steadily throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Indian employees nonetheless maintained a strong presence.

83. Galen Townsend, personal interview with the author, January 13, 2011; Ross Townsend to A. P. Westhafer, August 11, 1930, Student Case Files, RSI, NA, PSR, RG 75.

84. *Sherman Bulletin* 36, no. 3, November 19, 1943; Townsend interview.

85. Employee Register, 1931, SIC, SM.

86. Townsend interview.