ACCULTURATION OF THE DAKOTA SIOUX: THE BOARDING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE FOR STUDENTS AT FLANDREAU AND PIPESTONE INDIAN SCHOOLS

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PIPESTONE INDIAN SCHOOLS

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The Dakotas

Black Hills
long grasses
the sun hangs
slow
my mouth is
swollen with dust
and
I feel music
In each bump
In the road

Corn is in either
field
and the cattle
lowing loud
and lost
in pastures
of sunflower stalks
where buffalo tread

I am that farm house
that does not belong
with chipped
white
paint
surrounded by
sunflowers
with golden crowns
and deep dark
lovely eyes
whispering in
circles

Cindie Landrum, October 1993.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION....1

II. Background: Government Indian Policy and Missionaries....15

III. The People and the Schools: An Overview....28

IV. The Flandreau School as an Institution....54

V. The Pipestone School as an Institution....101

VI. The Flandreau School Experience....146

VII. The Pipestone School Experience....181

VIII. Conclusion....211

BIBLIOGRAPHY....218

APPENDIX....230

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In describing the confrontation between Native American and European peoples, Dan, a living Lakota elder, offered his view of events when he stated:

> See, to us, American history is how the big sea became little ponds and whether those are going to be taken from us or not. It doesn't have anything to do with thirteen colonies and some covered wagons going west. Our land was taken from us in every direction. We can look at the same facts as you and it is something completely different. But you build your history on words like "frontier" and "civilization", and those words are just your ideas put into little shapes you can use in sentences. The big ideas behind them are weapons that take our past from us.
>
> I think that's a lot of where our people went wrong with your people. We didn't see the big ideas behind the words used. We didn't see that you had to name everything to make it exist, and that the name you gave something made it what it was. You named us savages, so that made us Savages. You named where we lived the wilderness, so that made it wild and a dangerous place. Without even knowing it, you made us who we are in your minds by the words we used. You are still doing that, and you don't even know it is happening.
>
> I hope that you'll learn to be more careful with your words. Our children don't know the old language so well, so it is your English that is giving them the world. Right now some of your ideas in your words are wrong. They are giving our children and yours the world in a wrong way.[1]

With Europeans arriving in the New World in 1492, Native Americans quickly became dispossessed people in their own land. For American Indians the new world order arrived in three distinct and overlapping stages. Initially, Europeans brought alien microbes and diseases that killed vast numbers of Natives. With trade came the exchange of European technologies for New World products, and the transformation of Native

Peoples into a developing market from old world products. Finally, settlers eagerly confiscated and developed former American Indian lands to satisfy their goals of civilization and progress. Ultimately, these stages transformed Native existence by disrupting established cultural habits and requiring, upon the part of the American Indians, creative responses to new conditions. As a consequence of the changes they experienced, Native Americans adapted ancient customs in ways that would permit them to survive in the present without forsaking their past. This process has continued since the first white-Native encounter. By the close of the twentieth century, Native Americans as well as other residents of the United States had created new enclaves, each similar to, yet different from, its parent culture, as they contributed to the creation of mainstream American society.[2]

In the nineteenth century, most white Americans regarded assimilation into the dominant culture as a necessity for all immigrants living within the territorial boundaries of the United States. European immigrants, regardless of their origins, assimilated more easily than American Indians. The Indians ultimately lost more than they gained, for to them assimilation meant the loss of land and traditional tribal identity. In an earlier study of American Indian education, Murray L. Wax suggested that the U.S. government consider educating Indians as part of the process of assimilation. He postulated that

> From the time of the Spanish and French missionaries until the present day, the whites have been concerned with educating the Indians. Usually, this has implied not simply the imparting of literacy, technical skills or culture and personality from an individualist, and in the case of the nomadic group, from a hunter into a settled and diligent farmer.[3]

Other scholars who have studied American Indian education and its role in the assimilation process have drawn similar conclusions.

Education of Native Americans in the United States was the ultimate reform for nineteenth-century federal and religious officials. The first promotion of such principles and programs began in the 1840s for Eastern Woodland tribes such as the Shawnee, Potawatomis, and the Cherokees. These efforts became the prototype for civilizing agencies in the post-Civil War era as emigrants expanded onto the Plains and into the Far West. The primary concern in all Indian education schemes was to make the people self-sufficient and less dependent upon the federal government. The proposed route most tried was through vocational training for both boys and girls at day and boarding schools. Children were specifically trained in agriculture, manual trades, and domestic tasks. With such training came cultural alterations as the forced cutting of hair, transformation in dress, and the speaking of English.[4]

In 1877, Congress appropriated $20,000 for the express purpose of educating the Native population. This mandate followed the cue of an earlier "Civilization Fund" that was established in 1819 for similar purposes. By 1877, the reformers preferred the atmosphere of off-reservation boarding schools because they were generally deemed to be the best environment in which to keep the children isolated from the "contaminating" influences of their respective cultural enclaves. Hampton Institute was established in 1868 as a school for former slaves during Reconstruction. Ten years later it opened its doors to Native Americans as well. Almost simultaneously, a young army officer named Richard Henry Pratt began an educational program for seventy-two American Indian prisoners of war at Ft. Marion in Florida. Later assigned to Hampton Normal School in Virginia, Pratt decided to resign from the post and establish the Carlisle Indian School

that was to be a separate school for Native Americans comprised of people from all over the United States.[5]

The Carlisle Indian School was the showpiece of Indian education. Begun in 1879 at a military post in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, this school served as the model for off-reservation boarding school education for several decades. Pratt's view of assimilation revolved around the insistence upon complete integration of Indians into white society. He firmly believed that human beings were products of their environments and that reservations directly posed a segregating threat. Pratt also paralleled the plight of African Americans and European immigrants, by using them as examples of successful integration into the larger American society. Rapidly adapting the language, customs, and dress of white Americans, these groups managed to assimilate in a way that Native Americans could not because of the reservation system.[6]

The prominence and achievements of Carlisle Indian School were unmistakable. The overt success of many of its students was convincing proof to many skeptics that American Indians could in fact be brought into the folds of the dominant society. In the wake of these assimilationist efforts, the Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools opened in the 1890s as off-reservation boarding institutions in South Dakota and Minnesota.[7]

Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889 to 1893, also had a significant impact upon American Indian education at the end of the nineteenth century. With the passage of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887 came another earnest effort to educate the Native Peoples. At the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1888, most attention turned to Indian education with Morgan at the helm of reform proposals, even though he was not yet the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A professional educator,

Morgan epitomized important intellectual trends of his age: a belief in the public school system, his professional Protestantism, and his deep humanitarianism, all of which were tied into aggressive Americanism.[8]

To accomplish this task, Morgan set in motion a series of stipulations that systematized the schools. All schools already in operation should be modeled after Carlisle in education and industrial training. This meant the creation of a uniform system-method of study, and of instruction, use of a standardized textbook, and use of the English language. He further underscored that only English be spoken by students in schools fully or partially constructed by the federal government. In concert with this was a desire to instill in the students a sense of patriotism, independence, self-respect, and a commitment that they should be educated as Americans and not as Natives. His most dramatic point was that education should seek the disintegration of the tribes and not their segregation.[9] The faculty at Pipestone Indian School in greatly mirrored these ideals in 1911 when they issued the following mission statement as official policy:

> The purpose of the Indian education is to prepare the Indian people of this country for independent citizenship, to qualify them to assume every duty and responsibility of citizenship. Hundreds of thousands of foreigners come into this country annually and are rapidly Americanized by scattering them throughout the country and freely mingling daily with those who are already, by birth or adoption and education, good citizens. If the Indians are ever to become independent, productive citizens, it is believed that they, too, must, in one-way or another be brought to mingle and associate more freely with their truly Americanized neighbors. With this end in view, it has been determined to increase, as rapidly as possible, the enrollment of Indian children in public schools.[10]

This program for massive and rapid assimilation was, for the most part, unpopular with the tribes and much later with American Indian historians. The first work to fully examine the implications of Indian resistance in the boarding school system is Margaret

Szasz in Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928,[11] followed by her colonial volume. Szasz attributes much of the success in self-determination to the push for civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s under the Red Power movement. She specifically credits the failures and subsequent lessons of the 1950s as the impetus for positive change. Szasz's work establishes the framework of study followed by other histories, including my own.

Another seminal work that examines the implications of Indian resistance in the boarding school system was David Wallace Adams work Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,[12] where he directly attacks Morgan's theories and federal Indian policy. Adams views the boarding school system as a destructive force in the lives of American Indian people. He believes that this drive to dismantle Indian tribes as distinct cultural entities over several generations had culminated in a heavily victimized hybrid population. Adams also promotes the telling of stories of malnutrition, physical abuse, humiliation, and cultural dislocation, as suffered by both parents and children as they resisted the boarding school experience.

In Robert A. Trennert, Jr.'s work, Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935,[13] he explores Indian educational policy at a single institution. Trennert discusses interactions between the school, staff, and local native and non-Indian community members. From his perspective, the agenda of the school failed in the face of inadequate funding and rampant racism in the surrounding community. In contrast to Ellis's work, Trennert argues ultimately that the community ultimately did not support the school. By contrast, the Kiowas in Oklahoma made Rainy Mountain Indian School their own as they banded together as a people in yet another arena. A similar situation

occurred at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools, where the students and the tribe ultimately used the two schools as service centers and educational facilities that facilitated rather than hindered their immediate needs.

Other works that attend to the roles of individual schools include K. Tsianina Lomawaima's work They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School;[14] Sally Hyer's One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School;[15] Clyde Ellis's To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920;[16] and Scott Riney's The Rapid City Indian School 1898-1933.[17] Lomawaima's work includes oral histories that bolster the argument that in accommodating the dominant society, the students ultimately banded together in resistance. In a similar vein, Hyer uses of oral interviews to argue that the students prevailed in making the Santa Fe Indian School uniquely their own. This study will draw upon and elaborate on these insights by also focussing upon oral interviews thus bolstering the view that the students made both Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools uniquely their own, especially after the policy shift during the 1930s with John Collier's Indian New Deal.

The last two works by Ellis and Riney provide overviews of two boarding schools in South Dakota and Oklahoma that each served a single tribe. Ellis examines the Rainy Mountain Boarding School on the Kiowa reservation, whereas Riney examines a Rapid City school that facilitates the Dakota Sioux. Ellis, like Lomawaima and Hyer, makes a case for student resistance to assimilation. What makes this study unique, however, is the attachment of this movement to the larger Kiowa community outside of the school grounds. In contrast, Riney explores the relationship between parents and students in an

off-reservation setting. Riney argues that the school served the larger urban community as an administrative arm, which moved beyond merely educating the American Indian children. Their conclusions are relevant to this story in that both Pipestone and Flandreau ultimately served the American Indian people and simultaneously acted as a focal point for federal activity in the Minnesota and South Dakota region.

In Devon A. Mihesuah's Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909[18] and Donal F. Lindsey's Indians at Hampton Institute: 1877-1923,[19] each author pursues the educational experience for Native Americans in the East or in Oklahoma. Each work explores racial dynamics among American Indian and non-Native Peoples in the face of white prejudices and ideologies. Mihesuah specifically examined gender, race, and national identity at a school operated by the Cherokee Nation. In contrast, Lindsey examines an established institution for African Americans which later admitted American Indian students. What sets these two works apart from others is the fact that they explore the creation of institutions that were controlled and operated by Native or African American freedmen on an immediate level, yet ultimately had to answer to the larger white community and federal government for policy, framework, and educational standards.

In the final works by Brenda Childs, "Runaway Boys, Resistant Girls: Rebellion at Flandreau and Haskell, 1900-1940"[20] and K. Tsianina Lomawaima's "American Indian Education: By Indians versus for Indians,"[21] each author discusses Indian education from the perspective of the American Indians. Child examines the common feature of rebellion and running away among the student body at government boarding schools between 1900-1940. Further, she examines the relationships between family members,

students, and staff and how this was expressed through letters. Through it all, Childs credits the resilience and resourcefulness of the students able to survive in such challenging circumstances. In a similar vein, Lomawaima explores the perspective of Native Peoples toward Indian education from the colonial era through the present. In each century, she addresses the various methods used from within and without the American Indian communities. In each situation, she depicts Native Americans as individuals making intelligent and circumspect decisions for both their families and their tribes. Essentially, she does not view Native Peoples as "pawns" in the unfolding American drama. Instead, she cites examples of rebellion in boarding school settings, the founding of tribally run community colleges, the philosophical impetus behind education, and the concept of tribal sovereignty to bolster her argument in the face of the policymakers.

This study is a further investigation into Indian education and its role in assimilation. Focussing upon two American Indian schools, one in South Dakota and the other in nearby Minnesota, this study suggests conclusions about the interrelationship between Indian education and assimilation. I have discovered that Native Americans at Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota and tribes at the Pipestone Indian School in Minnesota generally accepted the idea that they should attend the schools. This overt acceptance indicated that these people were to some extent acculturated into the mainstream culture. However, while tribal members attending the schools were partially assimilated by the educational system, they did not acquiesce to all aspects of what they experienced. In fact, they forced the system to adapt partially to tribal customs, beliefs, and behavior. At the same time, there were progressive measures set in motion on the part of the staff, who

were by the 1930s well-educated Indian Field Service veterans who equally responded to much-needed changes with a "grass roots" movement of their own. These individuals bridged the gap between the turn of the century, Progressive Era Eastern reformers and the disciples of John Collier's Indian New Deal.

The reasons that Santee Sioux cooperated and placed their children in the boarding school system varied. Generally they struggled, like all American Indian people, with the social mores of the dominant white society while at the same time trying to preserve much of their Native culture. Some American Indians sent their children to Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools so they could mirror white society; others did so out of financial necessity or because of pressure from missionaries and federal officials. Regardless of the rationale behind sending children to live in these two schools, the American Indian way of life was altered but not destroyed.

Another contributing factor to the tribe's acceptance of the dominant society was geography. The Dakota people were traditionally the eastern most branch of the Sioux, and therefore, over time, had been exposed to the non-Indian world in a way that other tribes had been who were east of the Mississippi River. Because of this long-term exposure to the white world, the Santee Sioux were less resistant to change.

What makes this study unique is that it reflects the active role that these two schools played in ultimately preserving the traditional heritage of the Santee Sioux, a people without a reservation or recognized collective tribal identity. Unlike the majority of the previous works mentioned, these two schools remained open beyond the 1930s and therefore experienced the full policy shift under John Collier's Indian New Deal that both accommodated American Indian communities and simultaneously provided a platform

for more progressive changes in decades to come. The Flandreau and Pipestone Indian schools provided an arena in which the people could pull together under a common cultural heritage, more often referred to as pan-Indianism. In this respect, the destruction of their traditional cultural base did not occur. In fact, the educational system not only acted as an area office and health center for both federal and tribal officials, but also significantly altered itself over time to accommodate the American Indians in attendance and the larger community. Beginning even before the New Deal legislation, this change accelerated under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, whose progressive reforms became more visible in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s.

In this study I explore boarding school education from the 1890s to the 1970s, in an attempt to illustrate the relationship of the Sioux people to the non-reservation boarding school system over time. Chapter 1 provides an overview of Indian education and its role in assimilation. It also introduces other works that are related to the topic. Chapter 2 summarizes the background of government Indian policy and missionaries in the United States, but more specifically in the Dakotas. This section also traces the development of government administration of Indian policy, establishing that assimilation was the primary goal of Indian policy, and asserts that the establishment of schools was part of the policy of assimilation. Chapter 3 provides a history of the Dakota people in reference to the Minnesota Sioux Wars and an overview of the early development of the schools. Chapter 4 is an overview of curriculum, facilities, and staff at Flandreau Indian School from 1893-1929. From there it explores the impact of the Indian New Deal in the 1930s-1970s. The purpose of this chapter is to show that assimilation was the goal of the school, that it succeeded in some ways up to 1930 but not in others. This chapter also

shows how the school changed in response to changing government policies after 1929. Chapter 5 similarly provides an overview and analysis of Pipestone Indian School during the same corresponding years that mirror the information and arguments on Flandreau. The only major difference between the history of the two schools was that Pipestone Indian School opened in 1894 and closed in the early 1950s. Chapter 6 examines the role of recruitment, curriculum, problems, removals, graduation, and job placement in the lives of the students and staff. It also provides the direct perception of parents and students in terms of the expectations and experiences. Additionally it delves into the role of the school as service and health center. Chapter 7 similarly examines discipline problems, living conditions, removals, and direct perceptions of students and parents about the success or failure of the school to fulfill their needs and desires. The chapter also discusses the role of the school as health and service center and the impact of its closing. The Conclusion considers Flandreau and Pipestone Indian schools' legacies within the Sioux community.

NOTES

[1] Kent Nerburn, Neither Wolf Nor Dog (Novato, CA: New World Library, 1994), 143.

[2] James H. Merrell, "The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience," William and Mary Quarterly 41 (1984): 537-565, 537-538.

[3] Murray L. Wax, Formal Education in American Indian Community (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 1964), 1.

[4] Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father (Lincoln, NE, University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 232-233.

[5] Colin G. Calloway, ed., First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 1999), 358-359.

[6] Prucha, 236.

[7] Ibid, 236-237.

[8] Ibid, 238.

[9] Ibid, 239.

[10] National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Box 38, RG-75, Pipestone Indian School.

[11] Margaret Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1977).

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[13] Robert A. Trennert, Jr., The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

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[15] Sally Hyer, One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School (Santa Fe, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[16] Clyde Ellis, To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

[17] Scott Riney, The Rapid City Indian School, 1989-1933 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

[18] Devon A. Mihesuah, Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909 (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

[19] Donal F. Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

[20] Childs, B.J., "Runaway Boys, Resistant Girls: Rebellion at Flandreau and Haskell, 1900-1940", Journal of American Indian Education 35 (3): 49-57, 1996.

[21] Tsianina K. Lomawaima, "American Indian Education: by Indians versus for Indians", in A Companion to American Indian History (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 422-440.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND: GOVERNMENT INDIAN POLICY AND MISSIONARIES

From the end of the colonial era into the nineteenth century, race relations between the two populations shifted with federal policy as jurisdiction over tribes fluctuated with the formation of a new nation, passage of treaties and Congressional Acts. After the War of Independence in 1783, Indian nations were quickly assigned to geographic locations and eventually superintendencies with representative agents in the area west of the Appalachian Mountains. In the early nineteenth-century, Congress created the Bureau of Indian Affairs to regulate Indian-White relations directly through the War Department. This Bureau became the direct arm of Congress, as they gradually opened the West to settlement. Other programs revolved around managing the Dakota Sioux Nation before and after the Minnesota Sioux Wars of 1862. Eventually education of the disbanded Dakota people became a priority and Congress mandated that they somehow be assimilated into the dominant society. With the assistance of missionaries and federal officials, both Minnesota and South Dakota agreed to construct educational facilities that would ultimately acculturate the area Indian tribes. In the wake of this policy, Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools opened their doors in 1893 and stayed in operation well into the twentieth century.

From the moment of contact in 1492 between Native American and European powers, Europeans wanted to transform rather than comprehend the Native Peoples whom they encountered. Early on, Europeans established an economic foothold in the hemisphere through trade and farming. Using religion as the moral imperative, clergy as well as military and political officials acted as the direct arm of the various European governments in immersing the Native populations into the institutional arrangements of their fledgling colonies. Of the European powers that colonized this hemisphere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the British had the deepest impact upon the United States in terms of lasting policy and views toward American Indians. The British perpetually saw the various tribes as obstacles to further land acquisition and expansion. This perspective remained in place for over a century until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, when they began to accommodate (to a certain extent), rather than dominate the American Indian geographic position. After the American Revolution in 1783, the United States Government opted to adopt the earlier plan for Indian-White relations between the two societies. Under either jurisdiction, it was clear from the outset that the only place for Native Americans in British or American society was as assimilated citizens or as a people living on the fringe in communities very separate from those of the invader.

Early in the seventeenth century eager British entrepreneurs established the first permanent English settlement in Jamestown, Virginia. Upon arrival in the New World, the adventurers encountered the Native Americans who long before had established themselves in the region. Initially the Europeans were dependent for survival upon the American Indians, but once they had established successfully their new society, they

quickly decided that the Native peoples must be moved out of the path of expansion. As more colonists arrived in the New World, they pushed deeper into the interior of the country, displacing more Indians, who were forced to move out of the areas they had long inhabited. The British government then instituted a policy toward these people that later influenced the development of the Indian policy of the United States. By 1887, this policy had included removal, extermination, and finally, attempted assimilation of Native Americans into the mainstream of U.S. society.[1]

The British government and the American colonies regulated relations between their subjects and the American Indians, but did not attempt to control internal relations within tribes. The British dealt with all tribes as sovereign foreign governments. American Indians also fought in the colonial wars between France, Spain, and England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1763, at the end of the French and Indian War, British policy toward American Indians changed somewhat. At this time England appointed for the first time two superintendents of Indian Affairs for the colonies, one was assigned to the northern, and the other to the southern colonies. The superintendents had little power but were to monitor events between colonists and Native Peoples, help negotiate treaties between the two, and encourage peaceful co-existence.

White-Indian relations remained a difficult problem for the English settlers. Once the American colonials rebelled against England, the Continental Congress, in its process of trying to direct the War with England, took the first step to resolve problems with Indians. In 1775 it created three geographical departments with several Indian commissioners for each. After Independence the newly formed U.S. government sought to establish an Indian policy. In 1786 the Articles of Confederation government passed

an ordinance that continued the British practice of appointing two Indian commissioners. The law also divided the territories at the Ohio River.[2]

Upon the establishment of the U.S. Constitutional government, a new American Indian policy emerged. In 1789 Congress appropriated funds for the governor of the Northwest Territory to discharge the duties of the superintendent of the northern department. With this move it thus became standard practice for the governor of the territory to serve as ex-officio superintendent of Indian Affairs in the area under his jurisdiction.

The superintendencies were subdivided further into specific tribes or geographical regions that developed gradually over time as westward expansion continued. In 1792 President George Washington, not waiting for Congressional approval, appointed four Indian agents and charged them with special diplomatic missions to deal with the tribes. Next year, Congress authorized Washington to appoint temporary agents to reside with the Native Americans. Later the government permanently assigned agents to particular tribes or areas. By 1818 there were fifteen agents and ten assistants. That year Congress officially gave the President the power to appoint agents, with the advice and consent of the Senate. This practice lasted until the end of the nineteenth century.[3]

Congress took additional steps to control American Indians when, on March 11, 1824, it established the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as a division of the War Department. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun was largely responsible for this action. The Bureau of Indian Affairs operated informally within the Department until 1832, when the Secretary of War placed the BIA officially in charge of all relations with the Indians.

On June 30, 1834, a Congressional Act provided for a major reorganization of superintendencies and agencies. The government divided the area west of the Mississippi River and east of the Rocky Mountains into a St. Louis Superintendency and a general Western Superintendency. The organization was further changed when, in 1836, the government created the Wisconsin Superintendency that included present-day Minnesota, Iowa, and parts of the Dakotas.[4] Between 1836 and 1841, there were more changes in the agencies and sub-agencies as a result of reorganizations, the establishment of Iowa Territory, and the additional removal west of various tribes. The government abolished the Wisconsin Superintendency in 1848.[5]

In 1849 the government reorganized the Minnesota superintendency when Congress created the territory of Minnesota. This superintendency included eastern sections of what later became North and South Dakota. The Territorial Governor in St. Paul served as the area superintendent and acted as liaison to the Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebego, Assiniboin, and Mandan.[6] The Minnesota Superintendency was finally abolished in 1856, and the BIA transferred its three agencies to the Northern Superintendency.[7]

The Northern Superintendency, established in 1851 as part of the reorganization of the field service, was in charge of the Indians living in Wisconsin and Michigan. By 1856, the Northern Superintendency expanded into other jurisdictions, including the Sioux, Winnebego, and the Chippewa in the Dakotas and Minnesota. Seven years later, many of the Winnebego and Sioux were relocated to Dakota Territory but remained under the Northern Superintendency. In 1865, the government again reorganized the Northern Superintendency, and it operated until 1876. The Otoe, Omaha, Great Newaha, Winnebago, and Santee Sioux agents thereafter reported directly to the Bureau of Indian

Affairs in Washington. In 1866 the BIA relocated the St. Peters Agency to Nebraska, where it became known as the Santee Sioux Agency.[8]

While this Civil War-era realignment was taking place, rising tensions between recent immigrants and the tribes led to the Minnesota Sioux Wars of 1862. On August 1, 1862, the Sioux tribes of Minnesota rebelled furiously against white encroachment. The rebellion severely tested the Indian policy of the federal government.

In 1851 the United States had made treaties with the Sioux, in which the bands gave up most of their land in Minnesota in return for small reservations along the Minnesota River and annuities in cash and goods. The Sioux Nation was traditionally divided into three major branches of Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. From there, there were further sub-divided into the Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Teton, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, Brule, Oglala, Two Kettle, Minneconjou, Sans Arc, Hunkpapa, and Blackfoot.[9] The treaties were "civilizing" treaties, for the reservations were intended to be the site of increased agricultural development by the Indians.[10] As the Chippewa (Ojibwas) in the North and the Santee Sioux (Mdewakanton, Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Wahpekute bands) in the South moved to the reservations in 1853 and 1854, the BIA constructed buildings at both the Upper and Lower Sioux Agency, requiring the agent to divide his time between them. Then in 1858, new treaties further restricted reservations and provided allotments of eighty acres to heads of families and single individuals over twenty-one. The Secretary of the Interior obtained discretionary power over expenditure of the annuities, which were intended to promote Indian interests, welfare, and advance in civilization.[11]

As the division between the acculturated or "farmer" Indians and the traditional or

"blanket" Indians deepened, persecution of the agriculturalists by the traditional party made it difficult for the former to adhere to the programs of the agents and the missionaries. Complicating matters, in 1862 there was a long delay in delivering annuity payments, compounded with an overall lack of effective dialogue between the Sioux, the settlers, and the federal government. The delay in annuity payments might have remained a minor irritation, but Native Americans depended heavily on the subsidies. Poor crop yield that year reduced the tribes to near starvation. The agent and the missionaries attempted to provide subsistence for the tribes, but the American Indians were too desperate.[12]

The Minnesota Sioux Wars that came as a consequence of these problems resulted in the deaths of five white settlers, the expulsion of the Sioux from Minnesota, and the death of thirty-eight Sioux hanged in Mankato on December 26, 1862. The Sioux Wars also divided further the Upper and Lower Sioux. The Upper Agency Sioux generally opposed conflict against white settlers while the Lower Agency Sioux tribes favored massacring captives. The Lower Sioux also refused to divide the plunder.[13] Some Sioux fled Minnesota in 1862 and roamed the Dakota prairies, finding some support among the Yankton and Yanktonai Indians.[14] In 1863 General John Pope mounted a punitive expedition on the Minnesota/Dakota frontier. General William Sibley participated, moving west from Minnesota; General Alfred Sully proceeded along the Missouri River into Dakota Territory. The troops scattered the Indians they encountered but settled nothing. In 1864 Sully led another expedition into Dakota with the help of Minnesota forces. In the Battle of Killdeer Mountain on July 28, 1864, the army defeated the Sioux.

The government established military posts along the Missouri, and the American Indian raids gradually ceased.[15]

Prior to the Minnesota Sioux Wars, the Dakota Superintendency had been established in 1861 with the organization of Dakota Territory. Before 1861 the Native Americans in this region had been assigned to a central superintendency. In 1863 Congress attached the part of Dakota west of the present states of North and South Dakota to Idaho Territory. Thereafter, Dakota Territory included only the present States of North and South Dakota. The agencies for the Dakotas were actually located in Nebraska and Wyoming, although the Territorial Governor of South Dakota served as superintendent until 1878. The agents reported directly to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[16] In placing the various tribes on reservations or disbanding them altogether, agents readied the tribes for education and ultimate assimilation, once they had sub-divided them into separate jurisdictions.

With the expansion of the United States to the Pacific Ocean, the BIA had to deal with more tribes. The government constantly confined American Indians to smaller reservations and subsequently, geographic areas of government administration of Indian tribes declined. During the 1870s the government finally abolished superintendencies, and thereafter all agents reported directly to the BIA in Washington. After 1893, agents who had received their appointments as a consequence of political connections gradually were replaced by superintendents appointed under civil service regulations. Field officials also worked for the BIA, and these included treaty commissioners, inspectors, and special agents. The agents were responsible for purchasing and distributing goods or money, and assisted in removal of Indians.

In 1883 the government created an office for the superintendents of Indian Schools. By 1926, the appointments had been expanded to include a general superintendent with responsibilities for field activities relating to agencies and schools. These responsibilities included education, agriculture, and industry. After World War II, the government established a system of area affairs whereby directors were responsible for supervising all American Indian activities within an area, including agencies and other administrative units.[17]

For the duration of Indian-White relations, missionaries, government officials, and secular reformers operated as the "middle ground" between the two populations, as each adjusted to the other's culture. In the wake of removal and westward expansion, education was commonly believed to be the only avenue for assimilating Native Peoples.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, missionaries who worked among the various tribes had attempted to educate American Indian youth having to bring cultural change through personal contacts at day schools or mission stations. Missionaries of several churches in the United States and Western Europe worked among the tribes, preached the gospel, and established churches. By 1834, missionaries of the Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic churches worked among the various tribes. Religious workers supported assimilation as they assisted government agents in the effort to eliminate cultural, if not political and economic, tribalism.[18] After 1850, the government also sent secular teachers to the various Sioux communities and increased funds to tribal agencies to encourage assimilation. Advocates of assimilation believed that educating American Indians was a critical step in the assimilation process. After the Civil War, missionaries among the Sioux, seeking more influence, established boarding

schools to facilitate the assimilation process. These individuals established boarding schools for the Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Standing Rock, Crow Creek, Stephan, and Fort Totten (St. Michael's) reservations.

While the main focus of Christian missionary work was the conversion of Indians to Christianity, many missionaries as well as federal officials also hoped to erode Indian traditions, destroy cohesiveness in tribal communities, and thereby make assimilation easier. Officials believed that converted American Indians were more likely to identify with white culture.[19] Evidence indicates, however, that internal tribal policies were more influential than missionaries in bringing converts to Christianity.[20] Many American Indians believed that the only way to ensure their survival as people and perhaps as tribes was to educate themselves and to force themselves to accept Christianity.

The goals of the assimilation process specifically included transformation of Indians into homebuilders, a process that required vocational as well as academic training.[21] The combination of vocational and classroom education, according to the supporters of the program, would help break-down tribal culture and thus make assimilation easier. Classroom teachers emphasized English, mathematics, science, and history, and devised a schedule that included, in addition to classroom studies, a half day of practical work experience every day. Females had to cook, clean beds, wash dishes, sew, and do laundry.[22] Males were trained in farming, gardening, and stock raising.[23] According to Moses Big Crow, who attended St. Francis Mission School on the Rosebud Reservation in the 1920s, school authorities rotated assignments to the dairy, bakery, carpentry shop, shoe repair shop, and in farming and stock raising.[24]

By the 1960s and 1970s, the Second Vatican Council of Bishops, the American Indian Movement, and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 finally reversed the goals of earlier federal legislation. The latter altered the curriculum of the mission and federal boarding and day schools. Now the Catholic Church would no longer support assimilation; rather, it promoted accommodation and cultural understanding between Indians and whites.

By the 1970s, the result of assimilation policy was a hybrid American Indian culture that included Indian and non-Indian elements. Thereafter Native Americans, not comfortable in either world, struggled to accommodate both Native American and white traditions. From the outset of the assimilation era, a student who left the boarding school and returned to the reservation more than likely would rediscover tribal customs. When students did not return to the reservation and attempted to integrate into the white world they found survival difficult. According to Roger Bordeax, a Sioux tribal member, disillusionment and a general lack of work opportunities characterized life on the reservation.[25] This fact prompted tribal members to seek employment away from the reservation. The overall process of using boarding schools as tools of assimilation can be seen in the creation, operation, successes, and failures of the Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools located fifteen miles apart on the border between South Dakota and Minnesota.

NOTES

[1] Edward E. Hill, ed., Guide to the Records of the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians (Washington, DC: Library of Congresss, 1981), 5.

[2] Ibid, 15.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, 25.

[5] Ibid, 146.

[6] Ibid, 137.

[7] Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 114.

[8] Hill, 140.

[9] Herbert T. Hoover, Indians of North America: The Yankton Sioux (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988), 14.

[10] Prucha, 143.

[11] Ibid, 144.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Daniel Buck, Indian Outbreaks (Minneapolis, MN: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1965), 182.

[14] Prucha, 146.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Hill, 131-133.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Prucha, 49.

[19] Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 102.

[20] Ibid, 107.

[21] Robert F. Karolevitz, With Faith, Hope, and Tenacity (Sioux Falls, SD: Dakota Homestead Publishers, 1989), 462.

[22] Bear Eagle, Fannie, Interview 705, Interviewer Steve Plummer, University of South Dakota, South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[23] National Archives, Kansas City, MO, Box 462, RG-75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Rosebud Agency, Rosebud, SD Chronicle File 1911-1917.

[24] Big Crow, Moses, Interview 745, Interviewer Herbert T. Hoover, University of South Dakota, South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[25] Bordeax, Roger, Interview 818, Interviewer Herbert T. Hoover, University of South Dakota, South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

CHAPTER 3

THE PEOPLE AND THE SCHOOLS: AN OVERVIEW

Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools have always acted as arms of the federal government while simultaneously facilitating the needs of the Dakota Sioux people from their inception to closure. After the Minnesota Sioux Wars of 1862, the Dakota people were scattered over several states and these two facilities provided a central tribal structure and identity. Of the people who fell under this jurisdiction, some had individual plots of land while others were enrolled with the Santees in northern Nebraska or with the Yanktons of South Dakota. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was equal interest on the part of both Native and non-Indian settlers to have an Indian boarding school built. With the assistance of South Dakota U.S. Senator, Richard F. Pettigrew, this was done with the construction of Flandreau Indian School in Moody County, SD in 1893. Shortly thereafter, Pipestone Indian School was erected in Minnesota in 1893 for the same purpose. Through several decades of building projects, curriculum changes, and alterations in leadership, both schools managed to survive well into the twentieth century, with Pipestone closing in the 1950s and Flandreau open through the present.

After the Minnesota Sioux Wars of 1862, the Dakota people were forced to de-tribalize and seek refuge in other states. At first the displaced nation lacked cultural cohesion. However in time, with the founding of Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools in the 1890s, these centers acted as a tribal meeting place and headquarters.

Serving as an educational facility, health center, and federal bureau, the schools ultimately facilitated the needs of the Dakota people in a cultural sense, of self-preservation.

In 1873, the BIA established a provisional Flandreau Agency for the Santee Sioux who lived at Flandreau, Dakota Territory. From 1879 until 1903, Flandreau Santees were under the jurisdiction of either the Lake Traverse or the Santee Agency. In 1893, the Flandreau Indian School began operation as a non-reservation boarding institution. Ten years later, school staff assumed responsibilities for the welfare of all Flandreau Santees, even though they lived as detribalized citizens of the United States without formal enrollments in any American Indian Society.[1]

The Pipestone Indian School also began operation as a non-reservation boarding school in 1893. Its managers also supervised the Birch Cooley (Coulee) Day School from 1899 until it closed in 1920. Almost from the outset Pipestone Indian School staff members managed the land assignments and some lease needs for the "peaceable Mdewakanton" Dakotas, who lived as six segregated enclaves on two federal reservations across southern Minnesota. At the acceptance of the tribe, federal officials operated a government boarding school (more for extraneous Santees than for Sioux), but the facility closed in 1953.[2]

The American Indians who ultimately attended Flandreau and Pipestone originally lived in Minnesota. In 1820, the U.S. government established a Dakota Agency for the Santee at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. It served as a regional jurisdictional center until 1854, when its functions were assumed by the new Lower Agency (near Morton) and the Upper Agency (near Granite Falls). These agencies disappeared when Congress

terminated federal administration in Minnesota after the Dakota War of 1862, and transferred the Minnesota Sioux to the Dakotas.[3]

In an attempt to de-tribalize the remnants of the Dakota people, federal officials scattered them in pockets throughout South Dakota after the Minnesota Sioux Wars. In this mass effort, the government removed the Santees (Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes) along with militant Sissetons and Wahpetons to South Dakota, and thereafter they would be under a different administrative system. The Upper Missouri Agency served as a federal jurisdiction for most of Sioux Country in the United States from its formal establishment in 1819 to its final dissolution in 1868. During the years 1863-1868, the vast majority of Minnesota Sioux lived under the administration of the Upper Missouri agents, the last of whom was J. R. Hanson.[4] The changes that eventually occurred included the formal creation of numerous, smaller U.S. Agency jurisdictions that were not formal reservations. The removed Santees transferred to a new agency and a new reservation that Congress created in 1866. Some Lower Yanktonais and a small band of Two Kettles occupied the Crow Creek Reservation. The government established an agency at Fort Thompson, where the tribes remained. Lower Brules lived across the Missouri River with a sub-agency staff most of the time until 1893, when they received an agency of their own. Some remained at Crow Creek with formal recognition as Santees.[5] After this change at Fort Thompson, when the Upper Missouri Agency broke up in 1868, federal officials recognized what now are known as Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge reservations. All were in place by 1878. Congress defined jurisdictions as reservations by the terms expressed in the Sioux

Agreement of 1889. During the creation of new agency reservations, the government confined Santees to the Nebraska roll for federal recognition.[6]

A second development that took place simultaneously was a change in the definition of a federally recognized "tribe" or "domestic dependent nation". After the 1860s, a "tribe" no longer was a cultural or political entity of Native American Indian tradition. Rather, it was the aggregate of peoples enrolled at a particular reservation. The purest among traditional tribes to survive in Sioux Country was the Yankton, but even this tribe became a blend of tribes when many Santees moved from Crow Creek to the Greenwood area during 1863-1866, and they became enrolled "Yanktons" for both administrative and cultural purposes.[7]

In Minnesota and South Dakota, Pipestone and Flandreau boarding schools became service centers for "Santee" settlements, none of which gained federal recognition as a "domestic dependent nation" or tribe until the 1930s. The two boarding schools doubled as centers of federal administration, education, and health care for these tribes. This was the extent of a federal relationship with the tribes attending Flandreau and Pipestone until the 1930s. Between 1870 and 1934, various commissioners of Indian Affairs officially recorded that the two groups of Santees lived "as white people", for whom the two boarding schools provided services without formal obligations.[8]

Flandreau Santees came to the Upper Big Sioux River Valley "as homesteaders", using a privilege to do so written into the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Between 1869-1878, approximately 325 Santee American Indians assembled as detribalized Indians. As they arrived, heads of family went first to Yankton, where they formally renounced tribal

connections, and then traveled to Vermillion, where they entered claims on homestead sites like their immigrant Norwegian neighbors.[9]

When economic depression, drought, and grasshopper plagues placed the tribes at risk in 1873, John P. Williamson called for federal assistance. The government responded, making a Special Agent for a temporary agency that operated only among the Santee until 1879. Thereafter, Flandreau Santees transferred first to the Sisseton then to the Santee Agency, through which they received marginal attention that included mainly education at a day school. For the most part, Indians strived to survive by personal initiative, again similar to their immigrant Norwegian neighbors.[10]

By the end of the 1870s, Santee agent Isaiah Lightner felt that the greatest threat to the Santee colony was the temptation for Indians to sell their land. Lightner believed that it would take some effort for the Flandreau colony not to sell off their homesteads. By 1879, there were eighty-six farms, ranging from forty to 320 acres and totaling 13, 527 acres. About a third of the Santees was progressing, another third was at a standstill, and the rest were retrograding. Lightner also pointed out that the Santees were not unlike the white pioneers in their willingness to move on when offered what they considered a good price for their land. In general, Lightner thought that more Flandreau Indians maintained their permanent homesteads than their white counterparts.[11]

By the end of the nineteenth century the Flandreau Sioux were better off economically than the other Santees, the Sissetons, or the Devil's Lake people. Although they had lost much of their land and were to lose more in the next decades, they had shown a tenacity and ingenuity that helped them overcome difficult obstacles and become moderately successful.[12] Known for their industry and enterprise, the Flandreau Sioux

established a reputation for honesty and reliability among their neighbors. Lightner wrote in 1881,"they pay their taxes promptly, their word can be relied upon, and they make good neighbors."[13] The amount and kind of help they received from white neighbors cannot be measured, but it is not likely that it outweighed the advantage taken of them by the other whites. Nor was the government support given them disproportionate to the handicaps under which they labored as Indians in a frontier community. Despite the various problems in 1900, the Flandreau colony was the most successful and most secure of the various fragments into which the Santee Sioux had been dispersed since 1862.[14]

Beginning in 1903, the Flandreau Indian School Superintendent appointed an "overseer" to deal with Flandreau Santees. Thereafter, all could seek health care and attend the boarding school, but they did so as detribalized Indians. Not until 1929 did Flandreau Santees gather to express their desire to tribalize. Half a decade later in 1934, they asked for and received federal recognition as a tribe. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Harold Ickes tortured the rules on their behalf, knowing that they had neither federally recognized status as Indians nor were they living on reservation land. Congress purchased the first reservation for these tribes and funded New Deal programs on their behalf. As a consequence of federal action today, in Minnesota there are four federally recognized American Indian political entities: Lower Sioux Community (recognized 1938), the Prairie Island Community (1938), the Prior Lake (Shakopee, now called Spirit Lake) Community (1969), and the Upper Sioux Group (which has functioned as a "Board of Trustees" without a roll of its own since 1939).[15] Flandreau Santees and the Secretary of the Interior approved a constitution and bylaws and formed an executive board to carry on tribal affairs. Since 1935, the Flandreau Santee Tribe has

been one with a status equivalent to any other, except that it never has had an agency of its own. After the school superintendent ceased to look after its affairs, a special liaison from the Aberdeen Area Office took place. Today, the tribe exists with about 600 members. More than half are in residence with a flourishing casino and zero unemployment. As always before, members remain formally detached from the Flandreau Indian School.[16]

After the Minnesota Sioux Wars, there were fifty families of Minnesota Dakotas that never left the state. Missionaries and politicians arranged secure locations for them because they had remained peaceful and had extended assistance to white people during the war. Documents reveal that during the 1870s, while some Santees left their reservation in Nebraska to become detribalized homesteaders around Flandreau, others drifted back into southern Minnesota in defiance of the Expulsion Act of 1863.[17]

Through a succession of laws passed during the 1880s, Congress purchased a small amount of acreages for "federal reservations". Interior Department personnel allowed "assignments" to Indians some plots under two-year, renewable contracts. To prevent a steady stream out of Nebraska, federal officials declared that eligible regional assignees or their descendents had to prove that original assignees had arrived by the year 1886. Moreover, they had to show that their families never had taken up arms against non-Indians (this requirement changed in the year 1980). To provide a designation separate from Santees in Nebraska or from Flandreau Santees, federal nomenclature added the term "peaceable" or "peaceable Mdewankantons".[18] Unlike Flandreau Santees, most of these people retained enrollments at the Santee, Yankton, or Travers Reservation jurisdictions. Yet in Minnesota, they lived as six enclaves: the Pipestone, Upper Sioux,

Lower Sioux, Prior Lake, Prairie Island, and Wabasha. Because these groups had no tribes of their own and lived on small "government reservations", the Pipestone Superintendent served more as a liaison than as an "agent" to manage their land assignments, provide health care at the school hospital, and accommodate Mdewakanton youngsters at the Pipestone Indian School (which served mainly Ojibwas). Otherwise they, like Flandreau Santees, were treated as non-Indians. They had no individual Indian money accounts or other trappings of tribalism except at their places of enrollment in South Dakota and Nebraska.[19]

In 1884 the Minnesota Mdewakantons were unwelcome vagabonds, with no legal title to the lands they occupied except for those which had been purchased with their own money. By 1900, most of them were established on land bought for them by the government, most of it securely held in government ownership. In the midst of this, their settlements shifted from areas such as the Twin Cities to more rural areas with available land. By 1900, the Minnesota Mdewakantons were concentrated at three points: Birch Coulee, Prairie Island, and Prior Lake.[20]

By the turn of the century, the Minnesota Sioux were far from the self-sufficiency that Episcopal Bishop Henry Whipple of South Dakota had thought they would achieve with the active assistance of the federal government. Perhaps they would have been better off than if they had remained on their reservations in Nebraska and South Dakota. In the midst of this conjecture, the one positive point of departure was the creation of permanent communities, which stood as authentic examples of the survival of the Sioux in their traditional homeland.[21]

When the Dakota people were scattered across several states after the Minnesota Sioux War of 1862, Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools eventually provided a meeting place for those that were displaced yet very much tied to a shared heritage. Serving simultaneously as health centers, educational facilities, and federal bureaus, the schools acted as the common thread that ultimately bound the people together.

When Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools opened their doors in the early 1890s, their main objective was to provide education for a displaced people willing to embrace the dominant society. In reality, both schools served as centers for education, federal intervention, and healthcare. They also provided focal points for common economic ties between both native and non-Indian community elements, who were equally interested in taking part in the creation of the fabric of America's mainstream.

After the Minnesota Uprising of 1862, many Sioux Indians who participated were imprisoned for their involvement. A great many of these tribal members died of inadequate diet, smallpox, and other diseases. Largely because of President Abraham Lincoln's concern, the federal officials released the Sioux as well as the Chippewa and Winnebago. Many drifted back to their old homes; others joined the Santee Agency in Nebraska, where the Santee mission school was established.[22] John P. Williamson and Alfred L. Riggs were instrumental in the establishment and operation of the Santee School. As head of the school, Williamson appointed Riggs in the summer of 1869. Both men were co-founders of the Flandreau Indian School.[23]

In March 1869 twenty-five Santee Sioux and their families moved to the Flandreau area. The Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868 allowed these Indians to exchange tribal applications for the privilege of homesteading on public domain. The government

required each family head to travel to Yankton to renounce formal tribal membership and then to the U.S. Land Office in Vermillion, South Dakota, to enter homestead claims. Other tribal members followed until, by the end of the decade, more than 300 gathered as detribalized Flandreau Santees.[24]

As the banished Dakota people gathered in their new home, they expressed an interest in the establishment of a school. This desire was also corroborated by the non-Indian residents of Flandreau, South Dakota, who were equally anxious to have a government boarding school built near their town. South Dakota U.S. Senator, Richard F. Pettigrew, who originally had platted Moody County, lobbied the Territorial Legislature for its creation and made sure his relatives homesteaded critical areas around the future city of Flandreau.

In his first state election in 1889, Pettigrew campaigned as a candidate for the United States Senate, when he promised during his campaign that he would promote a government boarding school to be located at Flandreau.[25] After his speech, Moody County citizens, including many American Indian voters, elected Pettigrew to the Senate.[26] Pettigrew evidently convinced local citizens that an Indian School would be more advantageous than having the state capitol located in the area. Pettigrew, however, did not immediately follow through with his election promises.

Not long after the elections, Native American residents from the surrounding Sioux reservations made it known through petitions to the government that they wanted to establish a boarding school at Flandreau.[27] On March 24, 1890, George Pettigrew, a cousin of Richard's, hired John Eastman to lobby for them in Washington. In a letter to Eastman in which he informed the lobbyist that citizens of Pipestone, Minnesota, were

also looking for a boarding school, Pettigrew warned Eastman that the location of a school at Pipestone would ruin Flandreau. In response, Eastman collected petitions from nearby reservations and delivered them to R. F. Pettigrew in Washington, D.C. On May 13, 1890, the Senator acknowledged receipt of the petitions for the school at Flandreau and said he would present the information to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. On August 13, Pettigrew advised Eastman that an appropriation bill to finance the school finally had passed both houses of Congress and awaited the president's signature. In 1891, Congress appropriated $72,000 for the purchase of a school site and the erection of three buildings. This appropriation included $2,000 to purchase 160 acres of land for the site of an Indian Industrial School to be located near the village of Flandreau.[28]

U.S. Indian Agent Helms and Hosea Locke, a local teacher, received instructions on October 3, 1890, to select and secure options on land. On October 29, Agent Helms reported the possibilities of a fertile and satisfactory location about one-half mile north of the town of Flandreau on the north quarter mile of section twenty-one at a price of $48 an acre. Not surprisingly, the land belonged to Senator Pettigrew. Another site was available about two miles northwest of the village at $10 an acre, and Helms reported other desirable locations in the vicinity that would cost at least $3,000 or more. On November 21, he recommended the purchase of the land from Pettigrew.[29]

On the recommendation of the U.S. Indian Office, an inspector appeared to examine the land options. Inspector Cisney reported one piece of land situated at the southeast quarter of section 28, but found it to be too flat for adequate sewage disposal. Ultimately, he recommended the purchase of the Pettigrew tract for $2,000 as the best buy. The sale was completed on March 30, 1891.[30]

For temporary school quarters, employees at Flandreau moved an old school building from near the river to the highest land on the boarding school property. Soon thereafter workers began construction of new buildings. Although classes were being held in temporary structures, ninety-eight pupils had already enrolled in classes. By March 7, 1893, three buildings were completed. By the time of the construction of these buildings, twelve staff members had been hired. Following Rigg's death in 1893, for a short time the school was called Riggs Institute.[31]

The main objective in constructing such institutions was to build a model for assimilation. The purpose of the school was to provide vocational training and language skills to American Indians to assist them in assimilation. Congress originally appropriated funds to operate the school only through 1892, but later found the project amenable enough to both the students and larger community to sustain it as a long-term institution. In his report of 1896, Superintendent Leslie D. Davis, appointed in 1894 at Flandreau, explained the funding at the school. By July 1892, Congress had provided more than $27,000 for construction of permanent buildings. On March 3, 1893, Congress appropriated $167 per pupil for each of the 100 students expected at the school. Congress also appropriated money to enlarge or improve the physical plant and curriculum at Flandreau.[32] The government later purchased land to serve as an agricultural laboratory for the students.

The first permanent building constructed on the campus was Winona Hall, a two-story structure constructed of brick. The building served as both a girls' dormitory on the upper floors and as a dining hall on the lower level, with a seating capacity for 150. It also contained an employee's reception room, a girls' reading and reception room, a

dispensary, classrooms, the superintendent's office, and a lavatory. Women students lived on the second floor.[33] By 1895, as a consequence of overcrowding, the basement ultimately served as kitchen, dining room, and storerooms. Because the enrollment at the school increased quickly, it became necessary to erect a brick and stone addition to the female dormitory. With this addition, the facility could accommodate 300 students.[34]

The second building constructed at the school was the building where classes were held. This two-story brick structure opened in 1892 and accommodated 150 students. It contained four classrooms and a storeroom for books. In 1900, the classroom accommodations were expanded, as additions were added and the school replaced the kerosene lighting system with electricity.[35]

Over the next few years, other buildings were added. The male dormitory, Mayota Hall, was constructed in 1892. It was a two-story brick building that contained six bedrooms on each floor, with a reading room and a dressing room on the first floor. The building housed sixty young men and two employees.[36] In 1893, the government built both a barn and the fourth major building on the campus. This barn was a brick structure containing the boiler house, fuel room, carpentry shop, laundry, and bake oven capable of baking 300 loaves of bread at a time. The next year, the school connected to the city water supply and thus enjoyed a system that provided better water for drinking, laundry, and a much-needed modern sewer system with indoor bathrooms for both the male and female dormitories.[37]

In 1895, the school received a grant from the government of $52,000 to enlarge the overall facility. With these funds the school officials built a hospital in the southwest corner of the campus, an eight-room two-story frame cottage for the superintendent, and

a two-story brick dining hall. The second floor of the dining hall, boasting four three-room apartments and a storage area, served as the living quarters for the staff. The dining hall, "Tiyo Tipi" (meaning center tent or the central part of the village where the feasts were held), was a two-storied round structure with a gabled roof and a stone foundation.[38] The first floor contained a dining room that served 400 students. It contained a kitchen, bakery, and an employee office.[39] Other dormitories were added later in 1897, and in 1898 additional classrooms were added to accomodate more students.[40]

Reports by government inspectors document the early development of the Flandreau School during its earliest years. Inspector James P. McLaughlin, who served under the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, evaluated the school in a report in 1897. He described the brick buildings as relatively sound with minor rejoining work needed on cement floors of the basement. He also briefly communicated about the two new buildings under construction and an addition to another. One of the new buildings was comprised of a dining room, kitchen, and bakery on the first floor, and dining room, employees quarters, bath, and closets on the second floor. The other new building house of a large boys' quarters with a reading room and two large spare rooms on the first floor.[41]

The school occupied 160 acres of land, with forty-six acres set aside for cultivation. The rest of the property was divided into farm and school buildings or facilities. McLaughlin reported that the school cattle herd included twelve milk cows, one bull, thirteen young cattle, five horses, and five hogs. The forty-six acres in cultivation included 200 bushels of corn, 600 bushels of potatoes, 100 bushels of turnips, 100 bushels of other vegetables, and ten tons of hay. McLaughlin believed that

Superintendent Leslie D. Davis of Flandreau Indian School was an excellent choice for his position.[42]

In 1899 another federal agent, Indian Inspector Cyrus Bede, visited Flandreau Indian School. He reported that the school had 225 students in attendance and offered that they were all responsible for cooking, cleaning, and tailoring. He described the facility as being in "good" condition and mentioned $3,000 that had been recently appropriated for new construction and repairs.[43] Bede also believed that the school as a whole was well managed, and in fact was one of the best government plants that he had seen. He suggested that the school plant would benefit from additional appropriations set aside for expansion of the buildings and grounds.[44]

In 1900, James P. McLaughlin returned to examine the campus. He described the school as having twelve buildings (seven brick and five frame), with three dormitories that were formerly classroom buildings. He reported also that the school cultivated thirteen acres of land, with twenty-five acres of potatoes and five acres of garden, corn, and small grain. The farm also maintained a livestock herd of horses, cows, and stock cattle.[45]

After 1900, the physical plant of the school was further developed. In 1903, the school added a six-room vocational shop. Equipped with plumbing and lighting facilities, and by 1909 the facility also housed the printing office, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, manual training room, a harness and shoe shop, a tailor shop, and painting department.[46] All of this vocational equipment supposedly would give Indians the skills necessary to assimilate.

By 1913, the school was comprised of 480 acres of land with fifteen brick and eight frame buildings, all with steam heat and electricity. The land had been purchased through the years, with the total value of the school listed at $250,000.[47] Between 1923 and 1924, the masonry students constructed a Library, Duplex, and Office building. Under the direction of the masonry instructor George Rae, the students also built a one-story wood frame building. Students actually gained skills constructing several buildings at the school.[48] In contrast to the many construction projects during the first few decades, there were few projects after the 1930s. Students constructed a new shop building in 1932. This exercise and the resulting construction also was used for vocational classes. Students learned masonry skills during the pouring and working of concrete. The School purchased new equipment and machinery, including several latches, a large press, a power twin hammer, and a buffer. All were for training students in skilled work.[49] In 1932, the students also constructed a Home Economics building. This two-story structure was a carpentry class project from design to completion. On the first and second floors the girls' vocational commercial foods and sewing classes were held. In the basement was a nursery for thirty children.[50]

During the 1970s, the students constructed a cultural center that would ultimately bring the types of activities to the Indians that would help them accommodate to mainstream society. During this decade, Flandreau also added a greenhouse and three mobile home classrooms in 1974-1975. These facilities either celebrated American Indian cultures or provided more classrooms for biology classes and/or facilitated Title I programming under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.[51] The new building

projects of the 1960s and 1970s reflected a resurgence in cultural pride, as well as a renewed interest in courting the federal government for funding.

The Pipestone Indian School opened in 1893 as a sister school to Flandreau, fifteen miles to the east of Flandreau, but located within Minnesota. Almost from the outset, the school acted in equal capacities as a service center for education, health, and federal administration for enclaves of dispossessed Santee Sioux. Pipestone also supervised the Birch Cooley (Coulee) Day School from 1899 until it closed in 1920. Unlike Flandreau, which primarily facilitated the needs of the Flandreau Sioux, Pipestone provided education for Chippewa, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Winnebago, as well as Santee Sioux children. The school also offered a curriculum that mirrored Flandreau's in its effort to assimilate fully the American Indian people.[52]

Located two miles North of Pipestone, Minnesota, the school was constructed on 640 acres of excellent land, with 150 acres set aside for cultivation . The rest was left as pastures/meadows for the school livestock and wild prairie grasses that provided hay for the school. The tract of land was originally set aside for the Yankton Sioux Indians by the eighth Article of the treaty of April 19, 1858, in which tribal members were given free and unrestricted use of the Red Pipestone Quarry for religious reasons.[53] The original structure of the school included a two-story stone building that included laundry and boiler house, a store house, shop buildings, a house stable, a cow stable, a chicken house, and two water closets. The federal government originally constructed this first structure for $10,000, and in its entirety it was larger than Flandreau Indian School.[54]

The Secretary of the Interior issued the first official report of Pipestone Indian School in the fall of 1894. Inspector McCormick commented on the school's large

enrollment of pupils for the first year of operation. He listed several students under the age of five, who needed extra attention from the matrons. The overall capacity for the school within the first decade of operation was at seventy-five, which was less than that of Flandreau Indian School at 150 students. The ultimate goal of Pipestone was to facilitate upwards of 150 youngsters, but until then Flandreau was responsible for accommodating the overflow.[55]

In terms of the facility buildings, McCormick suggested that there be renovations made in plastering, locks and doors repaired, insulation provided, and windows washed. He also noted that the children maintained the buildings and grounds. McCormick's only suggestions were that the laundry room and boiler room be separated because of fear of fire, and that they employ a regular physician at $100 "per annum".[56]

Inspector A. J. Duncan issued another survey of the school in the spring of 1900. Depicting Pipestone as a non-reservation boarding school, he described the facilities as "superior buildings of stone" constructed of red pipestone from the nearby quarry. In his overview, he mentioned the general dormitory, kitchen, dining room, and employees' quarters, which were all heated by steam and lighted by gas. Duncan's only complaints were cosmetic, suggesting that the boiler be replaced, that the school construct a new dormitory to relieve overcrowding, purchase a new laundry machine (concern for crushed hands and arms), and re-plaster the buildings.[57]

Duncan's other observations were placed under separate sub-headings and took a more "holistic" approach to the physical plant/staff than did the previous surveys. He included information on the water supply and fire protection program. The water supply came from 200 feet beyond the main building, in a tank of seventy-five feet that carried

up to 500 barrels. The pump elevation was six feet and supplied bathing water to all buildings. The school's fire protection program was more than adequate, in Duncan's view. The school had a fire hose connected to the water supply in every hall, and the children were frequently organized into fire brigades with regular fire drills. The superintendent of the schools personally supervised all of this. Finally, Duncan reported that the school grounds boasted several shade trees and fruit trees, with a stock of four horses, twenty cows, sixty sheep, twenty-three sheep. Duncan also reported that there were 100 children in attendance.[58]

By 1915, Pipestone rested on 685 acres worth $41,000 with twenty-six buildings worth $80,000. There were seven separate heating buildings worth $3,000, that supplied nine buildings a year with heat. The electric system operated yearly at $2,250 and the water system and sewer system were $4,500 and $800 a year, respectively. The total cost of the school plant was $150,000. Pipestone also featured a health facility that was worth $5,925 a year.[59] Some of the improvements that were suggested in this respect included the remodeling of the boys' dorms to resemble those at Flandreau Indian School, a new sanitary system for the boys, and remodeling of the basement in the boys' dorms. Other general repairs or construction projects included extending the electric power system, indoor gymnasium, a domestic science building with equipment, central heating plant and power house, more sleeping porches, new shop, and building a new basement for the girls' dorm.[60]

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs ended his report by praising the dairy barn and yard, with its top-quality herd and the excellent supply of playground equipment. More specifically, a baseball diamond, two basketball courts, one tennis court, two giant

strides, twelve swings, two ladders, twelve flying rings, two horizontal bars, one climbing pole, three slides, and one football field. He also praised the required military drill with eighteen to twenty minutes of daily marching.[61]

Before closing, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs underscored the need for an indoor gymnasium and domestic science building, a central heating plant, powerhouse, and sleeping porches for tuberculosis patients. He also recommended that an alarm system be installed in the girls' dorm. Other suggestions included partitions in the girls' dorm closets and that Pipestone students should have free and open access to the Birch Cooley Day School playground.[62] A year prior to this, the Commissioner had asked for more funds for a school library and a separate home economics building. As the school rapidly expanded during the 1910s, the staff had trouble exponentially matching federal funds for new buildings and necessary repairs.[63]

In the 1920s, Pipestone Indian School continued to act as a focal point for activity within the Indian Field Service and the local community, while financing structural repairs. For instance, in 1924 Pipestone built a Dutch Colonial-style domestic service cottage at a cost of $3,500, with labor furnished by the Pipestone student body. In terms of sharing excess supplies between area schools such as Pipestone, Flandreau, and other area agencies, this was a common occurrence. More specifically, they shared beds, refrigerators, and toilet paper. In 1924, the Superintendent of Lower Brule Agency offered a requested extra refrigerator to be shipped from Lower Brule to Pipestone Indian School.[64] Similarly in February of 1926 Superintendent J.F. House of Flandreau Indian School respectively asked that Pipestone Indian School be authorized to transfer 200 single beds. These were shipped by freight from Pipestone to Flandreau, with the charges

paid for by "Indian Money", proceeds of labor, and the Flandreau School.[65] This example reflected active communication within the community and Indian Field Service in regarding supplies.

The final decade for Pipestone came in the middle of John Collier's New Deal, as it reached its fruition and then subsequently was replaced by the termination/relocation era of the late 1940s and early 1950s. As a result of the legislative revolution during the 1930s, there was a simultaneous push for curriculum reform and boarding school closures in favor of day schools, which Pipestone adhered to. After sixty years of operation, Pipestone Indian School closed its doors for the last time in 1953 after undergoing a variety of shifts in staffing, programming, and grade changes.

From its inception to its closure, Pipestone, like Flandreau Indian School, acted as an area office, health facility, and academic setting for dispossessed Native peoples. The schools also provided a central tribal identity for a Dakota people that were living as individual citizens on separate plots of land or as enrolled members of other bands of Sioux on the Santee or Yankton reservations in Nebraska and South Dakota. With political backing from South Dakota U.S. Senator, Richard F. Pettigrew, the immediate goal of either facility in the 1890s was to simply educate and assimilate the Native population. Within a relatively short period of time, it was obvious that both institutions went beyond merely serving as academic settings. In reality, each anchored the local white and Native American populations by providing employment, healthcare, and education for the community. Through several decades of changes in leadership, curriculum philosophies, and various building projects, both schools managed to maintain their presence in the region well into the twentieth century. Pipestone closed, however,

due to direct pressures from current New Deal legislation. Flandreau managed to stay open to the present, despite federal policy changes in the 1930s and 1940s.

NOTES

[1] Edward E. Hill, ed., Guide to the Records of the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1981), 157.

[2] Ibid, 176.

[3] Herbert T. Hoover, Report on the Histories of the Flandreau Mdewkanton Peoples (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 2000), 2.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid, 3.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Roy W. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 255.

[12] Ibid, 256-257.

[13] Ibid, 257.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Hoover, 5.

[16] Ibid, 4.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid, 5.

[20] Meyer, 292-293.

[21] Ibid, 293.

[22] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, December 8, 1995, Mr. Belkham.

[27] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[28] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] William M. Kizer, History of the Flandreau Indian School (Unpublished Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master of Arts, Department of Education in the Graduate School, University of South Dakota, 1940), 28.

[39] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[40] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[41] Flandreau Indian School, 1617684, Roll 11, Target 3, September 20, 1874-June 2, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[49] Kizer, Thesis, 40-41.

[50] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Pipestone Indian School, 1617710, Target 3, October 3, 1894-March 8, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Pipestone Indian School, 1611710, Target 3, October 3, 1894-March 8, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[58] Ibid.

[59] National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Box 38, RG-75, Pipestone Indian School.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Box 1, RG-75, Pipestone Indian School.

[65] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

THE FLANDREAU SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION

In the 1890s, the main objective of Flandreau Indian School was simply to educate and assimilate the native population. During this decade, there were numerous official government reports concerning Flandreau Indian School that reflected this basic premise, providing detailed accounts of how the school operated as a facility and educational institution, and provided an apparatus for assimilation. Despite their convoluted nature, these reports revealed that the school was considered to be a good place to begin the assimilation process, as well as a desirable place to work for both white and American Indian staff. This chapter first uses the reports to examine the development of the staff, facilities, and curriculum until 1929. It then turns to an examination of how the school as an institution changed after 1929. The reports of the Indian School Inspectors actively illustrated the goals, prejudices, successes, and failures in Indian-White relations, both regionally and nationally from the 1890s to the 1930s.

As these reports provided demographic information about each employee including information about age, race, sex, salary, and job titles, it is possible to provide a sketch of the staff. Of the employees present, the average age for upper and lower level employees was roughly forty to sixty years of age (i.e., the superintendent, farmer, principal, teacher, disciplinarian, and watchman), whereas the matron and teachers tended to be in their twenties and thirties. The staff was pulled primarily from other parts of the Indian Field

Service. Many came from states such as Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and had worked with Native populations from both on- and off-reservation cultural areas. Early on, the staff was comprised of both Indian and white individuals. John Eastman, a Lakota Sioux from Cheyenne Agency, served as disciplinarian for $600 a year. Flandreau had many single women in its faculty rolls, working as teachers, cooks, seamstresses, or matrons for the boarding school system.[1] During the first decade, the school was obviously in a state of constant flux as the staff and students grappled with repairs, construction projects, and varying curriculums in its embodiment of the "city upon the hill".

The inspection of Flandreau Indian School during the late summer of 1897 by James P. McLaughlin was a bit more thorough and candid regarding students and teachers than some of the earlier reports posted by previous individuals. It offers an opportunity to glimpse the school after its first few years of development. McLaughlin examined buildings, farms, and stock, and then visited Pipestone School, which was only fifteen miles away in Minnesota. At this time, Flandreau had 115 boys and 100 girls. The majority of the students were of Chippewa and Sioux ancestry, although there was one Omaha tribal member. The Chippewa were predominately from the White Earth and Leach Lake reservations in Minnesota and the Sioux from Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Santee, Sisseton, Flandreau, Yankton, and Cheyenne Reservations. The average age of the students was fourteen, with an overall range of six to twenty years (six boys over twenty-twenty-two and one girl, twenty-four, who was a lace maker).[2] In 1897, there were five classrooms, with the highest grade containing only twelve pupils (algebra).

McLaughlin believed that the overall atmosphere was harmonious, and he thought that the employees were doing a fine job. He did complain that Principal Teacher Snyder and the teacher Lucy Jones were not what the school needed. McLaughlin believed that Snyder was overbearing and dictatorial and that Jones was a weak disciplinarian because of her familiarity with students. McLaughlin wrote that, "Miss Lucy N. Jones (Indian) is rather weak as a teacher; she is thoroughly a good person, but somewhat timid and regarded weak in discipline from the fact that she makes herself too familiar with the pupils in some respects and is thus at a disadvantage when attempting to administer wholesome discipline when necessary."[3] McLaughlin did not understand Native American culture, especially the fact that Native peoples tend to discipline through indirection and example rather than through direct physical or verbal methods. He also failed to see the advantage in having a tribal member as a teacher to act as bridge between the two cultures.

McLaughlin concluded his summary by listing the age, occupation, salary, and race of each of the twenty-eight staff members (eleven Indian and seventeen whites). Positions held by Native Americans included: teacher, assistant matron, assistant seamstress, fireman, night watchman, assistant cook, assistant laundress, and general assistant. Salaries ranged from $540 a year for teachers to $60 a year for general assistants. Certain families such as the Eastmans were loyal accomodationists, which is reflected in the fact that Agnes Eastman (twenty) willingly worked as the assistant seamstress for $360 a year in 1897.[4] To Agnes Eastman this was an advantageous and prestigious position to hold. The Eastman family in general fit nicely into the overall scheme of assimilation by providing several concrete examples of Native Americans who

were capable of shifting with relative ease from their traditional society to that of the dominant. Essentially, they served as prototypes for both Native and non-Indian students, officials, and community members.

The Native American staff were generally paid less and employed in positions of unskilled manual labor. American Indian women were at an even greater disadvantage because they were paid less than white men and women, as well as Native American men (white women were generally paid less than white men for the same position). As the school progressed into the twentieth century, white individuals were hired over Native Americans as the Indian Field Service drew on an ever-increasing labor pool of non-Indian staff.[5]

In April of 1899, U.S. Indian Inspector Cyrus Bede visited Flandreau Indian School to note its progress in educating Indian students. He also recorded information pertaining to employee positions, age, salary, marriage status, race, former schools taught at, and quality of teaching, providing a detailed view of the staff. The average age of the staff was reduced primarily to those in their twenties and thirties, with a handful in their forties and fifties. Many had worked at other Indian boarding schools and agencies such as Pawnee, Cheyenne-Arapaho, Colorado, Kiowa Agency, Fort Apache, Omaha, and Sac and Fox. By 1899, many of the staff were from South Dakota as well as other states and territories, such as Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Minnesota. Thus, the school's staff comprised individuals from multiple locations who were veterans in the Indian Field Service, as well as those from the local population with no prior experience. It was also considered preferable if upper-level staff were married. Of the Native Americans listed, Bede discussed whether they were industrious, sober, or in the case of assistant

seamstress Agnes Eastman, made a record of her savings. Bede also included information on Assistant Farmer Sam H. Allen. Bede strongly suggested that Allen's sub-agency rations from treaty rights be "cut-off" while employed by the government service.

The only other staff member that Bede clearly complained about was head matron Florence A. Davis, who was the wife of the Superintendent of the school. He described her in the following fashion:

> She seems to be entirely too nervous and sensitive to have in charge of all the domestic department of this school. I regard her as an esteemable lady, and would by no means distract from her character as such, but all first class Indians are not adaptable to responsibility. Mrs. Davis, in my judgment does too much physical labor for a woman of her strength, but that kind of labor can be furnished for less money, and unfree her for the higher duties of her position and I am sure that she needs rest.[6]

This inclusion in the report was a rather bold step for Bede to take, considering that Florence Davis was the wife of the Superintendent of Flandreau Indian School and that more often than not this was a common position for the wife to take.

Bede's negative reviews tended to focus upon the white female and American Indian staff members. Yet at the same time he managed to overlook the negligent conduct of white male individuals such as the Superintendent Leslie D. Davis, who was removed from the position within the year. Bede also actively suggested that the Indian staff members in question either be terminated or at least their salaries be supplemented by treaty annuities, while simultaneously pushing for staff salaries to be raised across the board for non-Indian individuals. By 1899 the government paid women and Native Americans less than the white men who worked at the school. It is also obvious from these records that the core staff had worked at several other Indian schools prior to their

arrival at Flandreau. As early as the 1890s, the burgeoning profession started to formulate not only an official policy for students but also for staff.

In addition to reviewing the effectiveness of each instructor or staff member, Bede assessed the success of the school farm under the supervision of the Head Farmer. The Farmer informed him that he was cultivating 120 acres of ground, with 140 acres of the school farm set aside for pasture. The previous year the farm harvested forty tons of millet, 2,475 bushels of oats, 400 bushels of corn, five-hundred bushels of potatoes, 500 bushels of turnips, ten bushels of beets, one ton of cabbage, and two bushels of onions. The farm also boasted nine horses, thirteen hogs, and thirty-five head of cattle (with sixteen cows, one bull, some young stock and eleven calves).[7] Typical of most Indian boarding institutions, the school strived to be self-sufficient while setting a good cultural example. It was a composite universe that provided educational and vocational training, while operating with as little outside funding as possible. In turn, this would hopefully impress upon the individuals in attendance a utopian model for self-sufficiency in family farms or businesses that were nearly devoid of dependence upon federal assistance.

James P. McLaughlin returned again in 1900 to review the progress of Flandreau Indian School. He reported that the school contained 164 boys and 100 girls, a significant increase from three years earlier. He suggested that the school could accommodate sixty additional girls, as the rooms on the first floor were vacant. Prior to his inspection, the school had been in poor condition because of the negligence of Superintendent Davis. This apparently changed after the arrival of Superintendent Charles F. Pierce in 1900. Under Pierce, attendance increased by 100, and many of the earlier problems were corrected.[8]

McLaughlin remarked that the school's tailor shop did not properly meet the needs of the boys, that the coal cellar needed work, and that the school needed a new larger baler. McLaughlin also suggested $3,000 be appropriated and spent on building a new warehouse for storage. He learned that the employees had not been paid for eight months, during the switch from the Davis to Pierce administrations. The staff petitioned James P. McLaughlin to do something about this. McLaughlin also encountered a complaint against the school's carpenter and Superintendent of Construction, Thomas C. Marion. He was said to be frequently in an inebriated state in both the towns of Flandreau and Pipestone. He was late to work a number of times, was an insubordinate employee, and was an embarrassment to the school and the community.[9] This example illustrated flaws within the framework of the "beacon of light" that the school was purported to exemplify to students and the surrounding community.

In November 1929, Samuel H. Thompson, Supervisor of Indian Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, visited Flandreau. He commented on teachers, staff, and facility needs, and his report revealed the school's progress over thirty-six years. This report contrasted sharply with those of earlier decades, in that his suggestions hinted at cosmetic improvements rather than major construction projects. On the whole, the staff were better educated and more specialized, with the exception of a few who had been in the Indian Field Service for over twenty years. There were fewer American Indian staff members, and there remained several educated single white women who had made teaching in the Indian Service a life-long career. Thompson began his report by describing Flandreau as a school that "in the main was doing good work". He specifically cited James H. McGregor as having created a congenial atmosphere at the

school between staff, students, and teachers. He also congratulated McGregor on his ability to successfully serve as Superintendent at Flandreau and as area District Superintendent for the Indian Service of the Northern Plains region.[10]

By 1929, the school was staffed by instructors with degrees from four-year universities and teachers colleges in specific fields such as chemistry, mathematics, English, and world history. Others had master's degrees or at least a few credit hours invested in a graduate degree at such schools as Indiana State University, Columbia State University, Kansas State Teacher's College, Colorado College, Des Moines University, Teacher's College at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and Princeton College in Kentucky.

The staff at Flandreau continued to come from states outside of South Dakota and Minnesota, because of employment. This exemplified a desire emanating from the school to expose the student body to individuals from other parts of the United States. It also reflects a growing professionalization of the Indian Field Service as an arm of the government equal to that of the military or Department of the Interior. For instance, teacher Mary Ann Watts, aged twenty-nine, began her work in the Indian Service in Leupp, Arizona. She later taught in the public schools in her native state of Oklahoma. From there, she was hired to teach English, American History, Ancient History, and Modern History for the ninth and tenth grades at Flandreau. In contrast, teacher Mary H. Baird, aged sixty, represented the "old guard" who had been at Flandreau since 1926, with thirty-two years of prior experience in the Indian Field Service. A high school graduate with a few college courses from summer school, she represented the caliber of teachers with little formal education prior to becoming an educator. By 1929, she was the exception rather than the rule.[11] As the school moved further into the twentieth

century, more dependence was placed upon educated white staff in lieu of those that were less professionally trained or who were of Native American heritage. There was also a simultaneous shift due to the creation of a somewhat established professional Indian Field Service.

Thompson commented on the general activities of teachers outside of the classroom. He said that faculty at the Indian schools were required to do more than their peers at the non-Indian schools. They usually began class at 8:30 am and either taught or supervised and tutored every period until 4:00 pm. The principal taught between 4:00-4:45 pm, as did other select staff. On Monday evenings, the teachers were required to take the students to a religious assembly and either instruct them or watch them. On every other night of the week except the weekend, the teachers provided night classes or monitored meetings. On Saturday, from 8-11:00 am, the faculty tutored students with learning disabilities. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons, the teachers chaperoned students to various events or to attend chapel. Thompson said faculty had to work so hard due to the fact that the school had too few support staff. Another criticism Thompson made in terms of programming was that the staff had overcrowded classrooms in order to cut the eighth-grade arithmetic periods from four to three. The biggest criticism was that the average age of the teachers was high. He believed that Flandreau's students would benefit from working with younger faculty.[12]

Thompson provided profiles of other departments such as the sewing room, domestic arts department, shop department, shoe-making department, and dairy. Miss Myrtle McCue had served as the head seamstress since 1926 and supervised girls from the seventh to eleventh grades. She instructed them for four hours a day, three days a week.

On the sewing machines, they learned how to make general garments, bloomers, sheers and pillowcases, operetta costumes, mittens for boys on detail work, and aprons for boys in sheet and metal work. From January to May of 1929, the girls made 2, 814 pieces, with the smaller girls mending garments. Thompson's only suggestion was that they be issued at least twelve new sewing machines.[13] For American Indian girls this training was crucial, because it could lead to a lucrative livelihood after graduation.

Miss Gladys Pope, who was first employed at Flandreau in 1928, ran the Domestic Arts Department. She instructed girls from the seventh through eleventh grades in making garments a grade above those made in the sewing room. Each girl spent an hour and a half to three hours a week making dresses, sheets, underwear, lingerie, and other garments. This department was known for winning prizes in area competitions.

The Shop Department was operated by G. Warren Spaulding, who arrived in 1924 as a graduate from Queen Ann Technical High School in Seattle, Washington, with eighteen credit hours towards a B.S. in Industries from Brookings State College, South Dakota. He supervised roughly one hundred students and staff, with pupils in the ninth and eleventh grades, and they made chemistry tables and cabinets, which saved the school hundreds of dollars. Thompson's only suggestion was that Spaulding be given $5,000 more for additional equipment and a carpenter to assist him.[14]

Mr. Knapp operated the Dairy Department, but its production for the year was low because of a poor herd. Thompson stated that the herd should be thinned out, but that the dairy barn and surrounding buildings were in good shape and should be saved. A similarly small department at Flandreau was that of shoe-making. The boys in this area were responsible at any given time for providing footware for other students and staff .

The only other project at the school that Thompson reported on was the construction of the new hospital under the direction of General Mechanic Mr. Linguall.[15]

When Thompson surveyed the dormitories, he described them as generally clean, well heated, and comfortable. The dormitory for the older girls, however, lacked adequate sleeping and living rooms. Some girls were living four to a room and sleeping two to a bed. The boy's dorm was in better order. The male advisor, Mr. Wilson Charles, forty-eight years old, had worked at the school as an assistant since 1920 and had been head advisor to the young males for the last two years. In his dorm building he had 136 boys, and his wife was the matron who helped in his dorm. An American Indian, Charles had attended Carlisle School for ten years and, served as boys' advisor for nine years at the Tomah Indian School in Wisconsin. He apparently had some problems at Flandreau, for he did not command enough respect from the boys. On at least one occasion while Inspector Thompson was present, Charles did not have sufficient control to get all the boys to attend an assembly. Thompson described this incident in these words, "All Charles said was that he would see about it. He seemed to lack vision and said that the boys would not behave when he was out of sight. It seemed that his personality was not strong enough to impress them when he was absent."[16] Thompson did not have any further comment on Charles, aside from the comment that maybe this was the best possible relationship he was capable of having with the students. He suggested that perhaps Charles had been too long in this work and had become careless. Thompson believed that this was a problem for Mr. George E. Peters, Superintendent of Flandreau Indian School, to solve.[17] The larger probable issue was a discrepancy in

styles of discipline. More specifically, Native Americans tended to be less regimented in their approach to order and conduct.

In the first few decades of the school's operation, the faculty was comprised of individuals from a variety of states, most of whom were obvious veterans of the Indian Field Service. The other attribute of the opening decades was a fairly equal mixture of both Native and non-Native employees. However, this balance changed drastically over time as the American Indian staff were gradually replaced with mostly white, educated individuals. This was due in large part to the ever-burgeoning Indian Field Service, which posed a direct threat to the use of localized American Indians as staff. Another angle of the professionalization of the Indian Field Service was the possibility that staff may have directly had a hand in alterations in programming in the 1920s and 1930s that happened to coincide with measures imposed from external forces under John Collier's Indian New Deal. Essentially, educated, transplanted staff with higher degrees may have been just as instrumental in effecting change with their internal "grass roots" movement as those from outside of the immediacy of the boarding school setting.

During the first forty years, the Flandreau Indian School focussed upon a core curriculum, with simultaneous experimentation in extra-curricular activities and alternative programming. Over this period the ultimate goal of the school subtly shifted from complete assimilation to the success of the individual.

When Flandreau School opened in 1892, it offered eight grades and a kindergarten program. This arrangement continued until at least 1901. Because of the small enrollment in the first decade, the lower grades were gradually eliminated, and higher grades were added to meet the demands for more advanced work. The school also

boasted courses in tailoring, shoe repair, harness making, carpentry, agriculturally related trades, woodworking, and mechanical drawing.[18]

In 1899, Cyrus Bede reviewed the curriculum of Flandreau Indian School in a report. He described how the older boys and girls attended a half day of school and a half day of work. The school also allowed musically inclined students to be removed from the regularly scheduled routine in order to be given private lessons from the music teacher. Bede viewed this as an educational enhancement rather than as a handicap. Bede provided a detailed account of how the school functioned as a facility, operated as an educational institution, and provided an apparatus for the assimilation of area Indian tribes. With the paradigm in place, the ultimate goal of the government was a self-sufficient and less dependent population of Native peoples. In this decade, the facility was obviously in a state of flux between repairs, building projects and experimental curricula.[19]

A few years later in 1913, W. B. Peairs, Superintendent of Indian Schools, summarized his thoughts about the school after his visit with the staff and students during a school program. The Superintendent discussed the development of young people, calling for careful systematic, physical training. He also talked about the special health campaign that had been carried on during the past few years, and noted that special emphasis was being placed upon the proper equipping of playgrounds. He urged the students as individuals to participate in athletics and all wholesome sports that encouraged physical development, and he insisted that physical development had as important a place in the education of the Indian children as it did with any other students.[20]

Peairs emphasized the value of intellectual development and called attention to the excellent opportunities the government provided in academic and industrial departments. He also discussed vocational training and urged students to take advantage of the facilities and the programming in order that they might compete with others in gaining a livelihood in the outside world. Again, it was obvious that the success of the individual was stressed over that of the Indian community. Essentially, the aim of the Indian educational system was to discourage tribal identity and encourage individualism.

Finally, Peairs emphasized the necessity for the development of the spiritual side of life. He mentioned both the men and women's Christian associations or YMCA and YWCA, respectively. Despite criticism of these organizations, Peairs' believed they also promoted the physical, intellectual, and spiritual development of the students, which simultaneously reinforced the overall goal of Flandreau. Peairs then defended his support of the presence of the YWCA and YMCA in the lives of the students. Although community members, Fathers Ketchum and Martyn, referred to the presence of these organizations as a "campaign of proselytizing, on the part of the government",[21] Peairs believed that the YWCA and the YMCA were instrumental in the overall goal of "character building".[22]

Academic instruction in the 1920s included fourth to tenth grade. The ninth and tenth grades were regarded as the first two years of high school, and pupils graduating from this institution were admitted to the third year of high school, at Haskell and other institutions having a full four-year high school course. In addition to the regular academic teachers, a music teacher provided full-time instruction in vocal and instrumental music.[23] The industrial instruction included the prevocational, junior

vocational, and first two years of senior vocational training. All pupils received instruction in the various industries of the school. The girls studied home economics, including domestic science and art. Regular classes were taught in carpentry, manual training, farming, and dairying.[24]

Various athletic teams made the school more entertaining. During football and basketball seasons there were weekly games in the school gymnasium or at nearby towns. Teams frequently went to Sioux Falls to contest with the college and high school teams of that city. Weekly socials in the gymnasium were attractive features during the year. Movies were occasionally provided at the school, and pupils had the privilege of attending films in the city on Saturday afternoon. The amusements and recreations were fully equal to that of any Indian school in the Service.[25]

The school also provided a good hospital, which included a physician, nurse, assistant, and housekeeper. The health of the pupils was carefully monitored, and school physicians gave daily attention to those in need. A special diet for students in the hospitals was provided, and the school made every effort to improve the health of students who showed signs of deteriorating health. In case of serious illness, parents were promptly notified. Many parents also visited their children.[26] Students also had the opportunity to attend Sunday school and church services of their choice in Flandreau. A non-denominational religious service was held every Sunday evening in the school chapel. This was described as an inspiring and attractive service with special music provided by the school chorus and orchestra. Ministers from different churches shared preaching opportunities.[27]

In 1929, Supervisor Samuel H. Thompson suggested that the school be converted into a strictly industrial program and that academic work be handled by the local Flandreau public school system. He also suggested that the federal government provide funding for necessary repairs and minor construction projects. In terms of the overall curriculum, he believed that the children in the Indian Schools should be given the same educational opportunities as the white students in the public schools. Thompson further suggested that,

> I realize that it has been the custom since the inauguration of the Industrial Schools to require Indian children to do so much industrial work. Down south we used to think that the Negro had to do industrial work or he couldn't be educated and we have outgrown that and now give them the same opportunities that white folks have. It is surprising how they have gone forward and are making good. I want to say again with all the emphasis possible that we should see to it at once that the course of study of Indian schools corresponds in the public schools of the state where the Indian school is located.[28]

Later in the report Thompson spoke about the relationship between Flandreau and other federal boarding schools. He discussed how the public school at Pawnee, Oklahoma, was arranged in reference to the logistics of area Oklahoma Indians and the subsequent payment of tuition. Thompson saw this system as one that could apply to Flandreau as well as Pawnee. It was clear from this comment that there was considerable communication, rotation of staff, and "trial and error" experimentation in programming/facility construction that was pervasive throughout the early years of the educational branch of the Indian Field Service.[29]

Flandreau Superintendent George E. Peters responded to Thompson's report emphasizing economic needs at Flandreau in the coming decade. On January 21, 1930, he told the commissioner of Indian Affairs that federal funds in recent years have not

been enough to support remodeling and repairs to the laundry, the small boys dormitory, the erection of a new shop building for $20,000, and more supplies/equipment to facilitate the new shop building. Peters also made a final plea for more funding when Peters wrote that,

> Flandreau Indian School has been designated as a vocational school and in order to make these trade courses attractive to our boys, it will be necessary to have room and equipment so as to be able to give proper instruction and practice. If we can be equipped to teach these courses as well as teach the academic work, there will be no difficulty in having students choose to take them. The vocational courses must be made attractive if we expect students to choose them; and if they do not choose them little good can be accomplished in teaching them.[30]

Prior to the major restructuring of all American Indian policy that was to occur under John Collier and the Wheeler-Howard Act of the 1930s, in 1932 Flandreau Superintendent Byron J. Brophy, who was in charge of the school from 1931-1940, analyzed the problems at Flandreau when he made suggestions about the teaching of mathematics, English, chemistry, and American government. He believed that there should be a course in general mathematics such as practical measurements, interest, banking, trade problems, and mathematics needed for daily life. The argument for this change was that the traditional algebra and geometry were no longer taught as such at the State College of Agriculture at Brookings and that the State Department of Education at Pierre accepted general mathematics as an acceptable substitute.[31] By 1930, the twelfth grade was added, and the following year the school was accredited as a four-year high school. By 1932, all of the lower eight grades had been eliminated.[32]

Brophy also believed the textbook used for English literature in the twelfth grade, A Short History of England's and America's Literature, was poor and should be deleted. Brophy believed that Anglo-Saxon history was uninteresting and unnecessary. He

suggested that the students should focus upon modern English literature, complete books, stories, and poems. Twelfth grade English was not required for vocational students; it was viewed as a necessary supplement for only those interested in college preparatory classes. The school chose to focus instead upon the fundamentals of oral and written English. Brophy also thought that formalized chemistry was of no use to industrial students. Instead, the school should replace theoretical chemistry with "hands-on" or practical home and vocational problems, with male and female students placed in separate classes for their chemistry courses. Finally, Brophy believed that American Government should be taught differently. He suggested that Flandreau use the 1931 edition of Magruder, Allyn, and Bacon's text on American Government and that the course focus upon local rather than national government policies. He believed that the textbook should be used as a guide in the development of critical thinking about national/international governmental theory.[33] Brophy was the first superintendent to significantly stray from the policy of "total assimilation" that had been in place since the inception of the school. Even though the changes in 1932 were cosmetic in comparison to those under the Indian New Deal, they nonetheless paved the way for more dramatic reforms.

The decade of the1930s was a watershed period in American Indian policy because the agitation for reform that had been building during the previous decade came into fruition under John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The legislation passed in this period was revolutionary on many levels. However, the reform movement actually began during the presidency of Herbert C. Hoover with the Merium Report of 1928. Acting upon the emergency recommendation of the Merium Report, President Hoover

requested additional funds to supply adequate food and clothing for pupils in the Indian Schools. These funds amounted to a $3.1 million augmentation in the budget for 1931.[34]

W. Carson Ryan became Director of Indian Education in 1930, and he began to implement changes that had been called for in the Merium Report. Most importantly, Ryan sought a true community school system, directed toward the needs of the whole reservation population. These needs were essentially rural, and he adapted the curriculum to them. He revolutionized the uniform course of study by discarding it altogether. Further, courses that did not fit Indian children's backgrounds were gradually eliminated, and special courses adapted to Indian cultures were introduced, with appropriate concern for the great diversity in the cultures from region to region.[35] To reinforce these changes, the government decentralized the Washington Office of the Indian Service while simultaneously empowering state control of Indian education.

The schools improved markedly in management, and they became less like prisons or reform schools. At the same time, the heavy labor that had made boarding school life drudgery for many students was reduced, and care was taken to see the youngest students were not subjected to boarding school routine. Another change came in the form of standards for Indian school faculty and personnel. Salaries were set for single white males employed at the school, so that women and American Indian staff were not openly discriminated against by making markedly less money.[36]

Franklin Roosevelt appointed John Collier Commissioner of Indian Affairs, although many people opposed his appointment. The first day that Collier held his position, April 12, 1933, he introduced seven basic principles that guided his administration. He believed that Indian societies must and can be discovered in their continuing existence, or

regenerated, or set into being de nova and made use of, and that the societies, whether ancient, regenerated or created anew, must be given status, responsibility, and power. He further suggested that the land be held and cherished in the way that American Indian groups desired and that each and all freedoms should be extended to Indians in the most convincing and dramatic manner possible. Collier also called for proclamation and enforcement of cultural liberty, religious liberty, and unimpeded relationships of the generations. In order to attain these goals, positive means had to be used to ensure credit, education (of a broad and technical sort) and grants of responsibility. In closing, he described the United States as a responsible democracy, that it was dynamic in its productivity and efficiency, and that the government would do what is required to amend the diverse problems of the American Indian people. He also stated that more research should be forthcoming in defining the necessary programs and tools needed to master the situation at hand.[37]

In many respects, these principles were a philosophical continuation of Ryan's Indian education legislation. Both men mirrored larger reforms occurring in the other avenues of governmental policy, which simultaneously attacked depression conditions that engulfed the Indian reservations.

Under Collier, the boarding schools were openly attacked as symbols of the old ways because of separation of Indian children from home and community. In his first year in office, ten boarding schools were either closed or turned into community schools. This trend soon slowed down; in 1941 there were still forty-nine boarding schools and about 14,500 Indians attending them.[38]

The correlative of abolishing boarding schools was the establishment of community day schools, and here there was substantial progress. By 1941, there were 226 day schools with as many as 15,789 students in attendance. A great increase in the number of day schools came with construction under the Public Works Administration, with W. Carson Ryan, Willard W. Baetly, and John Collier supervising.[39]

The cornerstone of Indian Education under the Indian New Deal was the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934. While the Indian Office worked to fulfill its objectives in the federal boarding schools and day schools, it continued to promote the enrollment of Indian children in the state public schools. The Johnson-O'Malley Act laid the legislative groundwork for control between the federal government and the states for the education of Indians.[40]

On January 5, 1933, the Department of the Interior issued specific regulations for administration of the funds available for tuition of Indian Students attending higher educational institutions. Under the Indians Appropriation Act, not more than $10,000 of the amount appropriated could be expended for the tuition of Indian pupils. Applications for payment of tuition had to be addressed to the commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC, and at the same time had to adhere to specific guidelines in reference to blood quantum. Tuition was paid for persons having one-fourth or more American Indian blood, and preference was given to full-bloods and wards of the government. They also required that the applications bear the endorsement of the reservation superintendent, as well as that of the superintendent of the last school attended, with tuition only going to those students of outstanding ability and work. Furthermore, they required that applicants submit official transcripts of high school or college credits,

provide reliable references in regard to ability, character, and performance, and that they provide authentic reports from reliable educators. This also included other persons who knew of their capacity and definitive aptitude. The courses pursued and the institution to be attended were subject to approval by the office, and any change thereafter had to be equally approved. Other requirements included a medical certificate on forms prescribed by the Indian Service, with physically handicapped individuals giving evidence of general health.[41]

Tuition support could be discontinued if major unauthorized changes were made, or if lack of serious purpose or application became evident. They also stated that tuition would not be paid in excess of the amount required by State Law and that informed contract or agreements were necessary to meet the requirements of the General Accounting Office. They closed by stating that the purpose of the payments under the act cited was construed to consist of all institutional changes at the institution attended, but did not include room and board. Furthermore, the requests for tuition support for a school term to begin in September should be submitted no later than the first of the preceding May and that Superintendents should present renewal requests by the same date. These specific guidelines were set in motion in order to safeguard the interests of the Department of the Interior. This also mirrored a complex and sophisticated system that was well aware of potential loopholes.[42]

One of the experimental programs of the 1930s was summer school at Flandreau. In response to a letter dated April 11, 1932, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., outlined the pilot program to Byron J. Brophy, Superintendent. The initial plan was to have two hours of academic work; the students would take a course in Indian history or a related vocational subject.

The vocational work would mirror traditional native handcrafts. In contrast, the afternoon would be devoted to outdoor activities, under the direction of the play directors.

The structure of the program that was initiated under Ryan in 1932 under the Indian New Deal was loosely based upon modern organized camp, with craft groups, athletic activities, hikes, overnight camp-outs, evening campfires, Indian council sings, and other activities carried on in camp. The main purpose of the summer school was to enrich the lives of the students, without adding too much structure that might inhibit them. Ryan suggested that they also allow children freedom to make suggestions both formally and informally, in regularly held conferences.[43]

Ryan suggested that the summer program be fully incorporated into the regular school year, with summer leaders chosen from the regular pool of faculty who reflected specific interests and needs of both the staff and students. He also requested that all of the physical plant be made available during the summer months. Ideally, the faculty should know how the children's interests were utilized, developed, and included in the leader's overall evaluation of the situation.[44] Some of the areas studied were leatherwork, bows and arrows, woodwork, and bead and birch bark work.

Most importantly, the school would teach traditional crafts and follow the cultural inclinations of the students rather than steering them solely into the interests, activities, and vocations of white society. During story hour each day, students were encouraged to act out traditional legends as well as write their own plays. Other activities included art, music, poetry, decoration for rooms, story hour, and dramatics. Students received needed

supplies in the form of paper, pencil, plaster, clay, and paints. The instructor encouraged creativity.[45]

Another important feature of the Summer Program was discussion of the problems that Indian youth faced in their adjustment to the social order of modern America of the 1930s. Through storytelling, Native handcrafts, the use of sign language, tribal dances, council rings with inter-tribals, and the wearing of traditional costumes, Ryan hoped that the recreation projects would help the students adjust to the new world order.[46]

The Summer Program also zeroed in on "Native Interest". Instruction encouraged students to expand their interest in nature and the natural sciences by collecting, observing, and investigating earth, water, plant and animal life, and the heavenly bodies. The programming provided instruction in outdoor chemistry, gardening, nature study, museum (minerals, arrow heads, old articles, pressed flowers or ferns), and nature clubs.[47] Students participated in many outdoor recreational activities, such as games, athletics, picnics, hikes, and swimming. They played in baseball, tennis, golf, track, volleyball, ancient Indian games, informal group plays and games, and wood games. They also were involved in overnight campouts, campfires, council rings (singing, dancing, and leg wrestling), and storytelling. Ryan also suggested that the students demonstrate their activities through hobby exhibits, dramatics, or a banquet.[48]

In 1935, school officials related the successes and failures of the summer school program in respect to the Wheeler-Howard Bill. The goals of the Summer Program were the development of citizenship, leadership, health, recreation, creative expression, and profitable use of leisure time. The long-term opportunities open to Native Americans under the Wheeler-Howard Bill were considered alongside of short-term direct

challenges to students. Students also had worked on beadwork, leather, tooling, drawing, art metal, mathematics, public speaking, rope work, cold ironwork, typing, violin study, rudimentary music, and hard carving.[49] Clearly, the goal of full assimilation had shifted in favor of individual needs and cultural sensitivity to work in concert with exposure to the educational system of the dominant society.

During the summer school program the students took educational trips to Sioux Falls, where they visited the South Dakota State Penitentiary, the State Children's House, Columbus Orphanage, the Pettigrew Museum, Augustan and Sioux Falls Colleges, a daily newspaper plant, and a radio broadcasting station. This travel feature of the summer programming was designed to expose students to life beyond Flandreau and the reservation.

The students also conducted their own and established, a student government composed of a mayor, a clerk, and eight aldermen. The group formulated dormitory rules, drew up weekly activity programs, and sponsored campfires, overnight hikes, treasure huts, dances, and parties. Other students were responsible for operating the summer camp store and creating a student's handbook.[50]

The female students who remained on campus during the summer found a variety of engaging activities that involved only "the girls". Many were interested in sewing, art, and needlework. They made bedroom curtains, pillow tops, dresser scarves, shoe bags, and articles of clothing. In shop class, many made book ends or towel racks. Others wrote and performed plays, learned how to play instruments, and perfected choral singing. Girls were involved in as many outdoor/indoor activities as the boys. The females went on early morning hikes, held treasure hunts, picnics, and parties. Several

groups spent two or three weeks at the school camp located on the Big Sioux River, where they engaged in swimming, hiking, nature study, reading, and storytelling.[51] Every effort was made to develop character, individuality, and the qualities of leadership.

The director of the Summer School for 1935, R. R. Othner, kept journals on the activities of the students. A typical activity included a short program of the recitation of the "History of Pipestone Falls" by Carl Field, "By the Waters of Minnetonka" by Pancy Ross or "The Dancing Dukes" by Mabel Aungies. The Flandreau students also played a game of kitten-ball against the 4-H Club members or attended a campfire with traditional American Indian dances. On one occasion, Prudent Peltier furnished the music while Archie Graves danced. Other activities included a moon-lit hike to the Indian cemetery on Brookings Road or a program at the M. E. Church given by a group of "Negro" singers from Mississippi. The final entertainment was a treasure hunt ending in the gym after the clues were scattered round a trail.[52]

The Summer School provided another venue through which Flandreau Indian School could reinforce knowledge and skills acquired during the school year and simultaneously introduce new activities. This, of course, was part of the aim of the Wheeler-Howard Act. This type of innovative programming was created in direct response to the findings of the Merium Report of 1928. After several decades of programming that specifically revolved around full assimilation, the official federal policy now left room for Native American traditional beliefs, mores, and practices. This element was introduced only after federal officials found that their policy "as is" had been a terrible failure for Native peoples. Therefore, Summer Programming provided an opportunity in which to try out new formulas for gradual rather than rapid immersion and assimilation.

In addition to Summer School Programs in the 1930s, there was adult education for tribal members. Superintendent Byron J. Brophy believed this adult program was successful. The adult classes included instruction in auto mechanics, carpentry, and pipefitting. Brophy also said that women, for the most part, were involved through home training courses. Indians traveled long distances through blizzard conditions to attend classes. Brophy believed that this program should be made permanent because of its popularity with both the school and the surrounding community.[53]

During the 1930s, some white vocational students from the public schools were admitted to Flandreau. In 1934 Brophy stated that the image of the school would improve with the introduction of white students into an all-Indian vocational environment. He supported this rationale by suggesting that the inclusion of the white students at Flandreau would give the American-Indian students a taste of reality in reference to the outside world.[54] With the arrival of the "thirteen splendid white boys", many older members of the American Indian community expressed anger. They preferred to keep the educational institutions between the two races separate. Flandreau officials referred to this as patent jealousy and considered the misunderstandings to be temporary. In order to appease these individuals, the school officials personally contacted them in order to document their perspective.[55]

Another change that occurred during the 1930s was a discontinuation of required religious training. Religion had always been an element of the overall format of the school during the early years, but because Flandreau was not specifically a religious institution, this too was done away with during the Indian New Deal.

Flandreau also had direct, constant, and friendly relations with Pipestone Indian School. Only thirty minutes away from each other, the students from both schools were encouraged to visit on weekends. Another avenue through which the two schools cooperated was through their active support of Girl and Boy Scout Programs. In a letter dated December 10, 1935, Superintendent J.W. Balmer of Pipestone Indian School requested through Superintendent Brophy of Flandreau, the presence of staff and students at a party sponsored by the Pipestone Girl Scout troop on Friday, December 13th. Because both schools actively supported scouting, these parties provided supplemental social interaction between the "sister schools".[56]

Another important development in the 1930s was an emphasis on scouting, which had been begun in the 1920s. The campaign for incorporating scouting into the academic life at Flandreau began in the late 1920s. In a circular letter from the Department of the Interior dated October 29, 1929, all superintendents encouraged Boy and Girl Scout organizations in the Indian Schools, with the assistance of the staff. Along these lines, it was also strongly suggested that the students interested in scouting join local troops, if at all possible. Some of the parameters suggested included integrating the troops with Indian and white members (i.e., jamboree, camps, courts of Honor, or troops from other schools), that scouts earn money for their own uniforms, that the troops of Indian scouts be organized under the regional and then local Scout Executive, and that the troops not be made mandatory or serve as a separate class in school. They also suggested that Indian boys be allowed to be troop and patrol leaders in situations where the troop was entirely comprised of Native Americans. The final suggestion was that teachers and supervisors of agriculture would make the second best group of Scout leaders.[57]

In 1932, Commissioner C. J. Rhoads addressed the advisor conferences held annually across the country for all participants in scouting. More specifically, he addressed what employees were approved to go and what children were authorized to attend the conference. The essentials to a successful troop included the support of the administrative heads, superintendent, and principal, or merely an interested individual willing to direct who possessed the necessary training. They were especially anxious to initiate troops at day schools, boarding schools, or on reservations.[58]

By 1933, there were 150 scout troops for boys and fifty troops for girls nationwide. In the annual summer conference for 1932, there were 225 Indian Service employees in attendance. C. J. Rhoads outlined some of the pertinent comments and suggestions by stating that the leaders who had been trained at the conference the previous summer would have charge of local scouting programs and/or were to give similar training to others at the institution (i.e. government employees and older students). Other provisions included that scouting registration fees be paid out of government funds, with the stipulation that boys and girls be actively encouraged to earn money for both their registration fees and their uniforms.[59]

By the end of the 1930s, Flandreau Indian School had made strides in accommodating rather than assimilating native peoples. More specifically, through various pilot programs implemented well into the twentieth century, the original intent of the school had been transformed. Unfortunately, this era of experimentation was short-lived because of WWII, relocation, and termination of the 1940s and 1950s, as federal Indian policy mirrored the mood of the country.

The years after John Collier's departure from office in 1945 was a period of transition to the new policy of federal withdrawal from Indian Affairs. As Commissioner, Collier had for twelve years acted as an agent of change who supported tribal sovereignty, collectivism, traditional cultural practices, and gradual rather than rapid assimilation. With the close of World War II and Collier's simultaneous departure from the Bureau, the Era of Relocation and Termination came rapidly into focus. Essentially, the 1940s and 1950s were marked with yet another push on the part of the federal government to disband tribes as independent entities and to move Indian peoples into urban areas far from the relative safety of the reservation and their cultural enclaves.

Relocation was a corollary of termination. It was directly related to the movement for better general education, more vocational training, adult education, and economic development plans, and it was another avenue for federal withdrawal from Indian Affairs.[60] Oddly enough, it simultaneously mirrored efforts initiated under Collier to gradually assimilate the American Indians rather than through rapid strategies. In this respect, there was legislative continuity.

As early as 1948, area offices for Relocation were opened in Aberdeen, Billings, Minneapolis, Muskogee, and Portland, with centers expanding to include Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, and Dallas by 1960. The Relocation offices strategically moved the Native American clients to opposite ends of the country to further accelerate the severing of cultural ties of tribal members from their traditional communities. In this respect, their goal was similar to that of early off-reservation schools, in their attempts to "kill the Indian and save the man."

Termination was engineered directly by Dillon S. Meyer, beginning in 1950, when he was appointed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Under his guidance, termination offices were established in Juneau, Alaska; Phoenix and Window Rock, Arizona; Sacramento, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Billings, Montana; and Aberdeen, South Dakota.[61] Meyer's overall goal was "to work constructively with any tribe which wishes to assume either full control or a greater degree of control over its own affairs.[62] Meyer's forthright promotion of federal withdrawal drew violent criticism from Indians and from whites sympathetic to the Indian New Deal. Fundamental differences existed between Meyer and his critics. The Association of American Indian Affairs, which was in the forefront of the attack on the new policies, sought a way out of the dilemma of freedom or protection by drawing a sharp distinction between ward shop and trusteeship.[63] By the 1960s and 1970s, the federal policy was, yet again, reversed, and more closely mirrored that of the New Deal rather than that of the Relocation/Termination Era.

On a more immediate level, area projects that supported both the surrounding community and Flandreau Indian School managed to bridge the gap between the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and somehow survived and even thrived, despite the philosophical switch from the Indian New Deal to the Relocation/Termination Era. Some of these projects included an adult education class, an Indian leaders class, a nursery school, preferential employment to area Indians at the school, and the establishment of the garment factory. The adult education courses were begun in 1932 and were continued throughout the decade. Whereas, the Indian leaders class was established after the Wheeler-Howard Act put it in motion and also influenced the tribe's acceptance of the

Indian New Deal. The nursery school was opened in 1934 and funded by the Emergency Relief Administration, providing supervision in play and sleep for thirty children. It facilitated the needs of white as well as Indian patrons and also provided two meals a day and medical examinations.[64]

Two areas proved to have the most impact. One was the mass creation of jobs on the grounds of the Flandreau Indian School. More specifically, about fifty Flandreau tribal members were employed throughout the winter and spring of 1933 and 1934, in order to rebuild the streets and roads of the Indian school grounds and plant. With the construction of the garment factory in 1934 the Civil Works Administration and the area office for Indian Affairs funded and collaborated to create a factory that would generate jobs, and also pajamas, nightgowns, hospital jackets, bathrobes, and housecoats. The original work force included nine women and a foreman, Maurice Schwab, a non-Indian, who made clothing that would be sold only to Indian Schools and hospitals. The employees were graduates of the adult education classes at Flandreau Indian School, and the home economics teacher, Mrs. Inga Tufts, supervised the quality control.[65]

In operation from eight to ten months per year, a subsistence homestead project was also organized by off-shoots of the Indian Reorganization Acts. With this measure in place, 240 acres of Indian School land was used as homesteads, of ten acres each, with a garden plot provided for the families of the women working at the garment factory. There was an attempt to employ both the men and women at the school, with the men making furniture, pipestone artifacts for sale, and doing basic maintenance work.[66]

By 1940, the garment factory employed twenty-five Indian women and a number of students on a part-time basis. The payroll exceeded $12,000 per month. The factory

produced 60,000 completed garments in 1940. A factory building, financed by the factory projects, was constructed on campus of the Flandreau Indian School in that year. Karl Mundt, then a Congressional Representative from South Dakota, was involved in the negotiations to get the building built.[67] Originally started in the second floor of the old 1892 classroom-Home Economics building, the Dress Factory became very important to the Indian School during the tail end of the economic Depression, as well as through the war years. It trained boys and girls in the dressmaking business, provided extra revenue for the school, and provided employment for fifteen to thirty-one women in the Flandreau Community.[68]

A Flandreau Santee Sioux Community Building was dedicated on May 9, 1939. Built with National Youth Administration Funds, the building was located on the grounds of the Flandreau Indian School. The structure was built by trade students from Flandreau and served as a community center throughout the 1930s and 1940s. More specifically, during World War II, Victory Gardens were popular at Flandreau, with school officials and local Indian families working together. The Community Building also held classes in food drying methods taught by Flandreau Indian elders.[69]

World War II brought many changes as the war effort created job opportunities away from the reservation. Despite this shift, adult education classes continued during World War II, with a new-found emphasis placed upon skills needed to sustain the war effort at Flandreau Indian School, on top of the regular course load. Held twice in 1942, these classes also included women.[70]

In the midst of the war effort, the school continued to hold its annual Christmas party. In December 1946, Flandreau School issued an invitation to area schools, parents, or

guardians, to attend the festivities for students. The staff suggested that the parents send gifts and attend the party rather than have the children return home for winter break. The rationale behind this was to eliminate mid-school year drop-outs, staff strikes, and supply shortages, and transportation problems. In lieu of sending the students home, the school created a Christmas and New Year's Eve party that provided candy, nuts, fruit, presents, and a large dinner. Flandreau recompensed the students for the lost winter break by allowing them to leave two weeks early at the end of the school year.[71] During the war years, Flandreau tried to maintain a semblance of normalcy by providing such events.

Another role that the school tried to maintain through the post-war era was that of community center. In the fall of 1948, Superintendent H. Bogard of Flandreau Indian School made a few suggestions, in reference to voting rights, to the head of the Prairie Island Indian Community. He suggested that the former members of the last executive council committee have a meeting and get a date for a general election so that a new council might be elected. Furthermore, he suggested that Mason Walker, Ben Whipple, and George Wells notify the respective voters and give them at least thirty days' notice prior to the next election, after collecting the names of all eligible voters.[72] Flandreau, like Pipestone, still served as both a community center and an area office for federal activities well into the twentieth century.

Construction slowed considerably during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Most of the construction of the time included low-cost or urgent construction such as a sewage plant, pump house, and a new superintendent's house.[73] The only other significant building

built at this time was the garment factory. This was a one-story building on a poured concrete floor with a tin-roof and oversized tile glazed brick exterior walls.[74]

The government-operated garment factory closed May 1, 1956. At the time, it was still managed by Maurice Schwab and employed twenty women as well as students. The initial closure was initiated in June 1955 because of an overriding federal policy that brought the factory's operation in line with the government's policy to withdraw from competitive business, in order to promote private enterprise under the Termination Act.[75] The closing of the factory was postponed for a year so that arrangements could be made to find a businessman willing to take over the facility as a private enterprise. The Tribal Council was particularly involved in attempts to find a businessman who would take over operation of the factory.[76] In 1956, Keith Wakeman and George Allen, representing the Tribe, met with Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Glen Emmons. Emmons promised the assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in finding someone to run the factory. In April, 1956, a Sioux City textile manufacturer, E. T. Ellis, told a group of Flandreau citizens that they could establish another garment factory, employing upwards of sixty women in Flandreau, if a building could be made available to him. His initial idea was to start another operation at Flandreau Indian School, but due to lack of space he decided against this. In the midst of this, Flandreau Indian School reabsorbed the building into the regular campus by September of that same year. The garment factory officially closed on May 1, 1956, and was never successfully replaced. It was a major loss, not only to the school but also as a source of income for both students and area tribal members.[77]

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the federal government emphasized placing Indian students in local public schools rather than in bureau boarding schools. In May 1947, the

Flandreau newspaper recorded that a congressional committee had recommended the elimination of such schools as Flandreau and Pipestone. This signaled a national uncertainty for the future of all boarding schools and a need for the BIA to take the necessary steps in order to remedy the situation for both staff and students. Throughout the summer of that same year, it was not clear that Flandreau would reopen in the fall. It did open, however, and this was the only time that Flandreau seriously faced this kind of a threat.[78]

At about the same time that the garment factory closed, the large farming enterprise of the Flandreau Indian School was discontinued, and the local native population was deprived of the services of the agricultural teachers, who had functioned as extension agents. Other jobs, however, opened up in the school because of an increased enrollment, and most of the garment factory workers were able to find employment there.[79]

Even though the Flandreau Sioux as a tribe were not directly affected by Termination, they did not leave this era unscathed. They were significantly affected with the closing of the garment factory and the uncertainty regarding the closing of Flandreau Indian School. Outside of this event, the school was little affected by the policies of the 1950s. The changes of the 1930s were, however, decisive.

The number of Flandreau Santee Sioux residents in Moody County did not return to pre-war levels following the end of WWII, in part because of lack of economic opportunity. In general, the economy and population numbers of the Flandreau Sioux had reached an "all-time low".[80] In the midst of this, vocational programs were sharply curtailed in the late 1950s and 1960s and the BIA attempted to prepare students for college attendance by concentrating on more academic programs. In contrast, the 1960s

and 1970s proved to be decades that mirrored change and cultural continuity, as well as a solid legislative reversal of the Termination/Relocation Era.[81]

Termination proved to be a temporary rather than permanent departure from the movement toward Indian Self-Determination that began with John Collier's principles and programs continuing into the 1930s. By the early 1960s, society at large began to appreciate the values of pluralism, which did not philosophically fit with the strongly assimilationist doctrines of the Termination Era. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were a period of public interest in Indian affairs and of governmental activity that rivaled in significance the era of the Indian removal, the humanitarian reform movement of the late nineteenth century, and the agitation for change that Collier and his followers had sparked in the 1920s.[82]

In terms of education, federal policy gradually evolved along the lines of economic legislation transformation. Progress came in the form of remedial programs that were established during the summer, as the educational level of Indian peoples was raised to meet the standards of non-Indian citizens. Amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided special funds for Indian education that were effectively used for remedial programs, recreational activities, and field trips.[83] In 1968, the national budget for adult education was increased from $15 to $25 million, as interest in cross-cultural education was reviewed, along with a renewed emphasis on teaching English as a second language to Indian children.[84]

In concert with other progressive programs came an increased concern that Indians participate in the education of their children. In 1967, a National Indian Education Advisory Committee was established and was comprised of fifteen tribal members. In

turn, Indian Educators themselves organized a National Indian Education Association as President Lyndon B. Johnson encouraged increased Native participation on boards of federal Indian schools across the nation.

The Senate Special Committee on Indian Education found the following in a report issued on November 3, 1969: "We have concluded that our national policies for educating American Indians are a failure of major proportion. They have not offered Indian children either in years past or today an educational opportunity anywhere near equal to that offered the great bulk of American children."[85] The committee insisted on increased participation and control by Native Americans of their educational system.

Another organization that was involved with this "problem" between 1968-1970 was the University of Chicago, with its National Study of American Indian Education. Thoroughly investigating all aspects of Indian education, the study primarily focused upon the overall causes and conditions, Indian social and cultural factors, as well as the weaknesses in the school. The overriding conclusion was to incorporate American Indian input into planning and programming. For the first time in the history of Indian Education, the Educational Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was overshadowed by non-bureau studies and reports.[86]

In the midst of this was the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the rise of the Red Power Movement. Essentially, the Indian Civil Rights Act served a selective and specific list of individual rights that were to be protected and simultaneously served the needs of the tribe, rather than adhere to a blanket extension of the Bill of Rights that only worked on a federal level. The "New Indians" who demanded an active voice in government also patterned their "Red Power" movement after the

"Black Power" movement, which facilitated the needs of the African American community in their desire to protest and test political powers. More specifically, the American Indian Movement, which was predominantly comprised of young urban Indians, made militant statements with their speeches and actions. A new sense of cultural pride arose in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which was reflected in the seizure of Alcatraz Island in 1969, the takeover of the BIA Building in Washington, DC, in 1972, and with the seizure of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1973. All of these actions forced the media and the nation to focus directly upon the plight of Indian peoples, as they themselves grappled with a new identity that would carry their culture into the late twentieth century.[87]

The passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act under the administration of Richard M. Nixon rounded out the major legislation for this era. The drive for Indian Self-Determination was nowhere more pronounced than in education. The responsibility of the federal government to provide educational programs was recognized and increasingly supported by congressional appropriations, but there was a new insistence on the part of both the executive branch and Congress that the programs meet the special educational and cultural needs of the Indians and that direction and control of the schools be placed in Indian hands in order to assure these goals.[88]

On a more immediate level, course work gradually changed during the 1960s and 1970s at Flandreau Indian School. Vocational programs were sharply curtailed during the late 1950s and early 1960s in a Bureau attempt to promote college attendance and emphasis. They later resurfaced, and by 1970 there was a dramatic shift in public thinking and a general recognition of the merits of vocational training. This was largely

due to changes in the job market and recognition that success was not necessarily dependent upon a college diploma.[89]

In terms of building projects during the 1960s, there was a resurgence in funding for construction on the campus as the Termination Era faded from the foreground of federal Indian policy. The first project involved building new dormitories at a combined cost of $1,235,000. Completed in 1963, these buildings provided considerably more student capacity and made it possible to demolish the older dorm facilities. The new gym and school building were completed in 1964, at a cost of $575,000 for the school building and auditorium and $205,000 for the gym. The construction of a new dining hall and kitchen in 1969 at a cost of $394,000 rounded out the building projects for the decade. This dining hall was unusual because it was directly connected to the boys' and girls' dorms, so that they could avoid the harsh cold of the winter months.[90]

In the 1970s, fall enrollment was limited by the sleeping accommodations (580) at the school. Enrollment during the year fluctuated but usually averaged around 500 students, with a graduation class of 100 students. Students placed on standby status in the fall were usually given an opportunity to enroll by the end of the first or second quarter, due to student turnover.[91]

The students of this decade usually came to Flandreau primarily from a ten-state contiguous area and represented more than thirty tribes. Students were transported to and from the school by chartered bus, with staff members serving as chaperones. The buses were provided in the fall and spring and also at Christmas. The school also provided lodging, transportation, subsistence, instruction, leisure time activities, and guidance services, while the Indian Health Service provided medical and dental care. The

Elementary and Secondary Education Act supplemented the school's regular funding, especially in remedial education, through Title I. Enrollment was limited to those students with a quarter or more Indian blood. For the 1976-1977 school year, the percentage that fit these parameters hovered around thirty-three percent.[92]

A Cultural Center was added in 1975, which promoted and celebrated Native Peoples through displays of artifacts and other historical objects. Built by the building trades students, the center also sold area Indian artwork. A greenhouse was constructed in 1975 in conjunction with biology classwork. Built by students and staff, this facility served as a laboratory and storage unit for various plant specimens, as well as a place to store the tanks of aquatic plants and animals. The 1970s were rounded out with the addition of three mobile classrooms in 1974 and 1975 under the Title I program of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. These classrooms were used for special and remedial classroom work.[93]

Amid all of the innovations and legislative change, the fundamental work of educating Indian children progressed both locally and nationally. By 1979, Indian students numbering 221,271 received government funds for their schooling through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. All measures leading to increased community control of the Indian schools were limited, due to the fact that they were still federally founded rather than tribally owned. Yet, through support of the special programs in public schools, scholarship programs for Indians and federal funding through BIA schools made the system, overall, more effective, innovative, and workable for Indian peoples.[94]

From the outset, the main impetus behind the formation of Flandreau Indian School was simply to educate and assimilate American Indian children. Over time this agenda

changed, in particular after the watershed decade of the 1930s and the implementation of John Collier's Indian New Deal. Gradually, the curriculum at the facility moved from strictly adhering to Richard Henry Pratt's educational mantra of "kill the Indian and save the man" to one of accommodation and cultural preservation. More specifically, the school altered its format by hiring better-educated and more experienced Indian Field Service veterans, by including culturally sensitive summer school programs and adult education, beginning in the 1930s, and by ultimately providing programming through the 1970s that reinforced cultural mores, beliefs, and practices alongside of those of the dominant society.

NOTES

[1] Flandreau Indian School, 1617684, Roll 11, Target 3, September 20, 1874-June 2, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] National Archives, Box 24, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[19] Flandreau Indian School, 1617684, Roll 11, Target 3, September 20, 1874-June 2, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[20] National Archives, Box 26, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] National Archives, Box 23, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[29] National Archives, Box 24, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[33] National Archives, Box 24, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[34] Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 312.

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[37] Ibid, 317-318.

[38] Ibid, 329.

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[41] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indians Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

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[46] Ibid.

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[50] Ibid.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] National Archives, Box 25, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Decimal Correspondences.

[57] National Archives, Box 2, Rg-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Decimal Correspondences: 1934-1951.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Prucha, 355.

[61] Ibid, 345.

[62] Ibid, 344.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Paul Stuart, ed. History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe (Flandreau, SD: Tribal History Pogram Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, 1971), 118.

[65] Ibid, 119.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[69] Stuart, 120.

[70] Ibid.

[71] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[74] Chronology of Events-Flandreau Indian School, 12/8/1995, Mr. Belkham.

[75] Stuart, 127.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid, 128.

[78] Ibid, 126-127.

[79] Ibid, 128.

[80] Ibid, 128-129.

[81] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[82] Prucha, 357.

[83] Ibid, 361.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid, 362.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid, 365-366.

[88] Ibid, 374.

[89] Flandreau Indian School Newsletter, 1977.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Prucha, 377.

CHAPTER 5

THE PIPESTONE SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION

When Pipestone Indian School opened at the turn of the century, it served as a center for education, as a bureaucratic arm for the federal government, and as an area hospital for Native Americans living along the state border of Minnesota and South Dakota. Similar to Flandreau Indian School, its initial goal was to transform the Indian population into model United States citizens who spoke English and were economically self-sufficient. Providing a program that revolved around academic and industrial training, the school found by the mid-1920s that its format was only partially successful, and therefore altered its curriculum and overall programming to match what was required under John Collier's Indian New Deal of the 1930s. Unfortunately for the school, these alterations were too little too late, and inevitably the school closed in the early 1950s. In response, other area facilities had to absorb both students, federal jurisdiction, and health care responsibilities that had been handled at Pipestone Indian School for over half a century.

The size of the staff for the inaugural years at Pipestone Indian School was small. In a report issued in 1894 by Inspector McCormick, he described the atmosphere of the school as being most congenial. Similar to the situation at Flandreau, the staff was comprised of people from states such as Kansas, Minnesota, South Dakota, and New

York. Many had prior experience in the Indian Field Service. The early positions included a superintendent, principle teacher, assistant teacher, physician, farmer, matron, disciplinarian, engineer, watchman, laundress, and cook. McCormick's assessment was primarily concerned with overall character, work habits, education, and how much time each individual invested in the school beyond his or her immediate duties. For instance, he described assistant teachers Mr. and Mrs. B. Collins of Missouri as well-educated people with good character and work habits. He went on to say that they were well qualified and that he had never seen anyone better for the position. He further praised the matron, Emma M. Jeffries of New York, for her dedication and for the fact that she was doing much for the building. The salaries in the 1890s ranged from $1,200 a year for the superintendent to $500 a year for the matron and farmer.[1] With these key individuals and federal funding in place, Pipestone Indian School provided an arena in which American Indian children on the northern plains could be both educated and assimilated into the dominant American society. Similar to Flandreau Indian School, the facility also provided a health center for the surrounding community for the duration of its operation.

With such a small staff, facility, and student body during the early years, Pipestone Indian School had to act on a cooperative basis between employees and children in order to maintain the overall welfare of the facility and program. For example, until more funds were made available, the Superintendent acted as disciplinarian and the Engineer's position was filled by either the farmer/watchman or the male students.[2]

In a review of the school issued in 1897 by James McLaughlin, Superintendent D. S. Harris of Pipestone described his staff as efficient and faithful and generally well satisfied. By then, the staff had nearly doubled and included the following individuals:

superintendent, industrial farmer, farmer, two teachers, assistant farmer, matron, two assistant matrons, cook, seamstress, laundress, assistant laundress, three industrial assistants, and a physician. Salaries ranged from $1,200 a year for the superintendent to $60 a year for the industrial staff. Pipestone employed at least seven tribal members in lower-level jobs. The staff was dominated by individuals in their 20s and 30s, with younger Native Americans acting as industrial assistants, seamstresses, assistant matrons, and assistant laundresses. For example, at eighteen, tribal member Mary La Duc was hired as assistant laundress for $120 a year, whereas tribal member and industrial assistant Annie Morgan was hired for $60 a year.[3] By 1897, staff was no longer having to cover more than one position at a time. Another feature of the employee list was the obvious discrepancy in salary between men and women and Native Americans and whites. This trend in pay scale and staffing closely resembled that of Flandreau Indian School in the corresponding decade.

Another angle addressed in the early years was the relationship between staff and students. In one report, M. Cailway, Superintendent of Indian Schools, wrote Superintendent D.S. Harris at Pipestone about the proposed system for discipline. He stated that Harris was at perfect liberty to make such rules and that the Matron was ultimately in charge of managing domestic affairs. All complaints and appeals were to be funneled through her and from there presented to the superintendent. Corporal punishment was not outlawed, but it had to be viewed as a last resort.[4]

In a similar vein, Inspector W. H. Gibbs, in a report from the 1910s, addressed the negative aspects of the sometimes overbearing influence of the House Matron. More

specifically, he described the discrepancies between the desires of the children and the whims of the staff:

> They do not like to be called such pet names as "Kangaroo", "Wildcat", "Young Savages" and one young miss with all the marks of a full blood Sioux expressed the opinion that jail would have some advantages if the jailer happened to be friendly. Restrictions are necessary but when advancing age or accumulating rheumatism indisposed a matron to walk it would seem that girls might be allowed some exercise. Their lives are dwarfed. Their tempers are spoiled. Their desire for further school life is blunted. These girls made it plain that they longed for companionship, for sisterly affection. They do not care for the services of a highly trained and modestly gowned maid who fills their cups with bird seed, sets in their bathing dish, adjusts the curtains so that the filtered light may show their cages to good advantage and then chases the cat downstairs.
>
> It is unfortunate when a matron whose nerves demand vast silences and who can not endure the frivolities of life at a home for aged women, or in a hospital patronized by convalescent deaf mutes, practices her doctrine that morality and monotony are devised from the same root and are intended to describe the most acceptable model of schoolgirls life.[5]

By the first decades the Pipestone Indian School already had begun developing its ties to the larger community by hiring community members at the school. In particular, they hired a crippled "breed Indian", Henry Martineau, from the Fond du Sac Agency as night watchman in the spring of 1916. Through cooperative projects and exchange of ideas, the federal government and the Indian Schools actively tried to create more effective vehicles for vocational training and subsequent job placement.[6]

In the early years of Pipestone and Flandreau, their common goal was to simultaneously provide vocational training and immersion for students away from their traditional cultural enclaves. This was not only reflected in choice of staff but also in curriculum at Pipestone Indian School. In a survey from 1897 issued by the Secretary of the Interior, Inspector James McLaughlin discussed the rapid expansion of the school and subsequent changes in programming. By the end of the decade, the school boasted one-

hundred and two students with forty-nine boys and fifty-three girls. The average of the students was thirteen years of age; the majority were Sioux and Chippewa, and all were natives of Minnesota, with the exception of six from South Dakota and three from Santee, Nebraska.[7] In terms of livestock, the school owned: twenty cows, one jersey bull, six steers, three heifers, nine calves, thirty-nine cattle, seven horses, nineteen lambs, five large hogs, 100 chickens, and turkeys. In terms of crop production, there were: 350 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oats, twenty-five tons of millet, twenty-five tons of hay, 600 bushels of potatoes, cabbage, pumpkins, and turnips. Clearly, by the end of the first decade the school was thriving, expanding, and relatively self-sufficient.[8]

At the turn of the century, federal officials placed an immediate emphasis upon stabilization, an overall desire to fine-tune projected goals for the future, and a simultaneous concern for uniformity among all federal boarding schools, as mandated by the Department of the Interior. Ultimately, they targeted American Indian children in their effort to "kill the Indian and save the man". A letter dated November 6, 1901, from the Superintendent for Indian Schools to Superintendent Dewitt S. Harris of Pipestone Indian School, expressly underscored the concept of uniformity in these words,

> The Outline of the Course of Study of Indian Affairs is adopted as the official course of study to be pursued in all Indian schools. It is expected that the superintendent will see that the pupils are thoroughly instructed in the various branches as set out in this course of study. It is suggested that as rapidly as possible all of your classes should be organized along the lines of the course, so that by the close of the year there may be uniformity and harmony throughout the service in this most important subject.[9]

From here, the letter digressed into a discussion of the distribution of twelve copies of a book with specific instructions from the Department of the Interior on how to properly and fully assimilate students. A separate package forwarded to the school specified Superintendent Harris's responsibility to ensure that the materials were distributed to

each teacher in the educational department and industrial school. It further underscored that these packets were the property of the U.S. Government and that they would be collected at the end of each term and redistributed at the commencement of the semester. If a staff member were transferred to another school, his or her copy would be collected. Furthermore, lost or destroyed copies would be immediately reported and replaced. He closed his letter with the following words:

> It should be the constant aim of the teacher to follow this course and do as much more in each grade as he or she has time to accomplish; but the chief end view should be the attainment of practical knowledge by the pupil, and no teacher should feel restrained from asserting his or her individuality in bringing the pupil's mind to a realization of the right way of living and in emphasizing the dignity and nobility of labor. Hoping that patriotic Christian citizenship and ability for self-support will result from what this course of study may inspire.[10]

At this point in the history of Pipestone Indian School, its goals were similar to those of Flandreau in that they simultaneously provided a vocational training program and immersion away from students' traditional cultures. By 1910, the Department of the Interior specifically stated to all superintendents and agents of the Indian schools and reservations its desire to employ in the "Service" Native Americans who had been educated and trained at the federal boarding schools. Supervisor Charles E. Dageneu specifically published letters that reflected a desire on the part of many former students to work as clerks, stenographers, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, engineers, bakers, and disciplinarians among the boys and as teachers, clerks, stenographers, seamstresses, matrons, laundresses, bakers, and cooks among the girls. Essentially, Dageneu was as interested in facilitating the needs of the youngsters, the young men and women were interested in acquiring jobs that directly pertained to their training.[11]

By the close of the first two decades, the school had gradually expanded in numbers and in tribal representation. More specifically, by 1910 the school enrolled Eastern Cherokee and Iroquois students, as well as Winnebago, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Chippewa, and Santee Sioux.[12] Similar to Flandreau Indian School, Pipestone actively recruited students from outside of the Dakota Sioux population and corresponding region. Their core population of Sioux Indians, however, remained the same throughout the history of the school.

During the 1910s Pipestone mixed philosophical continuity and structural change, with the ultimate goal of assimilation somehow remaining intact. The faculty at Pipestone concerned themselves with safeguarding the industrial training programs, job placement for students after graduation, the usual array of facility repairs, concern for students' health, and the discontinuation and subsequent reinstatement of the upper and lower grades. By 1911, the facility included twenty buildings worth $107,775[13] and still operated under the premise that the purpose of Indian education was to prepare the Native American population for independent citizenship and to qualify Native Americans to assume every duty and responsibility of citizenship. It was also believed that for Native Americans to become independent, productive peoples, they must be brought to mingle and associate freely with their truly Americanized neighbors. The main rationale behind this belief was that hundreds of thousands of foreigners came into this country annually and were rapidly Americanized in a similar fashion, with those that were already by birth, adoption, and education "good citizens". With this in view, it was considered the responsibility of the public school system to enroll as quickly as possible the American Indian children. The long-term goal was the rapid assimilation of Native Americans

through education and the subsequent disappearance of individual tribes and distinct cultural enclaves.[14] In accordance with this goal, one of the most important features of the instructor's work in Indian Schools during the first years of the Indian child's attendance was assisting the pupil in acquiring a vocabulary. From here, the teachers negotiated on a classroom-to-classroom basis as to how many words a non-English speaking Indian child could learn during the first year.[15]

In October, 1915, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated that most American Indians in the Pipestone vicinity attended either the "training school" or Birch Cooley Day School near Morton, Minnesota. Most of the area Indians lived in Redwood, Goodhouse, Scott, Wabasha, and Yellow Medicine counties, and belonged to the Medwkanton band of the Sioux, Santees, the Sissetons, and Wahpetons.[16] The Commissioner described the Minnesota Sioux as amenable to the laws of Pipestone jurisdiction, with the exception that, as a rule, they were somewhat "less industrious" than white neighbors. Their living conditions were considered to be similar to those of the poorer class of white people. Most had comfortable houses, and very few individuals were considered to be destitute (with the exception of some of the elderly). Most children attended Flandreau, Pipestone, Carlisle, Haskell boarding schools or area public schools.[17]

The Commissioner described Pipestone Indian Training School as situated one mile from the town of Pipestone in Minnesota. The school accommodated students through the eighth grade and generally tried to adhere to other state school standards, because many graduates went to local high schools to complete their educations. For the boys, the training program encompassed farming, gardening, stock raising, carpentry,

plumbing, printing stationary, engineering, the operation of machinery, tailoring, shoe and harness making, and repair. For the girls, the program provided dressmaking and fitting, laundering, cooking and domestic science, rug making, embroidery, and mending.[18]

The student body of 1915 was comprised of 225 children, with fifty-one from the White Earth Community and the rest a conglomerate of fourteen other tribes. When the students arrived, they were required to furnish health certificates, and then each was given a shower (there were ninety-four shower facilities each for the boys and girls). Students arriving with tuberculosis and trachomatous were segregated and placed on sleep porches at the campus hospital. The Pipestone Indian School hospital, constructed for $5,000, boasted sixteen beds with modern conveniences such as sleeping porches, and it simultaneously serviced the medical needs of the larger community.[19]

In order to keep the parents notified of their children's activities and overall well-being, the school required that the students write home at least once a month. This program was initiated throughout the Indian Service in order to allow parents to have more tangible access to their children's lives, beyond the monthly report cards.[20]

In several surveys and letters dating from this decade, the Department of the Interior and various superintendents at both Pipestone and Birch Cooley Schools specifically addressed issues revolving around the basic concept of "assimilation" and whether it was working at all. Some of the officials were concerned with blood quantum, while others focused in on language ability or Indian-white perceptions and relations within the school and larger community.

On December 29, 1913, the Supervisor L. L. Michael at Birch Cooley Day School expressed his frustration with the educational system, "Fifteen Pupils are at Pipestone School, some quite small, this is on account of the miserable home conditions but such transfers should be held at a minimum. Parents must not get the notion that if they are shiftless and do not provide for their children that the government will provide for them."[21]

In contrast, Inspector W. H. Gibbs had the opposite response to that which Michael had had four years earlier. Gibbs supported the Indian Community School by decrying public prejudice. At the time of his report, two Indians were in jail in the town of Pipestone awaiting trial for violations of the liquor laws. In the wet towns near "Indian Country," the saloons boasted glaring signs that stated, "No Minors or Indians allowed" on the streetside façade of the buildings. Gibbs believed that the signs were thus keeping forever before the Indian the public insult that they were equivalent to children. He argued that these unnecessary public placards not only humiliated and discouraged Indians but acted as a spur to law violations. Gibbs argued that these signs were responsible for causing American Indians to resist anything that they believed was attached to the federal government and its programming. Essentially, the signs had a direct correlation to lack of hope, ambition, and enterprise that pervaded throughout the American Indian communities.[22]

In another segment of the same report, Father Aloysin of White Earth Reservation expressed to Gibbs his perceptions, which were a mixture of contempt and concern for the American Indians. "Father Aloysin at White Earth told me that after an experience of thirty-eight years he had reached the conclusion that the Indians' intellect is equal to the

white man's and that the character he lacks was 'backbone'. He said that his motto in his dealings with them was 'kindness and firmness', a most excellent one in all dealings."[23] Gibbs found another ally in Instructor Miss Mann. She openly expressed a concern that the children were being forced beyond their capacity for assimilation. In some cases, she believed, the efforts of the educators were more counterproductive than helpful.[24] Yet the children continued to have their days divided into two segments, education and vocational training. This format was used through the 1930s, until dramatic changes were introduced under the Indian New Deal after the publication of the Merium Report of 1928, which supported the negative notions about rapid assimilation that staff had held to be true in earlier decades.

Gibbs mentioned other problems, such as overcrowding and the work capacity of the smaller children. In most cases, dorms that were equipped for thirty children housed sixty. In an attempt to alleviate the problem of overworking the smaller girls, Gibbs suggested that the older girls scrub the floors instead of the smaller children, despite the protest of Superintendent Mann.[25]

By 1919, it was clear that the federal officials and boarding school staff at Pipestone were reconsidering the concept of full and immediate assimilation. Some of the cosmetic complaints included: the overcrowding of the boys' and girls' dorms, the lack of hooks for garments and pillows in the boys' dorms, boys having to share clothing from communal apparel piles, and the Matron, Mrs. Felix, spending more time on her housekeeping than her duties as Matron of Boys.[26] Inadequate clothing was an ongoing problem. In 1916, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Charles F. Pierce argued that the students at the federal boarding schools in the northern climates should be supplied with

wool/heavier undergarments than in other areas. This open dialogue between federal officials about the basic needs of the student was more common than not.[27] It was also clear that these minor facility and supply problems further aggravated the growing belief that rapid assimilation through complete immersion was failing dramatically.

The school reports of the 1910s also illuminated an overt concern for image, blood quantum, and tribal enrollment among the student body at Pipestone Indian School. In 1913, Superintendent Frank M. Mann specifically complained about having to accept more "1/4 bloods and up" than "full bloods" at the school because of competition from Flandreau, Haskell, Chilocco, Wahpeton, and Tomah Indian Schools. For example, in 1917, Inspector W. H. Gibbs also expressed concern with "numbers" and "blood-quantum", when he listed these figures: of the 163 students-seventy-nine Chippewa, forty-five Sioux, thirteen Oneidas, eleven Winnebago, eight Sac and Fox, three Assiniboine, two Arikara, and two Mandan. Of these, sixty-two were full bloods, twenty-four were three-fourths, seventeen were half, forty-three were quarter, and seventeen were an eighth, and most if not all were from rural areas. As late as 1919, Inspector Gibbs also complained of trouble recruiting students from remote Chippewa reservations, in order to increase the quota of full bloods.[28]

Another complication for the school involved a case in which a "½ Indian and ½ Negro" boy from Minneapolis wanted to attend Pipestone in 1916. He was rejected outright because of his mixed-blood status and because he was from an urban area. More specifically, according to Superintendent Mann, "This class of boys, nine times out of ten, do not benefit by coming to school and they exert a most pernicious influence upon

those who might otherwise benefit. As a whole, I am entirely out of sympathy with taking mixed-bloods from towns and cities and trying to reform them."[29]

In the midst of this, there existed a simultaneous pressure to hire individuals of Indian ancestry in staff positions at the school. For instance, in 1916 Mr. and Mrs. Felix served as the Disciplinarian and Matron at the school, respectively. Both of Chippewa ancestry, they were actively encouraged to remain at Pipestone in order to act as models for the students as to how "education" and "assimilation" had improved their lives and those of the people in the surrounding Native American community.[30]

At the same time, Pipestone served as a hospital not only for students and staff but also for all area Indians. By 1913, the Bureau of Indian Affairs requested a tubercular test and inspection of dairy herds because the Native American communities and schools were so overwrought with the illness, a chronic problem. Physician Joseph A. Murphy in 1914 thought that the cases of tuberculosis could have been reduced if they had been caught earlier.[31] Between 1912-1918, the school started requiring tuberculosis and dental records from all students entering Pipestone. In a survey generated in 1915, it was found that there were thirty-four tuberculosis cases at Pipestone (fifteen boys and nineteen girls), and most were from the reservation. Another illness that was commonly treated in the 1910s was trachoma. By the 1920s, the list of common chronic cases included tuberculosis, conjunctivitis, scabies, and pustular infection.[32]

The 1910s were rounded out academically with the closure of the two lower and two higher grades in 1918. Consequently, by the early 1920s, Pipestone featured only grades one through six in it curriculum.[33] In 1919, the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School graphically outlined the negative repercussions of the grade eliminations in a

letter to the editor of the "Indian School Journal", Chilocco, Oklahoma. According to the Superintendent, the worst aspect of the change was the loss of machinery and government resources. Essentially, the phasing out of the grades left the school in the same financial state as any on-reservation facility, despite the fact that the school was technically off-reservation. From the perspective of the pupils, those completing sixth grade were most affected. With this budget cut, it was unlikely that they would continue on with their education elsewhere. The Superintendent believed that most, more likely than not, would return to the reservation feeling that they had in fact graduated from the sixth grade, yet would remain unprepared for the non-Indian world.[34]

The school also directly suffered from the elimination of athletics, the school newspaper, "The Peace Pipe", the band, and the loss of many of the social features that went so far toward making a boarding school and its life attractive to pupils. Openly disappointed, the Superintendent credited his staff for making the best of a bad situation. Furthermore, he expressed his belief that it was hard to conceive of an economic measure that would have "hit it a more striking blow than the reduction for its grade, and equally to imagine one that would afford greater relief than their restoration".[35] The main problem with Pipestone was that it logistically competed with Flandreau and was eventually closed altogether in 1954, after yet another series of changes in curriculum and grade expansion and depletion.

One essential feature of the Indian Schools and other branch services was that they tried to work cohesively in finding post-graduation positions for Native American students. Throughout the 1910s, Pipestone Indian School either employed or found employment for Native American men and women in the following positions: mechanic,

newspaperman, tailor, watchman, shoe and harness-maker, clerk, and stenographer. In particular, the Division of Farm Management under the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture offered to co-operate with the Indian schools throughout the county in the matter of improving the instruction in agriculture and kindred subjects. The overall goal of this cooperative venture was to provide more thorough and practical instruction, as well as increase the income from the school farms.[36] In a letter dated November 20, 1916, from the Department of the Interior to Superintendent Mann of Pipestone, revealed a similar exchange of ideas on vocational programs/training discussed in the letter. More specifically, the Department of the Interior provided examples from programs at other schools as guidelines for Mann to follow in his revision of Pipestone's program.[37]

Another avenue of assistance was the writing of letters of recommendation by boarding school officials on behalf of the graduating or graduated students. As other schools wrote Pipestone about job openings or individuals in need of jobs, the school provided a specific pupil with a profile or possible apprenticeships and jobs. For example, in 1915 officials at Carlisle Indian School corresponded with Superintendent Mann at Pipestone suggesting that he hire Hiram Chase as editor of the school paper. Chase was described as a splendid young man who was capable of editing the paper under Mann's supervision. They further noted that he was currently employed in the county newspaper office in Pender, Nebraska.[38] On another occasion in 1915, the Superintendent at Carlisle Indian School recommended that Pipestone hire former pupil Fred Ettawageskuk, an Ottawa Indian from Michigan, as a teacher. He described Ettawageskuk as "an individual from the poorer class of Indians, who was a hard worker

nonetheless". He also mentioned his ability to play the clarinet, although not as a proficient musician. The Superintendent also stated that if he were given the position, Carlisle Indian School would provide funding for his transportation to Pipestone.[39] In a final letter in reference to job placement from Carlisle Indian School, the Superintendent suggested that they not hire a Charles Brown as the shoe and harness-maker at Pipestone because "the student was Pueblo and had a poor command of English, like many of his tribe". He added that the boy had a splendid character and could do the actual work, but feared that he would fail as an instructor. The final rationale against his hiring was that the Superintendent doubted "the wisdom of sending a warm climate boy up into your cold country".[40]

The overall atmosphere of the school reflected paternalistic expectations on the part of the Indian school officials, yet a simultaneous reluctance to support individual abilities in the letters of recommendation. Whether referring the student for the position or not, the Superintendent at Carlisle constantly apologized to F. T. Mann for the inadequacies of the students and ultimately for the "perceived inabilities of their race". In this respect, implicit racism limited the measures that the school would take in promoting each student beyond his or her vocational expectation.

The job placement program had some problems. Sometimes the students trained in one area could not find a corresponding position and had to be retrained or apprenticed in another. More specifically, Pipestone Indian School at one point had trained a number of surplus clerks and stenographers who were later re-trained as mechanics.[41] Another problem was tracing students after graduation, particularly those who were not tribally enrolled but of Indian ancestry. In many instances very little was shown of the pupil's

history, in fact nothing except the date of enrollment, age, and date of leaving school. That many children of Indian blood educated in this school were "state" Indians, and not enrolled at an agency, added to the difficulty of keeping track of them out of school.[42]

Certain aspects of the developments of the1910s were a continuation of the previous two decades. The school was focused upon solidified programs and philosophies that had been generated at the end of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, the decade served as a springboard for subsequent change in the Indian Service that would reach its fruition in the 1930s.

A marked departure in Indian-white relations during the 1920s came between 1926-1928 under the auspices of the Merium Report, published as The Problem of Indian Administration. The person chosen to direct the survey was Lewis Merium, a permanent staff member of the Institute for Government Research with long experience in technical study of government operations. The nine-person technical team under Merium comprised specialists in the fields of law, family life, and the conditions of Indians in urban communities, and boasted one "Indian advisor".[43] Within a seven-month period, the group visited ninety-five reservations, agencies, hospitals and schools, as well as visiting communities of Indians who had moved from the reservations.

The survey team found deplorable conditions in health, education, and economic welfare and incompetent and inefficient personnel. The survey team pursued reform via generous appropriations to improve the administration of the Indian services in health care, education, and economic development, and the establishment of a Division of Planning and Development in the Indian Office that would consist of a group of experts with time free for research and planning of Indian Programs. The Merium Report was not

a radically innovative document seeking to overturn existing policy. It was, however, seeking more money at once so that the process of preparing the Indian wards to enter American society as self-supporting, independent citizens could be efficiently speeded up and the Indian problem of the federal government dissolved. Essentially, it simultaneously served as a turning away from ineffective nineteenth-century federal policy and a catalyst for the Indian New Deal of the 1930s.[44]

In December of 1928, the Department of the Interior, seeking specific ways to strengthen the boarding schools, issued a similar report. More specifically, District Superintendent Peyton Carter compared the pupils in Pipestone School to those of neighboring area non-Indian schools. Carter's rationale for generating the report was to show the fundamental weakness in the schools. In the face of this dilemma, Carter believed that Pipestone presented an unusually satisfactory condition. He found the children at Pipestone to be unusually healthy, happy, and better fed than the pupils in an average school. The employees appeared efficient, cooperative, and loyal, and the Superintendent was equally enthusiastic, interested, and anxious to carry out every rule and regulation of the Indian Office. The school also boasted an unusually productive farm in concert with the school.[45]

Using charts, graphs, and statistics, Carter argued that to more effectively educate and assimilate the Indian people, the school needed to enroll the children at an earlier age and reinforce the learning and speaking of English. He further stated that unless a child learned English prior to the age of ten or twelve, he would face insurmountable barriers both in school and in life. This idea was further explored in these words:

> Unless children at a comparatively early age acquire the idioms of English themselves with ease and facility they are liable never to become

> proficient in the English language. This is an old principle of psychology, which is well recognized and need not be further discussed here. I have in mind, that our own service illustrates the truth of this statement. We have only three young women of Indian blood in my district who are teachers. In each case the predominance of white blood is so apparent that, except for the "Cataloguer's spite", they would not be known to have Indian blood. The point is these young ladies acquired a thorough knowledge of English while very young and, or course, were capable of rapidly taking advanced work in our schools.[46]

Other recommendations drawn by Carter included: fine-tuning language abilities to deflate the burden of job placement upon federal officials; less focus on industrial training and more on development of the intellect; the teaching of the English language as the primary objective of the school; and enrollment of the Indian children in the boarding school at the age of six.[47] Other larger concerns included the "unsanitary and deficient Indian Home" as well as the damaging ramifications for the "allotment plan". The conclusions drawn by Carter in reference to the Dawes Allotment paralleled those of the Merium Report. More specifically, he referred to the Allotment Act of 1887 as an unsuccessful short cut to civilization. With hindsight, Carter thought that other untried options would have been better, "They have been short cuts as it were to a higher plain of racial existence. I doubt if they have been fundamental. The essential thing in making over the Indian race is to change its philosophy of life, to change its attitude towards things as the dominant civilization knows and understands them."[48]

Carter also expressed concern about the home environment from which the children were arriving. In most respects he considered the influence of the parents to be both noxious and counter-productive. He considered the influence of the "primitive Indian parent" to be not only of no value, but also at times positively detrimental. Carter further argued that the children should be allowed back into the homes and extended

communities only when the homes of Indian parents were considered fairly satisfactory and compliant to federal standards. Carter also reiterated the goal of the federal government as the advancement of the Indian people. Once they were sufficiently educated as a race, the Indian problem would be solved and the subsequent financial burden lifted.[49] In conclusion, Superintendent Carter underscored the need, above all else, for superior language skills. Rather than reinforce industrial training, he felt that the focus should shift over to English.

The concepts of retention, recruitment, concern for home environment, and language barriers were voiced in the early part of the decade as well as in the latter half of the 1920s. These problems were further compounded by the omission of the seventh and eighth grades just prior to 1920. In 1922, Commissioner Charles H. Burke expressed an active interest against reinstating the two grades. However, by the end of the decade the grades were reinstated, with a push for full vocational high school despite the overtures of Burke.[50]

The on-going concern for the students' lack of language skills and reading comprehension was specifically cited in 1923 by Superintendent Padgett. In a report from that year, he stated that a number of older boys in the primary grades had stopped growing mentally. He also suggested that they were capable of further advancement but only in industrial work. Ideally, they should be the constant companion of a man who would allow them to work with him, and as a result of this contact their English should improve. The objective in this instance was two-fold. By placing them with an industrial specialist for a year, the boys would gain more practical skills that

could later potentially translate into jobs. This program would also relieve (at least temporarily) the classroom of individuals who were less proficient in English.[51] Padgett further described the boys as probably sub-normal individuals who should be assigned to some employer as a "Robinson Crusoe where they can serve as his man Friday".[52] It is obvious from this excerpt that Padgett only envisioned a future of manual labor for these individuals. He also openly viewed them as racially inferior, which was a common ranking for people of color in the context of Social Darwinism.

The school addressed the areas of recruitment and retention on a local level, as did the Department of the Interior on the national level, via circular letters. In reference to recruitment, the school issued individual letters, surveyed counties and reservations, advertised at community events such as pow wows and fairs, and even recruited at other federal boarding schools. In a correspondence dated September 5, 1922, a case arose involving Superintendent of Pipestone, Ora Padgett and the three sons of Mr. Eugene Martin. Superintendent W. R. Beyer of the Fort Totten Indian School in North Dakota concluded that it would be best to delay enrollment for these children because they were of mixed Sioux and Chippewa ancestry. The policy at Pipestone in 1922 was to give priority to Sioux students. Essentially, these pupils would serve as alternates.[53]

In 1921, Pipestone issued a call for all eligible children from the Fort Berthold Agency in North Dakota to attend the non-reservation boarding schools. The goal of the school was to enroll every eligible child on the reservation in some school somewhere and to successfully carry out the policies of the federal government. Furthermore, Pipestone officials offered to make arrangements for those students who were not already placed in Pipestone for the fall semester.[54] The Superintendent of Pipestone concluded

by stating that the school would provide transportation for new and returning pupils. Similar correspondence from 1924 between J.W. Balmer, Superintendent of Pipestone, and J.J. Duncan, a Day School Inspector, discussed generating a list of students who were to be recruited from the reservation for Pipestone. At this time, there continued much cooperation between area and regional Indian Schools in reference to recruitment and tracking of students.

By the 1920s, the boarding school staff resorted to appearing at on- and off-reservation cultural events in order to directly advertise Pipestone Indian School as a "tribally friendly" environment. In a correspondence from a day school inspector, S. Toledo Sherry, to Superintendent Padgett, on August 15, 1923, the two ironed out the details of an on-reservation visit to the Omaha and Winnebago reservation. More specifically, they were interested in acquiring new students for Pipestone by attending the Omaha Pow Wow.[55] In a similar situation in August of 1923, Superintendent C.M. Ziebach stated to the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School that he needed a list of students from the Crow Creek Agency in South Dakota who had attended the school in 1923. Ziebach wanted this list so that these pupils could be on hand to greet the new students. He further suggested that Pipestone send an official to advertise the school at the annual Crow Creek Indian Fair, held on the reservation from August 29-31. Ziebach stated that this was a particularly important time, because almost every American Indian family would be in attendance. Ziebach closed his correspondence by expressing his desire to see every school-aged child on the reservation enrolled at the beginning of fall term.[56] It is clear from these two examples that recruitment moved beyond the two-dimensional list level and was instead a full community affair.

A final feature of recruitment was the active correspondence and cooperation within the Indian boarding school system. More specifically, during the 1920s Pipestone actively kept track of overflow enrollment at Haskell Institute in Kansas in order to steer some of the children elsewhere and to Pipestone. In a correspondence from Haskell to Pipestone, school officials stated that there would be little room at Haskell Institute that year for pupils who were not prepared to enter junior vocational or seventh grade, or grades above. They concluded that they would only be able to accept a few for the pre-vocational grades.[57]

Pipestone was not only interested in recruiting favorable students, but also in discouraging those deemed "incorrigible" from applying. In a circular from 1923, Superintendent Padgett of Pipestone actively collected lists of potential pupils who were runaways or social deviants, in order to safeguard the reputation of the school as being one that emphasized academic and industrial training rather than one that harbored juvenile delinquents.[58] In one particular instance, Padgett directly blocked the admission of a full-blood Native American boy named William Crow, who was suspected of setting fire to three school buildings on the Winnebago Agency. Padgett strongly suggested that the parents not send the twelve year-old boy to Pipestone Indian School.[59] Other children rejected were those with less than quarter blood or if the pupils or their parents owned taxable real estate within the public school district.

Beyond retention, recruitment, and a desire to improve programming via such fundamental surveys as the Merium Report was a desire to maintain the status quo. While Pipestone Indian School acted as an agent for assimilation, it also began promoting cultural preservation. Pipestone participated in the annual Santa Fe Fiesta and Indian

Arts and Crafts Exhibit of 1923 by allowing work created in the classroom to be exhibited in Santa Fe. An emphasis was placed not only on high-quality craftsmanship but also on objects that reflected native designs.[60]

Finally, Pipestone Indian School also facilitated the needs of the community through tribe-to-tribe activities on and around the Pipestone Quarry. In a letter dated July 18, 1926, Superintendent J.W. Balmer of Pipestone Indian School was asked when a gathering of Sioux people was to occur at the falls of the Little Sioux River or Pipestone Quarry. Apparently Mr. Medicine Crow had placed a request with the Department of the Interior for this information, which was then forwarded to Pipestone Indian School. In the same correspondence, the two officials relayed information relating to a pow wow that was also going to occur in conjunction with the event.[61]

J. W. Balmer was asked to handle a similar situation a year later through an inquiry made to the Department of the Interior. More specifically, some tribal elders were concerned with the disposition of the Pipestone Quarry site, which they believed to be tribal lands.[62] Essentially, this was just another example of how Pipestone Indian School still acted as an area office for Indian Affairs in the vicinity.

Job placement for Native American students and individuals in the larger community continued during the 1920s as it had during the previous decades. More specifically, in a letter from Chilocco Indian School to Pipestone Indian School dated August 7, 1920, Superintendent Blair tried to find placement for Emma Tiger, Andrew Palone, and Johnson Bear, who would be graduating or already had graduated. The letter also expressed the lack of adequate disciplinarians in the Indian Field Service.[63] Another scenario in which the school was engaged was in finding employment for a local "part-

blood" Native American named James Goslin. Superintendent Everett of La Pointe Indian Agency in Wisconsin described Goslin as, "an educated, sober, reliable man, aged 45 years. I consider him one of the most dependable fellows on the local reservation."[64] Balmer also described Goslin's wife as a "most dependable and worthy educated person and a Carlisle graduate". Everett further discussed how their home was neat and well-managed, and if employed in positions at Pipestone, that they would bring four orphaned nephews and nieces with them.[65] These two examples fully illustrate the role of the boarding schools not only in education but also in job placement. Superintendent Padgett of Pipestone stated that the motto of Native American students should always be "In the Indian youth lies the hope of his race".[66]

In the midst of this overt continuity, Pipestone experienced subtle philosophical and organizational shifts that would prepare it for the dramatic changes during the Indian New Deal of the 1930s. These changes came in the form of programming that supported Native American traditions such as arts and crafts and the singing of traditional songs, as well as the creation of Scout Troops and a curriculum that generally reflected a gradual rather than rapid assimilation policy. By the close of the 1920s, the school continued to act as an area office for federal activities and as a hospital, handling cases of tuberculosis, conjunctivitis, scabies, and pustular infection of the legs.[67]

Prior to the 1930s, the school primarily was concerned with establishing an atmosphere of non-Indian immersion. Its program strictly enforced a half day of classes, and the other half was dedicated to industrial training. More specifically, all students took classes in English literature, mathematics, and history and were simultaneously trained in cooking, sewing, farming, carpentry, and masonry. The pupils were also

required to cut their hair, and wear American clothing, and were not allowed to speak their native languages. As at neighboring Flandreau Indian School, Pipestone subtly shifted its focus in response to external and internal forces during the 1920s and 1930s. More specifically, both the findings of the Merium Report and John Collier's Indian New Deal stimulated a shift for limited accommodation rather than full assimilation. At the same time, Pipestone continued to connect with the larger community by serving as a focal point for federal intervention and as a health clinic in the surrounding area.

By 1930, District Superintendent Peyton Carter was clearly re-assessing the role of the school in the lives of children and the larger community. Pipestone reinstated the seventh and eighth grades during the latter part of the 1920s so that Native American students would have a chance to attend college. Thus far, Carter felt that two "handicaps" the school still faced were lack of language skills and vocational programs not leading to definite occupations or properly preparing students for college.[68] Carter suggested that there was fallacy in the idea that they must set an individual to work on a rather difficult task for a long period of years, which he or she may learn to like over time. He further suggested that a student might have respect for the operations necessary to do the work, yet be driven away from the things the school had wanted the student to like when they initially put to work.[69] His solution was that the schools provide more challenging and worthwhile vocational programs, so that young men and women could attain the job satisfaction that they craved. In 1931, Carter underscored the lack of language skills, vocational training, and job placement that he had previously addressed. More specifically, he cited a group of fifth and sixth graders who were proficient in art

class in making totem poles, paintings and other handiwork, yet were lacking in language and reading skills and were "timid and hesitant".[70]

Superintendent J.W. Balmer had a similar assessment of the situation, but from a slightly different angle. He argued that the "brightest" students were not enrolled at Pipestone because the children who were better off economically and subsequently "more intelligent" attended area day schools and lived at home. Balmer believed that most of the children at Pipestone arrived from reservation homes and cultural enclaves where English was not spoken and generally lacked early "home training".[71]

Balmer's suggestion for a solution was to keep the Native American students at school during the summer months and to recruit them at an earlier age.[72] Indian Commissioner J. Henry Scattergood further suggested that the Pipestone students attend Flandreau Indian School for high school vocational training.[73] In general, Balmer believed that American Indian children had a better opportunity for an education than their parents and area non-Indian citizens.[74]

On the eve of the Indian New Deal, the Department of the Interior issued its Annual Report for 1933, which echoed similar "reform-minded" sentiments. The report stated that enrollment was at 357, with a capacity of 325, and retention of 328 pupils. He went on to discuss the accessibility of the Pipestone Quarries and the traditional relationship of the Sioux to the area. This site is where the Sioux and other area tribes have extracted red pipestone for peace pipes for centuries. Rich in traditional folklore, the quarry is considered to be the dwelling place for the Great Spirit as well as the only location in North America from which to extract the stone.[75] Rather than ignore this sacred site altogether, the school instead incorporated its use and significance into classroom

discussions and extra-curricular activities. It was also the sacred location from which Pipestone Indian School received its name. The school fostered a "combination" program, by mixing vocational education with Native American traditions. It was obvious from this report that the goal of full and immediate assimilation was no longer a priority by 1933.

The report went on to describe Pipestone as a facility that enrolled "needy" American Indian boys and girls from sixteen different reservations located in six different states; Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The school boasted grades one through nine, with all-day education for grades one to sixth, with three-quarters of a day academic instruction for the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Grades seven to nine also received a quarter day of vocational training in farming, gardening, carpentry, painting, masonry, engineering, auto mechanics, dairying, and stock and poultry raising for the boys; and homemaking, cooking, sewing, baking, and home nursing for the girls. No production work was required of any pupils, and all tasks assigned were of an educational nature. Light chores, the same as required of children in well-regulated "white" homes, were the only tasks required of the older pupils in addition to the regular vocational instruction assigned to them. Pipestone ensured that plenty of free time was given to all pupils each day for recreational activities, and boys and girls were allowed to mix during these periods. In the report, Superintendent J.W. Balmer concluded this section by stating that it had always been the aim of Pipestone to make the school as a "large home" for the Indian boys and girls instead of the environment of a government institution. In his mind, Pipestone had succeeded.[76]

The new general hospital opened during the latter part of August and functioned as a health facility for students and area Indians. The hospital formally opened with the school in early September, with five hundred persons from the City of Pipestone and the surrounding county visiting the institution. By the end of September, the Southwestern Minnesota Medical Association entertained there and held its regular fall meeting at the hospital.[77]

The regular and head nurses arrived in the fall. Within the course of the first year of its opening the facility had to handle the following cases: an epidemic of mumps in the fall, an unusual number of scabies and impetigo, twenty cases of pneumonia in the winter, an epidemic of influenza, an epidemic of measles in the spring, a number of operations, trachoma, and three tubercular cases. In an attempt to halt further illness and epidemics, the school had all of the children vaccinated for smallpox, and they were given a Wassermann and Amintax test, and a toxoid for diphtheria. The hospital took ninety-two x-ray films of patients' chests. The hospital staff also took 188 x-ray chest films of the students at Flandreau Indian School. In general, they were trying to decipher all of the various angles and treatments for the ever-growing tuberculosis problem. Balmer stated that since the opening of the new hospital with its "splendid equipment", the medical services rendered to the pupils led to marked improvement both in the health of the pupils and the Native people in the surrounding community.[78]

The academic work of the school was carried on very successfully, despite the lack of an academic building. Classes throughout the year were held in different buildings, with first grade in the Girl's Home and second grade in the Boy's Home. Third and fourth grades were held in the Carpenter's Shop and fifth grade in the Hospital Lounge. Sixth grade was

held in the old hospital, which was temporarily remodeled to accommodate these classes. The school Gymnasium was used for all assemblies, Sunday school, and Chapel Services.[79]

In the Academic Department, the teachers adhered to the requirements of the progressive educational system. More specifically, the boarding school system was realigned to mirror the state course of other non-Indian schools within the larger community. This meant more emphasis placed upon academics, extra-curricular activities, and clubs. Essentially, the school no longer placed its emphasis solely upon acquiring a lucrative vocation after graduation. Under this new format, the students showed marked progress during the year.

The school followed Minnesota State Course of Study, with such modifications as found after careful study to be best adapted to the needs of the Indian boys and girls. The aim of Pipestone was to adhere the State Course as closely as possible, so that pupils whose parents moved to communities where the children could attend public schools could adapt themselves to their new environment with a minimum of confusion. Study was made of different courses of study, with an aim of selecting from them such parts as were best adapted and could be used in the program.[80]

Another feature of the progressive educational program that was introduced during the year was the "activity" or "free choice" period. The school's schedule allowed each of the lower grades, from the second to the fifth, an hour in the Woodworking Shop and Home Economics Department. The cooperation of the Academics and Vocational Departments added greatly to its success. Children within these grades were given the privilege of making their own selections of the places they wished to go for their "free choice" period, and what they wished to do during this period. The instructors did not take an active part in these periods, merely maintaining order and answering such questions or offering such

suggestions as the children might ask for. These periods were beneficial toward the advancement of the pupils in that they created a spirit of co-operation and initiative that could in no other way be obtained.[81] Along the same lines, the vocational work of the school in the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth grades that was given in the Home Economics, Woodworking, Engineering and Farming and Dairying Departments, tried to provide a fair choice of pre-vocational subjects to select from. This service was provided so that students could easily move onto a regular vocational school.[82]

Other features of Pipestone in 1933 included a library accessible to all grades. Teachers gave books to children in the lower grades, whereas students in the upper grades could choose their own. The school also scheduled gymnasium periods for all grades. The purpose of this was for the overall health of the students, as well as for the "comradely" aspect. Outdoor sports were played in all seasons and were advised by the sixth-grade teacher and the Physical Education teacher.[83]

The school organizations included Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Glee Club, Junior and Senior Choruses, Y.M.C.A. and Y. W.C.A., Girl Reserves, Sunbeams, Florence Nightingale Club, Junior and Senior Literary Societies, and Student Activity Organizations. Each activity was well-supported, attended, supervised by a faculty member, and included all students above the first grade. It was obvious from correspondences that Flandreau Indian School actively participated in these activities with other area schools that had similar clubs, particularly the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. The Domestic Club presented a number of very interesting plays during the school year, among which was the production of Hiawatha in its "natural" outdoor setting at the close of the year.[84]

In terms of the surrounding community and the school's relationship to it, the Mdewakanton Sioux, within the jurisdiction of the Pipestone School, were located in scattered villages at Morton, Shakopee, Savage, Granite Falls, Eggleston, and in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. These settlements were located 100 to 300 miles from the school, and the reports of the Superintendents provided an overview of community life for the Pipestone officials. Law and order in the outlying settlements was maintained through the cooperation of State and County Officials who assisted in such matters.[85]

During normal conditions, Native Americans under this jurisdiction made a fairly good living working for farmers near the reservations or as workers for the State Highway Commission. Unfortunately, the tribes still required excess subsistence funds of $1,500 for needy families. In addition, the people received surplus flour, shoes, and clothing.[86]

Balmer described Pipestone as a reasonably successful school despite its various handicaps. Balmer concluded that,

> The school has always been, and will continue to be a home for our Indian boys and girls, and not an institution. Our aim is to be the fathers and mothers of these boys and girls while they are here with us, and we are making every effort to carry out the trust that the parents have in our care. We appreciate very much the fine feeling and splendid contacts that the people of Pipestone offered the student body and members of the faculty. These contacts have, in a large measure, contributed to the success that we have achieved here at Pipestone during past years and we know that it will continue as long as this institution is maintained.[87]

The school provided services for both students and community members that also accorded limited respect and accommodation of tribal traditions in the midst of assimilation. Referring to some programs as "progressive", similar to Flandreau in this era, Pipestone experimented with programming that addressed the needs of the individual rather than just the formal agenda of the federal government.

In 1933, Pipestone requested the elimination of thirty-five pupils and expressed that the aim at Pipestone was to make the school as like home for the American Indian boys and girls as deemed possible. Several years earlier, officials had placed the first six grades in

school all day and the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades three-fourths of a day, with one-fourth of a day devoted to vocational instruction. This plan almost immediately placed the students on par with pupils in public schools. The drawback was that students could no longer contribute toward the productive work of the school because their academic and vocational work took precedence over facility maintenance. Essentially, the students were required to perform only minor chores before and after school in the kitchen and boys' and girls' homes. This, of course, expedited the hiring of additional staff to reinvigorate and streamline the operation of the physical plant.[88]

This request and report corroborated the mission statement in the earlier annual report, yet graphically disclosed problems with staffing as students were given more time for vocational training and education. The letter closed by stating an interest in enrolling only those with unsuitable home environments and in need of government aid. A letter from 1939 directly corresponded to the school's desire to accept only those in dire straits. More specifically, the correspondence suggested that Superintendent J.W. Balmer enroll students who were retarded, orphaned, of parents who were entering the sanitarium, of divorced parents, neglected, mistreated, a ward of the state or from foster homes, to Pipestone Indian School as students heavily in need of aid. The ages ranged from six to seventeen, and many had names of Native American or French derivation. This list included Bisonette, Butterfly, La Teinier, Red Bird, St. Germaine, and Roubideaux. At the conclusion of the correspondence, the author included the following note, "You will note that there are six whose mothers are dead and the fathers have no homes. Three are full orphans. There is one whose father is dead and the mother is not receiving A.D.C. Another lives with his divorced mother who is not receiving A.D.C. Four children are recommended because their mother is to enter the sanitarium. Two are foster home children without parents."[89] By the 1930s, the school was in the midst of the changes that were brought about by the various phases of the Indian New Deal.

John Collier's long-term goals still involved the eventual absorption of Indian people into mainstream American society, but he opposed his predecessor's concept of rapid assimilation and tried to develop a program that would preserve much more of the tribal heritage. The aims of his "Indian New Deal" included: 1) ending allotment and consolidating tribal lands; 2) allowing Indians to play a more active role in running their own affairs; 3) organizing tribal government; 4) supporting Indian cultures; 5) ending government suppression of tribal rituals; and 6) allowing Indian children to attend day schools on their home reservations. To some extent, Indians benefited from general New Deal legislation that provided jobs and relief, and built schools and hospitals. For example, the federal government funded school districts to provide services for the Indian children attending public schools. They also upgraded the remaining boarding schools, and overall programming reflected accommodation and supported traditional native arts and crafts projects as opposed to full assimilation. In general, by the end of the 1930s, John Collier and the Indian New Deal had permanently altered the face of "Indian Country".[90]

The final decade for Pipestone came as John Collier's New Deal reached its fruition and then subsequently was replaced by the termination/relocation era of the late 1940s and early 1950s. As a result of the legislative revolution during the 1930s, there was a simultaneous push for curriculum reform and boarding school closures in favor of day schools, to which Pipestone adhered.

Prior to closure, the last decade, for the most part, mirrored "business as usual". More specifically, in the midst of educational and industrial training, the staff scheduled "special activities". An example was a calendar of Special Events for May 10 to May 16, 1948. On Monday, there was a tea organized from 3:00 to 4:30 pm in the girls' building for both employees and the eighth grade. A routine staff meeting at 7:00 pm followed this. On Tuesday the 11th there was an all-school picnic, softball tournament finals, and bath night in the dormitories. This all took place between 5:30-9:00 pm. Wednesday and Thursday were comprised of an eighth grade trip to Sioux Falls, Arbor Day Program, and farewell parties in

the gym for first through eighth grades. By Friday, the school hosted a student art exhibit and graduation festivities. On the weekend, the busses left for scheduled trips, bath night was held on Saturday in both dorms, Catholic mass was held Sunday morning, and the movie "Variety Girls" was shown. The school made sure that every moment of the day was adequately scheduled with either academic/industrial programs or enrichment activities.[91]

The meals consisted of a well-balanced diet that significantly varied from day to day and from breakfast, dinner, and supper. More specifically, Sunday's breakfast consisted of dry cereal, bread-butter, juice, and milk, whereas Monday's breakfast was comprised of oatmeal, prune sauce, bread-jam and milk. Between the two days, the students were further fed turkey, steamed potatoes, string beans, jello, bread-butter, and macaroni and tomatoes, frozen peas, corn bread, and syrup-milk for dinner, and for supper they were served anything from beans to ham hocks and bread-milk. There was a conscious effort not only to vary the meals, but also to make sure they were nutritionally balanced. In order to safeguard the quality of the diet, each menu had to be approved officially by Superintendent Bogard, acting Principal Flora E. Riddle, and Cook George Francis.[92]

A schedule issued between January 24 and January 30, 1949, was similar to that of the "Special Events" calendar, except that the format specifically targeted "day to day" activities. Another primary feature of this list was that it only applied to the girls' school building and included events revolving around religious services, money issue, games, sewing, and dancing. On Monday, January 24, the first and second grades started their day by going to the dining hall for lunch at 10:00 am. Afternoon lunch was delivered to the first and second grade classrooms by 1:00 pm. Rest period always followed between 1:00-2:30 pm, with issue of money to girls by Mrs. Eastman at 4:00 pm. The school store was open by Miss Karvala and Miss Riddle between 4:00 to 5:00 pm, followed by sewing, dancing, and other special duties. On Tuesday, the children had bath day, miscellaneous duties for older girls, and evening entertainment with Mrs. Cornelius. Wednesday's schedule fluctuated slightly, by providing games for little girl and older girls in charge between 7:00 to 8:00 pm.

Friday was house cleaning day between 6:30 to 9:00 pm and issue money day for girls for the Saturday Night show. Saturday was bath day, form day, special cleaning day with a foreman, and free house day between 1:30-4:30 pm. By Sunday, the children went to Catholic mass at 7:00 am or Episcopal services at 8:30 am, followed by fire detail with Mrs. Burns.[93]

In contrast, the boys' building work schedule for the weekdays was focused more upon cleaning lavatories, washing and toothbrush drill, and cleaning clothes. Other activities included burning trash, making sure that the sewing room was in order, and cleaning the reading room, hall, lavatory, steps, and basement. These schedules graphically walk the reader through the "virtual maze" of the average day at Pipestone Indian School, whether the schedule was academic, dorm-related, or the menu for the school cafeteria.[94]

In terms of recruitment, Pipestone continued to maintain lists of possible applicants from reservations well into the 1940s, even though most by now were attending either public or area day schools. The children who did attend Pipestone continued to be those who were less fortunate. In 1948, Miss Flora E. Riddle, acting Principal of Pipestone, expressed concern for students such as Leonard Fairbanks and Kenneth Reynolds who had run away yet again. She stated that these boys belonged to the Itasca County Welfare Board, and that the board should be notified. She also suggested that whenever a list of children enrolled at Pipestone was prepared, the children should be grouped by counties and arranged by families in alphabetical order under each county. She stressed the importance of each child belonging to a welfare board so that the child ultimately would be under the board's protection in case of mishap or emergency.[95]

Another area in which Pipestone facilitated the needs of tribal communities and area schools was through the sharing of social activities, holiday parties, and school and building supplies. In 1944, Mr. Arthur Bennell, Acting Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School, was offered the following supplies from the Superintendent of Flandreau:

> Flandreau Indian School has available for immediate use a small truck load of pumpkins and individual squash surplus to our needs. It occurs to me since this is all good food for children, we shall be very glad to let Pipestone have our surplus free of charge. Would you write me immediately as to whether or not you would be able to send a truck to get them? I believe a bunch of gunny sacks will be the best containers so we can fill the gunny sacks and put them on the truck.[96]

In another correspondence, Pipestone was notified of the annual Flandreau Indian School Christmas Party. Not only did the letter serve as an invitation, but also as a reminder of why the children were not allowed to return home for the holidays. In terms of retention, there was a real fear on the part of faculty that students would not return in mid-January from their families and homes both on and off of the reservation. The Flandreau Indian School offered the following alternative to going home for Christmas vacation. "We ask the cooperation of all parents and guardians not to send money for the students to come home during this Christmas season. Students would rather receive money to buy additional clothes and articles that boys and girls of high school age so much enjoy."[97]

Another area in which the two schools continued to cooperate was in facilitating job placement for both student bodies. In 1945, Mr. James W. Balmer, Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School, discussed filling the vacancy for an Indian Assistant with H. Bogard, Superintendent of Flandreau Indian School. He further complained about his inability to get a "Native American girl" to take the position. He suggested that in the future the school open the advertisement to Native as well as "non-Native girls", with a larger salary as an extra added bonus. Essentially, both schools continued in assisting Native American citizens in connecting them to the larger community beyond graduation and the reservation.

A final way in which Pipestone involved itself with other area and federal institutions was in its relationship to Canton Asylum. More specifically, in 1941 Darrell Fleming, Assistant Accountant and Auditor for the Winnebago Indian Agency, addressed the fact that there was a large quantity of unused equipment and furniture available at Canton Asylum to

J. W. Balmer, Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School. He further suggested that it might be a good time to locate and acquire equipment now stored at the Old Canton Asylum. Fleming specifically requested the acquisition of dressers and mirrors for issue to independent Indians in the area, with Superintendent Parker of the Winnebago Agency placed in charge of the operation.[98]

A survey was conducted in the 1940s to ascertain a profile of the average student who attended Pipestone Indian School. Usually, the students were from broken homes and of half to full Native American ancestry. In this respect, the school consistently recruited those Indians who had limited options for education and a semblance of home life. Several examples illustrate the type of student who attended Pipestone. George Allen and Delvia Earl Fairbanks were brothers who attended Pipestone in the 1940s. Born in 1933 and 1936, respectively, their mother was deceased and the father worked but had to leave the children home alone during the day. Their guardian was Willie Fairbanks, and they were originally from Pennsford, Minnesota. Both boys were half Chippewa, Episcopal, and under the protection of the Becker County Welfare Board. Duane Duncan was a female student, born in 1942, whose father was remarried, but both he and his new wife were alcoholics who abused their children. Her guardian was Le Roy Duncan. From Tama, Iowa, she was a full-blooded member of the Sac and Fox tribe, a Presbyterian, and was represented by the Farms County Welfare Board. A final case involved Vivian Bearheart, who was born in 1936. Her father had tuberculosis, and both parents who were in and out of jail and neglected her. From Kingsdale, Minnesota, she was three-fourths Wisconsin Chippewa and a practicing Catholic. Vivian was represented by the Carlton County Welfare Board.[99]

It was obvious from these examples that many children came from what were deemed to be "unsuitable homes". Each case varied, from deceased parents to tubercular relatives or parents who were alcoholics and neglectful of their children. One area in which the children really varied was in choice of religion, ranging from Catholic to several denominations of Protestantism.

By the end of the decade, the school was making strides toward closure. In the wake of John Collier's reforms, the school programming simultaneously experimented with new formats while it prepared for its own demise. A letter from the federal government dated July 20, 1948, to Dr. B. Snavely, Medical Director at Pipestone Indian Hospital, suggested that if the Pipestone School was to be closed, the hospital should also be closed and the entire plant be turned over to the state of Minnesota. If this was done, then hospital facilities for the groups at Morton and Granite Falls could be expanded so as to provide hospitalization in local hospitals. Government Officials further suggested that the group at Prairie Island could use hospital facilities at Red Wing (fourteen miles away) or at Hastings (eighteen miles away). At that time 155 people were serviced at Morton, many of whom were not residents of any reservation. In contrast, the American Indian populations at Granite Falls included twenty-five families with 746 acres collectively, and at Prairie Island there were twenty-three families on 534 acres. Shakopee or Prior Lake, at twenty-one persons in 1940, were on 258 acres collectively, but no service had been rendered these people in recent years by the Pipestone Indian School medical facility because they were serviced by the Health Division of the Indian Bureau. It was also suggested that all persons from Flandreau who were serviced at the Pipestone Indian Hospital be serviced in non-government facilities in Flandreau or adjacent cities, such as Sioux Falls. Dr. Snavely concluded this portion of his report on how to handle the patient population upon closure by stating that there were already part-time physicians stationed at Morton, Granite Falls, and Flandreau providing care for the various Native American communities.[100]

Other items that were addressed at a meeting on July 19, 1948, were closure in the event of school discontinuation and the transference of laundry equipment. In attendance were several community officials and doctors, including: Mr. Bogard, Mr. Beltzel, Dr. Williams (part-time physician), Dr. Lien, and Mr. Ballantyne. These individuals concluded that in the event of the school closing, the hospital definitely should not remain open. They also stated that the laundry equipment would be shipped to the

Rosebud Hospital to fulfill an urgent need on that reservation in South Dakota. The discourse upon the fate of Pipestone Indian Hospital was concluded by late July: "After further discussion with Regional Director Murphy in Minneapolis on July 20, it appears desirable to transfer for the plant in its entirety to the State of Minnesota, with the understanding that the State will accept Indians in all institutions on a parity with non-Indians, and it is jointly recommended that this be done. It is assumed that when Pipestone School is closed, immediate arrangements will be made to transfer the Sioux groups to some other administrative jurisdiction.[101]

When Pipestone Indian School closed in 1953, it was not only the end of a boarding school, but the end of an area hospital and federal facility, as well. It was clear that the parceling off of equipment, medical supplies, students, and tribal enclaves had been underway for at least five years prior to actual closure. Ironically, it was Flandreau Indian School that essentially "took up the slack", as it absorbed the bulk of the student population and area facility responsibilities. After sixty years of operation, Pipestone Indian School closed its doors for the last time in 1953 after undergoing a variety of shifts in staffing, programming, and grade changes.

After Pipestone Indian School opened in the 1890s, it operated as the sister school to Flandreau for over half a century. Initially, both schools were married to the philosophy that the Native Americans were a noble but vanishing race and that the only way to handle the "Indian problem" was to educate and fully assimilate them. After the findings of the Merium Report of 1928, this ideology was no longer fostered and eventually was replaced with one of limited accommodation under the umbrella of the Indian New Deal of the 1930s. More specifically, this translated into programming that facilitated the needs rather than transformed the traditional cultural mores of the American Indian people. Ironically, in the midst of this academic transformation, Pipestone Indian School fell victim to the mass boarding school closures that were sanctioned by John Collier's Programs.

NOTES

[1] Pipestone Indian School, 1617710, Target 3, 1894-March 8, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Pipestone Indian School, 1611 710, Target 3, October 3, 1894-March 8, 1900, Mormon Family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[4] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[5] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[6] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[7] Pipestone Indian School, 1611710, Target 3, October 3, 1894-March 8, 1900, Mormon family History Center, Portland, Oregon.

[8] Ibid.

[9] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] National Archives, Box 40, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[13] National Archives, Box 38, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[17] National Archives, Box 38, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[21] Ibid.

[22] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian School, Pipestone Indian Schools.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[28] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[29] National Archives, Box 41, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[30] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[31] National Archives, Box 37, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[32] Ibid.

[33] National Archives, Box 40, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[34] Ibid.

[35] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[36] Ibid.

[37] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[38] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 278.

[44] Ibid, 279.

[45] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[58] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[59] National Archives, Box 4, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[60]National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[61] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[66] Ibid.

[67] National Archives, Box 37, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[68] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] National Archives, Box 40, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[72] National Archives, Box 42, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[73] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[74] National Archives, Box 42, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

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[89] Ibid.

[90] Colin G. Calloway, First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins, 1999), 418.

[91] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

THE FLANDREAU SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Flandreau Indian School promoted the immediate goal of full assimilation from the time of its opening in 1893. Throughout the school's history, this ideal was periodically altered by outside phenomena, such as the legislative influences of the Indian New Deal of the 1930s and the American Indian Movement of the 1970s. Beyond these two external forces, the staff at the school remained constant in their efforts to educate and navigate the students through the non-Indian universe of the larger United States. More specifically, within the context of external change, the agenda for the staff remained forever concentrated upon recruitment, styles of curriculum, disciplinary action, and job placement for graduates. To a certain extent, the staff were equally responsible for altering their programming on their own, due to a simultaneous "grass roots" movement that appeared during the corresponding decades of the Merium Report and the Indian New Deal.

In the 1890s, the main objective of the school was to educate and assimilate the Dakota Sioux people. The general premise of the staff was to create an educational apparatus that would serve both the demands of the educational system and the needs of the people. This chapter not only examines the early years but alterations over time that include the recruitment process, job placement, discipline, non-enrollment, resistance, and runaways. Furthermore, the chapter delves into rationale behind attendance ranging

from a desire for bicultural status to a feeling of forced compliance in the assimilation process.

Rationales behind placing children in the boarding school system varied from parent to parent, as each individual grappled with the assimilationist goals of the dominant society. More specifically, these goals included the learning of English, the cutting of hair, the transformation in dress, and the entry into the job market as self-sufficient individuals. Some placed their children in Flandreau Indian School in order that they become bicultural, while others responded hesitantly out of necessity or to the direct pressures of missionaries and federal officials. Regardless, the face of Native North America was changed forever by the acceptance of the boarding school phenomenon as a semi-permanent feature of "Indian Country." In the midst of this, the boarding school system also provided a notion of Pan-Indianism in which Native peoples identified themselves more as American Indians than with members of their specific tribes. The issues raised and dealt with on a daily basis revolved around runaways, recruitment, processing applications, health, discipline, and abuse. Many of these topics were also handled by Brenda Childs in her corresponding article "Runaway Boys, Resistant Girls: Rebellion at Flandreau and Haskell, 1900-1940." In this work, Childs proposed that students more often than not banded together in acts of resistance at both Flandreau and Haskell Indian Schools. This belief was also corroborated in K. Tsianina Lomawaima's work They Called it Prairie Light. At the same time, there was also a simultaneous conscious desire to promote and facilitate the needs of the student body, which was expressed in an Indian Service Government Report from the early twentieth century:

> Average children of European immigrants can learn more readily than the Indian child since the background is somewhat similar to the white child

> in America. However, the former meet with few elements in American society which they cannot readily assimilate. With the Indian this is quite different. He is surrounded by a world that bewilders him. He could accomplish with some degree of success the simple school curriculum of half century ago, but since this has been changed in recent years to modern mass education, wherein the white child is almost lost; the Indian cannot accomplish much unless the schools training him are modernized. To keep up with modern educational trends is the contest problem of white schools in order that their pupils become competent wage earners. It, therefore, behooves those in charge of the Indians' training to provide experience that will broaden their background and displace the conventionalities of their environment. White schools are promoting the use of visual aids more and more to facilitate the work of their pupils. To keep in step with our ever-changing educational demands it is necessary that the schools which are training the Indian pupils should also adopt these educational aids to assist in bringing them up to white school standards.[1]

One important feature of the boarding school experience that remained constant was recruitment. Issuing letters to other schools, parents, and agencies as well as physically sending officials to the reservation and cultural enclaves was an important component of keeping Flandreau afloat. From this process, the staff collected a large pool of applicants, from which they would individually pick suitable students.

In a circular issued on August 1, 1907, from the Riggs Institute (the earliest name of Flandreau Indian School) to Mr. William Turpin, a federal official of Mahnomen, Minnesota, Superintendent Charles F. Pierce expressly requested the following:

> We are again looking around for new pupils and Mrs. Pierce will probably be at Mahnomen or White Earth Reservation about the 20th of August and I want all of our old pupils to give her all of the assistance possible. In which you would mention to my boys and girls that you may know the fact that we will have a representative at White Earth and that they will have an opportunity to come down here. Now you know that we want only boys and girls that have good records, not drunks and bums and do not give that class of boys any encouragement to come here.[2]

This letter was significant because it fully illustrated the many layers of the recruitment process. The correspondence exhibited the role of the wife of the Superintendent, the

importance of former students in advertising the school, and the desire to acquire only those students who would be an asset rather than a distraction or detriment to the student body. Another letter in a similar vein was issued by Superintendent Pierce on August 14, 1907, to ensure that his wife would be taken care of and that the reservation would not send students who were notorious runaways or the cause for "unwanted misfortune" among their peers.[3]

Communication with other schools in reference to recruitment was common. In a correspondence from Pine Ridge to Superintendent Pierce, concern was expressed for the Catholic students at Flandreau by the Superintendent of Indian Schools on February 9, 1916. " The Catholic Mission on this reservation is desirous of securing a list of the Catholic children attending your school from this reservation. Kindly send to me such a list at your early convenience."[4]

Another avenue of recruitment focussed on the placement of exceptional students. In a case from 1909, there was a request that Chippewa Indian, James Hazen, be enrolled at Flandreau. From Custer, South Dakota, he was described as an individual who if not placed in a boarding school, would go without education due to lack of a public school nearby.[5] In general, the officials involved in his placement felt that his youth would be "wasted" if he was not properly educated by a boarding institution.[6]

More often than not, the school also served as a refuge for orphans. In a correspondence from 1926, Superintendent Mark L. Burns of Red Lake Agency suggested that Flandreau Indian School enroll Leona Charette for a term of three years. Burns championed her cause because he believed her to be a typical example of an orphan of outstanding character who needed a semi-permanent place to live while still a

minor. At fifteen, she had already graduated from Wahpeton School in June of 1925 and was currently enrolled at Red Lake School, where her older sister served as a laundress. Burns concluded his letter by stating that, "She is a bright young Indian girl and I doubt if her future would be a pleasant one had we not forced her to stay at the Red Lake School. Although we cannot give her any classroom work as she has completed same as far as the school is concerned."[7] This example illustrated both the cooperation among schools and the concern for the welfare of desirable American Indian students and employees on the part of some of the federal officials.

Another case from 1927 that was similar to the previous one was that of Gertrude Eagle, who was also from Red Lake Public School. Described as an eighth grader who was pleasant in appearance and three-fourths Indian, Superintendent M. L. Burns saw her transfer to Flandreau for her last three years as her only option. Again, all three of these examples expressed a concern for the welfare of the students as well as the active communication within the Indian Field Service itself.[8]

A final example of a model student was Woodrow Crumbo. Enrolled at school in Shawnee, Oklahoma, this individual was considered to be exceptional because of his work in John Collier's and Dr. Ryan's Indian Emergency Conservation program and for his active interest in post-graduate work in English and the Arts and Crafts. This letter of application from 1933 varied a bit in its approach because the student was actively interested in the programs that Flandreau had to offer, rather than viewing the school as a last resort.[9]

Students turned away from Flandreau Indian School stand in contrast to those that were accepted. The reasons for rejection varied from being the wrong ethnicity to what

was considered "sub-normal" levels of intelligence. For example, in 1929 officials at Flandreau Indian School and District Superintendent James H. McGregor discussed the plight of Rueben David Taylor. At thirteen years of age, the boy had next to no formal education and was described as a "moron" who was deemed to be below the level of "idiotic" by McGregor.[10] In a follow-up assessment, Annie Pearson and T. E. Callahan of the Indian Field Service described Taylor as a boy of thirteen who knew far less than he should in consideration of his age. After spending a year and a half at Pipestone Indian School and a half-year at Flandreau Indian School, he could only write his name. He could recognize numbers one through ten rapidly, yet he could not count to one hundred. From this limited contact, McGregor assessed the boy as being "mentally sub-normal." He further suggested that if the boy had the right teachers, he was still "fully trainable." McGregor completed his report by suggesting that the boy be sent to school in either Faribault, Minnesota, Redfield, South Dakota, or Grafton, North Dakota, where they had schools for people with sub-normal abilities. Taylor would be forced to learn English, reading, writing, and an industrial trade.[11] Clearly, Reuben Taylor's assessment was tainted by prejudice and cultural misunderstanding. This type of "judgement call" commonly occurred, when officials reviewed the scholastic skills of those who had not received a non-Indian education at an earlier age.

Another student, William Black Hawk, was rejected in 1929. Unlike Taylor, who was denied admission because of his lack of education, Black Hawk was turned away because of his skin color and race:

> I wish to refer a case to your office that will come up a little later, concerning William Black Hawk. This young man is a Cheyenne River allottee whose mother is a full blood Indian and his father a full blood Negro. Unfortunately the African blood clearly predominates and you

> would not suspect William of being Indian. Last fall he was sent to Chilocco but on account of the racial feeling, it was impossible for him to stay and he had to return to South Dakota where he was enrolled at the Rapid City Indian School. I believe he finished the ninth grade at that place. He will possibly wish to enroll at Flandreau and while I am not opposed to him on account of his unfortunate mixture, yet, in my estimation, it throws a damper on the school to have such a black fellow as a student under the guise of being an Indian. I am wondering if your office would have any objection to having him enrolled at Hampton Institute. This is not done with the idea of discrimination against him because of his Negro blood as I of course realize that our government does not permit such discrimination, nor should it. We cannot control absolutely the feeling of the other students and as we are working for the Indian race, I feel that we should not force them to associate with a student who has the appearance of being a full blood Negro. Of course race prejudice is not so strong here as in the South but by having this young man in school it would be humiliating to him in many instances and to other students who would naturally not want him for a room mate nor would they want to be intimately associated with him on account of the prejudice that exists against the Negro race.[12]

The irony in this particular instance lay in the concerted effort put forth by District Superintendent James H. McGregor to "protect" William Black Hawk against possible prejudice. In reality, officials were compounding the situation by denying the pupil access to the same education as his peers because of his race.

Of the students who were admitted, attendance lists routinely were published by the school under the direction of the Department of the Interior that provided biographical synopses and some additional commentary. In a 1936 follow-up survey of the graduated student body, careful records shared whether students came from North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Minnesota, or Montana. Varying in blood quantum from a quarter to full, the students also represented the following tribal groups: Sioux, Chippewa, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Shoshone, Oneida, and Cherokee. As with faculty who staffed the federal Indian Schools, by graduation the average student would have attended more than one Indian School in a variety of states. In terms of job

placement after graduation, their careers were listed as: baker, mechanic, metal worker, welder, barber, dairying, beautician, matron, nurse, college student, and cook. Essentially, all of the listed individuals found vocations that mirrored their industrial training at Flandreau Indian School.[13] Of those who graduated in 1925, James Wyatt of Oklahoma was listed as one of the more progressive. At twenty-one years of age, he was a quarter Cherokee and originally from Choteau, Oklahoma. Before coming to Flandreau he attended the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. He then attended Flandreau for four years and graduated in the spring of 1935 as a welder. In the fall of 1935, Wyatt accepted a position with the Buick Motor Company at Flint, Michigan. He progressed very well at the Company and received several promotions within a short time. During his four years at Flandreau, Wyatt made many close friends and sang in the Glee Club, Choir, mixed chorus, belonged to the school quartette, and acted as representative for the District Music Contest.[14]

Another model student at the school was Angeline Twostars, who was described as an individual who took an active part in all school functions and was a great help in the dormitory. Born February 17, 1912, she was three-fourths Sisseton Sioux and was from Peever, South Dakota. She enrolled at Flandreau Indian School in the fall of 1928 and graduated in 1932. She returned in the fall of 1935 in order to take a matron's course offered at the school. She excelled in the course and later took a position at Pipestone Indian School.[15]

Of the boys who graduated in 1935, approximately half found jobs. When the boys accepted a position and were unable to pay their way to get to the job site, the Student Council loaned them the amount. Both male and female students actively corresponded

with their former Superintendent and favorite faculty members. Of the girls that graduated, many were working in private homes for the summer. Most expected in the fall to enter nurses training, go to college, commercial schools, work, or return to Flandreau for more specialized training.[16] In general, the school seemed to have a fairly good record in job placement for those that managed to graduate.

The administration at Flandreau Indian School not only tried to secure job placement after graduation, but also provided programs that would make the students well rounded citizens. These other features included orchestra, hunting, a drama club, and an art program, by which the staff promoted the students' skills for their overall training while at Flandreau. In one particular instance, the school was asked if they could supply a musician of American Indian ancestry for employment by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1912. The staff graciously declined the offer in favor of the "overall welfare" of the students.[17] In a similar circular from 1916, the Assistant in Game Conservation sent Superintendent Charles A. Pierce a number of posters in order to attract students who were interested in hunting. George A. Lawyer also stated that the posters were as brief and as plain as possible, so that they could be read and understood by practically every hunter.[18] Again, this exemplified their active interest in engaging students in either extra-curricular activities and helping find them employment.

In the 1930s, during John Collier's term as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Flandreau went one step beyond by promoting traditional Native American songs, dances, and artwork. More specifically, in a circular from 1933, the school called for the drama class to put on a presentation of twenty to thirty minutes in length with original scenes with a tipi in the background, songs and dances, dress and costumes, and Indian sign language.[19]

This was almost directly followed by a letter that expressed interest in the artistic ability of one of the high school students, Francis Running Wolf. The promotion of his talent was graphically outlined in a letter from 1939 in which Superintendent Byron J. Brophy of Flandreau Indian School had Running Wolf create a carving for John Collier. More specifically, Brophy described Running Wolf as a nineteen-year old full-blooded Indian belonging to the Blackfeet tribe of Heart Butte, Montana. His father was dead and his mother a W.P.A. worker. He was trained in traditional carving by his uncle, Doggun, at the age of sixteen. Brophy further explained that Running Wolf was a junior in high school and that he was hoping to attend a good art school upon graduation. It was at this point in the correspondence that Brophy complained about the lack of adequate facilities and training in order to facilitate the needs of such gifted students as Francis Running Wolf. He also stated that not only was the fine arts department lacking in proper teachers and funding, but the same situation existed in the music department. As it was, Mr. Harvey Sulter, the rural merchandising instructor was also acting as art teacher.[20]

Despite the dual interest in increased revenue for the school via the development of the art department and the subsequent selling of the students' artwork, this letter revealed clearly that the school chose to promote rather than dissuade the continuation of traditional crafts. In general, the 1930s was one of those rare watershed decades in which Native American traditions were re-enforced rather than repressed.

Requests from both students and parents of pupils for first time enrollment or returns was a common phenomenon. As early as the 1890s, students were requesting admission because they were generally interested in pursuing higher education at an off-reservation facility. In some instances, students wrote requests for both admissions of other

candidates as well as permission to visit their old alma mater. These correspondences tended to be supportive of Flandreau Indian School and positive in their overall tone. For example, Grace Moore attended Flandreau Indian School when it was referred to as Riggs Institute in the 1890s. Her recollections were extremely positive and filled with instances of camaraderie between classmates, good relations with teachers, and an overall desire to acquire a non-Indian education, as described in these words: "Then one year I begged my father to go up there because I could see the boys and girls on campus there and that's so nice and I asked him if I could go there one year and then I went to Santee Normal Training School where Dr. Riggs was very good in teaching especially music."[21] Moore firmly believed that all outstanding men and women of her tribe who were living had attended Flandreau or one of the other area boarding schools.[22]

Grace Moore was not alone among the student body at Flandreau Indian School in terms of those individuals who very much wanted to attend in order to attain a proper education and industrial training. In one letter, a student asked if Flandreau had any room since he had taken too much time deciding whether or not to attend in the fall.[23] In a similar vein, another pupil wrote a lengthy and "panicked" explanation as to why he had missed the application period. In this particular instance from 1913, the individual was waiting for the reservation agent to alert him of the period of recruitment and transportation. In general, he strongly expressed his interest in finishing his education at Flandreau despite the glitch in communication and scheduling.[24] In another correspondence from 1913, William Webster of Seymour, Wisconsin, requested the following, "Just a few lines to you this morning. This is what I want to notify you is that I would like to return to Flandreau this fall and I have some boys who are well acquainted

with me that would like to come to School with me and if you will receive them I can take their names and send them off when the School starts and I want to come after Seymour Fair."[25] This example was unusual because the individual spoke not only for himself, but also on behalf of his friends.

In two other instances from that year, the students requested admittance for a variety of reasons. Vernie Harper, a sixteen-year old quarter blood Stockbridge Indian from Gresham, Wisconsin, asked to be admitted merely to finish his high school education,[26] whereas Napoleon Duchineax asked that he be admitted for harness making in concert with his academic training. He further stated that he felt that his sister, who was age seven at the time, was too young to attend the school despite the enthusiastic overtures of his parents. In yet another example from 1914, a graduate of Flandreau requested that the school send her a schedule by which to visit "Old Riggs":

> I would like to find out what date you hold your closing Exercises this year. I am thinking of paying "Old Riggs" a visit this year. It will be ten years in June since I left there, and am very anxious to see how it has changed since 1904. I received the "Weekly Review" every week. When I read it takes me back to old school days. If I go, there will be many new faces, but I will enjoy to go through the halls and rooms once again. I never regret the days I have spent at Flandreau. The training I received there helps me along every day. I am sure if I never went to Flandreau I would not have learned so many valuable things. May be you have all forgotten me, but I did not.
>
> Hoping for an early reply
> Yours Respectfully
> (Josie Baker class '04) Mrs. L. E. Gagnor[27]

This student was not unusual in her view that Flandreau Indian School properly prepared her for the non-Indian world as well as the job market. Unlike other students, her memories were extremely positive when reflecting upon "old school days".

In a similar vein, Mae Eastman acknowledged the rigidity of the school's program and overall structure, yet viewed it in a positive light and as a benefit to her people:

> At first when the school first started, when I went to school up there they had military systems, where everything was by bells, and you had to follow those rules. It was just like being in the army. I thought it was a good plan because it really taught us responsibility, because we got to see we had to know that.....but in later years they thought it was better to have more responsibility by being lenient with them, but I don't know, I don't know which was best.[28]

Josephine Lightning Norcross corroborated this view by discussing how the non-Indian academic and boarding school atmosphere enhanced her life. More specifically, she enjoyed sewing, cooking, playing the mandolin, her good relations with the matron, and socializing with the other boys and girls who were Flandreau Sioux as well as Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Oneida. Norcross even credited Flandreau for providing a setting for students to meet and marry individuals from other tribes via the various dances and social clubs.[29] Ultimately, this supported the modern post-WWII notion of a Pan-Indian movement in which Native peoples identified themselves more as American Indian than as members of their specific tribes.

A more recent, later graduate, Andrew De Rockbraine, credited his military career and service in WWII with his attendance at Flandreau Indian School, and Carol Thunder described her term there in the 1960s as the happiest in her life.[30] Her only complaints about the school revolved around Indian-white relations and rampant racism in town. The general rule of Flandreau Indian School was that students be restricted from certain areas of town and barred from patronizing many stores altogether. More specifically, the students could go to the movie theatre, but not pass it on the street, and were given detention points it they were caught in stores that were not on the list of approved places.

As a precaution, the students were chaperoned by school matrons, especially on weekends when the students were attending classes. Generally, store owners feared that students might shoplift, so the students were barred from wearing their traditional shawls in which they were suspected of hiding stolen merchandise, as described in these words: "I'm not sure. I don't think it is because uh a lot of the Indians, you know, we used to wear shawls and you know and blankets and stuff like that and a lot of them when they go into a store. Talking to one of the counselors not long ago, she told me that the students weren't allowed to take their blankets into the store."[31] Other than having racial problems with local town people on weekend shopping days, Carol Thunder had only positive recollections of Flandreau Indian School to express.

For many parents, the relationship with Flandreau Indian School was both amicable and supportive. These were the parents who specifically wanted their children to learn about non-Indian society and thrive in the world beyond the parameters of the reservation. Mrs. M. A. Matheson expressly addressed these sentiments in a letter from 1914, by stating that she wanted her younger sister to attend Flandreau because it would be more to her advantage to be out and about among white people than to stay on the reservation.[32] Some parents even went so far as to request that the school monitor whether their children were hanging around the "liquor boys" and help them find their runaway son. In general, these parents placed their faith and ultimately their children in the hands of the support staff and faculty at Flandreau Indian School because they realized that the world was swiftly changing, and they did not want their offspring to be left behind. Essentially, education came to represent a direct tool for both tribal preservation and survival on into the twentieth century.

In a letter, a grandfather made an application for his three grandchildren, Joseph aged fifteen, Cora aged thirteen, and Cornelius aged eight, for a five-year period of time. His rationale behind sending his grandchildren stemmed from the fact that they were orphaned and that his wife was too sickly to care for them. He further stated that the youngest was perfectly capable of defending himself if the older children picked on him without the knowledge of the Matron. He concluded his letter by stating that all three children were of the Sisseton Sioux tribe, and that he wanted the school to send him the appropriate application materials in order that they be guaranteed a spot.[33]

In a letter from 1913, Simon Antelope graphically described how his son and neighbor's son wanted to be admitted as students at Flandreau Indian School. In the correspondence, he described his son, John Antelope, as a fourteen-year old boy who spoke English well and had attended a variety of schools, including other boarding and day schools. Antelope closed the letter by describing the other boy, Eli Hozeheji, as also being proficient in the reading and writing of English. In both instances, according to John Antelope, they were full-blooded Indians who were used to working on farms.[34]

One of the many extra responsibilities placed upon staff by parents was that they routinely check on children to make sure that they were not drinking or running away, or to act as a general safety net in times of trouble. In one letter from 1933, a father specifically requested that the school enroll his teenage daughter so that she not "run awry" on the reservation. Shirley F. Aubrey was described as a bright and attractive girl who had completed her grades at Bismarck. The father felt that, since her parents were separated, she would receive more proper care at a government school.[35] In contrast, another parent, Thomas Jackson, first sent his children to the area day school but later

requested that Flandreau enroll them. At first Jackson thought that it would be better to have the children nearby. In retrospect, he decided that they could receive a much better education at Flandreau. His other concern was that the children stay together.[36]

In a letter from 1913, George H. Lawrence requested that the staff "check on" his son because he had not heard from him:

> I am a member of Santee Ind., resided at Santee. I have sent my boy George Lawrence Jr. to Flandreau School about a month or 6 weeks ago for school, but I haven't heard anything from him or either from the office. Please do me a favor and inquire around the Flandreau if he is working around the Flandreau or attending school. I am afraid he is staying around the Liquor Boys. If you heard anything from him please drop me a line by return mail and oblige. Thanking you to do this favor, excuse me for use lead pencil. I am hurry to write.[37]

Mr. Lawrence leaned on the school not only to look after his son but to let him know of his progress. In a similar vein, the parents of Delaware tribal member Charles Cadette requested that the school enroll their son for fall of 1913.[38] In a follow-up correspondence from October, the parents fully depended upon the school to help their son, who had run away very early in the fall semester. The parents not only expressed their interest in his learning a trade, but also their disappointment in him for leaving the school without a trace in the first place. On the one hand, they placed complete trust in the abilities of the faculty, yet they simultaneously had this to say:

> I had a letter from him wrote the 1 of Oct. and in the letter he seemed to be very much dissatisfied and he has seemed in that mood too I think ever since he learned that Mr. Finley would be at the school again this year he says that he is very hard on him and wishes to keep him doing farm work at the school when Charles has always wanted to learn a trade and thought that he surely would be allowed to take up a trade this winter and I have also wanted him to learn a trade as he has to depend on his self to make a living and so Mr. Pierce if Charlie is found and taken back to school please do not be too hard on him as I cannot help but think there must have been something that was very hard for him to do or he would not have run away.[39]

Clearly from this excerpt, the parents felt that the catalyst for the discomfort of their son could be blamed entirely upon Mr. Finley. This situation was unusual, because ultimately the parents still believed that Flandreau Indian School was the ideal setting for their son despite the immediate problems.

Other amicable correspondences between parents and staff revolved around train tickets, spending money for students, application trust funds, and other miscellaneous matters of finance. More often than not, parents would pay for the transportation of their children and would later be reimbursed by the school as expressed in a letter from Mrs. Mary Sky Necklace to the school. More specifically, she stated that her daughter Dolores Red Wing had been waiting to receive her ticket from Flandreau Indian School. Because it had not arrived in time, the mother went ahead and paid six dollars for the ticket, with the trust that she would later be reimbursed.[40]

Another avenue of correspondence between the school and concerned parents came from Charles A. Eastman. In three letters from 1914, he made specific inquiries into the interest coming from his children's trust funds. This relationship between Eastman and Flandreau officials was best expressed in these words:

> Sir:
>
> My minor children, Virginia, Charles Ohiyesa, and Eleanor receive the interest on their trust funds annually through your office. I believe the application has not gone in for interest due Jan. 1, 1914. Will you kindly fill out the necessary blanks in part and send to me to sign a notary public as I have done each year?
>
> Very Truly,
> Charles A. Eastman[41]

In general, the parents who corresponded with the school thus far placed their faith in Flandreau and its faculty. They clearly believed that the school had the best interests of their children ultimately in mind.

In contrast to the parents who were supportive of the school were those parents that were wary of it and ultimately fearful of losing control of their children. Father Benno Watrin, a priest from Pine Point-Ponsford, Minnesota, stated the following in reference to reservation recruitment and the sentiments of parents, "They were not anxious to send their children away to government school either. It was like pulling teeth for them most of the time."[42] Typically, these parents had their children returned home more often than not, because of family illness or due to questionable discipline/abuse at the school. Conflict arose because officials wanted to maintain some semblance of educational continuity among its student body. As exemplified in a letter issued by the Superintendent of Riggs Institute in 1907:

> Your letter and telegram to your daughter Frances is at hand and in reply I would state that it is the rule of the service here not to allow pupils to go home upon requests of parents and friends unless these are substantiated by the agent in charge if they are living on the reservation. Before we can comply with your request it will be necessary for you to furnish me with a letter from the doctor in charge of you wife's case, setting forth the fact that her ailment is something that will be permanent and not over in a few days.[43]

In a case from 1906, the parents of Flandreau student Lillian Hill requested three times within the course of a year that she be returned to her family on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin. The reasons behind her return ranged from an ailing younger sister with tuberculosis forever calling her, to Lillian herself having tuberculosis. Officials at Flandreau requested that the parents provide a doctor's certificate directly stating the status of the health of the little sister. They also gave Lillian a thorough check-up, which

refuted any doubt that her health was in decline.[44] In general, this case exemplified discrepancies between the perspectives of school and parents in reference to interruption of education for what were deemed to be "valid reasons".

In another example from 1907, Frances and Lucy McPherson were enrolled at Flandreau Indian School in the fall but worked actively with their parents to break the three-year contract. The girls were extremely homesick from the outset and the family stated that the eldest sister had a "slight functional derangement of the heart action" as a reason to leave the school.[45] Shortly afterwards the parents made the "excuse" that the mother was sick and dying and that the girls should therefore be returned home without delay. The Superintendent at the school wrote a letter to the Menominee reservation Agent, who replied that the mother's health had in fact improved and that there was no immediate cause to send the girls' home. The "discussion" continued, with Mr. McPherson stating that the girls were not enrolled with the Menominee and therefore not under the jurisdiction of the agent. The Superintendent of Flandreau retorted that the parents had signed a three-year contract that he intended to honor. He went on to say that he had informed the father that the girls could not be returned under the circumstances. The father countered this position by stating that the girls were not enrolled and therefore not subject to the Indian Department and demanded their immediate return. McPherson finalized the situation by informing the father that the girls'mother had signed a contract placing them in the school for three years and that Flandreau Indian School intended to honor its end of the contractual agreement.[46] The irony in this instance lay in the fact that from the outset the mother had insisted that they attend a boarding institution, the girls would have a chance at a better life. Despite the immediate details, the main conflict

between the two parties was ultimately who was in charge of the children after the contract was signed. And, in this case, the school prevailed.

Other reasons for children to return home or not re-enroll for the fall included death of siblings, football injuries, sick parents, fear of a child running away, or fear of losing cultural identity as an American Indian. In a specific instance from 1913, Mrs. Nichols Elm from Wisconsin requested that her son Lewis be returned because she wanted him to be closer to home and attend a day school, and also she had heard reports that he "was put to work all day and doing work that horses should have done under those conditions".[47] In this case, the parent was supportive of a non-Indian education but not the boarding school system.

Another set of parents who requested the return of their child in order to attend an alternate school was a family from Mt. Union, Pennsylvania. In this particular instance, the family was not opposed to a "white education", but the father needed the daughter nearby while the mother was ill:

> I have a letter from Hugh's wife, who seems to be an exceptionally intelligent woman, in which she states that it is not that they need her so much, as it is to give Martha an opportunity to attend white school at Mt. Union. For this reason I am inclined to give my consent to her going, if Martha wants to go at the close of the school year. Another reason which prompts me to this conclusion, is that you will be losing her shortly anyway, in which event she will drift into some Indian tribe just as I do and Cecelia have done. If she goes to Pennsylvania, she may be able to get acquainted with the better class of people.[48]

Generally speaking, Superintendent Pierce displayed his fear of the children "returning to the blanket" despite the overtures of a "white education," even though the parents saw the benefit of the bicultural status.

In contrast, the mother of Alice and George Bear specifically kept her daughter out of the boarding school so that she would not lose her Native American heritage. This instance was unusual, because there was an obvious rift within the family over the best course of action to be taken on behalf of Alice. A letter from 1914 states:

> Excuse my pencil, I wish to state that I have never have any time ask from Alice Bear for vacation. And therefore I want it understood that I want Alice stay thru the vacation. I am sure I have not asked for such and another thing, my mother is trying to get Alice to remain an Indian, she is against education as that takes away Alice from home a good deal. She might have made the request in my name, I want my only daughter to receive a thorough education, so I ask you to keep her there.[49]

Alice's father concluded the letter by stating his belief that the boarding school was a better setting for a young girl than the reservation, despite her mother's efforts and intentions.

A final example of a discrepancy between the desire of the student and that of the parents is illustrated by the case of Claudia Norcross. According to Father Benno Watrin, she looked at the government schools as an opportunity to choose a different way of life, yet neither parent wanted her to leave the reservation. With the assistance of her grandparents and Flandreau Indian School officials, she eventually attended and went on to become a nurse. Years later, Claudia Norcross's parents were proud of her for striking out on her own in a respectable profession.[50]

Another feature of the boarding school phenomenon was the ongoing purported cases of abuse. In some instances the evidence was more tangible than in others, as parents and school officials tenuously grappled with the reality of the situation. Abuse ranged in nature from accidental deaths, punishment for speaking their native tongue, to running away. In a specific instance from 1907, the Superintendent of the then Riggs Institute

wrote a letter to Mrs. Gates of Fort Yates, North Dakota, refuting all claims of unnecessary abuse to John Gates. In the letter, the school did not deny punishing the boy, just the severity of measures taken:

> I have a letter of the 22nd and note what you say in regard to feeling very bad on account of John's behavior and your regret that he was out in chains. I would state that he was not put in chains but was placed in hand cuffs, they were a big part of his punishment. I am opposed to whipping boys of his size and have found that some punishment like locking them up and putting hand cuffs on them will bring better results than other modes of punishment. He was defiant when back from Tyndall and within a very short time started again, when he was found trying to get into a freight car at the depot. He declared that he could never stay in school anywhere and would runaway as fast as he got a good chance, and from that reason was placed in the school jail with handcuffs. I think that he now sees that he has made a great mistake for he seems to be very penitent and promises to do the right thing in the future and of course appears like a different boy entirely.[51]

The argument that the Superintendent used subtly shifted the entire issue of abuse away from the school to focusing upon the boy's problem with truancy. This, in itself, was a common tactic that was again echoed in a case from 1919 with the accidental death of Annie Seminole.

In this particular case, possible mistreatment before death was first brought to the attention of officials at Flandreau by the sister and father of the pupil. After several examinations by Dr. Spafford just prior to her death at the school, the girl was first pronounced relatively healthy and then later found dead in her hospital bed from an internal hemorrhage on January 28, 1919. What Maggie and Jules Seminole called into question in this case was the fact that the student was obviously ill and not properly treated by the resident doctor at the school, and that this situation was further compounded by the suspicion that Superintendent Pierce had slapped her and threatened

to place her in the school jail.[52] Superintendent Pierce had this to say in his defense about the incident:

> In talking with her, I told her that the doctor had stated that there was no reason why she could not go to school. I accused her of drinking vinegar and eating pepper and salt as she had acknowledged to me a year or more ago. I told her that, and that her making believe that she was sick would have to stop or she would have to be punished.
>
> The statement that I slapped her and told her that I would put her in jail on bread and water, if she did not get up is absolutely untrue. In my thirty years of work in the Indian Service, I have never slapped or stricken any girl, but have left their punishment to the lady employees. In fact, striking of girl pupils by any male employee is something, I will not stand for, in fact I have more respect for a horse thief than I have for a wife beater.
>
> The school jail is located in the basement of the gymnasium and no girl has ever been placed there. When necessary for punishment, the girls are occasionally locked in their private rooms or in a room in the basement of the girl's building and the statement that I placed a girl in the school jail is absolutely false.[53]

In general, the information was prefaced with the fact that Superintendent Pierce was recovering from a long illness and that the girl repeatedly denied any feelings of ill health outside of a pain in her chest, which was purported to be nothing more than an ongoing vascular heart problem. The staff unilaterally concluded that Annie Seminole was "shamming" or lying about her ill health because her weight and coloring was always good when checked just prior to her death.[54]

The two cases of John Gates and Annie Seminole were similar in that the staff denied everything but minimal involvement in the alleged punishment and subsequent death or runaway situation, but they nonetheless appear to document a severe treatment if not abuse. Other documented cases were reported by the school officials and then issued to the parents as a precaution. In one scenario from 1929, an assistant matron, Miss Catherine Gage, slightly broke one of the regulations relative to corporal punishment. According to the matron, as described by Superintendent James H. McGregor, the girls

were extremely disobedient and that the matron had no other recourse. Of the three, Birdie Pipe, Mabel Cox, and Cecelia Blair, two had had to be removed, while the third had vastly improved.[55] Again, it was hard to distinguish fact from fiction, because specific details were left out or tactically de-emphasized.

Other official and private correspondences reflected the desire of school officials to intervene in unsatisfactory situations. In one particular instance, a parent requested that the matron not give her daughter's clothing away to other students.[56] Another parent requested that the students not be allowed to quarrel, say anything bad, nor hit each other inside of the ration house on campus.[57] A final complaint revolved around spoiled meat that was improperly corned. This was specifically cited in an excerpt from a letter sent by an outraged official in the Indian Field Service:

> This meat business at Flandreau is an outrage. The children have been served bad meat, except from consignments just received and fresh from refrigerator cars, ever since the advent of hot weather. The slop barrels are changed with rotten meat. Your inspector would have photographed these barrels and the masses of maggots but was discouraged by his knowledge that he could not catch the individuality of the maggot, could not portray his features.
>
> When meat has rotted it has been charged to the school kitchen and the children had no meat. When meat was good the children were allowed only the stipulated ration and the balance has been allowed to rot and breed vermin.[58]

This was corroborated by former student Larry Blue, who attended in the 1940s, when he stated, "Well in Flandreau, I don't know if it was just us kids or what but it seemed like everybody was hungry all of the time. And Thursday was chili day, and of course, everybody always went up for seconds, and some of them didn't quite make it because they always ran out it seemed like. But I imagine it was pretty limited on the food. I imagine most of it was probably commodities or something."[59]

One of the main components of the assimilation process was forcing students to learn English in lieu of the native tongue. Lottie Good Thunder, who attended Flandreau in the early 1900s, said that if students were caught speaking their Native tongue they would either be given demerits, punished or placed in solitary confinement.[60] George Jewett, who attended Flandreau in 1902, stated that not only were they punished for speaking their Native language but also for other offenses such as smoking cigarettes. In his words: "Oh very rough, them days. They had, they spanked us for almost anything, now a days they don't do anything like that."[61] Again, George Jewett's account of discipline at Flandreau Indian School during the early years corroborated the stories that other individuals offered.

Another complaint that Larry Blue had against the system was the existence of an organization referred to as "F Club", which was comprised of lettered students who played football, basketball, or track. These students acted as a police force over the rest of the kids. If students were caught stealing in town, they would be brought before the court and would be sent through a paddle line. The paddles were an inch thick, and each F Club member would give a whack on the seat to the offending student. According to Blue, the one positive from the existence of such an organization was that the children were better behaved in his day than they were in the 1960s and 1970s. After the club was outlawed, there were instances of reverse brutality against Flandreau staff. In one particular instance, several children jumped an advisor and almost beat him to death. When asked, Blue stated that neither he nor his wife would send their children to Flandreau or any other government school and that he always had problems with teachers and staff because of his larger size and corresponding age.[62]

Other problems included underage drinking, running away, and inappropriate fraternization between the sexes within the student body. As early as 1913, Flandreau Indian School had an official document drawn up in which student Gilbert Weston, aged 18, admitted that he had been drinking. More specifically, he had this to say, "I, Gilbert Weston, solemnly swear that I am a Flandreau Indian, 18 years of age; that I have been drinking intoxicating liquor to my detriment and desire to abstain from such acts in the future. I, therefore, solemnly swear that I will not drink intoxicating liquor in the future, nor will I ask anyone to purchase the same for me, nor will I procure or purchase it for anyone else."[63] Another individual was "passed over" as a possible applicant because he had been marked as a drunk, both on and off of the reservation. Other than that factor, twenty-one year old Cedric Greyland was known to be a quiet young man with good grades.[64] These two instances illustrate how prejudice affected the young men even though they were clearly well above the drinking age.

Students running away was a chronic problem for a variety of reasons. One problem in particular from 1914 involved a young married couple that was caught checking into a motel in the vicinity of Flandreau. Both were students of the Indian School and had run away to be together.[65] In general, the individual who reported such problems was a tribal member concerned for the safety and reputation of the girls at the school. Another desertion case from 1914 involved Frank Killsright, aged 20, who never made it to the dentist after he stated that he had a toothache and needed to go. In this instance, sympathetic relatives from Interior, South Dakota, hid him.[66] When Frank Killsright was recovered at the reservation fair, he was placed in the guardhouse until the event was over. As a prisoner in the guardhouse, he was charged with running away from

Flandreau, stealing a coat, and appearing illegally in Gordon, Nebraska, the previous Saturday.[67] Again, even though the "boy" was 20 and a full adult, he was treated as a minor.

A final case form 1948 involved James Anoka, who ran away from Flandreau on two separate occasions in the fall of 1947. Officials at the school deemed it useless to force the boy to return to Flandreau, so an alternate plan was suggested involving a Vocational Rehabilitation Division of the State Department of Education. More specifically, they were given the responsibility to decide the boy's aptitudes and interests and then to make a plan for vocational training that would have some promise of making him self-supporting. To send James to Flandreau without the benefit of proper diagnosis and planning would have resulted in failure. Potentially it would have relieved things temporarily, but ultimately James would have returned to Flandreau and would have had to start at the beginning again. Since the student lacked interests or aptitudes, the school expressed few qualms about labeling him feeble-minded. If this were truly the case, the school considered sending James to Faribolt, which was a school that specifically handled such cases.[68] This was a perfect example of how the education system would rather label a student as "feeble-minded" than try to uncover why the students had run away or shown a disinterest in school altogether.

In a routine survey from the 1940s, a list was composed that reflected the rationale behind the removal of a student from Flandreau Indian School. Georgian Ojibway, aged nineteen and half American Indian, was removed to a home for girls in Sauk Center, Minnesota, because she was pregnant, whereas Jefferson Burnetter, aged nineteen and three-eighths American Indian, was removed for having venereal disease and being a

poor student. Matilda Sawn, aged fifteen and a full-blooded American Indian, was sent home because her father was about to have a serious operation. Similarly, Walter Graves, aged seventeen and half American Indian, was also sent home because his mother was very ill and not expected to live. In contrast, Delbert Thunder Hawk, aged eighteen and three-fourths American Indian, was dismissed for drinking, as was Ogden Wilson, aged seventeen and half American Indian. Dora Longie, aged fifteen and a quarter American Indian, was removed for desertion and an infectious bad attitude, as was Rena Pemberton, aged sixteen and half American Indian. Roderick Iron Moccasin, aged nine and three-fourths American Indian, was the only student on the list to leave the school because he had died. Ironically, the bulk of the students had excellent grades but were not willing to comply with the rules and standards of the school and were therefore dismissed or left on their own accord.[69]

A final feature of Flandreau Indian School was that like Pipestone, it provided services as an area hospital as well as educational facilities. Reflected in Indian School circulars and in individual cases, the school tried to maintain some semblance of order, modernity, and an active dialogue with students, faculty, and parents. Superintendent Charles F. Pierce at Flandreau issued one of the earliest circulars in 1918 to the Superintendent of the Indian School at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, warning of an outbreak of influenza. With more than one-hundred cases erupting and the death of only one boy from Crow Creek Agency, this communication illustrates the active cooperation that existed among the Indian schools in terms of updating each other on current affairs. It also shows that even the Native American communities were not spared from the influenza epidemic that swept through the United States during and after WWI.[70]

In another correspondence from 1929, Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. J. Rhoads called for the weighing of all children at least once a month. With the supervision of physicians and nurses, the results were to be posted in the classroom for viewing by all.[71] A similar health regulation was introduced in 1933, when Rhoads again called for the monitoring of all heavy and hazardous machinery. More specifically, he highlighted all hazardous matters in an attached report concerned with the Children's Bureau on occupation for minors involving health hazards. He particularly addressed a considerable lack of safeguarding industrial machinery in the work of educational institutions. He further argued that too many accidents had occurred and that in the future only students of sixteen years or older be allowed to work among the heavy machinery. Rhoads also pointed out that in high schools where there were sufficient numbers of older students the minimum age for work with industrial machinery was placed at eighteen years and over, but that this did not apply to students under supervision of a qualified instructor in a regular vocational course. He closed the report by reaffirming that all younger pupils should be protected from the use of heavy machinery by a screening process and that whenever possible, only paid assistants should operate power equipment.[72]

Other cases involved parental requests for the staff to either examine their children or to explain why certain medical treatments had gone awry. In one instance from 1913, Robert White requested that the school's physician look at his son's back. Apparently his son, Joseph White, had injured his back years before and it had turned into a chronic problem. In this example, the parent looked to the school as his son's main option for treatment.[73]

In contrast, Henry Taylor filed a complaint in 1914 against the school for the ill treatment of his daughter. More specifically, the complaint was lodged against Miss Brisbois in the health unit and revolved around the mistreatment of the girl's eyes and nose, subsequently causing blindness. Mr. Taylor also felt that the school should only hire married staff, because some of the single employees behaved inappropriately. Superintendent Pierce responded by arguing that the corneal ulcer had been made worse, despite multiple treatments with cleaning solutions from both Dr. Spafford and Miss Brisbois, because Mr. Taylor had taken his daughter to camp at Pipestone quarry during the summer months.[74]

Superintendent Pierce suggested that the girl withdraw from school as a last recourse to save her eyesight rather than drop in and out of school. Pierce concluded his report by stating that it was impossible to hire only married individuals and that the only person he had fired recently was an American Indian assistant for "conduct unbecoming an employee". He further suggested that Mr. Taylor was known as a chronic grumbler, with little or no standing in the community, who could barely support himself.[75] Once again, Pierce handled the situation by skirting the major issues, deflecting blame elsewhere, and ultimately doing nothing to really alleviate the situation.

In conclusion, Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools were similar in that they provided area hospitalization and education for those who desired assistance. However, as in all situations, there were huge discrepancies in perception as to whether or not the facilities actually facilitated the needs of the community. For some, the school served as a springboard into the non-Indian world. For others, it represented all the negative attributes of the dominant society. In general, each individual had to decide if or how he

or she would grapple with the situation as he or she navigated through the New World order.

Rationales behind attending Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools varied as much as the individuals who attended. From the perspective of the federal government, boarding schools, and staff, the overall goal was to assimilate Indian peoples as quickly as possible, with decades of limited accommodation that reflected first the New Deal and later the American Indian Movement. In contrast, Native American students and their parents chose the path of assimilation for a variety of reasons that included an active interest in bicultural living and education, outside pressure form both missionaries and federal officials, and a hesitant compromise of living between the two worlds.

The American Indian students responded on a day-to-day basis with both resistance and acceptance. The convoluted histories of Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools simultaneously reflected problems with corporal punishment, runaways, loss of language, charges of unnecessary discipline and abuse, a desire for non-Indian education, and a very tangible need for the medical services provided by the area hospital and clinics. Some parents and grandparents responded by bombarding the school with requests for enrollment of their offspring. Others hid their children on reservations and in cultural enclaves or finagled funding for local schools via their patent-fees from treaty rights and annuities. Regardless of the impetus, both sides put a lot of tangible effort into surveying and "fixing" the ever-changing "Indian Problem".

NOTES

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[5] National Archives, Box 26, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Flandreau Indian School.

[6] Ibid.

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

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CHAPTER 7

THE PIPESTONE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Pipestone Indian School opened its doors in 1893 to an array of unanticipated triumphs and troubles that would play out in the unfolding drama of the school's sixty-year history. Before its closure in 1954, it had a similar agenda to that of Flandreau Indian School in terms of goals. In the early years the staff focussed upon a core curriculum that revolved around the learning of English, the cutting of hair, the transformation in dress, job placement, and providing health care for both students and community members. Before its closure, Pipestone faced a similar alteration in ideology due to external and internal forces stemming from the Merium Report of the 1920s and culminating in John Collier's Indian New Deal of the 1930s. These changes were equally reflected in the programming of the staff, who by the 1930s were actively engaged on their own in amending the educational process at the boarding school. Unlike Flandreau Indian School, Pipestone did not survive much beyond this decade, because the school fell victim to the off-reservation boarding school closures that were also a familiar feature of the Indian New Deal.

As parents placed children under the care of the Pipestone Indian School staff, they grappled with their own rationalizations for choosing this course of action. Some were interested in giving their children bi-cultural status, while others felt pressured by religious clergy and federal officials to conform to legal and social protocol. Finally,

some felt that they had no other recourse than to assimilate, because they truly believed that their traditional way of life was already on the road to disappearance.

Before its closure, Pipestone Indian School dealt with similar student body and staff issues to those that routinely appeared at Flandreau Indian School during the corresponding decades. These issues revolved around runaways, recruitment, processing applications, health, abuse, and discipline. The school also indirectly fostered a pan-Indian movement among the student body that became a permanent feature of the boarding school experience.

As early as 1895, students and parents questioned the discipline system at the school. More specifically, two separate complaints were lodged against both the Superintendent at Pipestone and the girls' head matron. In a letter dated March 5, 1895, to De Witt S. Harris, Superintendent of Indian Schools, Julia and Lucy Williams and Lena Whipple refused to return to Pipestone Indian School because of certain actions of Superintendent Crandall to which their parents objected. The letter went on to state that the girls had also been dismissed from the Flandreau Indian School and were currently staying with destitute friends of their families while waiting for transportation home. This particular instance graphically illustrates the gap commonly found between the students/parents and the staff/federal officials, in their perceptions of the situation at the schools. More often than not, each was out to discredit the other in the search for truth.[1] Many of the discrepancies were rooted in intangible cultural nuances that were almost never reconciled. Therefore, when a problem erupted between the two camps, each would blame the other and nearly never find common ground, particularly in the early years when the contrast was more severe.

In December of 1895,the conduct of the girls' Matron that was called into question over the issue of corporal punishment. In this instance, her position was supported by the school. Referencing Rule 53 of the by-laws of the school, officials at the school stated that they had every right to supervise and empower the position of the Matron. Further, they suggested that she be made a central figure for fielding complaints unless such complaints were lodged directly at her, in which case, the Superintendent should handle them. It was also decided that corporal punishment should be viewed only as a last resort and would therefore not be discontinued.[2]

Discrepancies in notions of personal conduct and discipline continued to cause conflict between staff, students, and parents well into the twentieth century. On March 10, 1908, five boys were expelled for getting drunk (one Sioux and four Chippewa). They were also charged with malicious destruction of property, for causing an "uprising", for beating up the Chief of Police and head disciplinarian, and for biting off the nose of the Industrial Teacher. The concern of the town and school was whether to prosecute these boys as United States citizens because of the allotment laws and Burke Act of 1906.[3] In general, the school and surrounding community immediately assumed that the boys were in the wrong, and very little effort was directed to discovering the rationale behind their actions.

In March 1924, the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School alerted Superintendent C. M. Ziebach at Ft. Thompson on the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota, of a problem with student Myrtle Louisa Hayes. He stated that she had never been sick, was a very fine girl, a good singer, and an excellent student, but that her teacher had whipped her. The Superintendent of Pipestone tried to downplay the situation by alerting the

mother and the Superintendent at Ft. Thompson. It was obvious from the following example that the Superintendent was more concerned about the reputation of the school than the overall welfare of the students. Myrtle Louisa Hayes claimed that her teacher whipped her. Her instructor, explaining the circumstances of the situation, sent a letter to the girl's mother. The Superintendent did this as a preventative measure in case a local Indian woman spoke to the family first about the incident. This local woman was known for reporting to parents about activities at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools in reference to the treatment of the children.[4]

A similar instance occurred in 1926, when student Esther Youngbear refused to return to Pipestone because of her intense dislike for the Matron Mrs. Clifford. An excellent student who was well liked by all, Esther Youngbear chose to resist rather than accept what she deemed to be inappropriate supervision. Superintendent Balmer did believe the charges lodged against Clifford's strictness, but he also rationalized that the Matron was merely teaching these girls how to behave "like ladies". Balmer concluded that as Clifford had resigned, it would be wise for Esther to return rather than go elsewhere.[5] Samuel L. Thompson, Superintendent of Indian Education, summarized the 1920s by stating, "I guess all the schools are having to send some children home because of the feeling by the children that they cannot be punished. Think it would help if you would put in the letter about punishment: Administer according to the law of the state in which the school is located…."[6]

The issue of corporal punishment in the early years of both schools provided a constant source of tension between the Native and non-Indian worlds. Most Native Americans did not physically assault their children when correcting them, whereas in the

white world this was a common practice at the turn of the century. There was also an ongoing barrier in perception of the truth. Again, in the early history of the boarding school phenomenon, integrating Native Americans into the dominant society was not an easy task. There were many hurdles and gaps between the two populations that only compounded the problem when dealing with the issue of discipline.

Another area in which the behavior of the children was strictly policed was the fraternization between boys and girls. In one particular instance from 1924, a boy was found in the room of Linda Elk and Helen Whitewater after hours. The boy, Matthew King, was subsequently expelled, and the girls were severely reprimanded.[7] An earlier example of expulsion occurred in 1914, when Ernest Gale and Emma Leith were expelled for having sex even though they later married.[8] Both these instances were examples of differences in perceptions. The faculty felt that students of the opposite sex should only mingle at certain times and places during the day.

The problem with runaways was another common one at all federal boarding schools. In particular, the male students tended to "run" and usually tried to more than once, if at all. In each instance, the rationale for "running" varied. Some individuals ran away because of homesickness, sick relatives, and culture shock or because many students were well into adulthood and were therefore not considered minors by the tribe. A specific case at Pipestone from 1919 involved five Northern Cheyenne boys who at first complained of homesickness, which later led to running away. In this particular situation, the Superintendent at Pipestone Indian School was in touch with federal officials at both the Tongue River Agency of the Northern Cheyennes in Montana and the Oklahoma branch for the Southern Cheyenne. This kind of "networking" was common

among the agencies and schools, as they tried to control the Native American populations as much as possible. In 1919, Superintendent John A Buntin of the Tongue River Agency suggested to Superintendent F. T. Mann of Pipestone that it was not his fault that the Cheyenne boys had run away. Buntin further offered his view that the boys had no interest in school and that:

> The Northern Cheyenne Indians are among the most backward in the United States. This band of Indians would remain with Southern Cheyenne who live in Oklahoma. Many of them ran away from the tribe in Oklahoma when taken down there and took up their abode in this part of Montana. Many of them have shunned the white people, education and advancement generally. I have trouble in keeping them in school here. I am sure it is in no way your fault, that the boys run off.[9]

On another occasion, Mann listed David Walking Bear as the main culprit and described him as an immature lad in years and judgement, even though he was a man of 22 at the time. Mann stated that David was "useless" at the school and that he sought to be expelled so that he could have free transportation home to the reservation. Mann also stated that he was glad that Walking Bear was gone because he was a bad example for the boys. Mann assumed Walking Bear was either in jail or en route to the Tongue River Agency. Mann closed his commentary by stating that he believed that the boys took for granted all of their efforts to educate and assimilate them, and that they would probably resume "reservation life" after attending Pipestone.[10]

The main constraints in this case were the diametrically opposed philosophies of two cultures and the ages of the students running away. For the most part, the priority of the tribe was to maintain their culture with minimal contact and accommodation, but the endeavors of the Indian schools revolved around assimilating the Native American populations as swiftly as possible. Another "problem" area was the age of the students.

Again, these were young adults being treated as children by the schools. The administration at Pipestone Indian School also failed to consider that "culture shock" was a hard hurdle to overcome overnight.

In 1923, Superintendent Ora Padgett was sent a letter from the Superintendent of Pierre Indian School. In the correspondence, the Superintendent cited a case in which two teenage students had run away from Pierre Indian School. He asked that Padgett be on the look-out for two boys that were seventeen and sixteen years of age, who were in the vicinity of Pipestone Indian School. The father of one boy had stated that they were staying with a relative, Paul Brings Grub of Cheyenne Agency. It was also suggested that Padgett get in touch with a Henry Cane, a Yankton who was believed to have more information as to the whereabouts of the boys.[11] This instance specifically illustrates the dynamics at work between the schools and area agencies in terms of communication and a desire to inquire and facilitate the needs of the staff at each federal facility. Essentially, it was not easy for students to remain hidden at a private home or on the reservation/agency after running away.

Another case from 1924 involved a mother who was searching for her son. What was unusual about this example was that the school was less interested than the mother in the search for the son's whereabouts. Mrs. Onihan, mother of Lyman, stated that transportation had been furnished by the school, but that her son had disappeared somewhere in the vicinity of Mitchell, South Dakota, while en route to Pipestone. She further suggested that he may have taken a train to the Sisseton Reservation. The school was not particularly interested in searching for Lyman Onihan because he was not a very good student and a known runaway.[12]

In a similar case from 1923 the Pipestone Indian School rejected Enos Redday after he ran away and allowed him to go home and live with his grandfather. The school argued that the student was "very dull" and not advancing fast enough. According to the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School, part of the problem was his physical absence from school over a two-year period, and the other was his "malady with adenoids". Morever, Enos Redday was not deemed a very desirable student in part because of his inability to advance in grades.[13]

Another tension that caused conflict between students, staff, and parents/grandparents was the desire on the part of some parents to keep their children from attending the boarding schools altogether. The excuses for keeping the children home varied from individual to individual. One mother expressed her feelings against Pipestone Indian school in a letter to Superintendent Ora Padgett in 1923, stating that the school would only be allowed to enroll her daughter "over her dead body."[14] In another case from 1923, it was suggested to Superintendent A. Padgett of Pipestone Indian School by Superintendent Millshare that he send the Day School Inspector and Agency Physician to investigate the household of Mrs. Alice DeCoteau. The doctor saw no clear reason for her daughter, Marie Ironheart, to leave school. It was reported that at the time Mrs. DeCoteau had threes sons at home ages fourteen, thirteen, and eleven, and one girl aged ten, who could do all of the work around the house.[15]

A similar situation existed for Lucinda Pearl Dion in the summer and fall of 1921. In this particular instance, Lucinda's mother blocked directly her entry into Pipestone Indian School because she wanted the girl to remain with her relatives, the Haye's children. A final example of a student being directly blocked by family members was outlined in a

correspondence from 1922 that was sent to Superintendent Ora Padgett of Pipestone Indian School. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed the transfer of Wilson J. Roberts, aged eight, to the Pipestone Indian School. With the permission of his grandparents, he was considered to be a very desirable candidate because he was a "bright and well-behaved boy."[16] These two characteristics were considered to be the most desirable of any applicant applying for admission to the school.

Another facet of the boarding school experience that concerned parents was living conditions, with issues about food, clothing, and medical treatment topping the list. Joseph Flute of Sisseton, South Dakota, expressed his concern for his girls in a letter to officials at the school. His main concerns revolved around a shortage of food at the school and his simultaneous desire to have them look after his house, younger children, and provide meals for him when he arrived home from work. He expressed his concerns in this excerpt:

> Now Mr. Willishan I want you to write to the Superintendent of Pipestone, Minnesota. I have a girl there big enough to cook and take care of her little sisters and I need her the worse way now. I know it looks bad to take a little girl out of school just now but I have to, as you know how I'm fixed. Now if he lets me take care I'll come after the girls and keep them here for the summer. One of them will be able to go to school this fall then I'll have one to look after next winter. Now I don't want to hear about my kids going hungry anymore. And I know they'll be better off here than there all I want is some body to look after them here in town and my oldest can do that, and as I am working she can have some thing cooked when I get back this way. I have to cook for myself when I get back and it is hard on me.[17]

Joseph Flute was concerned for the welfare of his children but was obviously not against them attaining a non-Indian education. It is clear, however, from this letter that, like other parents, he needed the older children to look after the house and the younger siblings while he was at work.

Another reason that parents opted to pull their children out of Pipestone Indian School was the patent in fee phenomenon. For example, Garret White of the Piegan Tribe of Montana was interested in removing his son Eli White from Pipestone Indian School in 1919. His rationale revolved around his belief that his son was being confined against his will, and that this ran contrary to the regulations concerning the parents' status as full-fledged citizens. The father had attained his patent in fee to land situated in Glasier County, Montana, and the mother was a Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux Indian. Ultimately, the parents of Eli felt that their son would be happier living at home and attending a local school with better instruction, longer hours, and only one and one-half miles away.[18]

In a follow-up letter issued in November of 1919, the school agreed to release Eli White because of the parents' patent in fee status, but did not agree with the father's rationale for requesting the return of his son. According to school records, the mother of Eli had sent her son to Pipestone Indian School while the father was living away from the family. The letter also suggested and asserted that Pipestone was a better school than the day school that the boy would attend, that the father had not been disgruntled with the school upon visiting, and that the sister should be removed from Flandreau Indian School as well. In general, the conclusion was the same, but this instance illustrates well how

cultural differences affected each group's perception of the school and why children should attend it.[19]

In a circular issued shortly after this incident with the Garrets, the Superintendent at Pipestone Indian School laid down the ground rules for Superintendent J. L. Suffacool of Sisseton, S.D. The officials at Pipestone specifically addressed the problems of carrying out the policy of "letting my people go" and at the same time endeavoring to do what should be done in the conduct of the schools and agencies. The only time that the Superintendent deemed it appropriate to dismiss a child was when it was clear that the home environment on the reservation was conducive to both learning and living. In general, the office at Pipestone Indian School tended to label home attendance as defective and was therefore more antagonistic rather than supportive of it. The Superintendent at Pipestone further stated that if a parent were not willing to leave his or her child in until the end of the term, then the case must be submitted to the Indian Office for ruling, in order to relieve the school of any further responsibility.[20] The tone of this incident suggested a concern for the welfare of the child, yet it was often difficult to discern what the most desirable situation should be, as the school further entangled itself in tribal affairs. Ultimately the school wanted to have full control of the child and the situation if the student was enrolled at Pipestone Indian School.

A final area of concern among parents related to the loss of the Sioux language. Mixed-blood Sioux tribal member Cornelia Elizabeth Eller, who attended Pipestone in the early years of the school, blamed the government boarding school system for the loss of the Dakota language. She expressed this when she stated:

> We were little, and we were told not to talk Dakota, we were supposed to only talk English and we were supposed to learn to be the white people

> way, we were not supposed to be Indians at all the time. That was always thrown up at us at the government school. And as I got older, you know, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, right around there, I was all mixed up. I was puzzled why can't I be an Indian? Why can't I do things I want to do? Why can't I talk the way I want to?[21]

Eller continued to describe the school as a regimented prison with single-sexed dormitories that were monitored by matrons. She also discussed how they slept in uniform rows of beds and that every moment of the day was divided into set increments that were signaled by the ringing of bells. The children were made to march, and she thought that the food was of poor quality. The most distressing phenomenon for her, however, was that she was barred from speaking any native language, yet she was constantly in the midst of other Sioux, Oneidas, Winnebegos, and Chippewas.[22]

Sioux tribal member Joseph Blacksmith described his experiences at school in a similar vein. When Blacksmith first entered Pipestone in the 1920s, he did not know any English. He quickly learned, however, that kids would be whipped by the boys' advisor if there were caught speaking Sioux among each other. Generally, he credited the swift disappearance of Sioux culture to loss of the language within a couple of generations.[23]

Parents or grandparents pulling their children out of Pipestone Indian School for various reasons contrasted with individuals who actively tried to have their children enrolled. One of the over-riding benefits of the boarding school system was the guarentee of a completely Native American student body. Many complaints lodged against area day schools by American Indian parents revolved around the presence of white children. J. J. Duncan outlined the fundamental dilemma to Superintendent A. Padgett of Pipestone Indian School in September of 1923. Lillian King, aged 9, was brought back to Pipestone after trying to attend an area day school that had two white children in attendance. The parents wanted all four of their children to be educated in an

atmosphere where they were completely surrounded by other Native American children. However, the school's primary concern was that the parents not change their mind once they had re-enrolled the children. Duncan referred to this matter by stating, "I do not believe in relieving parents of taking care of their children, and throwing all the responsibility on the government for food and clothing."[24]

The case of the De Manias family in 1924 provides another example of a father's highly enthusiastic attempt to enroll his children at Pipestone Indian School. George De Manias not only requested that the school send tickets for the return of his two boys, but he also encouraged the swift processing of his daughter's application. De Manias had no qualms about enrolling his children at Pipestone Indian School.

A final case in which parents considered boarding school as a better option for their children involved a boy named Herman Brown. In a correspondence from Superintendent James W. Balmer of Pipestone Indian School to Superintendent F. T. Mann, Balmer stated the following:

> There is a boy Herman Brown about 15 or 16 years old and in the 6th grade, who has been attending the public school at Thurston, in this county. He had some trouble with other boys there and was expelled. The school board has taken him back in school, however, for the time being with the understanding that arrangements be made to send him to a government school. He is a bright enough boy and I do not think that he is any worse than the average. I think the trouble arose from his being the only Indian boy in school and he was perhaps nagged by the other boys.[25]

Similar to previously mentioned situations involving area day versus boarding school, the main issue here was the desire of the parents to send their son to an all-Indian school to avoid prejudice from the local white community.

In a similar vein, in 1923 Frank Boswell of Tomah, Wisconsin, made some suggestions to officials at Pipestone Indian School. His request was unusual, because unlike other letters of intent, this individual spoke on his own behalf:

> Say Mr. Padgett if you can get me back to Pipestone I'll stay there I don't like this school its too lonesome. I sooner be back to Pipestone if you don't get me back to Pipestone I'm going to write home and get a ticket and go home and stay there. If you'll give me one more chance I'll stay to Pipestone, keep this to yourself.[26]

This individual obviously did not share the trepidations and concerns of other tribal members in embracing non-Indian education. Instead, Frank Boswell expressed an overt acceptance rather than rejection of the boarding school system and all that it had to offer.

Other students who embraced their experiences at Pipestone in a positive light were Mrs, Josephine Warren Robinson, Mrs. Harriet Blue, Nathan Taylor, and Lucille Childs. Robinson attended the school at the turn of the century and described her experiences as positive. Robinson stated that the teachers were nice but strict, that she as well as her mother wanted her to attend, and that she met other girls from tribes that she did not even know existed prior to her life at Pipestone Indian School. Other tribes that she was exposed to included Sioux, Oneida, and Winnebago.[27] Mrs. Harriet Blue similarily viewed her stay at Pipestone as the best years of her life. Despite the fact that she was barred from speaking her native tongue, she enjoyed learning reading, writing, arithmetic, civics, geography, and liked the overall atmosphere of the boarding school system.[28] Nathan Taylor credited Pipestone Indian School with his being drafted into WWII, which was a turning point in his life. As a resident of the area, he went on to describe how he was able to apprentice with his father in making traditional peace pipes, since they lived near the Pipestone quarry.[29] Lucille Childs credited Pipestone for providing a political

platform for students interested in the American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s.[30]

Another feature of the boarding school phenomenon was the purported cases of abuse. In December of 1914, Sioux tribal member Mrs. Levi Levering of Macy Nebraska wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. In the correspondence, Mrs. Levering stated that she had a son name Eugene Standing Bear in attendance at Pipestone Indian School. She visited the school on December 12, and found the boy dirty, covered with vermin, his clothing worn, and without enough to eat. She also said that he was quartered with too many other children, was physically abused, and that the Superintendent was unaware of these conditions because he never inspected the student body.[31]

After the complaint was filed, Superintendent F. T. Mann of Pipestone Indian School offered a retort to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who then sent a letter to Mrs. Levering. According to Superintendent Mann, Mrs. Levering was completely wrong on all accounts. After making a full "investigation" of his own, he stated that neither he nor the matron had ever seen vermin on the boy, that he was bathed regularly, that he was a chronic bed-wetter (which explained the odor), and that he was provided with the same clothes as all of the other boys (even though he was careless with his own appearance). Mann further stated that there was plenty of food, that they were only missing enough utensils for a few days, his lodgings were the equivalent of others, that there was no direct evidence of abuse, and that he inspected each student once a week. Mann essentially regarded most of her accusations as falsehoods and then went on to lodge a few against Mrs. Levering herself. Superintendent Mann described Mrs. Levi Levering

as an "apparently intelligent woman" with some very unreasonable requests. One of the requests that he cited was her desire to see her son dressed up every day with a white shirt, stating that he was "somewhat of a dude and that she wanted him to gratify this whim."[32]

In the letter to Mrs. Levering, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sided with Superintendent Mann's assessment of the situation. The only area in which he thought that her complaints might be valid was with respect to abuse. He suggested that she give specific instances of abuse in order that the office look into the matter. It was believed that this complaint might have had more foundation than others. As for overall well being, the Commissioner asserted that her son was given the same care as the other students and that special treatment was out of the question.[33] These exchanges revealed that F. T. Mann tactically addressed the complaint by first defending his position and then by attacking not only the mother but the son as well, which was a typical procedure practiced by many such officials in his position throughout the Indian Field Service at the time. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs handled the situation by essentially skirting the issue altogether.

In a similar case, Joseph Roy and his wife visited their son at Pipestone Indian School and filed a complaint to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, L. S. Bonnin, shortly thereafter on November 24, 1919. Speaking through an interpreter, the parents requested that their son be sent home for the following reasons:

> He understood that it would take him only a day to visit Pipestone but upon making the trip he found that it required two days and a night to reach that school; he found the boy was wearing clothing which was rather ragged and that his feet were sore as a result of his shoes rubbing his feet; the boys did not have enough to eat; they were stealing corn and roasting it to eat; his boy was struck and knocked senseless by an industrial teacher

> and was again struck at another time, by the same man, in the body, from which blow he suffered much pain when he breathed; and he says that he told the Superintendent of Pipestone when the boy was taken to school that he was not a strong boy and should be treated with care that the boy was not being so treated.[34]

With all of this in mind, Roy felt that it was his duty as a concerned parent to remove his son from the school. Roy and Dr. A. H. Spears, Physician in Charge of the Nett Lake Sub-Agency, stated that they believed that the boy had been abused and that the case should be considered for legal action.

Superintendent Bonnin wrote a response shortly thereafter that indicated that he was aware of the various students' or parents' intentions, but that this particular case sounded legitimate, "I am perfectly aware of the fact that parents often get reports and form ideas of this nature without much foundation, but usually they are sincere in their belief in these matters and will take the word of their children for imaginary wrongs and insufficient food, but when they go to visit their children and find them wearing ragged clothing, it is hard to make them believe that this is not unusual."[35]

In a similar fashion to the previous case, Superintendent F. T. Mann responded defensively first, followed by accusations against the child and the parents. Mann not only returned the original letter but also stated that the boy was completely lying about being struck by the industrial teacher. When the boy was called into Mann's office with a Chippewa interpreter, the superintendent showed a letter with the lines that pointed out specifics that he did not agree with. According to Mann, the boy later denied having been struck by Mr. Felix or any other employee, that the boy said that he had never not been allowed to send a letter home, and when several other children were questioned about the matter they also affirmed their lack of knowledge. Because the charges were

essentially dropped, F. T. Mann said that the entire incident was a falsehood and had been fabricated by the father, Joe Roy, in order to pull his son out of Pipestone.[36]

In a follow-up letter, the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. B. Meritt, requested that Joe Roy tell his son not to tell falsehoods or he would be expelled from Pipestone.[37] Meritt requested in December of 1919 that the parents provide clothing if they felt that their son was going without. Meritt also concluded by pointing out the "disadvantage" of the boy and his father because they had limited knowledge of English.[38]

A final case of abuse that was filed during this period, was on February 24, 1927. In this particular instance, Mr. J. W. Balmer had the following reported to him:

> I wish to report that Horace Poweshiek brought his daughter Marie Poweshiek to the sanitorium (Sac and Fox) Monday, but upon arrival he was extremely angry on account of the condition which he reported the girl was in when she returned home. Horace reported that her head was covered with lice and her clothing was very badly soiled. When the girl was brought in I had the matron look over her carefully and we found that there were nits adhering to the hair, but we found no lice. Horace insisted that they did all they could to clean her up before she was brought to the sanitorium. He insisted that the matter be reported to you, and I am doing so. I regret, I assure you, that anything has occurred to offend Horace for he is one of the best men we have on the reservation. He has been thoroughly in sympathy with the educational work and has done all that he could to assist us in getting the other children in school. He was free to tell us about this and he feels that we have not treated his child as she should be treated. I trust that you will take nothing less than submit the facts to you so that we may try if possible and satisfy the father.[39]

After showing the father the above letter, he stated that his curiosity had been assuaged but that he still wanted them to treat his daughter better. Ironically, Horace Poweshiek was an accomodationist and fully behind the educational system, yet even he lodged a complaint against Superintendent J. W. Balmer and Pipestone Indian School for the mistreatment of his daughter.

Despite the overt lack of concern expressed by some staff members in reference to the welfare of the children, there were those that simultaneously championed the cause of the students. A circular issued by the Department of the Interior in 1920 specifically stated that it wanted the Indian children to be treated the same as the white children. The letter also specifically stated that the students should be allowed to freely visit their parents.[40] In a similar vein, the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School, in a letter to Superintendent W. C. Willihan of Sisseton Indian Agency in 1924 expressed a concern for the rights of Native American students and their families:

> I have in this institution, a son of Rose Light Foot, whose name is Harvey Chandler, and I have wondered if those people have any rights as Indians. I fear that we do not have all the facts in this case and my decision has probably not been in accordance with the rules and regulations governing admission to our institution. Rose Light Foot, I am told, is the daughter of Mrs. Ellen Bluestone of Morton, Minnesota. I am not sure you have charge of these Indians, but if you do have I will be pleased to learn whether or not Rose Light Foot and Bluestone have any rights as Indians.[41]

Another example of the faculty's interest in the well being of the students referred to the transfer of appropriated funds for use by pupils. In 1921 the Superintendent of Pipestone Indian School issued a letter to Mr. J.L. Suffecool, Superintendent of Sisseton Indian Agency, stating that they needed to ensure that Marie M. Ironheart had enough money for necessary articles. He went on to list other children such as Mary White Ghost, Ida Eagle, and Vivian Renville, who faced the same problem.[42]

A similar concern was expressed on behalf of Edith Waseskuk in 1927 to Mr. J. W. Balmer, the Superintendent of Pipestone. Her relatives were very anxious to learn whether or not she had any funds to her credit in the school office. It seemed that she had been writing them for money and she implied that she did not get the money that was sent

her the previous year.[43] Not only was there an overt concern for investigating the loss of funds of Edith Waseskuk, but also an interest in maintaining a good relationship with her family. In a survey of students done in the 1940s, Pipestone Indian School submitted an evaluation of their former pupils in order to keep the new schools that they were attending abreast of their academic progress. Leona Belille, had had one year of home economics and was slow, though willing to do her sewing, cleaning , or whatever it was that she was engaged in at the moment. She and her cousin Geraldine Dennis seemed to do very few things, however, due to their lack background in education and industrial training. Overall, Leona was considered conscientious and had a good attitude toward criticism. Vivian Danforth, who had had one year of home economics, had had four months of experience as a waitress in the club during the summer. She was described as a good and dependable girl who was willing to cooperate and as having a very fine attitude. The final student, Geraldine Dennis, was considered to be a slow worker. This was attributed mostly to her lack of experience. However, with willingness, a good attitude, and a good disposition, she was believed to excel in whatever profession she would choose as a vocation. She was always attractive in appearance, and her mother was considered to be an unusually striking woman. It was thought that the mother had probably done things for her daughter rather than let her assume responsibility. She also had one year of home economics training.[44] These reports were supportive rather than dismissive in their tone. Unlike some of the other overviews of students, these focussed upon the strengths and potential of the pupils rather than their inability to contribute anything positive to society.

The health facility at Pipestone Indian School not only facilitated the needs of the students but also those of area Indians. The hospital handled cases ranging from measles and tuberculosis to mental health, pregnancy, and accidental injuries or death. In their effort to house and care for 200-350 students a year, Pipestone Indian School had to research preventative measures for cases of measles, tuberculosis, conjunctivitis, scabies, pustular infection of legs, typhoid, mumps, and influenza. By as early as the 1910s the school had a fairly sophisticated grasp on how to contain and, to a certain extent, control tuberculosis. In 1915 alone, Pipestone Indian School reported thirty-three cases of tuberculosis between fifteen boys and eighteen girls. Many of these children were from the reservation, leading the school to conclude that these communities were more rampant than others with the illness. Some of the preventative measures attempted included tubercular testing for all students and an inspection of the dairy herd. This testing usually involved an x-ray as well as a treatment that included copper sulphate and silver nitrate. Physician Joseph A. Murphy stated in 1914 that these cases could have been reduced if they had been treated earlier.[45]

Pipestone Indian School, generally speaking, was adamant about having each child suspected of having tuberculosis to be checked by a proper specialist. In an instance from 1925, Adam Wildcat was suspected of having tuberculosis. Working closely with his parents, school physicians offered to send him to a sanitorium if he were to become tubercular, but preferred that he remain at Pipestone nonetheless.[46] In a similar case from 1913, they had detected the case too late, and George Jordan from White Earth Reservation died at 18 of glandular tuberculosis that went to the brain.[47]

Major outbreaks of various other epidemics were more common at Pipestone. There were two influenza epidemics in 1932, a mumps epidemic in 1932, an outbreak of typhoid in 1934, and multiple cases of scabies in 1938. In terms of the influenza epidemics, the students coming immediately from the reservation were isolated as a preventative measure. The outbreak of typhoid was similarly handled, with the inoculation of the entire Prairie Island Community with the approval of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, John Collier.[48]

With respect to mental health, both parents and pupils could be placed in a hospital at the strong suggestion of federal officials or Pipestone Indian School staff. In 1919, a girl was expelled from Pipestone Indian School because of her mental health problems. This Chippewa student had "irrational rages" in which she would act "possessed". In one instance, the pupil struck the Girl's Matron in the face with an iron poker. Considered a bad influence on the other girls, she was asked to leave.[49] In a similar case from 1933, Mrs. Alice Murphy requested that her daughter, Mrs. Mallesey, be treated at Pipestone Indian School for mental problems. In this instance, the school declined because the young woman had been previously hospitalized by the state.[50] In this particular instance, the importance of the hospital as an area facility was firmly reflected.

A final example of the school's efforts to intervene in the lives of American Indians because of health related issues, was the case of Luella Rouse, a half Chippewa and half French mother of two. The children were taken in by the school because of the mother's mental problems. According to her records, Luella was raised by Sioux Indians and had the mentality of an "eight-year old girl" who was incapable of caring for her children. Her children were therefore placed under state guardianship, which was directly approved

in a letter from John Collier. Preventative measures such as sterilization were used to keep women from having more children. Despite efforts from family friends and neighbors to help Luella regain custody of her two sons, they remained at Pipestone Indian School out of her reach.[51] All three of these examples reflected possible rifts in cultural empathy and understanding. They also mirrored the extremes that the school would go to in assisting the families, reguardless of whether the help was solicited or not.

Other medical problems included unanticipated pregnancies within the student body. In a case from 1914, a couple, who were twenty-three and eighteen respectively, was caught having intercourse at the school. Subsequently, the eighteen-year old girl discovered that she was pregnant, and both were expelled. They later married, but were still considered minors by the school despite their ages, and were not allowed back into Pipestone.[52] In another case from 1923, the school conducted an elaborate investigation of Minnie Davis. Ms. Davis had recently enrolled from the Omaha Agency and reported that she had been with Rufus Wolf during her "sick time" and was now pregnant. The school suggested that she be sent home and that Wolf be made an example of for forcing her to have intercourse with him. When Superintendent C. B. Lohmiller of the Omaha Agency investigated the situation further, he found that:

> There was no truth to the statement. Minnie Davis also informed me that inasmuch as you had more pupils enrolled than there were accommodations for, that the newly enrolled ones would be sent home, hence her return. She also stated that she never informed you about herself, that Inez Parker volunteered all you stated above. My intention of sending Minnie Davis to your school was actuated solely to have her in school regularly and to have her away from her poor accommodations.[53]

In this instance, Superintendent C.B. Lohmiller of Omaha Agency suggested to Superintendent Padgett of Pipestone Indian School that it was obvious that each was

dependent on the other not only for getting to the source of the alleged pregnancy but also for keeping enrollment up from area reservations.

In a final situation involving pregnancy from 1927, Superintendent J. W. Balmer was issued information from Superintendent John S.R. Hamitt of Lac du Flambeau School and Agency. In two letters sent, Balmer was informed of the condition of a female student named Josie who was to transfer to Flandreau. Hamitt stated that the girl became pregnant after visiting her home reservation while on vacation from school. Hamitt suggested that she go to Flandreau with a group of other students who were also transferring to the school. In this particular case, there was cooperation between Pipestone, area Flandreau, and Lac du Flambeau School and Agency, in securing the future of the student and her baby.[54]

Other common occurrences at the school included accidents and accidental deaths, ranging in cause from athletics to industrial machinery. In one questionable case from 1919, student John Baptist, Jr., had an injury to the head and was placed in the school hospital until he fully recovered. When Superintendent F. T. Mann of Pipestone explained the matter to the Superintendent of the Winnebego Agency in Nebraska, he said that the boy had been in the hospital for ten days with a badly battered head and no other witnesses to how it had happened.[55] Another accident occurred in 1933, when a girl's hand was both mangled and burned in a laundry machine. This was noted by school officials at the time as being a "common occurrence".[56]

Accidental deaths were also common. In a case from 1923, Emery White (Winnebego and Sac and Fox), died after falling from a tree and landing on his head. Two boys died in 1936 from drowning. One fell through the ice while skating, and the other drowned

while swimming. Another boy froze to death in a box car en route to his uncle's house in a runaway attempt in 1936. Two other boys died in the 1920s from football injuries. One boy died in 1923 after sustained injuries from a tackle. His body was subsequently shipped home to Garrison, North Dakota, escorted by a close friend.[57] Joe Fox died in a similar fashion in 1923. This incident was outlined in a letter to his father, Fred Fox of Elbowoods, North Dakota:

> I am very sorry to have to send you your son as a corpse because I have had these North Dakota children so long that they seem like my own. The happening was accidental, the boys were only practicing football and as Joe went to tackle one of the boys he hit his head against the ground and the force of the blow killed him. He died last night about 9:30. There will be no more football at Pipestone.[58]

Other extraneous medical procedures included eye examinations, the removal of a sixth finger of a student, an amputation of a leg, or outcropping of syphilis. In reference to the case of the student with the extra finger, the girl's grandmother directly blocked its removal, despite protests from the girl and Pipestone physicians.[59] The school decided to respect the desires of the grandmother, who may have had traditional beliefs for not removing the sixth finger of her granddaughter, Isabel Morgan.

In a similar situation, Charles Morrison injured the large toe on his right foot as well as his left foot. The left foot was later amputated after it became infected. After his amputation, he was sent to Haskell Institute, then to Vermillion Lake School, and later back to Pipestone Indian School for both care and education.

In a final example from 1948, Dr. John De Carro of Sisseton Indian Hospital/Department of the Interior notified Superintendent C. H. Beitzel of Pipestone Indian School of two cases of syphilis among the student body. Dan Ross and Harold Crooks from Morton, Minnesota, were mentioned as contacts with a known cases of

syphilis that had been treated at Sisseton hospital. Dr. De Carro requested that the medical staff at Pipestone further investigate the situation to verify if the condition of each student was active or not.[60] This was a perfect example of how medical doctors, area facilities and schools, and federal officials were in constant contact over issues involving health as well as routine scholastic and facility affairs.

Sioux tribal member Cornelia Elizabeth Eller credited the Health facility at Pipestone with giving her her first exposure to nursing. As a ninth grader, already she was asked to fill in as a substitute teacher for ailing instructors in grades third through fifth, with Winnebago, Chippewa, and Sioux pupils. When describing her nursing career, she stated the following, "I started in Pipestone. Just because I could work well with smaller students, they could trust everything and me, I started working in a hospital there. I used to give a bluestone to the chicoma kids first. I got interested in the sick, so, I used to take care of them there and then I used to hear the nurses say, oh Cornelia, you'd make a good nurse, you'd better take that up."[61]

The hospital closed with Pipestone Indian School in 1954. For sixty years, the hospital provided care for both students and area tribal communities. More specifically, it provided inoculations for epidemics, preventative measures for cases of tuberculosis, and other types of much needed medical attention.

Outside of the cutting of hair, the loss of language, and the changing of garments, the major alterations within Native North America were internal, as tribes, families, and individuals were pitted against each other in an effort to either assimilate or remain true to their heritage. Essentially, The United States Government and the boarding school system acted as the catalyst, while each tribe individually grappled with specific "comfort

levels" and how each would ultimately handle the perseverance of the people. In the midst of this appeared a pan-Indian movement in which students identified themselves more as Native Americans than as individual tribal members. By the time of the school's closure in 1954, the staff had actively made many alterations that accommodated both students and external forces generated under the Indian New Deal. At the same time, the school continued to operate as an area hospital, educational facility, and job placement facility, and dealt with problems revolving around corporal punishment, runaways, and charges of unnecessary discipline and abuse up until the very end.

NOTES

[1] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[2] Ibid.

[3] National Archives, Box 40, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[4] National Archives, Box 1, RG_75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[5] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[6] National Archives, Box 37, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[7] National Archives, Box 4, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[8] National Archives, Box 42, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[9] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[10] Ibid.

[11] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[12] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[13] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[14] National Archives, Box 39, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[15] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[16] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[17] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[18] National Archives, Box 41, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[19] Ibid.

[20] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[21] Eller, Cornelia Elizabeth, Interview 775, Interviewer Herbert T. Hoover, University of South Dakota, South Dakota Oral History Center/Institute of American Indian Studies, Vermillion, SD.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Blacksmith, Joseph, Interview 388, Interviewer Tony Luscombe, University of South Dakota, South Dakota Oral History Center/Institute of American Indian Studies, Vermillion, SD.

[24] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

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[31] National Archives, Box 5, RG-75, Bureau Of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[40] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

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[42] National Archives, Box 3, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[43] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[44] National Archives, Box 1, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[45] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[46] National Archives, Box 37, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[47] Ibid.

[48] National Archives, Box 41, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[49] National Archives, Box 37, RG_75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[50] Ibid.

[51] National Archives, Box 42, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[52] National Archives, Box 2, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

[53] Ibid.

[54] National Archives, Box 4, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pipestone Indian School.

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

I have a memory.
It swims deep in blood,
a delta in the skin. It swims out of Oklahoma,
deep the Mississippi River. It carries my
feet to those places: The French Quarter,
state rooms, the sun behind thick and moist
clouds, and I hear boats hauling themselves up
and down the river.

My spirit comes here to drink.
My spirit comes here to drink.
Blood is the undercurrent.

There are voices buried in the Mississippi
mud. There are ancestors and future children
buried beneath the currents stirred up by
pleasure boats going up and down.
There are stories here made of memory.[1]

With the close of the twentieth century came the resurgence of American Indian visibility on the national and international stage in areas of religion, politics, and cultural practices. This renewal came about despite the early efforts of the missionaries and the federal government to fully assimilate Native Americans. Ironically, in recent years it has been the federal government and the Christian church that have provided the most cultural support by promoting traditional religious practices, pow wows, and giveaways. This peculiar relationship between Native Americans, federal officials, and missionaries

was set in motion shortly after the age of European exploration and conquest. Vine Deloria, Jr., described this relationship in his Indian manifesto:

> Sacrifice often matched mistakes. Missionaries did more to open the West than any other group, but in doing so they increased the possibility of exploitation of the people they purported to save. Land acquisition and missionary work always went hand in hand in American history. While the thrust of Christian missions was to save individual Indians, its result was to shatter Indian societies and destroy the cohesiveness of the Indian communities. Tribes that resisted the overtures of the missionaries seemed to survive. Tribes that converted were never heard of again. Where Christianity failed, and insofar as it failed, Indians were able to stand the cultural deluge that threatened to engulf them.[2]

The first wave of missionaries in North America came from Europe and proceeded to influence and eventually overtake Woodland tribes. Arriving in the colonies in the 1500s, they had moved west of the Mississippi River by the mid-nineteenth century and east of the Sierra Nevada mountain range in order to enclose the territorial gulf. Expanding into the plains, the missionaries opened the way for non-Indian settlement. This deluge of immigration into the region served as a direct threat to tribal life for the Sioux, Omaha, Blackfoot, Chippewa, and Cheyenne Indians.

The Christian clergy offered a religion with a hierarchy and a defined paradigm in exchange for gradual and total immersion of the tribal members into non-Indian society.[3] More concretely, this meant the building of churches, day schools, and boarding schools that were either federal or Christian, as well as on or off of the reservations. In Sioux country, the first schools were built after the reservations were established in the latter half of the 19th century under the direction of the Peace and Quaker Policies.

Flandreau Agency was established provisionally in 1873 for the Santee Sioux living at Flandreau, Dakota Territory, after the Minnesota Sioux Wars of the 1850s and 1860s. From 1879 until 1903, Flandreau Santees were attached to either the Lake Traverse or the

Santee Agency. Both Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools opened in the 1890s. Serving simultaneously as educational facilities and area hospitals, both schools purported to fully assimilate American Indian students into the folds of the dominant society. Tribal members attended the schools for a variety of reasons. Some children felt that they were coerced by federal officials, while others fully embraced the bicultural status. However, many felt that they should attend out of pragmatic necessity rather than because of coercion or desire. In effect, they perceived education as an enhancement rather than a detraction from their tribal traditions, and ultimately as a vehicle for survival. This attitude was due in part to the geographic outlook of the Dakota branch of the Sioux Nation. On the cusp between the woodlands and the plains, the Dakota people were exposed to the non-Indian world much sooner than the rest of the tribe, and therefore potentially more open to change when it came through treaties, warfare, and various waves of emigrants.

By the middle of the twentieth century, it was obvious that complete assimilation of the students had failed because the system accommodated many of the Indian traditions. And here is the root of the cultural conflict within the school and the source of the dynamic of change. In short, the government boarding schools changed as much as the American Indian population, due to both internal and external forces revolving around the Indian Field Service's teaching staff, the Merium Report, and the Indian New Deal. Ultimately, a sense of "pan-Indianism" or comradery developed among members of various tribes, which was fostered and facilitated by the boarding school system. And in this particular situation, Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools also provided a

"meeting place" for a group of Santee Sioux who had been displaced and were without a reservation or recognized collective tribal identity.

In this study I explored American Indian education in the off-reservation boarding school setting from the 1890s to the 1970s. Through the various chapters, I attempted to illustrate the relationship of the Sioux people to Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools over time. In Chapters 1 and 2, I provided an overview of Indian education in assimilation, as well as a summary of federal Indian policy and the role of missionaries in the Dakotas and the larger United States. In Chapter 3, I delved into the history of the Dakota people as they were scattered west after the Minnesota Sioux Wars. In the subsequent chapters, I discussed the founding of the two schools, exploring such topics as curriculum, facilities, staff, and the Indian New Deal of the 1930s. In these chapters I also cited examples of successes and failures in programming and employee/student relations as the schools evolved over time. In Chapters 6 and 7, I examined the impact of Indian education upon the students themselves through their letters and oral interviews. In most instances, there was no set model for how the children were impacted. Some thrived in the boarding school setting while others made several attempts at running away and complained of abuse. In these core chapters, I examined job-placement, pan-Indianism, the role of the health centers in the community at large, and the individual expectations of students, staff, and parents.

Father Benno Watrin, who worked with returned Flandreau students at Pin Point between the 1920s and 1970s, asserted that the children who attended the government schools were much different from those who remained behind to be educated on-reservation. Watrin stated that many who had attended off-reservation schools

attempted to "drop back into their old Indian ways", while others went out to get a job with the skills that they had acquired. Prior to the 1960s and 1970s, those who did not make use of what they had learned at the boarding schools were generally looked down upon.[4] This view was corroborated by Lottie Good Thunder, who said that her relatives sent her to Flandreau Indian School in the early 1900s because they felt that she should move ahead and forget the past. Her mother went so far as to destroy family documents dating back to the 1800s, including tribal treaties, photographs, and personal diaries and deeds.[5] Mrs. Mae Eastman believed that the tribal members had become less independent during the 1960s and 1970s because of all of the special provisions for cultural needs provided by the school. Eastman actually preferred the rigid assimilationist policy of Flandreau and Pipestone during the early years, as opposed to the more accommodating curriculum of the 1960s and 1970s. She expressed this in more graphic detail in these words:

> I think in those days they didn't really think of them being Indians they just thought that they were people just the same as the people, is the way I think. But now-a-days it seems like the kids just think they're being discriminated against but its because the kids themselves bring it onto themselves. And if they want to live like the white people well of course they got to go along with them as the years go by.[6]

In contrast, Sioux tribal member Ramona Lawrence believed that the main problem with the boarding school system was that it broke the sacred hoop of the tribal members. A pediatric nurse at Eagle Butte Health Clinic on the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation in South Dakota, Lawrence blamed alcoholism and elderly abuse directly on the removal of the Sioux children from their homes from the 1890s to the present. Essentially, when the children were removed from the houses, the heart of the community went with them. With the responsibility of child-rearing gone, the parents became apathetic, and that

particular form of oral tradition virtually vanished, alongside language and religious practices. Lawrence stated that in many instances the grandparents tried to "make up for lost time" with their own children by raising their grandchildren.[7]

The solution, she suggested, was that parents raise their own children from ages one through fourteen, in order to ensure a stronger bond and to safeguard what was left of tribal solidarity and the oral traditions.[8] Lawrence concluded that the main reason that her parents and grandparents sent their children away to the various boarding schools was a commonly held belief that the "old days were done:"

> My grandfather didn't speak Lakota around us unless other older people came around, and then they talked. It was kind of like they were sneaking to talk in their native tongue, because they weren't supposed to. And my grandfather worked for the hospital, I.H.S., back in the late 1950s, down at agency. I can remember him always saying that we wouldn't be here. Here it is 1994, and we are still functioning as an Indian culture and we have our schools. That was in the 50s, that I can remember him saying that. That those days are gone. And that is what they believed.[9]

NOTES

[1] Joy Harjo, "New Orleans," Words in the Blood (New York, NY: Meridian Books, 1984), 212.

[2] Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 102.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Watrin, Father Benno, Interview 238, Cynthia Kelsey, University of South Dakota, Institute of American Indian Studies/South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[5] Good Thunder, Lottie, Interview 804, Interviewer Vince Pratt, University of South Dakota, Institute of American Indian Studies/South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[6] Eastman, Mae, Interview 754, Interviewer Vince Pratt, University of South Dakota, Institute of American Indian Studies/South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[7] Lawrence, Ramona, Interview 1350, Interviewer Cynthia Landrum, University of South Dakota, Institute of American Indian Studies/South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[8] Ibid.

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APPENDIX

Work Schedule at the Boys' Buildings for the weekdays
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

6:30 am	Awaken boys and see that they wash their face, hands. Suggest that they also brush their teeth and make their beds.
7:05 am	Line up
7:15 am	Breakfast
7:30 am	Attend to dormitory work. See that all soiled clothing is out of clothing room. The detail boy should do that and straighten clothing in boxes, Sweep, and dust. The basement must be swept before school and all trash burned. Edward Warner and Dan Sargent are detailed to burn the trash. Check dormitory work from time to time. Remind the boys in room to leave their rooms in order.
8:30 am	Send towels up to towel box and supervise washing and combing hair.
8:50 am	Line up and check lines for school.
9:00 am	Make a general check of the building to see that no clothing, towels or cleaning equipment is lying around. The building should be presentable at all times. Special attention should be given the lavatory. Check linen closet and remind hall boy to put it in order. If there is mending to be done, do what you can.
9:30-11 am	Off duty
11:15 am	Keep order in the building and if there is laundry to be brought over, send boys after it.
11:35 am	Line up
11:45 am	Dinner
12:35 pm	Boys wash for school and building detail should sweep the reading room, Hall, Lavatory, steps and basement.
12:55 pm	Line up for school.

1:00 pm	Check lavatory and put small boys to bed for rest period. See that the office and sewing room are in order.
2:10 pm	Awaken small boys and send to wash their face and hands.
3:15-4 pm	Off duty.
4 pm-5 pm	Mostly clothing room work such as sorting clothes, sewing on buttons, darning, etc.
5-5:30 pm	Have boys get ready for supper.
6:00 pm	Check on whereabouts of boys. Send them wherever weekly calendar states.
7:00 pm	Tooth brushing drill and work small boys grades 1, 2, 3, and 4. Send them to bed and see that they remain there by 7:30 pm. The rest of the evening can be spent by darning and keeping in touch with the boys. All boys to be in the Building at 7 pm.
8:45 pm	All to bed, check the night shirts and etc... Lights out/all must be in bed.
9:00 pm	When we are allowed steams in the evening the boys will have their bath on Tuesday and Saturday pm, starting at 7 pm. Change shirts, overalls, and coveralls on Thursday at 4 pm. There can be no set schedule every day because of illness, mishaps or any upset of schedule but follow these suggestions as closely as you can. This is the schedule to be followed every day unless there is illness. In any event notify the one in charge that you will not be on duty.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday

6:30-7:15 am
7:45-9:30 am
11:15-11:45 am
12:30-2:15 pm
4-5:30 pm
6-9:00 pm

When working the end of the week in the boys' home you need not work after 5:30 pm on Wednesday evening.[1]

NOTES

[1] National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Box 1, RG-75, Pipestone Indian School.

VITA

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