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ENVIRONMENT, CULTURES, AND SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE GREAT PLAINS: A HISTORY OF CROW CREEK TRIBAL SCHOOL

by

Robert W. Galler, Jr.

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of History

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
December 2000

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people provided assistance, suggestions, and support to help me complete this dissertation. My study of Catholic Indian education on the Great Plains began in Dr. Herbert T. Hoover's American Frontier History class at the University of South Dakota many years ago. I thank him for introducing me to the topic and research suggestions along the way. Dr. Brian Wilson helped me better understand varied expressions of American religious history, always with good cheer. Dr. Peter Schmitt provided welcomed suggestions on writing and put historical study into perspective with conversations about wild ricing, black walnuts, and the natural world. Mostly, I thank Dr. Donald Fixico for his tireless efforts during my doctoral studies and teaching me how to better understand Native American history and intercultural relations. His keen insights and perceptive questions always helped me see the forest from within the trees.

The staff at the Western Michigan University Resource Sharing Center helped me locate many resource materials. Mark Thiel and his staff at Marquette University Archives as well as Harry Thompson and his assistants at the Center For Western Studies at Augustana College also aided me in my research. Dr. Leonard Bruguier and the South Dakota Oral History Center helped me gather valuable recorded oral history interviews, especially those of Father Stanislaus Maudlin, O.S.B.

I would also like to thank members of Crow Creek Tribal High School for their assistance, including former Co-Principal Joe Ashley and librarian Marsha Fyler. I appreciated the memories and insights of students, staff, and Crow Creek residents, including Vernon Ashley, Jaye Begaye, Albert Bruce, Mavin Chavez, Albert Fallis, Marcella Howe, Maria Kirkie, Sebastian LeBeau, Rozelle Lockwood, Jerry Lytle, Quentin McGhee, and Sister Charles Palm. Their comments really helped me understand their school's complex history.

I appreciated the support of the Western Michigan University History Department throughout my doctoral study. I would like to specifically recognize Dr. Jose Brandao, Jay Gavan, Dr. Ross Gregory, Dixie Haggard, Dr. Cheryl Lyon-Jenness, Maureen O'Brien, and Jim Shiley for their conversations and assistance over the years. I especially want to thank my good friend Jim Williams for suggestions that have improved my writing, conversations on a wide range of historical topics, and bringing by the pumpkin ice cream.

Finally, I need to thank my parents, Marianne and Robert Galler, for subtle lessons in discipline and creativity throughout my life, and my siblings, Christine, Tom, and Lorraine, for their support during this long process. And, of course, my wife Lisa, for her patience, love, and needed reminders that a world exists outside of "the cave."

Robert W. Galler, Jr.

ENVIRONMENT, CULTURES, AND SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE GREAT PLAINS: A HISTORY OF CROW CREEK TRIBAL SCHOOL

Robert W. Galler, Jr., Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 2000

This study explores the socio-cultural history of a school for Native American students on the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation in central South Dakota. The case study places the school's history (1886-present) within the context of the historic interaction between environment, cultures, and social change on the Great Plains.

This work focuses on a Catholic school and the multi-dimensional students and staff who constitute its story. These individuals acted neither as perpetually passive students nor simplistically sinister administrators. Instead, this dissertation broadly explores the challenging nature of intercultural relations that led to the founding of the school and how tribal/Catholic interactions evolved within the campus environment. Study of the region's history, examination of federal and school administrative documents, and oral histories from students and staff reveal the complex history of education at a school known variously as Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan Indian Mission, and Crow Creek Tribal High School.

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INTRODUCTION

Few drivers along Route 47 south of Highmore, South Dakota give much attention to the buildings west of Mac's Corner. Most travelers along this two-lane road focus on getting to the Missouri River near Fort Thompson, or Interstate 90 at Chamberlain. Those who notice may think the building complex out of place on the mixed-grass prairie six miles east of the Missouri River. More curious individuals who drive the mile west of the state road will find a school campus over one hundred years old. The gravestones of Drifting Goose and Reverend Pius Boehm, O.S.B. stand alongside each other in the cemetery behind the school. Their placement symbolically reveals the intercultural nature of the school's founding for Sioux children at the Crow Creek agency. This nationally historic setting has hosted meetings between American emissaries and tribal leaders, caused disputes in Congress over the funding of religious schools, and attracted donations from Catholic parishes in eastern cities.

This dissertation focuses on intercultural relations between Sioux tribal leaders, Catholic missionaries, and American officials on the Great Plains. The first half of the work establishes the environmental setting and explores the historic role of distinct culture brokers in the region.[1] These chapters portray the varied precedents for the founding of the tribal school on the northeast corner of the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation. Within this context, the later chapters provide a case study of the complex history of an educational institution known over time as Immaculate

Conception Indian Mission School, Stephan Mission, and Crow Creek Tribal High School.[2]

This work explores the interconnection between environment, cultures and social change within a boarding school administered by Benedictine priests and the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe. Many consider the meeting of distinct natural forces and cultural representatives as ingredients for conflict. Cultural analysis also reveals, however, that the interaction of distinct traditions can replicate natural environments where ecosystems interact along fluid borders. The Missouri River does this by carving a meandering course that influences and is influenced by adjacent ecological regions as it flows across the Great Plains. Within the same natural and human-built setting of the Crow Creek mission school, individuals of different backgrounds similarly mingled and created constructive responses to each other and their common daily challenges.

Cultural representatives created an interrelated history and common identity within this educational setting. This does not suggest simple interactions where priests stripped students of their ethnic heritage or students somehow convinced Sisters to abandon the Cross. Certainly, each student and staff member reacted distinctly to their new home and community members. Some proved more interested in different traditions, others maintained culturally-conservative dispositions. Universal statements have no place in assessments of intercultural relations. This does not deny curricular goals to erase tribal identity and remake tribal youth into Catholic Americans. Nor should it dispute student losses in linguistic abilities and cultural

comprehension discussed in numerous works critiquing Indian boarding schools. Ultimately, Stephan Mission and other Indian schools failed to extinguish tribal identities. The persistence, if not revival, of tribal cultures in the late twentieth century proves this. The meeting of distinct peoples within a similar setting could not prevent the influence of individuals on each other. Students and staff did more than maintain cultural dispositions, they also created shared identities from common experiences within daily routines.

Individual identity proves a complex issue, particularly for Native peoples.[3] All Americans embody different identities at the same time, choosing to identify with ethnicity, church affiliation, profession or educational institution as the appropriate time arises. Individuals choose these identities, including ethnicity. Americans of European descent often choose to identify with one over another for diverse reasons. Tribal people make similar decisions for historic, economic, and social reasons. Stephan students and staff, like many who lived at boarding schools, adopted a mission identity that they carried into the world beyond school grounds. New experiences, homes, and jobs after graduating led to new identifications, but a mission identity remained. Unplanned rendezvous, organized reunions, and decades-long friendships prompt revivals in conversations between alumni from different reservations and urban communities. Discussions between former classmates as well as students and teachers remind each of their shared histories that keep individuals connected long after their departures from Stephan.[4]

Intercultural contact "was not a battle of primal forces in which only one could survive," Richard White argued in The Middle Ground, "something new could appear."[5] Benedictine priests attempted to eradicate tribalism, but proved unable to destroy traditional identities and cultures. Over time, many Catholic staff actually came to embrace elements of tribal traditions within the process. Like White's "middle ground," Stephan Mission proved a meeting ground where a new mission culture of tribal and Catholic currents mingled and merged into a mutual system.

Scholars have addressed Indian boarding schools in the West from different vantage points. They have focused on ambitious school superintendents, Indian educational policy, and tribal responses to the federal schools. Many earlier works applauded school administrators set on assimilation and conversion of tribal youth. Sister M. Claudia Duratschek's Crusading Along Sioux Trails: A History of Catholic Indian Missions Among the South Dakota Sioux 1839-1945 stands among those that promoted productive evangelism among tribal peoples.[6] Elaine Goodale Eastman presented the providential role of William Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian School, in Pratt: The Red Man's Moses.[7] Many 1970s works focused primarily on the national system of education for Indian students. Margaret Connell Szasz' Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928, and Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst's To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education provide fine systemic overviews and critical analyses of educational policy.[8]

More recent works of the 1990s have turned attention to intercultural relations in specific federal Indian schools. K. Tsianina Lomawaima used oral histories from

her father and sixty other former students to explore "Indian creativity, adaptability, and resistance to the federal agenda of transformation" at Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School.[9] Clyde Ellis employed oral history, personal letters, and federal documents to reveal student accommodation and cultural tenacity at a different Oklahoma federal school in To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920.[10] Brenda Child considered hundreds of letters written by boarding school students and their families to address cross-cultural experiences and the persistence of Ojibwe culture in Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940.[11] These works and others discuss the creation of pan-Indian identities and the persistence of tribal identities despite federal programs designed to erase them.

This dissertation examines a Roman Catholic boarding school and how its intercultural setting influenced the lives of its members. It explores the impact of federal decisions on the local school level instead of national debates over federal Indian educational policies. It does not seek to prove or disprove earlier monographs that criticized school leadership for abuses toward Indian students. Rather, it allies more with recent works that explore the complexities of intercultural relations within the boarding school setting. This is not a story of victims and villains. Students and their parents were not simply passive recipients of federal policy or Catholic evangelism, but active participants in history. I aim to reveal the tribal contributions to school history by reclaiming Indian initiative from the margins of Indian-white

relations. Analysis of the school environment, cultures, and interactions reveals the formation of new identities in a school designed to eradicate tribal ways.

Environmental analysis, archival research, and oral history support this socio-cultural study. Personal observation of the Missouri River Valley and its adjoining eastern prairie as well topographical surveys of the region provided me with an appropriate environmental context for the study. Examination of documents from the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and the Office of Indian Affairs provided historical developments of the institution from the perspective of school administrators and federal officials. These materials presented discussion of educational agenda, structural and personnel changes, and the financing of the mission. I learned about individual experiences of students and staff through personal interviews I conducted in South Dakota during the Summer and Fall of 1998. Archived transcripts from the American Indian Research Project found at the South Dakota Oral History Center also proved helpful in providing personal perspectives on Stephan mission. These oral histories revealed insiders' perspectives of day-to-day experiences and the impact the mission experience on them.

Those unfamiliar with the prairie of South Dakota, Sioux Indian history, or Catholic missions may think this work far afield from their own interests. This study, however, addresses larger themes within intercultural relations, American Indian history, and American religious history. The story of Stephan Mission provides a case study in Indian-white relations, Native education, and Catholic mission history. My dissertation also explores several more comprehensive issues in American history. It

examines the complex interactions between several interest groups within a single institution; leadership responses to environmental, economic, cultural and political challenges; and the dependency of western institutions on eastern bastions of legal, political, and economic power.

I have organized the work chronologically around several different themes. The first four chapters respectively reveal the setting and participants in this cultural history. Chapter One describes the environmental complexity of the Great Plains as a meeting ground for ecological regions and cultural groups. The second, third, and fourth chapters present the arrival of Yanktonai, Americans, and Benedictines in the Missouri River Valley. Chapters Two and Three provide an historical background for the Sioux confederation and Yanktonai tribe's ecological and cultural adaptations through the middle nineteenth century. Chapter Two specifically addresses intercultural relations with French and English missionaries and traders from Minnesota to Dakota Territory. Chapter Three explores nineteenth-century Yanktonai-American history through the settling of several bands of the tribe near the Crow Creek agency. Chapter Four presents the an overview of historic Catholic-Yanktonai interactions and background efforts to place Benedictine priests at Crow Creek.

Chapters Five through Eight discuss the founding of the school, early challenges to the its survival, adaptation to cultural influences, and experiences of mission personnel during the twentieth century. Chapter Five specifically considers Yanktonai adaptation to the Crow Creek environment and the varied tribal responses

to Protestant and Catholic missionaries. It concludes with the founding of the Catholic mission in the northeast corner of the agency jurisdiction. Chapter Six examines environmental, cultural, and economic challenges faced by the school community during the first two decades of mission history. Chapter Seven studies the first two decades of the twentieth century with particular emphasis on continuing tribal contributions to school history. Chapter Eight explores twentieth-century mission history by focusing on individual perspectives of students and staff.

This history may seem surprising for many twenty-first-century readers. The media has highlighted the plight of Native Americans and the cruelty of federal Indian policy. Consequently, the presentation of tribal support for the institution may seem unconvincing. I suggest that these readers consider the nature of intercultural relations from a broader context. Tribal members and non-Indians alike recognize the cultural choices and compromises made by themselves and ancestors for generations. They have chosen to ally with one segment of their ethnicity over another. Some individuals have adopted both within their identity despite designating a single surname or hometown. They have opted to practice a certain religion tradition over another or incorporated both into their family traditions.

Like all Americans, Native peoples address the complexity of identity issues in various ways. They make these choices for the sake of their families and belief systems, and none prove more or less appropriate than another. Crow Creek and other Sioux families have similarly faced the arrival of American and Christian traditions in numerous ways, from incorporation to rejection. Many have chosen to live their lives

within a middle ground between these extremes while carefully selecting components from different traditions. Varied historical and personal reasons have promoted different reactions to Stephan mission. This dissertation addresses the interactions of Sioux and non-Sioux students with Catholic staff and the American educational system as it presented itself six miles east of the Missouri River.

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[1] For a discussion of the term "culture broker" see Margaret Connell Szasz, Between Indian and White Worlds: The Culture Broker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), the introduction discusses the term, and the subsequent chapters present examples of significant culture brokers in Indian Country.
[2] I will use the terms "Stephan Mission" and "Immaculate Conception" interchangeably in reference to the school up through 1970, and "Crow Creek Tribal School" after 1970. The school has operated over the years as an elementary school and kindergarten through high school program. Currently, curriculum provides for students in grades seven through twelve. Previous studies of Immaculate Conception Mission include Sister M. Marmion Maiers, O.S.B., "The History of Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota, 1886-1961," (master's thesis, University of South Dakota, 1961); Sister Mary Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., Crusading Along Sioux Trails: A History of the Catholic Indian Missions of South Dakota (Yankton, South Dakota: A Grail Publication, 1947), Chapter VI; Sister M. Serena Zens, O.S.B., "The Educational Work of the Catholic Church among the Indians of South Dakota from the Beginning to 1935," in South Dakota Historical Collections, XX (Pierre: State Historical Society, 1940); John B. Perkins, History of Hyde County, South Dakota: From Its Organization to the Present Time (Highmore, South Dakota: n.p., 1908), Chapter IX.
[3] Since colonial times, federal and tribal determinations of blood-quantum have proved complex in estimating population figures, designating allotments, and compensating members for economic benefits of tribal resources. This study explores cultural identity rather than biological identity.
[4] Stephan held a Centennial Reunion for "all alumni, previous faculty and employees" June 6-8, 1986, according to "Stephan Planning Centennial," Lakota Times, March 26, 1986; "Stephan to Celebrate Centennial June 6-8," Lakota Times, May 14, 1986.
[5] Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), IX.
[6] See note two above for full citation of Duratschek's 1947 work.
[7] Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935).
[8] Margaret Connell Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977); Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972).
[9] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1994).
[10] Clyde Ellis, To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).
[11] Brenda J. Child, Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

CHAPTER 1

A MEETING GROUND: THE MISSOURI RIVER VALLEY AND THE NEXUS OF TRADITIONS

> The body repeats the landscape. They are the source of each other and create each other. We are marked by the seasonal body of the earth.
>
> --Meridel Le Sueur, "The Ancient People and the Newly Come"[1]

In the fall of 1886, five Yanktonai boys from the Crow Creek Reservation walked into an eighteen by thirty foot, two-story frame house on a treeless prairie in Dakota Territory.[2] Catholic priests recently established this building as Immaculate Conception Indian Mission six miles east of the Big Bend of the Missouri River.[3] By 1887, Benedictine priests took charge of the incipient mission school and federal officials designated it with a post office named after Catholic leader Father Joseph A. Stephan.[4] These first students and staff entered Stephan Mission as culture brokers between their tribal communities and an encroaching American society. The school's placement near the river in contemporary South Dakota serves as an appropriate setting for examining intercultural relations. The emergence of the mission community replicated the transitional nature and complex history of this region of the Great Plains.[5] This chapter will explore the nature of this section of the Missouri River Valley, and how mission personnel came to mirror the region in which they lived.

These first students were not the first members of their extended families to interact with Americans. Members of the *Oceti Sakowin* (Seven Council Fires) of the Sioux confederation had interacted with non-Indians for several generations since their imposed settlement in Dakota Territory.[6] Oral tradition taught them of seventeenth-century tribal interactions with French traders and missionaries in their earlier Mille Lacs homeland, in contemporary Minnesota. Dakota historians had informed their western Sioux kin of Franciscan Father Louis Hennepin's entrance into their sweat lodge in north-central Minnesota and fur traders had joined their tribal villages in this region. For over two centuries, missionaries and entrepreneurs maintained contact with members of the Oceti Sakowin as *tiospayes* (extended families) and tribes migrated westward onto the Great Plains. By the eighteenth century Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S.J. and Pierre Choteau, Jr. established relations with their relatives near the Missouri River.[7]

The great expanse, potential food sources, and big skies of the Great Plains had attracted tribal communities for millennia prior to the arrival of European explorers. Its approximate dimensions--two thousand miles north to south and four hundred miles east to west--induced cultural changes in societies that ventured into its general domain. Over time, non-Indians felt similarly drawn to the region. Western historian Walter Prescott Webb, in his The Great Plains, argued that the region "affected the various peoples, nations as well as individuals, who came to take and occupy it, and was affected by them."[8] The challenges of its generally flat, treeless, and arid composition lured rather than repelled migratory people. "The grasslands

served not as barriers," according to anthropologist Michael Michlovic, "but as transducers of people."[9] In the process, the Great Plains took its toll on communities and forced adaptation. Comparing the plains to an expanse of sea, historian Arnold Toynbee noted, "they are both accessible to Man only as a pilgrim and sojourner."[10]

The Missouri River served as a natural highway for nineteenth-century explorers of the Great Plains. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, John James Audubon, Prince Alexander Phillip Maximillian of Wied-Neuwied, Charles Bodmer, George Catlin and others used this river to study the flora, fauna, landscape and people of the American West.[11] Westward migrants communicated and mis-communicated with the Native people they met along the river. Some fell into conflict with tribal communities who held different cultural agendas than American traders, officials, and missionaries. Mutual economic interests, shared spiritual concerns, basic human needs, and a common environment pulled other representatives into alliances.

The Missouri River Valley functioned as an appropriate meeting ground of cultures. Many may see rivers as dividing people on opposite banks, but waterways also bring people together. The river's lengthy water tendons link people and places along 2,540 miles from Montana to its junction with the Mississippi River twenty miles north of St. Louis. The Missouri River drains ten states and two Canadian provinces east of the Continental Divide to make it the longest river in the United States. This drainage basin incorporates 529,000 square miles or one-sixth of the United States. In the process, it directly touches over ten federally recognized Indian

reservations and the state capitals of North and South Dakota. The complex American river system includes segments that move in different directions like the communities it intersects. The Missouri flows at some point during its course in all four cardinal directions while meandering progressively through evergreen forests, grasslands, and deciduous stands. In the process, it turns from crystal clear mountain water to "The Big Muddy" as it crosses South Dakota. At some points, the river became "too thick to drink and too thin to plow," according to one nineteenth-century American farmer.[12]

The Missouri River's run through the heart of Sioux Country mirrors the historic tribal confederation through which it crosses. Sioux tribes came from the east to the Middle Missouri, while the river flowed from the west to reach the same destination. The Missouri's origin at Three Forks, Montana constitutes the merging of the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin rivers that reflects a similar tripartite configuration of the Sioux confederation with its three linguistic dialects of Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota speakers. To push the point even further, thirteen original tribes of the Sioux nation replicate thirteen main tributary rivers that enter the Missouri River prior to its departure from Sioux Country.[13]

Resting along the eastern banks of the Missouri River, the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation stands where distinct natural and cultural worlds intersect. This transitional natural landscape within the political boundaries of contemporary South Dakota has historically hosted a variety of land forms and ecosystems. Contemporary natural scientists label this region as the meeting ground of landscapes, soils, and

vegetation. Geologist E.P. Rothrock maintained that the Missouri River distinguished the eastern-river prairie plains from the west-river great plains.[14] Soil scientist Fred C. Westin designated the northern Crow Creek Reservation at the nexus of eastern Chernozem and more western Chestnut soils.[15] Botonist Lauren Brown maintained that the transition between eastern tall-grass and western mixed grass prairie occurs in east-river South Dakota.[16]

Geographers Edward Patrick Hogan and Erin Hogan Fouberg note a distinct crop line within east-river South Dakota that distinguishes regions north and south of the Big Bend region. They maintain that the "Humid Continental A" and "Humid Continental B" zones meet at the Missouri River near Stephan and angle southeasterly toward Sioux Falls in Minnehaha County. Consequently, this line distinguishes geographic areas in terms of rainfall and temperature ranges that influence growing seasons and crop selection. Hogan and Fouberg estimate that the land east of the Big Bend attracts an average annual rainfall of between sixteen and eighteen inches. The region averages mean summer temperatures of just over seventy degrees (Fahrenheit) and winter thermometer readings of just under twenty degrees. Consequently, this section of the prairie experiences an average annual growing season of about one-hundred and thirty days.[17]

The influence of climatic and ecological distinctions from one side of the Missouri River Valley region to the other formed distinct social and economic regions in the Dakotas. John Milton distinguishes the territory east and west of the Missouri River as it diagonally crosses the central section of South Dakota from northwest to

southeast. The river generally leaves distinct population bases, climatic zones, political power, and economic structures on either side of the river. Interestingly, the eastern bank of the river hosted most of the pre-contact archaeological sites and the largest contemporary cities in the Dakotas, including Bismark, Mobridge, Pierre, and Chamberlain.[18] Larger demographic numbers, a wetter climate, and more political and economic influence over state policies support "East River" South Dakota. Consequently, Milton suggests, eastern South Dakotans tend to face metropolitan Minneapolis and identify themselves more as Midwesterners. West-river folk live within a more arid setting that provides them with less political and economic influence than their eastern neighbors. To generalize, they see themselves more as westerners and pay more attention to Denver, Colorado.[19]

Placement within the longitudinal grid also influenced regions of the Great Plains. Milton suggests the significance of the ninety-ninth meridian to state dynamics. This line falls close to the Missouri River in the southern part of South Dakota, but remains far east of the river in the northern section of the state. More than the river perhaps, this meridian generally distinguishes the eastern agrarian and western ranching cultures. The triangular section formed by the North Dakota State line (north), Missouri River (west), and the ninety-ninth longitudinal line (east) stands ambiguously within and between the typically characteristic "East River" and "West River" cultures.[20]

The former mission school stands appropriately in this transitional zone on the eastern banks of the Missouri River, but west of the ninety-ninth meridian. This

region lies geographically connected to the East and climatically related to the West. Similarly, the school remains related to both, but solely inclusive of neither. Its educational origins and financial support stretch back to the East. Early Benedictine leadership from St. Meinrad Abbey, Indiana, federal officials in Washington, D.C., and the Catholic hierarchy of Baltimore, Maryland and Rome, Italy all promoted the early development of the Catholic mission school. On the other hand, the rolling hills along the eastern banks of the river remain environmentally and culturally set in a western environment. Even today, the region does not promote entrenched agricultural production. It retains a more open, western nature. In a way, the placement of the school on elevated land gives the impression that residents keep watch on western cultural landscape. Placed on the edge of regions, the school maintains a connection to commercial, political, and social power bases of the East. At the same time, it retains a more colonial status to the eastern structures and a philosophical, geographical, and cultural proximity to the West.

Cultural interactions replicate the meeting of ecological regions--their interface more of a border than a boundary. Observers must not consider the distinction between natural regions and human cultures as permanent. In reality, the boundaries exhibit a porous nature. Geographer Tom L. McKnight promotes the region that includes the northern Crow Creek Reservation as a link between the Midwest "Heartland" and the western "Great Plains and Prairie."[21] He suggests that the ninety-eighth meridian serves as a transition point between the eastern true prairie and the western short steppe. McKnight maintains that the boundaries do not remain

firm. Two distinct zones do not meet as immutable areas but stand as "broad mobile zones that moved with pronounced changes in precipitation."[22] Cyclical climatic shifts influence the nature of place as the place itself impacts the local climate. When humans enter the setting, they replicate this pattern by altering their environment and by being influenced by the setting.

Why does this region promote such a ecological and cultural transience, dating back to the formation of the North American continent? A shallow sea covered much of the central region of North America during the Cretaceous period (146-65 million years ago) of the Mesozoic Era (245 to 65 m.y.a.). The Rocky Mountains uplifted by the end of the era. Water and wind erosion gradually removed summit materials and deposited them in the lower-lying basins to the east. Erosion following a later geologic uplift during the Tertiary period (65 m.y.a. to 1.8 m.y.a.) of the Cenezonic Era (65 m.y.a. to the present) carved the current topographical features into the Rocky Mountain region. This resulted in a gradual topographical slope west to east, averaging ten feet per mile. The western edge of the great plains stands approximately 6000 feet (1800 km) above sea level while the eastern edge settled to 1500 feet (450 m) above sea level. Mountain rains and melting snow drained slowly eastward along a slight tilt of ten feet per mile. This slight slope sent alluvial deposits eastward along river systems.[23]

This topographical development sent more than silt to the East. It also cast a long shadow over the land on the leeward side of the Rocky Mountains that prompted ecological changes to the land. Westerly winds crossing the continent now dropped

precipitation on the western side of the mountains. The interior of the continent dried up considerably. Grasses quickly established themselves in disturbed lands as woody plants and forest lands retreated to more accommodating, humid regions of the East.[24]

During the Pleistocene, about two million years ago, ice shields gradually moved into the interior continental region in 100,000 year cycles from the North and East. Easterly flowing streams ran into the glacial barrier. This forced the water to cut a deep trench along the western edge of this ice field. Over time, the incipient river dug a deeper channel that directed water and eroded sediments of rich alluvial soil south to meet the Mississippi River. The meeting of the mountain streams from the west and the glacial ice shields of the north and east created the Missouri River. When the ice fields receded they left glacial deposits north and east of the river that distinguished grasslands that formed on either side of the river.[25]

Ecologists recognize grasslands as the transitional zones between extremes of rainfall and temperature found in the other three broad categories of ecological habitats: tundra, forest and desert. Grasslands weave in and out of each of the other habitats without firm boundaries. American grasslands receive between ten and thirty inches of rain per year. Those areas bordering regions which receive less rainfall blend into desert. Grassland regions near the upper edge of the precipitation scale gradually evolve into forests. The northern, cooler regions of grasslands become tundra. On the southern boundary grasslands becomes forests in warmer regions outside of the rain shadow and desert within the rain shadow.

Grasslands function as complex environmental regions in South Dakota today. East of the river, regions less susceptible to the rain shadow transform from mixed grass to tall grass prairie ecosystems that blend into forested regions of the East. West of the river, mixed grasses adapt to drier conditions to become short grass prairie. The mixed grass prairie nurtures different species of grasses. The arid upland regions of the plains includes blue gramma, buffalo grass, and many forbs (broad-leafed herbs). Valleys and ravines with more moist soil and protection from strong winds promote varieties of big bluestem, Indian grass, switchgrass, and Canada wild rye.[26] The narrow, waxy-coated grasses conserve moisture to maximize their photosynthetic abilities. For most species, however, the root systems serve an even more important role. Due to the limited rainfall, grasses in this region develop roots that often reach twice the height of the grass itself in order to draw sufficient moisture. Approximately eighty percent of the energy necessary for survival of grasses is stored beneath the surface in the root system during the winter season.[27]

Individuals unfamiliar with the Great Plains may perceive a rather inactive prairie while driving west along Interstates I-90 or I-80. Inhabitants of the plains, however, recognize an interactive ecological world of plants, grasses, forbs, soils, roots, animals, and weather conditions. Careful analysis reveals a dynamic community of elements reacting to each other and reshaping the whole. Dozens of grasses and plants bloom methodically as one season turns to the next, with taller plants following shorter varieties each week across the prairie. Insects and other animals show themselves on the prairie following the apparent seasonal and regional plant

development. Migratory crows, eagles, hawks, magpies, owls and whooping cranes use the Middle Missouri River Valley as a flyway.[28]

Insect and animal life follows seasonal changes like the grasses and plants of the prairie. These non-human inhabitants respond to certain species of plant life within a setting, and alter it in their selective sampling of prairie resources. Many show preferences toward certain plants, while others make fewer decisions. Some browse, others forage. Monarch butterflies rely specifically on milkweeds, while non-selective grasshoppers eat nearly any plant available.[29] Ultimately, the animal kingdom creates an intricate, interdependent system of diverse species from minute insects to larger mammals that adapt to each other and harsh climatic variations.[30] American bison and pronghorn often live interdependently within similar ecological niches. Over-grazing by so-called "buffalo," for example, encourages the growth of less-desirable locoweeds, snakeweed, larkspurs and other species. Buffalo avoid these plants, but so-called "antelope" eat them.[31]

Rich resources of the Missouri River Valley have attracted diverse peoples to the Great Plains for thousands of years. Anthropologists suggest that societies frequently evolve in regions that border distinct ecological niches. Individuals can support families better in regions where they hold access to different resources. Societal leaders learned that their community stood a better chance of survival in such regions that tempered yearly and seasonal climatic variations. The western scientific tradition tends to categorize cultures by single economic strategies. European immigrants to North America consequently labeled Native Americans as "hunter-

gatherers" or "agrarian." Certainly, such labels oversimplify societies that endure the challenges of survival require access to primary and secondary resources. Focus on single resource regions provides for communities during productive natural cycles. Societies which endure, however, retain access to secondary acquisition areas and stand prepared to adapt economic strategies. The Missouri River Valley provided societies with access to resources from the river and its tributaries, the rich alluvial soil of river valley bottomlands, and nomadic animals of the upland prairie. By the eighteenth century, Yanktonai and their Sioux kin found animals plentiful in the region. Men hunted buffalo twice a year on the western plains and antelope, deer, and elk throughout the seasons. The river itself offered opportunities for fishing and planting on the bottomlands along the shoreline. The hills above the river permitted the gathering of wild *tipsina* (prairie turnip), choke cherries, and other wild plants for food, medicines, and ceremonial products.[32]

Natural variety of food sources prompted a contested nature to this region that could prompt violence. Archaeological records of the Crow Creek Site (39BF11) document a 1325 massacre at a well-fortified village that led to the death of 486 individuals. Anthropologists Larry Zimmerman and Lawrence Bradley assert that a combination of internecine warfare over a decline in food supplies, overpopulation, access to Missouri River Valley horticultural lands, and population thresholds of the ecological region led to the violent clash of peoples.[33] This proved the most tragic of societal conflicts, but not the only incident of catastrophic death in the region. Eighteenth-century invasion of microbes carried along with Missouri River trade

prompted huge death tolls to Missouri River tribes. Conflicts between westward moving Sioux tribes and weakened riverine Natives similarly led to hostilities and death.[34] Economic competition similarly pitted British Hudson Bay Company fur traders against John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company traders along the middle Missouri during the early nineteenth century.

At the same time, this region also supported cooperative endeavors. Human memory and the writing of history tends to focus on atypical events. Consequently, violent incidents often mark prominent points in written history. They do not, however, stand as typical daily-life for most community members. Careful analysis of the historical record reveals that regions that grow in prominence due to conflicts also serve as locations of interdependence and productive interchange. Evidence suggests intertribal trade, marriage, and cultural exchanges along the Missouri. Complex relations developed when Lakota and Yanktonai tribes met nineteenth-century Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidastas along the river. Cultural appropriation and trade often stood alongside intermittent suspicion and warfare. Yanktonai proved quite competent in adopting economic and cultural traditions from these tribes. Missouri River trade grew during the nineteenth century as a result of economic partnerships forged by tribal, French, and American leaders. French traders often solidified these alliances by marrying into indigenous communities. Missionaries like Jesuit Pierre Jean De Smet similarly cultivated religious exchanges with tribal leaders.[35]

Americans held negative impressions of the Great Plains through much of the nineteenth century. Early century explorers Zebulon M. Pike, Lieutenant Gouverneur

K. Warren and others warned Americans of the difficulty of life in this region. John Wesley Powell, in his 1878 Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States, reinforced the "Great American Desert" mythology of land beyond the one-hundredth meridian.[36] Such ecological evaluations suggested that the aridity of the region proved unable to support agricultural endeavors. Negative assessments pushed eastern emigrants to the west coast along the Oregon Trail and other routes in the 1840s. Participants within a growing Missouri River trade network served as exceptions to this trend. Like contemporary commercial avenues, the river connected peoples who otherwise would have retained self-imposed segregated lifestyles.

Increased accessibility to the Great Plains and economic necessity promoted a late-nineteenth century alteration of western mythology. Westward expansion of railway lines, the decline of available land in the East, and federal land grants propelled additional Americans to the West. American promoters attempted to modify the perception of the western prairie. Charles Dana Wilber's "Rain Follows the Plow" argument served to attract new Americans to the region. The land speculator and amateur scientist argued that "man can persuade the heavens to yield their treasures of dew and rain upon the land he has chosen for his dwelling place."[37] Many Americans responded to a mythological blooming of a garden from the Great American Desert. Their attempts to transplant eastern agrarian traditions to the west, however, proved problematic.[38]

Tribal communities had learned to imitate the deep, integrated root systems that supported the grasses of the plains, by storing support in extensive cultural

traditions beneath the surface. They maintained practical, flexible dispositions to better react to environmental and societal changes, much as grasses responded to climatic variations. Extensive, underground networks of survival supported human and vegetation systems despite drastic temperature and precipitation swings of the Great Plains. Subterranean arteries strengthened themselves during prosperous times to be drawn upon when ecological dangers arose above the surface.

Late nineteenth-century American migration onto the Plains threatened the survival of natural and human communities firmly rooted in the region. Emigrants from the East failed to recognize ecological and cultural traditions that had emerged from the particular region. Farmers tore into the terrain to grow exotic species of plants that they considered more productive and culturally-amenable crops. Agricultural families cut segments of centuries-old earth to construct sod homes in regions where wood remained scarce. Similarly, federal officials and school administrators attempted to eradicate tribal traditions to make more "useful" Americans from reservation residents. Deep root systems provided human and natural worlds with resilience to surface alterations. Students at Stephan and other schools, for example, could temporarily adopt changes in their outward demeanor. They held more tenaciously to cultural attitudes and self-knowledge. Their parents similarly learned to publicly attend church services during the day while holding traditional ceremonies away from the eyes of federal officials. Like prairie fire, federal assimilation programs could alter surface characteristics, but proved incapable of eradicating identities. A century later, advocates of native plant species and tribal

traditions draw upon indigenous underground traditions, and knowledge to facilitate ecological and cultural revivals.[39]

The Missouri River in Dakota territory served as a rough natural boundary between ecological regions and human societies during the last decades of the nineteenth century.[40] To the east, grew a burgeoning American society of varied ethnic settlements that increasingly exerted control over Dakota communities. To the west, stood seven tribes of Lakota Sioux. Yanktonai traveled between their Oceti Sakowin kin. American and tribal philosophical, economic, social and political worlds seeped into each other along the river banks. Stephan mission stood poised on the edge of this transition zone between distinct natural environments and cultural regions.

Yanktonai and their Sioux kinfolk had adapted philosophical, economic, social, and political structures to Great Plains ecological realities. Sioux cultural traditions rested upon a belief in the interconnectedness between human and natural worlds. Creation stories and religious rituals reinforced cultural connections to the American bison. Tribal leaders directed nomadic groups to seasonally-variable flora and fauna of the prairie where families manipulated the environment to gather successful harvests. Political organization rested upon the effectiveness of leaders who did not serve specific terms of office. Families voted with their feet regularly in choosing to follow or abandon leaders depending upon their ability to provide for their people. Tiospayes maintained independent decision-making while retaining interdependent cultural traditions. Tribes gathered yearly to discuss common

concerns, pray for strength during tribal rituals, and reconnect socially. Elders passed on stories, meanings, and information which gathered into an extensive oral tradition. Each winter, tribal leaders selected a single event of the year to designate with a pictograph drawn on a buffalo hide. Tribal historians used this mnemonic device of so-called "Winter Counts" for annual retelling of history in winter camps.[41] This oral history reminded tribal members of their cultural origins, intercultural relations, and need for adaptation to promote the endurance of the people.

American traditions arose from European interpretations of Christianity and western rationalism. Some Europeans, most notably French fur traders, adapted their lives to tribal traditions that worked within plains ecological traditions. Most nineteenth-century immigrants to the region transplanted their cultural and economic pre-dispositions into the new land. They understood their world with distinct divisions between divine, human, and natural worlds. Biblical tradition instructed human communities to maintain dominion over the natural world.[42] Americans acted within an evolving system of capitalism to gather resources and profit from the animal and plant kingdoms. In an age of rising industrialism, they rationally understood the natural world as comprised of constituent parts, much like machines. American farmers and scientists tinkered with such a system to produce greater results rather than learning to adapt to the interdependence of native species. Consequently, American farmers introduced new flora and fauna to the western landscape to raise more culturally-appealing food products and marketable goods. In the process, they promoted structured political systems and permanent residences. Written history

reminded these citizens of their past and provided a context for their leaders to direct social and economic policies.

Students and staff entered the Catholic mission with these general cultural dispositions. It would be a mistake, however, to presume that these distinctions were all they carried with them. Twentieth-century scientific training often prompts us to carry a critical eye for distinction. We seek to categorize the complexities of our world through division and reorganization. In the process, however, we can fail to note the common nature of individuals dressed in different garb. The Catholic mission and similar schools could serve as a meeting place for cultural differences, and similarities. Looking for distinctions leads to the uncovering of conflicts and their sources, which did exist in this intercultural setting. Focusing solely on this, however, creates an incomplete picture. Revealing the commonality of distinct peoples shows the basis for more amenable interactions. It also provides for a broader picture of daily life. Tribal students, Benedictine priests, Sisters, Brothers, and other staff clearly noted differences between themselves. Over time, school emergencies, environmental challenges, work details, and a common daily schedule brought individuals together to create community.

On what grounds could members of such distinct traditions cultivate community? Like all individuals thrust into a foreign setting, they built relationships and mutual understanding upon cultural elements they held in common. Surprisingly perhaps, tribal traditions and Benedictine monastic life rested on similar cultural themes of cooperative work, the significance of spirituality, and the creation of family

and community. Traditions exerted different outward manifestations of these larger issues, but similarly held mental categories within which they could eventually comprehend their neighbors.

Work practices for all rested upon cooperative, gender-specific actions. Individuals participated in physical labor that integrated individual skills into mutual support. Partnerships formed during cooperative endeavors that created community. "If we are co-creators we become very sensitive to each other's creativity, and each other's needs," Benedictine Father Stanislaus Maudlin noted, "the girls and boys worked side by side with the priests and Brothers [and Sisters], we certainly knew each other very intimately on a level of partnership, we bonded very well."[43] Work practices also synthesized these efforts within a spiritual system. Certainly, Sioux values of generosity, courage, respect, and wisdom did not specifically contradict Benedictine philosophy.

At the heart of Benedictine and tribal traditions rested daily religious observances. Benedictines formalized this according to the Benedictine Rule while native people more generally considered spirituality within daily practices. Both traditions recognized human frailty and a greater being to whom they prayed in a sacred space. They also recognized a need for individuals to look beyond themselves and their own concerns to spiritual entities. Christians appealed to God in their chapels and churches. Tribal members prayed to *Wakan-Tanka*, the Great Spirit, in their sweat lodges and around the *wakan* (sacred) Sun Dance tree. The distinct cultural traditions also noted the importance of intermediaries who crossed spiritual

and physical worlds. Christians noted Jesus as divine and human while members of Sioux tribes recalled the intercession of White Buffalo Cow Woman and her introduction of the Pipe to the *Oyate* (people). "We have been told by those who are Christian," Lakota holy man Black Elk noted, "that God sent to men his Son, who would restore order and peace upon the earth." He observed the similarity of religious systems during his life as a traditionalist and Catholic catechist on the Pine Ridge Reservation. "The white men should know," he continued, "that for the red people too, it was the will of Wakan-Tanka, the Great Spirit, that an animal turn itself into a two-legged person in order to bring the most holy pipe to His people." Similarly, Black Elk recognized that the Christian belief in Jesus' return to the earth for the Last Judgment mirrored tribal belief that White Buffalo Cow Woman will return at the end of this world. [44]

It is unlikely that Stephan students and staff explored such complex theological issues with Catholic Fathers or Sisters. Many Catholics maintained ethnocentric attitudes that caused them to critique tribal traditions. Priests instructed students on "appropriate" understandings of Catholicism instead of opening up discussions on systematic theology. Some students and staff, however, developed mental categories where they placed otherwise unfamiliar traditions. Drawing analogies while attending daily service at the Immaculate Conception Church would not cause individuals from either tradition to quickly abandon historic religious understandings. Parallel belief systems, however, could provide some common ground upon which to perceive others with a more curious rather than antagonistic

temperament. Religious similarities could help build bridges between traditions as opposed to simply widening the chasm that separated cultures. Not until the 1970s did interfaith dialogues grow into public meetings between tribal religious leaders and Catholic priests.[45]

Relationships that grew at Stephan mission stemmed from more than historic Indian-white interactions. The school also stood in a region that hosted meetings between members of distinct tribal traditions since the 1860s. Members of different tribes from Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota divisions of the Sioux confederation have claimed the lands eventually known as the Crow Creek Indian Reservation as home.[46] Students similarly arrived from the four cardinal directions since the early years of the school's operation. Cheyenne River Sioux students from the north met Yankton students to the south at the same meeting ground where east-river Crow Creek and Sissetons met west-river Lower Brules. Over time, Stephan even attracted members of non-Siouan traditions including North Dakota mixed-blood *Ojibwe* (Chippewa) and French, known as Mitchefs.[47] The class of 1999 attracted students from farther away, including a *Dine* (Navajo) student from Arizona.[48]

The Missouri River region serves as an appropriate metaphor and setting for the study of cultures. The intersection of water and land has historically drawn people to pause and consider their own lives and histories. The seemingly independent movement connects interdependent parts within a larger system. In an intermediary role, the river connects rain that falls from the sky with groundwater. As Sioux tribal members might see it, it connects Wakan-Tanka beyond our world to *Makoce* (the

earth) from which the Sioux peoples emerged. The dynamic water system, like the mission school, served to draw people from distinct regions together. The Missouri River marked distinct regions and bridged the gap between them. Individuals could wade across the river to prepare themselves for the other side if they did not allow it to maintain permanent separation.

The Missouri River also flows symbolic of indigenous cultures in their adaptability and persistence. The river's general southeasterly migration through the Dakotas digs an irregular trench that follows a meandering course. It persists in a forward direction regardless of obstacles found in its path. Missouri River diversions, like at the Big Bend, seem to nearly propel water in a backwards direction as it actually flows to the northwest for a few miles. That section of the river mirrors tribal cultures in revealing the tenacious nature of propelling itself forward. The waterway responds to geologic impediments by taking temporary diversions from its general course. Or perhaps, they are not diversion at all, but necessary adjustments to gain momentum for the rest of its journey to the Mississippi. Certainly, the Big Bend represented only a single adaptation among many that the river takes as it seemingly samples the terrain along its route.

The Missouri River Valley also reflects intercultural relations in its dynamic reconfigurations of land and water. The river flow makes its imprint on the land as much as the sediments it carries along affect the composition of the water. The bank attracts strong currents and then tries to repel them. Both sides take something with them from the interaction. Water nourishes the shore and its plants that stabilize the

banks; sediment helps build the river bed that supports its aquatic life. The sediments often hang on the surface as the river moves through South Dakota. The murky transparency reveals its history by displaying elements gathered along the journey. The weight of sediments pulls particles down to mingle with upriver silt that continues the process of reconfiguring the river's consistency. Neither the land nor the water remains unchanged; both continue in an altered fashion. The muddy composition in South Dakota shows the natural attractions of distinct compounds as they come into contact. Barriers cannot prevent the river from flowing--they can only redirect its energies. The river progresses to find an avenue within which to pursue its original course, taking additional sediment with it. Interacting, combining, conflicting, persisting in its composition.

Tribal identities, like the Missouri River, begin with certain physical characteristics, but incorporate new elements from historic interactions. New characteristics graft themselves onto the original composition much as tributaries add new currents to river systems. The process proves cumulative rather than divisive. Individuals adopt new attitudes as their lives unfold, and choose to identify more or less with certain times in their lives, traditions, or places they have experienced. Ultimately they negotiate the complexities of their individuality while maintaining connections to their origins. Identities become points of pride that connect individuals of common lineage, routines, and histories. Interactions with former community members remind people of their past and help reconnect them to their roots.

Ultimately, the river of traditions retains constituent elements within its sediments and in its underlying currents. Although a single body of water, it supports several currents that constitute its entirety. Some currents show themselves more in certain regions or time periods, while others reveal themselves at different points or with less frequency. The casual observer of the river might identify it as slow or fast, casual or dramatic based upon their own point of reference. The river actually includes all of these variations in speed and accommodation. Some currents merge to reveal whitecaps of notable intersection. Others flow without much recognition. Only the critical eye recognizes the subtle persistence of alternate currents throughout the journey.

Federal officials and school administrators noted from an outsider-perspective the numbers of residents and students that they supervised in their annual reports. Often they documented "Crow Creek" residents and "Indian" students to their supervising agencies. The non-tribal leaders recognized the river without its constituent currents. Tribal members and students accepted one another while discerning different backgrounds. Crow Creek residents carry a common "Hunkpati" or "Hunkpatina" identity rather than the federal designation of "Yanktonai," and display it proudly on their tribal flag. Still, they maintain cultural distinctions. Contemporary reservation residents distinguish themselves according to three political districts of Big Bend, Fort Thompson, and Crow Creek. In addition, they identify with their historic tribal and linguistic affiliations. When meeting at a pow-wow, for example, tribal member Jerry Lytle of Yankton, Sisseton, Sicangu, and

Anglo decent explained, individuals might identify themselves by saying, "I'm Lakota, I'm Yankton, Dakota and Sicangu Lakota."[49] Stephan students similarly recognized different backgrounds in other students while adopting a community identity. Mutual need for physical sustenance and emotional support draw individuals together, particularly in rural areas. Under the same skies, individuals find common needs, assistance and support.

Previous literature has explored the natural differences between people that have caused conflicts. Yet, instead of focusing on the repulsion of forces, should we not also consider the attractions? Tribal members and non-Indians recognized a revulsion toward the appearances and practices of others, but also found elements they wished to adopt. Forced change led individuals to oppose new traditions. Enduring cultures also recognize the necessity of change, and that those who fail to accommodate to new traditions may perish. The American assimilation program proved harsh for those forced into it, but those who chose to embrace certain elements learned to use them for their own cultural reasons.

It proves difficult to assess the motivations, dispositions, and perceptions of early students to Stephan Mission. The "Yanktonai" youth mentioned in early mission letters left no written accounts. Surely, they did not realize the cultural climate they were entering. The boys also could not have known the historic nature of their actions that initiated an educational institution that continues today. A written first-person account by Lakota Sioux Plenty Kill (Luther Standing Bear) and school reports of Lakota Charles Marshall provide us with different perspectives on how tribal students

approached attending off-reservation boarding schools. Standing Bear prepared for his departure from the Rosebud Reservation to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania to show his bravery. He hoped to survive his time away from home in the midst of "the enemy." The teenage boy reacted more to his father's earlier directive to "be brave! Die on the battlefield if necessary away from home" than to any interest in an American education. Standing Bear hoped to earn his people's respect and gain honor for his family.[50] Marshall, an eighteen-year-old full-blood, showed more initial enthusiasm for attending boarding school. He made furious thirty-mile rides between his Cheyenne River agency and the Missouri River to plead with recruiters for acceptance into Hampton Institute in Virginia. His intense appeals finally prompted school officials to accept him prior to the boat's departure south along the river.[51]

Early students to Stephan mission left no specific written commentary for contemporary scholars. We do know the ecological region and cultural traditions in which these young people spent their earlier lives. We can be fairly certain, as a result, that the natural landscape and oral traditions impressed them. Natural and human history taught tribal members the need for adaptation to new circumstances that arise while maintaining pride in the Sioux values of generosity, bravery, respect, and wisdom. The boys carried these understandings of their environment and tribal history with them into the mission school near the Big Bend in the Missouri River.

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[1]Meridel Le Sueur, "The Ancient People and the Newly Come," in Growing Up in Minnesota: Ten Writers Remember Their Childhoods (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

[2] Father Pius Boehm, O.S.B., to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan, August 31, 1890, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions Records (BCIM), Series 1 General Correspondence, South Dakota, Microfilm Roll 20, Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Boehm to Crow Creek Agent, undated, as found in Sr. Marmion Maiers, O.S.B., "The History of Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota, 1886-1961" (master's thesis, University of South Dakota, 1961), 17. The Yanktonai, along with the Yankton, Sisseton, Wahpekute, Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, and Teton represent of the Seven Council Fires (Oceti Sakowin) of the historic Sioux confederation.
[3] "Missouri River" was also the name of a nineteenth-century Hidatsa Medicine Man, keeper of the tribe's sacred Midipadi, or "Waterbuster Clan Bundle," according to Arlene B. Hirshfelder and Paulette Molin, eds. The Encyclopedia of Native American Religions: An Introduction (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1992), 183.
[4] Father Stephan, the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions from 1884-1901, was responsible for the growing Catholic presence in Indian Country, especially on the Great Plains. The Benedictine order began shortly before the 543 death of St. Benedict, "the father of western monasticism." The Benedictine rule began in Monte Cassino in 529 and then spread throughout Europe. It stressed the importance of community and moderation in religious practices
[5] The region's hosting of agrarian Missouri River tribes, nomadic Sioux hunters, and more-settled American farmers parallels the region's hosting over time an inland sea, flat forest, and grasslands. The ecological shift is referenced in Richard Manning, Grassland: The History, Biology, Politics, and Promise of the American Prairie (New York: Viking, 1995), Chapter 3.
[6] Throughout this work, the term "Sioux" refers to the confederation of the Seven Council Fires which include the three divisions: Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota. This political organization should not be confused with the linguistic classification of Siouan language speakers which also includes Omaha, Winnebago, Mandan, and other tribal members, according to James H. Howard, "Introduction," The Dakota or Sioux Indians: A Study in Human Ecology (Vermillion, SD: Dakota Museum, 1966), 1-3. For a discussion and mapping of the "Sioux Nation" see Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life And Customs Of A Warrior Society (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), especially Chapter 1.
[7] For a discussion of Father DeSmet's nineteenth-century western travels and interactions with tribal societies see Pierre Jean De Smet, Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet among the North American Indians ed. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Albert Talbot Richardson (New York: Francis Harper, 1905); Robert C. Carriker, Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); John Killoren, "Come Blackrobe" De Smet and the Indian Tragedy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); John Upton Terrell, Black Robe: The Life of Pierre-De Smet Missionary, Explorer and Pioneer (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964). For commentary on Chouteau and his commercial ventures along the upper Missouri River see Herbert T. Hoover, "The Arrival of Capitalism on the Northern Great Plains: Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company," in South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Chouteau, Jr. To Oscar Howe, ed. Herbert T. Hoover and Larry J. Zimmerman, (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1989), 1-14; Edwin Thompson Denig, Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); William Foley and C. David Rice, The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).
[8] Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (1931; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 8; Since its 1931 publication, scholars have critiqued the work for its environmental determinism, but it remains a classic description of the region.
[9] Michael G. Michlovic, "The Red River Valley in the Prehistory of the Northern Plain," Plains Anthropologist 28, no. 99 (February 1983): 23.
[10] Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, vol. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 7, in Michlovic, 23.
[11] For specific descriptions by these explorers see Meriwether Lewis, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-06, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd, 1959); Edward Harris, Up the Missouri With Audubon; The Journal of Edward Harris, ed. John Francis

McDermott (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951); Maximillian Wied, People of the First Man: Life Among the Plains Indians in Their Final Days of Glory: The Firsthand Account of Prince Maximillian's Expedition up the Missouri River, 1833-34, ed. Davis Thomas and Karin Ronnefeldt, (New York: Dutton, 1976).

[12] John Edwin Coffman, "Missouri River," The World Book Encyclopedia (Chicago: World Book, Inc., 1997), 674-76; Robert Kelley Schneiders, Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1999), 12; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Map of American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States, 1999.

[13] The Missouri River's main tributary streams upriver from Sioux City, Iowa include the Jefferson, Gallatin, Madison, Marias, Musselshell, Milk, Yellowstone, Little Missouri, Cheyenne, White, Niobrara, James and Big Sioux Rivers. Dividing the Sioux confederation into constituent parts proves complex and consequently can lead scholars to suggest a range of different "tribes." The thirteen I suggest include the original four Dakota tribes mentioned earlier, the Yankton and Yanktonai, as well as the Lakota tribes of Oglala, Brules, Blackfeet Sioux, Minneconjou, Two Kettles, Sans Arc and Hunkpapas. Historian Herbert T. Hoover and others will also correctly note the Hunkpatina and Assiniboine peoples who over time broke from the Yanktonai.

[14] E.P. Rothrock, A Geology of South Dakota, Bulletin No. 13 (Vermillion: South Dakota Geological Survey, 1943), 24, in Herbert T. Schell, History of South Dakota, 3rd edition, revised (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 5.

[15] Fred C. Westin, Leo F. Puhr, and George J. Buntley, Soils of South Dakota South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Soil Survey Series No. 3 (Brookings, South Dakota, March, 1959), 9, in Schell, 9.

[16] Lauren Brown, Grasslands (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and Chanticleer Press), xi, in Manning, xi.

[17] Edward Patrick Hogan and Erin Hogan Fauberg, The Geography of South Dakota, revised edition (Freeman, South Dakota: Pine Hill Press, Inc., 1998), 37-39. Rainfall at Stephan, SD averaged between sixteen and eighteen inches and eighteen and twenty inches per year, according to South Dakota Agricultural Statistics of 1959, in Schell, 11.

[18] Donald Jayne Lehmer, Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1971).

[19] John R. Milton, South Dakota: A Bicentenial History (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1977), especially Chapter 7.

[20] Milton's Chapter 6 focuses on the 99th meridian as a distinguishing line of longitude. Webb emphasized the significance of the 98th meridian in The Great Plains, Chapter 3.

[21] Tom L. McKnight, Regional Geography of the United States and Canada, 2d edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997).

[22] McKnight, 235; see also Manning, Chapter 3, which asserts that climatic change proves more the norm than stasis of ecosystems.

[23] For a brief discussion of the origin of the Rocky Mountains see McKnight, 292; Manning, Chapter 3. For a specific breakdown of geologic time periods see "Take our Web Geological Time Machine," Available at: http://www.ucmp.berkeley.edu/help/timeform.html.

[24] Manning, Chapter 3.

[25] McKnight, 292; Manning, Chapter 3.

[26] David F. Costello, The Prairie World (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), 46.

[27] Badlands National Park pamphlet, "The Mixed Grass Prairie." According to Manning, 141-42, surplus energy from the sun creates more nutrients than plants need, prompting annual root production that makes grasslands into soil builders. Such growth can prompt a single square yard of pure prairie sod to build twenty-five miles of roots.

[28] Lehmer.

[29] Costello, 30-31.

[30] Manning, 127 compared bison and cattle adaptation to the grasslands environment. He notes that cattle overgrazing made a more negative impact on the grassland. The harsh weather proved more fatal to cattle than bison, such that in during the 1885-86 winter ranchers of the high plains lost between fifty and seventy-five percent of their cattle.
[31] Costello, 92.
[32] James H. Howard, "The Wiciyela or Middle Dakota," The Dakota or Sioux Indians: A Study in Human Ecology, 1-2. For additional discussion of plant accessibility and use along the Missouri River, see Melvin R. Gilmore, Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977).
[33] Larry J. Zimmerman and Lawrence E. Bradley, "The Crow Creek Massacre: Initial Coalescent Warfare and Speculations About the Genesis of Extended Coalescent," Plains Anthropologist 38, no. 145, Memoir 27 (1993): 215-26; P. Wiley and Thomas E. Emerson, "The Osteology and Archaeology of the Crow Creek Massacre," Plains Anthropologist 38, no. 145, Memoir 27 (1993): 227-69; Larry J. Zimmerman and Richard G. Whitten, "Prehistoric bones tell grim tale of Indian v. Indian," Smithsonian 11, no. 6 (1980): 100-08.
[34] Conflict between Missouri River Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas and westward moving Lakota and Yanktonai will be discussed further in Chapter 2.
[35] Chapters 2 and 3 specifically address interactions between missionaries, traders, and tribal leaders.
[36] John Wesley Powell, Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879). This work noted that the 100th meridian marked the line of twenty annual inches of rain that he considered the western edge of a potentially successful agricultural region. Consequently, he determined that forty percent of the United States was arid, with few smaller pockets of humid sections.
[37] Charles Dana Wilber, The Great Valleys and Prairies of Nebraska and the Northwest (Omaha, Nebraska, 1881), 69, in Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), Chapter XVI.
[38] According to Webb, 8, "practically every institution that was carried across it was either broken and remade or else greatly altered." Smith similarly emphasizes the problems for eastern farmers in the west in Chapter XVIII, "Failure of the Agrarian Utopia."
[39] For a discussion of contemporary environmental efforts to restore native species to the prairie, see Manning, Chapters 11-12.
[40] Admittedly, certain elements of independent tribal action remained in east-river Sioux, while a limited American influence held sway west of the river. Generally, however, the Missouri River served as a rough dividing line of American control on the Great Plains until the 1880s. Responding to Little Crow's Minnesota Sioux War (1862), American troops soon suppressed the last significant violent tribal resistance among the Dakotas. Western Sioux retained sovereignty in west-river Dakota Territory until after the 1876 Battle of the Greasy Grass (Little Big Horn). The emergence of the 1890 Ghost Dance in Sioux Country similarly indicates limited federal control in west-river South Dakota during that time period. Though often critiqued, Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" argues the closing of the frontier at 1893; see George Rogers Taylor, ed. The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972). Dee Brown Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970) suggests the tragic end of tribal independence in the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890.
[41] For a discussion of Sioux Winter Counts and two examples see, Garrick Mallery, Picture-Writing of the American Indians, vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), 266-328, previously published as "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," in Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1888-89, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893).
[42] Genesis 1:26, The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Revised Standard Version, Herbert G. May and Bruce Metzger, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) emphasizes human dominance over the natural world: "Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them

have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.'" For additional discussion of the connections between religious traditions and the environment see Roderick Frazier Nash, The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), especially Chapter 4.

[43] Father Stan worked at Stephan Mission from 1939-40, and returned from 1956-66, according to Stanislaus Maudlin, O.S.B., interview by author, tape recording, Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, South Dakota, 15 July 1998.

[44] Black Elk, "Foreward," xix, in Joseph Epes Brown, ed. The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953). Examination of Black Elk's traditional Lakota and Catholic identities are explored in Michael F. Steltenkamp, Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993). For additional discussion of use of Christian analogies to Lakota ceremony, see Raymond A. Bucko, The Lakota Ritual of the Sweat Lodge: History and Contemporary Practice (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 74-75. Lakota and Jesuit Catholic comparisons may also be found in Paul Steinmetz, "The Relationship between Plains Indian Religion and Christianity: A Priest's View," Plains Anthropologist 15 (1970): 83-86; Steinmetz, "The Sacred Pipe in American Indian Religions," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 8, no. 3 (1984): 27-80; William Stolzman, S.J., The Pipe and Christ: A Christian Sioux Dialogue (Pine Ridge: Red Cloud Indian School, 1992).

[45] For a discussion of formal Catholic-Lakota conversation of the "Medicine Men and Pastor's Meeting" regarding religious similarities and differences see Stolzman. This interfaith dialogue concluded "consistent similarities within each tradition and consistent, radical differences between each religion." (p. 14) Concepts of "sin" and "judgment" stand as examples of differences between Christian and Sioux theologies. Both traditions maintain some form of human failing. Lakotas focus on situational and temporal elements, while Christians assert eternal and absolute definitions of "sin." Lakota community identity perceives punishment as shame imposed by their society, while individual identity of Christians recognizes punishment from their transcendent deity. Lakotas note immediate judgment for offenses in the physical world; Christians believe in a more eternal judgment in the spiritual realm.

[46] Crow Creek attracted members of Sisseton, Yankton, Santee, Brule, Yanktonai, and other Sioux tribes, according to Jerry Lytle, interview by author, tape recording, Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, South Dakota, 5 October 1998.

[47] Albert Bruce, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 30 September 1998.

[48] Jaye Begay, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 1 October 1998.

[49] Lytle, interview.

[50] Luther Standing Bear, My People The Sioux (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 124-28.

[51] David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 239.

CHAPTER 2

YANKTONAI MIGRATION TO THE GREAT PLAINS: CULTURAL ADAPTAION FROM MILLE LACS TO THE MISSOURI RIVER

Yanktonai students and Benedictine staff came to central South Dakota as immigrants entering a new world. They carried different philosophical traditions into Stephan Mission. Benedictine priests, Brothers, and Sisters emigrated from monastic traditions of Europe and recently-transplanted institutions in Indiana and the eastern United States.[1] Yanktonai and other Sioux students came from immigrant traditions that began in central Minnesota and followed a multi-generational odyssey that led them to the Crow Creek Reservation. Migratory experiences taught members of these traditions to adapt to new environmental settings and the complexities of intercultural relations. The societal flexibility learned in moving from the edge of the eastern woodlands to the Missouri River helped Yanktonai elders prepare their progeny with dispositions to adapt to the multi-cultural nature of Stephan Mission.

The first Yanktonai students to enter the Catholic Mission represented one of the original seven tribes of the Oceti Sakowin, known today as the historic Sioux confederation.[2] The current homelands of the original Yanktonai Sioux lie scattered across the northern plains of the United States and Canada.[3] Tribal members today live as Yanktonais (Upper), Hunkpatinas (Lower Yanktonai) and Assiniboines (Stoneys) within several reservations, reserves, and urban communities. Following

American westward expansion, federal officials placed the Upper Yanktonais at the Standing Rock Reservation, North and South Dakota (especially the North Dakota section); Devil's Lake Reservation, North Dakota, (especially the *Pabaksa* or Cuthead sub-band); and the Oak Lake Reserve, No. 59, Manitoba, Canada. Assiniboines relocated to the Fort Peck and Fort Belknap Reservations, Montana, and on the Canadian plains, where Canadians know them as "Stoneys." Lower Yanktonais (*Hunkpatinas*) settled on the Crow Creek and Standing Rock Reservations of South Dakota and Fort Peck Reservation, Montana.[4]

As late as the early seventeenth century, these three bands maintained a common Yanktonai identity within the Oceti Sakowin near Mille Lacs, Minnesota. Like other societies, they grew apart as they grew in number. Yanktonais and other members of the confederation gradually carried elements of their earlier traditions to new environments. In addition, they incorporated new technologies, economic systems, social organization, military strategies, and diplomatic experiences into their dynamic culture. Even after their gradual diaspora, Yanktonai individuals maintained cultural connections with their Sioux relations.

The Oceti Sakowin held different stories regarding their origins in the woodland region of the Upper Great Lakes. Tribal elders presented these oral traditions to their extended families during annual gatherings to explain their cultural beginnings.[5] Like other Native American origin/migration stories, Sioux tradition referred to a previous world, a journey to their present environment, and strong ties to the animal kingdom.[6] Some maintained that their ancestors came up from the

underworld near Wind Cave in the southern *Paha Sapa* (Black Hills) before migrating northward.[7] A Santee Dakota story suggests that after a great flood a new society took root in the Black Hills.[8] Oglala Lakota oral tradition asserts that in a previous world tribal members lived in council with the Buffalo Nation.[9]

Another Lakota story discusses a long journey that led the people to the Paha Sapa.[10] This tradition asserts that their relatives and other indigenous people previously lived together near a large body of water. Communities supported themselves by fishing and adorned themselves with sea shells from their tropical homeland. A divine entity provided several communities with life instructions, then directed them to leave their camp to travel northward. Seven divisions of relatives learned to make fire with flint rocks during this journey. They shared a common fire and took care not to extinguish it. Eventually, the migratory confederation reached a large river, presumably the Mississippi. Unable to cross it, they traveled north along the eastern banks until they reached the land of many lakes, Minnesota.[11]

Spiritual and practical motivations led these nomads to settle near Mille Lacs, in contemporary central Minnesota. The Oceti Sakowin found abundant resources in the lakes and forests, from which they provided for their families. One band established the large village of *Mdewakan* alongside the lake that they believed to be the home of the Great Spirit.[12] The *Mdewakantons* threw annual offerings into the lake at the time of planting to show proper respect. The other six divisions of the Oceti Sakowin established themselves nearby. Fear motivated some to move away

from the lake to keep distance from the spiritual forces. Others sought new resources available in different ecological niches.[13]

Members of the Oceti Sakowin distinguished their relatives by their location: *Mdewakantonwan*, "People of Spirit Lake;" the *Wahpekute*, "Shooters Among the Leaves;" the *Sisitonwan*, or Sisseton, "People of the Boggy Grounds;" *Wahpetonwan*, or Wahpeton, "Dwellers Among the Leaves;" *Ihanktonwan*, or Yankton, "Dwellers at the End (Village);" and *Ihanktonwana*, or Yanktonai, "Little Dwellers at the End;" and *Titonwan*, or Teton, "Dwellers on the Plains."[14] Members of these communities lived in distinct tiospaye*s*, not as a single tribe or division of a tribe.[15] As populations grew, bands sought ecological regions within which to support their families. This permitted access to varied flora and fauna of the broader region, including deciduous and coniferous forests, lakes, and prairie. Separate bands gradually developed specialized skills, community preference, and a need to avoid enemies. These cultural adaptations led them to different regions surrounding Mille Lacs.

Tribes continued to speak their ancestral language during this process of migration. Tribal divisions, however, developed distinct dialects in terms of consonant usage. The Sissetons, Wahpetons, Wahpekutes, and Mdewakantons came to be known as *Isanti* (Santee) and spoke the most common "D" dialect. They referred to allies as "Dakota." Tetons recognized as "Lakota," used the "L" dialect as they gradually migrated toward the western prairie. Yanktons and Yanktonais established the "N" dialect of the "Nakota," while migrating north and west of the Mille Lacs homeland.[16]

Despite their differences in dialect and location, the Oceti Sakowin supported each other as members of a confederation.[17] Tribal bands made their own decisions in terms of movement and cultural protocol while supporting each other in times of need. Each division grew in number and strength within their larger support network. The confederation retained social, political, and cultural connections through annual meetings. During summer reunions men performed the Sun Dance, sacrificing their bodies during a four-day ritual for the benefit of their people.[18] In addition, young men and women met, formed marriages, and reinforced social connections between divisions of the Sioux. They also passed on stories of the past year to their relatives who later drew "Winter Counts" on buffalo skins to preserve these events for their progeny.[19] This process helped retain connections to their common history.

Yanktonais and their relations lived in this region for generations prior to the seventeenth-century arrival of Europeans.[20] Their location within east-central Minnesota placed confederation members on the border of mixed coniferous forests of the northeast and the deciduous forests that ran diagonally through the state from northwest to southeast. Tribal members also retained access to the western plains by foot or upstream along the eastern-flowing Minnesota River. The Mille Lacs region revealed a great capacity to grow wild rice, but stood between fifty and seventy-five miles north of the latitudinal line marking an appropriate number of frost-free days needed to regularly cultivate corn.[21] Expansion southward served great importance for those interested in extending tribal agrarian practices. Various Sioux divisions learned

the nuances of cultivation on the southern edge of the region, harvesting among other things, corn and tobacco.[22]

By the early seventeenth century Oceti Sakowin tribes grew to include additional, distinct bands and tiospayes. Political adjustments proved necessary to retain a manageable, family-centered system. In most cases, new tribal bands retained cultural affiliation and alliance with their kin. However, the northern Assiniboine band of Yanktonais, living nearest to the Cree, developed friendly relations with their Algonquian-speaking neighbors and in some cases intermarried with them. After developing a distinct identity, they broke from their Yanktonai kin.[23] By the early seventeenth-century, members of the Oceti Sakowin recognized Assiniboines as a separate tribe due to their alliance with the Cree.[24] This Cree-Assiniboine alliance represented a formidable threat for the Oceti Sakowin into the nineteenth century. Other Sioux divisions grew in size and expanded land claims, but retained kinship relations.

This territorial extension did not develop from centralized plans as much as from individual tiospaye needs. Increased resource availability promoted new and larger tribal groups. Sioux leaders pushed territorial boundaries to support their families' survival as their numbers grew. Expansion led to conflicts with neighboring tribes: the Cree-Assiniboine alliance to the North, other Siouan and Caddoan-speaking tribes to the south and west, and the Algonquian-speaking tribes to the south and east.[25] Sioux expansionism met resistance, leading villages to take defensive postures to thwart attacks. Sault St. Marie Chippewas, nearly eighteen days

to the east of the Sioux, and other Algonquian tribes, took note of growing Sioux prominence to the west by the early seventeenth century.[26] Chippewas referred to the expansionist western confederation as "*Naduesiu*," suggesting their status, like other neighboring tribes, as "adder" and "enemy." The French first learned of the Oceti Sakowin from these Algonquians, shortening the derogatory term to "Sioux."[27]

Seventeenth-century Sioux expansion in the western Great Lakes region included conflict and cooperation. Competition between Sioux hunters and their neighbors could result in conflict, but tribal representatives also met peacefully and attended intertribal gatherings of nations. Eastern Sioux bands sought trade with their Algonquian neighbors, especially the Ottawas, who carried European trade goods from the East. In the Winter of 1659-60 about five hundred tribal members of "eighteen several nations," including Cree and Sioux, gathered at a Feast of the Dead near present-day Superior, Wisconsin. Despite tense relations between the Sioux and their northern neighbors, tribal members made long speeches, exchanged gifts, formed alliances, smokes pipes, and played games.[28]

Eight eastern Sioux ambassadors inaugurated direct contact with Europeans at the Ottawa village at Lac Court Oreilles (near present-day Hayward, Wisconsin) just prior to this intertribal meeting. Medard Chouart, known as Des Grosseilliers, and his brother-in-law Pierre Esprit Radisson, enthusiastically accepted Sioux gifts of corn and grain as signs of friendship. Sioux delegates ritualistically greased their feet and legs, offered buffalo and beaver skins, wept over the Frenchmen to obtain their favor,

offered special ceremonial pipe smoking, and fanned their clothing with tobacco smoke. French emissaries and Sioux leaders made their first alliance at this time.[29]

Grosseilliers and Radisson met eastern Sioux twice following the initial encounter. At the "Feast of the Dead," well-adorned Sioux arrived with great ceremony to offer beaver skins, buffalo robes, support against Cree hostilities, and a wild rice feast as signs of friendship. They also encouraged the Frenchmen to visit them in their Minnesota homelands. French visitors acknowledged mutual friendship between their people, but threatened the end of such relations if Sioux war parties re-ignited hostilities with the Cree. Grosseilliers and Radisson offered trade goods including knives, awls, looking glasses, and jewelry to seal positive relations with their generous Sioux allies. They followed the Sioux Trail westward to eastern Minnesota following two weeks of feasting and gift-giving. Grosseilliers and Radisson spent six weeks within an eastern Sioux community comprised of five thousand members within five villages, while also learning of the western Sioux tribes. These eastern Sioux reportedly took the name "Isanti," which means "knife," from some of the French trade goods obtained at this meeting.[30]

Oceti Sakowin tribes increasingly distinguished themselves from each other during the seventeenth century. Annual Sioux gatherings grew in number and so did distinctions between groups. The seven council fires gradually expanded into upwards of forty villages.[31] Recollect Father Louis Hennepin noted varied locations of tribal bands in relation to the confederation nucleus near Mille Lacs during his 1680 stay in a Dakota community. Tribal members introduced him to the *inipi* (sweat lodge)

ceremony during this time. Hennepin learned the distinctions and locations of Sioux tribes. The Santees lived a short distance southwest of Mille Lacs, west of the Rum River. The Wahpetons occupied the land adjacent to and on the northeast side of Mille Lacs. Yanktons, and still undistinguished Yanktonais, made residence north and east of Mille Lacs, near Leech Lake and Lake Winnibigosh.[32] Sissetons inhabited the region to the north of the Yanktons. Tetons lived to the west of the Santees on the western side of the Mississippi, near present-day St. Cloud, Minnesota. [33]

Tetons and Yanktons did not remain in these locations. Internal decisions and external prompting pushed and pulled them south and west over the next several decades.[34] Sioux-Cree hostilities grew during the second half of the seventeenth century. Sioux hunters increasingly contended with their northern neighbors for better beaver hunting grounds near Lake Superior.[35] Sioux warriors proved generally victorious during the early years of this conflict. Since their meeting with Grosseilliers and Radisson, French traders of the western Great Lakes region provided them with necessary weapons and other trade goods. In addition, Sioux merchants cultivated trade relations with Algonquian "middlemen" for French-supplied weapons. Early weapons-runners supplied an insufficient number of poorer-quality guns, but such trade still gave Sioux forces early advantages over their Cree-Assiniboin enemies.[36]

Geography favored the Cree-Assiniboine alliance during the 1680s. Their northern location placed them in proximity to British traders arriving at Hudson Bay. In 1684, Crees and Assiniboines canoes floated down the Hayes River to meet British

merchants and take advantage of their better quality and quantity of weapons. Technological advantages permitted well-armed Crees and Assiniboines forces to push Tetons, Yanktons, and Yanktonais south and west from the headwaters of the Mississippi River during the 1680s. Santee bands retained their homelands for the next several decades due to a more defensive position in the marshy regions near Mille Lacs, and better relations with the Cree.[37] More than a fleeting conflict, these hostilities remained prominent within Yanktonai minds. Yanktonai historians denoted this conflict as the event that marked the year. John K. Bear's pictographic record for 1682 refers to "*Wico Kicize Tanka*" (Big Battle), which mostly likely notes the conflicts with Assiniboines and Crees.[38]

Cree-Assiniboine victories did not push Sioux tribes to new territories. Western Sioux bands lived nomadic lives that included regular hunting and gathering trips south and west of Mille Lacs even prior to the hostilities. Attacks from the north prompted them to more regular use of the southwestern Minnesota prairie. Bear's Winter Count reinforces a general southern migration. This pictograph records that in 1683 "*Wakpa Cansoke Ed Eyotanke*," his people camped at a river where there was heavy timber. It is likely that this winter camp location stood near present-day St. Cloud, Minnesota.[39] Since the previous year's conflicts with Crees and Assiniboines, Yanktonais could have rather easily followed the Mississippi River downstream to the protected, wooded river valley near St. Cloud. Consistent with their tradition, Yanktonais also could have hunted on the western prairie during the summer, and returned east to the Mississippi River Valley for the winter. The 1684 pictograph

suggests a further southern placement of the Yanktonai in their first meeting with white men. This meeting coincides with the year that trader and diplomat Nicholas Perrot built trading posts to serve members of the Oceti Sakowin on the west side of the Mississippi River, near Red Wing, Minnesota.[40]

French traders replaced Algonquian "middlemen" as Sioux suppliers of weapons by the end of the decade, providing a more constant flow of trade goods. Consequently, well-armed Sioux blocked any further southern intrusion of the Cree-Assiniboine alliance into Minnesota territory. Yanktonai, Yankton and Teton leaders chose not to resume warfare to reoccupy northern lands despite access to additional weapons. They focused their energies toward the western prairie and its potential animal resources.[41] Tied to a northern trade with the British, Cree and Assiniboine leaders also pushed westward, leading to later hostilities with Sioux tribes.[42]

Nakota and Lakota Sioux divided into more identifiable tribes soon after their departure from the headwaters of the Mississippi River.[43] Yanktons and Yanktonais took different paths in a westward direction. Yanktons crossed the Minnesota river, claiming the prairie between the Blue Earth River and Pipestone Quarry. Yanktonais moved in a northwesterly direction, following the forested eastern bank of the Minnesota River. Tetons also came to a cross-road after leaving the Mississippi headwaters region. They divided themselves into at least two groups. Oglalas and Brules crossed the Minnesota River toward the open prairies in a southwesterly direction. Teton-Saones migrated northwest along the Minnesota River, similar to the Yanktonais.[44]

Sioux expansion westward forced Omahas, Otos, Cheyennes, Missouris, and Iowas to the south, north, and west.[45] Bear's Winter Count notes fighting with the Omaha, probably near the Big Sioux River in 1685.[46] Combined Sioux forces pushed Omahas from the Big Sioux River south on the Missouri River by 1900. Santees drove the Iowas from the Minnesota Valley while kinsmen forced the Cheyenne northwesterly, from the Minnesota River (between Blue Earth and Lac-qui-Parle) to a river valley in present-day North Dakota, now named for them, the Sheyenne. They later moved to a tributary of the Missouri River that also retains their name.[47] These migrations led the Omaha, Cheyenne, Iowa, and Oto to form peace pacts in opposition to the expansionist Sioux.[48]

By the turn of the eighteenth century, French trader Pierre-Charles Le Sueur built a fort near the head of Lake Pepin. Le Sueur estimated four thousand Sioux families in about twenty villages from the tributaries of the Mississippi River south from the Crow Wing River, along Mille Lacs, and west on the Minnesota River as far as Big Stone Lake.[49] He described seven Santee villages to the east of the Mississippi and thirteen villages of Tetons, Yanktons, and Santees to the west of the river.[50]

Le Sueur recognized that initial trade networks established between French and Dakotas made the Eastern Sioux better-armed and the "masters of all the other Sioux and Ioways and Otos."[51] Santees maintained this position in the burgeoning fur trade by directing economic strategies to the east. This led to increased contact with the Algonquian-speaking tribes. Conflicts arose with Chippewa bands over positioning within the fur trade when French and Santee traders attempted to

eliminate the intermediary tribe from the equation. Santees and Chippewas also fought over access to hunting regions east of the Mississippi and west of the Chequamegon Bay.

Santees also interacted with their eastern neighbors in creative endeavors. Over time, eastern Sioux culture came to resemble central-Algonquian Ojibwa, Menominee, Potawatomi, Sauk, and Mesquakie, as well as the Siouan-speaking Winnebago. Santees replicated these tribes' cultivation of resources from the lakes, forests, and prairie of southern Minnesota, and adjacent areas of Wisconsin, Iowa, North and South Dakota. They maintained a subsistence system including hunting, fishing, cultivating, and gathering. On November 26, 1700, Le Sueur attended a feast given in his honor where "bison and deer meat were served in wooden dishes, along with wild rice seasoned with sun-dried blueberries."[52] While western Sioux increasingly adapted their traditions to the prairie, Santee more closely resembled their neighbors in their housing, clan relations, political organization, dress, and other cultural traditions. Santee trade relations in the east prompted them to serve as suppliers to their more culturally-distinct western Sioux relations.[53]

Le Sueur learned from the Santee that by 1700 "Western Dakota" tribes had grown to "more than a thousand lodges" and lived separate lives from their eastern Sioux kinsmen. A generation earlier, Grosseilliers and Radisson maintained that the "nation of the Beef" hunted on the prairies and returned in the winter "towards the woods of the North" to hunt for beaver.[54] By the early eighteenth century, western bands focused more on hunting, distancing themselves from their eastern relatives. Le

Sueur learned from the Santee that their western relations "do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally in the prairies, which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and live entirely by the chase." These new economic traditions led to less-structured social organizations to the point that western bands lived "wandering without villages."[55]

Western Sioux tribes did not totally abandon their eastern traditions and homelands. Their lives remained too dependent upon eastern trade for guns and ammunition, and still too removed from the growing horse trade of the western plains. The westward-expanding gun frontier and eastward-moving horse frontier did not cross until the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Western Sioux divided their years between the western prairie and eastern woodlands during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They hunted buffalo and other migratory animals as far west as the Missouri River in the summer. Lakotas and Nakotas returned during winter months to the woodlands to find shelter, gather fire wood, and hunt deer and beaver. They traded pelts at French forts for weapons in the spring before returning to the western prairie. Tribal members took nourishment from the buffalo, but collected beaver pelts which provided a more lucrative exchange median for French guns and other trade goods. Sioux tribes remained dependent upon the eastern markets for trade goods until new markets developed further west in the nineteenth century.[56]

Capitalism had crept into Sioux camps during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Tribal leaders increasingly saw the need for European weapons to defend themselves and increase their hunting range. Hunting for beaver in

particular grew at a rapid pace as tribes competed to gather resources to trade for western goods. Le Sueur noted extensive hunting already at the turn of the century. By that point Mdewakantons had stockpiled enough skins to payoff a debt to Le Sueur in four-hundred beaver robes, each made from nine skins stitched together. In the process, tribes began to depend on an evolving market system that they did not control. Still generally independent, the strings of this economic system began to pull at tribal economies. Le Sueur noted a ban on western trade that led Oglalas to demand compensation for their beaver skins before they would hunt for bison or deer hides.[57]

By the end of the seventeenth century western Sioux tribes spent perhaps no more than winter months in sedentary villages of western Minnesota. Le Sueur placed the Yankton as the "Village of the Red Stone Quarry," also known as Pipestone Quarry area in western Minnesota, near the Big Sioux River.[58] Geographer Guillaume Delisle's 1703 map located Tetons at the headwaters of the Minnesota River near Big Stone Lake.[59] Le Sueur reported that a Teton division, apparently Oglalas, wintered near his stockade on the Blue Earth River.[60] He also identified the *Wazikute* band, and likely the Hunkpatina, of Yanktonai, among the "Western Sioux," placing them also along the Minnesota River near Lac Qui Parle.[61] These locations stand as temporary locations for nomadic tribes. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, Teton tribes claimed hunting grounds as far west as the Missouri River while Mdewakanton villages stood near Mille Lacs. This led Louis de la Porte de Louvigny to label the broad region between the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers as "*pais des Sioux*" (country of the Sioux).[62]

The Pais des Sioux stood as the connecting link between ecological and economic regions during the decades bordering the turn of the eighteenth century. Members of the Oceti Sakowin maintained an interdependent confederation that bridged the gap between two regions. Santees lived on the eastern boundary with access to woodlands and tall grass prairie, French fur traders, and European trade goods. To the west, Teton tribes evolved in relation to mixed and short grass prairie, Missouri River societies, and horse herds of western tribes. Yanktons and Yanktonais operated between the two wings of the confederation. Tribes grew strong as each band pursued its course under the protective umbrella of the larger confederation.

The nexus of the trade link as late in 1700 stood at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers where western tribes still returned annually from the West. Yanktonai historians made first reference to the intertribal trade network between eastern and western Sioux tribes as early as 1707, when Bear's Winter Count indicates an exchange of a metal knife for a horse.[63] Trade fairs progressively moved further west to the Blue Earth River and beyond. By 1750, tribal delegations met at the headwaters of the Minnesota River.[64] Yanktonai villages hosted these fairs on the Cheyenne and James Rivers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[65] European traders eventually learned of these trade fairs, but during the early eighteenth century such exchanges only took place within intertribal gatherings.

Distinct geographic positions led Sioux tribes to provide each other with varied trade goods during the late eighteenth century. These meetings included Tetons, Yanktons, Yanktonais, Sissetons, and less frequently Wahpekutes,

Wahpetons, and Mdewakantans. Upwards of 1000-1200 lodges, including about 3000 armed men would gather. Sissetons, Yanktonais, and others from the region of the St. Peter's and Des Moines Rivers provided guns, axes, knives, kettles, red pipes, cloth, and bows of walnut. In return, Tetons provided horses (stolen or purchased from Missouri River tribes), lodges of leather, buffalo robes, shirts and leggings of antelope skin. Conflicts arose during these meetings, but more often gatherings served as times for reconciliation. Santee tribes often served as mediators within tribal disputes and marketing agents for French trade on the eastern boundary of the Pais des Sioux.[66]

The confederation generally migrated westward during the eighteenth century. Santee tribes moved down from Mille Lacs to the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers by the middle of the century. At about the same time, Tetons shifted their focus from Big Stone Lake to the Missouri River, and Yanktons and Yanktonais concentrated their operations along the James River Valley. Tetons tugged the alliance westward to the new resources and freedom of the prairie, as Santees held to eastern traditions and landscapes. Eastern Sioux similarly sought to keep Tetons tied to an eastern trade network by promoting generous trade relations along the St. Peter's River. Vested in eastern markets, it stood in Santee interests to discourage the incipient trade networks along the Missouri River.[67]

Yanktons and Yanktonais linked their eastern and western relations and their diverse collection of trade goods.[68] Through the last quarter of the nineteenth century French and British trade posts remained distant from this region.[69] In fact, until the late eighteenth century, Euro-American traders did not operate with any regularity in

Sioux country. They preferred to operate from the eastern edge of the prairie. American trader and explorer Peter Pond visited a Yanktonai camp two-hundred miles north of the Minnesota River in 1774-75. He reported that Yanktonai tribal members "never Saw a trader Before On thare One Ground or at Least Saw a Bale of Goods Opend . . . I was the first that atempted to go t[h]are With a Bale of Goods."[70] Intertribal trade networks existed as the main source for trade goods through the early decades of the eighteenth century.[71]

The first European traders did not meet mounted tribesmen. Tribal members relied on dogs to haul belongings on *travois*, living more as pedestrians than horsemen until the end of the eighteenth century. As early as 1692, Yanktonai historians recorded references to wild horses, suggesting their involvement in summer excursions to the Platte and Arkansas country for wild horses.[72] Still, such early excursions remained infrequent and did not quickly establish new transportation patterns. Tribal bands sporadically gathered horses through trade or theft. They also corralled wild horses from herds that had migrated from the American Southwest. Western Sioux relied on Missouri River tribes until they gained access to western tribes and their large horse herds. The small number of horses they did gather had a limited effect on individual tribes that opted to trade horses for European goods. The influence of horses on a single tribe remained limited as the animals spread throughout the confederation. Well-armed and mounted tribal warriors had yet to take command of the Great Plains.

By the late eighteenth century, Yanktonai communities lived in a material world that relied upon elements of pre-contact and post-contact worlds. They respected older traditions while incorporating new technology. By 1778, Yanktonais used dogs and horses to carry their belongings. "Thay Have a Grate Number of Horseses and Dogs," according to Pond, "which Carres thare Bageag when thay Moove from Plase to Plase." Fear in contested hunting regions led Yanktonais to carry "Sum fire armes—Boses and arroes & Spear which they have Continualy in th[are hands.]" Yanktonai also manipulated new material elements to their greatest advantage. They discovered, for example, that they could increase the endurance of their horses. "In Order to have thare Horseis Long winded thay Slit thare Nos[es] up to the Grissel of thare head which Makes them Breath Verey freely," Pond attested, "[I Have] Sean them Run with those of Natral Norstrall and Cum in Apearant[ley] Not the Least Out of Breath."[73]

Westward migrations placed Yanktonai bands in proximity to several tribes of the prairie between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Yanktonais encountered Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas along the Missouri River. By 1738, Tetons and Yanktonais extended their range to the Mandan villages of the Upper Missouri River.[74] Through regular contact with these tribes, Yanktonais appropriated riverine cultural traditions. The semi-sedentary tribes introduced the round earthlodge, bullboats, horticulture techniques, ceremonies and styles of dress to Yanktonais.[75]

Trade relations and geographic positions of western tribes remained fairly constant until the late eighteenth century. Western Sioux bands sought new hunting

territory beyond the Missouri River, but could only manage sporadic trips to the western prairie. Yanktonai and Teton forces generally traveled with a better supply of guns and ammunition from eastern suppliers, but from 1750-1770 Anglo-French wars limited the weaponry that reached Sioux forces. In addition, western Sioux had still not acquired sufficient horses to lead a mounted attack. At the same time, Arikaras, Mandans and Hidatsas stood as formidable nations. They lived within well-fortified towns, stocked with large horse herds acquired through trade with the western Kiowas, and armed by Assiniboine traders from the north. This blocked regular Sioux expansion beyond the Missouri River.[76]

Territorial limitations led some western Sioux tribes to imitate Missouri River societies by balancing horticulture and hunting. Oglalas, for instance, settled near the Arikaras and learned to incorporate farming into their economy. As early as 1715, Yanktonais reported holding council with the Mandans. By 1740, Yanktonai leaders incorporated the Arikara "Legend of Standing Rock" into their own lore after inhabiting Arikara Territory. By the middle nineteenth century, Yanktonais replicated Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara customs to the extent that they resembled those tribes more than their Teton and Santee relations. [77]

Smallpox epidemics from 1772-1781 destroyed the balance of power along the Missouri River.[78] Disease decimated populations of sedentary Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras, making them vulnerable to western Sioux tribes pressing upon them from the east. Few remaining leaders directed a drastically reduced number of Mandans and Hidatsas to eventually settle in 1787 near the Knife River, in present-

day North Dakota.[79] John K. Bear's Winter Count maintains that in 1787, Arikara begged for land, suggesting their increasing subservience to the stronger Sioux. By 1792, Lewis and Clark noted, Arikaras abandoned their homes along the Big Bend of the Missouri in central South Dakota for new lands to the north.[80] Western Sioux tribes took the opportunity to replace weaker communities in these regions and expand beyond the Missouri River through the last decades of the eighteenth century. Oglalas, in particular, chose to cross the Missouri near the mouth of Crow Creek.[81]

Sioux bands pushed westward to hunt beaver and buffalo as well as to add horses to their growing herds. By the late eighteenth century, Jean Baptiste Truteau recognized western Sioux tribes as "those who hunt most for the beaver and other good peltries of the Upper Missouri." Tribes pushed westward, according to Truteau, "in order to hunt the buffalo and the beaver which are found there in greater numbers than upon the other side."[82] Buffalo hunting provided tribal members with nourishment and growing cultural significance, while beaver continued as the medium of exchange for guns until the early nineteenth century.

Yanktonai leaders had learned components of capitalism as it expanded westward. Tribal leaders sought a balanced hunting tradition east and west of the Missouri River to maximize results. Many Yanktonais hunted east of the river despite abundant buffalo that roamed the banks of Missouri River and the prairie west of the river. On the east-river prairie they found sufficient buffalo to provide sustenance for their people as well as abundant beavers, otters, deer, and other wild animals. Voyager Jean Baptiste Trudeau claimed that in 1796 the James River was "a beautiful

river, very abundant in beaver and other wild animals." Smaller, fur-bearing animals of the region could not provide enough food for Yanktonai bands. Economically-savvy leaders learned, however, that their skins earned them the most financial compensation within an early nineteenth-century price system. Buffalo robes sold at forty dollars per pack, while other furs could earn into the hundreds of dollars per pack. Columbia Fur Company reports in the 1820s maintain that martin sold for three hundred, beaver for four hundred, and otter at six hundred dollars per pack. In fact, some Yanktonais abandoned good buffalo hunting grounds near the Missouri River for better beaver trapping near the Minnesota River in 1803. The prairie east of the Missouri River provided Yanktonais with economic advantages of hunting smaller fur-bearing animals while maintaining the cultural independence of buffalo hunting.[83]

Yanktonai leadership stood at the forefront of tribal economic and diplomatic relations. Trader Pierre Antoine Tabeau noted in particular the prominence of *Matowinkay* among Sioux leaders of the late nineteenth century. As leader of the "Yinctons of the North," he squelched insubordination and tribal divisiveness. Tabeau concluded that "he is loved and respected by them so that they obey him blindly." This authority enabled the Yanktonai leader to also influence the neighboring Arikaras who paid him "much more consideration than their own chiefs." Matowinkay maintained prominence by controlling trade relations and providing generously for his people. He balanced this agenda by extracting high fees to insure that traders remained "safe from every insult" during their stay with his people.[84]

Successful economic ventures permitted Yanktonai bands to grow in size and diversity. By the early nineteenth century, Hunkpatinas, or Lower Yanktonais, distinguished themselves from their relations, living below their kinsfolk along the James River.[85] Lewis and Clark reported that the total population of Yanktonais, or "Yanktons of the North," numbered approximately 1600 and lived in about 200 lodges. From within this number, the American explorers recognized six Yanktonai bands: *Kee-uke-sah, Sah-own, Hone-ta-par-teen, Hah-hartones, Hone-ta-par-teen-waz*, and *Za-ar-tars*. Lewis and Clark mentioned *Arsh-kane, Pit-ta-sah, Mah-pe-on-do-tak*, and *Tat-tung-gar-weet-e-co* as Yanktonai band leaders. Mah-to-wy-ank-ka however, stood as the principal tribal leader, revealing "great influence in his band and nation."[86]

Yanktonai families lived mainly near the headwaters of the Sioux, James and Red rivers at the turn of the nineteenth century. Hunting, trading, negotiating and visiting took them to the broader prairie between the Minnesota River and the Big Bend region of the Missouri River. Bands generally maintained economic relations on their eastern border, trading several thousand dollars worth of goods annually near the Minnesota River. Increased access to horses and changing markets led Yanktonais to focus on buffalo during the early nineteenth century. In contrast to their earlier emphasis on beaver and other small fur-bearing animals, Lewis and Clark maintained that Yanktonais traded "Buffalow robes & Wolves only." The American explorers recognized Yanktonais as "very friendly to the whites," as opposed to their western Teton kinsmen described as the "vilest miscreants of the savage race" due to their

raids on Missouri River trade. Lewis hoped that trade opportunities would lure Yanktonai traders away from French traders along the Minnesota River toward incipient American markets at the well-defended Missouri River.[87]

Yanktonai bands traveled great distances across the prairie to gather necessary resources for the survival of their members. "The Yanctongs of the north," American explorer Zebulon Montgomery Pike claimed in 1805, "are never stationary, but with the Titongs are the most erratic band of all the Sioux, sometimes to be found on the borders of the Lower Red River, sometimes on the Missouri, and on those immense plains which are between the two rivers." Pike noted that their independent lifestyle revolved around buffalo. "The Yanctongs and Titongs are the most independent Indians in the world," the American explorer asserted, "they follow the buffalo as chance directs; clothing themselves with the skin, and making their lodges, bridles, and saddles of the same materials, the flesh of the animal furnishing their food." This economic practice required mobility. "Possessing innumerable herds of horses, they are here this day, 500 miles off ten days hence," Pike stated, "and find themselves equally at home in either place, moving with a rapidity scarcely to be imagined by the inhabitants of the civilized world." [88]

Yanktonais used diverse economic strategies in Dakota Territory. Structured, tribal buffalo hunts in mid-summer and late fall stood at the heart of their sustenance program.[89] In smaller hunting bands, they hunted throughout the year for bison, elk, deer, pronghorn, and smaller game. Unlike their Teton kinsmen, they also fished in the Missouri, James, and other rivers. Yanktonais learned from Mandans how to build

fish-traps and use bows and arrows for fishing. They also gathered wild foods of the land, including tipsina, choke cherries, and plants used for medicines. Although less consistent than their Missouri River neighbors, Yanktonai women also cultivated gardens of corn, at least three varieties of beans, and two types of squash.[90]

Yanktonai bands maintained peaceful relations with Santees and non-Indians during the early nineteenth century. Sioux bands infrequently fought with each other, but generally counted on relatives for support when confronted by enemy tribes. Yanktonai bands extended aid to Santee kin against the Chippewas for several decades. According to Pike, in 1805, "bands of the Sussitongs [Sissetons] and Yanctongs [Yanktonais] had actually determined to make war on the Chipeways, and that they had formed a party of 150 or 160 men." Santee leaders chose their allies wisely, considering the intimidating reputation of Yanktonai military societies. After speaking with Cuthead Yanktonai leader Red Thunder, who he referred to as "chief of the Yanctongs, " Pike concluded that they were "the most savage band of Sioux." Despite this reputation, Yanktonais declared peaceful relations with Americans and Europeans. Upon visiting Pike on April 21, 1806, Red Thunder declared that "white blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanctongs [Yanktonai], even when rum was permitted."[91]

Yanktonais revealed significant cultural versatility during their journey from the eastern woodlands of Minnesota to the plains of Dakota Territory. They had learned to adapt themselves to a new landscape, political organization, and an evolving capitalist economic system. Elders taught their kin the skills necessary for

intercultural relations and the need to form alliances for the benefit of their community. They also asserted the essential nature of maintaining cultural connections with their relatives and traditions. When Yanktonais pronounced "*Mitakuye Oasin,*" meaning "All My Relations," in their inipis they noted an expanded sense of family. These sensibilities empowered them to more effectively prepare their children for the challenges they would encounter in the future. Cultural persistence and flexibility proved crucial for Sioux progeny as they faced American legal and educational systems in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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[1] Chapter Four will focus on Catholic and Benedictine migrations to the Great Plains.

[2] Anthropologists recognize the Sioux federation to include the Mdewakantonwan, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton as the original members of the Oceti Sakowin. This political organization should not be confused with the linguistic classification of Siouan language speakers which also includes Omaha, Winnebago, Mandan, and other tribal members, according to James H. Howard, "Introduction," The Dakota or Sioux Indians: A Study in Human Ecology (Vermillion, SD: Dakota Museum, 1966), 1-3.

[3] According to James Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1893-94 (Washington: GPO, 1897), 213-222, the Ihanktowana, or Yanktonai, may be divided into the "Upper" and "Lower" divisions, the later also known as Hunkapatina. Yaktonai proper means "Little End Village" and *Hunkpatina* means "Campers at the Horn or End of Camping Circle" The Upper Yanktonai can be further distinguished into 7 divisions: 1) *Tea-ona* , Shoot-at-trees, or *Wazi-kute*, Shooters-among-the-pines (from these the Ho-he or Asiniboine developed); 2) *Takina*, Improved-in-condition (as a lean animal or poor man); 3) *Cikcitcena*, Bad ones of different sorts; 4) *Bakiho*, Gash-themselves-with-knives; 5) *Kiyuksa*, Breakers (of the law or custom, which suggests their disregard of the marriage law by taking wives from within their division); 6) *Pa-baksa*, Cut-heads; and 7) Name forgotten. The seven Hunkpatina divisions include 1) *Pute-temini*, Sweat Lips (the band of *Maxa-bomdu* or Drifting Goose); 2) *Cu-iktceka*, Common Dogs; 3) *Taquha-yuta*, Eat-the-scrapings-of hides; 4) *Sa-ona*, Shot-at-some-white-object (originated by a *Hunkpapa* chief for the killing of an albino buffalo); 5) *Iha-ca*, Red Lips; 6) *Ite-xu*, Burned Face; and 7) *Pte-yute-cni*, Eat-no-buffalo-cows.

[4] These locations according to Stephen E. Feraca and James H. Howard, "The Identity and Demography of the Dakota or Sioux Tribe" Plains Anthropologist 8, no. 2 (May 1963): 82-83.

[5] For a discussion of the difference between oral tradition and oral history, see Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition As History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 12-13. Robert Harms, "Oral Traditions and Ethnicity," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 10 (1979): 61, explores the nature of non-literate societies' process of selecting limited information to pass down to each new generation.

[6] For specific examples of tribal creation traditions see Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., American Indian Myths and Legends (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), especially Parts 1-3.

[7]For a discussion of world and tribal origins beneath the earth see Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 248-53. John Upton Terrell, Sioux Trail (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1974), 171-197 suggests very distinct origins of the Oceti Sakowin arrival to northern Minnesota. Terrell suggests that the Dakota or Eastern Sioux migrated from Canada south to Mille Lacs, while their kinsman had migrated northwest from the Ohio River Valley.

[8] "How the Sioux Came to Be [Brule Sioux]" in American Indian Myths and Legends ed. Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 93-94,.

[9] Wilmer Mesteth (Oglala Lakota), story told at Oglala Lakota College, Fall 1993, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

[10] Jake Little Thunder, consultant, "Tiospaye: Unit 2, Curriculum Materials Resource Unit," (Pine Ridge, SD: Oglala Sioux Culture Center, Red Cloud Indian School, 1974), 2-5.

[11] According to Doane Robinson, A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians (1904; reprint, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1967), 18-19, American ethnologists argue over the Sioux origins on the North American continent. Some maintain that they came from the land east of the Appalachian mountains in the present states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, where the Siouan-speaking Catawba and Tutelo tribes resided at the time of first contact with Europeans. These ethnologists maintain that when the buffalo no longer migrated through the Cumberland Gap to Catawba County, the Sioux followed them back to the plains. Others assert that the Catawba were "pinched out" of their western Sioux homes to the east. They either migrated east between adversarial tribes of Algonquian and Iroquois or were taken as prisoners.

[12] Terrell, 171-77, suggests that the Mdewakanton served as the parent stem from which the other Santee divisions (Wahpeton, Wapekute, and Sisseton) evolved.

[13] Little Thunder, 2-5.

[14] Howard, "Introduction," 3.

[15] For a discussion of the complexity and dynamic nature of classifications within the Sioux confederation see the example of the Oglala, of the Teton division in James R. Walker, Lakota Society, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), especially 3-8. Within this work I use several terms in reference to societal organization. "Confederation" refers to the entire Sioux political organization, which includes the original seven tribes. To more generally distinguish the Sioux, I employ the term "division," especially to approximate the three dialectical divisions of Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. In reference to the smaller units within tribes, I use the term "band," such as the Yanktonai (proper), Hunkpatina, and Assiniboine bands of the Yanktonai tribe. Any further distinction within bands, will be referenced as "sub-bands."

[16] Howard, "Introduction," 4, also notes that "the term Nakota is falling into disuse, the members of the Middle division using the term Dakota instead."

[17] A discussion of the organization of the Oceti Sakowin may be found in Walker, 15.

[18] For a discussion of the Sioux Sun Dance see James R. Walker, Lakota Belief and Ritual, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

[19] Winter Counts of Lone-Dog (Yanktonai) and Battiste Good (Brule) and interpretations may be found in Garrick Mallery, Picture-Writing of the American Indians, vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), 273-328; a discussion of the Winter Count of John K. Bear (Yanktonai) may be found in James H. Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," Plains Anthropologist 21, no. 73, Memoir 11 (August 1976): 1-79.

[20] Evidence of a long-term established habitation in the region may be gleaned from archaeological evidence, cultural analysis, and non-Siouan sources. Archaeological evidence suggests that as early as the Woodland Era (200 B.C.) human populations, of uncertain ancestry, lived in the region of Mille Lacs. For a discussion of this archaeological evidence see Plains Anthropologist, 1994, Memoir 28. According to reports of French explorer and interpreter Jean Nicollet in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. XVIII (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 231, the separate entity "Assiniboine" existed by the middle seventeenth century. Considering the time

it would have taken for the Assiniboine to separate and distinguish themselves from their Yanktonai kinsmen, it is further reinforced that the Oceti Sakowin had retained a long term existence in the Mille Lacs region. The fact that by the time of seventeenth-century French interaction with Algonquians, the Algonquians had already developed an opinion and aversion to their Sioux neighbors, referring to them as "*Nadowe-is-iw*" also affirms a long-term Sioux residence in the Mille Lacs region.

[21] Arthur C. Aufderheide, Elden Johnson, and Odin Langsjoen, "Health, Demography, and Archaeology of Mille Lacs Native American Mortuary Populations," Plains Anthropologist 39, no. 149 (August 1994) : 251-349, discusses the environmental conditions of the Mille Lacs region.

[22] Reports from early European visitors to the Mille Lacs region vary in terms of the Dakota agricultural traditions, especially in terms of corn. Indian corn and tobacco are harvested by the "*Nadouessis*" according to Twaites, vol. XXIII, 225. According to Pierre Esprit Radisson, The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson, ed. Arthur T. Adams (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1961), 143, the "*Nadoueceronons*," or "nation of the Beef," sowed corn, but despite good soil the low temperatures of the region led to a yield of only small grains. Mildred Mott Wedel, "Le Sueur and the Dakota Sioux" in Aspects of Upper Great Lakes Anthropology, Papers in Honor of Lloyd A. Wilford, ed. Elden Johnson (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974), 166, maintains that eastern Sioux did not cultivate crops regularly during the late seventeenth century, and that corn recognized by other observers must have been confused with wild rice which grows plentifully near Mille Lacs.

[23] See reports of French explorer and interpreter in Thwaites, XVIII, 231. According to Terrell, 178-85, Hunkpatina and Assiniboine had previously been part of the Yanktonai, but it remains uncertain if the Yankton too split off, or were of separate origin. Terrell maintains that the Assiniboine separation began no later than the early seventeenth century, but perhaps even earlier. According to Frederick W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of Indians North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 2 (1897, reprint, New York: Pageant Books, 1959), 988-91, for several decades, observers used the term Yankton when referring to both Yankton and Yanktonai. Though the term Yankton appears earlier in the historical record, the Yankton were not necessarily the parent tribe of the Yanktonai. According to W.J. McGee, "The Siouan Indians" in Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1893-94 (Washington: GPO, 1897), 161, the Assinobine originally lived as members of the Wazikute band of Yanktonai.

[24] According to Terrell, 181, and George E. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 4, the Assiniboine separation likely evolved from the Assiniboine interest in improving their economy. Living between Cree and Yanktonai communities, Assiniboine band members were forced to choose allegiance between these warring peoples. They gained access to English trade goods by allying with the Cree. This alliance grew strong through the nineteenth century. The Cree-Assiniboine alliance maintained control over vast western lands and contended, often violently, with Sioux expansion westward. Hassrick, 63, suggests a dispute between Assiniboines and Yanktonais may be attributed to an argument between two women over the division of a buffalo, or the result of the seduction of a woman. William H. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1959), 405-406 suggests that the division took place between two influential families near Lake Traverse, with hostilities developing over a man's seduction of a woman and killing of her wounded husband.

[25] Wedel, 164-65, discusses Sioux enemies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[26] Jesuit Fathers Charles Raymbaut and Isaac Jogues reported learning of the defensive posture of Sioux villages to the west due to war with the Cree and Illinois from the Chippewa in 1642, according to Thwaites, XXIII, 225. Contemporary Chippewas often identify themselves by their more culturally-recognized designation of "Ojibwe" or "Anishnabaeg."

[27] First documented reference to the "*Naduesiu*" is found in Thwaites, XVIII, 231. Early references to the Sioux confederation include Nadoessi, Nadoessis, Nadoissi, Nadoissis, Nadouechi, Nadouechiouek, Nadouechiowec, Nadouecious, Nadouecis, Nadouesiouek, Nadouesieux, Nadouesis, Nadouessi, Nadouessis, Nadoussiens, Nadouesioux, Nadouessious, Naduesiu, Nadwechiwec, Nadwessoronons, and Natwesix. See also Hodge, I, 376.

[28] Radisson, 136 notes the number of participants; note 71 in "Superior Voyage," lviii-lxi, recognizes the general location of the feast of the dead to be between Mille Lacs and the St. Croix River, along with varied specific locations; Grace Lee Nute, Caesars of the Wilderness: Medard Chouart, Sieur Des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1943), 64 discusses the "feasting and ceremony of the rendezvous."
[29] Radisson, 134-35.
[30] Louise Phelps Kellogg, French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest, (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1925), 109-10; Nute, 58-64; Radisson, 134-43; Rev. Edward D. Neill, History of the Minnesota Valley, Including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Company, 1882), 2. The terms Santee originally included the Mdewakantons and Wahpekute, but came to also represent the Sissetons and Wahpetons.
[31] Thwaites, XLIV, 249; XLV, 237; XLVI, 69. This larger number of divisions within the Sioux, can be attributed to varied bands, sub-bands, and tiospayes that spun off the original seven tribes.
[32] Hennepin's lack of specific identification of Yanktonais and their name of "Little Yankton" suggests their subordinate role to the Yanktons, but Stephen H. Long learned that some regarded Yanktonais as the elder band. Hodge, II, 990-91 and Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 5, suggests that throughout history Yanktonais have often outnumbered Yanktons by two or three to one.
[33] Father Louis Hennepin established the first map (1683) to identify the specific locations of various Sioux divisions. See Louis Hennepin, A Description of Louisiana, trans. John Gilmary Shea (1880; reprint Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1966), 86-93, in Wesley R. Hurt, Sioux Indians II (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), 51. Additional descriptions of Hennepin's time with the Sioux are recorded by La Salle expedition chronicler, Tonti, as found in Newton Horace Winchell, ed., The Aborigines of Minnesota, A Report Based on the Collections of Jacob V. Brower, and on the Field Surveys and Notes of Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis (St. Paul: The Pioneer Compnay, 1911), 524-25.
[34] Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Journal of American History 65, no. 2 (September 1978): 321-22.
[35] Radisson, 143, lxi maintain more productive beaver hunting in the Lake Superior latitude than further north.
[36] Frank Raymond Secoy, Changing Military Patterns On The Great Plains (17th Century through Early 19th Century) (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953), 42.
[37] Hyde, 3-6.
[38] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohitory," 20 provides specific reference to the 1682 battle.
[39] Howard suggests that the heavy timber regions might have also been near Canton, South Dakota.
[40] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 21, suggests that Lower Yanktonai at Fort Thompson, John Saul and August With Horns maintain that their ancestors first saw a white man near Skunk Village, present-day Chicago, Illinois
[41] Secoy, 42, 66-67.
[42] Wedel, 157. Note that Le Sueur's complete original journal can not be found, leaving scholars to rely upon two manuscripts of copied excerpts from French cartographer Claude Delisle, and the less complete/detailed work of Jean-Baptiste Benard de La Harpe.
[43] This division took place at the sharp bend in the Minnesota River, near present-day Mankato, Minnesota, according to Hyde, 6.
[44] Hyde, pp. 6-7. The Teton-Saones include the Blackfeet, Two Kettles, Sans Arc, Minneconjou, and Hunkpapa divisions of the Tetons.
[45] White, "The Winning of the West," 321-22.
[46] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 21.
[47] For discussion of the Sioux, Omaha, and Cheyenne migration legends see Winchell, 506-507, Robinson, 22-23, Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Fleche, The Omaha Tribe (1911; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1978), 36, 72-74, in Hurt, 62-64.

[48] Omaha migration referenced in James Owen Dorsey, Omaha Sociology (1884; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1970); Howard, 60; Fletcher, 36, 72-73; in Hurt, 63-64
[49] Village locations found on Jean-Baptiste Louis' 1697 map, from Le Sueur's information, found in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ms. Map 61, Newberry Library, Chicago, according to Wedel, 163.
[50] Wedel, 163-64.
[51] Wedel, 166.
[52] Wedel, 166, 170.
[53] Howard, "The Santee or Eastern Dakota," The Dakota or Sioux Indians, 4-10.
[54] Radisson, 142-43.
[55] "Le Sueur" Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, vol. I, (1902), 268-69, in Hurt, 58; Wedel, 165-66.
[56] Secoy, see especially maps on 104-105.
[57] Wedel, 162.
[58] Le Sueur's listings of the various divisions of the "Scious of the East" and "Scious of the West" may be found in Hurt, 60.
[59] Hurt, 58-61; Hyde, 12.
[60] Hyde, 8
[61] Early mention of Yanktonai bands of Hunkpatina and Wazikute referenced in Clair Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," North Dakota History 47, no. 1 (1980): 8.
[62] French officer Louis de la Prote de Louvigny's 1697 map relied upon sources from La Salle's expedition, the Coronelli map, Tonti's material, and information from Indians and *coureurs de bois*. In addition to labeling the "Pais des Sioux" (country of the Sioux), the map places the Iowa on the east bank of the Missouri, the Skidi Pawnees along the Platte and below the Iowa, and the Oto below the Pawnees. See map in Sara Jones Tucker, "Indian Villages in the Illinois Confederacy," Scientific Papers, (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1942), II, Part I, Atlas, 152-57, plate xiv, 6, in Hurt, 57.
[63] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 25.
[64] Hyde, 8.
[65] White, "The Winning of the West," 322.
[66] Meriwether Lewis, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-06, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959), VI, 45; Pierre Antoine Tabeau, Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 121-23.
[67] Robinson, 55-56 states that in 1760 Chippewa forces finally defeated the Santee in a "forty-years war" to push them westward, and that Iowa and Otoes drove Yanktons and Yanktonais from western Iowa. Gary Clayton Anderson, "Early Dakota Migration and Intertribal War: A Revision," Western Historical Quarterly XI, no. 1 (January 1980): 17-36 argues that eastern Sioux tribes lived a migratory life that included these western regions for decades, suggesting that an Ojibway-push theory overstates the influence of neighboring tribes on Santee migration and neglects the complex factors involved in tribal migrations. Tabeau, 122-23 references the Santee efforts to maintain trade in the east along the St. Peter's River.
[68] White, "The Winning of the West," 322.
[69] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 25.
[70] Charles M. Gates, ed., "The Narrative of Peter Pond," Five Fur Traders of the Northwest: Being the Narrative of Peter Pond and the Diaries of John Macdonnell, Archibald N. McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1965), 51-54, although Pond refers to "Yanktons" the northern location of this tribes suggests his interactions with the "Yanktonais."
[71] According to Tabeau, 122, during Catlin's 1835 travels to the Upper Missouri, trader William Dickinson from Fort Pierre reported plans to attend the annual trade fair on the James River.
[72]Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 22; reference to Teton quests for wild horses also found in E.T. Denig, Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri; Sioux, Arikaras, Assiniboines, Crees, and Crows, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 17.

[73] Gates, 57-58.
[74] During the 1738 visit of Pierre La Verendrye, French-Canadian trader and explorer, to the Mandans of the Missouri River, he learned from his Assiniboine guides and the Mandans that either the Tetons or Yanktonai were raiding as far west as the Upper Missouri River, according to Hurt, 72.
[75] Howard, "The Wiciyela or Middle Dakota," The Dakota or Sioux Indians: A Study in Human Ecology, 1-4. Similarly in their western migrations, Yankton tribal members met the Ponca, a small Thegiha division of Siouan-language speakers. They maintained, however, more peaceful relations with the Ponca, who offered part of their land to the Yanktons in exchange for military assistance. Over time, the Yanktons also incorporated many cultural elements from their new neighbors.
[76] Secoy, 71-74; White, 323-24. Hyde, 9-19.
[77] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 7, 27, 31-33.
[78] Secoy, 74; Hyde, 17.
[79] Frank H. Stewart, "Mandan and Hidatsa Villages in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Plains Anthropologist 19 (November 1974): 287-92.
[80] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 38.
[81] Hyde, 19.
[82] Jean Baptiste Truteau, "Trudeau's [Truteau's] Description of the Upper Missouri," Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804, ed. A. P. Nasatir, vol. II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990), 382; see also White, 322.
[83] Trudeau, 378; Keating, 445-47; Abel, 84-86, 101-103; White, "The Winning of the West," 323.
[84] Abel, 105.
[85] Lewis and Clark recognized the Yanktonai during their historic western travels between 1804-06, according to Thwaites, VI: 95; and were the first to place the Hunkpatina in the historical record, according to Terrell, 181.
[86] Lewis, 99.
[87] Lewis, 95-99.
[88] Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Sources of the Mississippi and the Western Louisiana Territory (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966) appendix to Part 1, pp. 60-62; Jacobson, 9. Pike maintained that "Muckpeanutah" led the "Yanktonai of the north."
[89] For a discussion of the complex interaction between northern plains tribes and bison (buffalo), see Jeffrey R. Hanson, "Bison Ecology in the Northern Plains and a Reconstruction of Bison Patterns for the North Dakota Region," Plains Anthropologist 29, no. 104 (May 1984): 93-113.
[90] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 6.
[91] Pike, 50, 101; Jacobson, 10. Due to traditional connections between the Yanktonai and Sisseton, it is likely that Pike refers to Yanktonai, often called "Yankton of the North" as opposed to the more southern "Yanktons."

CHAPTER 3

AMERICAN EXPANSION INTO SIOUX COUNTRY: TRIBAL PERSISTENCE AND RESISTANCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY DAKOTA TERRITORY

Yanktonais and Americans in Dakota Territory moved from cooperation to collision during the nineteenth century. Yanktonais held the upper hand during the first decades due to their demographic advantage, mobility, and understanding of the natural environment. Tribal members faced internal and external challenges as the century unfolded. Yanktonai leaders helped their people negotiate a growing American presence in the region, Anglo-American conflicts through the War of 1812, declining buffalo populations, invasion of diseases along the Missouri River, and tribal division. By mid-century, Americans expanded their interests from passage along the Missouri River to the land on either side of the waterway. Competition for natural resources and sovereignty over the land contributed to evolving conflicts in Yanktonai-American relations. Altered environmental, political, and cultural conditions prompted different reactions from tribal members to the seemingly "new world" that had evolved on the Great Plains. A segment of Lower Yanktonais took refuge from nineteenth-century turmoil settling in the recently-abandoned Crow Creek Agency during the 1860s. Over time, this region also attracted Two Kettles, Yankton, and the Yanktonai band led by Drifting Goose (*Magabobdu*).[1]

Yanktonai, like most tribes, responded to American encroachment along a spectrum that ran from hostility to collaboration. Earlier cultural historians simplified societal responses by categorizing tribal divisions as "traditionals" who maintained tribal traditions and "accommodationists" that more willing adopted American norms. Most Yanktonai bands, tiospayes, and individuals lived between these extreme cultural positions. They had learned to adapt to new social and ecological conditions since departing from their historic Mille Lacs homeland. Consequently, tribal members negotiated a "middle ground" by selectively embracing new opportunities and retaining traditions as situations arose. Some bands and tiospayes followed more distinctly "hostile" or "friendly" approaches to American officials. None took either approach to harm their people. Leaders signed or refused to sign land treaties, motivated to claim the best deal for their people. Different local interactions and histories led to their diverse responses.[2]

Nineteenth-century Yanktonais maintained contact with their Santee kin to the east, but increasingly followed patterns of their Lakota relations. Pike noted that Santee tribes generally hunted deer and smaller animals, while Yanktons, Yanktonais, and Tetons focused primarily on buffalo. He learned that Sissetons, Wahpetons, and some Yanktons traded at Michilimackinac [contemporary Michigan]. These tribal traders supplied, according to the American explorer, "the Yanctongs of the north [Yanktonai], and Titongs, with the small quantities of iron works which they require." He noted that by this time, "Fire arms are not in much estimation with them."[3] This suggests a growing Yanktonai involvement in Missouri River markets that attracted

their Teton relations. By 1804, Teton bands traded buffalo robes and hides directly for European trade goods along this commercial waterway.[4] Manuel Lisa's Missouri River trading posts sponsored by the Missouri Fur Company since 1812 increasingly attracted western Sioux. Burgeoning trading opportunities along the river led Yanktonai leaders to reorient trade from the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River.[5] Yanktonais joined Tetons to trade at these posts on the eastern bank of the river, near present-day Chamberlain, South Dakota.[6] By 1813, John K. Bear's Winter Count recognized Yanktonai camps on the Missouri River.[7]

Robert Dickinson led early nineteenth-century British efforts to maintain Sioux trade and support along the Upper Mississippi River. He and other British traders provided eastern Sioux leaders with generous gifts and support against encroaching American settlements. They critiqued American efforts to limit trade to specifically-designated posts that came to be known as the "factory system" (1795-1822).[8] British agents contrasted their support for tribal independence with to American policies that proved more invasive of sovereignty and restrictive of trade opportunities. On a more personal level, Dickinson established kinship ties with the Yanktonais by marrying the sister of Red Thunder, the prominent Cuthead Yanktonai leader.[9]

Sioux tribes and bands supported different sides in the 1812 Anglo-American conflict. Dickinson garnered some Yanktonai support despite other tribal members growing connections to Americans on the Missouri River. The British trader called upon his mixed-blood Santee interpreter, Joseph Renville, to rally Santee bands

around the British flag. John Bear's Winter Count recognized an 1812 Yanktonai council with Santees that led certain Yanktonai bands to join some eastern relations in support of the British. At the same time, Manuel Lisa and Missouri River traders strengthened the American alliance with western Sioux.[10]

Cut Head Yanktonais stood notably among American Indians supporting the British during the War of 1812. Red Thunder and his eighteen-year-old son Waneta joined British forces at the 1813 battles of Ft. Meigs and Fort Stephenson.[11] Waneta earned his tribal name during the later battle as "he who charges his enemies" or "charger." Ultimately, he killed seven men and suffered nine wounds during combat. Miraculously, he survived the Battle of Sandusky, where a musket ball entered his body through his abdomen and exited near his spine. These sacrifices earned him British recognition, including a captain's commission, and a trip to England to meet the king.[12]

Waneta rose as a Yanktonai leader after the war due to his exhibited bravery, and recognized supernatural protection in recovering from a mortal wound.[13] He remained sympathetic to the British until 1820, when American forces thwarted Yanktonai efforts to destroy Fort Snelling. Waneta focused on establishing positive relations with American officials following that setback.[14] He led his band in battle against Chippewas, Crees, and Assiniboines after the war, claiming particular distinction with the 1822 destruction of a Chippewa settlement near Pembina. The reputation of Waneta and his people included American officials and expanded through extensive tribal travel. Following military service with the British in the Great

Lakes region, he and his people traveled as far south as St. Louis, west to the upper Missouri River, and north toward the Red River. Waneta more regularly led Yanktonai bands in their seasonal hunting on the eastern prairie. Yanktonais cultivated trade relations at posts established at Lake Traverse, Big Stone Lake, and the Shienne River, while maintaining an independent lifestyle.[15]

Yanktonai population, and their leader's reputation among Americans, grew during the 1820s. In July of 1823, Yanktonais met Stephen Long's federal expedition near the Columbia Fur Company's post at the mouth of Lake Traverse. Expedition historian William H. Keating recorded six Yanktonai bands living in 460 lodges, with 500 warriors, and a total population of 5200. The Long expedition recognized "Wanotan" as not only the "most distinguished chief of the Yanktoanon tribe," but also "one of the greatest men of the Dacota nation." American emissaries based this estimation on culture-laden characteristics they admired in their own leaders. At the time, the twenty-eight year old stood upwards of six feet tall and exhibited intelligence, dignified demeanor, handsome appearance, and sound judgment.[16]

Early nineteenth-century Yanktonai-American relations reveals a strong tribal influence over diplomacy. Yanktonai traditions dominated the ceremonial feast Waneta held for members of the Long expedition. Tribal members employed materials acquired from traders in their dress and technology, but employed them in a native manner. Increasing familiarity with European goods did not necessitate tribal assimilation. Waneta personally wore a variety of cultural fashions, including moccasins, leggings, a breechcloth, muslin shirt, a buttoned, blue frock coat secured

with a belt, and a cloth hat. Waneta invited expedition leaders to sit and smoke with him soon after their arrival. The meal itself offered more than basic sustenance, featuring tribal delicacies of *sunka* (dog) and *sunka-wakan* (buffalo), both animals held in highest esteem by tribal members. "Could we have divested ourselves entirely of the prejudices of education," Keating asserted, "we should doubtless have unhesitatingly acknowledged this to be one of the best dishes that we had ever tasted." Following the feast, elaborately dressed Yanktonai danced for their visitors as others sang to a percussion beat. The visitors responded to their hosts by offering them gifts.[17]

Yanktonai leaders incorporated an American alliance into their established cultural patterns, but not at the expense of tradition or sovereignty. Waneta's actions should not suggest Yanktonai passivity toward superior American forces. Yanktonais dictated most terms in early diplomatic relations and showed limited interest in embracing American culture. Tribal leaders cooperated with Americans and promoted peaceful relations for their own ends. Yanktonais maintained religious rituals, political sovereignty, and economic independence through years of intercultural negotiations. Religiously, tribal members maintained the Mystery Dance, Buffalo Chant, Ghost Keeper rite, Grass Dance, and Bear Cult ceremony during the nineteenth century. Most important of all, they practiced the annual Sun Dance, with Waneta personally enduring its sacrifices in 1822.[18] Politically, Waneta revealed Yanktonai autonomy in declining an 1823 request by the Long Expedition to protect them as they traveled amongst other Sioux tribes toward the Red River. Tribal members

provided them with buffalo meat during this expedition, but declined to interrupt their seasonal practice of securing enough meat to last them the winter.[19] Economically, Waneta shrewdly bargained with American traders. According to fur trader E.T. Denig, the Yanktonai leader could extract "high pay from the trader who wintered with his band" for the opportunity to deal with his people.[20]

Yanktonais were significant within the Oceti Sakowin and in the eyes of American officials during the early nineteenth century. Their participation in diplomacy on the eastern and western fronts of Sioux country reveals their respected status and broad influence. During the 1820s, federal officials sought alliances with Sioux tribes in response to Arikara and Mandan conflicts with Americans along the Missouri River. Emissaries from Washington, D.C. sought to delineate tribal regions to reduce intertribal conflicts.[21] On June 22, 1825, Yanktonai bands met with Yanktons and Tetons at Fort Lookout (near Pierre, South Dakota) along the Missouri River to sign a treaty "perpetuating the friendship" and trade relations "between the United States and their citizens and the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands of the Sioux tribes of Indians." On July 5, 1825, Waneta joined Oglala and other "Sioune" leaders to sign a similar treaty at the confluence of the Missouri and Teton River. Not two months later, on August 17, 1825, he joined eastern Sioux, Chippewa, Sacs, Fox, Menominee, Ioway, Ottawa, and Potawatomi leaders in signing a treaty at Prairie du Chien, on the current border of Iowa and Wisconsin. The treaty attempted to "promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them" to avoid future conflicts. It designated tribal boundaries and the federally-recognized

eastern border of Sioux territory. The distance between these locations reveals Yanktonai mobility, extent of land claims, and political influence.[22]

Yanktonai travel for resources and trade relations also took them over a wide range of Dakota Territory. They participated in spring trade fairs midway along the James River, traded at Fort Pierre in the fall, and maintained semi-annual hunts during the summer and early winter on the northern prairie. In 1825, General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon described Yanktonais as a hunters in the lands between the Missouri and St. Peter's River, whose four-thousand tribal members focused efforts near "the headwaters of the river Jacques."[23] German prince and western explorer, Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, noted in 1833 the "Yanktonans" as constituting about one-fifth of the Sioux confederation and generally living "on the banks of the Chayenne, which falls into the Red River, near the Devil's Lake, and the sources of the St. Peter's River." Maximilian learned that Yanktonais annually left this region to spend the winter along the Missouri River.[24]

Yanktonai migrations placed them in proximity to other nations. Competition for resources often led to conflicts. Yanktonais faced hostile neighbors as they traveled north during the middle decades of the century. To the northeast, Yanktonais and Metis fought over buffalo hunting regions near the Red River of the North.[25] To their northwest, Yanktonais confronted the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas. Winter counts and reports of observers actually reveal more complex relations, including intermittent alliances and warfare with Missouri River tribes.[26]

Yanktonai diplomacy with Mandans of the Upper Missouri River provides specific examples of the complicated relations between these tribes in the 1830s. During the summer of 1833, *Tatanka-Kta* (Dead Buffalo) and "principal chief *Jawitshcahka*" led "300 tents" of Yanktonai to the Missouri River region. They intended to make peace with the Mandans, with whom they had recently fought in response to the murder of Sioux relatives. Similarly in January of 1834, *Psihdje-Sahpa* and two other Yanktonai visited Fort Clark to gain Mandan support for an expedition against another tribe.[27] Relations changed drastically within a few years. In August of 1836, Waneta reported that Yanktonai forces had annihilated a Mandan war party near the southern point of the Sheyenne River (near Lisbon, North Dakota) as a result of the Mandans "prowling about his country to drink the blood of his young Men."[28]

Disease often proved the greatest enemy of the Yanktonais. More nomadic patterns produced fewer Yanktonai fatalities than sedentary tribes of the Missouri River, but even the more nomadic bands registered significant population losses. Bear's Winter Count refers to the impact of disease on Yanktonais throughout the nineteenth century. He made particular reference to casualties in 1801, 1815, 1829, and 1845.[29] Federal officials tried to help tribes combat diseases, but failed to reach the Upper Missouri River tribes and could not gain the cooperation of many Sioux. Medical staff did vaccinate over a thousand Yanktonai in 1832.[30] Still, the epidemic of 1837 proved traumatic for Yanktonais. Tribal historians recorded the worst epidemics in their 1838 and 1839 winter counts, emphasizing the impact as "*tanka*"

(big) in both cases.[31] In 1839, Sioux agent on the Mississippi River, Lawrence Taliaferro, reported that in previous years Yanktonai lost upwards of sixty lodges from smallpox.[32]

Yanktonai leader Waneta faced domestic challenges at the same time that he confronted external threats. Denig maintained that Cuthead leader *Tete Coupees* also held influence over the *Gens des Perches* (Hunkpatinas) and *Gens des Pins* (Wazi-kutes). Certainly, it proved difficult to maintain control over a variety of factions. Waneta actually seemed to court potential internal conflict through authoritative leadership. In 1836, for example, he and the majority of his band wintered near the mouth of the Apple River. Other tribal members established camp about fifty miles below them, during which time they stole horses and other property from trader Dickinson. Upon their fall return to Fort Pierre, Waneta ignored tribal opposition and compensated the trader for the losses incurred the previous spring. His actions created enmity among his own people. In 1840, exposure during a harsh snowstorm blinded Waneta, prompting several of his people to turn to others for leadership. No longer fearing Waneta, a disgruntled member of his own band shot Waneta through the heart as they camped along the Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Missouri River (near Linton, North Dakota).[33]

Yanktonai bands followed distinct rulers after Waneta's death. In 1840 Steven Return Riggs reported meeting members of various Sioux tribes near Fort Pierre. He observed four distinct Yanktonai bands who travel "as far north as Devil's Lake and frequently pass beyond the Missouri." Riggs recognized the "*Hunkpatidan*" as the

main band, comprised of an estimated two-hundred lodges. They lived east of the Missouri River, but, retained a hunting tradition west of the river. In addition, Riggs noted three other bands totaling two-hundred lodges comprised of the *Pabakse* (or Cut Heads); *Wazikute* (shooters in the pine) and *Kiyuksa*.[34]

American interests in the eastern Sioux territory grew during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In 1825, General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon recognized Yanktonai friendliness to Americans, but not necessarily to non-Sioux. Enmity grew between Yanktonai bands and American officials during the next few decades.[35] The 1837 Santee cession of land east of the Mississippi River and islands in that river paved the way for a rising tide of American immigration into Minnesota.[36] This action proved first in a line of American land acquisition at Sioux expense. Land transfers mainly influenced Santees, but Yanktons, Yanktonais, and Tetons also grew angry as they claimed rights to this territory.[37]

Declining buffalo populations also threatened Yanktonai prosperity during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The east-river prairie provided abundant resources for Yanktonai and other Sioux tribes through the early 1830s. Yanktonai and other tribal members killed 1,500 buffalo in a single surround opposite Fort Pierre on the east side of the Missouri River in 1830. According to Denig, "this was the greatest number killed at one time ever known by the traders." This event, however, proved to be the climax of buffalo hunting in that region. During the 1840s, observers noted fewer buffalo in that region of east-river South Dakota. "From 1833-44 they

were yet found in considerable numbers on the heads of the Little Cheyenne and east in the direction of the Coteau de Prairie," Denig maintained, "but since 1844 few seen lower down, thus Indians follow to the west and north up to the head of the Pembinar River." Similarly, a mixed-blood Sioux named Campbell told missionary Stephen R. Riggs in 1840 of the diminishing buffalo populations near Fort Pierre.[38]

Reduced buffalo herds and altered migration patterns prompted food shortages within the Oceti Sakowin. Yanktonai elders reminded their relations of the power of traditional rituals in times of despair. As a result, tribal members resurrected certain cultural practices and reoriented their diplomatic relations on the northern plains. Sioux, Mandan, and Hidatsa turned to ceremony during the early 1840s to reclaim their relationship with animals so pivotal to tribal survival. Bear's account of 1842 identified Drum-owner performance of the Buffalo-calling ceremony that year. A half dozen years later, Yanktonai and Teton tribes secured peaceful trade relations with their previous enemies, the Arikaras, in order to trade skins and other goods for corn. Bear also recorded severe food shortages in 1852 and 1859.[39] Weakened tribal members grew increasingly susceptible to disease to the point that small pox struck Yanktonai communities again during the winter of 1856 and 1857.[40]

Yanktonais struggled on diplomatic fronts as they grappled with ecological changes. Tribal relations with federal officials grew increasingly tense following the 1851 federal treaties with Sissetons and Wahpetons at Traverse des Sioux and the Mdewakantons and Wahpekute at Mendota. These treaties stipulated "peace and friendship" that existed between the United States and Dakota tribes "shall be

perpetual." They also officially relinquished 100,000 acres of land in southern Minnesota, northern Iowa, and the eastern Dakotas to American jurisdiction. Federal officials did not recognize Yanktons and Yanktonais as holding sovereignty in this region. Consequently, these tribal members received no designated portion of over three million dollars in compensation provided to their Santee kin.[41]

Yanktonais displayed negative dispositions toward federal officials during the early 1850s. They failed to join their Lakota kin in recognizing tribal boundaries and acknowledging American rights in Sioux country as determined in the Fort Laramie Treaty (1851). *Wahh Pai Sha* (Red Leaf) showed particular opposition to federal policy. In 1854, he joined other tribal leaders at a council with Indian Agent Vaughn one hundred miles upriver from Fort Pierre. Red Leaf destroyed the American gifts given to him in front of the agent to demonstrate his disdain for federal policy. Denig reported that animosities spread to produce bands generally "infected with the spirit of hostility and dissatisfaction," and "dangerous to meet."[42]

Yanktonais remained strong and quite mobile through the 1850s despite the challenges they faced during previous decades. General William S. Harney met with Missouri River tribes at Fort Pierre to improve relations during the winter of 1855-56. Among other tribal members he met, Harney recognized four Yanktonai bands, led by Two Bears, Don't Eat Buffalo (Nobsedie), Big Head, and Medicine Bear (Cut Himself).[43] Lieutenant G.K. Warren, topographical engineer with the Harney Expedition, reported in 1858 that about eight hundred lodges of Yanktonais lived

"between the James River and the Missouri, as high north as Devil's Lake. Some tribal members lived with Little Soldier in dirt lodges during the summer."[44]

Yanktonai strength prompted them to be confrontational and aloof toward federal officials during the late 1850s. Tribal members attended 1858 annuity payment sessions to claim, according to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix, "a large share of the money distributed to those bands [Sissetons and Wahpetons]." Mix feared that their "vengeful disposition" could lead to "the loss of both life and property on that frontier." Northern Superintendent W.J. Cullen responded by sending special agent Kintzeng Pritchette with gifts worth $21,000 to convince Yanktonai leaders to meet with federal officials to discuss tribal grievances. Yanktonais refused to accept the gifts or set a time to meet with federal agents for several years. Ominously, Commissioner of Indian Affairs A.B. Greenwood asserted in 1859 the potential repercussions for this uncompromising Yanktonai position. "If they persist in their lawlessness and reprehensible course," Greenwood warned, "it will become necessary to chastise them into submission."[45]

Yanktonais explained themselves a few years later to prevent the escalation of intercultural tensions into conflict. In August of 1860, Bone Necklace (Lower Yanktonai) and He-Who-Pursues-the-Grizzly-Bear led seventeen Yanktonais to explain their actions to federal officials. One reason related to their localized political traditions that did not sanction individual bands or leaders to speak for others. They also told of their need to attend to an altered subsistence system that required extensive travel. Absence of buffalo west of the James River during the Spring of

1857 prompted Yanktonai bands to hunt west of Devil's Lake. Insufficient band representation forced remaining Yanktonais to decline a meeting with American representatives. In addition, rumors regarding American intentions spread to Yanktonai camps. Some reports suggested that federal officials sought to gather tribal members to destroy them. Others maintained that American agents wanted to purchase remaining land east of the Missouri River. Consequently, many western Sioux leaders threatened "eternal enmity to the Yanktonais if they would meet the officers of the government." The 1860 visit, Sioux Agent Joseph R. Brown asserted, expressed a peaceful disposition of certain Yanktonai leaders toward American leaders.[46]

Peaceful envoys did not, however, preclude persistent demands for justice, and in particular, compensation for 1851 and 1858 Santee land cessions. Northern Superintendent of Indian Affairs asserted in October of 1861 that Yanktonais needed to "adhere with great pertinacity to their claim that they owned a share in the lands sold in the government by the treaty of 1851." Yanktonai-American differences stemmed at least partially from different understandings of land ownership, oral communication, and written agreement. In addition, Yanktonai intermarriage with Sissetons and Wahpetons led to confusion over rights to eastern Sioux lands. Superintendent Clark W. Thompson vainly called for a treaty to ease tensions with Yanktonai bands and their Santee relations.[47]

Peaceful relations with Americans could also prove dangerous for tribal members. Bands accepting federal annuities proved targets of anti-treaty groups.

Tribal leaders opposed to cooperating with federal emissaries recognized bands carrying American gifts as wearing badges of conciliation. This attitude led Sans Arc tribal members to murder Bear's Rib on August 6, 1862. Since an 1856 agreement with General Harney, the Hunkpapa leader had led an intertribal division of one hundred lodges of Minneconjou, Sans-Arcs, and Two-Kettles that annually accepted governmental annuities. Bear's Rib passing also left federal agents without an important ally. More conciliatory leaders pointed blame at federal officials who failed to comply with treaty obligations. Lower Yanktonai leader Two Bears complained to Upper Missouri River agent Samuel N. Latta of the hollow federal promises to protect "friendly" from "hostile" bands. Consequently, many allied with "hostiles" to the point that by 1862 Latta considered only about one-third of the seven Sioux bands near his agency as "friendly."[48]

Tribal animosities grew with American encroachment on Sioux lands. "The Indians have given permission to travel by water [through their country], but not by land; and boats carrying passengers we will not allow," Hunkpapa leaders asserted. "If you pay not attention to what we now say to you," the American adversaries maintained, "you may rely on seeing the tracks of our horses on the war-path." Upper Yanktonais operated among the "hostile" Teton bands that robbed Fort Pierre agent Charles Primeau and made travel along the Missouri River unsafe for most non-Sioux. Big Head and Medicine Bear's Yanktonai bands stood among those most resistant to American encroachment. Latta specifically recognized Big Head as "one of the most hostile chiefs in the Sioux nation."[49]

Yanktonais displayed conciliatory and aggressive stances on eastern and western fronts. No leaders wanted to lose land or injure their people's lifestyle, but they chose different paths to serve what they perceived as their people's best interest. Over time, some band leaders considered it best to council with American emissaries; others saw this as the first sign of defeat. Eastern bands generally identified more with the former category, revealed by their acceptance of federal appropriations. Federal records of 1862 confirm that Yanktonais affiliated with the Minnesota Sioux agency garnered annual appropriations of $150,050, while all Teton and Yanktonai bands related to the Upper Missouri Agency collected just over $17,064. Still, eastern and western Sioux showed varied conciliation and resistance to American policy.[50]

Animosities toward American policy spread amongst the Santees during the early 1860s. Many adopted components of American traditions and developed friendly relations with the non-Indian population in Minnesota. Still, an undercurrent of distrust grew with the exchange of land title, a growing non-Indian population, and failure of federal officials to comply with treaty provisions. Sioux agent Galbraith reported during the early summer of 1862 that Sissetons, Wahpetons, and Yanktonais made threatening demands for annuities. Only the arrival of troops from neighboring Fort Ridgely induced them to return peacefully to their homes. Ironically, the more peacefully-inclined Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes initiated hostilities that erupted into the Minnesota Sioux (Little Crow's) War in August and September of 1862.[51]

Reactions to the violence varied across the Sioux confederation. Some supported the Santee uprising; others stood neutral or outraged by the depredations.

Nineteen-year-old Martin Charger, organized a small force of young Two Kettles, derisively known as "Fool Soldiers," to rescue white captives from White Lodge's band of Santees. Along the way, they received assistance by Bone Necklace's Lower Yanktonais living near Swan Lake Creek. They supplied the young emissaries with food, shelter, and other provisions during their fall rescue mission.[52]

Drifting Goose's Lower Yanktonais also remained loyal to American forces, while living independent of federal support. Several of his men served as scouts for General H.H. Sibley's forces. After suppressing hostilities in Minnesota, federal forces sought Santee Inkpaduta, White Lodge, and other Santee renegades on the prairie between the Minnesota and Missouri Rivers.[53]

Federal forces often failed to distinguish between "friendly" and "hostile" bands in their haste for retribution. They responded to the uprising by removing all Santees and neighboring, innocent Winnebagos from Minnesota. In the Spring of 1863, American leaders relocated thousands to recently-established reservations along the Missouri River. The region near the mouth of Crow Creek (in central South Dakota) proved inhospitable for members of both tribes due to poor agricultural conditions, limited hunting opportunities, and its proximity to "hostile" Tetons and Yanktonais. Many Winnebagos quickly escaped down river to live near their Omaha relations. Santee found themselves in a precarious position, between allying with American officials for assistance and joining their western Sioux relations.[54]

Federal agents, U.S. military leaders, and Yanktonai bands followed different agendas during the summer of 1863. Federal agents busied themselves unsuccessfully

attempting to accommodate the Minnesota tribes along the Missouri River. American military divisions led by General Alfred Sully and Colonel Henry Hastings Silbey chased tribal bands that they considered "hostile" across the prairie. Yanktonai bands took part in their semi-annual buffalo hunt. By early September several hundred lodges, comprised of about 3500 people, camped on a lake within the Missouri Coteau, in southeastern North Dakota, near the future city of Ellendale, North Dakota. Following the hunt, they dried nearly 400,000 pounds of meat from more than a thousand buffalo for trade and winter food.[55]

Major Albert E. House led a scouting party for Sully's forces in search of "hostile" Santee from Minnesota on September 3. At Whitetone Hill, they found a Sioux encampment that included several bands of Yanktonai. Tribal leaders carrying truce flags met House, who demanded the surrender of the whole camp. Sioux leaders refused, hoping to negotiate better terms. Tribal members broke camp as the sun set and Sully's main forces arrived. Reports vary regarding the specifics and strategies of the battle. Cavalry troops followed close behind escaping tribal members and battle erupted. In the end, several hundred Yanktonai and about twenty soldiers died. [56]

Following the battle, Sully ordered all the property of the camp destroyed, including hundreds of thousands of pounds of dried buffalo meat, representing about one-thousand slaughtered buffalo. Yanktonai leaders Big Head and Two Bears stood among the survivors. Military leaders took one-hundred and fifty-six Indians as prisoners to join the Minnesota Santee at the Crow Creek Indian Reservation. Other Yanktonai survivors crossed the Missouri River with few provisions to live with their

Teton and Yanktonai kinsmen. Having lost their winter food supplies, many re-crossed the river during the winter to collect meager rations available at Pierre and the Crow Creek agency.[57]

Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Dakota Territory Newton Edmunds criticized this and other War Department operations of the summer of 1863. He referred to military campaigns of the Sully and Colonel Henry Hastings Sibley as "failures." "Little if anything was accomplished toward the subjugation of the Indians," Edmunds asserted, not to mention the fact that the mission was "immensely expensive."[58]

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J. led a peace mission in the Upper Missouri River region following these hostilities. At Fort Sully on May 31, 1864, north of Crow Creek agency, he met camps of Yanktonais and Two Kettles. De Smet claimed that they "observe a kind of neutrality," supported by their objective of collecting federal annuities. The Jesuit assured tribal leaders of peaceful American intentions, but told them to warn others that a "terrible retribution, nothing short of utter extermination, must overtake the hostile bands, if they persist in their present reckless course of hostility to the whites." De Smet requested that they encourage other tribal leaders to hold council with him at Fort Berthold.[59]

De Smet learned that Yanktonais lived amongst "hostile" and "friendly" bands. Yanktonai leaders The-Man-Who-Runs-The-Bear and The-Death-of-the-Bull told him of the councils of "hostile" tribes that included Yanktonais, Santees, Hunkpapas, Blackfeet Sioux, Minneconjous, and Sans Arcs. Santees stood among the

leaders of these meetings held to cultivate allies, including efforts to bring Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas into the Anti-American Sioux coalition. Several Yanktonai leaders separated themselves from this organization. The-Man-Who-Runs-The-Bear and The-Two-Bears left a council meeting, determined not to join bands bent on war with the Americans. The Catholic missionary met a band of thirty-five Sioux led by Medicine-Bear and Calumet-Man at Fort Berthold later that same summer. They informed the Jesuit that they served as emissaries of over four hundred and seventy lodges, mostly Yanktonai, who hoped to make restitution with Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas. Later that summer, Fort Berhold's F.F. Girard informed De Smet of the Yanktonai intention to induce the Fort Berthold tribes to join their anti-American coalition.[60]

Two Yanktonai divisions agreed to meet with federal agents in 1865. Governor Edmunds led the negotiation of nine peace treaties with Tetons and Yanktonai backed by federal appropriations of $30,000. Yanktonais and Upper Yanktonais agreed to "acknowledge themselves to be subject to the exclusive jurisdiction and authority of the United States" in October of 1865. They also resolved to "cease all hostilities against persons and property of its citizens" and "prevent other bands of Dakota Indians, or other adjacent tribes, from making hostile demonstrations against the Government of people of the United States." In addition, they agreed to submit controversies to arbitration by federal agents, and accept financial compensation for withdrawing from overland routes. In return, federal officials offered protection from "hostile" Indians or whites, financial compensation,

implements for agricultural pursuits, and the assistance of tradesmen and teachers. Among a list of chiefs and soldiers, Two Bears signed for the "Yanktonais," and Big Head, Little Soldier, and "The Curley-headed Goose" (Drifting Goose) signed for the "Upper Yanktonais."[61]

The harsh winter of 1865-66 drew many Sioux bands to the Crow Creek agency. A combination of deep snow, below-zero temperatures, and strong winds pushed many bands to seek protection and provisions at federal agencies. By the middle of December two hundred and forty-nine lodges settled in the vicinity of the agency, including eight Yanktonais, thirty-one Brules, eighteen Two Kettles, and one hundred and ninety-two Yanktons. Many demanded provisions due to treaty commitments established the previous fall at Fort Sully. Agent J. M. Stone reluctantly doled out food set aside for Santee residents to the refugees. These rations, along with antelope and rabbits that could be hunted, provided sustenance to the large numbers until most departed by the middle of February.[62]

Lieutenant Colonel Pattee experienced a similar congregation of tribes near his Fort Sully post that winter. Pattee noted approximately thirty-five lodges of Lower Yanktonai, as well as sixty Brule, thirty-three Two Kettle, eighteen Minneconjous, twenty-one Blackfeet, twenty Sans Arc, twelve Hunkpapa, twelve Oglala, and ten Santee. Pattee also learned that Omahoeta's Lower Yanktonai camped at the "Dirt Lodges" along the James River during that winter. Based upon an estimated ten persons per lodge in nearly one hundred and fifty lodges, federal agents could account for about fifteen hundred Yanktonai in early 1866. Superintendents reported in 1866

an estimated 2100 Lower Yanktonais and 2400 Upper Yanktonais. About one-third of all Yanktonais lived near federal agencies that winter.[63]

Federal officials noted success working with tribal communities during the Spring of 1866. Refugee bands maintained peaceful relations, and good faith toward treaty obligations, despite severe weather conditions that placed limitations on available resources. Agents remained particularly pleased in registering few cases of theft during winter food shortages. After Winter yielded to Spring, groups of Two Kettles and Lower Yanktonais remained near Crow Creek agency to plant crops.[64]

De Smet noted mixed perceptions of Yanktonai and other Sioux tribes during his Spring of 1866 journey up the Missouri River on the steamship Ontario. Non-Indians feared traveling through Sioux country. De Smet saw the crew boardup its pilot-house, mount a cannon on the bow, and post sentinels in preparation for attack. At Fort Sully, however, he mentioned no intercultural tensions. De Smet mingled with Yanktonais and other Sioux, sympathizing with their struggles during the harsh winter. His Jesuit training did not prepare him to support tribal hostilities that he considered "most cruel and frightful" toward whites. Still, he allied with them against atrocities committed by the American citizens. "One is compelled to admit, " De Smet argued, "that they [Sioux] are less guilty than the whites."[65]

The Summer of 1866 removal of Santees to their Missouri River reservation in northeastern Nebraska, left the Crow Creek Reservation without permanent residents. Ironically, federal officials made preparations to locate other tribes on lands that Santees and Winnebagos had struggled to survive on for several years. Agents

reasoned that Santee failures stemmed from atypically harsh climatic conditions. Under normal weather conditions, they concluded, other tribes could thrive in this region. At Crow Creek, agents immediately could provide tribal members at minimal cost with buildings, cultivated ground, and timber. By August of 1866, Newton Edmunds and others recommended that Lower Yanktonais, Two Kettles, and Lower Brules settle at Crow Creek.[66]

Sioux leaders showed interest in the region during the Spring 1867, but questioned American promises. On May 27, 1867, about one hundred and twenty lodges of Brules, Yanktonais, and Two Kettles gathered at Fort Thompson, constituting a general population of about one thousand. De Smet held council with thirty-six tribal leaders, including Iron Nation (Lower Brule), Iron Eyes (Lower Yanktonai), Two Lances, White Hawk, Hunting Bear, Knuckle-bone Collar, and White Bear. Their speeches suggested tribal ambivalence toward American policy. They wished to maintain peaceful relations with Americans, but retained blood and kin relations with the "hostile" bands. Tribal leaders also raised a critical question to De Smet: "What is the reason that so many fine words and pompous promises always come to nothing, nothing, nothing?" A few days later, Sioux leaders near an abandoned Fort Sully echoed this desire for peace as well as frustration with American failures to meet treaty commitments. They too noted interest in farming on reservations, but maintained the regional necessity to maintain nomadic patterns to gather sufficient resources to support themselves.[67]

Yanktonais had divided into distinct divisions by the late 1860s. In the Spring of 1867, De Smet recognized a larger Yanktonai encampment at the confluence of the Cannonball and Missouri Rivers than down-river near the Big Bend. He reported about three hundred and eighty Yanktonai lodges along with one-hundred and fifty lodges of Hunkpapas, Blackfeet Sioux and other Sioux on both sides of the Missouri near Fort Rice (North Dakota). In 1868, Upper Missouri River Sioux Agent J.R. Hanson reported half of the Lower Yanktonais at the Crow Creek agency and other half living with Upper Yanktonais, Hunkpapas, and Blackfeet Sioux near Fort Rice. Cuthead Yanktonais lived amongst these western Sioux and Santee kin at Devil's Lake (North Dakota). Others had migrated west to live within a "hostile" Teton confederation in Powder River Country.[68]

Drifting Goose's band lived as intermediaries between progressive Yanktonais that sought adaptation to American traditions and conservatives that remained resistant. They maintained a nomadic lifestyle between Lake Traverse and the Missouri River for several generations, refusing to settle permanently on a single reservation until 1880. At the same time, they practiced a semi-regular agricultural lifestyle as opposed to many reservation residents who ignored federal pleas to cultivate the land. Drifting Goose also maintained generally peaceful relations with Americans and opted not to join "hostiles" bands further west. Instead, his band shifted affiliation from Upper to Lower Yanktonais. In 1865, Drifting Goose signed the 1865 treaty with the Upper Yanktonais. By the 1870s, his band identified with Lower Yanktonais at Crow Creek as well as Santees and Cutheads at Devil's Lake.[69]

Yanktonais had focused their attention on the James River Valley since the eighteenth century, when they had participated in intertribal trade fairs in the region. Drifting Goose's people specifically maintained a summer camp midway along the James River, twenty-five miles north of Redfield, South Dakota for several decades. Known as the "Dirt Lodge Village" or Armadale Island, the camp consisted twelve log cabins and twice as many teepees during the late 1870s. Proximity to timber, wild game, fish, wild plants, and view over surrounding regions made it a prime summer residence. Yanktonais learned to cultivate corn, squash, pumpkins, potatoes, and other vegetables in this semi-permanent settlement. The many qualities of the location made it a popular intertribal gathering point until the late nineteenth century.[70]

Drifting Goose's Yanktonais increasingly confronted Americans in this region during the 1870s. Federal officials claimed rights to land east of the Missouri River by the Fort Laramie Treaty (1868). Surveying teams hurried to Spink County in an attempt to stay ahead construction teams laying railroads tracks beyond Watertown, South Dakota. Drifting Goose had not participated in the 1868 treaty and refused to relinquish claim to their land. By June of 1873, his band of about one hundred and thirty confronted General Beadle's seven-member survey party between the Turtle and Snake Creeks (near Redfield, South Dakota) demanding that they leave their region. The outnumbered party departed without further incident.[71]

Confrontation did not quell American interest in the region. After forcing M.T. Wooley's surveyors from Spink County in 1875, Drifting Goose's band faced a company led by Thomas F. Marshall in 1878. In response, several young men of

Drifting Goose's band tracked down the team's flag man, Zach Sutley, on his way home to Yankton. They caught him three miles from their camp, threw him to the ground, cut off his clothing, and set him free. The young men fired at Sutley as he ran back to camp, but took care not to harm him. Finally, Drifting Goose agreed to a conference, smoked the pipe, accepted gifts, and permitted the surveyors to resume their work.[72]

Additional confrontations provoked settlers to leave the region, leading Captain William G. Dougherty to usher the Drifting Goose band to the Crow Creek. Following cultural protocol, if not federal orders, the majority came into the agency in September of 1878. Approximately fifty went to Devil's Lake and Sisseton. The following spring, Drifting Goose's brother stole away from the agency to their old camp with two lodges. Finding that American settlers had confiscated their property and taken possession of their land, they grew outraged. Fort Sisseton troops quelled any potential disturbance and the band returned to Crow Creek.[73]

Drifting Goose employed a different resistance tactic in 1879. He took his case directly to President Rutherford B. Hayes with the assistance of Catholic missionary Jean-Baptiste Marie Genin. Peace Policy advocates General Sibley, Episcopalian Bishop Henry Whipple, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs E.A. Hayt had paved the way for Drifting Goose's land claims for about a year. In Washington, Drifting Goose strongly denied having ever "touched the pen" that would have led to his loss of land along the James River.[74] The President responded on June 27, 1879 with an executive order creating the "Drifting Goose Reserve." The ruling designated three townships,

numbers 118, 119, 120 in range 63, near the earth lodges village, set apart as a reservation for the "'Mag-a-bo-das' or 'Drifting Goose' band of Yanktonais Sioux Indians." About two hundred followed Drifting Goose to reclaim the land and usher white settlers from their land. Sisseton Agent Chrissey, Crow Creek Agent Dougherty, and other federal officials held council with them at Foster City, South Dakota to discuss the terms of the executive order. Drifting Goose learned that his people could not dispossess white settlers. Still, they retained entitlements to lands they had previously improved, and needed to claim lands as individuals not in common. With offerings of special concessions at Crow Creek, Drifting Goose relinquished his land claims and settled at Crow Creek for the remainder of his life. On July 13, 1880, President Hayes signed another executive order that restored the three townships to public domain.[75]

Drifting Goose's arrival on the Crow Creek Reservation solidified the Lower Yanktonai presence at the agency. Yanktonai predecessors referred to this last division to settle on the reservation as the "Bad Nation." Tribal members arrived in smaller numbers over the next few years, but Drifting Goose's band stood as the last major group to settle at the agency. Drifting Goose himself did not remain tied to Fort Thompson. He maintained semi-regular trips to Sisseton and even spent time during his journey near the earth lodge village. During the early 1880s, however, he began to plant roots at Crow Creek and form alliances with federal officials and Catholic priests to benefit his people.[76]

Yanktonai tribal members encountered varied nineteenth-century challenges along their journey from nomadic hunters to agency life at Crow Creek. They learned to compromise with evolving environmental, political, and social forces for the survival of their tiospayes. Tribal members also recognized the advantages of turning to their elders, families, and cultural traditions as they faced new challenges. In scattered homes around the Crow Creek agency tribal members drew upon lessons learned by their ancestors about the need to balance cultural compromise with the maintenance of societal traditions. Yanktonai and other Sioux children who settled at Crow Creek carried these lessons several years later into the Catholic mission's dormitories, classrooms, and daily church services. Like their predecessors, they embraced new skills and attitudes that fit within their tribal worldview, and continued to reconfigure their own dynamic culture.

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[1] For additional discussion of the "new world" tribes faced within their own country see James H. Merrell, The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991).
[2] For a discussion of the "middle ground" concept, see Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially ix-xvi.
[3] Pike, Appendix to Part I, 62, and following table.
[4] White, "The Winning of the West," 324-25; Truteau, 382.
[5] Denig, 32.
[6] Clair Jacobson, "The Battle of Whitestone Hill," North Dakota History 44, no. 3 (Summer 1977):10.
[7] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 43.
[8] For a discussion and map on the factory system see Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 35-40.
[9] Robinson, 83-85; Cuthead Yanktonai involvement in the War of 1812 in the Great Lakes region during this time suggests that Yanktonai bands divided during this era.
[10] Robinson, 85-87, 92-93, discusses the varied involvement of Sioux tribes on both sides of the War of 1812; Howard, 43 explores the Yanktonai historical expression of the times. According to Keating,

412, other tribes supporting the British at the Siege of Fort Meigs include the Patawatomies, Miamis, Ottowas, Wolves, Hurons, Winnebagoes, Shawanese, Sauks, Foxes, Menomonies, and others.
[11] The historical record also recognizes Waneta as "Wanotan," "Wah-na-ton," or "Wahnaataa".
[12] Robinson, 101; Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 6; Denig, 31.
[13] Denig, 31-32.
[14] Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, II (New York: Pageant Books, Inc., 1959), 910.
[15] Keating, 403; Terrell, 184.
[16] Keating, 396, 448.
[17] Robinson, 104-05; Keating, 450-58.
[18] Keating, 449-50; Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 18. According to Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 26-27, in 1713 Yanktonai first recorded their Sun Dance, which includes distinctions from their Teton relatives.
[19] Keating, vol. II, 2-3.
[20] Denig, 32-33.
[21] Charles J. Kappler, ed. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, (Washington: GPO, 1903), I, 237, 242. notes hostilities with Arikara and Mandan tribes in 1825 Sioux treaties with them.
[22] Kappler, II, 227-29, 250-55; Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 6-7.
[23] Jacobson, 11; Hurt, 176.
[24] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Maximilian, Prince of Wied's, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-34, vol. XXII (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 305, 342.
[25] Denig, 30-31.
[26] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 6, 11.
[27] Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 61-62, 342-43.
[28] Jeffrey R. Hanson, "Ethnohistoric Notes on the Fate of the Mandan War Party in 1836," North Dakota History 50, no. 4 (1983): 12.
[29] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 42-51.
[30] White, "The Winning of the West," 328-29.
[31] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 47-48.
[32] Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 11.
[33] Denig, 29-34; Jacobson, 7; Howard, 48. Robinson, 106, maintains that Waneta died in 1848.
[34] Stephen Return Riggs, "Journal of a Tour From Lac-qui-parle to the Missouri River," South Dakota Historical Collections 13 (1926): 341; Jacobson, 12.
[35] Hurt, 176; Jacobson, 11.
[36] Kappler, II, 493-94.
[37] Robinson, 181-83.
[38] Denig, 30; Riggs, 336-37.
[39] Howard, 50-54; Denig, 24-25.
[40] Lieutenant G.K. Warren referred to this epidemic in his 1858 report, in Hurt, 227-28; Jacobson, 12.
[41] Kappler, II, 588-93.
[42] Denig, 34-36.
[43] According to Jacobson, 12, the first band, led by Two Bears, lived between the James and Mouse Rivers, on the east side of the Missouri River, and near the mouth of "Long Lake," about 180 miles from Fort Pierre. Led by Don't Eat Buffalo, the second band claimed the county of Bone Butte, near the head of the James River, about 150 miles from Fort Pierre. Big Head's band lived along the Missouri River between Fort Pierre and the mouth of the Mouse River, about 40 miles below Fort Clark, at "Apple Creek." The fourth band, led by Medicine Bear, or Cut Himself, claimed the east bank of the Missouri River from Fort Pierre to the mouth of the Mouse River, about 250 miles from Fort Pierre.
[44] Hurt, 227-28; Jacobson, 12.

[45] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1858), 363, 417-20; (1859), 378.
[46] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1860), 285-86.
[47] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1861), 679-82.
[48] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1862), 517-19, 320-21.
[49] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1862), 336-37, 517.
[50] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1862), 498-99.
[51] For a discussion of the Minnesota Sioux War see Roy W. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), Chapter 6.
[52] Robinson, 306-314, in discussing Martin Charger's formation of the "Fool Soldiers," Robinson also refers to him as "Waneta," but with no mention of the relationship to the early nineteenth-century Cuthead Yannktonai leader.
[53] Robinson, 306-14; Jacobson, 19-20; Howard, 13.
[54] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1863), 437-443.
[55] Jacobson, "The Battle of Whitestone Hill," 7-12.
[56] Discrepancies arise in terms of the inhabitants of this camp. According to Jacobson, 11-12, General Sully recognized the camp to include "Santees, from Minnesota, Cut-heads, from the Coteau, Yanktonais, and some Blackfeet who belong on the other side of the Missouri, and, as I have learned, Uncapa-pas, the same party who fought General Sibley and destroyed the Mackinaw boat." According to Aaron McGaffey Beede, Heart-in-the-Lodge (Bismark: Bismark Tribune Co., n.d.) 5, in Jacobson, refers to the camp of "Hunk-pa-ti," a spelling of Hunkpatina, also know as Lower Yanktonai, with only two old Santee in the camp.
[57] Jacobson, 7-12; Robinson, 328-29.
[58] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1864), 403-03.
[59] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1864), 421; Pierre Jean de Smet, Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet, ed. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, vol. 3 (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), 825-26.
[60] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1864), 423-25.
[61] "Treaty with the Sioux—Yannktonai Band, 1865" and "Treaty with the Sioux—Upper Yanktonai Band, 1865" in Kappler, 903-906. John K. Bear's Winter Count places a Lower Yanktonai winter camp, most likely Drifting Goose's band, near Fort Yates in 1864, which would support Drifting Goose's alignment with Upper Yanktonai a year later. By the 1870s, Drifting Goose's band identified with Lower Yanktonai at Crow Creek more than the Upper Yanktonai at Standing Rock.
[62] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1866), 163-67.
[63] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1866), 163-67, 361.
[64] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1866), 5, 36.
[65] De Smet, 855-56.
[66] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1866), 36-37, 179.
[67] De Smet, 873-77.
[68] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1868), 649; Robinson, 389-91.
[69] Kappler, 906; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879), 130.
[70] South Dakota Historical Collections, (Pierre: State Publishing Company, 1916), vol. VIII, 16-17; Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 14-15; George Martin Smith, South Dakota: Its History and Its People, in History of Dakota Territory, ed. George W. Kingsbury, (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), vol. II, 1052.
[71] South Dakota Historical Collections, III, 105; V, 366-67; Edward Ashley, "Drifting Goose Story," Edward Ashley Papers, Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota Archives, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College. Ashley states that Chief White Ghost signed the Black Hills Treaty, but Drifting Goose was not present. Presuming his support, one of Drifting Goose's head men, Left Hand, signed it for him. Thus, representatives of all Crow Creek chiefs signed the treaty.
[72] South Dakota Historical Collections, (Pierre: State Publishing Company, 1906), vol. III, 106, vol V., 368; Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 13.

[73] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879), 130-31.
[74] Ashley, "Drifting Goose Story."
[75] Howard, 14; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879), 130-131; Kappler, I, 895; Smith, II, 1057.
[76] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory," 15.

CHAPTER 4

BENEDICTINE ARRIVAL TO CROW CREEK: SIOUX-CATHOLIC RELATIONS AND MARTIN MARTY'S MISSION TO THE MIDDLE SIOUX

Benedictine priests came to Crow Creek Agency in Dakota Territory in response to nineteenth-century historical events, cultural agenda, and the prompting of Catholic leaders. Some Benedictine leaders took emerging European national policies directed against religious orders as signs to emigrate to North America. Other members of the monastic order felt drawn to an expanding American Catholic population and opportunities to evangelize non-Catholics in the United States. Influential church leaders on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean played major roles in the push and pull forces prompting this Catholic order's migration to the United States. Ultimately, nineteenth-century Benedictine influence at Crow Creek rested upon historic Sioux-Catholic relations that dated back to the late seventeenth century.

Many European developments brought Benedictines to the United States. Eighteenth-century revolution, war, and the rise of secular governments had taken their toll on European religious communities. Benedictine leaders recorded the fewest number of monasteries in over a millennium by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Anti-religious sentiment gradually abated in some regions as secular and religious leaders took stock of their policy agenda. Monastic orders began centralizing their operations while some secular leaders allied with religious orders. European

leaders came to see missionary work as a religious parallel to economic imperialism of the era. Bavarian King Ludwig I specifically recognized Benedictine monks as cultural and linguistic emissaries to a growing German immigrant population in the United States. Immigrant aid societies arose to support these endeavors. The *Ludwig-Missionsverein* in Munich, the *Leopoldine Stiftung* in Vienna, and the *Societe pour la Propagation de la Foi* in Lyons gave particular attention to missionaries in the United States. Still, Catholic monks recognized potential political suppression of their orders. Benedictine abbots at Einsiedeln and Engelberg specifically perceived threats to their Swiss communities and consequently began sending monks abroad in the 1850s. Similarly, German abbots sent missionaries to America during the 1870s *Kulturkampf*. Monastic leadership considered the United States a safe haven for their order's survival. Other monks specifically sought new frontiers upon which to cultivate new Catholic souls.[1]

American Catholics looked for support from across the Atlantic Ocean at the same time that European Catholic leaders considered sending missionaries to the United States. American Bishops courted European monastics to serve their burgeoning Catholic diocese. Irish Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, Swiss Bishop Martin Henni of Milwaukee, and French Bishop Maurice St. Palais of Vincennes stood among many Catholic leaders interested in recruits to serve their parishes, schools, and seminaries. American missionaries also looked eastward to solicit support from monastic orders, with varying degrees of success. English Benedictine monks at the Douai abbey turned down French missionary Father

Stephen Badin's invitation to establish a monastery in Kentucky. Belgian Jesuit Father Pierre De Smet (1801-73) met a more receptive audience when speaking at the Swiss Abbey in Einsiedeln. De Smet's adventures with American Indians introduced a young Martin Marty to the idea of working among tribal populations in the American West.[2]

Bonifice Wimmer led the way in founding a permanent Benedictine presence in the United States. Father Peter Lemke's 1830s and 1840s work with German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania and an offer of land in that state inspired Wimmer to come to the United States. He curried the support of King Ludwig I of Bavaria and eventually his own Bavarian Abbot Gregory Scherr after circumventing initial resistance within the Catholic hierarchy. Wimmer began caring for Catholic immigrants in Latrobe, Pennsylvania by the fall of 1846. His ambitions revealed a monastic manifest destiny, foreshadowing the expansion of a Benedictine presence throughout the country. "Just last year we were only on this side of the Allegheny," Wimmer proclaimed, "today we stand with one foot on the west bank of the Mississippi in Minnesota, and with the other, on the west bank of the Missouri in Kansas."[3]

Wimmer set his sights on a western landscape registering a growing Catholic presence. "In a few years you may find us near the Rocky Mountains and a little later in California on the Pacific Ocean," the Benedictine priest suggested, "It has to be. The stream of immigration moves ever westward and we must follow it."[4] American Catholics increased within Protestant America during the early nineteenth century to

migrate beyond their original homes in the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania. They too moved westward despite limited religious toleration of the era.[5] In 1823, U.S. Secretary of State John C. Calhoun had encouraged the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) to establish a novitiate near St. Louis to assist in negotiating peaceful relations with western tribes. In 1829, Jesuit leaders initiated a religious program at Florissant, Missouri, that soon began to work among Native Americans. By 1833 the Third Plenary Council of American Catholics designated Jesuits to lead the Catholic mission system in the West.[6]

Catholic priests had made first contact with western tribes nearly two centuries earlier. French missionaries and traders established initial relations in 1665 when Fathers Allouez and Marquette met Santee Sioux at their mission on Lake Superior, near present-day Bayfield, Wisconsin. In 1671, Sioux hostilities with neighboring Ojibways forced the abandonment of that mission. Three years later, Sioux leaders sent a delegation to Sault Ste. Marie where they met several of their relations under the instruction of Jesuit Father Gabriel Druillettes. A sudden Ojibway attack on these emissaries again destroyed Sioux-Catholic relations.[7]

Catholic priests established their first presence in Sioux Country during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Recollect Father Louis Hennepin spent several months amongst the *Oceti Sakowin* in 1681 when he reportedly baptized a child and attempted to conduct religious instruction. Word of the arrival of Catholic priests spread through the Sioux confederation despite limited personal contact with the missionaries themselves. In 1689, Church fathers designated Jesuit Father Joseph

Marest as "Missionary to the Nadouesioux" as he accompanied trader Nicholas Perrot to a new fort in Minnesota territory, near the lower end of Lake Pepin. This stood as the first post within Sioux country. Still, Jesuit missions struggled to maintain a significant presence in the new land. French Governor Frontenac's opposition to these and other missionaries as well as hostilities between Fox and Sioux military societies erased any significant Catholic presence in Sioux country.[8]

Following a temporary peace of 1727, Fathers Ignatius Guignas and Nicholas de Gonnor Jesuit reestablished a Jesuit presence at Lake Pepin. Persistent hostilities in the region led to the death of a later Jesuit arrival, Jean-Pierre Aulneau, at the hands of Sioux warriors. Following the French loss of Canada in 1763, Sioux leaders sent diplomats to an English post at Green Bay requesting traders. Through the remainder of the century and into the early decades of the nineteenth century traders who happened to be Catholic, as well as itinerant priests, nurtured a limited Catholic influence among certain Sioux bands.[9]

A semi-permanent Christian presence among the Sioux began during the middle decades of the nineteenth century with Protestant missionaries. In 1834, brothers Samuel and Gideon Pond established a Congregational mission among Santees on Lake Calhoun (present-day St. Paul). A year later, Congregational Rev. J.D. Stevens and Presbyterian Rev. Thomas Williamson began missions respectively on Lake Harriet and Lac-qui-Parle. In 1837, Rev. Stephan R. Riggs, Mary Riggs, and their son Alfred joined fellow Presbyterian Williamson, the same year Lutherans

established a mission at Red Wing. Hostilities with neighboring Ojibways over land cessions forced the missionaries to move to the Upper Minnesota River in 1852.[10]

Tribal members of mixed ethnicity stand prominent within the stories of missionary arrivals and acceptance in tribal communities. Their more receptive nature to Christianity and prominence within tribal communities proved invaluable during early intercultural meetings. Joseph Renville (1779-1846), well-respected within Santee communities, aided and encouraged early missionaries. Renville served as an ideal culture broker. His Santee mother had provided him with access to tribal traditions, while his father introduced him to the French language and Catholicism in his youth. To supplement this instruction, the older Renville also placed his son under the instruction of a Canadian priest for several years. Renville's limited religious education did not prompt him to distinguish between the intricacies of Christian traditions. He welcomed Protestant missionaries and served as an interpreter for Rev. Thomas Williamson despite his Catholic background.[11]

Catholic priests followed Protestant ministers into Sioux Country, where mixed-bloods also proved helpful in eliciting tribal support for missionaries. In June of 1839, Bishop Mathias Loras, Father Abbe Pelamourgues and a young Sioux interpreter, traveled along the Mississippi River and Lake Pepin to meet a Catholic community of 185 along the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River. Loras made solid inroads into the community by cultivating a friendship, and residing with, prominent mixed-blood Sioux Scott Campbell. The Scotch-Sioux interpreter for U.S. Indian agent Major Lawrence Taliaferro spoke four languages and held influence with tribes over

several hundred miles. Bishop Loras baptized fifty-six, confirmed eight, gave holy communion to thirty-three adults, and married four couples during his stay. Mixed-blood Sioux Marguerite Leclaire and Angelique Martin, mixed-blood Ojibway Francoise Marie Boucher, and Campbell's children also joined the Catholic Church.[12]

During the early 1840s, Catholic priests established a more permanent presence among the Santee Sioux. Fathers Lucien Galtier and Augustine Ravoux respectively established missions in St. Paul and Fort Snelling in 1841.[13] In September of 1841, Bishop Loras sent Ravoux further west to Traverse des Sioux, where Santee Sioux tutored him in their language. He learned enough to provide Christian instruction and eventually baptize eight children and two adults.[14] By January of 1842, Joseph Renville welcomed Ravoux to Lac qui Parle. A few months later, the Catholic priest returned to Traverse des Sioux to teach catechism and perform baptisms. These experiences helped him learn the Santee language enough to print a Santee rite of eucharistic liturgy, "*Katolik Wocekiye Wowapi Kin*," and a short Bible history."[15]

The most well-known Indian missionary of the era had begun his evangelical journeys into Indian country only a few years earlier. Pierre-Jean De Smet's missionary work began with the Potawatomi along the Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, Iowa, but quickly spread across the west. De Smet's travels along the river from 1838 to 1870 took him thousands of miles and nurtured support for Catholicism in many different tribal communities. The Sioux remained of particular significance

for De Smet throughout the decades, although permanent Catholic mission work among them did not develop until after his death.[16]

De Smet began his relations among the *Oceti Sakowin* in 1839, when he ventured up the Missouri River to reconcile the differences between the warring Potawatomi and Sioux nations. Yankton tribal members met the Jesuit at the confluence of the Vermillion and Missouri Rivers, where tribal leaders held a feast in his honor and encouraged him to remain with them. De Smet visited them often during his next three decades although he never successfully established a permanent mission among them during his lifetime. The following summer, Father Christian Hoecken, who succeeded De Smet at Council Bluffs, ventured further north and recorded many baptisms in Dakota Territory including several at the "village of the Yanktons."[17]

De Smet cultivated friendships with leaders of different Sioux tribes and bands over the following decades. These relationships established a foundation upon which future Catholic leaders cultivated Catholic-Sioux relations. De Smet ignored negative reputations attributed to Sioux bands along the Missouri to meet Yanktonais, Santees, Hunkpapas, Oglalas, and Blackfeet Sioux in October of 1840. After smoking the calumet and receiving travel provisions from a party of Yanktonais and Santees he met a dozen Blackfeet Sioux. Following their instructions he seated himself upon a large buffalo robe, whose sides the men suddenly grabbed, and lifted the Jesuit from the ground. They proceeded to carry him in honor to their village. "Black-robe, this is

the happiest day of our lives," the village leader asserted, "Today for the first time we see among us a man who comes so near to the Great Spirit."[18]

Following initial contacts made by Fathers Hoecken and De Smet, Ravoux extended Catholic relations to Missouri River Sioux tribes. In July of 1847, he arrived at Fort Pierre, where the American Fur Company maintained their principal post in the Northwest. Ravoux found an emerging multi-cultural community, where company agents, mixed-blood interpreters, and tribal members spoke English, French, and Sioux languages. He married one couple, baptized thirteen children of Catholic parents, and fifty-five Sioux children at the request of their parents. These newly-baptized, as well as others introduced to the faith earlier by De Smet, had to wait for more than a decade before Catholic leaders stationed religious more permanently in the region. De Smet and other priests could only stop for intermittent visits with the Sioux, despite growing interests and connections to these communities.[19]

Sioux concern for spiritual matters and respect for *Wakan Tanka*, the Great Mystery, made tribal members open to new religious thinkers and rituals. Growing nineteenth-century social, cultural, economic, and environmental changes made them particularly interested in allying with beneficial spiritual forces. Consequently, missionaries carried their Christian message into a particularly receptive world. Christian emissaries often mistook tribal interest in their message for a desire to embrace the broad western European tradition. In reality, few wanted the whole cultural package. Instead, tribal members hoped to incorporate traditions and practices

selectively. They sought the adoption of certain elements into their system, not a reorientation of their tradition.

Fortuitous circumstances at times helped De Smet and other missionaries gain tribal confidence.[20] With the assistance of prominent interpreter Colin Campbell and company officers, De Smet met Oglalas near Fort Pierre in 1848. Tribal leader Red Fish expressed his sadness at the capture of his daughter by the Crows. Red Fish sought the Jesuit's assistance to recover his daughter, maintaining the Oglala's respect for the power of the Catholic tradition. "Black-gown," he pleaded, "I have lost my beloved daughter. Pity me, for I have learned that the medicine of the Black-gown (prayer) is powerful before the Great Spirit. Speak to the Master of Life in my favor, and I will still preserve hope of seeing my child." De Smet attributed this misfortune to the recent Oglala attack on the Crows, and exhorted Red Fish to abandon any plans for future aggressive actions. He told Red Fish of the need to follow "the orders of the Great Spirit" and of his intent to pray for the Oglala leader. Red Fish agreed to follow De Smet's advice and returned to his camp. Soon upon his arrival, his daughter returned after having safely escaped her Crow captivity. As the news spread through the camps, tribal members gave thanks to the Great Spirit.[21]

De Smet's appeal to tribal members also grew due to his status as a liaison between them and federal officials. During the 1850s and 1860s federal officials employed missionaries, including the prominent Catholic leader, as intermediaries during the treaty sessions.[22] The Jesuit goal of peacefully settling tribes on reservations served federal agenda. De Smet's support for conditions benefiting tribal

communities placed him and future Catholic leaders in positions that attracted tribal allegiance. During the 1851 Fort Laramie meetings, De Smet complied with Oglala and Brule requests for instruction on the Catholic ritual of baptism. After informing tribal leaders of the "blessings and obligations" of the practice, De Smet baptized two hundred and thirty-nine Oglalas.[23]

De Smet also relied upon interpreters of mixed ethnic background to cultivate tribal interests in Christianity. Initially, they provided introductions and facilitated communication between members of distinct cultural worlds. In some cases, mixed-bloods made specific requests for missionaries to live amongst them. As early as 1850, De Smet recognized the significance of Zephyr Rencontre, known by De Smet as "the great Sioux interpreter" in developing Catholic-Sioux relations.[24] "I thank you very cordially," De Smet offered in a letter to Rencontre, "for having so well discharged my commission, and for all that you have said to the Sioux."[25] Rencontre continued to encourage additional missionaries to work within Sioux communities. He reminded De Smet of the historic alliance between Catholic priests and Sioux leaders that provided fertile territory for evangelism. "Remember," Recontre stated to De Smet in 1852, " the holy waters of baptism have flowed on the heads of hundreds of our children."[26]

De Smet embarked on four western trips up the Missouri River during the 1860s. Journeys up-river prompted regular pleas from Indians and non-Indians for more permanent Catholic missions.[27] De Smet met new tribal leaders, reconnected with acquaintances, and formed solid friendships during these journeys. Yanktonai

focus on the Missouri River valley facilitated semi-regular meetings with the Jesuit missionary. Intertribal relations led community leaders to extend De Smet's name beyond those who met him personally. The intermediary position of Yanktonais between Dakota and Lakota kin provided reminders of Catholicism that had penetrated into these communities. Consequently, Catholic influence spread through intermarriage, within military alliances, and during intertribal cultural rituals.

Yanktonais and Two Kettles met De Smet north of the Crow Creek Agency at Fort Sully on May 31, 1864. Band leaders reportedly sought Christian instruction and blessings to get them through difficult times. According to De Smet, the chiefs told him that mothers sought a "special protection of the Great Spirit" through baptism. "Black-robe, give us strong words, because our hearts are so hard," the leaders stated, "we are ignorant as the animals on our plains; we need to hear thee. Speak; we are listening." During this meeting, De Smet distributed 164 images of patron saints for the baptized children as well as medals of Mary, the "Holy Virgin" to be worn around their necks, and they kept them with care.[28]

Federal officials learned of De Smet's perceived success within tribal communities, and encouraged the Jesuit to establish more permanent missions along the Missouri River. In February of 1866, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, special Indian commissioner, specifically appealed for De Smet to establish Catholic missions near Fort Berthold and Fort Randall.[29] Sully selected these sites because of explicit requests from Arikaras, Gros Ventres, and Mandans at the former location, and Yanktons at the later. Even non-Catholics believed that Catholic priests made the

most effective missionaries.[30] Sully's experiences working with tribes throughout the west, in Mexico, and South America led him to conclude that "priests are the only missionaries I have ever seen who have been successful in improving the condition of the Indians to any great extent." The general maintained that Catholic rituals as well as individual examples of self-denial and devotion made priests ideal for the job. Pre-existent Jesuit mission stations and limited funding, however, led to De Smet's to non-committal statement that addition missions were "highly approved and will be looked into."[31]

De Smet expanded his influence among Sioux bands during his 1866 trip up the Missouri River aboard the steamer Ontario. In early May, he baptized "a large number of children" from among two hundred lodges at an intertribal camp of Yanktons, Yanktonai, Brule, Oglala, Two Kettle, and Santees. In addition to the children, De Smet baptized individuals related to the multi-ethnic community growing along the river. In May, his baptismal record included Maria Tshapa (Beaver), the forty-year-old Sioux wife of the Yankton interpreter Alexis Giou. On his return trip down the Missouri River in July, he baptized Alec Rencontre, the twenty-five-year-old son of Zephyr Rencontre, and his wife Lucy. Alexi Giou provided De Smet with lodging and served as the godfather to both.[32]

De Smet performed one of his most important baptisms on July 6, 1866, when he baptized *Pannaniapapi*, known as Struck-By-The-Ree and his wife Anna Mazaizashanawe. This culminated a process that began during the first meeting between the prominent Yankton leader and De Smet in 1844. " I made up my mind on

this subject twenty-two years ago," Pannaniapapi told De Smet in 1866, "I wish to put the instruction of the youth of my tribe into the hands of the Black-robes; I consider them alone the depositories of the ancient and true faith of Jesus Christ, and we are free to hear and follow them."[33] De Smet's travels did not permit him to stay with the Yanktons, but Pannaniapapi resisted other missionaries during the following decades, despite their pleas of him to join their churches. The Yankton leader responded by telling Protestant emissaries how in 1853 three thousand Yanktons avoided a cholera outbreak by expressing their devotion and seeking the intercession of Mary.[34] Pannaniapapi also expressed his respect for the priestly lifestyle and its devotion to its flock. "The Black-robe has neither wife nor children. His heart is undivided," Pananniapapi stated at his 1866 baptism, "All his care is for God and the happiness of the people that surround his cabin and the house of prayer."[35]

A few weeks later, on July 26, 1866, these Yankton leaders formally expressed their intent to work with Catholic priests. Pannaniapapi, Little Swan, Feather in the Ear, Medicine Cow, and Jumping Thunder signed a petition addressed to De Smet requesting a mission and school. With their own religious traditions intact, they seemed uninterested in the Protestant programs that taught Christianity in the Nakota language. The appeal did not specifically address interest in additional Christian teachings. Their interest in Catholic priests seemed directed toward educational assistance, specifically proficiency in the English language. Improved linguistic skills could help them better communicate with federal officials, as many had recently done during 1858 treaty negotiations. According to the Yankton leaders:

"We want no other but you and your religion. The other [non-Catholic teacher] wants us to learn how to read and sing in the Indian language and which we all know how to do in our own way. What we want is to learn the American language and their ways. We know enough of the Indian ways. I am now very old and before I die I want to see a school and the children learn how to read and write in the American language, and if you will try and get with us, I will be very happy."[36]

De Smet cultivated many relationships with Sioux leaders near the Crow Creek Agency during the Spring of 1867. He camped on the land of *Magaska*, or Swan, just north of Fort Randall, where he baptized a mixed-blood family, performed a Catholic marriage, and baptized seventy-four children from Magaska's band.[37] Brule chief *Katanka-Wakan*, Ghost Bull, camped with De Smet at the foothills of the Bijou hills further upstream on the east side of the Missouri River (northwest Charles Mix County).[38] De Smet found one hundred and twenty lodges of Brules, Two Kettles, and Yanktonais near Fort Thompson on May 26, 1867. He held council with many of the principal chiefs including Iron Nation (Brule), Iron Eyes (Yanktonai), White Hawk, Hunting Bear, Knuckle-Bone Collar, and White Bear (Lower Yanktonai). Following the council, De Smet gave religious instruction and baptized over one hundred and sixty upon the urging of chiefs and mothers. He held mass the next day for the Irish, German and French Catholic troops stationed at Fort Thompson.[39]

De Smet met other Sioux leaders a few days later amongst an intertribal community of 220 lodges further north on the Missouri River at Fort Sully. News had

spread amongst varied Sioux tribes of Pananniapapi's successful employment of Mary's intercession during an 1853 cholera epidemic. Consequently, many leaders stood eager to receive medals of the Holy Virgin. De Smet held council with *Nagi-wakan*, or Chief Ghost; *Tchetangi*, or Yellow Hawk; *Zizikadaniakan*, or Man Who Soars Above the Bird; *Tokayakete*, or Killed the First One; *Matowayouwi*, or Dispersed the Bears; *Tokaoyouthpa*, or Took the Enemy; *Wawantaneanska*, or Big Mandan; *Wagha-tshawkaeyapi*, or Serves as a Shield; *Tchatepeta*, or Iron Heart; *Ezzani-maza*, or Iron Horn; *Wamedoupiloupa*, or Red Tail Eagle, and others.[40] Following the council, he baptized 174 children. He met with tribal members for several days, including Little Soldier, who arrived during the first week of June. The "second chief of the Yanktonais" took religious instruction from De Smet and told of four hundred lodges of friendly people awaiting the priest's arrival near Fort Rice. By June 16, De Smet had covered the 260 miles to meet the encampment of Yanktonais, Hunkpapas, Blackfeet Sioux and others.[41]

De Smet's appeal to Yanktonai and other Sioux leaders stemmed in part from his recognition of the difficulties they faced in the new world of increasing American influence. Herds of buffalo, elk and deer abandoned the region as a result of a growing American population and military roads. De Smet noted only a few antelope, snipe, prairie-chickens, wild pigeons, and small birds in this region of the Missouri River Valley by the Spring of 1867. Insufficient resources and the influence of new diseases made life difficult for tribal families, especially their children. "The Indian life is hard," De Smet noted, "the climate here is very severe. A great number of

children succumb before the age of reason, unable to resist the fatigues, privations and maladies which we understand, but for which they have no remedies."[42] De Smet may have had motivations inconsistent with tribal members, but he sincerely wanted to help them during these turbulent years.

De Smet formed lasting friendships with Yanktonais during decades of travel in Sioux Country. The Jesuit's relationship with Two Bears in particular grew over several years. By September of 1868, De Smet referred to the Yanktonai leader of eight-hundred lodges, about seven thousand souls, as "my adopted brother." De Smet's several references to him in correspondence note the priest's concerns for Two-Bears' physical and spiritual well-being. In turn, Two Bear's expressed his interest in an enduring relationship with De Smet. "When we are settled down sowing grain, raising cattle, and living in houses, we want Father De Smet to come and live with us, and to bring us other Black-robes to live among us also," Two Bears stated, "we will listen to their words, and the Great Spirit will love us and bless us."[43]

As De Smet sought to gather tribal communities into the Catholic flock, American bishops extended their services to a growing immigrant population. Insufficient numbers of priests led Catholic administrators to look to Europe. Bishop Maurice St. Palais of Vincennes, Indiana sent several written requests to European Catholic leaders for additional priests. In 1852, St. Palais followed up his letters by visiting the Swiss Abbey in Einsiedeln. Abbot Henry Schmid's reflection upon the recent Swiss closure of its school in Bellinzona as well as threats to other monasteries led him to apply for permission to plant his order on American soil. Rome approved

of the plan to establish a monastic chapter of Einsiedeln in North America on November 19, 1852.[44]

The first Benedictine monks had arrived in southwestern Indiana in 1853, optimistic about their American mission. By March of 1854, four priests had constructed a small cabin at a place they called St. Meinrad. They wrote optimistically that, "here all is in growth and in bloom; there [Europe] all has shriveled up and is dying."[45] Debt, harsh weather, fire, frequent leadership changes, internal conflicts, and insufficient funds still plagued the new community as it would future generations of Benedictines. By the late 1850s, Benedictine leadership even considered abandoning the mission, or at least transferring its jurisdiction to Father Bonfice Wimmer in Pennsylvania.[46]

Abbot Schmid responded to the troubles at St. Meinrad by sending them Martin Marty and Fintan Mundwiler in September of 1860. Schmid named the twenty-six year old Marty as superior to provide him with authority to resurrect the fledgling mission. St. Meinrad's future rested upon a $31,997.75 debt beyond the initial $12,000 advanced by Einsiedeln. The new superior quickly took charge, initiating the sale of land to settlers, establishing a parish, and reopening the priory school. Marty bore much of the burden of responsibility, typical of his ambitious and energetic nature. He taught philosophy and aesthetics, gave piano and violin instruction, directed a student choir, and served as the local postmaster. By January 26, 1863, St. Meinrad's ordained its first clergy, including Meinrad McCarthy, who later worked as a missionary on the plains of South Dakota. Benedictines built ten

churches in the region in 1865 despite tensions of the Civil War. The community's growing stability led Marty to petition the Vatican to elevate St. Meinrad's status. Pope Pius IX created the Abbey of St. Meinrad by September of 1870, and within the next year selected Marty to serve as the institution's first abbot.[47]

Marty's interest in evangelism beyond abbey walls led him to make several appointments upon his election as abbot. He named Father Fintan Mundwiler as prior to the new abbey and Father Wolfgang Schlumpf as subprior. These nominations delegated authority over internal administration to Mundwiler and building projects to Schlumpf. Marty took the extra time to devote to the abbey school, literary pursuits, and abbey spiritual practices.[48] Marty also turned his attention to cultivating and sustaining Catholic souls in a diocese of few priests. The ethnic diversity of American Catholics in the region proved one of Marty's main challenges. German, Irish, and Czech Catholic communities had grown during the post-Civil War era. The Benedictine priest asserted the need for cultural alliances to face the varied identities within his Catholic fold. "I should be very sorry to see any national animosity between the people," Marty asserted, "[because] if it exists among the priests, it cannot help but pass on sooner or later over to the laity."[49]

Marty's also looked beyond his immediate geographic region and the interests of Catholic hierarchy. Even while working on issues within abbey walls, Marty commented to Father Frowin Conrad at Engelberg about the potential for Benedictine expansion, echoing the words of Bonifice Wimmer a few decades earlier. "The West toward which the modern immigration of nations is moving," Marty noted, "is an

ideal location for Benedictine settlements and there is a great future for our Order."[50] Marty's actions succeeded this evangelical spirit. Following in the legacy of De Smet, who passed away in 1873, he turned his attention to Sioux Country.

In the summer of 1876, just weeks after the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Benedictine abbot arrived on a paddlewheel boat at the Standing Rock Indian Agency. Marty made initial contacts with Hunkpapas, Yanktonais, and Blackfeet Sioux who resided in the region. His "black robe" earned him respect among tribal leaders familiar with De Smet, though the two hailed from different Catholic societies. Consequently, tribal members gave more cooperation to the missionary in comparison to civil and military leaders during these tense times in Indian-white relations.[51]

By October 2, 1876, Father Chrysostom and Brother Giles joined Marty at Standing Rock where they shared a one-room log house with a sod roof. A mixed-blood Sioux woman taught the Benedictines basic elements of the Sioux language. In addition, they made use of grammars and dictionaries published earlier by Protestant missionaries and Sioux works of Father Ravoux.[52] The younger Brother Giles learned rather quickly, while Marty himself picked up just enough Sioux vernacular to communicate on an individual basis. He used interpreters to help him preach to larger gatherings.[53]

Marty revealed a cultural disposition consistent with other missionaries of this age. He wore his ethnic heritage more loosely than his religious identity, standing more ready to alter traits of the former than the later. Immigration to the United States led him to see the necessity of changing certain cultural traits, while retaining intact

his Benedictine lifestyle. He held higher expectations for tribal communities, hoping that they would shed themselves of all ethnic and religious traits. Nineteenth-century social theorists argued that "inferior" non-European traditions needed to be replaced by a "superior" lifestyle. Like other social reformers, Marty hoped to replace tribal cultures with Christian-European traditions to improve individual lives that he considered lacking in ambition and pride. He too failed to recognize the problems entailed in the assimilation process. Education of the age did not equip missionaries to consider the holistic nature of culture or the complexities of identity. Individuals could not simply alter certain traits within a web of cultural tradition. Too many elements remained interconnected.

Like many early missionaries, Marty saw a simple strategy to assimilate American Indians. Consistent with Benedictine tradition, he recommended that "the main thing is to make the Indians work, and that can only be done if they have each his own homestead."[54] The Catholic priest neglected to recognize the fact that tribal members had always worked within their subsistence system. Nineteenth-century American westward expansion had altered the environmental conditions to the point of nearly destroying their subsistence patterns. Marty's culturally-influenced definition of work led him to consider only European agricultural traditions as appropriate labor. His survey of Dakota Territory's agricultural potential led Marty to agree with advocates for Sioux removal to more hospitable lands on the southern plains.[55] The bishop's immigrant tradition did not place much significance in a community's attachment to land. Marty focused on the need to maintain an agrarian

lifestyle at the expense of location, as opposed to altering an economy to fit the geographic region. Ultimately, however, American interest in Oklahoma lands thwarted the removal of additional tribes to Indian territory.[56]

Marty was motivated to help Sioux bands adjust to the altered landscape despite his cultural biases. Battles waged by American troops against Sioux communities convinced Marty of an American military policy rooted in the "extermination of these unfortunate people."[57] The Benedictine acted as a peace emissary to help ease the cross-cultural tensions. Marty visited with Sitting Bull in self-imposed exile in Canada with the blessings of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and the Department of the Interior.[58] He took a steamboat to Fort Peck in northern Montana before embarking on a nine-day overland journey to meet Sitting Bull near Fort Walsh on May 27, 1877.[59] Marty's initiative, strong personality, and black robe earned him the respect of the Hunkpapa Lakota leader. "Though you have come from our enemies," Sitting Bull declared, " since you are a *Sina Sapa* (Blackrobe), we will hear you." The Hunkpapa leader provided food and protection to the priest, and agreed to "listen to your words." Despite antagonism toward American leaders, Sitting Bull considered Marty "our good friend—a good man and a priest."[60]

Respect for Sitting Bull and growing interest in working with Sioux people did not mean priestly support for tribal culture. Marty saw Sitting Bull as a "savage pagan," but he needed to establish relations with influential tribal leaders in order to introduce his Christian message to the larger tribal community. The Benedictine considered the Hunkpapa an intelligent, influential leader who needed proper

Christian instruction to hone his demeanor and lead his people properly. On June 8, 1877 Marty wrote, "Sitting Bull possesses the cunning of the redskin in a high degree and, if civilized, would without a doubt have become an astute diplomat and sly demagogue."[61] Neither this meeting nor another in 1879 lured the Hunkpapas across the border, but ultimately Sitting Bull led his people back from Canada in 1881. Marty visited Sitting Bull's family upon their return across the border. He also helped secure James McLaughlin, a Catholic, as U.S. Indian agent at Fort Yates, to administer to Sitting Bull's people.[62]

Marty's initiative into Indian affairs drew criticism amongst fellow monks and other Catholic officials due to his thirteen-month absence from the monastery. They saw too great a need for priests in southern Indiana to sanction siphoning off priests to Indian country. Marty argued that mission work stood as part of an historic Benedictine tradition. "We need [also] men, priests, and brothers," Marty proclaimed," and in order to get, train, and sustain them we ought to have on a favorable spot in the Dakota country a Benedictine monastery in the same plan if not of the same dimensions as the abbeys erected one thousand years ago in the wilderness and among the barbarous nations of Europe."[63] Monastic reluctance to commit to Indian missions prompted Marty to distance himself from St. Meinrad. Instead, he turned to the broader American Catholic community for support, gaining a specific ally in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.[64]

Three months after returning to St. Meinrad, on November 17, 1877, Marty again departed for Dakota Territory. The Benedictine's growing notoriety in Indian

affairs following his meeting with Sitting Bull led Bishop James O'Connor of Omaha, Nebraska to name him vicar general of the region. Marty responded by visiting the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations, where he heard first-hand of the Oglala and *Sicangu* (Lower Brule) interest in Catholic priests.[65] Employing the Grant Peace Policy ruling of one religious denomination per reservation, Episcopalian Bishop William Hobart Hare, also known as "Apostle to the Sioux," reminded Marty that he was operating outside of his designated jurisdiction.[66] Marty left to return to St. Meinrad, though fellow Benedictine Father Meinrad McCarthy surreptitiously began serving Pine Ridge residents by the end of the decade.[67]

Peace Policy regulations led Marty to focus his efforts during the late 1870s toward agencies specifically designated for Catholics, Standing Rock and Devil's Lake. In May of 1878, Marty led four Benedictine sisters from the Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Ferdinand, Indiana to join the fledgling Catholic mission at Standing Rock Agency. Sisters Maura Weyer, Placida Shaefer, Anastasia Sassel and Rose Chapelle became the first nuns to work in South Dakota, armed with only rudimentary Lakota language instruction from Marty.[68] By June, Marty accompanied Father Claude Ebner and Brother John Apke of St. Meinrad to Devils Lake (within Bishop Rupert Seidenbusch's St. Paul diocese) to work with the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns) of Montreal who began working at Fort Totten in 1874.[69]

Pope Leo XIII's papal bull of August 5, 1879 designated Marty as Bishop of Tiberias, and subsequently vicar apostolic of Dakota Territory.[70] Following his February 1, 1880, consecration in Ferdinand, Indiana Bishop Marty turned to

Benedictine leaders for personnel to establish a network of Sioux missions in Dakota Territory.[71] He began with personal appeals to his successor, Abbot Fintan Mundwiler of St. Meinrad, Indiana and Abbot Frowin Conrad of Conception Abbey, Missouri. Marty and Conrad had been classmates at Einsiedeln, and Marty played a strong role in the establishment of the Missouri Benedictine community. With the arrival of Father Henry Hug and Father Felix Rumpf from St. Meinrad in 1880, Marty had gathered fourteen Benedictines to Dakota Territory.[72]

Marty needed to tap non-Benedictine sources to expand Catholic influence across a 150,000 square mile jurisdiction. By 1884, Benedictines from St. Meinrad staffed missions at Standing Rock, Crow Creek, and Devil's Lake agencies. Marty relied upon intermittent visits by secular priests to cultivate Catholic support at Rosebud and Pine Ridge agencies.[73] Still, Mundwiler and other Benedictine abbots remained reluctant to provide missionaries to Marty at the expense of their own communities.[74] The bishop needed to attract other Catholic emissaries. Initially, he hoped to cultivate a native clergy by attracting Indian boys Fintan Mantochna and Giles Tapetola to St. Meinrad to study for the priesthood. The monastic lifestyle proved too foreign for them, so they returned to their tribal communities.[75] Ultimately, Marty called on the German Jesuit community in Buffalo, New York in response to pleas by Spotted Tail and Red Cloud for Catholic missions and schools. Jesuits established St. Francis mission and boarding school at Rosebud in 1886, and Holy Rosary Mission and boarding school at Pine Ridge by 1888.[76]

The Benedictine Bishop recognized that the backbone of Indian missions rested upon Sisters to staff the schools. Consequently, he appealed to sisterhoods from a variety of European and American communities to work in Sioux country. Marty's offers progressively attracted the services of Swiss Benedictine sisters of Melchtal, Presentation Sisters from Ireland, Grey Nuns of Montreal, Sisters of St. Agnes of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; and Mercy Sisters of Omaha.[77] He also turned to Benedictine Mother Superior Gertrude Leupi, who had arrived in Maryville, Missouri from Switzerland on November 1, 1880. He introduced to her the opportunities available to work amongst the Sioux., and by July of 1881 three sisters departed for Fort Yates. The Sisters established a mother house in Zell, South Dakota from 1883-87 to more closely support their mission work. By 1887, Marty encouraged them to reestablish themselves at Sacred Heart Convent in Yankton, South Dakota. The Sisters of Mercy of Omaha had withdrawn from the location in 1880 upon Marty's request for financial and personnel reasons.[78] The Yankton site proved logistically convenient as Benedictine Sisters formed a mainstay for staffing Stephan Mission by 1886.[79]

Initial success in attracting personnel led Marty to establish educational institutions in Dakota Territory. He attracted forty-five priests, cultivated nine seminary students, and established eighty-two churches within his territory by 1884.[80] The missionary refused to rest upon these accomplishments. Along with Indian Agent James McLaughlin, Marty grew convinced that the "civilization" and "Christianization" of tribal members rested most upon "the rising generation."

Burdened with a $35,000 debt of the former convent of the Sisters of Mercy of Omaha, Marty called on BCIM director B.A. Brouillet in 1883 to support his intentions to use the building as an industrial school for Indian students. Marty argued that a new school in Yankton would spare tribal youth from traveling to distant Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania to gain an American education. In addition, it would provide Catholic education for South Dakota Sioux youth. By the following November fifty boys attended the school under a federal contract that reimbursed school officials with $167 per capita per annum. By July of 1884, the Press and Dakotaian reported successful developments at the new school. "Indian boys at the industrial school are picking up the rudiments of labor with surprising aptitude," the paper reported, "They seem to like work and are ambitious to learn." The student body grew later that summer when Father George Willard brought additional youth to the Yankton school.[81] During its second year of operation the contract stipulated support for one hundred boys, though federal support dropped to $150 per student.[82]

En route to Rome in April of 1885, Marty commented on the need for additional Indian schools across the southern tier of South Dakota.[83] "For the last eight years," he wrote in a promotional speech, "the 8,000 Indians of Pine Ridge, the 7,000 of the Rosebud and the 2,000 of the Crow Creek reservations have been begging me for schools, and I have had to put them off with promises of the future." Noting these educational interests, Marty addressed Catholic leadership. He argued that the burden of failure would fall on them, not on a lack of tribal support, if church

leaders did not provide funding to support additional schools. He presented the report to Pope Leo XIII, who apparently listened intently to Marty's plea for assistance.[84]

Marty found his best financial support for Catholic mission schools not in Rome, but in Philadelphia. Upon his return, Marty and Father Joseph Stephan of the BCIM visited Katherine Drexel, the wealthy heir to the Philadelphia Drexel-Morgan banking fortune. As a result of the visit, Drexel contributed $15,000 each for mission buildings on Rosebud, Pine Ridge, and Crow Creek. For Immaculate Conception, she also promised an additional $5,000 for furnishings. Ultimately, Drexel's interest in Catholic mission work grew to the extent of founding the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament whose specific mission addressed the needs of American Indians and African Americans. Over time, her support for the building and maintenance of Sioux missions remained constant despite inconsistent federal support.[85]

Martin Marty's administrative zeal and Katherine Drexel's finances led to the construction of a small, two-story house at the Crow Creek Agency by 1887. These immediate supporters of Stephan mission recognized the foundation of historic Sioux-Catholic relations on which they stood. Pius Boehm and other Stephan superintendents reaped the evangelical benefits of intercultural pathways paved by their Catholic predecessors for generations. Historic relations, Benedictine zeal, and Catholic finances, however, could not unilaterally impose their will on Yanktonai tribal members. Tribal members had learned to negotiate the new cultural terrain and exerted significant influence over missionary efforts at Crow Creek.

[1] Joel Rippinger, O.S.B. The Benedictine Order in the United States: An Interpretive History (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 11, 16-18.
[2] Rippinger, 17-18.
[3] Rippinger, 19-23, 34.
[4] Rippinger, 34.
[5] Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985), 101-103.
[6] De Smet, I, 10.
[7] Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations, vol. 49, 241-49; Hurt, 48-49; James Mooney, "Sioux Indians," The Catholic Encyclopedia, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al., vol. XIV (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1912), 19.
[8] Mooney, 19.
[9] Mooney, 19.
[10] Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I: Forty Years With the Sioux (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1971), 18-21; Mooney, 19.
[11] Riggs, 348-49; Mooney, 19.
[12] M.M. Hoffmann, The Church Founders of the Northwest: Loras and Cretin and other Captains of Christ (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937), 117-121. Ironically, as Scott Campbell served as an interpreter for Bishop Loras, his son Baptiste Campbell served as an interpreter for Father Ravoux prior to being hanged along with thirty-seven others at Mankato, Minnesota in December of 1862.
[13] Father Augustin Ravoux came from France in 1839 and served as one of Bishop Loras' subdeacons, according to Hoffmann, 121.
[14] Hoffmann, 161-162.
[15] Sr. Ann Kessler, O.S.B., "First Catholic Bishop of Dakota: Martin Marty, The Blackrobe Lean Chief," in South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Choteau, Jr. to Oscar Howe ed. Herbert T. Hoover and Larry J. Zimmerman (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1989), 110; Duratschek, 159; Hoffmann, 160-62; Mooney, 19.
[16] According to De Smet, I, 10-18, De Smet and five other Belgian seminarians became interested in missionary work in North America through the experiences of Father Charles Nerinckx of Brabant, France, who the events of the French Revolution prompted to cross the Atlantic Ocean. During his initial work with the Potawatomis, tribal members showed little initial interest in missionaries, but De Smet's time with the tribal community inspired him to work among Indian people he saw as suffering from the effects of American westward expansion.
[17] De Smet, I, 15-16; Duratschek, 41. Discussion of Hoeken's missions in Dakota Territory found in Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. The Jesuits of the Middle United States (New York: America Press, 1938), II, 473-74n. Many of these baptisms along the Missouri are attributed to individuals of mixed ancestry.
[18] Garraghan, II, 475-76.
[19] Hoffmann, 238-39.
[20] Even prior to De Smet era, Jesuits proved particularly adept at manipulating situations within tribal communities to improve their status and diminish the influence of tribal religious leaders. For a discussion of the French Jesuit strategy see James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 77-78, 93-104.
[21] De Smet, II, 630-31. It is difficult to estimate the effect the Red Fish incident had upon his own people and other Sioux. The "coincidence" must have had an impact on members of the community, and De Smet does record the giving of thanks to the "Great Spirit" upon the daughter's return. De Smet recorded "the number of half-breed and Indian children baptized among the Sioux amounting to several hundred." Still, it proves difficult to estimate the Catholic nature that tribal members considered when giving thanks to the "Great Spirit." De Smet records baptisms after discussing this incident, but specifically mentions only six adults.

[22] De Smet's presence was not specifically mentioned in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, but significant discussion of his presence may be found in De Smet, II, 675-84; De Smet is specifically mentioned as a witness to the "Treaty with the Sioux—Brule, Oglala, etc. and Arapaho, 1868," Kappler, 998-1007.
[23] De Smet, II, 678-79, notes baptisms of 305 Arapahos, 253 Cheyennes, and 280 Brules and Oglala Sioux (De Smet refers to Osage, but must have meant Oglala) at Fort Laramie; Garraghan, II, 478.
[24] According to De Smet, III, 891n, Zephyr Rencontre served forty years as one of the most distinguished and capable Indian interpreters along the Missouri River. The "Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1858," Kappler, 776-780 granted Zephyr Rencontre "one section of six hundred and forty acres of land ceded by the Yanktons. According to the 1886 Indian Census Roles, David and Mary Rencountre, and their four children (Nos. 981-986) lived on the Crow Creek Reservation. According to Lytle, interview, Zephyr and Rencontre remain prominent names on the Crow Creek and other Sioux reservations, after an inter-family dispute led half the family to take the surname Zephyr and the other half to take Rencontre.
[25] De Smet, IV, 1472.
[26] De Smet, IV, 1311.
[27] De Smet's 1860s western trips took place in 1864, 1866, 1867, and 1868, with baptisms registered in the St. Mary's Mission (Kansas) Baptismal Register, II, 1851-71, according to Garraghan, II, 480.
[28] De Smet, III, 825-26.
[29] Ironically, as discussed in the previous chapter, Sully had three years earlier led the expedition to Whitestone Hill where several hundred Yanktonai were killed.
[30] Sully's recommendation stands distinct from the general trend of religious competition of the era. The issue of religious denominational relations among certain tribes became particularly contested a few years later as Grant's Peace Policy specifically designated reservations for religious groups, leading to inter-denominational conflict, particularly between Catholics and Protestants for jurisdiction over tribes.
[31] Garraghan, II, 481-82.
[32] Garraghan, II, 482n-83n. According to Duratschek, 45, De Smet baptized Alexis Rencontre, son of Zephyr Rencontre, at Medicine Creek, near Fort Pierre, on November 5, 1846.
[33] De Smet, IV, 1285.
[34] De Smet, IV, 1283-85.
[35] De Smet, IV, 1285; Duratschek, 49.
[36] De Smet, IV, 1286-87, J.B. Chardon wrote the letter to De Smet upon request of the Yankton leaders. Pannaniapapi, Little Swan, Medicine Cow, and Jumping Thunder all became familiar with federal officials at least by 1858, when they signed the Yankton Treaty of 1858.
[37] References to Swan appear in several federal documents. The White Swan, *Ma-ra-sea* joined Rushing Man, *Wah-e-ne-ta*, in signing the 1825 treaty with the Sioune and Oglala tribes at the mouth of the Teton River. The Little White Swan, *Ma-ga-scha-che-ka*, and Standing Elk, *A-ha-ka-na-zhe*, signed the Yankton Treaty of 1858, with Zephier Roncontre as the U.S. interpreter.
[38] Sacred Bull, *Tatanka-wakan*, signed the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty for the Brule' band. According to Joseph S. Karol, ed. Everyday Lakota: An English-Sioux Dictionary for Beginners (St. Francis, SD: The Rosebud Educational Society, 1971), 62, the Lakota word "wakan" means "sacred." While De Smet identifies Ghost Bull as Brules, a "Bull Ghost" listed as no. 745 on the Crow Creek Agency Rolls in 1886.
[39] De Smet, III, 870-75; Duratschek, 160. Iron Nation's significance among the Lower Brule may be recognized as his name appears first among the Lower Brule Census Rolls of 1886, Knuckle-bone Collar may be Lower Yanktonai leader Bone Necklace, who had been involved in the assistance of the "Fool Soldiers" during the events following the 1862 Minnesota Sioux War, and White Bear can be noted as No. 602 on the Crow Creek Agency 1886 Census Rolls as a Lower Yanktonai.
[40] It proves difficult to properly identify these leaders due to perhaps several individuals with the same names, but they seem to represent members of the Two Kettle, Sans Arc, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Santee tribes. "Yellow Hawk" signed the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty as a Sans Arc, "Long Mandan"

signed the 1868 treaty as a Two Kettle, "Red Plume" signed the 1868 Treaty for the Sans Arc, and "White Ghost" registered as the first Lower Yanktonai member on the Crow Creek Agency Census Rolls for 1886. "Iron Horn may be the most difficult to identify with so many individuals recognized with that name or similar names. "Metal Horn" signed the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux as either a Sisseton or Wahpeton, and "Iron Horn" noted on the 1858 Yankton Treaty, 1865 Yanktonai Treaty, and 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty as either a Hunkpapa or Minneconjou.

[41] De Smet, III, 876-78.

[42] De Smet, III, 872-75.

[43] De Smet, IV, 1221, 1291, 1537, 1588.

[44] Rippinger, 44-45.

[45] Rippinger, 45.

[46] Rippinger, 46-47.

[47] Robert F. Karolevitz, Bishop Martin Marty: "The Black Robe Lean Chief" (Yankton, SD: Sacred Heart Convent, 1980), 35-52.

[48] Karolevitz, 52-53.

[49] Rippinger, 104.

[50] Karolevitz, 53.

[51] Karolovitz, 62-63.

[52] Steven R. Riggs and the Pond Brothers established the Dakota grammars and dictionaries from their work among the Santees. Ravoux wrote a short Bible history and *Katolik Wocekiye*, the rite of Eucharistic litergy in the Dakota language while serving in Mendota, Minnesota, according to Kessler, 110.

[53] Karolevitz, 65-66.

[54] Karolovitz, 64; Benedictine tradition advocates a balanced lifestyle comprised of study, work, and spiritual development, efforts to develop the mind, body, and soul of each monk.

[55] Karolevitz, 62-66.

[56] Richmond Clow, "The Sioux Nation and Indian Territory: The Attempted Removal of 1876," South Dakota History 6, no. 4 (1976): 456-73. Federal officials decided instead to remove several Sioux tribes to the Missouri River before they moved again and settled at west-river agencies.

[57] Karolevitz, 66.

[58] Catholic leaders founded the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) in 1874 to establish Catholic missions among western tribes. By 1849, the Department of the Interior took over the administration of Indian Affairs from the Department of War.

[59] Karloevitz, 67-68.

[60] Kessler, 110-111.

[61] Karolevitz, 69.

[62] Kessler, 111. Deteriorating relations with Canadian officials and Hunkpapa interest in returning to their homelands and Sioux relations eventually led to their return to Sioux country. Ultimately, however, McLaughlin and Sitting Bull would contend for influence within the Standing Rock community.

[63] Martin Marty to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, October 9, 1878, BCIM Series 1, Box 5, Folder 4, General Correspondences—Dakota Territory (1875-84). Marquette University Archives.

[64] Rippinger, 131-32.

[65] Marty to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, October 9, 1878.

[66] Karolevitz, 69-70. For a discussion of denominational conflicts for reservation jurisdiction see Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), chapter 10, especially 160-64. According to the denominational designations of the Peace Policy, Episcopalians held jurisdiction on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations while the Catholics controlled Standing Rock and Devil's Lake.

[67] Placidius Sialm, "The History of Holy Rosary Mission: Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 1888-1932," (unpublished journal of Placidius Sialm, S.J., Holy Rosary Mission Archives, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 1932), 3.
[68] Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) leaders eventually learned from Standing Rock agent McLaughlin of personnel problems stemming from incompetent teachers and administrators at the Standing Rock Mission. This led to the withdrawal of BCIM support for the mission, according to a letter from Martin Marty to Most Rev. James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, June 28, 1883, BCIM Records, Series 1, Dakota Territory Correspondences (1875-84), Roll 5.
[69] Karolevitz, 70.
[70] According to Karolevitz, 79-81, Catholic custom established that in areas without full diocesan standards an intermediate stage of vicariat stood governed by a vicar apostolic with rank of titular bishop, named after an ancient city or see currently abandoned by the Church to preserve the memory of early Christian achievement.
[71] Karolevitz, 73, 79.
[72] Karolevitz, 76; Kessler, 114.
[73] I distinguish Catholic priests under the supervision of a diocese or unaffiliated with a specific religious order as "secular." During the late 1870s and early 1880s, Fathers Francis Craft, Father Frederick, and Father J.A. Bushman served at Rosebud and Pine Ridge, according the BCIM Records, Series 1, General Correspondences (1875-84), Roll 5.
[74] Rippinger, 54. St. Meinrad provided staff to the Crow Creek Reservation until 1952 when Benedictines founded Blue Cloud Abbey in Marvin, South Dakota.
[75] Kessler, 114.
[76] For a traditional Catholic account of the founding of St. Francis, Holy Rosary, Immaculate Conception and other missions in South Dakota, see Duratschek, especially chapters V, VI, and VII.
[77] Kessler, 115.
[78] Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., Under the Shadow of His Wings: History of Sacred Heart Convent of Benedictine Sisters, Yankton, South Dakota, 1880-1970, (Aberdeen, SD: North Plains Press, 1971), chapter VII, especially 115-20, missions map (preface).
[79] Rippinger, 133; Karolevitz, 89-90.
[80] According to Kessler, 113, within the first three years of Marty appointment, Dakota Territory claimed 92 priests, 154 churches, 10 convents, 36 parochial schools, 8 Indian missions, and teachers from 9 different religious orders.
[81] The Press and Dakotaian of January 26, 1884 reported the bishop's Indian school plans, according to Karolevitz, 93-94.
[82] Duratschek, Under the Shadow of His Wings, 116-17.
[83] According to Karolevitz, 95, Marty made his "ad limina" visit to Rome as part of a bishop's five-year obligation to meet with the Pope.
[84] Karolevitz, 95, 97.
[85] Rippinger, 132-34; Karolevitz, 100. Katherine Drexel was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on November 26, 1858. Upon the death of her father Francis Anthony Drexel in 1885, she and her two sisters were left with an inheritance connected to the Drexel-Morgan banking fortune. Katherine used much of her allotment to support twenty new Catholic Indian mission schools. She founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People at the prompting of Pope Leo XIII, and she held position of superior of the order from 1891-1937. By 1955 her order grew to five hundred that staffed sixty-three schools including four Indian missions. See Rev. J.B. Tennelly, S.S. "Mother Katherine Drexel," The Indian Sentinel 35, no. 4 (February 1955) : 19-20. Drexel named the institution Immaculate Conception in memory of her mother, who favored that title for the mother of Jesus. Pope John Paul II canonized Katherine Drexel for her charitable work in March of 2000. For a discussion of the founding members of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, see Patricia Lynch, "Collective Biography: Founding Women of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament," U.S. Catholic Historian 10, nos. 1-2 (1991): 101-06.

CHAPTER 5

PLACING STEPHAN MISSION AT THE CROW CREEK AGENCY:PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS, AND TRIBAL DECISION-MAKING, 1863-1885

Yanktonais met the arrival of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, federal officials, and other agents of social change at the Crow Creek agency in distinct ways.[1] Tribal tradition of local decision-making, not simple broad consensus, prevailed. Band leaders accepted, rejected, or accommodated themselves to cultural assimilation programs based on the interests of tribal preservation. Apparent acceptance of American practices often included tribal manipulation for their own cultural purposes. Student difficulties and deaths at off-reservation boarding schools prompted Yanktonais and other Sioux parents to seek American education for their children closer to home. Early Episcopal evangelism, tribal settlement patterns, and historic Catholic-Sioux relations led some tribal members to ally with Protestants and others with Catholics. The construction of Stephan Mission on northern Crow Creek lands marked the first permanent tribal Catholic community.[2]

Yanktonai tradition had taught tribal members to adapt, rather than avoid newcomers. Interactions since mid-century on the Great Plains reminded them, however, to question American motivations. Tribal members took different lessons from these experiences to forge distinct, pragmatic paths to negotiate their new agency culture. In the process, tribal leaders selectively formed alliances with different Christian denominations. Catholic priests maintained irregular relations with Yanktonais since their

early meetings with De Smet along the Missouri River. Still, Crow Creek Indians met Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians more often during their early years near Fort Thompson.

Beginning in 1866, Presbyterian Reverend Stephen R. Riggs and his sons Alfred and Thomas, as well as Congregational Dr. Thomas S. Williamson and his son John P. Williamson began visiting tribal communities near Fort Pierre.[3] President Ulysses S. Grant's 1869 Peace Policy toward western tribes solidified Protestant influence over Crow Creek by designating Episcopalians to initiate formal Christian missions at that agency during the 1870s.[4] The policy's designation of one Christian denomination per agency postponed the arrival of Catholic priests to Crow Creek until the 1880s. Their arrival introduced competition between Catholic and Protestant leaders for Yanktonai souls. Tribal leaders affiliated with distinct missionaries to help them adjust to evolving agency dynamics. By 1886, Catholic emissaries and tribal representatives found common ground upon which to establish a Catholic mission school.

A nomadic lifestyle had led Yanktonais to the bend of the Missouri River for nearly a century. The first Yanktonais to the recently-established Crow Creek agency arrived following the 1863 Battle of Whitestone Hill. White Ghost's band of Lower Yanktonais arrived among the first.[5] Yanktonai and other Sioux tribal members adjusted to the new setting over the next decades, an adjustment they had practiced for generations. Federal agents offered assistance to interested parties, but retained limited influence over tribal communities. By 1865, 169 Lower Yanktonai families separated themselves from the main body to settle on the Grand River, further north near the

Standing Rock agency.[6] Indian Department officials could not induce them back to the lower Missouri River reservation.[7] Federal authority over how tribal members lived their lives proved even more limited. Band leaders retained a major influence over how their people lived.

Lower Yanktonais lived within *tiospayes* not as members of a single village. By the early 1870s, if not before, tribal members organized themselves into at least two general camps about seven miles above and below the Fort Thompson agency. White Ghost and Wizi stood respectively as leaders of the lower and upper camps.[8] These men along with Bad Lodge, Drifting Goose, White Bear, and No Heart stood out in meeting the challenges of the early reservation era.[9] Their kin rewarded their leadership with support for several decades.

Federal officials gradually influenced tribal life, but could not replace Yanktonai culture. Agents distributed rations and annuities directly to tribal leaders who distributed them in appropriate shares.[10] Individuals seeking allotments of land for their immediate families required the consent of their leaders. Those who allied with Christian missionaries often risked the denial of rations on account of this support. Missionaries and agents, consequently attempted to curry the favor of influential tribal leaders. Lower Yanktonai leaders directed their communities along a tenuous borderline between intersecting cultural worlds. Over time, they led their people in response to American-style agriculture, land organization, housing, dress, and education.

Crow Creek Lower Yanktonais began farming earlier than other Yanktonai and western Sioux.[11] Some began to pursue an agrarian lifestyle along with Two-Kettle tribal members at Crow Creek since1866. During the Spring of 1868, boss farmer Edwin Vinton assisted members of both groups to cultivate two-hundred acres of corn. Members of each tribe harvested only five-hundred bushels of corn that fall (worth an estimated $2,000) due to an infestation of grasshoppers.[12] Increased tribal interest and improved environmental conditions in 1872 permitted nearly half of 1200 Lower Yanktonais to harvest five thousand bushels of corn and one hundred tons of hay ($8,800). Many had also begun to show interest in raising cattle and an estimated fifteen hundred horses.[13]

By 1875, Agent Livingstone reported a more diverse economy for Lower Yanktonai and Lower Brule residents of the Crow Creek agency. Tribal members cultivated three hundred acres as agency farmers prepared another one hundred and seventy-five acres. They grew over three thousand bushels of corn, one thousand bushels of oats, one hundred and fifty bushels of vegetables, and four hundred tons of hay. Farmers recorded an above-average yield, though grasshoppers again took their toll on crops. Tribal members also raised over three thousand horses, thirty mules, and nearly one hundred head of cattle. Some also participated in cutting timber for housing while others hunted and sold animal furs. [14]

Gradual tribal participation and success within an American capitalistic system led federal officials to predict grandiose results at their agencies.[15] Agents presumed from behind their own cultural lenses that adopting new economic practices necessitated the acceptance of an entire social system. Their observations, however, mistook cultural

accommodation for abandonment of tribal identity. Federal representatives either neglected to recognize sweat lodges behind log houses or failed to perceive their significance. Legislation banning certain tribal practices often failed to eliminate them. It forced certain ceremonies "underground," beyond the watchful eyes of agency officials. To thwart federal reprisals Lower Yanktonais learned to wear American dispositions in public while retaining tribal identities in private. Yanktonai lifestyle changed subtly, at different rates, and to distinct degrees within the agency boundaries.

The strength of tribal traditions demanded the incorporation of new elements into a pre-existent system, not an immediate replacement of a whole cultural network. Crow Creek farmers adopted American-style agricultural programs into a tribal structure. Through 1874, Yanktonais practiced communal agriculture on a twenty-acre plot near the lower camp despite American encouragement to establish independent farms. Tribal leaders generally refused to give their consent to individual land ownership until the end of the decade.

Environmental conditions, pragmatic concerns for resources, and prodding from federal agents led tribal members to claim individual land allotments. Decades of riverboat transportation and agency construction had taken its toll on timber growing along the Missouri River.[16] During the late 1870s, Yanktonais began to leave three main camps near the river despite opposition from conservative leaders. Lower Camp members generally relocated to individual homesteads along Crow Creek. Upper and middle camp tribal members took allotments above the agency along the river or on the eastern prairie. Acting Crow Creek Agent Dougherty reported in 1881 a general "demand of the Indians

for the subdivision of the land and the allotment of it in severalty." Seeking Land, With Tail, Drifting Goose, Crow Man, Bowed Head, Bull Ghost, Truth Teller, White Ghost, Skunk and other leaders stood among tribal members claiming allotments of approximately 320 acres along Crow Creek, Soldier Creek, Campbell Creek, and at the Great Bend [17]

Agency leaders determined that the successful allotment of land to tribal members in severalty stood as a sign of assimilation. Tribalism, however, endured within belief systems and ceremonial rituals. In the same annual report of 1881 that agent Dougherty reported the allotment of land, he noted the alteration but persistence of the "grass lodge" dance, as well as a revival in an "immoral dance," presumably the Sun-dance.[18]

Tribal leaders unevenly accepted different elements of American culture. Such support often influenced their status in the eyes of federal officials and their own community. White Ghost, in particular, seemed to gain Agent Dougherty's respect after appropriating certain American traditions. Prior to White Ghost's 1879 acceptance of allotment, agent Dougherty recorded Wizi, a cultivator of land, as "chief" of the Lower Yanktonais. By 1881, Dougherty recognized White Ghost with his 320 acre allotment along Crow Creek as "chief." Crow Creek Census rolls maintain his continued tribal status by listing him as first resident through the early years of the next century.[19] White Ghost learned to work his relationship with federal and missionary leaders to his advantage. He negotiated this new system by selectively embracing certain traditions and rejecting others. Members of his band, Bowed Head and John Fluery, affiliated themselves with the Episcopal church, but White Ghost never joined. [20]

Tribal members reacted differently to new cultural traditions and their neighbors' interests in them. They more easily accepted those who embraced American traditions than those who rejected tribal protocol. Breaking cultural rules earned rebukes and the loss of status within their community. Tewicaka (Truth Teller), for instance, lost influence within the lower camp, and notably with White Ghost, by giving the Grass Dance Society drum to Bishop Hare. This act led tribal members to demand its immediate return. Recognizing that the drum belonged to the society and not the individual, Agent Dougherty encouraged Bishop Hare to return the drum. Truth Teller stood by his action and joined the church though it cost him respect within the lower camp. White Ghost accepted the involvement of tribal members in Christian traditions, but drew the line at their denial of tribal rules. Following this incident, White Ghost no longer sought the counsel of Tewicaka.[21]

Crow Creek housing during the late 1870s and early 1880s also revealed the endurance and accommodation of tribal traditions. Constructing tipis along with wooden houses symbolized their concurrent involvement in different cultural worlds. Many Lower Yanktonais began to build wooden houses prior to taking individual allotments. By 1875, tribal members had constructed forty wood houses. White Ghost had even taken to living in a wooden house by 1877. Rather symbolically perhaps, White Ghost's assistant John Fleury even whitewashed the home after its construction. Federal promises to furnish floors and roofs remained unfulfilled. This unrealized offer led Crow Creek Agent John Gasmann to recognize many homes as "impossible to keep clean," "very damp," and "very unhealthy." Many tribal members found that American-style log homes

did not always meet their needs. Consequently, they constructed tipis beside their log houses as refuges from unhealthy summer conditions.[22] In 1878, Yanktonai artist John Saul was born in a tipi on the banks of Crow Creek, though the family came to live in a log cabin inside the old Fort Thompson stockade.[23]

Tribal dress patterns also adapted to new styles while retaining preference for traditional garb. Environmental changes, limited availability of certain animal skins, and enlarged American trade networks led tribal members to increasingly wear "citizen dress." Between 1879 and 1881 tribal members adopting American clothing rose from fifty to seventy-five percent. Such adjustments, however, did not lead tribal members to completely abandon tribal garb. Agent Gassman reported in 1883 that individuals still frequently wore traditional dress and that it remained important for special occasions.[24]

Insufficient federal personnel led agents to prevail upon missionaries to develop schools at Crow Creek. Many nineteenth-century reformers saw the education of youth as the most efficient method to alter tribal communities. Naturally, children remained dependent upon their parents who influenced their registration, participation, and responses to educational programs. Grant's Peace Policy (1869) initiated Episcopal jurisdiction over the assimilation program at Crow Creek.[25] Tribal responses to the 1870s arrival of Episcopalian missionaries followed similar patterns of acceptance, rejection, and manipulation of American traditions. [26]

Missionary organizations often evaluated assimilation programs as unrealistically as federal agents. Board of Indian Commissioners Director William Welsh visited Crow Creek in 1870 and reported tribal interest in missionaries. "These Indians long for a

minister, for schools, and for instruction in agricultural handicraft," Welsh reported, "with such appliances as will enable their people to draw support from the soil, instead of being fed like tame cattle."[27] In response, the Board nominated Dr. H.F. Livingston to serve as Crow Creek agent in 1870.[28] Among other accomplishments during his service, Livingston broke the whiskey traffic that threatened the health of Crow Creek residents. Rev. Samuel Hinman soon visited Crow Creek from his Santee mission to hold the first Episcopal Dakota language service for residents.[29]

Commission appeals to students at Connecticut's Episcopalian Berkeley Divinity school led Heckalia Burt to Crow Creek in 1872. Initially, he established residence in Medicine Crow's camp near the agency. Government buildings at Fort Thompson served as the site for Episcopalian Sunday services, attracting members from upper and lower camps. Anna Pritchard joined Burt later that year to establish a boarding school for girls, the first agency school. Boarding school administration was transferred to federal control by the end of the decade. Church leaders soon established Christ's Church, a mission house, and a log house for Pritchard.[30] Still, early missionaries associated more with local federal officials at the agency than tribal residents.

Limited personnel led missionaries to concentrate on the lower camp. This decision paved the way for Catholic representatives who found little Episcopalian influence near the Big Bend, in the northern reaches of the agency, one decade later. Dr. Livingstone promised assistance to build log schools at upper and lower camps. Deacon Burt evaluated the status of each camp before deciding to establish his residence within the lower camp. He faced a difficult decision. He considered Upper Camp leader Wizi

"the best chief here [that is] as regards our work" as well as the most solicitous of an Episcopalian mission. Wizi reinforced his rhetorical support for missionaries by sending three girls from his band to the Sister Anna's agency boarding school. Episcopal leaders compensated Wizi for his allegiance by sending Burt a one hundred dollar check to purchase a wagon for the upper camp leader. A larger number of supporters in the lower camp led the deacon to settle near White Ghost's village.[31] Burt attracted fifty-seven to his first church service and thirteen students to the first day of school in March of 1874.[32]

This Episcopal presence at the lower camp even drew Lower Brules from the west side of the Missouri River. Little Pheasant, Medicine Bull, and Iron Nation called upon Burt at the lower camp, and the first two leaders reportedly solicited a missionary for their White River settlement. Medicine Bull returned to visit with Burt in December of that year to express "a very urgent desire for a church and missionary at White River." Interestingly, Medicine Bull did not specify the type of missionary. Over time, these efforts and a petition by Little Pheasant led Burt to establish a mission at Lower Brule by 1876.[33]

Additional personnel promoted Episcopal influence beyond a small core of supporters along Crow Creek. Grace Howard began a contract school for girls twelve miles southeast of the Agency.[34] By 1875, Olive M. Roberts, Sophie Pendelton, and Edward Ashley joined fellow Episcopalians at Crow Creek to offer intellectual, spiritual, and vocational services. Edward Ashley's arrival to the lower camp in the fall of 1874 permitted Burt to begin work at the Upper Camp. Burt's influence in this northern region remained limited, however, due to increasing administrative responsibilities at Crow

Creek and Lower Brule. Ashley operated from a humble, four-room structure made of cottonwood boards and a dirt roof. Workers originally built it three miles from the tribal encampment due to its proximity to timber and placement along the road to the agency.[35]

Building a structure, however, did not immediately attract tribal members. Missionaries needed to make additional gestures to gather supporters. Agent Livingston soon helped Ashley move the mission closer to the White Ghost's camp of tipis and log buildings along Elm Creek. Ashley gradually attracted tribal members by holding two Sunday services in the Lakota language.[36] The agent authorized additional quantities of beef to encourage children to attend school. Agency staff issued one ticket daily to students who went to classes. Attending ten days of school entitled them to ten pounds of beef. Though their motives prove difficult to assess, parents sent their children to school for economic, if not educational, reasons. [37] Agents also rarely enforced school attendance policies before granting rations to tribal members.[38]

Episcopal missionaries, like the Catholic priest arriving a decade later, faced resistance from tribal leaders despite perceived initial successes. White Ghost stood among the most suspicious of Episcopal motivations upon his initial hearing of a proposed school. "I do not like school houses or school teachers," White Ghost told Ashley, "I cannot eat them, and don't want the buildings erected. Take them up to the Agency for the children of the white men." Agency officials ignored the leader's comments and established the school as they had intended. Tribal leaders also held their ground by initially refusing to send their children to school.[39]

Conversations between missionaries and tribal leaders often changed in tone, but retained the tension of early intercultural dialogue. After Ashley had moved into the new building and curiosity had drawn other tribal members to the school, White Ghost visited him again. The missionary had learned proper tribal etiquette, offering tobacco to his visitor. After they smoked from White Ghost's pipe, the tribal leader's collegial tone did not mask lingering concerns. "My friend," White Ghost stated, "you have a good house here." Ashley responded, "My friend, YOU have a good house here, the school is not mine but yours; it is for your children, not for me." White Ghost remained suspicious. "Yes, that is the old story. The white man picks out a little piece of land on which to build a house. Then he puts a fence around it," the tribal leader argued, "and after a while he builds a larger fence around that, and then a larger fence around that, until he has a large lot of ground. That is the way the Indians have been treated all along." Ashley did not deny that such events had taken place in the past, but informed White Ghost of his intentions. "My friend, that may be true of some of the white men, but I do not think it is true in this case," Ashley retorted, "However, you wait and see whether I build fence after fence and steal a big slice of your land."[40]

Tribal leaders maintained great influence over school successes during the early reservation era. By 1875, three schools instructed students at Crow Creek agency where the population stood at approximately 1200. The average attendance at the schools paled in comparison to potential student participation. The agency boarding school attracted an average attendance of eight, while the day schools above and below the agency averaged twenty and six student respectively. Sister Anna also gave sewing instruction at the upper

camp that attracted an average of twenty women.[41] Class enrollment grew as tribal leaders consented to send their children to school.[42] Three of seven Lower Yanktonai chiefs opposed American education by 1878. Some went so far as to send their soldiers to remove the children from classrooms. Sister Anna reported that most "delinquents" in 1878 came from White Bear's band.[43] Opposition declined during the following year due to the shifting status of these leaders: one died, one lost his influence, and the third came to support the educational institutions. By 1879, three federally-supported schools registered an average yearly attendance of sixty-five students during a ten-month academic year. Twenty of forty who could read had learned during the past year.[44]

Crow Creek mission and school success rested upon the support of church officials as well as tribal leaders. The transient nature of Episcopal personnel stationed at Crow Creek limited their influence. This became particularly evident by the end of the 1870s. Their missionary program limited its impact at any single agency in an effort to expand its influence across Dakota Territory. Church leaders sent Burt to establish missions across the southern tier of South Dakota. Burt worked at Lower Brule from 1875 to 1878, at Rosebud from 1878-79, and at Pine Ridge from 1879-81.[45] Challenges of isolated living, personnel conflicts, and discontent with support from Bishop Hare led Sister Anna to leave Crow Creek following the 1878 convocation. In 1879, Episcopal leaders sent Ashley to Seabury Divinity School in Minnesota for additional education.[46] Other missionaries relocated to fill necessary voids. Following Ashely's 1879 departure, S.J. Brown replaced him at the upper camp and William Saul moved to the lower camp.[47]

School effectiveness also depended upon competent teachers. Agent Dougherty reported in 1879 that the agency boarding school and lower camp day school maintained a successful instructional program. The upper agency school, however, struggled under an incompetent teacher.[48] By 1881, no camp or day schools operated at Crow Creek and the industrial boarding school faced personnel problems and limited accommodations. The death of the wife of teacher E.D. Canfield forced him to close the school for several weeks. Even when consistent schooling remained possible for Crow Creek students, the boarding school program limited its influence to thirty children until an 1885 expansion.[49]

Episcopalians consolidated their forces and directed their resources to fit perceived tribal needs during the early 1880s. Church leaders finally responded to Burt's numerous requests to return to his beloved Crow Creek by re-appointing him to Crow Creek in 1881.[50] The scattering of tribal members across the agency led Church leaders that same year to move the larger Christ's Church to old Fort Thompson to accommodate more church members.[51] By 1884, Burt claimed three churches at Crow Creek, where the largest congregation stood at the Lower Camp.[52]

Church leaders relied upon native catechists to serve Episcopal interests at Crow Creek. William Saul served the lower camp by 1879.[53] David Tatiyopa served approximately twenty-eight communicants of St. John the Baptists chapel at the lower camp by 1884.[54] Financial compensation from Episcopal coffers often proved difficult to attain and led catechists to rely upon limited economic support from community members.[55] Burt considered licensed-catechist Dan Philip Firecloud his "right-hand man." Still he earned only one dollar per month for leading services at the agency.

Firecloud left for Hampton Institute in April 1885.[56] Church leaders needed to prevail upon local parishioners to provide support for catechists. Consequently, Episcopalians found it difficult to retain skilled culture brokers.

Limited financial support and personnel made it difficult for Burt to provide religious services across the reservation. The upper reservation often went without regular missionary visits. Burt initiated plans to establish an Episcopal presence at the Big Bend by February of 1885. Their March church schedule, however, revealed a persistent Episcopal emphasis on maintaining their flock near the agency and at the lower camp. Burt held services on the first and third Sundays near the agency at Christ Church and on the second Sunday at Lower Church, St. John's. He made no commitment to the last Sundays of the month, nor did he schedule regular services at the upper camp. [57]

Burt employed Levi Trudell, Firecloud's replacement, to commence mission work among a "strong heathen element" near the Big Bend by April of 1885. By October of 1885, Trudell reported a well-attended Sunday school program at the Bend, where he and a local assistant taught interested tribal members to read the Dakota language.[58] One member reported interest in the Bishop's promise to move the small St. Thomas church up to their community. [59] Inconsistent Episcopal efforts persisted in the region despite reported growing interest in the new mission. Church leaders had still not moved St. Thomas church to the northern agency community by February of 1886. Levi Trudell's departure from Crow Creek later that year left the region once again without a regular Episcopal catechist. Burt visited the region several times each month to compensate for the limited missionary personnel. [60] He reported the friendly disposition of the Bend

community, maintaining that a church staffed buy a good man could gather an Episcopal congregation from a population generally indifferent to Christianity.[61]

The middle 1880s caused much confusion for tribal and non-tribal members at Crow Creek. Episcopal missionaries and federal agents often drew the brunt of frustrations caused by shifting federal Indian policy. New pressures to "open up" agency lands for non-Indians grew as available agricultural lands dwindled on the Great Plains. Secretary of the Interior Teller responded by sending out commissioners to Crow Creek in 1882 to arranged for the cession of a portion of land in exchange for equivalent lands.[62] Burt stood with tribal leaders in opposition to these efforts and encouraged them to petition President Chester Arthur in April of 1882 for assistance.[63] Commission delegates abrogated proper treaty procedure by using threat, misrepresentation, and guile during their negotiations.[64]

Ultimately, Sioux Commissioner Newton Edmunds reported to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price that Crow Creek Indians ceded in February of 1883 "all the interests in the Great Sioux Reservation and about three-sevenths of the Crow Creek Reservation."[65] President Chester Arthur's executive order opened up the Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation to white settlement on February 27, 1885. Upwards of two thousand non-Indians rushed onto agency lands to build shanties by March of 1885. Of the 635,000 acres of reservation land only 135,000 remained under tribal control, with much of that land of limited agricultural value.[66] New arrivals interfered with the agency cattle herd and stole from tribal members.

Protestant and tribal appeals led to a reversal of the decision. Indian Rights Association leaders argued the illegality of the executive order. White Ghost traveled to Boston, New York, Springfield and other eastern cities in March to seek redress. His eloquent appeals stressed the historic peaceful nature of relations between his people and Americans.[67] Despite Burt's opposition to this encroachment, White Ghost placed blame on Burt's encouraging them to sign a petition that he presumed influenced this turn of events.[68] Ultimately, newly-inaugurated President Grover Cleveland's Executive Order of April 17, 1885 rescinded Arthur's decree to order the removal of white settlers within sixty days.

Frustrations with federal policies and limited Episcopalian assistance set the stage for a permanent Catholic presence on Crow Creek. The challenge of removing settlers from agency lands rested on Crow Creek Agent Gasmann and Burt. During the following months they visited the northern regions of the agency. Many white settlers ignored Cleveland's executive order and remained on their "improved" lands. Ultimately, this frustrated federal officials and jeopardized Gasmann's job as reservation agent.[69] Tribal frustrations with Episcopalian inability to secure their land rights increased the likelihood that northern tribal leaders would seek more effective alliances. Episcopal tardiness in establishing themselves more permanently near the Big Bend had left the door open to denominational competition.

Inter-tribal dynamics played a part in permitting Catholic leaders to establish influence on Crow Creek. As certain tribal leaders developed relationships with federal and Episcopal leaders, others looked elsewhere for allies to benefit their particular

tiospayes. Agent Gasmann's offer during the Winter of 1885 to bring White Ghost to the East reportedly invoked jealousy by Wizi and others not selected to make the trip. White Ghost sustained prominence in the eyes of federal officials through the first years of the twentieth century. Culturally unacquainted with single permanent leaders over a large community, some Yanktonais turned to other sources for influence and to gain support for their people.[70]

Episcopal standards also limited tribal support from spreading throughout the agency. Following general nineteenth-century practices, Protestant leaders maintained more exclusive traditions than tribal members had followed within their more inclusive ritual practices. Specifically, Burt sought to limit tribal participation in the ritual of communion to those with sufficient Episcopal preparation and to generally limit participation to once a month.[71] His questioning of the appropriateness of marrying Indians who had broken from church practices repelled tribal members.[72] At times, miscommunication severed growing inter-religious dialogue. Burt concluded that cultural confusion over participation in holy communion may have turned Paul High Bear away from the Episcopal fold.[73]

Crow Creek Sioux had maintained irregular contact with Catholic emissaries during the early 1880s. Interest by certain tribal leaders in a permanent Catholic mission attracted maverick Father Francis M. Craft to Crow Creek for two months during the Spring of 1884 and Father William A. Kennealy in March of 1885.[74] Tragic stories of student deaths at federal off-reservation boarding schools led Crow Creek leaders to call for a Catholic mission school close to home during the early 1880s. Drifting Goose drew

on historic relations between Sioux kinsmen and Catholic emissaries to seek out the disciple of legendary De Smet, Martin Marty. Tribal leaders contacted Marty during his Summer of 1883 visit to Standing Rock, repeating their interest to meet the Catholic Bishop in Pierre, South Dakota in October of 1884. Sioux leaders Iron Nation, Two Lance, White Hawk, Bone Necklace, and Drifting Goose renewed this message in Huron, South Dakota on July 4, 1885.[75] Yanktonais numbered within a crowd of several thousand who welcomed Marty home to Yankton on October 22, 1885 also revealed Crow Creek support for the bishop.[76]

Contact between Crow Creek leaders and Catholic priests grew before the year ended. In October of 1885, Drifting Goose and Bull Ghost attended a Huron, South Dakota fair, where they reportedly received assistance from Catholic leaders. Burt concluded that Drifting Goose and Bull Ghost had abandoned Episcopalian affiliation and had "thrown themselves away to the R.C.s" as a result of their trip to Huron. Still, the politically savvy Drifting Goose maintained good relations with Mr. Gassman regardless of growing relations with Catholic leaders.[77] Reverend William Mahoney surreptitiously visited Crow Creek later in November, choosing not to report to the agency office upon arrival. He met immediately with tribal members at the "hotel" to meet a contingent of tribal members led by Drifting Goose, Bull Ghost and Crow Man. Mahoney employed a controversial, unlicensed trader named Carrier as a scribe and encouraged tribal members to sign a petition requesting a Roman Catholic mission. On January 28, 1886, tribal leaders sent the Office of Indian Affairs a petition signed by two-hundred tribal members for a Catholic Mission school.[78]

Crow Creek residents perceived the 1885 arrival of Catholic priests in different ways. Federal officials considered their arrival a welcomed relief from the stress placed on their government boarding school. A new Catholic boarding school would provide additional educational opportunities close to home for Crow Creek Sioux. Episcopalian leaders, on the other hand, saw their arrival as competition for tribal souls, especially in the northern section of the agency. Tribal members took a variety of responses to their arrival including support, opposition, and ambivalence. March 25, 1886, Burt reported that White Ghost and others opposed the Catholic arrival, and told agent Anderson (who had replaced Gasmann) that they wanted Major Carrier to be sent away.[79]

Burt responded to the growing Catholic presence by increasing his own efforts to appeal to tribal members. He hoped that Episcopal success teaching Indian and white children to recite the Apostle's Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments would help to keep them within his fold. The Protestant missionary feared that proximity to the Catholic mission would attract prospective Episcopal students and promote competition for Crow Creek youth. The situation got personal for Burt in the case of Jennie Wells, the daughter of Episcopal catechist Wallace Wells who had lived with the Burts one winter. Burt suspected that the construction of the Catholic mission would lead Wells' aunt Sarah La Croix, who lived adjacent to mission grounds, to enroll Jennie at Stephan. In an effort to prevent this loss of an Episcopal soul, Burt sought scholarship funds to send Jennie to the new Springfield Academy. [80]

Federal interest in accommodating a larger number of Sioux children to American schools prevailed over their preference for Episcopal missionaries. Officials realized that the enlargement of the government's agency school could not accommodate all potential Crow Creek students by the Fall of 1886.[81] In 1886, federal officials responded to the request for a Catholic mission at Crow Creek by granting use of 160 acres of land in the northeast corner of the reservation along the West Fork of Elm Creek to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.[82] Marty turned to Father George L. Willard, secular pastor of Yankton's Sacred Heart Parish to form a permanent Catholic presence among Crow Creek tribal members.

Willard received assistance in selecting appropriate land to place the Catholic mission on Crow Creek from those more familiar with the terrain. He considered himself fortunate in the recent replacement of Episcopalian Crow Creek agent Rev. Major John G. Gasmann in December of 1885, with William W. Anderson, who had no particular church affiliation and thus stood "disposed to be fair to all."[83] Anderson escorted Willard and other Catholic representatives around the reservation in search of eligible locations. Ultimately, Willard rested his decision on choosing between locations with sufficient water or wood. Tribal members had previously secured allotment rights to locations with both resources. Stagecoach station agent George Tuttle warned Willard away from placing the incipient mission at Ferguson Hole, a station along the Yankton to Pierre route, due to its unreliable water supply during the summer months.[84] Instead, Tuttle prompted the priest to plant roots near a reliable water source four miles east of Ferguson Hole. Current maps place the school along what is now referred to as the West Fork of

Elm Creek.[85] This location had cultural and political advantages. Tribal members who specifically called for Black Robes lived north of the agency, and Anderson wanted to place a school in a part of the reservation where no other one existed.[86]

Willard resided with non-Indian Sarah LaCroix, a Sioux-language speaker, during the construction of the first mission building.[87] The lack of wood near the future mission challenged him. The priest proposed trading ten acres of the original one hundred and sixty for ten acres of woodland. Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins denied the request stating that "it is not the policy of the Department to permit the cutting of green timber for the unoccupied lands of Indian reservations."[88] Atkins relayed the Secretary of the Interior's permission to collect only fallen timber on unoccupied lands so long as tribal members had no problem with it. Such stipulations left Willard with the need to contract for twenty-two mile deliveries of wood from Highmore, which proved particularly challenging during spring rains when road composition turned to gumbo. Workers completed the first building that served as a residence and school by the fall of 1886.[89]

Many historical forces, motivations, and organizational leaders found common ground on which to establish Immaculate Conception Indian Mission at the Crow Creek Agency in 1886. Protestant missionaries and federal officials had set the stage for early assimilation programs near Fort Thompson. Catholic priests arrived later to insert themselves into a missionary power vacuum. During the 1880s, they reintroduced themselves to Sioux tribal members whom their predecessors like De Smet had met years ago. Yanktonai and other Sioux leaders held a clear demographic majority and stood at the center of the story. They had learned to adapt to the agency system since their arrival

at Crow Creek. In the process, they made decisions regarding necessary compromises within the new intercultural system. By 1885, circumstances led several tribal leaders to recruit Catholic priests to establish a school where their children could learn additional skills to negotiate the new world in which they found themselves.

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[1] Federal language used the term "agency" in Sioux Country until the 1889 division of Sioux Territory into six constituent "reservations." See Herbert T. Hoover, "The Sioux Agreement and Its Aftermath," South Dakota History XIX, no. 1 (Spring 1889): 56-94.
[2] Jerry Lytle, interview, maintains the persistence of a Episcopal influence on the southern Crow Creek agency, and Catholic support near the Big Bend on northern reservation lands.
[3] Duratschek, 161-62.
[4] For a discussion of the "Peace Policy," see Francis P. Prucha, S.J. The Great Father, Chapter 10. According to Robert M. Utley, "Wars of the Peace Policy, 1869-1886" in The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 164-201, the "Peace Policy" directive to place tribes permanently on reservations to promote assimilation programs ironically led to increased warfare across the west.
[5] According to Martin Brokenleg and Herbert T. Hoover, eds. Yanktonai Sioux Water Colors: Cultural Remembrances of John Saul, (Sioux Falls: The Center for Western Studies, 1993), 8, prominent Yanktonai artist John Saul's parents arrived at Crow Creek with other members of White Ghost's band, under the temporary supervision of General Alfred Sully.
[6] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 130.
[7] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1881): 84. Captain Dougherty admitted 131 from the Standing Rock agency in 1881.
[8] Heckalia Burt to Bishop William Hobart Hare, November 17, 1873-January 12, 1874, Box 1, Incoming General Correspondences, William H. Hare Papers, Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota Archives, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
[9] "Some Reminiscences," Edward Ashley Papers, Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota Archives, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
[10] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 133. Tribal members issued supplies under the direction of the agency clerk weekly on Thursdays, taking about three hours. They issued annuity goods twice a year, in November and late February. Dougherty reported that this pattern would change. "It is intended to issue annuities hereafter in the same manner as other supplies when necessary only, and as nearly as possible in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 5, 1875."
[11] Santee Sioux had established an American-influenced agrarian program earlier while living in Minnesota.
[12] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1868):649-51, 820. By 1869, General D.S. Stanley reported Two Kettles and Lower Yanktonais of one thousand peaceful members each at Crow Creek, with members from both trying to farm near Fort Thompson. During the same year, Colonel E.S. Otis assisted the vagrant Lower Yanktonai further north near Fort Rice in planting nearly twenty acres of land. Other Yanktonai near the Standing Rock agency remained reluctant to establish agrarian roots due to their claim to land east of the Missouri River. Limited agricultural production and few remaining buffalo in the region left many tribal members to rely upon small game and federal annuities for survival.
[13] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1872): 647, 790-91. In the same Annual Report of 1872, p. 645, Grand River Agent J.C. O'Connor reported similar successes. During that season, Two-

Bears' Lower Yanktonai grew a fine crop of corn, squash, pumpkins, and watermelons on the east side of the Missouri River. Similarly, Cutheads had success cultivating land about thirty miles above the agency.

[14] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1875): 740, 747. According to the same annual report, p. 747, Upper and Lower Yanktonai on the Standing Rock agency stood out amongst their Teton neighbors in their tendency to settle down to more stable agricultural pursuits. Seven Lower Yanktonai and five Upper Yanktonai bands at Standing Rock agency cultivated farms in 1875. Unlike their southern kin, grasshoppers destroyed nearly all of what promised to be an abundant crop.

[15] For a discussion of the expansion of capitalism into peripheral regions and its gradual influence on indigenous peoples see Immanuel M. Wallerstein, The Modern World-system; Capitalistic Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974); The Modern World-systerm II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750 (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[16] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 130, Crow Creek Agent William G. Dougherty reported in August of 1879 that most of the valuable timber had been cut along the Missouri River.

[17] "Crow Creek," Ashley Papers; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1875): 740, (1879): 130-31, (1881): 85-88.

[18] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1881): 87.

[19] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 132; (1881): 85; Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, Rolls 87-89, Crow Creek (Lower Yanktonai and Lower Brule Sioux Indians), (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1965).

[20] Olive M. Roberts to Hare, June 21-July 12, 1877, Hare Papers, Box 1. White Ghost's assistants, Bowed Head and John Fluery, began attending services by 1877. Mission leaders particularly applauded their participation and soon looked to them and their progeny to cultivate additional support amongst their community. Bowed Head's daughter Grace rose in the estimation of church leaders to receive recommendations that she serve as teacher within the program.

[21] "Crow Creek," Ashley Papers; Brown to Hare, June 2, 1879, Hare Papers, Box 1.

[22] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1883): 85.

[23] Brokenleg and Hoover, 8. Saul learned many American trades and attended several boarding schools during his early life, but later in his life was known for promoting tribal oral and artistic traditions. Saul also became the teacher of noted Sioux artist Oscar Howe.

[24] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 336, (1881): 87, (1883): 86.

[25] Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976 (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), 5. Congress enacted Grant's Peace Policy on April 10, 1869 which stipulated that tribes should relocate to reservations as soon as possible to learn Christian and "civilization" practices. The President would punish those who refused to relocate to reservations, fair business practices should operate in regard to supplying reservations with needed goods, religious leaders should serve as Indian agents, and religious organizations should establish schools and churches for the benefit of tribal members.

[26] Presbyterians had served the Santees at this location, prior to their 1866 removal to Nebraska. A Presbyterian presence returned by 1889 when native minister Rev. Daniel Renville built a church fifteen miles from the agency, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1889): 138; By 1871, the War Department turned over the Crow Creek military post to the Interior Department, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 130.

[27] Sneve, 41.

[28] According to Sneve, 9, Livingstone was eventually put on trial for mismanagement of the agency, but acquitted. His supporters claim that the problems may have actually stemmed from poor record keeping rather than impropriety. Still, the accusations stained the Episcopal reputation at Crow Creek.

[29] Sneve, 41.

[30] Sneve, 7, 41-43; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1872), 645, 647. By 1881, Episcopal leaders moved the larger church to the agency in response to the shifting location of tribal members.
[31] Jan M Dykshorn, "William Fuller's Crow Creek And Lower Brule Paintings," South Dakota History 6, no. 4 (Fall 1976): 417-18 maintains that Wizi was the cousin of White Ghost. Wizi joined the Episcopal Church and was buried at the Episcopal cemetery in Fort Thompson. White Ghost never joined the Episcopalian church.
[32] Burt to Hare, November 17, 1873-January 12, 1874, Hare Papers, Box 1.
[33] Burt to Hare, December 30, 1873-December 17, 1874, Hare Papers, Box 1. According to Burt's letter of October 2, 1874, Lower Brule tribal leaders held Dr. Byrnes, a Roman Catholic by birth, but sympathetic to Episcopalians, in high regard as he planned to marry Iron Nation's daughter. Little Pheasant's petition mentioned in "Crow Creek," G-9, Ashley Papers.
[34] Duratschek, 162.
[35] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1875): 740; Ashley, "Crow Creek," G-1.
[36] Missionary reference to indigenous languages can prove complex. Throughout the work, I use missionary linguistic terms, though it is uncertain if their use of Lakota, Dakota, or Sioux represent distinct dialects or their term for the broader language system. A predominant Yanktonai tribal population at Crow Creek suggests tribal use of the Nakota dialect, though few reference this term in written records.
[37] "Crow Creek," G-1, Ashley Papers.
[38] Sr. Anna to Hare, May 31, 1878, Hare Papers, Box 1.
[39] "Crow Creek," G-2, Ashley Papers; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1875): 740 reported one boarding school and two day schools, one at the lower camp, by August 1875.
[40] "Crow Creek," G-2, Ashley Papers.
[41] Reverend William Hobart Hare, Annual Reports of the Missionary Bishop of Niobrara, (1875), in Sneve, 42.
[42] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1875): 740.
[43] Sister Anna Pritchard to Hare, May 31, 1878, Hare Papers, Box 1.
[44] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 133, 337. Samuel J. Brown to Hare, June 2, 1879, Hare Papers, Box 1 states that White Ghost and his soldiers came to select lands along Crow Creek and began to ignore rival leader Tewicaka.
[45] Sneve, 45-46.
[46] Ashley began his mission work at the Sisseton agency following his 1881 graduation, Ashley Papers.
[47] Brown to Hare, October 27, 1879, Hare Papers, Box 1.
[48] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1879): 133, 337.
[49] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1881): 88, (1883): 87; Agent John Gasmann to Bishop Hare, March 25, 1885, Hare Papers.
[50] Burt's Indian mission work continued for forty-five years, and he died in Chamberlain, South Dakota on June 8, 1915, according to Sneve, 43.
[51] Sneve, 43.
[52] The agency's St. Thomas church counted two communicants, Christ Church at the Upper Camp included twenty-one communicants, and the Chapel of St. John the Baptiste at the Lower Camp listed twenty-eight communicants under David Tatiyopa, according to Sneve, 168.
[53] Brown to Hare, October 27, 1879, Hare Papers, Box 1.
[54] Sneve, 168.
[55] In January of 1885, James Williams worked among his lower camp people to gain support for David Tatiyopa, according to Burt to Hare, January 25, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[56] Burt to Hare, February 9, 1885, April 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2. For additional discussion see Donal F. Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
[57] Burt to Hare, March 20, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[58] Presuming the accuracy of the instruction in the "Dakota" language, this process may have proven difficult for the majority of Big Bend residents who likely came from Yanktonai, Yankton, or Two Kettle

backgrounds. Yankton and Yanktonai traditionally had spoken an understandable, but distinct, Nakota dialect, while Two Kettles spoke Lakota.
[59] Burt to Hare, October 5, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[60] Burt to Hare, February 26 - March 25, 1886, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[61] Burt to Hare, April 7 - 20, 1886, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[62] Indian Rights Association, "Crow Creek Reservation, Dakota: Action of the Indian Rights Association, and Opinions of the Press, West and East, Regarding Its Recent Occupation By White Settlers" (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1885), 10.
[63] Burt to Hare, April 1882, Hare Papers.
[64] Henry Spackman Pancoast, "Facts Regarding the Recent Opening to White Settlement of Crow Creek Reservation in Dakota" (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, circa 1885), 2. According to the Fort Laramie Treaty (1868), future land cessions required the consent of three-quarters of tribal men.
[65] Newton Edmunds to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, February 27, 1883, Senate Report, No. 283, 365, in Indian Rights Association, 11.
[66] "Protest Against Robbing the Indians of Their Lands," Philadelphia Inquirer, March 26, 1885, in Indian Rights Association, 17.
[67]Elaine Goodale, "Mr. Arthur's Grave Mistake in His Last Executive Order Concerning an Indian Reservation," March, 18, 1885, letter to the Springfield Republican, in Indian Rights Association, 15.
[68] The historical record remains unclear regarding the 1882 meeting at Crow Creek, the petition signed, and promises made. Congress failed to ratify the agreement claimed by the Teller Commission for among other reasons the Commission's inability to garner sufficient signatures for land cessions as required by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, according to Indian Rights Association, 10.
[69] Burt to Hare, December 4-10, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[70] Crow Creek Census Rolls from the late nineteenth through early twentieth century reveal White Ghost's prominence by listing him and his immediate family first each year in the census records.
[71] Burt to Hare, March 20, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[72] Burt to Hare, September 24, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[73] Burt to Hare, October 28, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[74] Duratschek, Crusading Along Sioux Trails, 162-63. Father Francis M. Craft's complex life included participation in the Civil War at the age of eleven, founder of the "Order of Red Sisters," hospital steward during the Spanish-American War, and emissary to Lakota (as well as being wounded) at the Wounded Knee Massacre, according to Duratschek, 93-98.
[75] "Stephan Planning Centennial: History of Stephan," Lakota Times, March 26, 1986. The dates on this event conflict on whether this Fourth of July Celebration in Huron took place in 1884 or 1885.
[76] Karolevitz, 97; Office of Indian Affairs (No. 801), January 9, 1886, in Duratschek, 163.
[77] Burt to Hare, October 28, 1885, Hare Papers, Box 2. Burt's reference to "Storming Goose" likely means Drifting Goose.
[78] Letter from St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D.C unsigned and unaddressed, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM), General Correspondence Series 1, Roll 5, Dakota Territory (1877-84), Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Duratschek, 163-64; "The Immaculate Conception Mission School, Stephan, South Dakota," Indian Sentinel, (1906): 8, reported the two hundred signatures on the school petition. According to petition dated November 27, 1885, Crow Creek Agency, and unsigned letter of December 11, 1885, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 12, 112 signatures registered in support of Catholic school and mission. According to Episcopal competitor Burt, a November Crow Creek petition for a Catholic mission included twenty names. Varied archival research also reveals that while Catholic sources suggest involvement of the reservation agent, Episcopal sources deny this and maintain more clandestine actions.
[79] Burt to Hare, March 25, 1886, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[80] Burt to Hare, November 30, 1886, Hare Papers, Box 2.
[81] Burt to Hare, May 19, 1886, Hare Papers, Box 2.

[82] Federal officials granted "the right of temporary occupancy" to "Catholic Church authorities of the territory of Dakota" according to Lucius Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior to John D.C. Atkins, January 26, 1886, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 13.
[83] Willard to Dr. Chapelle, March 14, 1886, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 13.
[84] Albert Bruce, interview, supports a more general tradition of placing Indian missions away from main trade routes. Federal officials sought to promote assimilation of tribal members into American traditions. Ironically, however, they sought to keep missions at a certain distance from what they deemed more negative American practices and citizens. In the case of Stephan mission, efforts were made to keep the location distant from potential negative influences along the Missouri River and overland routes due to the negative regard held for traders, especially those who participated in the alcohol trade.
[85] Atlas of Crow Creek Reservation, 17, published by the County Atlas Company, P.O. Box 1452, Watertown, South Dakota. Burt to Hare, May 19, 1886, Hare Papers identified the body of water as "Timber's Hole."
[86] Willard to Stephan, March 6, 1886, BCIM records, Series 1, Roll 13; Maiers, 15-16.
[87] Tribal records list Selma D. LaCroix with land rights immediately east of Stephan, according to the 1995 Atlas of Crow Creek Reservation, 17.
[88] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Atkins to Rev. J.A. Stephan, April 27, 1886, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 13.
[89] Maiers, 15-16; Duratschek, 164; Zens, 329-30.

CHAPTER 6

ENDURING ENVIRONMENTAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES: IMMACULATE CONCEPTION INDIAN MISSION, 1886-1905

Students and staff at Immaculate Conception Indian Mission School faced numerous challenges during the institution's first decades. The distant location of the school prompted mission personnel to help each other adjust to the new setting. School administrators looked to Washington, D.C. for economic assistance, but often had to rely instead on the generosity of Mother Katherine Drexel.[1] Students for the first time away from home turned to each other to overcome the culture shock. Staff, too, looked to their colleagues for emotional support. Circumstances forced all to make do with less and learn to fend for themselves. Environmental hazards of the Great Plains prompted students and staff to work together to support each other. Federal officials, Catholic priests, and tribal leaders stood behind the institution with different agenda and levels of support. All three contributed to the survival of the institution during the first decades. Ultimately, their joint efforts created a permanent educational presence fifteen miles north of the Crow Creek agency at Fort Thompson, South Dakota.[2]

The first five Yanktonai boys from Crow Creek entered a humble mission building during the fall of 1886. The eighteen by thirty-foot, two-story frame building served as a school and residence for the boys, as well as diocesan priests John Brogan

and J. Sullivan, and prefect and teacher Franciscan Brother Gonzaga. Katherine Gallagher, who had arrived in the region with other non-Indian settlers earlier in the decade, prepared meals for students and staff. By January of 1887 the student body grew to eight boys and Mary Carroll, a non-Indian girl from the nearby town of Pukwana. Father Willard had returned to Yankton by then, but retained formal charge of the mission until the Summer of 1887.[3]

On January 21, 1887, Bishop Marty delivered Father Pius Boehm, O.S.B. on a horse-drawn sled across a cold, wintry landscape to Stephan, Dakota Territory. Boehm had agreed to relocate from his parish work at St. Meinrad, Indiana to serve as superior of the incipient mission. During his first few years he struggled with the stark environment, limited church support, and his own reluctance toward Indian missionary work.[4] Like many individuals placed suddenly into leadership, the daily challenges caused him to question his competency and even offer to surrender his position during the early months. During Boehm's first few years, Marty transferred school superintendents George Willard, Vincent Wehrle, and Stephen Stenger to other positions within the Dakota missionary field.[5] Boehm's presence provided continuity during these transitional years and prompted Marty to appoint him as school superintendent during the Winter of 1889. Boehm's support within the Catholic hierarchy, however, did not mean uncritical acceptance from Yanktonai leadership.

Tribal members in thirty-five wagons broke through snow drifts to reach Stephan that January. They also endured cold temperatures to greet Bishop Mary, visit their relatives attending the school, and meet the new Benedictine recruit. The

delegation included leaders with varied attitudes toward the missionaries. Bull Ghost, proud in his instrumental role in establishing the mission, welcomed Boehm.[6] Standing Elk continued to suspect the priest and Catholic motives. "God made the earth, and all this land was made for the Indians," Standing Elk stated, " The white main is coming here to root up the ground like pigs, and if you come for our land, we will kick you out."[7] The Benedictine priest attempted to assure these leaders, and the women standing behind them with butcher knifes in their belts, that he came in peace and motivated to teach their children about the Great Spirit.[8]

Relations even with mission supporter Drifting Goose proved complex. He had joined Standing Elk and others in successfully petitioning for the Catholic mission and remained proud of the accomplishment. Still, Bishop Marty and other Catholic leaders remained critical of his claim to three wives. Befitting tribal tradition, Drifting Goose refused to abandon any of the three wives as he noted "they all have been good to me." Neither the tribal leader nor Catholic officials budged from their position for several years. Drifting Goose held to his traditional ethics; Catholic leaders refused to bend their religious rules to different cultural norms. On December 14, 1891, at the age of seventy and upon the death of his first two wives, church leaders accepted Drifting Goose and his remaining wife Mary Winona into the church. Drifting Goose apparently was not offended by this treatment and still enrolled his daughter at the mission school prior to his full acceptance in the church.[9] The tribal leader remained a committed Catholic until his May 13, 1909 death and

instilled such devotion to his son, Gregory Turner, who served as a catechist for many decades.[10]

Boehm quickly recognized environmental challenges as well as the inherent tensions of intercultural relations. Violent storms disrupted the lives of Dakota Territory residents in February of 1887. Boehm noted the mission's loss of its white-faced ox, but it paled in comparison to neighbor Sarah La Croix who lost fifteen of her thirty-six head. Succeeding blizzards drifted snow against hay sheds making them inaccessible. Weather conditions slowed new building as carpenters ran out of supplies and the nineteen mile road north to Highmore proved impassable. The slow progress forced Boehm to deny residency to three boys who sought admission that winter.[11]

The small mission staff gained assistance from the arrival of the first Benedictine sisters and neighboring ranchers as winter turned to spring. Internal problems within the isolated community had prompted Boehm to plead with Marty to assist in personnel matters. The priest asked for permission to dismiss a cook whose "incorrigible" disposition and self-confessed "quick temper" proved wasteful of limited food resources and divisive to the staff. [12] By April 13, 1887, Benedictine Sisters M. Wilhemina Kaufmann and M. Magdalen Nagy arrived at the mission from St. Mary's Convent in Zell, South Dakota to take charge of domestic affairs. Limited personnel prompted Boehm to call on local rancher Peter Hoy and others to transport materials from Highmore. Over time, mission leaders developed regular personal and business relations with local ranchers, including the purchase of cows when

necessary.[13] Breaks in the harsh weather finally permitted construction workers to make progress on the new building.[14]

By May 1, 1887, a student body of thirty-seven had access to a new, one hundred by forty foot structure, described by Crow Creek Agent William W. Anderson as a "very fine and handsome school building."[15] Mission staff hired Miss Lizzie Minaugh as teacher for the twenty boys and seventeen girls. The first floor provided the kitchen, pantries, dining hall, playroom, and store room for the mission. Living quarters for teachers and small boys, drug room, prefect's room, and boys' infirmary took up the second floor, and older boys lived on the third floor. Maintaining gender separation, the girls' dormitory, recreation rooms, and chapel occupied the original building.[16]

The need for educational services at Stephan stemmed from limited capacity at the federal school, a large number of youth, and parental interest. In early 1886, the agency boarding school (established in 1881) stood as the only reservation school, serving thirty boys and thirty girls at capacity.[17] Anderson reported parents "anxious" for more schools. He thought Crow Creek tribal members more advanced than their Lower Brule neighbors and other western Sioux in their interest and ability to embrace American traditions.[18] He noted not only a Crow Creek interest in educational institutions, but also demographic ability to provide three times as many students as current school buildings could reasonably serve.[19] The agent reported a population of over 1100 at Crow Creek in 1887, including 249 boys and girls between

the ages of six and sixteen, and 190 under the age of six.[20] This potential student population prompted federal officials to support the expansion of the Catholic school.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra A. Hayt had concluded as early as 1879 that education of tribal youth was the most effective of federal assimilation programs. "While progress in the work of civilizing adult Indians who have had no educational advantages is a slow process at best," Hayt argued, "the progress of the youths trained in our schools is of the most hopeful character."[21] Limited federal personnel forced officials to turn to religious organizations to assist in the process. On July 1, 1887, church leaders prevailed upon federal officials to grant the first annual contract to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) for Stephan Mission. The educational contract stipulated that mission leaders keep the average student attendance at fifty, with no more than sixty-three at any one time. Washington agreed to compensate the school twenty-seven dollars per quarter per pupil, with a total compensation not to exceed $5400. Federal leaders hoped that mission boarding schools would assist in the federal effort to "civilize" American Indians through educational programs.[22]

The alliance between federal officials and Catholic leaders was complex from its inception. Washington bureaucrats lacked sufficient personnel to implement its assimilation programs. Mission leaders supported this agenda but also hoped to draw tribal members into their religious fold. Both sides endured the relationship for pragmatic reasons. Federal officials with financial resources often held the upper hand. Administrators from both organizations often focused more on rules and regulations of federal contracts than the spirit of education. Regular communication

between federal officials and Catholic leaders emphasized numbers and stipulations rather than student life and academic programs. Quantity of students and supporting funds drew far more discussion than the quality of the education delivered. At times, communication fell into the truly trivial. During the Winter of 1991-92, for instance, Boehm and the Commissioner's office exchanged letters that discussed among other things an instance when a school inspector found one of the student's beds made with one, rather than the required two, bed sheets.[23]

The new contract prompted Marty to restructure Catholic missionary efforts in Dakota Territory. He closed his Industrial School for Indian Boys (1884-87) in Yankton that summer to make room for the Sisters of St. Benedict Mother House, where future missionaries prepared for work in Dakota Territory.[24] Reverend Vincent Wehrle, O.S.B., directed the teaching staff and students in July from Yankton to the expanded Crow Creek school, where he accepted the position of superintendent and teacher for the first year.[25] Benedictine Sisters M. Antonia Hermann, M. Martina Protzmann, and M. Anastasia Sassel moved to Stephan to serve respectively as matron and kitchen assistants. They joined a staff that already included two Sisters, two Brothers, and a lay teacher for the first semester of the federal contract.[26]

Mission administrators had difficulty filling their school during the first months of the contract despite the size of the boarding accommodations and tribal support. Parents often kept their children home to help with summer subsistence chores. Supportive parents also did not always mean cooperative students. Wehrle noted a problem of runaways as early in the fall of 1887. Such challenges kept

average student attendance at twenty-four during the first quarter of the contract. As autumn turned to winter, the school attracted a growing number of students. Students in attendance on the September 30, 1887 quarterly report included children of Red Water, Strong Blanket, Coming with Noise, Hurt Another, Drifting Goose, Two Teeth, Runs All Over, Sitting Elk, and White Buffalo.[27] The average attendance grew to fifty-four students during the second quarter of the contract.[28] It is difficult to assess why student population grew at this time. Timing suggests that parents no longer needed their children's help or sent them to school to insure their access to food and clothing during the winter months.

The diverse student body included a wide range of ages and tribal representation. Oglala and Brule boys from Pine Ridge and Rosebud who had attended the Yankton Industrial school arrived with Crow Creek students returning home. Nine of the boys and girls present in September came from the Cheyenne River Reservation. Crow Creek Physician Fred Treon, M.D. described them as of "half blood" ethnicity.[29] Five of the forty Crow Creek students present by September were over 18 years of age, and not covered by the federal contract.[30] Additional students from the Yankton, Rosebud, and Cheyenne River Reservations joined the international community by December.[31] Stephan also claimed sixteen mixed-blood students who lived outside reservation lands between the Rosebud agency and Missouri River.[32] Ethnic diversity corroborated with an 1887 Crow Creek reservation population that included Santees, Lower Brules, Yanktons, mixed-bloods, and a majority of Lower Yanktonais.[33] Students noticed the differences in tribal

representation at Stephan, but administrators focused more generically on gathering "Indian" students. Intercultural representation was the result, not the goal, of Catholic efforts to increase enrollment.

Student diversity grew as mission leaders ran into increasing competition for Crow Creek students. The federal agency school expanded its student capacity from sixty to one hundred and twenty students. Episcopal missionary Grace Howard opened a mission school twelve miles from the agency to attract girls recently returned from eastern off-reservation schools. Superintendent Wehrle reported forty Crow Creek students in attendance at Stephan in September of 1887.[34] One year later, the student body expanded to seventy-five students, but only twenty-five of these were from Crow Creek.[35] Stephan often turned to other agencies for students.

Agent Anderson and his successors channeled local students to the agency school by employing federal rulings to block student transfers to mission schools. This practice coincided with federal policy to support their own schools at the expense of contract schools. Catholic leaders argued that this denied the rights of tribal parents to send their children to religious schools of their choice. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Daniel M. Browning (1893-97) formalized the government position in 1896 in response to an Indian agent's question regarding school selection. "It is your duty first to build up and maintain the Government Day Schools," the so-called 'Browning Ruling' argued, "and the Indian parents have no right to designate which school their children shall attend."[36]

Stephan administrators struggled to recruit students from other agencies. Federal officials granted two contracts to Stephan on June 30, 1888, one for fifty students from Crow Creek and the other for fifty students from other agencies. Washington policy formulator often failed to communicate ambiguous enrollment policy to those that needed to implement it. Federal bureaucrats often neglected to inform agents of the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Yankton and Santee Agencies of permission granted to Stephan recruiters. Father Vincent Wehrle requested specific written authorizations to gather students from other agencies, but recruiters continued to face non-cooperative agents.[37] In addition, Stephan staff remained unclear on federal regulation over cultivating students of tribal descent who lived off-reservation in mixed-blood communities between the Rosebud Reservation and the Missouri River.[38] Such bureaucratic confusion either denied students access to Stephan or forced administrators to support the students without federal assistance.

Mission leaders also faced disease that spread across the country during the late nineteenth-century, and hit tribal communities particularly hard. Sioux parents turned to local schools to enroll their children after illnesses and deaths claimed students at off-reservation schools like Carlisle Indian School and Hampton Institute. In 1887, the Thomas Spencer Childs' report found a one in fifteen death rate for students at Hampton, and a one in twenty rate at Carlisle. Hampton Superintendent General Samuel Chapman Armstrong recognized early on the health threat to students in new environments. He noted in 1879 that "the change from the cold bracing air of

Dakota to this damp seaside air and lower altitude is a risk." Continued health problems and deaths continued at Hampton despite services of a physician and nurse and establishing the King's Chapel Hospital to tend to tribal members.[39] Limited federal support prompted crowded living arrangements at boarding schools that often made matters worse. Such traumatic results of sending children to off-reservation schools prompted many parents to bring their children closer to home. Crow Creek Agent Dixon also supported the return of students from eastern training schools due to the "unsatisfactory" record these schools had regarding student health. "Indian youth should be educated in schools on or near the reservation to which they belong and are acclimated, Dixon asserted."[40]

Stephan Mission, however, did not remain immune to illnesses. In November of 1888, Superintendent Stenger reported an outbreak of measles that struck nearly all of the one-hundred children at the school. The ailment also spread to adults in the community. All who stayed recovered, but Landre, Ducheneaux and Pillow families took their children home to the Cheyenne River Reservation to recover.[41] The winter of 89-90 proved more tragic for the health of Stephan students as the Grippe, pneumonia, and whooping cough hit the mission. Neither regular consultation from agency doctors nor missionary prayers prevented the loss of two students in three days, four students overall, during late February.[42] Contrary to the previous year's epidemic, Boehm noted that parents chose to keep their children at school where they considered them "well taken care of."[43] Such outbreaks came all too frequently in South Dakota Indian schools. Other Crow Creek schools endured even more

potentially dangerous outbreaks that led to the quarantine of the Grace Howard Mission and the agency school in January of 1892.[44]

The natural world continued to threaten the Great Plains mission; harsh storms led to a loss of life and property damage. Missionaries uprooted from their home monasteries also struggled adjusting to the new environment. Inconveniences turned to tragedy for Sr. M. Wilhelmina Kaufmann. She became disoriented on January 12, 1888 while trying to cross an area of over four-hundred yards between the laundry room and the main building during blizzard conditions. Life-lines of staff searched for her after she did not appear for dinner. They finally found her frozen to death, kneeling against the fence, less than one-hundred feet from the building.[45] Other notable storms, while not taking lives, caused damage that a poorly-funded mission could hardly withstand. On April 2, 1889, for instance, the mission suffered physical damage from a windstorm.[46] Despite mission insurance policies held by Bishop Marty, Stephan had yet to receive compensation by the following winter. Such instances forced mission personnel to make due with damaged property or tighten their budget elsewhere.

Mission administrators often could not make structural and educational improvements. Success depended upon support from east-coast sources, namely the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) who held purse strings to meet daily expenses and structural expansion. The complex national scale of both organizations often led to a breakdown

in communication. Promised support from Washington, where both organizations maintained headquarters, often failed to reach the distant mission.

BCIM director Stephan, for instance, supported a new building at Crow Creek to meet the growing demand for students, but then failed to provide timely support. In the fall of 1888, Superintendent Stephen Stenger revealed specifically to Stephan the mounting debts of over three-thousand dollars for lumber, brick, hauling freight, gathering school children and other expenses. Noting the urgency of financial struggles, Stenger told Stephan that a single day's expenses left them "over two hundred dollars short" and "not a cent to pay the carpenters."[47] Mission personnel often heard little explanation for months of delays in financial support.

Part of the financial difficulties arose from the general nature of federal disbursements of funds that typically took several months to process. Stenger, for instance, did not receive the disbursement of federal funds for the academic quarter ending on September 30, 1888 for $1058 and $167 through BCIM channels until January 29, 1889. Stenger's successor as superintendent, Pius Boehm, did not receive checks for $1641 and $248 for the quarter ending December 31, 1888 until April 6, 1889. In response to the growing mission debt, Boehm looked to other sources of funding with limited success.[48]

Ultimately, like other Catholic missions in South Dakota, Stephan survived through the regular support from Katherine Drexel that closed the gaps between federal support and school needs.[49] Her timely support permitted boys to occupy the partly-completed second mission building during the winter of 88-89, and girls to

move in to the finished structure by the September of 1889.[50] New accommodations permitted the student population to grow to well over one hundred during the 1888-89 academic year. Catholic leaders prevailed upon Mother Drexel to support large-scale projects, but remained dependent upon federal sources to meet educational and living expenses at their schools.[51]

Catholic leaders welcomed the growth of the physical plant and student population, though the expansion challenged administrators to meet daily expenses. Federal officials more often focused on the specifics rather than the spirit of their educational contract. They refused to compensate Immaculate Conception during its first contract year for more than the fifty student maximum for the second quarter, despite the limited student body during the first quarter. Mission leaders bore the burden of financing the additional students.[52] Similarly, federal contracts of 1888-89 generally refused to support off-reservation students over the contract limit despite Stephan's inability to reach the maximum of Crow Creek students.[53] In addition the necessary bureaucracy often inhibited a streamlined approach to paperwork. A multi-national school such as Stephan often needed reports signed by agents of each student's home reservation to be financially compensated. This partially delayed disbursement of funds that supported day-to-day expenses.[54]

Catholic administrators regularly pleaded with federal officials to not only expand their contracted number of students, but to merely meet the fundamental support of the contract itself. Stephan contracts required federal support of twenty-seven dollars per non-Crow Creek student per quarter, and fifty dollars per year plus

clothing and annuity allowances for Crow Creek students. The disbursement of sufficient goods and money often failed to arrive on time, leading staff to support students indefinitely on their own. In September of 1887, BCIM director Stephan complained to Commissioner John D.C. Atkins (1885-88) of the Bureau's failure to provide mission schools with "all necessary subsistence for the school children during the continuance of the contract."[55] Boehm reported that winter clothes promised for Immaculate Conception students did not arrive until spring despite BCIM prodding.[56]

Catholic leaders increasingly criticized federal preference for Episcopalians at Crow Creek. Agent Anderson's 1887 report on Crow Creek land distribution to missionary organizations reinforced the perceived inequity. He noted that Episcopalians held 170 acres of land in four regions of Crow Creek while Catholics held a single 160 acre plot in the distant northern reaches of the agency, despite the Congressional mandate that established a limit of 160 acres of land by religious organizations.[57] In early 1889, Stenger noted specific neglect of Catholics at Crow Creek, claiming that Agent Anderson was "under the influence of the Episcopalian Minister of the agency." Stenger complained that the agent did not visit the Catholic mission, encourage agency students to attend the Catholic school, or reply to his letters. He also noted that agency policy provided preferential treatment toward Protestants during federal distribution of goods that left Catholic tribal members with few goods. Stenger stated that earlier agency disbursals of mowing machines, stoves, wagons, and horse harnesses favored Protestants. The Catholic superintendent even

claimed that Anderson and Episcopal minister Hekalia Burt tried to force tribal members to place their signatures on enrollment forms for the Episcopal church.[58]

Protestants and Catholics competed for decades while De Smet and other Catholic missionaries worked with tribal leaders on the behalf of federal officials. Over time, Catholic leaders called federal policy into question due to its impact on Native communities and Catholic evangelical efforts. They supported tribal land rights as well as Catholic interests. In July 1888, BCIM director Stephan suggested that Bishop Marty discourage Catholic missionaries from helping federal commissions sent west to negotiate treaties. Protestant leaders Captain Richard Henry Pratt, Episcopal Reverend William J. Cleveland and others sought tribal consent to the General Allotment (Dawes) Act (1887) that "opened up" reservation lands for non-Indian settlement and an 1889 federal decision to "break up" the Great Sioux Reservation.[59] BCIM leaders opposed the act not based on Sioux interests, but on the belief that Catholics would not receive a "thank you" or credit for any "success."[60]

Despite the limits of federal assistance, mission leadership reported consistent tribal support for the Catholic mission, including some parents who brought their children a long distance to attend Stephan.[61] On April 12, 1889, Boehm reported a petition signed by fifty of the most prominent tribal leaders that requested a Catholic priest be appointed as the new Crow Creek agent. Eight of eleven chiefs, including White Ghost the "chief of chiefs," supported the measure. A founding supporter of the mission, Bull Ghost informed Boehm of his proposed efforts and hopes also to gain the support of the remaining three.[62]

Tribal support and a nearly-complete second building prompted the growth of Stephan during the second half of 1889. By August of 1889, Immaculate Conception recorded an average attendance of eighty-five while the expanded federal school at Fort Thompson maintained an average attendance of just over seventy-three students.[63] The agency school drew most of its students from Crow Creek as Stephan attracted students from other reservations. Boehm reported a student capacity of 150 at the building's completion.[64] By September, however, only twenty-four local students and sixty-three from other reservations attended the Catholic mission. This limited number stemmed partially from federal contracts that prevented attendance of students who had attended another school during the past year. [65] Federal officials argued this to insure that their schools reached capacity. Crow Creek parents who supported in concept an American education did not quickly rearrange their lifestyle to fit within academic calendars. They kept their children at home as seasonal chores warranted their help. More students from Crow Creek arrived at school by November. Twenty-five boys and twenty-three girls left the school just shy of the fifty Crow Creek student contract.[66]

Relations between the mission and the Crow Creek agent improved. The necessity of filing weekly student vouchers stimulated contact between Fort Thompson and Stephan mission. Stenger's ardent criticism of Agent Anderson gave way to more amicable relations between Boehm and the agent. Conversations and visits cultivated better relations that grew to the extent that Anderson suggested an ability to provide support "in excess of the contract" to Boehm.[67] The two worked

together to streamline the bureaucratic process to follow policy directives. Anderson turned over twenty head of cattle to Boehm on October 22, 1889 to meet mission demands for food. Though clothing for the winter had not arrived, Boehm concluded that "the prospects are not so gloomy after all."[68] In fact, clothing did not arrive even by November 1, 1889, when Boehm directed BCIM Vice-Director Willard to petition Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan (1889-93) to act quickly as "winter is before the door."[69]

By February of 1890, $30,000 in investment stood behind two large mission buildings. The recently-completed, L-shaped building stood thirty-four feet wide, one-hundred feet long one way and sixty-three feet long the other way. This building housed the girls in accordance with the directive of Katherine Drexel. The lower floor included two schoolrooms connected by two large folding doors, as well as the dormitory for small girls, the library, lavatory, clothes room, and serving room. The chapel, older girls' dormitory and two private rooms composed the upper floor. The first building, a one hundred by forty foot, three-story structure, became the boys' domain. Its first floor included the mission kitchen and pantries, dining hall, playroom, store room, and a private room. The teacher's room, clothes room, dormitory for small boys, drug store, prefect room and sick room were located on the second floor. Older boys lived on the darker third floor which still lacked windows for light and ventilation.[70]

St. Meinrad's of Indiana provided Boehm with much of his male staff during the first decade.[71] Ambrose Mattingly, Fintan Wiederkehr, and many others provided

crucial, administrative, religious, and vocational support. Ambrose Mattingly began his thirty-year service to the mission as a sub-deacon and teacher in August of 1888, and was ordained a priest there on June 17, 1889.[72] Mattingly served, like most staff, in many capacities during his time at Stephan, including teacher, prefect, barber, plumber, carpenter, doctor, and missionary to Crow Creek and Lower Brule. He also built chapels at Fort Thompson, Big Bend, and Fort George.[73] Over time, he earned the name "Hoksina Pesto" which means "Sharp Boy." His easy-going, conversational manner complemented Boehm's practical, administrative style.[74] Boehm listed Wiederkehr as a teacher, but principally during the next decade he used a learned proficiency in the "Sioux" language to provide missionary services to adults. He traveled thousands of miles on poor roads each year to communities on the Crow Creek, Lower Brule, and the Cheyenne River, and Sisseton Reservations.[75]

Benedictine priests maintained administrative control over the mission for nearly a century, but many others contributed much of the day-to-day labor. Twenty teachers and staff kept the mission running and served an 1890 student body of about ninety. Superintendent Boehm noted that most had experience up to a decade in Indian mission work.[76] Most employees came from European backgrounds, with many born in Europe and only recently arrived in the United States. During her 1890 visit to Stephan, Superintendent of Indian Education Elaine Goodale noted that "several of [the staff] are American-born." This suggests, of course, that many came from other countries. Interestingly, for a staff responsible for teaching American culture and the English language, Goodale also noted that "the teachers and

employees speak English correctly and with little or no accent."[77] The complexity of intercultural relations grew in cases when neither student nor staff communicated in their native tongue.

Male staff concentrated on maintaining mission facilities and teaching vocational skills to older boys. Benedictine Brothers from St. Meinrad comprised most of the early male staff, but lay workers also worked at the mission. Some, like Brother John Apke, brought experience working at Devil's Lake/Fort Totten Indian mission beginning in 1878 to Stephan. [78] Apke served the mission as boss farmer, Brother January Huber focused on carpentry and wagon-making, Brother Phillip Ketterer was the dairyman and gardener, Brother Anthony Manhard functioned as Ketterer's assistant and the boy's prefect, and Simon Kusser was the shoemaker. In addition, during May of 1890, the mission employed non-permanent workers for construction projects, including carpenters Gideon Jacquis and John Arnoldy, and a multi-task worker, Anton Steffis.[79]

Permanent staff also instructed the boys in their field of expertise. This process fulfilled a two-fold agenda of promoting tribal self-sufficiency in American society and providing labor to keep the mission running on a limited budget. Success depended upon the caliber and age of students. In 1889, for example, most of the boys were too small to gain much proficiency in the mechanical trades, but two of the older boys did learn to make shoes and a few tried carpentry.[80] By 1890, additional older male students had helped the staff cultivate one-hundred and twenty-five acres of land, over thirty acres of which they turned over during that season.[81]

Daily work at Stephan and most boarding schools rested on numerous Sisters despite a patriarchal system that credited priests with educational accomplishments. Benedictine Sisters taught domestic skills to train the girls to cultivate appropriate American-styled homes in the future, and provided labor to keep the mission's domestic costs low.[82] Specifically, the Sisters taught housekeeping, cooking, baking, sewing, knitting, mending, fancy and common needlework, laundering and other skills pertaining to domestic life. Sister Clementine Brown served as teacher and girl's matron. Sister Romanda Andres acted as assistant matron, seamstress, and later boy's matron. In addition, Sisters Anselmina Auer and Johanna Barnettler served as seamstresses, with the later also working on fine needlework and knitting. Sister Matrina Protzman cooked with the help of Sister Rose Wittaker who also served as baker. Sisters Theda Huse, Paulina Egger, and Lioba Muff tended to laundry duties with the assistance of some of the older girls.[83]

Limited funds and a religious agenda prompted Catholic schools to employ mostly members of religious orders. This left little room to employ local teachers, who might have proven more effective teaching Sioux students. The federal boarding school at Fort Thompson attracted more tribal employees, one-third of the agency school's staff in 1890.[84] During that same year, Boehm employed the services of one native teacher, Giles Tapetola. Marty had recruited the young man to study at St. Meinrad earlier in the decade. Tapetola quickly opted to return to Dakota Territory where Marty employed his teaching services.[85] Most staff had difficulty seeing beyond generalized "Indian" students. Tapetola showed an understanding of students'

particular backgrounds, specifically referencing "Hunkpati" students in a May 1890 letter to Marty in May of 1890.[86] He also revealed interest in student lives beyond the mission campus by helping several boys seek additional schooling for the following year either at Hampton Institute or St. Joseph's Indian Normal School at Rensselaer, Indiana.[87] Tapetola presumably remained for one more year at Stephan and was joined by an additional tribal member on the staff during the 1890-91 academic year. Boehm reported no tribal representation on his staff by June of 1892, but by May of 1893 mixed-blood Sister Bridget Pleets, O.S.B. and full-blood Sister Catharine Crow Feather, O.S.B. had joined the staff.[88]

The student body included individuals with varied tribal backgrounds and a significant number of mixed-blood children by the Spring of 1890. Ambrose Mattingly taught older boys and Sr. Clementine Brown directed the older girls. Giles Tapetola took charge of the younger boys and, until a Sister arrived from Yankton, the girls as well.[89] Over half of the ninety students had never attended another school. The remainder came mostly from off-reservation boarding schools. The girls, who had more often attended the mission for several years, performed better than boys, many of whom had not been present as long at Stephan.[90] They learned English spelling from D.D. McGuffey's Speller, practiced math lessons from Robinson's Arithmetic, learned the world's physical features through Sadlier's Geography, and as well as U.S. and Bible history.[91]

School staff expected all the students to work. Boys and girls swept their rooms and made their own beds. Boehm's description of students by size rather than

age (i.e. "big girls" or "large boys") suggest mission concern for student work capacities. Older students spent half their days at work/vocational training, while "smaller" students spent most of their days in classrooms. Presumably, younger students had more to learn in the classrooms, but they also had limited ability to perform prescribed chores on campus. Older boys spent much of their work hours learning agricultural and vocational skills. Girls focused on more domestic skills including dishwashing and laundering.

Benedictine tradition has emphasized the significance of living a balanced life for centuries. The Catholic order's communities worldwide still maintain the need to balance work with spiritual and education practices as three pillars of their daily lives. Stephan leaders incorporated this philosophy into their educational program for students. Benedictine tradition recognized that working together linked individuals into "a great cohesive, self-productive and self-protective family," according to former Crow Creek Benedictine Father Stanislaus Maudlin. Like his fellow nineteenth-century monks, Maudlin linked the significance of mission work to student self-esteem. "When a youngster, girl or boy, eats what he had helped produce and he sees others enjoying what he has produced, he feels not only a sense of accomplishment, but more importantly a sense of worth."[92]

The centerpiece of all federally-funded schools focused on curriculum to suppress the tribal vernacular languages. President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Commission had proclaimed in 1869 as the "Peace Policy" commenced that "their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted."[93] Over

time, this attitude became federal policy. "No oral instruction in the vernacular will be allowed," asserted to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D.C. Atkins on April 6, 1888, "the entire curriculum must be in the English language."[94] Policy statements sounded persuasive from Washington D.C., but federal officials often struggled to enforce them on a local level. Few native-English speaking staff and limited library resources placed limitations on the English program. In addition, the numerical advantage of Sioux-speakers must have reinforced the students vernacular language at least away from the classrooms.

The Benedictine mission used readers from the National Catholic Series to promote the English language. Goodale noted that teachers provided effective instruction through student drills, leading many to read fluently in the first, second, third, and fourth readers.[95] Some students had been aided by Crow Creek family members, about thirty-six percent of whom could demonstrate some reading ability in English, and about seventeen percent could use English in ordinary conversation. Similarly, students from the Cheyenne River Reservation could claim home communities with forty-one percent reading ability and twelve percent proficiency in conversational English.[96] Superintendent Boehm noted that beyond mere competence, upper-level readers provided advanced learners with exposure to "descriptive and narrative writing, dialogues, speeches, lessons in natural history, natural philosophy, biographies and poetry."[97]

Educational leaders gradually recognized the deficiencies in English language programs used in Indian schools. "Four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, of the work done is

purely mechanical drill," Goodale noted in an 1891 publication, "The child reads by rote, he memorizes the combinations of arithmetic, he copies letters and forms, he imitates the actions of his teacher."[98] Luther Standing Bear (Lakota), a graduate of Carlisle Indian School argued in his early twentieth-century memoir the ineffective nature of English curriculum used at most Indian schools. He suggested that teachers should have taught students how to translate their language into English. "But the English teachers only taught them the English language," Standing Bear critiqued, "like a bunch of parrots." He noted that while students could ultimately read the words, "they did not know the proper use of them, [and] their meaning was a puzzle."[99]

Like many non-Catholics, Goodale criticized the religious school's emphasis on Catholicism. In particular, she critiqued the National Catholic reading series as containing "few and poor" illustrations as well as "subject matter [that] consists largely of stories of saints and miracles." She also critically noted that "much time is given to religious exercises, and one hour of the four and a half hours of daily school session is devoted to the Catechism." Goodale did state that despite her arrival during "Holy Week" when regular classes were not scheduled, staff assembled students in their classrooms to show their educational achievements.[100]

Overall, Goodale commented that "the children are comfortably and neatly clothed and apparently well-fed." What most irked the defensive Boehm regarding her report was her less than laudatory evaluations of various elements of the educational

facility and program. He feared that negative evaluations would jeopardize government support. Goodale's April evaluation certainly appeared mediocre at best.

> school room work--fair
> industrial training--fair
> sanitary conditions--fair
> hospitality and bathing facilities—poor
> general neatness and cleanliness—-excellent
> clothing—good
> food and bill of fare—good
> deportment and English—good
> religious and moral influence—good
> amusements—poor[101]

Boehm noticeably responded to Goodale's three-page written analysis of the school with nine-page and two-page letters to BCIM Director Stephan. In a defensive, bureaucratic manner, he disagreed over specifics, blamed insufficient federal support, and attacked Goodale's integrity. He countered her assessment of insufficient amusements for children with a listing of games and equipment on hand. Boehm argued that the federal failure to meet contractual financial obligations limited the mission's ability to rectify problems inherent in over-crowded dormitory rooms, poor ventilation, and unconnected buildings. The Benedictine priest defended the National Catholic series as promoting the cultivation of "true virtue and patriotism." He noted that previous inspector had not found fault in the series, and that purchasing a new series of readers would subject the mission to additional expenses. Boehm also questioned Goodale's character, stating that "we have heard enough about her and know who she is." Paternalistically comparing her to female students he asserted, "if some of our school girls would act as she did here, I would give them a going

over."[102] Catholic leaders typically questioned criticism of their institution, not their educational program itself.

Students not only learned specific subject matter, but also the western scientific concepts of compartmentalization and time. Staff did not present these ideas within a classroom setting, but constantly within a carefully regimented schedule.

School Schedule as of May 8, 1890 [103]

MWF

9-9:15 AM	Preparation for class
9:15-10	Catechism
10-10:10	Recess
10:10-11	Reading and Spelling
11-11:30	Arithmetic
2-2:15	Preparation for Class
2:15-2:30	Spelling
2:30-3	U.S. History and Bible History
3-3:10	Recess
3:10-3:30	Penmanship
3:30-4	Dictation or Letter Writing

Tues/Thurs

9-9:15	Preparation for Class
9:15-10	Catechism
10-10:10	Recess
10:10-11	Reading and Spelling
11-11:30	Arithmetic
2-2:15	Preparation for Class
2:15-2:30	Spelling
2:30-3	Geography
3-3:10	Recess
3:10-3:30	Grammar
3:30-4	Mental Arithmetic

Boehm believed that the school provided fine education as well as an entertaining atmosphere. The mission provided students with toys, musical instruments, and sporting equipment. Boys had use of their first floor playroom for

indoor activities. Girls could entertain themselves in their first-floor rooms connected by large folding doors. The superintendent specifically noted that students could amuse themselves with bats and balls, five sets of croquet, footballs, hand balls, lawn tennis, jumping ropes, checkers, dolls, marbles, a full brass band, including a mouth harmonica, jumping jack, and jaw harp.[104] Boys and girls enjoyed different elements of music. Girls focused on singing while boys proved most proud of their band. Students who particularly excelled in these or more academic pursuits had the opportunity to display their talents in six "entertainments" in 1890. [105] Boehm concluded that "our children are well satisfied and always glad to return after vacation." Government schools, he claimed, had few of the above except by private donations.[106]

Despite missionary efforts to provide proper accommodations, students retained interest in returning to their homes and families. Many missed their families and cultural traditions after many years away from home. In June 1889, Frank Martin Baggage requested permission to go home after five years away. "I would like to see my parents," Baggage stated, "I think five years is enough." Certainly, family members retained a similar interest in the return of their children. Baggage specifically referred to many letters he had received from home that told him to return this vacation. Mission staff and Catholic leadership had not recognized the need of students to visit home regularly. Vice-Director George Willard concurred with the request and informed Boehm of the Indian Department's ability to support the traveling expenses to the Pine Ridge Agency.[107]

Federal officials' constant tinkering with Indian policy often led to programs based on inconsistent agenda. [108] Washington gradually allocated additional funds for day schools that provided students regular contact with their families. Some policy makers believed that regular parental access to day school students would spread learning to local adult populations. A day-school program, however, stood diametrically opposed to boarding schools established to break ties to tribal communities. Ironically, federal monies came to support boarding schools at the same time as day schools. Many federal and religious leaders remained committed to the industrial boarding school concept on philosophical and practical grounds. Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs E.M. Marble noted on November 1, 1880, "the opportunity for teaching Indian children how to live, as well as how to read and think, is found only in the boarding school, and for that reason the effort of the office during the past year has been directed mainly toward increasing boarding school accommodations at the various agencies."[109] Agent Anderson pragmatically concluded in 1889 that "owing to the fact that the Indians are widely scattered, the industrial boarding is the only suitable school for this reservation."[110]

Superintendent Boehm maintained that the Catholic mission served as the best example of the boarding school philosophy at the Crow Creek agency. He put aside Goodale's critical assessment of the school and embraced the positive comments made by Inspector Armstrong, U.S. Special Indian Agent George L. Litchfield, Agent Anderson, and Agency Physician Treon. Boehm boldly concluded in 1890 that Stephan was "better in every respect than the Crow Creek government school."[111]

Comparatively, Stephan had a greater enrollment capacity, average attendance rate, gender equality among staff, efficiency in use of federal resources, and lands under the plow by June 30, 1890. The federal school's capacity of eighty-five students and average attendance of eighty-one paled in comparison to Immaculate Conception's one-hundred and fifty student capacity and average attendance of ninety. Stephan showed numerical gender equity with a forty percent female staff, while the agency school recorded seventy-five percent of its staff as women. The Catholic mission cost the government $7,038 per year while a smaller student body at the agency school cost $11,123.48 per year, leading to respective per capita costs per month of $6.52 and $11.44.[112]

Agricultural production remained limited at both boarding schools due to the challenging climatic conditions of the Crow Creek region. More students and staff enabled the Catholic mission to record greater progress in agricultural efforts. The agency school cultivated 50 acres compared to 125 acres at Stephan.[113] The mission's ten acres cultivated prior to the federal contract grew to forty-five in 1887. Stephan students and staff cultivated eighty more acres during the 1888 and 1889 fiscal years. By 1890, they had cultivated all one hundred and twenty-five acres of agricultural land within the mission quarter section (160 acres). Boss Farmer John Apke and his student workers grew corn, oats, barley, potatoes, melons, pumpkins, squashes and beans. Drought and prairie fire, however, took their toll on agricultural yield during each of the seasons except the Fall of 1888. Such tragic incidents regularly contradicted reported harvest levels made to federal officials early in each season.

They also forced additional mission expenses to purchase food to make up for the losses. In addition to cultivation, Apke directed students to plant nearly three thousand trees in 1889, and four thousand the following year. By August of 1890, the boss farmer could claim one hundred and fifty head of cattle, seventeen horses, and sixty swine. Student chores tending to mission animals fell along gender lines. Boys learned to tend to the poultry yard, and exclusively took charge of milking during the previous year. Girls focused their agricultural pursuits on dairy work.[114]

Boehm overcame these setbacks and remained committed to Stephan's growth. Instead of down-scaling, he sought to expand the Catholic presence at Crow Creek. On June 2, 1890, he asked BCIM Sub-director Willard for permission to apply for additional acreage at Crow Creek. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' report, individuals could purchase another quarter section at $1.25 per acre.[115] By May of 1893, Boehm reported that in addition to the one hundred and sixty acres connected to the institution, they had a section about three miles distant that they acquired under the homestead laws.[116] Over time, the Catholic mission gained access to even more land for gardens and cattle ranches to feed their community. By 1960, Father Stanislaus Maudlin estimated that Benedictines claimed nearly five thousand acres at Crow Creek and leased other tracts from Indian landowners.[117]

Boehm also continued his efforts to gather additional students to fill the mission. Federal policy, later articulated in the so-called "Browning Ruling," continued to limit access to students who had attended the agency school during the

previous year. The Benedictine priest argued that this policy restricted the rights of parents who wished to enroll their children in Stephan. Agency administrators persisted in their efforts to retain student enrollment at their schools. They often went so far as to physically remove former students from the mission to readmit them to the agency school. Boehm noted on September 6, 1892, "school opens, [and] as usual, Indian police come from the agency to take away five or six newcomers whose parents wish their attendance, but the law forbids, [and] therefore they must go."[118]

The mission superintendent went beyond criticism of federal policy to secure new students. Boehm ventured off school grounds each Fall for four to six weeks to gather children. The isolated mission location and limited transportation options made such trips expensive and time consuming. For Boehm to recruit certain Rosebud students, for instance, he needed to drive a wagon twenty-two miles to Highmore and ride the train to Armour to reach the nearest train station for that agency. Then, he hired a team to travel the remaining forty miles to Wheeler where he met local residents and gathered students for the next day's equally arduous journey back to Stephan.[119] During late August of 1890, Boehm traveled to the Santee agency in northern Nebraska, where the agent denied his recruitment of students for Stephan. Boehm claimed that students ignored the agent and followed him to Stephan with the blessings of their parents. Soon upon his return, federal officials ordered Boehm to return the students to Santee at his own expense.[120] Federal contracts claimed to support the cost of transporting students to school, but such compensation often existed only on paper.[121]

Boehm and Agent Dixon could consider themselves fortunate compared to the traumas faced by other western Sioux superintendents and agents in December of 1890. No major problems arose at Crow Creek because of the Ghost Dance on other Sioux reservations and the violent response to it on Pine Ridge. Stephan stood geographically close enough to learn of rising tensions, but far enough away to remain unscathed. Non-Indian response to the events of this time reveals persistent suspicion of tribal people on the Great Plains during the late nineteenth century. Three-hundred Cheyenne River residents described by Boehm as "hostile" passing fifty miles west of Stephan en route to Rosebud caused great concern in Highmore. Boehm reported that "our Indians seem peaceful," but neither he nor Highmore residents felt convinced of this. Town residents fearing Crow Creek Sioux participation in a presumed outbreak sent three notices to Boehm to keep his eyes open as "indians are not [to] be trusted." Such cultural dispositions led town officials to telegraph the governor for armed support, but two hundred families still opted to "escape" the region. Boehm reflected a similar concern for safety, exclaiming "may a good God protect our school."[122] In the end, residents in Highmore and Stephan recorded no hostilities.

Lack of overt hostility toward American civilization, however, did not mean that Crow Creek residents supported assimilation programs. Agent A.P. Dixon noted in September of 1890 that even prominent reservation leaders selectively accepted American culture. Chief Judge Wizi, and Judges John Throw Away and Talking Crow wore citizen's dress and "conform to the ways of the white man," but did not regularly speak English. [123] Whether or not Dixon recognized the symbolism in this

comment, he uncovered the reality of outward tribal acceptance of American material culture, while maintaining individual tribal identities. He noted that these tribal leaders generally supported American education in 1890, but recognized the lack of universal support. By 1892, Dixon estimated that "there is not one-third of the parents at these reservations [Crow Creek and Lower Brule] who desire that their children should attend school, or would voluntarily place them therein." Dixon added, even more critically, that he estimated only one in ten students would remain in school if permitted to leave.[124]

Crow Creek Census data of 1892 supports the complex nature of American-styled education on that reservation during the late nineteenth century. Agent Dixon reported that of three hundred and ten school-aged children (between five and eighteen years of age) about two hundred and ten attended school. The nearly one-third that did not attend school reveals the hesitant nature of many Crow Creek residents toward indoctrinating their children into American culture. The majority of students (one hundred and twenty-two) attended the agency boarding school, while the remainder attended either Immaculate Conception (thirty-nine), Grace Mission School (twenty-three), and Santee Normal School (sixteen). Federal money and agency support stood behind the high enrollment at the federal school. Declining federal support for contract schools in the 1890s limited Crow Creek student numbers at Immaculate Conception.[125]

Student enrollment records suggest that many variables contributed to attendance at different educational institutions. Varied school enrollment of children

from the same family proves particularly noteworthy. Four Tracks, for example, sent his eleven-year-old daughter Holy Horse to Immaculate Conception, his nine-year-old son Short Bear to the federal agency boarding school, and his seven-year-old daughter to no school at all. Documentary evidence does not reveal whether proximity to school, student age, gender, or the child's choice played a part in these decisions.

Religious affiliation of schools may not have been related to enrollment decisions despite missionary efforts. Crow Man, for example, a leader among the delegation that sought the establishment of the Catholic mission, sent his sixteen-year-old daughter They Follow Her and his eleven-year-old son Two Elks to the agency school. With Tail chose to send three of four children to the Catholic Mission and one to the federal school. Some parents, on the other hand, showed loyalty to particular institutions. Good Road sent his four children, boys and girls between nine and fifteen years of age, to the Catholic Mission. Other parents may have remained more protective of younger children, choosing to keep them home until their teenage years. Catholic tribal member Standing Elk, for example, sent his fourteen-year-old son Walks With Pipe to the Catholic Mission, but did not enroll his younger six and eight year old children in any school.[126]

Immaculate Conception grew to an average attendance of ninety-five students during the early 1890s by drawing from supportive families on and off the reservation. The Catholic school benefited from peak federal support for private contract schools during these years. From 1888-1893 federal support rose from $6,455 to $10,026, before precipitously declining through the rest of the decade.[127]

Student chores, divided along gender lines, helped provide a limited degree of self-sufficiency regardless of inconsistent federal support. Boys assisted the boss farmer with 14 horses, 170 head of cattle, 30 swine, and 117 domestic fowl, as well as cultivating 175 acres of land for wheat, corn, barley, oats, potatoes, and other produce. Girls assisted with more domestic work of laundry and food preparation. Still, it was federal and other outside funding that kept the place financially afloat. In 1892, federal officials supported Immaculate Conception students on contract with $108 per year, accumulating to $9,716.73. During the same fiscal year, federal coffers contributed $14,851.75 to the similar-sized federal school at the agency. Catholic sources adding $5573.70 during that fiscal year, as well as an unpaid religious staff, permitted the school to operate despite this discrepancy in support from Washington, D.C.[128]

Federal accountants might have applauded the economic advantages of contract schools like Immaculate Conception, but many Americans criticized federal support for Catholic Indian missions. Rising numbers of Catholics within a late nineteenth-century immigrant tide disturbed many Protestants who questioned Catholic traditions and loyalty to the United States. Many Protestants concluded that such new Americans could not be as patriotic as themselves. Politicians even incorporated this increasingly popular theme into their campaigns. In the 1894 presidential election, for example, Republican nominee James G. Blaine denounced Democrats as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion."[129] Nativist sentiments prompted the growth of anti-Catholic organizations like the American Protective

Association (1887), the Immigration Restriction League (1894), and other organizations. In urban America, conflict grew between Catholics and Protestants over the fate of public schools.[130]

The Indian Rights Association (1882) and other Protestant organizations involved in Native American issues applied anti-Catholic rhetoric to federal support for Catholic mission schools. IRA leaders resented the thousands of dollars of annual allocations to Catholic missions in the name of education. Many Protestants saw these payments as unaccountable, direct support for Catholic orders. They recognized the need religious participation within the Indian education system when federal schools could only accommodate small numbers of students, but argued that such emergency measures should not become permanent policy.[131] IRA leaders found federal officials with reservation experience like Crow Creek Agent A.P. Dixon to support their philosophy. While generally supportive of "remarkable" educational accomplishments at Immaculate Conception, he considered the evangelism connected with the school "deplorable." Dixon also echoed many critics of federal support for religious schools not on the grounds of perceived Catholic failings, but as "constitutionally wrong."[132]

Public sentiment and Congressional investigations ultimately prompted Democratic President Grover Cleveland's 1894 announcement to continue to reduce support to contract schools as accommodations in federal schools grew. Using the 1895 Indian appropriation for contract schools as a base, Congress gradually reduced support for these schools. From 1889 to 1897, federal revenue to Roman Catholic contract schools dropped from $347,672 to $198,228.[133] All governmental funds

allocated to religious schools ended by June 30, 1900.[134] The turn of the new century marked the end of direct appropriations by Congress that had contributed $4.5 million to Catholic Indian missions since the beginning of the contract school system.[135]

Immaculate Conception's federal contracts reveal how declining federal support affected Indian missions on the local level during the late 1890s. During the fiscal year 1894 Immaculate Conception maintained an average attendance of eighty-eight that earned them $9,233.63 in federal support. Federal officials contracted with Immaculate Conception for sixty students not to exceed $6,480 in federal funds for fiscal year 1895. Federal official cut support to Immaculate Conception in half by fiscal year 1897, leaving the mission with a contract for merely thirty students worth upwards of $3,240.[136]

The fiscal year ending June 30, 1898 proved definitive for Immaculate Conception Mission. The annual appropriation act that year for contract schools called for a forty percent drop in federal support earned by an institution during the base year of 1895. In addition, however, it claimed that the federal government "shall only make such contracts at places where reservation schools cannot be provided for such Indian children." Other South Dakota Catholic missions secured limited contracts from federal sources on July 1, 1897, but Immaculate Conception was left without a federal contract. The Crow Creek agency school had grown in size to accommodate the approximate four hundred students living at the agency, and federal officials refused to support another school that would replicate services already provided at their own school. Immaculate Conception could rely on rations and

clothing for their students, but received no direct payments from federal sources after 1897.[137] Overall, Catholic mission schools retained limited federal support through rations of food and clothing estimated by director Stephan as worth about $25,000 per year during the 1890s.[138]

Catholic school administrators surprised critics with their ability to maintain Indian missions despite annual losses of $150,000 in federal support. They responded with a "two-pronged" approach, according to historian Francis Paul Prucha. Catholic leaders increased pressure on federal officials for financial assistance and gathered additional Catholic resources. BCIM director Stephan solicited financial assistance from Sioux Falls Bishop Rt. Reverend Thomas O'Gorman and other Catholic prelates across the country.[139] New BCIM director William Ketcham, who succeeded Stephan in 1901, increased his appeal to Catholic leaders and established the Society for the Preservation of Faith Among Indian Children. In the Spring of 1902, the Catholic organization began publishing the annual Indian Sentinel, which profiled Catholic Indian mission work in request of support from Catholics across the country. Such appeals reaped limited donations to address such great financial needs and prompted the mission to rely on annual contributions from Katherine Drexel of $100,000. [140]

Immaculate Conception faced more than financial troubles in the late 1890s. On October 30, 1895 fire rushed through the main boys' building taking with it nearly all the contents of the kitchen, dining hall, boys' residence, and classrooms. The loss of nearly half of the mission building space prompted reorganization. Students who lived near the mission returned home. Remaining girls crammed into the west wing of

their L-shaped building to provide room for boys in the east wing. Mission staff rescued scant provisions of bread, jelly, and cheese from fire damage and established a make-shift kitchen and dining room in a one-room building that had served as a laundry.[141]

Limited financial resources prevented Boehm from constructing a replacement building for several years. He used limited insurance money from a small policy he held for the mission to establish a small building large enough for a kitchen and dining room, with separate entrances for boys from the east and girls from the west. [142] The end of federal funding in 1897 and the loss of accommodations reduced the mission's capacity to fifty students by the early winter of 1897.[143]

Monastic support for Immaculate Conception also declined in the late nineteenth century. Just weeks after the tragic fire, the St. Meinrad abbot recalled Father Ambrose Mattingly to Indiana despite his crucial involvement in mission affairs for the previous eight years. Fortunately for Boehm and others, Mattingly returned in the Spring of 1896 to replace Father Fintan Wiederkehr as Crow Creek missionary after the later's relocation to the Cheyenne River Reservation. In 1899, the St. Meinrad abbot made a more permanent impact on Immaculate Conception by recalling Brothers Januarius, John, and Martin to Indiana. The loss of their services in agricultural duties prompted the Sisters to attend to poultry and dairy work. Boehm hired laymen to work with the stock, garden, other industrial work, and to teach vocational courses.[144] He also lured family members from Indiana to the region, several of whom served in varied capacities at the mission.[145]

Immaculate Conception's isolated location and limited communication with Washington, D.C. continued to leave the mission with irregular federal compensation even during these neediest of times. Federal officials promised to provide rations and clothing for all children in attendance, but Boehm continued to report delays or failure to receive any promised provisions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[146] Debates over the constitutionality of providing any rations to non-governmental schools heightened at the turn of the century. On August 27, 1901, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones rescinded his support for this measure. "Schools on the various reservations which are conducted by religious, philanthropic, or other societies will," Jones proclaimed, "receive no supplies whatever from the Government for the Indian children therein."[147] BCIM director Ketcham successfully argued that rations were not government appropriations but due to tribal members for land cessions. By 1904, the Roosevelt administration had the rations system restored, though by then it had limited impact on Immaculate Conception.[148]

More disappointing perhaps to Boehm was the seeming abandonment of regular support from the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Immaculate Conception seemed a low priority to BCIM's national agenda for Catholic missions. Compensation from a larger insurance policy for the destroyed building from BCIM leaders failed to materialize with any speed. Katherine Drexel had submitted $7,500 of insurance money in March of 1896, but it became misplaced or used for other purposes.[149] Stephan had learned of the existence of an account for Immaculate Conception at least by April of 1897, but as late as April of 1900 BCIM leaders still

could not locate funds.[150] The bulk of the insurance fund held by Katherine Drexel mysteriously disappeared within the larger budget of the BCIM.[151]

BCIM leadership had decided by April of 1896 to resist the construction of new buildings due to the uncertain future of federal contracts. Stephan urged Boehm to wait before planning any rebuilding campaign. [152] Boehm recognized a diminished need for a large structure, but persisted in his appeals for permission to rebuild a smaller building. New schools at Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Standing Rock no longer necessitated accommodations for as many students at Immaculate Conception. Instead, Boehm requested support for a building to house forty students from Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Yankton, and a few from Santee and Cheyenne River.[153]

Yanktonai and other Sioux leaders had not given up on their school. Tribal leaders persistently supported the mission despite declining federal assistance and limited BCIM confidence in the mission's future. Bishop Marty encouraged tribal members to sign a petition in support of Catholic Indian missions during the summer of 1896 Sioux Indian Congress at Pine Ridge. Prominent tribal leaders "Wanagiska" (White Ghost), "Magabobdu" (Drifting Goose), "Tatankawanagi" (White Buffalo), and others at Crow Creek signed a three-page petition in support of the school in October of 1896.[154]

Boehm's solicitations for building support came to fruition in the Spring of 1900. His secured support from Sioux Falls Bishop O'Gorman, submitted plans to Stephan, and gathered over one thousand dollars on personal appeals to support the construction of a new church. He also cultivated support from tribal members who

agreed to haul stones for a foundation to the mission. Boehm's efforts finally convinced Stephan to recommend an appropriation of two thousand dollars from BCIM funds to support building and repairs at Immaculate Conception.[155] Catholic leaders recognized that a new church would open up space previously used as a chapel within the school building. The new structure could thereby alleviate school overcrowding and provide a church large enough to accommodate Catholics across the reservation. [156] Father Ambrose helped workers complete work on the thirty-five by eighty-four foot church during the Fall of 1900.[157] Still, Boehm reported in March of 1904 that the BCIM had repaid neither the $2,000 promised for construction and repairs, nor the rest of the $7,500 insurance money.[158]

The last years of the nineteenth and first years of the twentieth century found Immaculate Conception without much federal support and diminished BCIM assistance. National Catholic leaders seemingly abandoned much of their responsibility toward the smaller, South Dakota mission school. Letters sent by BCIM director Ketcham, Bishop O'Gorman, and Cardinal Gibbons on behalf of Stephan mission reveal the Catholic hierarchy's limited support for the Crow Creek institution. Their more passive approach toward the "deserving institution" focused more on inducing others to provide sustenance to the Stephan mission rather than writing checks themselves.[159]

Boehm ultimately cobbled together financial support to keep the mission afloat. He often turned to soliciting support from distant Catholic churches, despite BCIM critiques of this approach. In response, he argued that he could not wait for

infrequent support from the national organization and reminded them of the adage that "God helps those who try to help themselves."[160] In 1904, he reported a three-tiered support structure for sixty students at an annual rate of $108 per student per year. BCIM funds took care of ten pupils costing $1,080, Mother Katherine personally financed the fare for thirty-two students costing $3,456, and the mission's outside fund-raising supported eighteen students for $1,944.[161] Invariably, Mother Katherine Drexel carried the financial burden beyond student support to structural development and other required costs. Between 1895 and 1903, she contributed $19,530.23 to Immaculate Conception.[162]

Catholic leaders overcame these years of great financial challenge. In fact, during the first years of the century the mission grew in size and physical plant. In addition to the new church, workers installed a complete system of water works with a gasoline engine, built a new cottage for employees, converted the old chapel into a dormitory for girls, and constructed a small building to house laundry facilities, sewing rooms, and a large assembly hall with a stage.[163]

Changing administrations and BCIM tactics permitted the cultivation of additional federal funding for Catholic Indian schools during the early years of the twentieth century. Deaths of the BCIM director Father Stephan and American President William McKinley, brought more amicable relations between bureau and the executive departments in the personalities of William Ketcham and President Theodore Roosevelt. Practical politics and philosophical agreement brought BCIM leadership, previously supportive of Democrats, into alliance with the Republican

President. Ultimately, Ketcham convinced Roosevelt to approve of the use of tribal funds in support of eight Catholic schools, including three in South Dakota. Roosevelt required tribal application for these funds in the form of petitions signed by tribal members. In return, the politically-savvy President earned Catholic support for his Presidency.[164]

Crow Creek residents stood divided on the use of tribal funds to support the Catholic school. Protestant affiliation and self-interest motivated many to opposed the use of tribal funds to support the sectarian school. A November 26, 1904 petition showed that over one hundred tribal members "strongly object to the use of our shares of tribal funds for the support of Roman Catholic schools."[165] This objection came too late, but its message influenced relations for future contracts. Crow Creek Interpreter Jennie Douglas had gone from camp to camp to secure fifty-three signatures to the tribal petition.[166] The June 1904 tribal statement claimed that the work of "devoted Fathers and Sisters has been of the greatest benefit to us and to our children, and we most earnestly desire to have them continue among us." Tribal members asked the Commissioner to make "use of our funds, a sufficient amount to pay for the care and education of all our children who may attend said mission." [167] By July 1, 1904, federal officials contracted with the BCIM to use tribal funds to finance sixty-five Immaculate Conception Mission students at $108 per year totaling $7,020 in federal support for fiscal year 1905.[168]

After nearly two decades, Immaculate Conception Mission stood as a prime example of endurance, flexibility, and sacrifice of students and staff. The mission

established an international community of individuals, all of whom adjusted to the new geographic, cultural and social setting. This isolated institution on the mixed-grass prairie forced the interaction of Europeans, Americans, and tribal members of Yanktonai, Sisseton, Santee, Teton, Lower Brule, and Yankton heritage.[169] Federal support required that the school acculturate tribal members into an American system. The way this national program played out at Crow Creek, however, remained dependent upon the responses of distinct tribal members, Benedictine missionaries, and their varied cultural traditions.

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[1] The mission's major funding organizations, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and the Office of Indian Affairs, are located in Washington, D.C.

[2] Federal officials designated the mission with a post office in 1887, which took the name Stephan, after Father Joseph A. Stephan, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (1884-1901).

[3] Pius Boehm to Thomas J. Morgan, August 31, 1890, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) Collection, Series 1, Roll 20, Dakota Territory, Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency; Maiers, 17. Willard returned to Yankton to administer the Yankton Industrial School For Indian Boys (1884-87) following the death of Father W.A. Kenealy, according to Zens, 324-25.

[4] Maiers, 17-19; Karolevitz, 100; Rev. Justin Snyder, O.S.B., "Rev. Pius Boehm, O.S.B. Sioux Missionary," The Indian Sentinel XV, no. 4 (Fall 1935): 90. Pius Boehm was born in Fulda, Indiana on February 12, 1852 to immigrant parents George and Mary Boehm from Bavaria, Germany. In 1865, he entered St. Meinrad College, where he gained a high school, college, and seminary education. Boehm entered the Order of St. Benedict in 1870 and was ordained on May 28, 1877. He served as a chaplain to the Benedictine Sisters at Ferdinand, Indiana, professor at St. Meinrad, and as a parish priest before moving to Dakota Territory.

[5] Superintendents at Stephan Mission changed quickly during the first few years until church leaders established more permanent leadership in Boehm during the Winter of 1889. George Willard served as superintendent until the Summer of 1887, Vincent Wehrle from the Fall of 1887 to June of 1888, and Stenger from July of 1888 to February of 1889.

[6] Bull Ghost stood among tribal leaders that petitioned for a Catholic mission school, see Chapter 5.

[7] Pius Boehn, "Reminiscences of an Indian Missionary," The Indian Sentinel III, no. 4 (October 1923): 154.

[8] Duratschek, 165-66; Bull Ghost, Standing Elk, and their wives were baptized in the late 1880s according to Immaculate Conception Mission records. Benedictine oral history reinforces the request of Crow Creek leaders Drifting Goose and Standing Elk to Martin Marty for a Catholic school at their agency, according to Father Stanislaus Maudlin,O.S.B., "An Oral Diary by Father Stanislaus Maudlin," (SMOD), SP 92.10, American Indian Research Project (AIRP) 1730, South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, SD.

[9] Pius Boehm, O.S.B., "Reminiscences of an Indian Missionary," The Indian Sentinel III, no. 4 (October 1923) : 154-55.
[10] Rev. Justin Snyder, O.S.B., "Golden Jubilee of Father Pius Boehm, O.S.B." The Indian Sentinel VII, no. 4 (Fall 1927): 151.
[11] Boehm to Willard, February 23, 1887, Boehm to Marty, February 23, 1887, BCIM, General Correspondence Series 1, Roll 15, Dakota Territory, Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency, 1887.
[12] Boehm to Willard, Boehm to Marty, February 23, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15. The reference to the cook as "Kate" suggests Boehm's difficulties were with Katherine Gallagher.
[13] Boehm to Stephan, May 9, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20, states that Brother John Apke purchased twenty-five cows (some quite old) from Johnson, and planned to purchase more from local settlers.
[14] Sister M. Hildegard Grimming, O.S.B. to Abbot Frowin, O.S.B., April 13, 1887, from notes of Sister Claudia Duratschek, in Maiers, 23.
[15] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1887): 105.
[16] Maiers, 22.
[17] According to the Report of the Inspector of the Indian Schools to the Secretary of the Interior for the Years Ending June 30, 1882-1886, Washington D.C.: GPO, 1883-87, the average attendance at the Crow Creek Industrial Boarding school rose toward its capacity of 60 from 1882-86. Agents reported a 22 average student attendance during the 1881-82 year that rose to 27 (1882-83), 34 (1884-85), and 58 (1885-86).
[18] Anderson also notes the persistence of cultural traditions in his submission to the 1887 Annual Report. He attributes their assimilation and acceptance of land in severalty as related to their surrounding by white land owners. Perhaps, however, the acceptance of severalty and interest in American schools might be attributed to Crow Creek need to stake claim to land and gain American skills to resist any further encroachment on their lands.
[19] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1886): 289.
[20] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1887): 102-105.
[21] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1879): VII-VIII.
[22] Sigourney Butler, Comptroller, "Treasury Department Memorandum," April 14, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16, Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency, 1888.
[23] Boehm to Bishop Marty, January 9, 1892, BCIM, Series 1, Box 31, Folder 23.
[24] Bishop Marty opened this school in 1884 and placed it under the supervision of Father George Willard and his assistant Father W.A. Kenealy. Benedictine Sister Antonia Hermann directed the instruction of about seventy boys from Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Crow Creek. The building was renovated to make room for a preparatory school for Sisters of Mercy planning to teach at Indian missions. The Sisters of St. Benedict of Zell, SD took charge of the school. Marty agreed to pay some of the debt on the building, with an estimated $15,000 debt remaining. Mother Gertrude Leupi recognized the better location of their new home, according to Karolovitz, 102-03. The Benedictine Convent of the Sacred Heart purchased the vacant school and established the Mother House of the Benedictine Sisters in the diocese of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, according to Zens.
[25] Following George Willard's death in early 1887, Marty named Wehrle as vicar general of Dakota Territory, with responsibility to serve in Marty's absence while the bishop wrote a biography of Archbishop John Henni in February of 1887, according to Karolevitz, 100-01.
[26] Quarterly Report of Dakota Indian Industrial School at Yankton, Yankton County, Dakota, June 30, 1887; according to Quarterly Report of Immaculate Conception Industrial School at Stephan, Crow Creek Agency, September 30, 1887, in Maiers, 24, the new arrivals joined lay teacher Michael Mercier, seamstress Sr. M Barbara Burkard, laundress Sr. M. Wilhelmina Kaufmann, industrial teacher Br. Gabriel Jenock, O.S.B., and farmer Br. John Apke, O.S.B.
[27] Quarterly Report of Immaculate Conception Industrial School at Stephan, Crow Creek, September 30, 1887, in Maiers, 25. Many of these names also appear on the Crow Creek Census Rolls of 1885, suggesting local students in attendance.

[28] Vincent Wehrle to Martin Marty, September 17, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15, Dakota Territory, Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency, 1887.
[29] Crow Creek Agency Physician Fred Treon, M.D., reported nine named students from the Cheyenne River Reservation at Stephan as mostly "half-bloods" ages 6-15 and as "good healthy subjects" in his examination reports, September 8, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15.
[30] Wehrle to Marty, September 17, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15.
[31] Treon also reported the health of three students from Yankton, one from Rosebud, and two from Cheyenne River (one being a girl) on December 8, 1887.
[32] Wehrle to Marty, May 27, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16, Dakota Territory, Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency, 1888.
[33] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1887): 102.
[34] Wehrle to Marty, September 17, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15.
[35] Boehm to Lusk, September 22, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[36] Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., The Churches and the Indian School, 1888-1912 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 58.
[37] Wehrle to Marty, May 27, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[38] Wehrle to Marty, May 27, 1888; BCIM Secretary Lusk to Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs A.B. Upshaw, August 18, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[39] Lindsey, 223.
[40] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1892): 437.
[41] Stenger to Lusk, December 1, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[42] Boehm to Stephan, February 25, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20, Dakota, Crow Creek and Lower Brule, 1890.
[43] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890; Boehm to Morgan, August 31, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20 noted the loss of "4 cases" during the La Grippe epidemic.
[44] Boehm to Marty, January 8, 1892, BCIM, Series 1, Box 31, Folder 23. According to Wiederkehr to Marty, December 18, 1891, BCIM Series 1, Stephan leaders sought to turn this problem into a benefit for their educational mission. Mission administrators looked for opportunities for their school stemming from illness to students. Stating the success of a Dr. Baird of Pierre with scrofula, Fintan Wiederkehr encouraged Marty to gather federal support for a program whereby students might receive treatment from the Pierre doctor while attending their school.
[45] Boehm to Hughes, April 12, 1923, in Maiers, 24.
[46] Boehm to Stephan, February 7, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[47] Letter to Stephan, September 25, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[48] Boehm to Rev. Jacob A. Watter, St. Patrick's Church, Washington D.C., December 20, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[49] Stenger to Cardinal Gibbons, February 2, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[50] Boehm to Stephan September 28, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[51] Boehm to Thomas J. Morgan, August 31, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[52] Sigourney Butler, Treasury Department Memorandum, April 14, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.
[53] Stenger to Stephan, February 2, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[54] Boehm to Willard, May 10, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17, states that Crow Creek agents could not sign a report that included non-Crow Creek children.
[55] Stephan to Atkins, September 6, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15.
[56] Boehm to Stephan, September 28, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[57] Agent W.W. Anderson to John D.C. Atkins, September 26, 1887, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 15.
[58] Stenger to Cardinal Gibbons, February 2, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[59] For a discussion of the Sioux Agreement of 1889 and its implications see Hoover, "The Sioux Agreement of 1889 and Its Aftermath," 56-94.
[60] Stephan to Marty, July 10, 1888, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 16.

[61] Stenger to Stephan, Feb 2, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[62] Boehm to Stephan, April 12, 2889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[63] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1889): 138.
[64] Beginning in 1893, annual reports state the student capacity at 130.
[65] Boehm to Stephan, September 28, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[66] Boehm to Vice-Director BCIM Willard, November 1, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[67] Boehm to Willard, November 1, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[68] Boehm to Willard, October 22, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[69] Boehm to Willard, November 1, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.
[70] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[71] "Catholic Indian Schools: The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," The Indian Sentinel I, no. IV, (April 1917): 11, records that Brothers from St. Meinrad served at Stephan until 1899 when they were recalled to their monastery.
[72] Ambrose was born near Eureka, Indiana on September 8, 1865 to William Mattingly and Elizabeth Hall. Named William Wallace Mattingly at his baptism, he began his education in a district school and joined St. Meinrad for his college education. He took simple vows as a Benedictine at the age of twenty-one on July 25, 1886. Bishop Martin Marty ordained him at Immaculate Conception Mission on June 17, 1889, and he offered his first holy mass on July 2, 1889. He served in varied capacities at Stephan until moving to North Dakota. He reluctantly took over the leadership position as superintendent at Fort Totten, and St. Michael's from 1918-34. He was relieved of these leadership positions and served as an assistant during his later years at Marty, South Dakota, and Belcourt, North Dakota until his death in 1941. Rev. Hildebrand Elliott, O.S.B., "A Notable Missionary," Indian Sentinel XIX, no. 6 (June 1939): 85; Rev. Justin Snyder, O.S.B., "Beloved Blackrobe Departs," Indian Sentinel XXI, no 7 (September 1941): 105.
[73] Justin Snyder, O.S.B., "Beloved Blackrobe Departs," Indian Sentinel XXI, no. 7 (September 1941): 105.
[74] SMOD, 77.29, AIRP 1529; SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533.
[75] "The Immaculate Conception Mission School, Stephan, South Dakota," Indian Sentinel (1906): 8; "Catholic Indian Schools: The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," Indian Sentinel I, no. IV (April 1917): 10-11. According to Duratschek, Crusading Along Sioux Trails, 161, Father Fintan Wiederkehr, O.S.B. (1863-1920) was born in Canton Zurich, Switzerland. He attended college in Schwyz and in Einsiedeln until his family emigrated to America. Wiederkehr took vows at St. Meinrad in 1884 and Bishop Marty ordained him at St. Michael's Indian Mission, North Dakota on June 9, 1887. Marty transferred him to Stephan in May of 1889, and he served mainly from Pierre, South Dakota from 1891-93.
[76] Boehm to Stephan, May 15, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[77] Elaine Goodale to Thomas J. Morgan, April 8, 1890, Lower Brule Agency, SD, BCIM Series 1, Roll 20. Elaine Goodale Eastman (1863-1953) grew up in New England before teaching at Hampton Institute and on the Lower Brule Reservation. She served as Supervisor of Indian Education for North and South Dakota. Goodale married Charles Ohiyesa Eastman (Dakota) after meeting him in Pine Ridge in 1890. For additional discussion of her experiences in the Dakotas see Elaine Goodale Eastman, Sister to the Sioux: The Memoir of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1885-96 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).
[78] Karolevitz, 70, as discussed previously in Chapter 4.
[79] Boehm to Stephan, May 15, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[80] Boehm to Commissioner Morgan, August 31, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[81] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1890): 330-31, reported 125 acres under cultivation. Boehm claimed about ninety acres under cultivation in a May 5, 1890 letter to Stephan.
[82] Robert A. Trennert argues in "Educating Indian Girls and Women at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920" Western Historical Quarterly 13 (July 1982): 271-90 that the original goal of

providing girls with a well-rounded and practical education fell to employing them mostly as inexpensive labor for the survival of the schools.

[83] Boehm to Stephan, February 5, and May 5, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[84] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1890): 330-31.

[85] See Chapter 4 for more background on the circumstances behind Marty's recruitment of Tapetola.

[86] Most current Crow Creek residents refer to themselves as Hunkpati, according to Lytle, interview. Government documents and anthropologists generally have categorized Crow Creek residents as Lower Yanktonai.

[87] Tapetola to Marty, May 17, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20. For additional discussion of Hampton Institute, see Linsey. Father Stephan founded St. Joseph's in 1888 as a Catholic counterpart to the prominent federal off-reservation Carlisle Indian School according to Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., The Churches and the Indian Schools 1888-1912, 226, n. 26. For additional discussion of St. Joseph's see Dominic B. Gerlach, "St. Joseph's Indian Normal School, 1888-1896," Indiana Magazine of History 69 (March 1973): 1-42.

[88] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1891): 694-95; (1892): 774-75; Boehm to Stephan, May 10, 1893, BCIM, Series 1, Box 32, Folder 22, Correspondences, Crow Creek, 1893.

[89] Boehm to Stephan, May 15, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[90] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[91] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[92] SMOD 92.151, AIRP 1651.

[93] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1887), XX.

[94] "Correspondence on the Subject of 'Teaching The Vernacular' in Indian Schools," submitted to the United States Indian Office, Washington D.C.: GPO, 1888, as found in Thomas J. Morgan, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Indian Education, 1890.

[95] Goodale to Morgan, April 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[96] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1889): 498-99.

[97] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[98] Elaine Goodale, "Self-teaching in the Indian Schools," Educational Review (1891): 57-59.

[99] Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux, (1928; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 239.

[100] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[101] Goodale to Morgan, April 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[102] Boehm to Stephan, May 9, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20

[103] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[104] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[105] Boehm to Morgan, August 31, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[106] Boehm to Stephan, May 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.

[107] Frank Martin Baggage to Bishop, circa 1889; George L. Willard to Boehm, June 24, 1889, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 17.

[108] Federal Indian policy of distinct philosophies and programs was consistent with the historically inconsistent American treatment of American Indians. From colonial times into the nineteenth century, federal actions reveal contemporaneous use of assimilation, segregation, and extermination policies toward tribal communities. Consequently, the inconsistency of federal policy in terms of Indian education fit in federal tradition.

[109] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1880): V.

[110] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1889): 138.

[111] Insufficient qualitative analysis calls this into question, but certain quantitative evidence exists to support Boehm's argument.

[112] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1890): 330-31.

[113] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1890): 330-31 referenced statistical analysis of agricultural production for each institution, and revealed that both grew corn, fruit and vegetables. Boehm to Morgan, August 31, 1890, however adds additional crops grown at Stephan not referenced in the government report.
[114] Boehm to Thomas J. Morgan, August 31, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[115] Boehm to BCIM Sub-director Willard, June 2, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[116] Boehm to Stephan, May 10, 1893, BCIM Series 1, Box 32, Folder 22.
[117] SMOD 92.151, AIRP 1651.
[118] Boehm diary entry, in Maiers, 25.
[119] Maiers, 27.
[120] Boehm to Stephan, August 25-28, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[121] Boehm to Stephan, July 8, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[122] Boehm to Stephan, December 2, 1890, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 20.
[123] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1890): 47.
[124] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1892): 435.
[125] "U.S. Indian Service Census of Indian Children, between the ages of 5 and 18 years on Crow Creek Reservation during fiscal year 1893," Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, Roll 87, Crow Creek (Lower Yanktonai Sioux and Lower Brule Sioux Indians), 1886-1892, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 595.
[126] "U.S. Indian Service Census of Indian Children, between the ages of 5 and 18 years on Crow Creek Reservation during fiscal year 1893," Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, Roll 87.
[127] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1888): 373, (1893): 621.
[128] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1892): 435.
[129] James Hennesey, S.J., American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 182.
[130] Hennesey, 183.
[131] Francis Paul Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, 27-31.
[132] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (1891): 400; (1892): 441.
[133] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1896): 17.
[134] Prucha, 31-40; Prucha notes that the Protestant withdrawal from the contract system prompted the contest for students and financial support exclusively between Catholic missions and federal schools.
[135] Francis Paul Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, 40.
[136] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1894): 512; (1896): 15.
[137] Stephan to Sioux Falls Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, June 22, 1897, BCIM Series 1, Roll 26.
[138] Prucha, 65.
[139] Stephan to Sioux Falls Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, June 22, 1897, BCIM Series 1, Roll 26.
[140] Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, 41-52.
[141] The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," The Indian Sentinel I, no. IV (April 1917): 10-11; Maiers, 36; Boehm to Stephan, June 23, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25.
[142] "The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," The Indian Sentinel I, no. IV (April 1917): 10-11; Maiers, 36; Boehm to Stephan, June 23, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25.
[143] Boehm to Stephan, August 25, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25.
[144] Pius Boehm, "Diary" in Duratschek , 171; Maiers, 39.
[145] Rev. Jerome Holtzman, ed., "In Celebration of the Holzmann Family Journey From Alsace to America, 1672-1994" (unpublished manuscript, Louisville, Kentucky, July 17, 1994), copy in author's possession.
[146] Stephan to Bishop O'Gorman, June 22, 1897, BCIM Series 1, Roll 26, Boehm to Rev. J.B. Kelly, March 22, 1895, Roll 25, Dakota, Crow Creek and Lower Brule, Immaculate Conception Mission.
[147] Ketcham to President Roosevelt, January 25, 1902, BCIM Series 1, Roll 31, District of Columbia.
[148] Prucha, 69-80.

[149] Boehm to Stephan, April 5, 1900, BCIM Series 1, Roll 28.
[150] Stephan to Boehm, April 17, 1897, BCIM Series 1, Roll 26; Boehm to Stephan, April 5, 1900, BCIM Series 1, Roll 28.
[151] "The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," I, no. IV (April 1917): 10-11.
[152] Stephan to Boehm, April 16, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25, Crow Creek and Lower Brule, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1896.
[153] Boehm to Stephan, June 23, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25.
[154] Finton to Stephan, November 17, 1896, BCIM Series 1, Roll 25.
[155] Stephan to Archbishop P.J. Ryan, May 3, 1900, BCIM Series 1, Roll 28.
[156] Boehm to Stephan, April 5, 1890, BCIM Series 1, Roll 28.
[157] Boehm to Lusk, October 26, 1900, BCIM Series 1, Roll 28.
[158] Boehm to Ketcham, March 3, 1904, BCIM Series 1, Roll 33.
[159] Ketcham to Boehm, February 9, 1903; O'Gorman to Ketcham, June 7, 1903; Gibbons to Ketcham, October 12, 1903, BCIM Series 1, Roll 31, Dakota, Crow Creek.
[160] Boehm to Ketcham, March 3, 1904, BCIM Series 1, Roll 33.
[161] Boehm to Ketcham, March 3, 1904, BCIM Series 1, Roll 33.
[162] Boehm to Drexel, September 14, 1903, as found in Maiers, 39.
[163] Maiers, 40.
[164] Prucha, Churches and the Indian Schools, 80-86. For a discussion of the evolution of friendship between President Roosevelt and six advocates for Indian affairs see William T. Hagan, Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indians, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), Chapter 8 specifically addresses Roosevelt's relations with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and its director William H. Ketcham.
[165] Petition of 106 Crow Creek Indians to the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, November 26, 1904, as found in Maiers, 41.
[166] Boehm to Ketcham, June 26, 1904, BCIM Series 1, Roll 33.
[167] Petition to Hon. W.A. Jones, Crow Creek Agency, June 1904, BCIM Series 1, Roll 33.
[168] Prucha, 87.
[169] Boehm to Ketcham, April 28, 1905, BCIM Series 1, Roll 34, Crow Creek.

CHAPTER 7

MOLDING MISSION CULTURE: TRIBAL, CATHOLIC, AND FEDERAL INFLUENCE ON STEPHAN INDIAN MISSION, 1906-1919

Tribal, Catholic, and federal influences promoted a regular readjustment of mission culture at Immaculate Conception Indian Mission during the early twentieth century. The educational environment remained fluid in its responses to the varied constituencies that supported the federally-contracted Catholic Indian school. A simplistic equation suggests a three-tiered system in which federal officials provided the money, Benedictines added administration, and tribal members supplied the students. These responsibilities proved true, but in reality all three groups influenced mission finances, administration, and student enrollment. In addition, federal officials promoted policies that had an impact on administrative decisions and student eligibility, Benedictines cultivated financial support and student attendance, and tribal members prompted federal funding and school policies.

The built environment rested upon these three constituent groups and their diverse perspectives, attitudes, and actions. Tribal, Catholic, and federal influence came specifically from individual representatives of each interest group. No generic Benedictine staff person or "Indian" student walked the floors of the school. Each carried cultural traditions that they converted into individual actions that pushed and pulled social change within the educational setting. Together, students and staff

endured internal and external challenges, divided and unified within daily activities, and regularly reconfigured the mission culture in the process.

Surviving written documents and individual memories often vary in their presentation of American Indian history. Federal officials and school administrators loom large in histories of American Indian boarding schools written solely from official correspondences. Annual contracts specifically established policy and procedure between the "party of the first part" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs) and the "party of the second part" (Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions) with only incidental reference to tribal students. The majority of Immaculate Conception Mission archival sources reinforce Benedictine and Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions efforts to gather financial support from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his subordinates. During fiscal year 1908, for example, government officials agreed to support sixty-three students provided that physicians had certified them in "good health" and that they had not attended other schools during the previous year. Stephan administrators agreed to follow federal curriculum, provide certain clothing and supplies, and prepare school reports for agents in exchange for quarterly payments of twenty-seven dollars per quarter per student.[1] These efforts proved crucial for Stephan's economic survival, but within these discussions tribal members disappeared into the margins of school history. Few native catechist letters and brief missionary references to tribal members seem to suggest the inconsequential nature of Yanktonai and other Sioux participation within the institution.

Further analysis of correspondence and the use of oral history, however, reveal the significance of Sioux political leadership within the school's history long before tribal leaders officially took over school administration in the early 1970s. Previous chapters have discussed the participation of Drifting Goose, Bull Ghost, Standing Elk and others in the school's founding and evolution. Many twentieth-century reservation residents also placed their mark on mission history. Federal laws requiring tribal signatures in support of contract schools reveal regular tribal involvement in the institution's history.[2] Parental decisions to enroll or withdraw their children proved vital to the school's survival. Catholic leaders recognized the need to appeal to tribal leaders. They frequently reacted to tribal initiatives rather than making unilateral proclamations of school policy. Tribal administrative control during the last decades of the twentieth century rested upon a long tradition of participation with the Crow Creek school.

New federal policy propelled tribal members into the center of the contract school funding debate that had emerged during the last years of the nineteenth century. By 1905, federal officials tied financial assistance for contract schools to tribal petitions signed in support of using trust and treaty funds for educational purposes. New federal requirements attempted to moderate between political factions that opposed all federal support of sectarian schools and those who argued for continued support to contract schools. President Theodore Roosevelt and his Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Leupp (1901-09) intended equal treatment for government and contract schools within the new federal formula for supporting

Indian education. "According to the number of pupils," Roosevelt declared, "the church schools and the Government schools will severally be treated on exactly the same basis, the same pro rata going to the maintenance of each."[3]

Tribal support for contract schools like Stephan often included individual risks. Presidential proclamations remained far removed from reservation residents and often simplified a complex system. Tribal members and other citizens learned the details of federal policy from rumors and intermediaries. Protestant missionaries worked behind the scenes to convince tribal members against signing contract school petitions. They argued that support of Catholic schools would cause individuals to lose access to their tribal and treaty funds.[4] The petitions were "so ingeniously drafted," according to Ambrose Mattingly, that he was "very much surprised that a single signature was obtained" on behalf of Immaculate Conception.[5] The signature process also proved more difficult as it required tribal members to take the initiative to visit the agency, where they could register support in the presence of the agent and witnesses. Previously, agency representatives brought petitions with them to reservation homes.[6] Catholic missionaries even limited their encouragement due to the confusion over varied interpretations of the petition-contract system. "The fact is," Boehm informed BCIM Secretary Lusk, "none of us thoroughly understood the situation and we did not wish to mislead the Indians."[7]

Tribal members responded differently to the new petition system. Sixteen Crow Creek residents signed the petition on the first day it became available. It proves difficult to assess what led an older Yanktonai to support the petition drive in 1906. "I

was one of the two hundred and over who signed a petition asking that the school be established on our reservation," the man asserted, "so I think I ought to sign this petition." Responding to Mattingly's caution as to the potential consequences of his signature the man responded, "I want to sign it anyhow."[8] The mission advocate may have drawn traditional and progressive philosophies together in support of the Catholic school.[9] Traditional Sioux values of *wacintanka* (generosity) and *wohitigya* (bravery) may have joined with progressive beliefs in the need to adjust to new cultural realities. Other tribal members made several trips to the agency on their own accord without finding the agent at home to witness their signatures.[10] Some heeded the warnings and believed they could not risk the limited available federal assistance.

The mission community endured the loss of thousands of dollars in federal funds that resulted from the new petition system. Twenty-one Crow Creek residents had signed the petition in support of Immaculate Conception Mission school by February 27, 1906, as opposed to fifty-three signatures for the previous year's contract.[11] This number only represented 81 of 1,009 shares on tribal roles and therefore could not cover the submitted contract for sixty-five children. Federal officials agreed to support thirty-five students at $108 per year. Two signatures on the Lower Brule petition similarly dropped the number of federally-supported students from ten to two. Ultimately, the federal contracts called for maximum support of $3,996 instead of $7,020 as contracted the previous year.[12]

Benedictine staff remained committed to the institution despite constant financial strains that prompted national Catholic leaders to question its continued

existence. Boehm recognized that at some juncture the institution would become obsolete, but estimated that its necessity would remain for the next ten to fifteen years. "Why give up the fight now," the superintendent argued, "when the fields are in blossom and the wheat will soon be ripe for the reaper." Boehm responded critically to his superiors' economic argument that Catholic mission schools were too expensive. "Are we ordained to save souls," the cynical priest noted, "or the Almighty Dollar." His motives often proved more evangelical than educational. "Without the school," the superintendent stated, "the missionary cannot do the work and secure permanent results."[13]

Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission financial support for Catholic schools on the Plains never met superintendents' expectations, but took precedence over assistance to diocesan missionaries. The Catholic presence on the South Dakota prairie depended on their schools more than their churches. Clearly, Immaculate Conception stood as the preeminent Catholic presence in eastern South Dakota while missionaries struggled to support themselves by soliciting support back east for their mission needs. By the next decade, as BCIM leaders distributed thousands of federal dollars to Immaculate Conception, South Dakota missionaries E.M. Loftus received seventeen dollars for work in Britton, M.J. Martyn got sixty-one dollars to support the Flandreau mission, and Ambrose Mattingly received thirty-three dollars for adult missionary care at Stephan.[14]

Catholic advocacy for the mission would have had little significance without tribal support. Tribal leaders may not have supported Boehm's evangelical argument,

but many agreed with his interest in the survival of the school. By the 1907, prominent tribal leaders Smells the Earth, Bull Ghost, With Tail, Gregory Turner (Drifting Goose' son), Mrs. Drifting Goose, and Seeking Land came together to register support for their school.[15] Overall, sixty Crow Creek tribal members signed on behalf of one hundred and eighty-one reservation residents for the continued support of the institution.

Catholic leaders learned to work with Yanktonai parents and their relatives to maintain maximum enrollment. Federal policy and financial contributions tied tribal and Catholic communities together. Unilateral Catholic decision-making could jeopardize the financial support structure and the survival of the institution. Disregard of Sioux interests hurt school growth. Federal day-schools and boarding facilities could also interfere with Benedictine-Sioux relations. New schools on the Lower Brule prompted some parents to enroll their children closer to home. Boehm recognized a conspiracy at work in unfriendly agents who "are working hard against us." Personalities and individual interactions with missionaries also prompted tribal responses. An argument between Boehm and a prominent mixed-blood Catholic family at Lower Brule, for instance, led the family to enroll their children in another school.[16]

Lower Brule and Cheyenne River Catholics also faced difficult decisions. Many inquired of Father Mattingly about sending their children to Immaculate Conception, but hesitated in registering their support. Practically-minded parents ignored the Catholic school petition after hearing that signing it would jeopardize

federal assistance. During the summer of 1908 few Lower Brules signed on, and the Cheyenne River petition for Immaculate Conception remained unsigned altogether.[17] Formerly one of the largest constituent groups at Immaculate Conception, Cheyenne River student numbers plummeted while only a few Lower Brules chose to attend the Catholic school.[18]

Tribal families from several local reservations continued to send their children to the mission school during the first decade of the century. This promoted a multi-generational nature of family identity to Stephan, as well as a multi-ethnic complexion to the student body. Staff traveled hundreds of miles to regularly cultivate support from Catholic families on different reservations. The majority of students came from Crow Creek, but records also reveal continued interest by Yankton, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule and Sisseton parents.[19] Federal officials, however, did not support the multinational nature of the school, opting to mainly support students from the two local agencies.

The diversity of Immaculate Conception's student body included mixed-bloods, full-bloods, and non-Indians early in the century. Mission staff often failed to distinguish between tribal identity, but the historic American focus on racial distinction prompted staff to note distinct blood-quantum. In describing a picture sent to Father Ketcham, Sister Clara showed her concept of three divisions of students, and ethnocentric biases. "The one girl on your left is a white child," the Sister stated, "the one on the corner of your right is one eighth Indian, the others full and half breeds, but good children."[20]

Unreliable financial support from Washington challenged mission students and staff. The federal contract for the fiscal year 1908 covered sixty-three students from Crow Creek and four from Lower Brule.[21] The mission even struggled to receive contractual obligations. During the 1908 contract, for instance, the school operated without any compensation for eleven months.[22] The number of students per reservation covered by federal contract changed from year to year, making it difficult for school administrators to rely upon consistent federal support. Federal contracts for 1909 supported six Lower Brule students, but at the same time dropped to supporting only fifty Crow Creek students. School administrators received no federal compensation for twelve students from Sisseton that attended Stephan in 1910.

Support for Catholic missions proved particularly complex for Sisseton families. Parents considered many factors in evaluating the significance of a Catholic education for their children. Historic Catholic-Sioux relations and family connection to co-founder Drifting Goose prompted some to support the Crow Creek Catholic school. The distance to Crow Creek, potential loss of federal support in annuity disbursement, and historic Sioux suspicion of signing federal documents led others to keep their children home. Missionaries often wrongly attributed tribal decisions solely on Christian denominational preference and intrigue.

Moses St. John stood at the center of the Sisseton Catholic community. He serves as a good example of tribal members challenged by the multi-cultural nature of early twentieth-century life. The tribal member and Catholic catechist identified with both traditions. His influence certainly prompted several tribal members to approach

Father Mattingly during the summer of 1909 about sending their children to Immaculate Conception.[23] St. John primarily supported the survival of his flock. He suggested that tribal members ignore the petition that Sisseton superintendent S.E. Allen told him would cost tribal members their share of government payments. [24] This act earned him the rebuke of Catholic leaders despite his continued support for the Church. Mattingly accused St. John of "carrying water on both shoulders" for his accommodating relationship with the Sisseton superintendent.[25] Most Sisseton parents sent their children to district schools and the agency boarding school rather than incur a potential additional cost by sending their children to Crow Creek.[26] Twelve parents still sent their children to the mission school, but none had signed the petition by January of 1910. St. John's balancing of two components of his identity reflected similar challenges faced by other tribal members.[27]

Benedictine leaders learned that working within tribal traditions often proved more productive than trying to change family patterns. Many families maintained their pre-reservation tradition of summer travel by attending events and fairs at different Sioux reservations. Some traveled with agency support, others on their own initiative. Travel often kept certain families away from home well into September.[28] Many families determined the enrollment of their children on less ephemeral matters than Christian denomination. Their practical interests often rested on issues such as school schedules. Consequently, Boehm followed the government's lead in postponing the opening of school to the first of October so he would not risk losing pupils.[29] "They hang back as long as they can and prolong their vacation to the last,"

Boehm noted critically, " and they will attend that school, which has the longest vacation."[30] Similarly, Benedictine leaders saw the difficulty in lengthening the school year. In June of 1910, Ketcham suggested that Immaculate Conception extend its school year later to accommodate a Sioux Congress at Standing Rock. "We might as well try to pull a freight train off the track," Mattingly responded, "as try to keep the children at school until after their parents return from Fort Yates Congress."[31]

Intercultural relations also prompted frustrations within the school community. Ultimately, Catholic leaders learned that they could not wave a Catholic wand to reap conversions. Yanktonais held their own cultural and educational agenda. Even tribal members who participated in Catholic rituals often retained their involvement in the native traditions. Missionaries responded by focusing on tribal youth rather than despair about adult cultural conservatism. "It was a thankless task to talk to the Indians about higher education and religion," Boehm asserted, "they have none of it and all we can hope for is to get some of it into the children." Benedictine priests hoped that parents would recognize the merits of a Catholic education for their children. Limited early parental support burdened the mission with the costs of supporting many children from their own sources. Boehm saw the relationship in economic terms, as a downpayment on future support. "I advocated last year to have the children brought here, contract or no contract," he stated, "and when the parents see what is being done for their children they are more inclined to sign a petition."[32]

Catholic leaders remained cautiously optimistic of the influence a religious education would have on tribal students. Boehm maintained the significance of

planting Catholic seeds in young students so that they might draw from them later in life. He recognized the limitation of the school curriculum, claiming no objection to student transfers after fourteen years of age when they might wish to attend another school, learn a profession, or follow other opportunities. He believed their Catholic training would benefit even those who returned to tribal traditions. "After a religious foundation has been laid," Boehm maintained, "the danger is not so great and the little spark of faith may flare up again later, even if it had been covered over with the moss of bigotry."[33]

Benedictines learned that gathering support at Lower Brule proved as much of a challenge as at Crow Creek. Tribal members across the Missouri River from the mission similarly stood divided in their responses to Catholicism and tribal support for Stephan Mission. Big Mane and Reuben Estes led Lower Brule opposition to Catholic efforts to plant a mission on their reservation. Opponents went so far as to circulate a petition "against the use of funds for support of our Catholic schools."[34] Priests could not win over all reservation residents, but learned that they had to meet families half-way to gather support. Ambrose Mattingly moved his church closer to the agency following 1912 tribal consent "for the use of a tract in what is known as the Fort George district of the reservation for a church and mission house."[35] The Benedictine missionary employed donations from the Marquette League of about one thousand dollars and tribal workers to complete the job during the summer of 1913.[36] With mission construction in process, Henry Bad Horse led Lower Brule Catholic appeals to Director Ketcham for their own missionary.[37] Benedictine leaders hoped

this Catholic presence would pique tribal interest in Catholicism and encourage them to send their children to the Catholic school.

Crow Creek tribal members continued their support for the mission during the Fall of 1912. Thirty-two family heads representing eighty-seven shares of tribal funds signed the petition by August. Support grew during the next month. By September 23, 1912, fourteen new signatures joined January Skunk, Smells the Earth, Mrs. Holy Cedar and the other fifty-two previous supporters of Immaculate Conception. Together, they "respectfully request[ed] and petition[ed] you [the Commissioner of Indian Affairs] to enter into contract with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions at Washington D.C. for the care, maintenance, and education of sixty-five children." Lucy Fallis, Two Teeth, Gregory Seeking Land, Medicine Crow, and other new petitioners agreed with the original supporters that the contract should cover the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913 and the following four years. Petitioners stated their permission to use their trust and treaty funds from funds designated as "Interest on Sioux $3,000,000 Fund," "Education, Sioux Nation," and "Subsistence and Civilization of the Sioux." Notably, they also asserted that such federal support "may be deducted from any payment which hereafter may be made to us out of any of said trust and treaty funds."[38]

Crow Creek residents reacted differently to new educational policies and mission staff. Some voted with their hands and feet to show their opposition to the mission educational program. Choosing not to sign the petition or encouraging their children to walk into other schools they made their opinions known. Previous mission

supporters Catherine Ross, John Ear, and Mrs. Medicine Cedar withdraw their names from the petition. [39] Others transferred their children to different schools. Boehm attributed these losses at least partially to the personalities of a few Sisters. "We will not have as many children this year," Boehm reconciled himself, "on account of these sisters." Those more committed to the institution acted to change school personnel by circulating a special petition to the bishop. [40]

Boehm claimed little control over the Sisters despite his suspicions of individual inadequacies. By December of 1912, Superior Sister Clara, five Sisters, and lay teacher Miss Flannery took care of forty-nine students. The superintendent's few staffing options gave him limited influence over which Sisters worked at Stephan. He feared that complaints might lead a defiant Mother Superior at Yankton to recall her Sisters and leave Immaculate Conception without sufficient staff. Actually, Boehm's criticism rested on only two Sisters whom he claimed lacked rapport with students. "They are all hard working sisters and no objection can be brought against them," Boehm stated, "excepting the two older sisters are lacking tact and don't seem to know it." He attributed some of the problems to the shifting of superiors from Sr. Edwarda to Sr. Clara.[41] The latter, Boehm maintained, was a fine musician, but lacked experience working with Indian children. "Sr. Edwarda's heart and soul is with the Indian children," according to Beohm, "they swear by her and she has the qualities needed with 15 years experience."[42]

Certainly, Benedictine Sisters held great influence over molding the mission culture, regardless of varied estimation of their abilities. Benedictine Sisters defended

their efforts at the mission that provided the backbone to daily operations. The constant work schedule rarely permitted them any significant time away from campus. Attempting to overcome the challenges faced by students and staff in 1915, Sr. Clara claimed, "I do all I can to lighten the experiences of this place."[43] Certainly, the Sisters struggled working with students as well as the mission environment. Inability to handle so many children with distinct cultural values proved difficult for even experienced Sisters. Like many teachers, they generally fell back on educational methods that their own teachers had used. Sisters operating from within their own standards had difficulty reaching individuals on their terms. Strict standards often failed to meet individual needs and led to conflicts with students. School staff concluded that problems at the mission stemmed from the students, not the educational program. As Sister Clara perceived intercultural relations of the times, "this is a hard set of Indians to deal with."[44]

Tribal reactions to mission policies also influenced the cultural climate. Certain Sisters continued to have problems with students even after decades of missionary service. With Horn responded to troubles between his son August and the boys' matron by circulating a petition to remove the Sister. Sister Clara sided with her Sister in the dispute, describing August With Horn as one who "always makes more or less trouble" and the boys' matron as "a better one for boys could not be found among our community." Consequently, Sr. Clara argued, "it would be better to have the boy removed than the sister if something has to be done."[45]

Certainly, all students did not conflict with the Sisters. Some opted to outwardly follow mission policies while retaining their own identities and others willingly accepted Catholic instructions. Some parents went so far as to suggest greater enforcement of standards. Oldest Child, Smells the Earth, and Gray Bird argued for more rigorous enforcement of student attendance at the mission in a letter to Father Ketcham. These parents of Immaculate Conception students called for a special police force to maintain student attendance and insure prompt pupil returns after vacations.[46] Such tribal sentiment certainly also supported Catholic leaders and their decisions on school policy.

Policy changes regarding the source of federal funds assisted Catholic and tribal interests in Immaculate Conception Mission School.[47] In March of 1915, Commissioner Cato Sells reported that federal support for the mission in fiscal year 1915 would come from "Education, Sioux Nation," for 1915 rather than the "4% Crow Creek Sioux Fund." This policy change may sound bureaucratic, but it had implications on reservation residents by removing a significant obstacles to tribal signatures of petitions.[48] Tribal members could now sign petitions without having to potentially compromise tribal funds.

Federal Indian policy based on historic treaties and agreements had initiated four funds belonging to Crow Creek Sioux, designated as: "Sioux Support and Civilization," "Sioux Education," "Sioux Education Interest," and the "Four Percent Crow Creek."[49] Previously, the Indian Office used the last fund, whose interest they distributed per capita, unlike the other three funds. The use of the Four Percent fund

therefore deprived tribal members of their share of the fund when signing the petition. Those who signed the petition would not lose any of their per capita payments if federal officials accessed the other three funds. The use of this "Four Percent Crow Creek" fund caused disaffection among Crow Creek Indians and hurt those who signed the petition.[50] The other three Sioux accounts, also accessed by government schools, were held in common, with each man, woman, and child retaining an undivided interest in them.[51] Consequently, the use of these funds did not jeopardize individual interest, creating a more favorable climate for tribal members to register support for contract schools.[52]

New federal policy and the arrival of "favorably disposed" Agent W.F. Haygood held limited influence over school enrollment.[53] Immaculate Conception could still not fill its contract for fifty Crow Creek and six Lower Brules by the first week of October 1915. Students did not always stick with the mission school from year to year.[54] Haygood helped gather thirty-two Crow Creek students for Stephan Mission, but the Benedictine superintendent often wondered if there wasn't more help the Crow Creek agent could provide. "Last year we had the children and not contract," Boehm complained, "this year we have the contract and no children."[55] The agent continued his efforts that by the end of the month had increased enrollment to just over forty students.[56] Boehm made no critical claims of foul play by Haygood though rumor suggested that the agent promoted the agency school first.

Low student attendance at the 1915 opening of school reminded school administrators of their own limited influence over the educational program. Non-

school-related family priorities, student preference for other schools, and ill health kept students away until October. In several cases, tribal families had yet to alter their seasonal schedule to the school schedules. Julia Oldest Child, for example, attended the Gann Valley Fair with her family and only left for the mission on October 10.[57] Eunice Scott had sought doctor's consent to be excused from school and had still not arrived. Dollie Long Feather, James Pretty Bonnet, and Reuben Strong had contracted tuberculosis and the Crow Creek physician excused them from school.[58] Mable Round Head had enrolled in the agency boarding school, and mission officials promised to transfer her up to the mission. Mrs. Campbell (Grey Cloud) enrolled her children Cedric and Clare in the Pierre Indian School with the hopes of working at the school herself. Lona Plays With Iron had begun attending school at Greenwood. Agency staff could not locate Sophia Bold or her parents. Agency clerk Courtright presumed Gilbert Fire Cloud to be at the Gannvalley fair.[59]

Federal officials at Pierre and Fort Thompson appeared supportive of the Catholic mission, but also revealed limited influence over Indian students. C.J. Crandall, superintendent of Pierre Indian school, informed Boehm on October 12, 1915 of the circumstances leading to his mistaken acceptance of the Campbell children into his school. He further promised Boehm that he and Agent Haygood would make arrangements to promptly return the children to Stephan.[60] Crow Creek Agency staff focused their attention that fall on school attendance. They had "done practically every thing we could to see that the children were all in school," Courtright claimed, "our police have been out all the time and are still out on these cases."

Federal agents could establish an educational plan, but not realize it without tribal support. "It seems this year," Courtright concluded, that it proved "almost entirely impossible to get them all in and in on time"[61] Over time, many situations revealed the limits of agency and missionary control.

Disaster struck the mission during the winter of 1916. A small fire in a stairway closet near the boys' playroom ignited at eight in the morning on January 13, 1916.[62] Staff quickly ushered students just returning from breakfast outside to safety in temperatures thirty-five degrees below zero. Father Ambrose and Sister M. Monica rescued four boys in bed with pneumonia out of the building just before it collapsed. None suffered injuries in the blaze, but nearly all of the beds were lost. The conflagration took only two hours to lay to ruins the L-shaped building constructed in 1890. A last-minute shift in wind direction away from the other buildings prevented additional losses. Staff scrambled to find accommodations for the students and prepare the remaining buildings for multiple uses. Nearly all the students left to take shelter either at home or in neighboring government schools at Crow Creek, Lower Brule, or Pierre. The nine who remained made temporary sleeping quarters in the children's dining room (girls) and the rectory (boys).[63]

Controversy arose regarding the cause of the fire. Sister Paulina, Father Ambrose, and Father Pius concluded the involvement of Robert and Martin Red Water in the fire. The two apparently had been quite resistant to school policies and held influence over other students. "The two Red Waters and With Horn where [sic] the worst," according to Sister Paulina, "they lied about me shamefully, [and] they

had the Indians always excited until I told the agent." According to the Sister, Martin had run away many times and upon his most recent return had encouraged another student to set the fire in the closet.[64] Martin had even hit the Sister.[65] "I suffered untold the last four years on account of their meanness," Sister Paulina complained, "but I offered it all up to save another soul."[66] Boehm expelled the two brothers following the fire and federal officials took them in to the government school.

Pius Red Water defended his sons' reputations. "They can't find no fault against them," the angry father asserted, "and they cannot prove nothing that my boys are bad." Red Water appealed to BCIM director Ketcham to look into the matter. "I am a Catholic and so are my boys, he argued, "[and] I would like to have my children go to school to a Catholic school."[67] The superintendent had overridden "the disgust of Father Ambrose and Sr. Superior" to accept him the previous fall due to pleading from his father. Boehm refused to take Martin back. He accepted the younger brother, Robert, only after additional appeals from his father.[68]

Missionary records reveal that this debate continued into June. Arguments on both sides show the nature of Indian-white relations in twentieth-century America. Many parents criticized government and mission schools for their choice of personnel, overly-structured environment, and racism. Red Water blamed Sr. Paulina for his sons' behavior and their expulsion from school. Surely, Sisters shrouded in dark habits intimidated tribal youth. "The boys are afraid of her," Red Water argued, "and that is the reason my boys ran away." His criticism also recognized student struggles within an unfamiliar, disciplined setting of boarding schools where few staff

held responsibility for many students. "I don't care in what schools," the father stated, "some teachers and superiors are strict and mean, no matter if the children are good." He also noted the reality or perception of racist attitudes of school staff. "There are many white people that hate the Indians and we all know that." The dismissals angered Red Water to the extent that though he had signed the 1913 petition in support of Immaculate Conception, he neglected to do so again in 1916. Interestingly, if not ironically, Red Water maintained his son's Catholic disposition and interest in returning him to the Benedictine school.[69] The intercultural exchange may not have represented a general school attitude, but certainly revealed the spectrum of opinions within the mission culture.

The tragic nature of the fire inspired great local support for the mission. It also proved a catalyst for bringing together otherwise differently-motivated people. The Crow Creek government boarding school superintendent quickly provided available beds, bedding, and clothes to their neighboring school. Agency clerk Courtright and his wife even staged a play at Fort Thompson and Chamberlain for the benefit of Stephan.[70] Crow Creek parents and students begged that the school be rebuilt and that priests and sisters remain with them.[71] Ten days after the fire, tribal policemen Jim White and Martin Chase led a group of Catholic Indians to insist that Boehm reopen the school as soon as possible. "They wanted me to open school at once," the Benedictine priest stated," as their children would not go to the government school and they did not want them there."[72] Parents brought beds and bedding from their homes to hasten the process. Tribal support following the catastrophe astounded the

mission superintendent. "I never thought that the Indians care so much for their school," he beamed, "the question of rebuilding is no longer open, we simply have to rebuild. God wills it."[73]

Staff reestablished the needed spaces within the mission by converting rooms and establishing multiple uses within a single room. They converted the assembly room into a dormitory, the sewing room became a classroom and playroom, and the children's dining room turned into the primary classroom and refectory. The Sisters crowded their living arrangements into a small dining room. The availability of beds permitted some students to return by the end of January. Many had grown homesick at the other schools, and, according to Boehm, "cannot get away fast enough."[74] The superintendent originally planned to reopen in early March. Tribal prompting and other assistance permitted classes to resume under temporary conditions by February 7.[75] A reconfigured mission environment and culture emerged from the embers of the fire.

Immaculate Conception received far less support from BCIM headquarters in Washington. Debt to their thirty-eight Catholic mission schools for three quarters of the 1915 budget, even prior to the fire at Immaculate Conception, had caused the Bureau to reconsider their support for boarding schools.[76] National Catholic leadership agenda focused more on deciding which schools to close first than how to help individual institutions survive. Ketcham initially suggested to Boehm that the fire serve as a lesson to Crow Creek residents. "The suspension of the school for a few months," the financially-strapped director argued, "may serve to impress upon the

Indians the blessing they enjoyed and which they did not fully appreciate."[77] The stress of supporting so many struggling boarding schools took its toll on BCIM administrators. Two of three South Dakota Catholic missions, Immaculate Conception and St. Francis Mission on the Rosebud Reservation, faced tragic fires within the same week.[78] Tensions rose to such an extent in Washington that after fifteen years as director Ketcham contemplated quitting. "I cannot conceal from myself the fact that probably I shall have to get out and make way for someone whose shoulders are broader," the stressed director admitted.[79] Ketcham ultimately stayed in his position, but remained unmoved by Boehm's appeals for assistance to rebuild.

Support for reconstruction remained much stronger closer to home. On February 28, 1916, a delegation of tribal members asked Boehm for a petition to circulate among Catholic and non-Catholic tribal members to support the rebuilding process.[80] By March 6, the superintendent forwarded to Ketcham over one hundred signatures in support of rebuilding the school and a five-year petition for a federal contract to assist the continuation of school services. Tribal leaders reinforced their pride in the historic Sioux-Benedictine educational alliance at Crow Creek. They encouraged Boehm to reference the original signers of the petition who thirty years ago maintained that a Catholic school should "stand as long as there is any Indian blood" at Crow Creek. Consequently, Boehm noted the support of Not Afraid of Bear who was still living, as well as the deceased Drifting Goose, Bull Ghost, White Ghost, Wizi, Crow Man, Scattering Bear, and Middle Tent.[81]

Mission personnel recognized the limits of BCIM financial ability to support reconstruction and attempted to create their own solutions. The tribal petition would help increase the size of the federal contract, but such quarterly installments would mostly address operational costs not large construction programs. Boehm also did not wait for the compensation from the $5,000 insurance policy Katherine Drexel held on the girls' building.[82] Months of inquiry and dozens of letters regarding a mission insurance policy twenty years earlier had never compensated the mission for damage incurred by a previous fire. Consequently, mission leadership took the initiative toward the rebuilding program. Boehm implemented a direct mail solicitation program. Father Ambrose took George Turner (grandson of Drifting Goose) and Reuben Manca on a fund raising odyssey. The priest and two boys dressed in traditional garb appealed to over a thousand families in the Sioux Falls diocese of southeastern South Dakota and Indiana.[83] "I have tramped the diocese in great part in beggars guise for the new school building," Mattingly stated, "my little Ford was my only means of locomotion."[84] Their travels of more than ten thousand miles produced great results.[85] Thirty-two parishes contributed $3,554.49 and support through the mail added $1,667.80.[86] In addition, Boehm received a check for $4,484.58 from Federal-Phoenix Fire Insurance Company by May 13, 1916.[87] The insurance check proved most helpful, but paled in relation to the priest's estimate of the respective values of the building and its contents at $15,000 and $3,547.01.[88]

The Benedictine and tribal efforts permitted Boehm to hire Joseph Nemmers of LeMars, Iowa to construct the replacement building. Nemmers and his crew

erected the thirty-eight by eighty-four foot, two-story stucco building enclosed in hollow tile on a solid cement foundation. They topped the structure with a cupola that enclosed a statue of Mary. Students took possession of the three-floored building named "Marty Hall," after the first bishop of Sioux Falls and key figure in the founding of the mission, on Thanksgiving Day of 1916. The more modern structure provided safety measures and conveniences, including tubular fire escapes, furnaces, and bathrooms. Workers completed the building that came to be the center of all mission activities by Christmas of 1916.[89]

Irregular windfalls of funding from eastern Catholic organizations permitted Benedictines to support their Catholic base at Crow Creek, and potentially increase the pool of students to draw into their school. During the Winter of 1915, Mattingly had appealed to Catholic supporters in the East on behalf of a dozen families from the traditionally-Catholic Big Bend district for an eighteen by thirty-six foot building to serve as a church. "The Indians of that district who for several years had become very lax, are now showing a better disposition," the Benedictine missionary argued "and I feel it is an opportune time to put forth my best efforts in their behalf."[90] In October of 1916, the Marquette League responded by contributing a one thousand dollar check to establish a church in the Big Bend region.[91] By the Spring of 1917, he hoped to begin construction on the "long cherished desire—a chapel in honor of the Sacred Heart for our Big Bend Indians."[92] By the fall of 1919, the Marquette League offered an additional thirty dollars toward the support of a catechist for a completed Sacred Heart Mission at the Big Bend.[93]

Modern conveniences made life easier for all members of the mission community, but failed to give administrators greater control over their school. Electric lights extended living hours, an new water system improved sanitary conditions, and modernized buildings provided for more activities at the isolated mission. Telephone communication and automobile transportation made interactions with the outside world more efficient. Increased contact and communication, however, could also bring additional problems to students and staff. Just prior to Christmas, in December of 1918, nearly the whole mission fell to what staff referred to as the "flu," that likely was part of the worldwide influenza epidemic that hit the United States from 1918-19.[94] "After we had prayed all fall to be spared and used every possible precaution," Boehm bemoaned, "the flu brought us down all in a day, children, sisters, teachers and employee, even your humble servant was condemned to bed." Only Father Sylvester, five boys and three girls stayed healthy. The healthy priest learned that the illness hit families across the reservation. Agency officials reported fifteen deaths, mostly children, by early January. The mission lost at least two through the ordeal as well, including an eight-year-old boy from Yankton and an eight-year-old girl from Crow Creek.[95] The epidemic also hit Lower Brule, causing parents to keep their children closer to home for a year.[96] From 1918-19 Lower Brule enrollment dropped from twenty to twelve students. By August of 1919, missionary Eisenman reported, "the parents now want to send their children again."[97]

The mission culture grew to include an increasingly varied student body. Federal contracts for about fifty Crow Creek and six Lower Brule students helped

support daily expenses through much of the second decade of the century.[98] These numbers note general trends of attendance, but misrepresent the diversity of the student population. In addition to students from the two most local reservations, the mission school enrolled seven students from Cheyenne River, two from Omaha, and four from Yankton during the fall semester of 1917.[99] During the autumn of 1919, Boehm noted twenty-six students not covered by federal contract, mostly from Yankton and Cheyenne River Reservations.[100] The Crow Creek agency alone had become home to traditionally Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota. Stephan enrolled representatives from each of these three divisions of the Sioux federation, from the local agency and other reservations. Crow Creek Yanktonais mixed with Two Kettles from the Big Bend district, Nebraska Santees and many others. Unlike many other South Dakota schools that drew from larger local tribal populations, Immaculate Conception stood as an educational institution for the Sioux Nation.

The expiration of the three-year petition on June 30, 1919 led to new practical challenges to mission staff and tribal members.[101] Tribal members struggled with transportation to the agency, accessibility of the agent, a transient summer lifestyle. Many supporters saw the process of petition renewal as punishment, and potentially jeopardizing to their status in the community. "Stealthily they have to come around the corner of the Agency office, [and] watch so nobody sees them go in," Boehm stated, "and meeting the clerk or official in charge out of humor they become discouraged and perhaps leave without signing."[102] Such agency realities led to only fourteen signatures by late July of 1919. Catholic leaders responded by calling for a

re-opening of the petition for additional signatures.[103] Benedictine insistence and tribal efforts encouraged additional Crow Creek support throughout the summer. "With much labor the Indians are being induced to sign up," Eisenman claimed by late August, "an automobile was employed to haul many of them down to the Agency to sign up."[104]

Frustrations grew between the cultural gaps that separated members of multi-ethnic communities. Tribal members often responded differently than Benedictine administrators to perceived threats to their institution's economic stability. Many tribal members either did not recognize the significance of petitions or chose to ignore it for their own reasons. "They seem not to appreciate the importance of their signatures," Eisenman stated. Surely, some noted no basic difference between the mission and government schools, and retained historic tribal suspicions of signing federal documents. Others sent their children to the Catholic mission, but still neglected to register support with the agent. "Some are so easy going that they do not wish to put themselves out to sign," Boehm complained, "saying to themselves, 'Oh, I can send my children anyhow without that,' as it happened last year." The business-minded superintendent felt betrayed by perceived as laziness or selfishness that led the mission to support some students without federal assistance. "It is not fair that we do the dirty work and they keep their money in the treasury," Boehm asserted.[105]

The growth-driven Benedictines, however, were not content with the "indifference" of tribal members. Father Sylvester and Mr. Flannery spent two weeks going from house to house visiting families to remind them to sign the petition at the

agency.[106] He expected Catholic efforts to provide additional opportunities for signatures to bring results despite the practical challenges of getting people to the agency. "With this kind of weather and distance they have to go it might be explained," Boehm bemoaned, "were it not for the fact that the petition was three times opened for them." He resigned himself to gathering enough supporters to cover the thirty-seven Crow Creek students enrolled by mid-October. Still, for the next year, he proposed a different strategy for increasing supporters to BCIM leadership. "The only way to get plenty of signatures," Boehm argued, "is to go and carry the petition around from house to house." [107]

Other tribal leaders visibly demonstrated active support for the school as their families had since the 1886 founding. Joe All Around helped collect seventy names for the Crow Creek petition, while eight Lower Brules had signed their own petition before the October opening of school.[108] These supporters stood proud in their commitment to the school. Certainly, on educational and sociological grounds they were correct, the school could not exist without them.

Benedictine and tribal leaders at times seemed to verbally compete for ownership of the institution. Boehm's administrative disposition seemed more amused than convinced by tribal efforts. "They really think they are supporting the school with their signatures," he said. Those who attended the Rosebud Conference in the Summer of 1919 proclaimed defiantly to Boehm, "we are running this school, we are paying for it, F[ather] Ketcham is on our side."[109] From a financial perspective, the Benedictine critiqued the significance of tribal leadership and support. He

maintained that the $4,315.86 provided by the BCIM from the petition covered only slightly more than one-third of yearly expenses of $12,060.64.[110]

Catholic leaders, however, needed tribal support to increase their presence at Crow Creek and raise their enrollment figures. Crow Creek Superintendent Harmon P. Marble naturally worked to promote order, not tribal activism and control, within Crow Creek schools. This educational policy discouraged regular student transfers between his government school and Stephan Mission to keep students within a single school system. "I am insisting rather rigidly," he maintained, "that the parents keep their children in the school where originally enrolled."[111] Tribal members and Catholic missionaries objected to these limitations on parental choice. In September of 1919, Frank Fogg, Short Bear, and Frank Pamani registered their support for Stephan mission during the petition drive and then attempted to enroll their children in the Catholic school. The Foggs specifically appealed to agent Marble and Senator Johnson to permit the transfer of their children to the mission.[112] Catholic leaders appealed to Washington to change their orders to the "fair-minded" Marble on this issue, believing that "if he gets orders to give up those children, he will gladly do so."[113] By October of 1919, Washington liberalized the student transfer policy in Indian Country in favor of parental initiatives. Commissioner Sells maintained that, "changes of pupils from one school to another are to be determined by the parents' wishes." Consequently, Sells gave Marble permission to place the students in the mission school.[114]

Federal rulings on parental choice, however, did not always benefit Stephan enrollment or affiliated financial support. Alice Different Horse, a non-Catholic petition signer in 1916, and her husband employed their parental rights for different purposes. They transferred their three girls and one boy between the ages of eight and seventeen to the government school after several years in attendance at Stephan. Typically, the parochial Boehm criticized this use of parental choice on grounds of its disservice to the education of children. "It is always humiliating, [and] makes a bad impression on the other children." the superintendent reasoned, "and the change, as a rule, does no good to the pupil especially smaller children and generally one year is lost until the child gets habituated to its new surroundings."[115]

Molding student behavior proved equally as difficult as managing finances and enrollment. Student struggles with the foreign culture of boarding schools persisted since the founding of Stephan. Many students adapted quietly or struggled silently with the restrictive expectations and suppression of individual creativity. Those who resisted more emphatically drew staff consternation and administrators' ink. Several like the Red Water brothers and others ran away three and four times. Often these troubled students only returned to lure others away with them. On a few occasions delinquent student behavior compromised the safety of the mission community. In addition to suspected student involvement in the 1916 fire, the superintendent noted a scheme to burn down the kitchen a year later. Mostly, however, mission staff faced more moderate student resistance to authority in the

form of uncooperative, disrespectful, and defiant students. Boehm noted several who "continually disobeyed, sassed the sisters," and "refused to do their detail."[116]

Twentieth-century boarding school literature stands on solid ground in referencing to staff abuse of students. Benedictines of the early twentieth century might instead argue that at times students had reign over the institution. "They have been making the fool of us for years and never anything was done to them," he observed, "[they] deserted when they pleased and returned when they pleased." The inability of staff to suppress such actions provided amusement to more accommodating students. "It was getting to be quite the joke among the children," the superintendent maintained.[117] As in contemporary classrooms, disruptive students gained attention while many others earned an education.

Typically, criticism of the shared institution prompted alternative explanations. In this case, parents generally saw the school system and its uncompromising staff as problematic. "The School authorities are abused, criticized; always the school is at fault," Boehm complained, "for years they [parents] wanted Sr. Pauline out of the way; scarcely was she gone than they found fault with the others."[118] The priest pointed to a different cause for student behavior. "If the parents would co-operate with the school authorities," he maintained, "little difficulty would be found in keeping the children in school and conducting a successful school." Boehm even directed his criticism at noted mission supporter and son of Drifting Goose, Gregory Turner, whose son had run away from the mission several times. The Benedictine priest thought Turner should more strongly discipline his son. Turner

informed the superintendent that he had "talked to him," but Boehm argued that "it takes a little more 'talk to him' in cases of this kind." The superintendent grew even more frustrated when Turner could provide no guarantee that he could keep his boy in school.[119] Other parents, no doubt, reacted to their estimation of the school by actively withdrawing or re-enrolling their children for the next school year without specific commentary on their actions.

Crow Creek agency personnel proved little help to Boehm. Tribal members as a matter of course acted on their own initiative regardless of federal dictates. Parents broke laws in taking their families off reservation and neglected to insure their children's prompt arrival at school each fall. As Marble told Boehm, "I am experiencing the same difficulty in getting the Crow Creek pupils in school, that you are experiencing at Stephan."[120] Marble informed the priest that he would be willing to assign a policemen to join mission staff in securing the return of students, but he figured many children were off the reservation. Policemen dispatched to the mission on weekends proved unable to improve the discipline or keep the children in school, and one officer turned out to be the father of one of the runaways. It often took several weeks to settle students into the mission, delaying the opening of classes to October. Unable to command the system or understand different cultural agenda, the superintendent grew dejected from time to time. "It is discouraging too to work for such an unappreciative people," Boehm complained.[121]

Director Ketcham supported his fellow priest in these conflicts, apparently disregarding tribal complaints sent his way. He also, however, placed tribal actions in

a broader national context. "I am laying no stress whatever on the complaints the Indians have made," the director responded, "the only thing is I take it for granted you want to save the school and I am trying to help you save it." While critical of tribal arguments on an ethnocentric level, Ketcham noted similar disposition of non-Indian parishioners as well. "We are dealing with Indians and this should be recognized from the start," he asserted, "moreover, I find white people are just about as inconsistent and ungrateful to deal with as Indians."[122]

Tribal members maintained support for their school despite student difficulties and a paternalistic missionary agenda. Many who had criticized administrative decisions and staff earlier in the year still wanted their children in their school. With Horn and Joe Iron attempted to return their children to the mission though government officials denied their enrollment on grounds that they had not signed the 1919 petition.[123] Among those interested in enrollment were "unruly boys" of the previous year, who claimed to be sorry for their misdeeds and pleaded with Agent Marble for readmission. Pius Red Water and policeman Martin Chase, who had criticized the mission during the previous summer, also wished to return their children to the Catholic school.[124] By October of 1919, Gregory Turner agreed that he would do all he could to influence more positive behavior in his son. "I [will] do everything in my power to make him behave and obey the school authorities," Drifting Goose's son stated to Boehm and Joe All Around, "and bring him back as soon as he runs away."[125]

Common experiences, shared efforts, and mutual concerns molded the mission community together. Federal officials, Benedictine priests and Sisters, and tribal members promoted their own cultural and educational agenda while sharing a common place. Their minds may have perceived different institutions, but their mutual pride rested in the same physical space and shared culture that arose within the distinct environment. The formation of the mission culture required give and take by missionaries and tribal members. Conflicts resulted from individuals pushing and pulling the community in different directions. They did not, however, promote implosion of the institution. Differences led to readjustments on both sides. Whether individuals saw a tribal school or Catholic mission, all parties embraced its history and worked to propel it through the twentieth century.

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[1] See federal contracts, including the Contract for Fiscal Year 1909, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1908.
[2] "Contract schools" were schools supported by federal contract that religious organizations administered to help educate Native American students in an era with insufficient federal schools.
[3] Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, 115-25.
[4] Federal officials had actually established an elaborate system of tribal accounts based on nineteenth-century land cessions and treaty agreements. The complexity of the system proved so difficult to decipher that contemporary Bureau of Indian Affairs officials are still plagued by an inability to account for many of these accounts.
[5] Mattingly to Ketcham, February 16, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1906.
[6] Mrs. Jennie Douglas visited tribal camps for the purpose of attaining signatures, according to Boehm to Ketcham, June 26, 1904, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 33, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1904.
[7] Boehm to Lusk, July 11, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36. Few felt they truly understood the bureaucratic regulations, so in an effort not to mislead tribal members they did not push the petition as much as they might have done. One women claimed that she would have signed, but thought that only parents with children in school were eligible to do so.
[8] Mattingly to Ketcham, February 16, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36.
[9] Simplistically, "traditionals" base decisions on pre-contact values, while "progressives" would more likely accommodate their behavior to new environmental and cultural realities.

[10] Mattingly to Ketcham, July 2, 1914, in Duratschek, Crusading Along Sioux Trails, 180.
[11] Boehm to Ketcham, June 26, 1904, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 33.
[12] Lusk to Boehm, May 9, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36; "Contract For Immaculate Conception Mission School, Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota" (1906); Leupp to Ketcham, May 11, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36; Prucha, 128, maintains that since Stephan's average attendance only reached thirty-six, including two Lower Brules, federal support dropped to $3,887.66; the federal contract for fiscal year 1905 called for sixty-five students that contributed $7,020 to Immaculate Conception Mission, according to BCIM Series 1, Roll 33, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1904.
[13] Boehm to Ketcham, December 22, 1906, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 36.
[14] Ketcham to Sioux Falls Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, April 24, 1912, BCIM Series 1, Roll 59, District of Columbia; BCIM funding in the Sioux Falls diocese followed similar patterns in 1912, providing $5,719.67 to Immaculate Conception ($5,719.67), $60 to Mattingly for a catechist, $170 to Father Loftus, and $50 to Boehm for missionary work according to Ketcham to O'Gorman, April 11, 1913, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 64, Dakotas, General Correspondence, 1913.
[15] The Petition of Crow Creek Sioux Indians , Crow Creek Agency, South Dakota, for contract for Immaculate Conception Mission School, Fiscal Year 1913 to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, BCIM Series 1, Roll 59, also references original signatures of 1907.
[16] Boehm to Ketcham, January 17, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1908.
[17] Mattingly to Lusk, August 3, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41; Commissioner Leupp to Ketcham, November 11, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41.
[18] According to Boehm to Ketcham, April 15, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41, the loss of Cheyenne River students coincided with the movement of their agency one hundred miles west, thus perhaps making their families less accessible to Benedictine recruiters.
[19] According to Boehm to Lusk, July 1, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41, the mission continued to support on its own the expenses from Yanktons who had attended the mission since its early years. Petitions had failed at Yankton, but limited available treaty money made continued efforts there an inefficient effort. Boehm suggested that federal officials grant Immaculate Conception a single contract for students from four reservations where he could conservatively recruit forty from Crow Creek, six from Lower Brule, twenty-five from Cheyenne River and seven from Yankton.
[20] Sr. Clara to Ketcham, June 29, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.
[21] Acting Commissioner Larabee to Ketcham, May 22, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41.
[22] Ketcham to Crow Creek Agent Major Thomas W. Lane, June 23, 1908, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 41.
[23] Mattingly to Ketcham, April 8, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1910.
[24] Loftus to Mattingly, January 11, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49. Commissioner Robert G. Valentine (1909-13), Leupp's successor, informed Ketcham that tribal members would potentially lose only sixty-one cents of their per capita payments if they supported the Catholic mission with their signatures, according to Valentine to Ketcham, May 10, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.
[25] Mattingly to Ketcham, December 18, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.
[26] Superintendent S.E. Allen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert G. Valentine, March 16, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49; Valentine to Ketcham, March 12, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.
[27] Though their relation to Moses St. John and each other remains uncertain, a petition in support of Immaculate Conception in February 1916 included the names Alice, Peter, and Bill St. John.
[28] Crow Creek tribal members planned to travel to Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Yankton and other regions during the summer of 1910, according to Boehm to Ketcham, June 6, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.
[29] Lusk to Boehm, July 12, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.
[30] Boehm to Ketcham, July 19, 1910, BCIM Series 1, Roll 49. Despite governmental decisions to open in October , by August Boehm decided to open school in September to let out on June. He realized that

students would not all arrive on time, but hoped they would gradually fill the school during the month. Boehm feared that "if we wait to the last moment, it is very likely the government school will gobble them up and some perhaps against their will," according to Boehm to Ketcham, August 8, 1910, BCIM Series 1, Roll 49.

[31] Ambrose to Ketcham, June 1, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.

[32] Boehm to Ketcham, July 19, 1910, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 49.

[33] Boehm to Lusk, October 25, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1915.

[34] Mattingly to Ketcham, March 13, 1913; May 6, 1913 BCIM, Series 1, Roll 64, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1913; Mattingly to Ketcham, August 8, 1913, Roll 64 also argues that the Indian Rights Association circulated the petition.

[35] Mattingly to Valentine, December 3, 1910, Roll 49; Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs C.F. Hauke to the Secretary of the Interior, May 22, 1913, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 64.

[36] Mattingly to Ketcham, June 19, 1913, March 22, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.

[37] Henry Bad Horse to Ketcham, February 19, 1913, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 64.

[38] Boehm to Ketcham, September 23, 1912 and attached petition, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 59, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1912.

[39] Boehm to Ketcham, September 23, 1912 and attached petition, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 59.

[40] Boehm to Ketcham, August 28, September 23, 1912 and attached petition, BCIM Series 1, Roll 59.

[41] Sister Clara made her Benedictine vows at nineteen in 1874, and left her mother house for the United States in 1880, according to Sr. Clara to Ketcham, April 20, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73

[42] Boehm to Ketcham, December 9, 1912, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 59.

[43] Sr. Clara to Ketcham, April 20, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.

[44] Sr. Clara to Ketcham, June 29, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.

[45] Sr. M. Clara to Ketcham, June 29, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.

[46] Oldest Child et al. to Father Ketcham, May 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.

[47] BCIM operations channeled funding from federal coffers to their Catholic schools, but at times also had to loan money to missions. During federal funding debates for the 1915 fiscal year, BCIM leaders fronted Boehm two thousand dollars until federal funds arrived, according to Ketcham to Boehm, February 25, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1915.

[48] Sells to Lusk, March 23, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73; Ketcham to Boehm, March 24, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73.

[49] Formal interactions between tribal nations and the United States through 1876 concluded in "treaties." By 1877, meetings between tribal leaders and federal officials led to "agreements" that suggest a diminished federal view of tribal sovereignty.

[50] "Exhibit C" BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73, Dakota, South, Crow Creek & Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission ,1915.

[51] Lusk to Eisenman, August 14, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91; This undivided interest is known as a share, whose value is found by dividing the total of tribal funds by the number of Sioux Indians. By 1919, the Indian office estimated each Crow Creek Sioux share worth is $24.18 while Lower Brules shares computed to $26.38.

[52] Lusk to Eisenman, August 14, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91, established that the petition policy reinforced American gender roles within tribal communities, placing men in positions of power and influence. The petition process designated men as the head of a family with rights and responsibilities to voice support for his wife and children. A father's signature accessed his own share, and the shares of his wife and children. If the mother headed the family, her signature represented her share as well as those of her children. If the signer is a guardian, it represents his share and the share or shares of the child of children of whom he is the guardian. The signature of a person without a wife or children represented, of course, only one share.

[53] Boehm to Ketcham, May 12, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.
[54] Boehm to Lusk, October 25, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.
[55] Boehm to Lusk, October 7, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.
[56] Boehm to Lusk, October 25, 1915, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 73.
[57] Gannvalley, South Dakota is located about forty miles southeast of Stephan.
[58] Dollie Driving Hawk apparently recovered from her ailment, according the Crow Creek Superintendent Haygood to Immaculate Conception Mission, August 30, 1917, Driving Hawk planned to attend Haskell Institute for three years beginning in the Fall of 1917.
[59] Courtright to Boehm, October 7, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73.
[60] Superintendent C.J. Crandall to Boehm, October 12, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73; Mary E. Campbell (Mary B. Cloud) had showed support for the Catholic mission in her 1913 signature of the Crow Creek petition. Her enrollment of children at the Pierre school thus may relate more toward her efforts toward new economic opportunities than antagonism toward Immaculate Conception.
[61] Courtright to Boehm, October 7, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73.
[62] Ketcham to Shields, January 24, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1916; date and time provided by Maiers, 43.
[63] Wopeedah, Golden Jubilee Issue, May 26, 1937, in Duratschek, 180-81; The Little Monitor, March 1916, in Maiers, 43-44.
[64] Sister M. Paulina, O.S.B. to Ketcham, February 11, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[65] Boehm to Ketcham, March 23, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[66] Sister Paulina, O.S.B. to Ketcham, February 11, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[67] Pius Red Water to Ketcham, March 3, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[68] Boehm to Ketcham, March 23, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[69] Pius Red Water to Ketcham, may 7, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77; In Ketcham to Red Water, June 1, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77, the BCIM director kept his distance from the local matter telling Red Water, "you must realize that I am very far away and that I must depend on the missionaries for information. I must allow them to manage their schools and missions."
[70] The Little Monitor, March 1917, in Duratschek, 181.
[71] Wopeedah, Golden Jubilee Issue, May 26, 1937, in Duratschek, 180-81.
[72] Boehm to Ketcham, January 24, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[73] Boehm to Ketcham, January 24, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[74] Boehm to Ketcham, January 28, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[75] The Little Monitor, March 1916, in Maiers, 44.
[76] Ketcham to Boehm, January 20, 1916; January 27, 1916, Roll 77.
[77] Ketcham to Boehm, January 18, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.
[78] "South Dakota Missions Burned," The Indian Sentinel I, no. 1 (July 1916): 29 discusses fires at Immaculate Conception and St. Francis; Holy Rosary Mission on Pine Ridge did burn at that time.
[79] Ketcham to Boehm, January 27, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[80] Boehm to Ketcham, February 28, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.
[81] Boehm to Ketcham, March 6, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.
[82] Katherine Drexel held a $5,000 insurance policy with Fidelity Phoenix Company of New York, policy number 42972 with "$2,000 on the frame building, additions and attachements used as schools convent etc." and "$3,000 on furniture, fixtures, implements, etc." according to Ketcham to Boehm, January 20, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.
[83] The Little Monitor, March 1917, in Maiers, 45.
[84] Mattingly to Lusk, October 23, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.
[85] "Catholic Indian Schools: The Immaculate Conception Indian Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," The Indian Sentinel I, no. IV (April 1917): 13.
[86] The Little Monitor, March 1917, in Maiers, 45.
[87] Boehm to Ketcham, May 13, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77.

[88] Boehm to Ketcham, and attached "Inventory of Articles Lost by Fire," January 31, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77; The list included 51 listed categories of items lost that included among other things 7 stoves worth $140, 2 clinical thermometers listed at $3, and 140 dresses with a value of $210.
[89] The Little Monitor, March, 1917, in Maiers, 46; "Letters from Indian Missionaries: Immaculate Conception Mission, Stephan, South Dakota," The Indian Sentinel I, no. IV (April 1917): 21. According to Boehm to Lusk, October 31, 1916, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77, few available construction workers were available at the time. The departure of many men for military service with General George Patton's troops in Mexico slowed down the building process.
[90] Mattingly to Ketcham, March 22, 1915, BCIM Series 1, Roll 73.
[91] According to Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, 52-53, Father Ganss worked with New York clergy and laity to form the Marquette League as an auxiliary agency of the Catholic Bureau and Preservation Society in 1904. The organization appealed to more "well-to-do Catholics for a more generous support" and encouraged larger contributions to support a child for a year, construct a mission chapel, or support a catechist.
[92] Mattingly to Lusk, October 23, 1916, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 77.
[93] Lusk to Eisenman, October 15, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[94] The 400,000 deaths nationally made it the most deadly epidemic in American history, according to David Rosner, "Epidemics," The Reader's Companion to American History, Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 356.
[95] Boehm to Ketcham, January 14, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[96] Boehm to Ketcham, January 14, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[97] Eisenman to Ketcham, August 25, 1919, BCIM Series 1, Roll 91.
[98] Federal contracts between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions on the behalf of Immaculate Conception Mission Boarding School generally supported fifty Crow Creek and six Lower Brule students between 1909-18.
[99] Boehm to Lusk, December 31, 1917, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 82.
[100] Boehm to Ketcham, October 9, 1919, BCIM Series 1, Roll 91; Boehm to Ketcham, December 31, 1919 stated that only 39 of 90 children covered by federal contract, suggesting a variety of non-Crow Creek or Lower Brule students enrolled.
[101] Assistant Commissioner E.B. Meritt to Ketcham, July 27, 1917, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 82.
[102] Boehm to Lusk, October 16, 1919, BCIM Series 1, Roll 91.
[103] Lusk to Commissioner Cato Sells, July 22, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[104] Eisenman to Ketcham, August 25, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[105] Boehm to Ketcham, September 19, 1919, second letter, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[106] Boehm to Ketcham, October 10, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[107] Boehm to Lusk, October 15, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[108] Boehm to Ketcham, October 1, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[109] Boehm to Ketcham, December 25, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[110] Boehm to Ketcham, September 19, 1919, second letter; Boehm to Ketcham, October 9, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91, maintains a conservative average expense figure for the past ten years as $10,513.42 that covered running expenses, upkeep, insurance, and repairs. Five to six-hundred dollars was given to sisters work, though Boehm argued that Sisters should get an allowance of $1000 per year. Boehm himself earned no salary.
[111] Harmon P. Marble to Boehm, September 2, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[112] Boehm to Ketcham, September 19, 1919, second letter, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[113] Boehm to Ketcham, October 4, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[114] Commissioner Sells to Supt. Harmon P. Marble, October 29, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[115] Boehm to Ketcham, October 7, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[116] Boehm to Ketcham, July 29, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[117] Boehm to Lusk, August 3, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.

[118] Boehm to Ketcham, July 29, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[119] Boehm to Ketcham, July 29, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[120] Marble to Boehm, September 30, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[121] Boehm to Ketcham, July 29, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[122] Ketcham to Boehm, August 8, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[123] Boehm to Lusk, October 16, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[124] Boehm to Ketcham, September 19, 1919, BCIM, Series 1, Roll 91.
[125] Gregory Turner to Boehm, October 12, 1919, BCIM Series 1, Roll 91.

CHAPTER 8

EXPERIENCING THE MISSION COMMUNITY: STUDENT AND STAFF PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR CROW CREEK SCHOOL, 1920-1998

Many twentieth-century presentations on American Indian religious boarding schools focus on one-dimensional figures within the educational institutions.[1] Missionaries dominate the scene wearing saintly or sinister personalities. Indian students appear simplistically innocent or culturally mischievous. Documentary analysis and oral testimony show more complex individuals of varied backgrounds, personalities, skills, and responses to the campus environment. Experiences and opinions vary with each individual. Benedictine leaders established policies that influenced the school, but did not overwhelm the rest of the community. Religious and lay staff executed school programs as they distinctly interpreted them.[2] Some students embraced their years at Stephan while others recalled critical memories of boarding school life. Most assessments fell between these extremes.

This chapter explores individual experiences at the Crow Creek school during an era when school administration shifted from Benedictine priests to tribal leaders. The educational mission changed, but the institution's purpose followed similar patterns. Students and staff continue to grapple with an institution that draws members of different cultures together. Individuals change and react in their own distinct ways. These experiences prompt stories of appreciation and loss, educational

opportunities and personal sacrifices, reconciliation and remorse. Students and staff continue to adapt to an evolving educational environment, explore intercultural relations, and examine their own ethnic identities. Members of tribal and Catholic traditions retain elements of their ancestral cultures while selectively accepting a new language, customs, and understandings of themselves. Degrees of cultural tenacity and adaptability vary with individuals. The composite stories of many individuals constitute the twentieth-century history of Crow Creek Tribal School.

The mission environment served as a meeting ground for an increasingly diverse community during the twentieth century. Dozens of non-religious workers joined students and Benedictines at the mission. Stephan attracted about twenty lay staff by the 1920s to provide agricultural, construction, and secretarial assistance. They came at the personal request of mission staff, responding to job advertisements, or seemingly wandering into the region on their own accord. Pius Boehm had attracted three nephews to the region soon after the turn of the century. Albert Holzmann arrived at the mission in 1906 to manage the mission farm. Later, he ran a general merchandise store at Stephan. His wife Katherine, known as "Aunt Kit," served as assistant post master. His brothers Alphonse and Victor Holzmann came to run a bakery and liquor store in Highmore, but also maintained contact with the mission.[3] Other staff during that era included Mildred Schuester, Helen Herring, Elizabeth Lila, Delores and Jerry Foerster, Mary Ellen Hayes, Mable Werdel Mary Hardes, Clarence Kuper, Bud Krautbauer, Art Meuwissen, Richard Holzmann,

Emmet, John, and Mark Durfee, and Ray Hammes.[4] Over the years, others arrived at the mission to help in various ways for brief or lengthy periods of time.[5]

Joost (J.J.) Van Balen, known as "Van," and Nellie Dougherty joined the mission staff and married soon after meeting at the mission. Both followed paths to Stephan that broadly replicated national patterns of westward migration and cultural adaptation. Van's personal journey shows the multi-dimensional nature of support staff that came to Stephan. It also shows how working men might employ mission work as a stepping stone in their pursuit of the American dream of owning land. The Dutch native immigrated to the United States in 1913, served in World War I, and became a naturalized citizen. At twenty-seven, he moved west to Stephan, South Dakota after responding to a 1924 Sioux Falls' Argus Leader advertisement for a "Dairy and Farm Manager." Nellie Dougherty's early life followed a pattern of many Midwesterners. The Irish-American followed her family's migration west as they moved from Illinois to Iowa to South Dakota. Along the way she attended country and Catholic schools, and earned a teaching certification from Madison Normal Teacher's Training School. She came to teach at Stephan Mission for one school year, after resigning from her position at the Stephan rural school. Dougherty, like many transient staff, served the mission for only one year. Van and Nellie married the following year and lived at the mission where they raised their children into the 1930s.[6] This couple and many individuals that followed added their own contributions to the mission community.

The mission also employed their tribal neighbors, Lucy and Steve Sargeant.[7] The lives of the Sargeants and their sons Andy and Jimmy also reveal the nature of Indian-white relations of the 1930s. Their geographic and economic connection to the mission seemed to stand in contrast to their cultural distance. The family's one-room log cabin stood only one-quarter of a mile from the mission barn. Steve served as mission butcher and Lucy worked at the mission second-hand shop. Lucy also made dresses for her Van Balen neighbors and sewed beaded moccasins for her family. Meat drying along the fence surrounding the house, a dark dress worn by Lucy in memory of her teenage daughter's recent death of tuberculosis, and ceremonial practices showed the retention of tribal distinctions. The Sargeants incorporation of a Singer treadle sewing machine into a family residence that practiced spirit-keeping and the *Yawipi* ceremony reveals the integration of seemingly distinct cultures into the traditions of a single family. Tribal involvement in the Corpus Christi celebrations at the mission similarly reinforced Indian tendencies to include tribal and Catholic traditions within the same setting.[8]

Great Plains weather patterns replicated the cultural confusion of the era. Strong winds that blew through the region also drew people together by creating common experiences and opportunities to support each other. A hurricane hit the mission at six o'clock in the evening on June 14, 1924. "The roof of the church rose like a live thing high into the air," Pius Boehm observed, "and then drop [sic] bringing down with it the sides of the building."[9] The twenty-minute windstorm destroyed the twenty-four year old wooden church and half of the other buildings.

"Our lovely church was leveled to the ground," the priest stated despondently, "laundry, barns, and outhouses all went."[10] The departure of students two days earlier limited the storm's impact on Stephan personnel to only minor injuries. The violent winds, however, caused a stray board to hit and kill a women known only as "Mrs. Peck," who lived near the mission."[11]

Natural disasters plagued Crow Creek Catholics and caused them to adapt to reconfigured physical structures. The estimated $35,000 in damage proved too costly to quickly rebuild the mission facilities, several of which remained cracked, swaying in the wind, and flooded due to exposure to the weather into the following summer.[12] Limited funds delayed Van's plans for improving the mission dairy, inconveniencing students and staff. Benedictine Sisters, no doubt, scrambled most to accommodate their students in close quarters. Crow Creek Catholics also lost chapels at Fort Thompson, Soldier Creek, and the Big Bend. A year later, Big Bend Catholics were left with a salvaged church bell on a broken wagon at their catechist's home to serve as their chapel.[13]

Stephan became a nexus of economic and social interaction as its facilities grew. Van improved the mission dairy with the addition of buildings, machinery, and Friesian cows that streamlined the process. It increased the milk volume for staff and students and permitted him to establish a cream station at the mission. Stephan soon attracted local dairy farmers who contributed to mission stocks. Delivery trucks took the cream to Higmore and rail cars carried it to Sioux Falls, making the mission a major supplier on the railroad for some time. The cream station and mission store that

grew up at Stephan did more than provide additional cash flow. They also served as a meeting place for neighbors. Community members could discuss economic concerns, exchange agricultural information, complain about the weather, or perhaps even muse about Gutzon Borglum's early efforts on Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills.[14]

Benedictine personnel changes in Dakota Territory influenced the responses to mission challenges and changed social dynamics at Stephan. St. Meinrad leaders sent the affable Father Ambrose Mattingly, O.S.B. to Devil's (Spirit) Lake, North Dakota to run St. Michael's Mission in 1918, ending decades of his service to Stephan.[15] Known by tribal members as "*Hoksina Pesto*" or "Sharp Boy," Mattingly's wit, story telling, and laughter were missed.[16] The energetic Reverend Sylvester Eisenman, O.S.B. replaced Mattingly as the missionary to Crow Creek, Lower Brule, and Yankton reservations.[17] By 1921, Father Sylvester's efforts and tribal interest in a full-time Catholic missionary work drew the Benedictine priest into full-time service at Yankton. St. Meinrad's Abbot Athanasius eventually agreed to send Reverend Justin Snyder, O.S.B. to replace Eisenman at Stephan.[18] Snyder served alongside Boehm until 1931, when Boehm reluctantly stepped down as mission superior after over four decades in that position. Justin replaced him to lead the mission into the early 1940s. [19]

Leadership change set a new tone for mission staff and students already experiencing the onset of the Great Depression.[20] Snyder's preference for cultivating interpersonal relations with students and staff replaced a more business-like, administrative disposition of Boehm.[21] Certainly, tribal members recognized

differences between mission leaders as suggested by the names they gave to each. Crow Creek residents referred to Pius Boehm as "*Ista Maza*" meaning "iron eyes," suggesting a stern disposition. They simply called Justin Snyder "*Ista Topa*" meaning "four eyes." Regardless, the leadership transfer did not come smoothly and remained incomplete until Boehm's death in 1935. Snyder struggled managing staff and standing in Boehm's shadow. He preferred building personalities and character to establishing buildings and administrative channels.[22] "Three years after my ordination I was sent to the Indians," Snyder recalled, "Since then all my years have been with the Indians and the Indian children, and I am glad that it was so. I love to be with them."[23] Institutional leadership did not come easily to him.[24] His more quiet and gentle disposition proved more amenable to friendly conversation, in Dakota and English, than authoritative decision-making needed from a chief executive officer. Like his predecessor, he naturally proved unable to protect school buildings from outside forces.

The mission's location continued to make it susceptible to the powerful forces of wind and fire during the otherwise challenging eras of economic depression and World War II. Another big storm hit the mission on August 18, 1938. The cyclone damaged nearly every building. Beginning by ripping a cemetery crucifix from a concrete foundation and throwing it against the church, the wind damaged the church, priests' house, office and classroom buildings, the garage, barns, and silos. Once again, staff and students learned to make due despite the $40,000 in damages that administrators could not repair before school started the next month. A combination

of luck and determination permitted the mission to survive other threats to its survival. On April 15, 1943, while the war raged in Europe and the Pacific, an encroaching prairie fire threatened the mission. As fire fighters from Pierre, Huron, and Fort Thompson worked to thwart its progress, mission men and older boys worked to save their buildings. The mission noted no serious losses, but one hundred and fifty square miles turned to cinder and neighboring lands lost buildings, cattle, and hay stacks.[25]

Declining federal support to Catholic Indian missions and growing needs prompted Immaculate Conception to establish its own financial support networks. Snyder turned to Father Sylvester at Marty for an administrative model to follow. Eisenman's energetic and practical disposition took naturally to mission leadership.[26] Eisenman proved a master at soliciting support by establishing networks and working on potential donors sympathy for young children. His efforts turned the Catholic day school at Yankton into a thriving boarding school, St. Paul's Mission, Marty, with hundreds of students from different tribes.[27] He took groups of young Indian students in traditional garb to Chicago for several years to sing and dance in front of large crowds to solicit support. [28] Snyder improved upon fund raising techniques previously employed by Boehm and Mattingly, and learned from Eisenman's creative measures. Personal appeals with young Indian students in tow gained sympathetic support in dioceses of the East and Midwest. Both schools learned to maintain these relations by initiating school publications. Immaculate Conception established Wopeedah (Thanks-Joy) for their contributors while Marty founded The Little Bronzed Angel

and the Catholic Indian Herald.[29] Success and need promoted the growth of Stephan staff and office space to collect the stream of small donations and keep benefactors informed of mission news and needs. By 1928, Snyder directed the construction of a new building for office staff, the mission publication Wopeedah, and the post office.[30]

New students and staff came to Immaculate Conception in the 1930s as a result of expanded curriculum and facilities. Benedictine staff initiated ninth and tenth grades in 1934, added a kindergarten in 1935, and offered a complete high school program beginning in the Fall of 1937.[31] Workers built a stucco addition on Marty Hall in 1932 to make room for additional students and necessary facilities. They remodeled a thirty-eight year old building formerly used by hired men into classrooms, a library, and laboratory facilities in 1934.[32] A new gymnasium-auditorium replaced a barn-like structure that had served as the former gymnasium until it burned to the ground in January of 1937. To unify varied components of the diverse student body, high school students and staff published a monthly paper, The Mission Echoes (1935-43), with contributions from each grade. Thirty-four students had enrolled in the high school by 1937. After twelve years at Stephan mission, Aurelia LaRoche and Martina LaFramboise could boast in1938 at being the first high school graduates.[33]

Benedictine connections to North Dakota reservations and improved transportation availability drew a new crop of students to the Crow Creek mission. Interest in a Catholic education and a high school program, along with priestly prompting, increasingly drew students from North Dakota reservations with historic

ties to Catholic missionaries.[34] Parents also chose to send their children to mission boarding schools to insure their nourishment during the economic depression and war years. Father Justin personally drove the mission's new bus to transport about fifty students five hundred miles from Belcourt, North Dakota in mid-September of 1938. The Catholic pastor at Fort Totten also brought students to the mission that fall.[35] They joined students from Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Sisseton, and Cheyenne River Reservations to drive mission enrollment to two hundred and fifty students.[36]

Student diversity grew with the arrival of these new students, adding to the pool of traditions that merged to promote a broader American Indian identity within the student body. Belcourt students added a non-Sioux component to a population comprised mainly of Lakota, Nakota, and Dakotas. These Turtle Mountain students claimed a complex background that integrated French with Chippewa linguistic and cultural traditions. Their mixed *Mitchef* language proved distinct from the Sioux dialects. Fort Totten residents also claimed a complex history that included Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakotas as well as Cuthead Yanktonais. Despite the growing diversity, students experienced more intermixing with each other than retention of culturally-distinct groups on campus. Noticeably, non-Indian students attended a distinct Stephan rural school, located about a mile from the mission. The primitive school included a single teacher with six students from the Konrad, Novak, McCullah, and Van Balen families.[37]

Students experienced non-Indian culture and entertainment despite Stephan's isolated location. Father Justin brought the Harlem Globetrotters basketball team to

Stephan to play a local independent team. Students, staff, and neighboring ranchers enjoyed the basketball theatrics of Markus Haines, Meadowlark Lemmon, and the other players.[38] The superintendent also arranged for the boys basketball team to play two years in the National Catholic Tournament held in Chicago. Both years led to first game victories followed by defeats to larger urban Catholic schools. For many, no doubt, the opportunity to travel to such a large city and play at such a competitive level proved most influential. These efforts and a general interest in making Stephan a home endeared Father Justin to many students. [39]

Significant staff changes came with the growth of the school. Sr. M. Andrew Wermers, O.S.B. directed seventeen Sisters who staffed the elementary and high schools, tended to domestic duties, and supervised the girls and younger boys. Snyder increasingly attracted laymen to teach upper level academic courses, direct the vocational courses, and supervise the older boys. Benedictine priests served as school principals until a four-year veteran lay teacher, Victor Huegglemann, took the position in 1941.[40] Sister M. Florence Mirau initiated a thirty-year tradition in 1942 when she became the first Benedictine Sister to serve in that capacity. Failing health led St. Meinrad's leaders to transfer Snyder back to Indiana in 1943 and replace him with Reverend Timothy Sexton, O.S.B. His three years as assistant to Eisenman at Yankton familiarized him with tribal traditions and taught him the Dakota language.[41] His youthful outlook and energetic disposition earned him the name "*Ihanktowan Hoskina*," meaning "Yankton Boy."[42]

Missionaries often struggled in new positions to which they arrived with limited preparations. Those who succeeded learned to acclimate their methods and goals to tribal culture. Stanislaus Maudlin arrived in Crow Creek in 1939, just after the American Embassy recalled Americans stationed in Europe following Germany's invasion of Poland. Two years of theological study in Rome hardly prepared Maudlin to teach catechism to Crow Creek Sioux. Still, Benedictine leaders at St. Meinrad quickly sent him off to South Dakota, where Snyder dispatched the young Benedictine to teach in Fort Thompson. Maudlin questioned his instructional abilities like many first year teachers. The young Benedictine attributes inspiration from Clem Wounded Knee for making him a better teacher. Wounded Knee taught him to simplify his message to more effectively appeal to his audience. "Father, don't you know that God is nice?" the older man instructed the younger.[43] Maudlin's academic training had prepared him to discuss theology in multi-syllabic words, but Wounded Knee taught Maudlin to better understand the depth of a simple message of Catholicism. "God rest his soul," the Benedictine remembered, "he is the one who made me finally understand what redemption means." Such a strong connection also prompted him to begin to learn the Dakota language to better understand tribal members and more effectively communicate with them. Maudlin not only worked within tribal cultures, but also took pride in his given-name "*Wambdi Wicasa*," meaning "Eagle Man."[44]

St. Meinrad leaders found it hard to staff Indian missions and schools on the Plains. Benedictine superiors had their own immediate monastery concerns as well as the missions to consider. Few available men or an inability of abbots to recognize

their talents often hampered mission effectiveness. Moving men around provided each with varied perspectives and experiences, but often failed to capitalize on linguistic and cultural skills germane to specific locations. Maudlin's early efforts to learn Dakota did not prevent his superiors from sending him to work among the non-linguistically affiliated Chippewas at Turtle Mountain from 1942-50.[45] Missionary abilities and preference often held little influence on their appointments. St. Meinrad's leaders transferred Maudlin away from the Turtle Mountains despite his self-described lack of administrative skills and strong connection to the community. Instead, they appointed him superior of the Fort Totten mission in 1950. His self-recognized administrative failures brought him back to serve as missionary at Crow creek in 1957.[46] Similarly, limited administrative skills had prompted Benedictine leaders in 1946 to replace Father Sexton with a more capable Reverend Augustine Edele, O.S.B. as Stephan superintendent.[47] Edele also maintained great interest in the people he served. He truly enjoyed interacting with boys and girls regularly. Tribal leaders named him "*Ticage Waste*," meaning "Good Builder" due to his accessible personality and administrative successes rebuilding the mission. Reverend Alan Berndt and Reverend Daniel Madlon joined Edele in the fall of 1946 to assist with missionary and school work.[48]

Benedictine Sisters provided most day-to-day interaction with students despite priests' administrative positions and control over more visible construction projects. These women, more so than the priests, stood on the front lines dealing with inconveniences of close quarters, inconsistent heat sources, water system failures, and

health crises as they arose.[49] In the mean time, they lived with limited personal privacy within a single dwelling for often over a dozen Sisters. Some, like Sister Andrew Wermers who served as superior from 1939-42 even died in service, having been stricken with fever from bad milk from mission cows. For their day and night service, they earned one hundred dollars a year plus room and board. In retrospect, many priests increasingly recognized Sisters as the backbone of mission operations, and crucial assistance to Benedictine fathers. [50] "Priests who do not have Sisters as their partners in ministry," Maudlin claimed, "are handicapped, they are crippled."[51]

Benedictine women did not work as a monolithic force at Stephan. Their individuality shown through their habits to students and staff. Sister Andrew, for instance, befriended the girls and served as a surrogate mother also to the boys. "Sister Andrew was the kind of person, who could earn respect simply because of her personality and not because of her position," complimented Father Stan.[52] Other Sisters emphasized discipline, which proved problematic for some students and instructive for others. Sister Miriam Simon arrived in 1947 to serve as high school principal. She focused on keeping students in order and maintaining a proper learning environment. Her lack of warmth and inability to accept student performance below their potential may not have endeared her to her students. Sister Miriam's straight-forward demeanor, intelligence, and high standards, however, must have prompted other students to excel.[53]

Benedictine Sisters arrived at Stephan with different service experiences and inclinations. Many remained in the memories of students and staff for the routine

tasks they performed daily. Sister Ludmilla Yarash put her pre-Benedictine experience with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to work at Stephan. Towering over the younger boys at six-feet, she earned the thanks of her charges with daily disbursal of butter and jelly sandwiches to her boys. Sister Mark Rohner, revealed a similar dedication to purpose from her mission bakery. She began her days at two o'clock in the morning by preparing her ovens, in which her girls baked bread daily for the mission staff. Sr. Mark recognized students, particularly new ones, had difficulty adjusting to the unfamiliar food of the mission diet. Consequently, for the first few months, she took it upon her self to be certain that students had access to one pound of bread per day. [54]

Good intentions and individual sacrifices, however, did not mean purely positive results. Former missionaries and contemporary social critics recognize that mission zeal to attract students to their school rested upon ethnocentric presumptions that they could raise children better than their own families. "We took the children away from their parents," Father Stan lamented years later, "though they [parents] begot the children, though they are the flesh and blood fathers and mothers, [missionaries thought] they are not worthy parents, we, only we are worthy to be parents."[55] Marcella Howe remembers even as late as the 1960s the nature of replacing parental influence with Catholic staff. "Once we were here," she noted, "the priests and everybody, they were our parents."[56]

Boarding schools rested upon the perceived need to replace tribal traditions with an American identity. "We missionaries, in our zeal and with good intentions,"

according to Father Stan, "broke up families." In the process, many youngsters gained little individual support growing up and became confused about their identity especially once they reached adolescence. A single Sister or priest could not adequately provide the attention and support for forty to fifty children for nine months at a time. Taking children at a young age from their parents left adolescents and young adults with frayed connections to their families and few positive role models. "We created juvenile delinquency and the breakdown of homes," Maudlin acknowledged. Strenuous efforts and good intentions could not make up for cultural insensitivity, superiority complexes, and an insufficient number of staff.[57]

Students responded in different ways to the boarding school environment. Some students learned through harsh experience that the best way to adapt to the school setting was to suppress their own cultural traditions and adopt American customs. School staff punished Rozelle Lockwood's mother for speaking her native language. This experience prompted her to teach her daughter English. When students would "start to talk using their own language," Lockwood's mother told her, "they'd get slapped on the hands or on the mouth." Consequently, her children claim only limited abilities with their ancestral language. "I wish I could talk like my Mom could talk," Rozelle lamented, "if I learned it back then, I could talk fluent Dakota." Lockwood's mother maintains a positive tone toward the Catholic mission despite these experiences and in contrast to contemporary missionary critics. "My Mom can't, she'd never say a bad word about nuns, or priests," Rozelle asserted, "she enjoyed her time there."[58]

Younger students in particular struggled within the unfamiliar cultural, social, and physical setting. Limited supervision in the dorms made younger students susceptible to the whims of older students, who often encouraged them to fight. These youngsters also grappled with the regimentation of boarding school discipline. Eight-year-old Vernon Ashley and his older brother Aaron ran away after only three months in attendance in 1924. Cold weather did not stop them. The boys preferred to dig in a hay stack to find warmth for sleep rather than return to the mission. School staff attempted to get them to return. Parents often held the upper hand in parent-teacher meetings, despite popular perceptions of passive tribal members. Ashley's father threatened the Benedictine Brother who attempted to get his sons to return. Instead, the nine-year-old turned to a more congenial setting in an integrated day school on the reservation near Fort Thompson.[59]

Student difficulties living away from home persisted over the years. Some students resisted their placement at Stephan by parents or guardians. Many of those bucked the new system or ran away. Most would eventually be brought back to school and forced to work off their infraction. Like many educators of the era, mission staff often knew no other response to delinquency than corporal punishment. While some students remember strappings given to those who failed to follow rules, others recall no instances of physical abuse. "I'd never gotten hit, but I know my older cousin did," one student noted, "I know she was always fighting with the [matron]."[60] Staff maintained a demerit system in an effort to hold student behavior in check. Those

who earned demerits for misbehavior often had to perform additional cleaning duties on Saturdays in addition to their required chores.[61]

School staff might have argued the need to correct student behavior, but they often failed to take the time or notice of positive student activity. Benedictines, after all, practiced a disciplined life that attempted to balance between prayer, education, and work. As Father Stan noted in discussing the realities of Benedictine service, "in our kind of work you don't get applauded, you don't get congratulations."[62] This practice worked well for many men who joined the order, but did not work as well with more fragile younger people. "When you did good in school," Marcella Howe recalled of her 1960s experiences at the mission, "they didn't come and compliment you or, you know, how parents would compliment you." Discipline replaced love in the school setting and had an impact on contemporary families. "They took things like hugging you," Howe lamented, "it took me a while when my kids were growing up to really hug them and hold them on my lap."[63]

Mission leaders recognized that in some cases students needed to go home. Over time, school policy established provisions that permitted certain students to do so. "If there was a child," Maudlin commented, "who was very, very unhappy, then we either took the child home or paid for the child to get home by bus or train." Certainly, staff did not encourage such arrangements, especially considering the limited transportation of that era and students who often lived hundreds of miles away. Maudlin estimated that five students returned home, out of approximately 275, during the 1939-40 academic year.[64]

Other students adapted more favorably to the Catholic school setting. Sebastian LeBeau's parents enrolled the Cheyenne River youth at Stephan for high school from 1943-47. He retains favorable recollections of his time at the mission. "We learned a lot," he recalled, "I'm glad I went there, I really am." LeBeau remembered an orderly nature to the school and no instances of physical abuse that social critics reference today. Few students in his day claimed a native language as their first language. Many had parents who struggled with the English language earlier in life, so they taught their children English at home. Consequently, some students of this era were more prepared for an American school and exerted less resistance to the educational program. "They [mission staff] taught us that you should mix into the mainstream society," LeBeau noted, " for that I am thankful."[65]

Albert Bruce's mother sent her nine-year-old son and three siblings from the predominantly Catholic Turtle Mountain Reservation to Stephan in 1943. His father had recently died and the eight-member immediate family struggled with the economic hardships of the era. "When I first got here I was naturally very lonesome," Bruce recalled many years later. In time, he accepted the transition to a more strict setting than he had at home. "You were more controlled," Bruce remembered, "you had certain times to go to bed, certain times [for] study hour, and then you had to work."[66]

Bruce lived with about fifty other boys in a large dorm room. The boy's prefect awoke them at five o'clock to get them to church at six. Students ate breakfast at six-thirty so they could be at their work stations or in the classrooms by seven.

About twenty-five boys and girls were in each class. Grade school students stayed in their room all day with the same teacher; high school students switched rooms and teachers. Typically, priests stood more in the background of daily operations with the exception of their duties teaching Bible history. Sisters led most classes, while a few lay individuals taught other classes or coached a sports team. Busy days filled with work and studies led many students to welcome the nine o'clock bed time.[67]

Students did not always re-enroll at Stephan for the following year. During this era, many students only went through the eighth grade or went to work by sixteen years old. Three Bruce children had attended Stephan, but Albert was the only one to graduate from Stephan with a high school degree. Homesickness drew one of his sisters home to Belcourt, where she too graduated from high school. Memories of home also drew Albert home for his eighth grade year. After spending a year back at home, however, he returned to Stephan for high school. "You kind of get that wanderlust," Bruce admitted, "you say, I don't know, maybe I should leave again." He had gotten to know people at the mission, including several teachers who had moved from different regions of the country to teach at the South Dakota school. One teacher, Mr. Gotez from Kentucky, went so far as to travel to Belcourt to see his former student during his eighth-grade year at home. The personal appeal along with Bruce's positive earlier experiences brought him back to Stephan for four years of high school.[68]

Bruce and other students became comfortable enough at the mission that they elected to stay during their high school summers. The significance of high school

friendships and distance from home proved less significant. "I just think it was hard for me to go home any more," Bruce admitted, " you know, things were not the same, you had, your friends were gone, and things like that." They spent their time working on varied maintenance and construction projects. Groups of boys learned how to work on their own with limited supervision. "Really, with the training you had, you didn't need supervision," Bruce noted, " you were just told what to do and you went and did it." Since they knew the work would later be inspected, he added "you just did it right the first time." One summer in the early 1950s students joined a contingent of workers pouring cement during the construction of Blue Cloud Abbey several hours northeast of the mission in Marvin, South Dakota.[69]

Staff expected students to contribute to mission operations with daily chores designed to keep mission costs low. For boys, it meant assisting with milking about one-hundred dairy cows, as well as helping with the corn, potatoes, and wheat crops. Boarding schools claimed to offer these jobs in part to provide new skills to students. For many students, however, agricultural and ranch work was already in their background. Bruce had experiences to draw on from back home in North Dakota. "I lived on the reservation [and] we had a few thousand horses and we'd make hay, we'd milk cows," he noted, "so I knew about quite a bit of that before I got here." Older boys also helped haul coal that the mission burned to provide heat until the 1940s gradual transfer to fuel oil. More manual labor than mental exercise took place when the boys unloaded eleven boxcars over the span of a month in Highmore. "When the coal came in," Bruce remembered, "you probably missed about a week of school."[70]

Stephan girls provided different chores for the mission. Their work focused on laundering, cleaning, preparing food, and other domestic chores. "We had to work in the laundromat," Mavin Chavez recalled of her 1950s mission experiences, "we did the sheets, we did the clothes, we had to iron, we had to, I'd say, within a forty-five minute period, we had to iron like ten shirts and stuff like that." Girls' work often proved far more than self-sufficiency. Much of their work included caring for the needs of the rest of mission personnel, including the Sisters themselves. "We ironed the shirts, their habits, the stuff they wore," Chavez recalled.[71]

The girls learned that the Sisters had high expectation and would inspect their work. Mavin Chavez, who began attending Stephan as a second-grader in the 1950s, experienced the "white glove" test. "I cleaned the shower rooms and I thought I did it pretty good," she remembered, "and this nun comes in with her white gloves." The Sister quickly learned that she had neglected to clean under the heaters, and made the small child clean it again. Such inspections caused more than additional work to youngsters. "I just felt so bad about that," Chavez recalled, "some of us were real tiny, you know." As students grew older, Sisters had them supervise younger girls.[72]

Sisters may have established student work details to teach discipline and care toward detail, but much of the work proved tedious, dirty work. Rozelle Lockwood remembered her 1960s experience of scraping floors. "I remember this nun after school she'd say go outside and find a piece of glass," Lockwood mused, "then we'd go outside and find a piece of glass and she'd line us up in the classrooms like in a row, and we'd start scraping wax." Some of the work surely proved necessary to

supporting the school. In certain cases, mission staff made students, even some like Lockwood who by this point could go home on weekends, stay behind to work. "They brought in this whole truckload of chickens, and we had to clean them," she remembered, "we spent a whole Saturday out there cleaning chickens."[73]

Mission girls also made arts and crafts that Sisters sold at their annual Fall bazaars begun in the 1940s. Benedictine leaders realized that they could capitalize on renewed interest in tribal crafts as cultivated by John Collier's Indians Arts and Crafts Program of the Indian New Deal. [74] In the 1950s, Chavez recalled working for the Sisters throughout the year on decorative projects sold in the annual Fall Bazaar. "I remember making nothing but pillows, specialized pillows," Chavez noted, "sewing on a machine and stuff, there was a lot of us doing that, [and] we'd never get nothing from it."[75] This student program continued with new styles of crafts into the late 1960s. Rozelle Lockwood remembered beading daisy chains while classmates beaded medallions that produced a finished necklace in a couple of days. Other students made latch rugs for the bazaars. "That's what we did for the nuns," Lockwood stated, "and I think they sold them to make money."[76]

Students did have time available for entertainment when they were not in class or working. Mission rules separated boys and girls outside of classes during the week, but provided weekend dances and movies for interactions. "Every Friday night we had a dance," LeBeau remembered, "[and] every Sunday night we had a movie, up to date movie."[77] After a full clean-up on Saturdays, students had free time in the afternoons when they could entertain themselves. During the basketball season, students attended

home basketball games against other Catholic missions on Saturdays. Students could fish for bull heads or catfish in nearby Ambrose Lake or ice skate depending on the season. Radio proved the best passive entertainment until television replaced it in the early 1950s. [78]

Students and staff witnessed modernization to mission facilities and buildings in the post-war years. By the 1950s, mission personnel had access to indoor plumbing sufficient for bathrooms. While modern students, of course, might consider this a major concern, students of that day took it more in stride. "When I first started, we didn't have indoor bathrooms, they were outdoor privies," Bruce recalled, "but, I don't know, you didn't think nothing of it, cause that's what you had at home." A series of destructive fires during the late 1940s and rising enrollment prompted Father Edele to direct construction of a more modern high school in 1953. Workers completed the three-story, fireproof building, which provided for three-hundred primary and secondary students, by September 1954. [79]

Some staff noted student losses with changes in the educational program. In an effort to become equal with public schools, Stephan and other Catholic schools came under the control of the South Dakota department of instruction during the late 1950s. This permitted mission basketball and other school organization to participate in state contests and conferences. To the dismay of Father Stan and others, however, state legislation forbid students to provide vocational services for their school. "At that point," Stan bemoaned, "this part of human development which we thought was important was not allowed." Many Benedictines maintained such work as a real

cohesive force for building community and family. Stan noted that some students lost pride in self-expression and creativity provided in construction, culinary, and other tasks.[80] Students could point with pride to the old priest's house (1926), currently used for teacher housing, which they had helped build, but not the new school which administrators contracted out to an outside construction company.[81]

The post-war era prompted families to leave the reservation and their children to experience more integrated schools. Federal land confiscation prompted some to leave Crow Creek and other Sioux reservations.[82] Others voluntarily moved to Pierre, Chamberlain, or other larger cities in search of economic advantages.[83] Families often found that they gained economically at the same time that they struggled culturally in urban America. Still discovering their own identity, children often faced the most challenges. Mavin Chavez' family moved to Pierre where the children attended public school. The majority non-Indian student body there proved less welcoming to Chavez, who felt more at home at Stephan. "I guess I didn't feel comfortable going to Pierre school," Chavez recalled, "I really did feel out of place there."[84]

Students may have been more comfortable with their classmates at Stephan, but often resented the strict nature of requirements at the mission school. Adolescents particularly questioned the rigidity of dress-code regulations. "We had to wear dresses, stockings, flesh-colored stockings," she noted humorously, "[they] didn't look too good to me." The Sisters seemed to concern themselves with all elements of their girl's appearance. "One would check our clothes when we went out, so they [skirts] weren't too short," Chavez recalled, "she would make us line up, [and] we

would go by her." Sisters also didn't like their girls to grow their hair long, leading some students to take preventative measures. "Lot of times I cut my hair," she stated, "cause I was afraid of her." These strict standards made more complex issues of student pregnancy were beyond conversation. Pregnant girls were forced to quit school. [85]

Student recollections of Sisters varied over time and depended on the individuals. High standards and student reluctance to break rules often stemmed from fear of the Sisters. "The nuns were kind of mean," Chavez asserted, "they would hit you, you know, if you messed up, they would hit you." Most Sisters avoided personal interactions with their students. In certain settings, however, even perceived "mean" Sisters revealed a more humane side to their personalities. Chavez recalled that the fear they had toward certain Sisters often quelled after spending time with them. "I was really afraid to work for her [a certain Sister], but she was different when I worked for her," the high school student recalled, "she would give us candy or cookies, she'd always give us [a treat]."[86]

Students reacted positively to staff that followed more traditional tribal customs that treated them with more respect. Rozelle Lockwood recalls Sister Roseanne who taught typing as a "real nice person." Her calm quiet manner stood in contrast to those with more militant dispositions. "She didn't holler at us or hit us," the 1960s high school student recalled, "we just always knew, when you go in Sister Roseanne's class you just do your work."[87]

Stephan maintained its Catholic emphasis through the 1960s. Students attended church daily, said the rosary at night, and prayed throughout the day. "Just before we went to school we prayed," Chavez recalled, "when we went down to supper, we prayed, it was like a routine." During lent, students added to a busy day the meditations on the "Stations of the Cross."[88] Of course, school curriculum also called for a religion class taught by a priest. Benedictine religious had pledged their lives to follow the Benedictine order of daily worship. They did not suspend this practice if they worked at a mission school. Instead, they required students to follow the order, including days of silence. "You were in church all day," Lockwood recalled, "whatever day of the week it fell on."[89]

During the 1950s, Crow Creek lost significant land due to flooding from the Missouri River dams, including the loss of the federal school in Fort Thompson. Federal resources rebuilt an elementary school, but high school students needed to find new schooling options. Some turned to public schools off the reservation in Gannvalley, Chamberlain, and Pukwana. Many returned from Chamberlain due to racial prejudice evidenced there by local leaders. Some high school students boarded in white homes at Gannvalley and Pukwana, while day students took buses to school each day. Many high-school-aged students chose to attend no school. Of approximately 290 enrolled students, 180 attended federal schools, 50 went to private or mission schools, and about 60 attended public schools. [90] Some turned to the mission for schooling. By 1957, Stephan recorded 360 students—many came from

other reservations. A majority of Crow Creek students attended the off-reservation school in Gannvalley until it closed in the 1960s.

Stephan administrators contemplated a new academic course for their school within improved facilities by the early 1960s. School personnel had use of the new Infant of Prague auditorium and gymnasium, while boys and girls lived in new dormitory facilities. Students and staff equally appreciated the 1962 completion of a one hundred and twenty-five foot water tower with a five hundred-gallon capacity. This finally provided adequate water supplies to a campus that had struggled with insufficient facilities for eighty years.[91] Limited availability of funding and a teacher shortage, however, prompted Catholic leaders to concentrate their resources on older students. During the 1961-62 academic year, Stephan administrators began shifting their school from a thirteen-year curriculum (kindergarten through twelfth grade) to a junior and senior high program (seventh through twelfth grade). The last first-grade class enrolled at Stephan during this school year. Administrators dropped one grade during each of the subsequent six years. This prompted elementary-school students to enroll in the new federally-funded school in Fort Thompson.

Church and family tradition proved significant for older students who continued to attend Stephan. Rozelle Lockwood and her cousin remember being of a small group of Crow Creek members who attended Stephan. "Most of the kids around here went to Gannvalley," Lockwood stated, "mostly the Catholic families who had gone there before, sent their [children to Stephan]." [92] Marcella (Grey Owl) Howe, who graduated in the class of 1972, also noted the family tradition of attending

Stephan. "My uncles, my mother, my aunts, practically my whole family [went to school here]," Howe proudly stated, "this was our school, they all came here." The documentary record strongly reinforces this, noting support for the mission at least as early as the 1916 petition with a signature by Grey Owl.[93] The Catholic Grey Owl family also lived locally, so Stephan was also the closest school.

Religious, political, and activist movements of the 1960s prompted major changes within the mission environment. The Second Vatican Conference had recognized the significance of other world religions and noted the need for religious to work with those traditions rather than trying to replace them. By 1967, Blue Cloud Abbey functioned partially as a training center to prepare missionaries to work more responsively in tribal communities.[94] Beginning in the late 1950s, Maudlin worked with Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Bennett to establish an Indian Youth Congress in conjunction with the University of South Dakota for students from Stephan and Fort Thompson. These congresses promoted the development of Indian organizations that focused on educational improvements and self-determination.[95] Social activists increasingly advocated for ethnic pride and empowerment to their communities. American Indian activists formed organizations that challenged federal officials to live up to treaties and educational obligations. By the early 1970s, a broad movement worked for legislation that led to the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act (1975). At Crow Creek, some tribal members prompted Stephan administrators to make concessions to local interests.

Benedictines gathered at Blue Cloud Abbey to discuss the fate of their Indian missions in March of 1970. They decided that after nearly one hundred years they should place the ownership, administration, and future direction of the school into the hands of the parents. Father Stan maintained Benedictine logic behind this decision. "Had we been good educators," Maudlin reasoned, "these folks would have been able to manage, teach, fund, all the things that go into the operations of a school." This new generation of Benedictines maintained more enlightened perspectives on the abilities of tribal leaders. "On the other, if we had been bad educators and we had not prepared them for administration," Maudlin argued, "then for sure we better get out of the business."[96] While some maintained that the financial strain on Blue Cloud prompted this action, Benedictines disagreed. "We didn't reach this conclusion because we don't have enough money to operate," Father Stan stated, "we have money in the bank." Federal money no longer supported the school, but, Maudlin noted, American people continued to prove very generous to Indian missions. He also noted that six hundred Indian boys and girls had enrolled in college by the 1970s and provided a suitable pool of future teachers and educational leaders. [97]

Father Stan describes the transition in terms of the servant metaphor. "A priest by ordination should not be a boss of an institution," he noted, "he should be in the best sense of the word . . . the servant of the community." Maudlin refused to claim that the Benedictines would "give" the school to the tribe. "We're simply going to change the title," he argued, "it's really theirs by justice, so what belongs to a man by justice I can't give to him." He also noted that Benedictines were not "pulling out" of

Crow Creek as they would continue with their church and missionary work. Instead of standing as the directors of operations, Benedictines recognized the need for a more humble role to best serve a community. "We want them to tell us how to operate," Maudlin stated, "we want to reverse the roles."[98]

The transition of school administration to the Crow Creek Sioux tribe proved complex and took several years to complete. By 1971, community members joined the school board to participate in the administration process. Father Cletis remained as acting superintendent while the tribe searched for his replacement and a lay person was hired as principal. Several Sisters remained for the first few years, but were soon replaced by the new superintendent.[99] In 1976, the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe officially took control of the property and complete operation of the school system. Marcella Howe noted the involvement of more community members at the school, and a new discipline policy that no longer included corporal punishment. In most ways, however, she noted that the administrative shift had little influence on her day-to-day student life. Some noted a decline in discipline at the school with more permissiveness to smoking, swearing, and cutting classes. Others remarked on positive changes since the school transfer to the tribe. "I feel they had a better [education]," Howe noted, "they were exposed to more classes, and exposed to more things than when we were in school."[100]

The school that began as a Catholic mission to evangelize and assimilate Sioux children became a tribally-run school that promoted indigenous cultures. The dynamic nature of the school fit within Yanktonai cultural heritage and the

institution's tradition of adjustment to changing environments, as discussed in earlier chapters. The school's name change from Immaculate Conception Indian Mission to Crow Creek Tribal High School reflected curricular changes. First and foremost, school leaders emphasized "Crow Creek" instead of Roman Catholicism. Administrators sought to highlight the tribal nature of the school that Catholic leaders had muffled but never extinguished. This proved difficult with students who embodied tribalism more than they understood their ancestral traditions. Many had lost contact with their culture and retained only faint recognition of their ancestral language, history and traditions. Most students claimed little background in their indigenous culture. "There ain't so many Native American kids that already know [their tribal history]," Albert Fallis, who graduated in 1993 recalled, "unless their grandparents are very traditional."[101]

Some students really embraced the opportunities to learn more about their tribal culture. Quentin McGhee transferred to Crow Creek Indian School from the Chamberlain school system for sixth grade and recently graduated from the tribal school. He remembered the lack of a tribal context or inclusion of much American Indian perspective in his off-reservation school. "When I got here, I started to learn the language more," McGhee asserted, "I started to learn my history more, Indian history." This new educational angle did more than familiarize the high school standout, it permitted him to better understand himself and his family. "I was happy that I got to learn that," McGhee stated, "It got me closer to my culture." The Native American Studies curriculum also allowed students to connect family members of

different generations. "When I go to see my grandparents, and they start to speak," he added, "they will correct me in some of my speeches [and] I understand sometimes [more] what they are saying."[102]

A spirit of equality and cooperation spread to schools across the nation during the 1970s. School policies reflected the changing nature of federal Indian relations and the rising significance of tribal self-determination. Where once religious stood in charge of students, now schools want parents to take more ownership in schools. In earlier times, "the nuns and priests, everybody took care of us," Howe noted, "now they want parents to get involved." Consequently, the school environment now serves more as a meeting ground for students, staff, and parents as the artificial hierarchical barriers have become more porous.

Academic and extra-curricular opportunities grew over the next few decades. By the 1980s, students had access to over forty courses that included American History, Introduction to Computers, Tribal and State Government, Photography and Physics. Male and female students could participate in an expanded extra-curricular program.[103] "They had football, they had all the boys sports," Lockwood stated in reference to her 1960s time at the mission, "and for the girls, you'd be a cheerleader, it was all geared for the boys."[104] Athletic directors gradually added basketball, track, cross country, and volleyball teams for girls. Current students also include non-sports related opportunities for students, including student council, dorm council, Indian club, and computer club.

The integration of school curriculum and extra-curricular activities has also increased student interest in cultural traditions. Quentin McGhee's familiarization with tribal culture has prepared him to better sing with his uncles at home in their drum group. Other students have chosen to form drum groups at school that provide an integration of learning and entertainment. School leaders in particular have reached out to problem students to join drum groups to teach them the significance of the drum. They hope that such instruction with prompt them to internalize the lessons of proper use, care, and respect for the drum, the heartbeat of the nation.[105]

The historical era of student enrollment and individual personalities determined what students and staff took with them from their school experience. Albert Bruce maintained that he learned discipline and mechanical skills to permit an easy transition into the armed forces as well as his current position in charge of the mission physical plant. [106] Mavin Chavez claimed her boarding school experience influences her to this day in her internalized sense of punctuality. Marcella Howe noted that her twelve years in attendance at the mission gave her organizational skills and concern for tidiness.

Nearly all students cultivated intertribal relationships and pan-Indian identities that continue today. Many naturally recognized the losses incurred in a setting where the child-adult ratio paled in comparison to home. In response they established their own support systems of friends. Many felt such bonds were necessary in an environment that focused more on systemic development than personal nurturing. Students responded to the lack of this within the school environment and cultivated it

themselves. Within such a system, students suppressed concern for personal differences in favor of forming lasting friendships with students from different regions and tribal backgrounds. Many maintain such friendships into the present. Their interactions with students from different backgrounds taught them personal skills of adaptation and broadened the nature of human experience to some who had traveled little from their homes.

This cultural meeting ground did not simply introduce students from different tribal cultures. It also connected non-Indians with tribal members. Occasional unplanned meetings continue to reunite Stephan alumni after they leave campus. Father Stan still appreciates seeing Stephan graduates during his travels to Mobridge on the Standing Rock Reservation, including members of the Ducheneau, Lawrence, and Claymore families. Father Stan also proudly claims lifelong friendships with Crow Creek residents Yellowback, Sargeant, Two Two, Touch and many others who hold prominent positions today in tribal governments.[107] Alumni staff and student conversations remind them of seemingly unlikely bonds that grew within the school environment to create a unique culture of traditions, people, and history--the components that unite individuals across time and space.

Popular media would have it that only Catholic traditions, by force, crossed the gaps between individual experiences. Yet, in reality, cultural tradition and appreciation moved both ways within conversation and daily interaction. Increasingly in the second half of the twentieth century, Catholic priests not only spoke tribal language but also came to respect and participate in tribal traditions. This certainly

would have dismayed their cultural predecessors who saw it as their job to eradicate such practices. Catholics began to recognize the merits of tribal history and traditions in an age of greater respect for cultural pluralism. Fathers Dan Madlon and Stanislaus Maudlin have actually helped tribal families retain a connection to their family histories through the collection of family photographs, construction of family trees, and the maintenance of the American Indian Culture Center at Blue Cloud Abbey. Albert Bruce noticed another irony to the original Catholic program of cultural conversion in a time when priests attend pow-wows and sweats. "Now, you take a lot of the religious [Catholic priests] are into Indian culture," Bruce mused, "so, maybe they're the ones that got won over."[108]

Contemporary students continue to walk across the same campus as their ancestors had over a century ago. Many hardly would recognize the institution of their predecessors. Still, the environment retains similar physical dimensions and continues to build bridges between reservation cultures and the non-Indian world. Students take pride in their school and parents continue to send their children to the remote institution east of the Missouri River in the northeast corner of the Crow Creek Reservation. Social change has evolved where different cultures have interacted for several generations. The school's mission has shifted from promoting American Catholicism to exploring tribal traditions and technology. Students like Quentin McGhee use their educational experiences to cultivate their own paths that link their ancestral history with the world of the Internet. Within the same meeting ground,

tribal members continue to face challenges of an evolving world while maintaining connections to their traditional past.

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Distinct cultural histories serve as the backdrop for the educational opportunities faced by contemporary Crow Creek students. Yanktonai leaders have taught their people the need for social adaptation for over three centuries, from their Mille Lacs homelands to the Great Plains. American frontier communities seemed to follow soon behind this tribal migration to settle in the Missouri River Valley. Benedictine priests joined this growing intercultural world at the Crow Creek Agency by the middle of the nineteenth century. The interactions of these groups within the same environment combined their varied cultural agenda to establish a common meeting ground. The conservative and inquisitive natures of human societies led Yanktonais and Benedictines to selectively resist and embrace each others customs. In the process, both traditions influenced Stephan Mission to create the contemporary Crow Creek Tribal High School. Current students and staff are the most recent participants within the complex history of the school on the South Dakota prairie.

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[1] For generally critical assessments of Catholic Indian education in South Dakota see Tim A. Giago, The Aboriginal Sin: Reflections on the Holy Rosary Indian Mission School (Red Cloud Indian School). San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1978; Notes From Indian Country. Pierre: State Publishing Company, 1984. Giago is better known in Indian Country as the former publisher of the Lakota Times, now known as Indian Country Today.

[2] I use the term "religious" as meaning individuals from Christian religious orders, and in this study, it refers mainly to members of the order of St. Benedict, i.e. Benedictines. The term "lay" refers to individuals that had not made vows to serve as Fathers, Brothers, or Sisters of religious communities.

[3] "In Celebration of the Holzmann Family Journey from Alsace to America, 1672-1994," Louisville, Kentucky, July 17, 1994, unpublished family history, copy in author's possession. Albert's Holzmann's family remained at the mission into the 1950s.
[4] Betty Jean Van Balen Ankrum, Raised on the Rez: Views, Visions, and Wisdom of the West, (Freeman, South Dakota: Pine Hill Press, Inc., 1996), 21.
[5] In 1948, unnamed builders furnished a pre-fabricated four-room building and material for a two-room addition to high school, plus two-weeks labor to construct buildings, according to Maiers, 64.
[6] Ankrum, 1-21.
[7] No reference to either Sargeant appears in the 1907, 1912, or 1916 Immaculate Conception petitions, but the 1907 and 1912 petitions reference a "Sergeant" and the 1916 petition notes signatures of John Sargeant and Laura Sargeant, according to BCIM, Series 1, Rolls 59 and 77, Dakota, South, Crow Creek and Old Winnebago Reservation, Immaculate Conception Mission, 1912 and 1916.
[8] Ankrum, 51-57.
[9] Rev. Pius Boehm, O.S.B., "The Infant Savior's Toys," The Indian Sentinel IV, no. 4 (October 1924): 178-79; references to the storm also refer to it in several places in the Indian Sentinel articles as a "cyclone."
[10] Pius Boehm, "Diary" as found in Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., Crusading Along Sioux Trails: A History of Catholic Indian Missions Among the South Dakota Sioux, 1839-1945, (St. Meinrad, Indiana: A Grail Publication, 1947), 182.
[11] Ankrum, 18.
[12] Rev. Justin Snyder, O.S.B., "A Call to Arms," The Indian Sentinel V, no. 3 (Summer 1925): 128.
[13] Boehm, "The Infant Savior's Toys," 178-79; Snyder, 128. At the same time, the more affluent Protestants had already replaced their lost church.
[14] Ankrum, 23-25.
[15] During the 1990s, federal officials came to recognize the Devil's Lake Sioux Indian Reservation as the Spirit Lake Reservation. Documents pertaining to this North Dakota region often also recognize it by its largest town, Fort Totten.
[16] SMOD 77.29, AIRP, 1529; SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533.
[17] Jesuits had previously ministered to the Yanktons from their St. Francis Mission (Rosebud Reservation) about 150 miles west of Yankton. Mattingly began monthly visits to Yankton in December of 1917, after Jesuit personnel shortages prompted the departure of Jesuit Father Westropp from service to the Yanktons.
[18] Justin Snyder was born in Indiana in February 6, 1896, joined St. Meinrad in 1913 and ordained a priest in April of 1918. He served the Crow Creek Reservation from 1921 to 1943 when he returned to Indiana to serve as a pastor in Dale, Indiana, according to Duratschek, 182. Justin Snyder was given the name "Ista Topa" or "four eyes," according to SMOD 77.33; AIRP, 1533. Circumstances around Snyder's death at Stephan in 1956 may be found in SMOD 77.29, AIRP 1529.
[19] Duratschek, 182-82.
[20] For a discussion of the Great Depression's impact on South Dakota's agriculture and economy at the nearby Rosebud Reservation see Thomas Biolsi, Organizing the Lakota: The Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), Chapter 5.
[21] Decades of Boehm's correspondence with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions focused on administrative issues in relation to federal contracts, with noticeably little regular reference of the student's lives and experiences.
[22] SMOD 77.29, AIRP, 1529.
[23] Wopeedah, April 1943, in Maiers, 56.
[24] SMOD, 94.174, AIRP 1674; SMOD 77.29, AIRP 1529.
[25] Duratschek, 183-84.

[26] Eisenman's peripatetic ways earned him the name "Tikdisni" meaning, "Never At Home," according to SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533.
[27] As Immaculate Conception established a post office named after former BCIM director Stephan, St. Paul's postal address honored former bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B. Both institutions came to be known by these abbreviated postal references. Eisenman recorded may accomplishments at Marty. He formed a community of Indian sisters, the Oblate Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, and an orphanage north of the Yankton mission at North Farm, according to SMOD 77.29, AIRP 1529; Father Stan recognized Sylvester's administrative gifts while also recognizing his faults, suggesting that some leaders "beat everything and everyone into shape" and acted as "unfeeling manipulators."
[28] Duratschek, 297.
[29] Father Jerome Hunt, O.S.B. began a similar publication from Fort Totten, North Dakota in 1892. Marty distributed 1,300 copies of The Catholic Indian Herald to tribal members every two weeks, and beginning in 1932 printed it in English and Sioux languages, according to Duratschek, 296.
[30] Duratschek, 181; Marty Mission Press published Wopeedah since Stephan had no facilities of their own, according to Maiers.
[31] Marty established a ninth grade in 1931 and after adding a new grade each year offered a four-year high school program by 1934, according to Duratschek, 298n.
[32] Duratschek, 182.
[33] The blaze resulted from a heating stove, known to be hazardous, but too expensive to replace with a new central heating system. The following day, January 6, 1937, fire destroyed the water tank that was constructed with a wooden structure; Maiers, 57-58.
[34] President Ulysses S. Grant's "Peace Policy" designated the Fort Totten/Devil's Lake Reservation as the domain for Catholic missionaries, one of only seven such reservations designated to Catholics. According to Albert Bruce, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 30 September 1998, Belcourt, North Dakota, the main town on the Turtle Mountain Reservation is about ninety-nine percent Roman Catholic.
[35] Turtle Mountain student Albert Bruce remembered the 1940s transportation to Stephan as quite an odyssey. Students would often have to travel to get to Belcourt, where they would spend the night to board one of two buses early the next morning. They often stopped at Fort Totten en route before arriving at Stephan.
[36] Wopeedah, Autumn 1938, in Maiers, 59.
[37] Ankrum, 62-66.
[38] The Harlem Globetrotters originally formed in 1927. Since then, they have become famous among their over one-hundred million fans within culturally-diverse settings that include over one-hundred countries.
[39] SMOD 94.174, AIRP 1674.
[40] Reverend Philip Seib, O.S.B. served as principal and missionary beginning in 1938; Reverend Maurice Patrick and replaced him in 1940.
[41] Sexton was born in Indianapolis, Indiana on May 24, 1908. He studied at St. Meinrad, professed Benedictine vows in 1928, and was ordained in 1934. He served a brief assignment at Devil's Lake and nine years as Eisenman's assistant at Marty before moving to Stephan in 1943; Maiers, 60-62.
[42] SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533.
[43] SMOD, 77.22, in Carol Goss Hoover, "A Vicar for Indians: Father Stanislaus Maudlin, O.S.B." Dakota History Conference, Vermillion, South Dakota, June 3, 1994.
[44] SMOD, 77.22, AIRP 1522; SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530.
[45] SMOD 79.57, AIRP 1557.
[46] SMOD 79.57, AIRP 1557.
[47] Sexton also struggled with poor eyesight, suggesting perhaps health problems leading to his replacement as Stephan superior, according to SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533

[48] SMOD 77.33, AIRP 1533. Edele was born on May 8, 1909 at St. Henry, Indiana. He received his higher education at St. Meinrad Seminary, Catholic University in Washington, D.C., and Pius X Music School in New York. After his 1935 ordination, Edele served as a professor at St. Meinrad from 1935-37, and pastor of St. Benedict's Church in Evansville, Indiana until 1946, according to Maiers, 63.
[49] SMOD 80.66, AIRP 1566.
[50] SMOD 91.9, AIRP 1729.
[51] SMOD 87.118, AIRP 1618; Father Stan noted specific thanks for a long list of Sisters including Sister Veronic Haag, O.S.B., Sister Charles Palm, O.S.B., Sister Aurelia Palm, O.S.B., Sister Marilyn Heck, O.S.B., Sister Genevieve Cuny, and many others. He also cited other women affiliated with Dakota Catholic missions, including the following from Stephan: Kit Holzman, Alice Beranek, Bessie Werdell, Nellie Heenan, Mary Laverdure, Frances Wetzel, Florence Orchard, Pauline Wetzel and Mary Smith.
[52] SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530.
[53] SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530.
[54] SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530. Full names and dates of service for Benedictine Sisters from Yankton who served at Stephan are referenced from an unpublished manuscript from Sacred Heart Convent of Benedictine Sisters, Yankton, South Dakota. See Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., Under the Shadow of His Wings: History of Sacred Heart Convent of Benedictine Sisters, Yankton, South Dakota, 1880-1970, (Aberdeen, South Dakota: North Plains Press, 1971) for a history of this religious community.
[55] SMOD 77.29, AIRP 1529.
[56] Marcella Howe, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 1 October 1998.
[57] SMOD 77.29, AIRP 1529.
[58] Rozelle Lockwood, interview by author, tape recording, Fort Thompson, South Dakota, 1 October 1998
[59] Vernon Ashley, interview by author, tape recording, Pierre, South Dakota, 17 July 1998. Interestingly, the nine-year-old run-away grew up to serve as Crow Creek tribal chairman from 1948-55. The Ashley parents were not opposed philosophically to boarding schools, as his parents had attended boarding school at Hampton and Haskell.
[60] Howe, interview.
[61] Bruce, interview.
[62] Stanislaus Maudlin, interview by O.A. Rothbueger, tape recording, Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, South Dakota, 12 July 1971, South Dakota Oral History Center, Vermillion, South Dakota.
[63] Howe, interview.
[64] Stanislaus Maudlin, interview by author, tape recording, Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, South Dakota, 15 July 1998.
[65] Sebastian C. Lebeau, interview by author, tape recording, Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota, 17 July 1998.
[66] Bruce, interview.
[67] Bruce, interview.
[68] Bruce, interview.
[69] Bruce, interview. Dakota Benedictines shifted their monastic home from St. Meinrad, Indiana to Blue Cloud Abbey, located in northeastern South Dakota, outside of the town of Marvin.
[70] Bruce, interview. In 1953, the mission began the transition to fuel oil by building the high school with one furnace for coal and one for fuel oil. At that point, fuel oil was about ten cents per gallon.
[71] Mavin Chavez, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 30 September 1998.
[72] Chavez, inteview.
[73] Lockwood, interview.
[74] For further information on Collier's Indian New Deal see Lawrence C. Kelly, "The Indian Reorganization Act: The Dream and the Reality," Pacific Historical Review 44 (August 1975), 291-312

and D'Arcy McNickle, "The Indian New Deal as Mirror of the Future," in Ernest Schusky, ed., Political Organization of Native North Americans, (University Press of America, 1980), 107-18. Eisenman's visitation to Indian schools in New Mexico and Arizona prompted his interest in school arts and crafts programs. By 1932, he directed Benedictine Sisters at Marty to instruct students in creating souvenirs with Sioux designs to sell to tourists, according to Duratschek, 296-97.

[75] Chavez, interview.

[76] Lockwood, interview.

[77] Lebeau, interview.

[78] Bruce, interview. Most referred to Ambrose Lake simply as the dam; it is located just north of the Stephan campus. The New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps established the dam in the 1930s. School staff named it after missionary Ambrose Mattingly, O.S.B.

[79] An oil stove used for heating exploded on April 8, 1946. The conflagration grew so rapidly that staff could salvage little of approximately $12,000 of merchandise from the frame building that housed the grocery store, post office, clothing store and garage. Even more destructive, at five in morning on May 15, 1949, fire swept through the largest mission building that including housing for sixteen Sisters, three dormitories for girls, the kitchen, dining halls, and several other rooms. Once again, the mission proved fortunate in that students had gone home the previous day. Three Sisters went to the Pierre hospital for smoke inhalation, but no casualties resulted from the fire, according to Wopeedah, May 1946, August-September 1949, in Maiers, 64-66.

[80] Maudlin, interview; SMOD 92.151, AIRP 1651; SMOD SP 91.9, AIRP 1729.

[81] Bruce, interview.

[82] The Pick-Sloan Plan initiated the construction of dams along the Missouri River including the Fort Randall Dam (1946) and Big Bend Dam (1959). These federal efforts relocated over one-hundred Crow Creek families and over forty percent of the Crow Creek population including the entire Fort Thompson community, according to Michael L. Lawson, Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 45-56.

[83] For a discussion of federal Indian policy that prompted individuals off reservations to cities see Donald L. Fixico, Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-60, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).

[84] Chavez, interview.

[85] Chavez, interview.

[86] Chavez, interview.

[87] Lockwood, interview.

[88] Howe, interview.

[89] Lockwood, interview.

[90] "Report of a Visit to the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian Reservations," I.D. Weeks Library, Special Collections, University of South Dakota.

[91] Sister M. Marmion Maiers, O.S.B., "Brief History of Stephan Indian Mission," Stephan Mission Archives, 1966.

[92] Lockwood, interview.

[93] According to the 1916 Petition, BCIM Series 1, Roll 77, Section 26, Gray Owl, Jennie Grey Owl, and another Grey Owl (note different spellings of surname) supported the mission school; 1907 petition signatures include reference to a "Grey Bird," as found in BCIM Series 1, Roll 59, Section 5.

[94] Maudlin, interview by O.A. Rothbueger.

[95] SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530.

[96] SMOD, SP 92.10, AIRP 1730. Ironically, as Benedictines and Jesuits turn schools over to the tribes, the Sacred Heart Fathers established a larger presence in Indian Country. They founded a boarding school in Chamberlain, South Dakota in 1975, according to SMOD 77.30, AIRP 1530.

[97] Maudlin, interview by O.A. Rothbueger.

[98] Maudlin, interview by O.A. Rothbueger.

[99] Sister Charles Palm, O.S.B., interview by author, tape recording, Fort Thompson, South Dakota, 16 July 1998.
[100] Howe, interview.
[101] Albert Fallis, interview by author, tape recording, Fort Thompson, South Dakota, 1 October 1998.
[102] Quentin McGhee, interview by author, tape recording, Stephan, South Dakota, 1 October 1998.
[103] "Brief History of the Crow Creek Reservation High School," 1983, Crow Creek Tribal High School Archives.
[104] Lockwood, interview.
[105] McGhee, interview.
[106] Bruce, interview.
[107] SMOD 1530, AIRP 1537.
[108] Bruce, interview.

Appendix A

Protocol Clearance From the Human Subjects
Institutional Review Board

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-3899

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: 16 June 1998

To: Donald Fixico, Principal Investigator
Robert Galler, Student Investigator

From: Richard Wright, Chair Richard A Wright

Re: HSIRB Project Number 98-01-19

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "A Comparative Analysis of Catholic Indian Boarding Schools in South Dakota" has been **approved** under the **expedited** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may **only** conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: 16 June 1999

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