INDIANA SCHOOL DAYS: NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION AT ST. JOSEPH'S INDIAN NORMAL SCHOOL AND WHITE'S MANUAL LABOR INSTITUTE

Alysha Danielle Zemanek

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Master's Thesis Committee

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Jennifer E. Guiliano, Ph.D., Chair

_____
Modupe G. Labode, D.Phil.

_____
Larry J. Zimmerman, Ph.D.

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Introduction

In 1884, an eight-year-old girl walked with her mother to a carriage that would take her away from her home for three years. She was wearing a new dress, new moccasins, and wrapped in her best blanket. It wasn't until the carriage carried her and seven other children away that Gertrude began to regret begging her mother to let her go to boarding school.[1] For some Indian children, the idea of traveling to a distant and strange land, of seeing new sights, of riding the train or Iron Horse, held an exotic appeal. The boarding schools native children attended could be hundreds, or nearly a thousand, miles away from their homes and families. These children were jealous of the older kids who had already gone to school and seen these unfamiliar places. Other children boarded the carriage because of the man in charge of the Indian agency for the U.S. government. He told their parents that the children had to go. If they didn't, their families wouldn't get the food and money they were promised to survive. For these and other reasons, Native American children living in North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Oklahoma, Minnesota, and Wisconsin all found themselves in Indiana.

Two boarding schools existed in the state of Indiana to educate Native American children between the ages of six and eighteen.[2] Both schools received a government contract to teach native students which provided the institutions with money for each student they enrolled.[3] St. Joseph's Indian Normal School in Rensselaer operated from

[1] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), ix–x, 39-45.
[2] The government contract stated that contract schools could not receive students under six years old or over eighteen years old without "special permission of the Indian Bureau." J.A. Stephan to John H. Oberly, October 30, 1888, copy, Indian Normal School Correspondence 1888-1896, Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, IN. Hereafter this collection will be referred to as INSC.
[3] I use the terms Native American, American Indian, Indian, and native interchangeably to reference those people of the Native American tribes indigenous to North America.

1888 to 1896. White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute in Wabash educated Native American children as part of a government contract from 1882 until 1895.[4] These two schools were not the only institutions to educate Native American students in Indiana. However, they are the only boarding schools referenced in the literature on native tribes in Indiana and the only institutions I have found referenced which participated in a government contract to educate native children. This thesis will study both institutions during the period of their government contracts from 1882 until 1896.

Research in Native American studies with respect to boarding schools has followed several patterns. Certain scholars focus their research on a single institution. These institutions often fall into two categories, schools established in the West for tribes removed there by the U.S. government and schools in the East.[5] Also, more research tends to focus on those institutions which were either very large or experienced success, here defined as operating for an extended period of time or with a high number of students seeking admittance. Examples of institutions frequently studied include Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas and Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. Larger institutions or those that operated for an extended time may offer scholars more sources in the historical record. Less scholarship looks at boarding and manual labor schools in

[4] Rensselaer is in northwestern Indiana and Wabash is in central northern Indiana, almost directly east of Rensselaer.

[5] Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity since 1892* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990); Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Lisa Kay Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln, [Nebraska]: University of Nebraska Press, 2013); Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 2008); Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945*, Indigenous Confluences (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

the Midwest.[6] By researching schools in Indiana, I hope to broaden existing scholarship and compare student experiences in this state to experiences of students as discussed by other historians.

In addition, scholarship looking at American Indian education often relies upon sources written by white administrators and government agents.[7] As a result, these works look at the topic of native education in a context dominated by the voices of the white majority. Recently scholars have challenged this approach, seeking sources from the perspective of Native American students and their families.[8] Due to constraints in available source materials, I too will need to rely heavily on the views of white officials as presented in school and government documents.

The study of American Indian education in the U.S. presents challenges to historians and other scholars. While early on scholars tried to synthesize and outline a general history of native education in the U.S., the broad categorization implied in the terms American Indian, Native American, Indian, and native does not lend itself well to the creation of a single comprehensive history.[9] Rather, multiple identities inherent in

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[6] Dominic B. Gerlach, "St. Joseph's Indian Normal School, 1888-1896," *The Indiana Magazine of History*, 1973, 1–42.

[7] Evelyn Crady Adams, *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress* (Arno Press, 1971); David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

[8] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (U of Nebraska Press, 2007), http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ug9YJi8S8D4C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&ots=lNzHusJ-95&sig=XDKN_gI20d84lyC3llWYH1ERDxU; Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.

[9] Adams, *American Indian Education*; Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*; United States, ed., *Report on Indian Education: Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off, 1976).

tribal affiliations, geographic location, and other communities inhibit researchers from combining these identities into a single narrative. Scholars can address native education in different ways to overcome these obstacles, by setting limitations on time periods, on communities, or on techniques used in Indian education.[10] Most recently, researchers have begun to look at sources from native perspectives rather than from white viewpoints, a difficult task given the often limited number of such sources.[11]

The earliest published monograph considering the history of Indian education was *American Indian Education* (1946) by Evelyn Adams. Adams' work showed how poorly programs of the settlers, and later the U.S. government, realized their goals of civilizing American Indians.[12] However, Adams' work relies heavily on white perspectives and ignores those of natives. Another synthesis of Native American education appeared in 1974, with Margaret Szasz's *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928*. The most recent edition appeared in 1999. Szasz concentrated on education directed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Her ethnohistorical approach utilized oral histories of former Indian students from the American Indian History Research Project at the University of New Mexico in addition to BIA records and correspondence. Such sources have since become staples for historians studying native education. While Szasz does include the perspectives of Indian students, both her work and Adams' focus largely government policies and their effectiveness. This invariably

[10] Hoxie, *A Final Promise*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.
[11] Examples include Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.
[12] Adams, *American Indian Education*, vii. The term 'civilizing' was used in reference to programs targeting Native Americans. To 'civilize' natives, the settlers, and later the U.S. government, hoped they would erase traditional customs of native culture to be replaced with Euro-American ways of life. This included changing Native American education, subsistence strategies, and clothing, to name a few areas.

excludes the motivations and experiences of Native American students and non-government officials founding and operating these schools.

In 1976, the U.S. Government Printing Office published the *Report on Indian Education* from the Indian Education Task Force Five. Appointed by the American Indian Policy Review Commission, the task force synthesized nearly four hundred years of federal, state, and private organization records and determined federal policy on native education followed two paths: isolation or assimilation.[13] Due to the nature of the report, the task force had more access to government documents than independent scholars, including reports to the Secretary of War and the Senate. The work presented by the task force was conducted as a review of policy, not historical scholarship. This focus on how past policy decisions may inform modern policies suggests the committee sought to establish the success or failure of policies rather than an analysis of their significance or impact upon native peoples. In 1984, Frederick Hoxie's approach in *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*, like Szasz's, was ethnohistorical and looked at American policies regarding Native Americans. Primarily, he looked at federal policy as a reflection of changes in white society as opposed to the effect Indian communities had on policy formation.[14] Again, both works focused on government policies, rather than experiences at institutions or of individuals. Also, both utilized sources dominated by white voices which obscure the stories of American Indian communities.

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[13] United States, *Report on Indian Education*, 7.The American Indian Policy Review Commission was established by Congress in 1975 by Public Law 93-580. The commission was created to conduct a review of the historical and legal developments in the relationship between American Indians and the federal government. This review was intended to inform Congress on necessary revisions to modern American Indian policies.

[14] Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, xii–xiii.

In 1993, Michael Coleman wrote *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*. Here he considered natives active historical agents, rather than passive victims. He argues Indians worked to adapt schools to their own needs.[15] In addition to the usual reliance of scholars on school records, Coleman utilized published memoirs of former students and examination papers to support his analysis. Coleman's approach considers how Indian decisions as well as school and government policies played a role in development and history of native education. In 1995, David Wallace Adams' *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* was completed. It became one of the most widely referenced scholarly books on the history of American Indian education. Adams aimed not to provide a complete history of Native American education, as did many of his predecessors. Rather, he looked at the formation of federal government policy concerning Indian education, policy implementation, and how native students responded to these policies.[16] A more recent synthesis of Indian education is *American Indian Education* (2004) by Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder. Reyhner and Eder looked at native schooling as a form of forced assimilation. They chronicled Native American resistance and cooperation to such efforts, acknowledging the agency exercised by American Indians.[17]

Works which synthesize native education allow readers to understand the macrohistorical contexts surrounding this topic. The works of Evelyn Adams, David Adams, Michael Coleman, Frederick Hoxie, Margaret Szasz, and the Indian Education Task Force all provide frameworks to explain the development of federal policies on

[15] Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*, xi.
[16] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, ix.
[17] Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 3.

Indian education. However, these works do not provide an understanding of how specific schools, native communities, or individuals implemented or reacted to these policies. By considering national policies, these works also exclude how specific regions impacted the development and implementation of Indian education. This thesis will provide context on how national policies shaped the development of Indian education in Indiana. It will also consider how events and policies specific to the state shaped Indian education and the development of St. Joseph's and White's.

Aside from scholars who focused on a general history of Native American education in the U.S., others have approached the topic through the study of a particular institution or the experiences of a segment of the American Indian community. Robert Berkhofer's *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (1965) looked at Protestant missions. He noted the lack of consideration of American Indians as active agents by scholars. This oversight ignores native decisions and actions and instead considers only how white actions have shaped history and native lives. After noting the lack of Indian narratives, however, he admitted his work also privileges a white perspective.[18] Instead of relying heavily on federal government sources, Berkhofer consulted annual reports and periodicals issued by missionary societies and both printed and unpublished missionary letters of different denominations. Like Berkhofer's work, this thesis will rely on annual reports and similar missionary sources. In March 1973, Dominic Gerlach's article on the Saint Joseph Indian Normal School appeared in the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Gerlach, a Missionary of the Precious Blood and former archivist for Saint Joseph's College in Rensselaer,

[18] Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (New York: Atheneum, 1976), xiv.

discussed the founding of the school, its eight years of operation, recruitment of native children, the training dispensed by the school, and briefly the roles of culture and policy in influencing the school's creation. The article considered the history of the school in relation to the involvement of Catholic societies in the government's Indian educational policy. While Gerlach's work did interpret St. Joseph's as a site of racial and religious conflict, it did not address how gender or nationalism shaped the school. Gerlach also does not address White's, the other boarding school in the state which was operated by Quakers, despite his focus on religious conflict. Finally, Gerlach does not include native voices in his work, instead privileging the views of white school officials. While this thesis relies on a limited number of Indian sources, I will differ from Gerlach and Berkhofer by providing in-depth analysis of Native American perspectives in order to counteract the dominance of white perceptions.

Michael Coleman's article, "The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources" (1987) focused on missionary schooling and uses missionaries' detailed reports on schools and pupils, sources similar to the ones used in this work. Continuing the study of education and Indian agency, K. Tsianina Lomawaima's *They Called It Prairie Light* (1994) studied Chilocco Indian School. A Creek Indian herself, Lomawaima points out that previous scholarship relied upon federal government agents' and school officials' perspectives and left Indians as objects. As she believes scholars have exhausted the history of the topic through the lens of federal policy and practice, Lomawaima researched student experiences and life in a boarding school. She interviewed alumni of Chilocco and left these personal accounts as unedited as possible so the story of Chilocco

could present native narratives. Like Lomawaima, this thesis seeks to uncover student experiences of boarding schools and will include direct passages from Indian sources before performing in-depth analysis. However, I will use textual records of student stories rather than unedited interviews.

Another way scholars considered American Indian education is by addressing techniques of Native American resistance or of cultural subversion utilized by those involved in educational institutions. For instance, in “Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904” (1987), Robert Trennert addressed the government’s method to alter the public perception of educational policies directed at American Indians through exhibits at trade fairs and expositions. He studied correspondence between the government officials and educators as well as annual government reports. His article highlights the difference between the views of government officials and educators as opposed to the views held by the general American public. I too, will rely on correspondence among government and school officials and government reports to understand the views and motivations of white officials. Lomawaima also wrote “Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body” (1993), addressing native techniques of resistance. By emphasizing Indian viewpoints, she examined the ways in which native students contested government authority in federal schools and, in particular, domestic training for girls. Lomawaima’s work discusses ‘domesticity’ as a path to native subservience. Similarly, my thesis will address how the propagation of gender roles reinforce white supremacy through the concept of civilization.

As apparent in recent publications, researchers have begun to incorporate American Indian perspectives into their research through their selection of primary and even secondary sources. Traditionally, the most readily available sources on Indian education had provided white views of education and boarding schools. This shift in perspective pervaded the majority of recent scholarship on native education. It has produced works by historians and other academics interested in depicting daily life for native students, their perceptions of their experiences, and how such experiences continue to affect collective American Indian memory. Such works include the works of Lomawaima, both her book and article, and Coleman's book.[19] Another scholar who has looked at student experiences at boarding schools is Brenda Child in *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (1998). A Red Lake Ojibwe, Child addressed the main difficulties students faced and stressed the agency they retained. She looked at unpublished documents from Indian points of view, including letters and the school newspaper. Child calls letters the heart of her story because they offer a less censored source than newspapers, which were composed for a specific audience. The author avoids oral histories because she wanted to focus on documents, largely a result of her training in a traditional graduate history program. While this study also relies on documents communicating native perspectives, they are limited. Unlike Child's work, most of the Indian sources used in this thesis have been published. Therefore, I will interpret native viewpoints in this study while also considering the context in which they were created, in order to address issues of censorship.

[19] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 227–240; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*.

St. Joseph's and White's have received limited scholarly attention for their roles as boarding schools for native students. The only study of St. Joseph's I have found considers the history of the institution as a site of racial and religious conflict. However, historian Dominic Gerlach does not consider the school in relation to other institutions educating native students. I also have identified a single history of White's, written with the approval of the school's Board of Trustees. This history only outlines the background of Josiah White and the development of the school up until 1929. I have yet to identify any research which examines the institution's role in educating Native American children, singularly or comparatively. Why have they passed largely unnoticed in the historical record? As the only boarding schools in Indiana, historians need to consider how these schools fit into the larger history of the state, and the state's history of contact and interaction with Native Americans after statehood in 1816.

While chapter one does seek to explain the development of relationships in present-day Indiana from contact with Europeans until the end of the nineteenth century, this work does not seek to provide a synthesis of Indian education in the state or in any other capacity. Rather this work models scholars such as Michael Coleman, in addressing missionary education rather than government education, and Brenda Child, in focusing on specific institutions. Also, similar to Brenda Child, this work will seek to highlight Native American perspectives where they are available. Native voices have long been lost or ignored in the history of the U.S. The historical record is comprised mainly of sources created by white males in positions of power, such as government officials, Indian agents, school officials, and teachers. While native perspectives on White's and St. Joseph's are limited, this thesis seeks to privilege Indian voices in the discourse of

Indiana history. It also seeks to highlight Indiana's role in the movement to civilize Native American tribes. The state's connection to Indians did not end with the removal of tribes in the middle of the nineteenth century. This relationship to natives also extended past communities such as the Miami who lived in the region at any given time. Rather, Indiana had an impact upon tribes on reservations across the country.

The purpose of this study is to determine how these two boarding schools came to exist in Indiana. How did national trends and issues regarding interaction and conflict with Native Americans shape the Midwest region? How did two different religious orders consider civilization through education? What reasons or circumstances led American Indian students to travel from their homes to Indiana to attend these boarding schools? Interactions between American Indian communities, Europeans, and Americans in present-day Indiana led to the creation of a state Americans considered civilized where the limited native population was largely invisible. As a civilized state located in a middle ground between the East Coast and Indian reservations west of the Mississippi River, Indiana then offered St. Joseph's and White's an ideal location with the support of local and religious communities. These native boarding schools served as a base from which the Catholics and Quakers could further their own goals of civilization and increased religious membership over other denominations. Coercion, material needs, and opportunities for education in the industrial and agricultural trades combined to bring Native American children to these Indiana boarding schools from reservations hundreds of miles away. These forces also contributed to the process of civilization and nationalization occurring in native boarding schools across the country.

In Chapter One: Settling Indiana, I look at how national trends and policies shaped interaction and conflict with Native American communities in the Midwest. I argue racial distinctions shaped Indiana's communities and systems of education to lay a foundation upon which St. Joseph's and White's could be built. Here I rely on secondary literature and government documents, including treaties and laws, to explore how the region of present-day Indiana transformed from the "land of the Indians" into a state with a small Indian population that was generally ignored. While these materials allow me to demonstrate how this region changed from the pre-contact era to the end of the nineteenth century, they also lack native voices and privilege the opinions and biases of white officials.

In Chapter Two: Building Boarding Schools in Indiana, I argue education was a way for religious denominations and the U.S. government to control the population and advance nationalism. Through the propagation of racial and gender roles religious groups could spread their own influence and increase their membership and support across the country. Racial and gender roles also tie directly into the concept of civilization and the creation of citizens. At the same time the government used contract schools to reinforce racial superiority and create citizens out of Native American communities. This chapter relies on some secondary literature as well as the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and materials from the Indian Normal School Collection at St. Joseph's College archives. The annual reports help to develop the larger context within which boarding schools in Indiana existed. These records include reports from both St. Joseph's and White's Institute, as both schools contracted with the U.S. government to receive funding for their education of Native American students under the age of eighteen. The

Indian Normal School Collection includes letters and other correspondence among those involved with the school's operation and government officials, as well as a letter written by a student. These approximately three hundred documents coincide with the years of the school's operation, from as early as December 1887 until 1896, when the school closed. They enumerate the intentions and goals of the creation of St. Joseph's and how well administrators believed those goals were met during the school's years of operation. Other relevant documents include writings from school superintendents to periodicals about the school's daily operation and recruitment process, and an informational packet detailing the instruction offered by the school for native students. I also use Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* to interpret the connections between gender roles, manliness, white supremacy, and civilization.

In Chapter Three: Students Come to Indiana, I argue attendance at boarding schools resulted from a combination of pressures, including forced cooperation, opportunity for cultural survival and resistance through adaptation, availability of education, and material needs. This chapter utilizes the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, government statutes, correspondence of school officials, and school pamphlets. Again, these materials privilege the views of white officials. Native experiences specific to these two schools as recorded by American Indians are scarce. I will mostly rely upon letters and reports of the school environment and activities of the students in order to discern how Native American students experienced their education in Indiana.[20] In order to include the perspectives of Indian students I will rely

[20] Indian Normal School Correspondence 1888-1896, Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, IN.

heavily on in-depth analysis of available sources written by natives, including Gertrude Simmons' writings and a student letter to a school official at St. Joseph's.[21] Gertrude Simmons' articles are based upon her own experiences as a student. They highlight how native students would have felt about boarding school education. I will also examine a speech given by a student at the annual meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1890 included in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889. This speech details the student's own educational history, his time spent at White's, and the opinions of himself and his community regarding Indian education.[22] For each of these materials, I will consider the context of the source's creation, such as its intended audience and purpose, to determine what biases influence the content of the materials. Finally, I will examine photos of students at both White's and St. Joseph's as examples of the physical changes students experienced. I will consider how the production of these images served as a way for school officials to communicate their ability to assimilate native pupils.

As this study only relies on a limited number of sources with Native American perspectives, I consider the materials written by white school and government officials in several ways. I interpret how these officials considered their own actions as a part of the national discourses of civilization. I pay close attention to the rhetoric surrounding gender

[21] Brenda Child uses letters written by students and families to understand the relationship between boarding schools and Native Americans. Child, *Boarding School Seasons*.

[22] Sally Hyer used an oral history project to examine the role of the Santa Fe Indian School in the native communities of New Mexico. K. Tsianina Lomawaima conducted interviews of former Chilocco Indian School students to demonstrate how pupils adapted to and resisted the assimilationist policies of the school. While I will examine a verbal account given by a student at White's, it was recorded under different circumstances than Hyer and Lomawaima's sources. The student was at a meeting of missionaries of different denominations to describe how the school had benefitted him. Since this account was recorded for inclusion in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I will have to consider the biases of the transcriber as well as what information the student wanted to convey to the missionaries. Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.

and the concept of manhood to evaluate how officials used gender to further the goals of civilization and create citizens of the nation. When reading the letters and reports of school officials, I examine the roles officials claimed for themselves in order to determine the ways boarding schools in Indiana supported and contributed to conflict between religious denominations nationally. I also consider how the rhetoric of school officials and their word choices display deeper attitudes towards both American Indians and the task of native education. I examine how white school and government officials describe the attitudes and actions of native students. The accounts of native experiences written by white officials introduce the racial and gender biases of the white authors into their narrative. However, by reading these documents closely and drawing out the actions of Indian students from white perspectives on their beliefs and intentions, I can describe some aspects of student life at Indiana boarding schools. In addition, I provide in-depth analysis of Native American sources to evaluate how students experienced Indiana schools and how the national process of civilizing natives led them to these schools. While examining Indian experiences, I also study the context of these sources to determine how the narrative they build was shaped by each author's audience and intentions.

Ultimately, this study matters for multiple reasons. First, Indiana's role in native history did not end with government removal of remaining Indian communities in the mid-nineteenth century. It continued with the establishment of St. Joseph's and White's and their goals of civilization. Indiana did not only impact American Indian tribes who lived in the state. Rather, as this study shows, Indiana's part in Native American history touched upon Indian communities around the country, in North and South Dakota,

Oklahoma, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Second, Native American history in the state of Indiana is dominated by non-native perspectives. More recent works by scholars such as Stewart Rafert as well as exhibits such as *Mihtohseenionki (The People's Place)* at the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art all seek to privilege American Indian stories and experiences. This study contributes to Indiana history, not only by discussing two schools mostly ignored in historical scholarship, but by emphasizing the experiences of Native American students at Indiana boarding schools.

Chapter One: Settling Indiana

In order to understand why boarding schools in Indiana sought to educate Native American students, as well as why those students came to Indiana rather than attending a closer or more well-known school, we must first consider the historical context of St. Joseph's Indian Normal School and White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute. Local boarding schools were deeply impacted by both federal Indian policies as well as popular knowledge about Indians and their place within the nation. Conflicts between natives and non-natives led to the development of laws and policies on the part of the U.S. government. These laws sought to both control encounters between these communities as well as to achieve long-term goals, the most notable of which was westward expansion.[23] By exploring federal policies from the 1860s through the 1890s, I illustrate how these federal ideas established the context for Indiana to become a site for religious education.

I consider the following questions: how did national trends and issues regarding interaction and conflict with Native Americans shape the Midwest region?[24] How did these factors create an environment in Indiana in the 1880s which induced the founders of St. Joseph's and White's to educate native students in this state rather than somewhere else? I argue native tribes in the Midwest adopted European material culture while retaining parts of their traditional religious beliefs. This allowed some members of these

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[23] For more information on British policy regarding Native Americans, see Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585-1685* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999); Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

[24] The term "Midwest" can have a number of geographic definitions. Historians Andrew Cayton and Peter Onuf use the term "Midwest" to focus on the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin after the 1850s, when "its middle-class citizens had begun to give it some overall cultural cohesion." Andrew R. L. Cayton and Peter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region*, Midwestern History and Culture (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 127. I will use "Midwest" as a purely geographical term to refer to the areas of the same states.

groups to preserve their cultural identity while remaining relatively hidden within Indiana, even after the U.S. government attempted removal. Indiana's location between the more heavily American-settled east coast and Indian reservations west of the Mississippi made it a good location for native boarding schools. It remained within the area of American settlement and "civilization" while also remaining close to tribes removed to the West.

Before considering the interactions between Native Americans and European settlers, we must first look at the communities who lived in the Midwest region prior to the period of contact. American Indians inhabited the Midwest long before Europeans arrived in the Americas.[25] Prior to contact native communities inhabited present-day Indiana. Connecting these prehistoric peoples with historic tribes is made difficult by the changes communities experienced at the time.[26] Diseases Europeans introduced in other areas of the Americas traveled quickly and European trade goods created demand and competition amongst tribes. As a result, Native American tribes moved and altered rapidly as some groups split, others combined, and names changed.

The native communities of present-day Indiana belonged to the Central Algonquian language family. The most central group in the area's history were the Miami and the closely related Wea and Piankashaw. Other native communities included the

[25] The earliest that native communities would have occupied present-day Indiana occurred after the last glacial period, ca. 9500 to 8000 BC. The time from 9500 BC to contact with Europeans has been divided into several different archaeological periods. As this chapter is concerned with Indian communities immediately prior to contact, we will only consider the most recent of these periods, ca. 900 AD to European contact. For an overview of earlier periods of settlement in the region, see Elizabeth J. Glenn and Stewart Rafert, *The Native Americans*, Peopling Indiana, v. 2 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2009), 10–11.

[26] The term "prehistory" is commonly defined as the period prior to the advent of writing. Here I use "prehistoric people" to define the communities and tribes existing in North America before the era of contact with Europeans, when descriptions of Native American political and social groups appear in European accounts of the communities they encountered.

Potawatomi in the north, the Kickapoo and Mascouten in the west central area of the state, and possibly Shawnee villages in the south.[27] These groups did not form individual political units, as their names might imply. Rather, tribes were organized around kinship ties which defined one's responsibilities and behaviors. These communities were seminomadic, traveling seasonally to established sites where they grew their food. They did not have domesticated animals, but acquired game and fish on seasonal hunts. Since resources were necessary to a group's survival, each tribe had a strong sense of territory. Food and the materials used to create tools and goods were collected by each tribe, making these communities almost entirely self-sufficient. Trading did occur between different groups, usually in order to acquire luxury goods, such as copper, obsidian, and salt-water mollusk shells. In addition to trading, tribes formed alliances with other native communities.[28] Alliances may have strengthened trading ties or provided access to resources located in another tribe's territory. Besides economic relationships, tribes also warred with each other as a means to achieve revenge, garner honor, or conquer territory.

The French Period

Indian tribes in the region first interacted with newly arrived European settlers through the fur trade. The first surviving written record of an encounter between Native Americans and Europeans in the region occurred in 1679 with a French expedition into the northern reaches of present-day Indiana at the portage of the St. Joseph and Kankakee Rivers.[29] The French continued south along the Mississippi and eventually incorporated

[27] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 12–14. Tribes, such as the Eastern Algonquian Delaware, Nanticoke, Muskogean Creek, and Iroquoian Huron, among others, traveled through the state. Some settled in the area for a period, while others only resided there temporarily.
[28] Ibid., 14–17.
[29] Ibid., 9 and 20.

the present-day area of the state into their colonial system. The French established three posts in present-day Indiana to serve as trading centers with the local natives: Fort Ouiatenon, Fort Miamis, and Fort Vincennes.[30] Establishing these forts provided several resources for the French. Trading centers offered a supply of animals with fur. Indian tribes pursued these trading relationships in order to barter manufactured European goods as well as decorative and luxury items.[31] The local Indian communities also became allies for the French, a resource the French needed in their contest with the British over control of the continent. And importantly, the local geography had several portages which created useful connections for the French.[32] The Midwest region's rivers linked the Upper Great Lakes, an early area of French control, with French Louisiana via the Mississippi River. In addition to the usefulness of Indiana's river system, the region also served as a convenient location for colonists to conduct trade with native tribes because the Ohio River and the Lower Great Lakes offered the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania a direct route to the area.[33]

As the trading relationships between Europeans and native communities developed, so too did the concentration or geographic dispersal of their populations. Some native communities elected to move closer to trading posts or other sources for European goods, where rates might be cheaper. Alternately, some moved as result of French and British pressure for native communities to act as buffers between their

[30] Ibid., 20.
[31] The European-Indian trading relationship was two-sided. As trade flourished, natives began to exercise more preference for certain types of goods. In order to maximize their business with Native Americas, traders catered to Indian tastes and "whole lines of products were manufactured specifically for the trade." Ibid., 24.
[32] These portages included the Maumee and Wabash Rivers and the Maumee and Eel Rivers near Fort Wayne, the Elkhart and St. Joseph of the Maumee Rivers, and the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan and Tippecanoe Rivers. Ibid., 21.
[33] Ibid., 20–21.

societies. At the beginning of the 18th century, several tribes including the Miami, Wea, and Piankashaw moved to settle along the Wabash River. Concerned about the British political and economic influence upon these communities, the French attempted to convince them to move north to the French settlements at Detroit and St. Joseph in present-day Michigan. There the French were harassed by the Wisconsin Fox, whom had led the Miami to leave their village along the St. Joseph River. The Miami and Wea refused to relocate, which contributed to the French decision to build posts near the tribes in Indiana, including Fort Miamis and Fort Ouiatenon.[34]

For Native Americans, living near a trading post provided cheaper and faster access to European goods. It also afforded them the opportunity to act as middlemen in trade between Europeans and native communities farther from the posts. In addition to increasing their economic power, this elevated a tribe's political position with other Indian communities in the region. Tribes also understood the value of market competition between the French and British and used it to their own advantage. In the early eighteenth century, a group of Mahican, a tribe from the Hudson River region in New York, settled near the Kankakee River. The Mahican acted as a conduit between the Miami and Dutch and British trade to offer cheaper, higher quality items than the French. The Miami access to the Mahican allowed them to become middlemen in their region of the Midwest. Their position as middlemen allowed the Miami to play the British and French against each other to get better trade deals.[35]

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[34] Ibid., 25; Joseph L. Peyser, ed., *Letters from New France: The Upper Country, 1686-1783* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 100–102. Fort Miamis, now called Fort Wayne, was located near the Miami village of Kekionga and Fort Ouiatenon, near present-day Lafayette, was close to a Wea settlement.
[35] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 25–26.

The era of French control in the Midwest, from contact to 1763, also marked the beginning of missionary activity in the region. However, as anthropologist Elizabeth Glenn and historian Stewart Rafert point out, the missionary influence in Indiana differed from that of other regions. Surrounding areas, including what became the states of Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, experienced lasting Catholic missions. Indiana did not. Instead individual missionaries served the Catholic population from the three French forts. This Catholic population included European inhabitants of the forts and a small number of native converts. Unlike European goods, European religion did not entice American Indians. The native communities in the Midwest region had their own spiritual beliefs, including the concept of attaining spiritual power in order to influence the real world. Many native converts were ill, infants, or the spouses of French traders. Other converts accepted certain Catholic beliefs, rituals, or artifacts if they appeared to bring success in a certain endeavor, i.e. providing spiritual power. In comparison, Protestant missionaries from British colonies isolated converts from other Native Americans to remove non-Christian, "heathen" influences. This isolation came in the form of "praying" towns, where residents avoided the influence of settlers and Indian communities while adopting European lifestyles.[36] They also sought to convert Indians both spiritually and culturally, which included westernizing their ways of life. Although these efforts were not directed at the tribes inhabiting the region of present-day Indiana, their success with other tribes allowed Protestant missionary efforts to spread. For instance, Native

[36] James Axtell, *The Invasion within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*, The Cultural Origins of North America 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 139.

American tribes who directly experienced British Protestant missionary efforts went on to missionize the Shawnee and the Delaware who later moved into the region.[37]

The ways French and British missionaries influenced natives reflects their priorities in controlling areas of North America. French Catholic missionaries sought to alter the spiritual beliefs of American Indians. However, their efforts to do so did not include changing the lifestyles of native communities. The French did not encourage native communities to adopt European farming techniques or trades. Altering Indian lifestyles would impact the fur trade and would therefore hinder the French economic system. In contrast, British Protestant missionaries wanted to convert natives spiritually and culturally. They wanted Indians to adopt European religions, homes, farming practices, trades, and political structures. Doing so would allow the British to impose their own economic and political systems upon converted Indian communities and maintain control over them.

By the mid eighteenth century, tensions between the British colonies and New France began to escalate. The British started to penetrate the eastern edge of the Ohio River Valley and competition in the fur trade increased between the European nations. In order to assert their control over the region south of the Great Lakes, the French built a fort at Toronto, strengthened their existing forts, and sent a large group of French and Native Americans into present-day Ohio. Roland-Michel Barrin de La Galissonière, governor of New France, wanted to secure the Allegheny and upper Ohio rivers as the

[37] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 26–28.

eastern border of New France.[38] In 1756 tensions finally erupted in the French and Indian War, also known as the Seven Years' War. By 1760, the British had taken over French posts and networks in the Upper Great Lakes region. Peace came in February 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. In the treaty, France ceded Canada, four Caribbean islands and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River, except for New Orleans, to Britain. The remainder of Louisiana went to the Spanish.

The British Period

The ending of the French and Indian War brought changes to Native American communities in the Midwest. Indians could no longer take advantage of competition in trading to negotiate better deals. Also, the British discontinued the French practice of presenting native tribes with presents to maintain political relationships.[39] The Treaty of Paris had guaranteed the British a right to the land west of the colonies and east of the Mississippi. They no longer felt the need to expend money and resources on networking with American Indians if they no longer needed native support to combat the French. As hostilities between the French and British in North American ceased, more British colonists began to move from the colonies and into the Midwest illegally.[40] Increased European presence, from the British military occupying former French forts to the settlers trickling over the Appalachian Mountains, alarmed American Indians. In the spring of

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[38] John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971), 94–100. For a more thorough review of the tensions and conflicts leading up to the French and Indian War, see Ibid., 94–121.

[39] Gifts held meaning and influence in many native cultures. The exchange of gifts developed and maintained political and social relationships between groups and communities expected their allies to provide these gifts. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, 20th anniversary ed, Studies in North American Indian History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 140.

[40] In 1758 the Pennsylvania government signed the Treaty of Easton with several tribes, promising that white settlers would not settle west of the mountains. The British recognized the treaty as binding. Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period*, 132.

1763 violence erupted between the Indians and the British in Pontiac's War. Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, coordinated attacks against all the European posts at the same time. Only Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt held out against the strike. Forts Miamis and Ouiatenon fell quickly.[41] The conflict highlighted both native dependence on European trade and goods as well as the vulnerability of British forces in regions such as Indiana, where Europeans formed the minority of the population.

Spurred on by these violent clashes, in October 1763 King George III issued the Proclamation of 1763. It reserved for Native American tribes the land outside of the British colonies and west of the Appalachian Mountains. The order prohibited any colonists from buying or settling on these lands and required those who had already settled on lands reserved for the Indians "to remove themselves from such settlements."[42]

Despite these conflicts, life in Indiana changed little for Native American communities under the British colonial rule from 1763 to 1783. Indians continued to participate in their trading relationships with Métis and French middlemen. This brought about gradual cultural changes for local tribes due to exposure to European goods.[43] The number of Europeans that lived in the region remained limited. British counts place 266 inhabitants, which included men, women, and children, in Vincennes in 1769. Ouiatenon had 12 inhabitants and Fort Miamis had 9 in the same year, though neither of those posts

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[41] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 30–31; White, *The Middle Ground*, 269. A Miami girl lured an ensign from Fort Miamis. After he was shot the fort surrendered. At Fort Ouiatenon the Potawatomi persuaded the Wea, Kickapoo, and Mascoutens to join their attack. Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period*, 143. For a more in-depth discussion of Pontiac's War see White, *The Middle Ground*, 269–314.

[42] "Proclamation of 1763" (Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost, January 2, 2009).

[43] European goods included horse tack, farm tools, construction materials, and domestic goods such as clothing or cookware, food, and decorative items. Some goods were made specifically for natives, including leggings, tomahawks, and silver jewelry. Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 34 and 39.

counted families.[44] There were no established missions and any military presence usually remained small or limited in duration. Since fewer Europeans lived in the Midwest, Native American communities adapted to European culture gradually, incorporating new beliefs and goods into traditional native life. For instance, European trade goods such as tools, cookware, decorative items, and clothing became common in native life. However, they were often modified or rejected if they held no appeal. While tribes did move in response to the economic opportunities of the fur trade, the pattern of life and native activities remained the same. Missionary efforts accomplished little in terms of complete conversion to European religions. Instead Indians rethought their own religious beliefs and sought to address the negative consequences of contact with foreigners.[45]

By the 1760s, dissention between colonists and the British crown increased. By 1776, the British and newly founded American citizens wanted the allegiance of American Indians as part of the American Revolution. Some tribes aided the British because they offered natives more goods. American settlers had continued to ignore British law and sought to settle on Indian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains.[46] In June 1777, the Miami attended a council at Detroit held by Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. He pressured them to support the British in the war. The next spring George Rogers Clark, an American militia officer, marched through the Midwest and captured Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, three major settlements. At the same time, he used the news of the American-French alliance to placate many of the tribes with pro-French

[44] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 32.
[45] Ibid., 33.
[46] Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period*, 182; Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 42–44. Not all tribes agreed on who to support and factions developed in support of various sides. Support for the British or Americans also varied depending on how native viewed their own situation and considered the benefits of allying with either the British and Americans. Rafert describes the Miami as "nominally pro-British during the Revolutionary War."

attitudes near the western Great Lakes. In October, Hamilton recaptured the villages of the lower Wabash Clark defeated and enlisted Miami from Kekionga for a war party. Hamilton reoccupied Vincennes in Clark's absence until his return in February 1779, when he retook the post. In October of the following year Augustin Mottin de La Balme, a Frenchmen in the American forces, pulled together of force of Frenchmen and Indians. The force attacked Kekionga, which the Miami had evacuated, and destroyed the native villages. After twelve days of pillaging the site, La Balme retreated a few miles west, where Little Turtle attacked the group and killed La Balme.[47] Throughout the war, the Miami leaned slightly towards supporting the British. However, they continued to trade with the Spanish and French on the Mississippi. Charles Cornwallis' surrender in 1781 and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 brought a close to the American Revolution. At this moment in time the region which would become present-day Indiana was still, as its name suggests, the "land of the Indians."

The American Period

Before delving into the U.S. government's policies towards American Indian communities, it should be noted that Indian polices did not exist as fully formulated plans. As historian Francis Prucha has shown, Indian policy was a "slow growth, developing under the press of circumstances and the pressures of diverse groups."[48] Both government and popular ideas of how to deal with Native Americans evolved as the two groups interacted and fought with each other.[49]

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[47] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 42–44.
[48] Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1780-1834*, Bison Book, BB510 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).
[49] For instance, in the 1820s the U.S. government removed many Native Americans from tribal lands and relocated them to new areas further from white settlement and/or in less desirable portions of the country. In the 1840s the U.S. set up reservations as designated lands for native tribes and proceeded to require that these lands be divided amongst the tribe to encourage the adoption of western concepts of land ownership

Establishing peace with tribes, since many Native Americans fought with the British during the American Revolution, was an early obstacle to the newly formed nation.[50] The U.S. government needed to consider what branch of government would have the responsibility of dealing with American Indian tribes. The ninth article of the Articles of Confederation gave the federal government the power to regulate trade and manage all affairs with American Indians.[51] However, the wording of the article only allowed this federal oversight outside of the boundaries of the states.[52] Therefore, each state could choose to deal with local native communities in their own ways. Clashes between whites and Indians pressured the government to form policies regulating contact between its white citizens and native communities while also serving their larger goal of expansionism. This involved developing laws to govern the acquisition of Indian land titles, trade regulations, and the establishment of boundaries between the two societies. These principles, among others which had evolved by the 1830s, would form the basis of U.S. Indian policy. Other changes in Indian policy in this period included the decision that only the federal government could acquire title to lands from American Indians.[53]

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and livelihood. Other policies used missionaries and education as a means of teaching western faiths, skills, and customs to Native Americans. However, these policies are by no means exclusive to a specific period. For instance, Wilkins and Stark call the 1830s through the 1880s the years of removals, relocations, and reservations. This does not mean that such U.S. policies only occurred during this time, but rather that many of the major laws passed and carried out by the U.S. centered on these ideas more than on others. David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 3rd ed (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), chap. 5.

[50] In fact, in 1775, a few months after the Revolution began, the Continental Congress issued the U.S.'s first federal Indian policy. It specifically sought to maintain friendly relations with natives due to the concern that they might support the British in the war. Appointed commissioners would work to sustain peace and prevent British subterfuge among the Indians. Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years*, 27–28.

[51] Richard Peters, ed., "Articles of Confederation," in *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 1 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845), 6–8.

[52] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years*, 30–31.Prucha argues that this article cemented the idea of an Indian Country, which encompassed all territory outside of state lines Americans could not legally access. Of course, labelling territory as 'outside' state lines becomes problematic when one considers how quickly states began to form as settlers poured west in search of cheap or free land.

[53] Ibid., 2.

Restricting the sale of native lands to the government allowed the U.S. to continue the process of nation-building. Lands acquired by the government could be measured, sold off, and divided into new territories which would ultimately become states. The government also promoted the civilization and education of American Indians to encourage native assimilation into American society.[54] The idea of civilizing Indians encompassed the notion that Americans could teach Native Americans to adopt European ways of life, types of work, clothing, religion, and world views. This policy placed native and European culture in direct opposition and set the standard in how to treat Indians and their cultures.

After the American Revolution over thirty tribes gathered in 1783 for the Grand Council of the Western Alliance at Sandusky, including the Miami, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Delaware. The council wanted to serve as the representative Indian body dealing with the US government. It argued for a permanent boundary at the Ohio River between the two societies. However, the US sought to negotiate treaties with natives who accommodated American desires for new land.[55] The U.S. argued the 'right of conquest' granted to them by the British in the 1783 Treaty of Paris gave them ownership of tribal lands.[56] Additionally, the war debts the U.S. incurred during the Revolution needed to be

[54] Ibid.
[55] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 39.
[56] Colin G. Calloway, *Pen and Ink Witchcraft: Treaties and Treaty Making in American Indian History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105. "European powers invoked the doctrine of discovery to claim that Christian nations that discovered new lands gained property rights over such lands and could assert sovereignty over the indigenous people living there. Europeans justified taking the lands of indigenous people according to their own colonizing rule of law, which was grounded in medieval discourses of conquest, and they felt free to transfer their claims to other powers without consulting the territory's indigenous inhabitants," Ibid., 4. In this manner a transfer of land claims was negotiated between the U.S. and Britain in the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and did not include Native American tribes, despite conveying rights to Native American land. The belief that native lands already belonged to them led the U.S. to dictate treaties which they coerced the Indians to sign. In the eyes of many these treaties were mere formalities.

paid. The government wanted to rapidly acquire and sell land west of the Appalachian Mountains to pay off some of this debt and to stabilize the country's currency. Three early treaties (the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785, and the Treaty of Fort Finney in 1786) pursued this concept of quickly gaining title to and then selling native lands. Treaty discussions occurred under gunpoint. American representatives insulted American Indian leaders.[57] The U.S. also passed the Ordinance of 1785, setting up the process to survey public lands, create townships, and sell the land in minimum allotments of 640 acres for a dollar per acre. The wealthy could then buy land and resell it to pioneer farmers for profit. The combination of treaties forcing Native Americans to relinquish land and a newly devised system where land could be sold off to pay war debts encouraged land speculators and politicians to push for further treaties with Indian tribes.[58] More treaties meant more land and more money in their own pockets.

In December 1786, the aforementioned Grand Council of the Western Alliance met again in Detroit to denounce these early treaties and demand the U.S. deal with the council rather than individual communities.[59] However, on July 13, 1787 the U.S. passed the Northwest Ordinance, establishing the Northwest Territory as the land west of the established states, east of the Mississippi, north of the Ohio River, and south of the Great Lakes. The ordinance created the process for admitting new states to the Union and stated that the newly formed territory would form no less than three and no more than five states.[60] In doing so the U.S. government blatantly announced its intention to secure all

[57] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 45.
[58] Ibid., 46.
[59] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 39.
[60] *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 32 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), 334-343.

the land in the Northwest Territory from American Indian communities to form new states. These territories would become states once the free, white population reached 60,000. The ordinance also outlined the east and west boundaries for the territories which would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It also stated the boundaries could be altered to form two more states north of a line drawn below the southern part of Lake Michigan. These two additional states would become Michigan and Wisconsin.

Interestingly, the third article of the ordinance drew a connection between education and religion, stating "Religion, Morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."[61] Lawmakers believed religion and education together would shape the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory into good citizens. Therefore, even before Indiana had gained statehood, the U.S. government had laid down the foundations for a system of education with connections to religion.

In the beginning of 1790, President George Washington received a surge of complaints from Kentuckians regarding Indian attacks. The prior October, the president had sent Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, to learn the attitudes of the Miami and other tribes of the lower Wabash towards the U.S. Miami chief Le Gris said unanimous consent was needed for a response. The Shawnee leader Blue Jacket noted the Americans they spoke to conveyed differing attitudes and suspected they hoped to trick the natives. The lack of positive responses and pressure from Kentucky led Washington to order the American Indians at Kekionga punished. On September 14,

[61] "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 - 1875," *American Memory*, accessed January 6, 2017, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=lljc&fileName=032/lljc032.db&recNum=343.

1790 Secretary of War Henry Knox instructed General Josiah Harmar to destroy the towns and crops of the Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware at Kekionga. When Harmar arrived in October the natives had deserted the villages. Three days later Harmar ordered the homes and crops destroyed.[62] After heading towards Cincinnati, Harmar sent a group back to Kekionga to catch the community by surprise. They walked into an ambush by Miamian Little Turtle. One hundred eighty-three Americans died. The embarrassment of this defeat led to the order of another expedition against the Indians at Kekionga. St. Clair, now major general in the U.S. army, led the attack. Leaving Cincinnati in September 1791, St. Clair marched to Kekionga, building Forts Hamilton and Jefferson along the way. Little Turtle, with a force of Miami, Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi, attacked the American force southeast of Kekionga on November 4, 1791. The natives surrounded the U.S. army and three hours later St. Clair ordered a retreat.[63] The defeat destroyed the U.S.'s standing army. These conflicts eventually led to a third larger invasion by General Anthony Wayne, which ended with a defeat of Indian forces at Fallen Timbers in August 1794. The US militia had repeatedly destroyed Indian crops and villages. These circumstances led many tribes in the region to seek supplies and military support from the British. However, the British did not provide any resources. They had agreed to evacuate their forts in the Northwest Territory in the Jay Treaty of 1794 with the US. As the Native American communities in the region had lost the economic and military support of Britain, in 1795 twelve tribes signed the Treaty of Greenville: the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi,

[62] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 49–51.Harmar's force burned 185 log houses and estimates say 20,000 bushels of corn were destroyed.
[63] Ibid., 51–52. Officials list 630 officers and enlisted men killed. Around 100 women and children following the camp also died. No more than 150 native men were killed.

Miami, Eel River, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia. The treaty stated its purpose as establishing peace between the U.S. and these tribes as well as setting the boundary between the U.S. and Indian Territory.[64] It also said when the Indians decided to sell their lands, they could only sell to the U.S., ensuring the government would benefit from the profits of selling these lands first and foremost.[65]

The Treaty of Greenville marks the beginning of the period during which the US government acquired Indian lands in the present-day state of Indiana. Immediately following the treaty several native communities in the region moved.[66] In 1800, the Indiana Territory was formed and William Henry Harrison became the territorial governor at the age of twenty-seven. Harrison had been Anthony Wayne's aide-de-camp at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and was an advocate for easy land sales in the Northwest. In 1799, he served as the delegate from the Northwest Territory to Congress and chaired the Committee on Public Lands. That committee had passed laws making the purchase of land easier.[67] The Indiana Territory comprised the land from the Northwest Territory west of the present-day state of Ohio, including most of present-day Indiana, all present-day Illinois and Wisconsin, and parts of present-day Minnesota, Michigan, and Ohio.[68] Harrison pursued an aggressive policy of land acquisition and from about 1803 until

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[64] "Treaty with the Wyandot, Etc., 1795, Aug. 3, 1795," in United States, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties: Compiled and Edited by Charles J. Kappler*, Vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 30-34. At Greenville, Wayne essentially dictated the terms of the treaty to the twelve tribes involved, which signaled a major shift in power, as the Native Americans finally were forced to sign over most of present-day Ohio. See Calloway, *Pen and Ink Witchcraft*, 112–13.
[65] "Treaty with the Wyandot, Etc., 1795, Aug. 3, 1795" in *Indian Affairs*, 30-34.
[66] The Shawnee moved east into Ohio, the Delaware built villages along the White River, and the Miami moved to the Upper Wabash and its tributaries. Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 43.
[67] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 66.
[68] George Pence and Nellie C. Armstrong, *Indiana Boundaries: Territory, State, and County*, Indiana Historical Collections, xix (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1933), 138–39. For later alterations made to the Indiana Territory, see Ibid., 140–45.

1809.He signed treaties with various native communities to gain control of the southern portion of present-day Indiana.[69] To make these deals Harrison relied on several questionable tactics: bribery, post-treaty disbursement rules, translators who would personally benefit, and illegal signatures. For instance, in a preliminary treaty in 1802 Harrison promised Little Turtle an annual sum of $150 for signing.[70] Americans could thus persuade native leaders to sign treaties with unfavorable conditions for local communities if the leader reaped a personal benefit. Before negotiating the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1803, Harrison stated American Indian communities had to attend a treaty conference to receive the goods and annuities promised them in the Treaty of Greenville.[71] Many leaders chose to attend the conference so their communities would not suffer without these goods. Translators involved in treaty negotiations could also have personal agendas, leading them to pressure agreements in a direction to benefit themselves.[72] It is also important to note these treaties, except the Treaty of Fort Wayne 1809, only received signatures of two or three leaders from each tribe listed. Few signatures from each tribe implies dissention between the leaders of different communities or villages of any given tribe. However, the U.S. considered the signature of any leader as representative of every native community and viewed each tribe, such as the Miami, as a unified political group. In reality, tribes consisted of different villages

[69] These tribes included the Miami, Piankashaw, Wea, Eel River Miami, Kickapoo (and absorbed Mascouten tribe), Potawatomi, Shawnee, Delaware (including the Munsee and Nanticoke), Ottawa, and Wyandot. The treaties Harrison negotiated included the Treaty of Fort Wayne 1803, the Treaty of Vincennes 1804, the Treaty of Grouseland 1805, and the Treaty of Fort Wayne 1809. By 1809, nearly half of the proposed State of Indiana had been ceded to the U.S. through these treaties. Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 66–72.
[70] Ibid., 68.
[71] Ibid., 69.
[72] An example of a translator who had a personal stake in the treaty negotiation that he interpreted is given in Calloway, *Pen and Ink Witchcraft*, 108–9.

with their own civil and war leaders.[73] Also, historian Stewart Rafert implies not all the Miami who signed away land were actually considered chiefs by the tribe. The high number of them in small areas suggests they were recognized as chiefs by white officials to officially make trades and take bribes in exchange for tribal lands.[74]

Harrison's aggressive attitude towards signing treaties and claiming land for the US had support on the highest level of the federal government. On February 27, 1803 President Thomas Jefferson wrote Governor Harrison an unofficial letter. Among other things, the letter explained the U.S. government's policy concerning relations with American Indians. Jefferson wrote that the U.S. should live peacefully with the Indians and cultivate goodwill and trust among the tribes. He also said tribes should be convinced to adopt agriculture, spinning, and weaving. He believed this would lead them to need less of their land and encourage them to sell the remainder.[75] Jefferson also indicated the U.S. would establish trading houses with the lowest possible prices. These trading houses would seek to run influential tribal members into debt. High debt would leave Native Americans with no choice but to sell land to settle their liability, or for the military to seize their lands in compensation. He further told Harrison that as white settlements gradually surrounded the Indians, they would be forced to either assimilate to become U.S. citizens or they would be forcibly removed to west of the Mississippi by the

[73] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 14–17.
[74] See Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 93.
[75] This statement implies that tribes did not grow their own food and only hunted game. However, Jefferson referred mainly to the plow farming practiced by white European-American men. In fact, when General Josiah Harmar destroyed the Indian homes and crops at Kekionga in 1790, an estimated twenty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed. See Ibid., 50–51.

government.[76] This aggressiveness was partially motivated by Jefferson's stated desire to purchase all of the land along the Mississippi. Jefferson outlined to Harrison the order in which the tribes in the Indiana territory should be persuaded to sell land. Jefferson wanted the land to form a strong western border.[77] The Spanish sale of the Louisiana Territory to France left the President worried American Indians would again ally themselves with the French and would refuse to sell land to the U.S.[78]

During this period of land cessions, tensions in the American Indian communities located in present-day Indiana rose. In addition to rapidly losing lands in treaties, consumption of alcohol began a social breakdown and increased white settlement meant the amount of game available dropped off. Fur prices declined rapidly and the economy began to shift from one based on fur trading as a primary source of income to the use of credit.[79] These changes left natives relying on the goods and annuities granted through treaties to survive. For example, the beginning of the Treaty of Vincennes in 1804 with the Delaware, states that the annuity the Delaware already received was not enough to support the tribe. This led to their cession of further land south of the Vincennes Tract.[80] This inability of annuities to adequately support tribes also resulted from the fact that

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[76] This description of American Indians as being transformed into U.S. citizens through assimilation to European-American ways of life implies that Indians were not considered citizens. Also, note that the idea that American Indians could remain on tribal lands east of the Mississippi was not considered an option.
[77] Colin Calloway writes that Jefferson's argument, that less land would necessarily turn the American Indians to agriculture, grew out of a need "to deal honorably with Indians," while at the same time taking their lands. Essentially Calloway outlines this policy as a self-repeating cycle, where minimal government meant that the frontier and Indian lands could not be well protected, the Indians would fight for their land, and then the U.S. would invade Indian territory to suppress the tribes and would have the power to dictate the terms of treaties. This cycle would then repeat itself. See Calloway, *Pen and Ink Witchcraft*, 113–14.
[78] President to Governor Harrison, February 27, 1803, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, comp. and ed., Clarence Edwin Carter, vol. 7, *The Territory of Indiana 1800-1810* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), 88-92. Some of this concern regarding alliances between native tribes and the French stemmed from the memory of the Seven Years' War. Americans worried that the influence of the French among the American Indians could develop into a military threat to the US.
[79] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 72–73.
[80] See "Treaty with the Delaware, 1804, Aug. 18, 1804," in *Indian Affairs*, 51-53.

higher prices for land or more advantageous deals for American Indians were often countered by the U.S. negotiator with explanations of why a request was unreasonable. In the journal of the proceedings of the 1809 Fort Wayne treaty, on September 28th the Miami insisted on selling their land by the acre and wanted $2 per acre, a significantly higher price than the U.S. had paid in previous treaties. They also indicated that they wished their people to remain "as separate as possible" from white settlement.[81] Harrison countered by stating he would give the Indians a treaty the next day, and if they would not sign it then he would leave, taking away the tribes' chances at money and goods to support themselves.[82] In a letter to the Secretary of War, Harrison estimated the U.S. paid less than two cents an acre for the land ceded in the 1809 treaty.[83] Another pressure occurred in early 1809, when the Illinois and Indiana Territories were split to prepare for Indiana to become a state. At the time the treaties Harrison signed with local American Indian tribes only ceded the southern half of the proposed state. Dividing the territories announced the intention of territory officials to acquire the rest of the proposed state from the Native Americans in short order.[84]

Simultaneously, Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa, were gaining influence among different tribes in the Northwest Territory. Tecumseh, a Shawnee military leader, argued Indian lands belonged to all tribes and that to rid their land of non-natives a

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[81] "Journal of the Proceedings at the Indian Treaty at Fort Wayne and Vincennes, 1 September to 27 October, 1809", in Logan Esarey ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), 362-378.
[82] Ibid. During the treaty negotiation, Owl, a Miami chief, said that his tribe was willing to sell some land for the price it sold for among white settlers, ibid., 370-371. This may have been a reference to the Land Act of 1800, which Harrison helped to pass. The act allowed land west of the Muskingum River to be sold in sections as small as 320 acres for as little as $2 per acre to make settlement more affordable, Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period*, 309–10. However, this price was not agreed upon in the treaty negotiations.
[83] See Harrison to Secretary of War, October 1, 1809, in *Messages and Letters*, ed. Esarey, 358-359.
[84] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 72.

confederacy of tribes must form. This idea of communal responsibility directly conflicted with the European notion of personal ownership. Tenskwatawa, also known as the Shawnee Prophet, taught that natives must reject European-American influences. The Miami resisted these teachings because they believed the region of present-day Indiana fell under their influence and control and other native communities had only settled there by invitation. Some Miami did join Tenskwatawa after he established Prophetstown near the confluence of the Tippecanoe and Wabash Rivers. However, most did not as the influence of their own chiefs and Midewiwin priests endured.[85] Eventually tensions erupted and the Indians from Prophetstown frequently raided American settlements around St. Louis from 1809 until 1811. The Miami held a council in 1810 to decide on whether to support Tecumseh. The next year Harrison demanded the Miami renounce any ties to Tenskwatawa; the Miami chiefs refused to take part in the fighting. The conflicts eventually led to Harrison's attack on Prophetstown (the Battle of Tippecanoe) in November 1811. After the battle, Harrison continued to distrust the Miami, as their villages on the upper Wabash River were along the route to British-held Detroit.[86]

On June 18, 1812, the U.S. declared war against Britain. Harrison, now a general of the U.S. army and no longer governor, moved his troops to besieged Fort Wayne. Although the Miami did not aid the attack on Fort Wayne, Harrison treated the Miami as a hostile tribe. He worried his plan to capture Detroit might face interference from natives along the route. Harrison focused his campaigns on the Miami, despite the pro-British

[85] Ibid., 71–73. For more information on Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa see R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership*, 2nd ed (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007).
[86] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 71–73. Also, see Adam Joseph Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

sentiments and greater military threat of the Potawatomi. Destroying Miami villages might convince the community to begin signing treaties for more land, which they had completely refused to do since 1809.[87] During the war American forces destroyed at least twenty-five native villages and their crops, belonging to Miami, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Delaware, Nanticoke, and Wyandot.[88] In July 1814 Harrison called a council at Greenville to enlist tribal support for the U.S. The resulting treaty extended peace from the U.S., the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, and Seneca to the Miami and certain bands of Potawatomi. The War of 1812 formally ended with a treaty signed at Spring Wells near Detroit in 1815.[89] The Piankashaw, Wea, and Kickapoo had settled further west after the war. The Miami, Delaware, and Potawatomi returned to the villages they occupied before the war.[90]

Indiana Statehood

The next year, in 1816, Indiana formally became a state as the area met its quota of inhabitants and formed a government. The advent of statehood brought with it even more pressure from settlers and state officials on the remaining Native American communities to cede land to the U.S. The remaining tribes ceded much of central Indiana to the U.S in the Treaty of St. Mary's 1818. Historian Stewart Rafert discusses how new métis leaders with experience as traders may have played a role in the larger land cessions beginning with the 1818 treaty.[91] Also in 1818, the Delaware agreed to removal from their lands in Indiana to an allotment by the U.S. further west. They prepared to

[87] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 74.
[88] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 46.
[89] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 75–76.
[90] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 46.
[91] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 80–85.

move in 1820. Although treaties seeking to remove tribes to less desirable lands west of the Mississippi River dominated U.S. Indian policy after the Indian Removal Act in 1830, the native tribes of Indiana experienced pressure to move beginning with the Delaware in 1818.

The policy of removing Native Americans west of the Mississippi, first proposed by Thomas Jefferson, had the support of Presidents James Monroe (1817-1825) and John Quincy Adams (1825-1829).[92] In 1830 President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law, "[a]n Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi."[93] The wording of the act suggests this policy existed only for "such tribes or nations of Indians as may *choose* to exchange the lands where they now reside."[94] However, the economic and military situation tribes faced by the early nineteenth century gave them few choices other than to sign treaties with the U.S.

In Indiana, several treaties followed the signing of the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818. By 1820, local native tribes ceded all land south of the Wabash except the Miami reserve, about 760,000 acres.[95] By 1832, American Indians retained only these reserves. The rest of Indiana had been signed over to the U.S. A treaty in 1834 reduced the Miami reserve further. Over the next two years the Potawatomi signed away their land reserves and agreed to relocate out of the state. Some of the tribe disagreed with this decision and

[92] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 125.
[93] *United States Statutes At Large*, vol. 4 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1846), 411-412; Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 3rd ed (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 52–53.
[94] *United States Statutes At Large*, vol. 4, 412. Italics mine.
[95] A few small reserves also remained. Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 52.

in 1838 were forced to travel by armed escort to Kansas. By 1840 the Miami ceded more of their little remaining land, keeping only the Meshingomesia reserve and a few individual allotments. The Treaty of Wabash 1840 also required the Miami to relocate from Indiana with only a few families allowed to remain.[96] The Miami were the last tribe of Indians in Indiana.

On October 6, 1846, 323 Miami removed from Peru, Indiana to Kansas Territory. However, 148 members of the tribe could remain in the state through treaty provisions and one Congress resolution. These individuals belonged to the families of John Baptiste Richardville, Francis Godfroy, and Metocinyah, all Miami chiefs. In 1847, the Eel River Miami sued to remain in the state and seventeen women and children joined the Miami in Peru. A resolution of Congress in 1850 allowed several Miami with treaty reserves to return to the state. By that year only about 100 Miami remained in Kansas and 250 lived in Indiana.[97]

In addition to ceding land to the U.S., annuities, and some goods, the treaties signed by local tribes also delineated funds for activities believed to help Indians acculturate. This included money for fencing and clearing land, agricultural tools, mills, and domesticated animals. The Potawatomi and Miami even had funds dedicated to education. About 25 Miami and 125 Potawatomi attended school at Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky (1826-1841) and in schools in Vincennes (1819-1820), Fort Wayne (1820-1822), and Carey Mission (1822-1830).[98]

[96] Ibid., 52–55.
[97] Ibid., 65–66.
[98] Ibid., 57.

The discovery of gold in Georgia in the 1830s, new U.S. land acquisitions, and the building of railroads to connect the coasts all contributed to the idea that native communities needed to live on reservations controlled by the federal government.[99] While the Indian Removal Act of 1830 enabled the U.S. to force American Indian tribes west of the Mississippi, citizens and non-citizens in the country continued to push westward as well. Merely forcing natives to move with the advancement of the frontier to keep the two societies separate no longer remained feasible. Railroads connected both coastlines, shortened distances, and made travel easier than ever. Instead, the government would confine Indians to reservations, where the government could control their lives and set into motion different programs and laws to ensure their "civilization." By the mid-1850s the U.S. had enforced their reservation policy. One way the government accomplished this came in the form of Indian agents, or BIA administrative personnel. These agents "had virtually unlimited power over the Indians under their care…and often abused that power."[100]

Another change in Indian policy during the mid-nineteenth century highlights the changing attitudes of the U.S. towards American Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), established in 1824, originally operated under the domain of the Department of War.[101] The U.S. government conceptualized Native Americans as enemies and a threat to the country. However, in 1849 the U.S. government transferred the BIA to the

[99] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 126.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Prior to the creation of a separate bureau, the Department of War dealt with Native American tribes. Also, the BIA has held several different names throughout history. For the sake of clarity, this work will only use Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Department of the Interior.[102] This change signals a shift in how the government perceived native tribes.[103] While the government had considered Indians to be dependent in many ways upon the U.S., they did acknowledge, to some minor extent, that native communities were "domestic dependent nations."[104] However, as the shift of the BIA to the Interior Department illustrates, the government began to view Native Americans as group which needed to become civilized and eventually assimilated to American lifestyles and beliefs. By the mid nineteenth century, the government viewed Indian tribes as "wards in need of protection" and began to implement reservations. This allowed the government to more specifically define the areas of land it allowed tribes to occupy and served as a space where the government and religious clergy could experiment in "civilizing" Native Americans.[105]

The Miami living in Indiana at this time formed six groups or extended families who acculturated to European-American society in varying degrees. While the Miami had begun to adopt European-American material goods during the fur trade, they retained many of their own cultural traditions into the late nineteenth century. Most of the group lived between the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers or on the Meshingomesia reserve. They spoke their own language and continued traditional subsistence activities, such as hunting and fishing while using treaty annuity money to purchase goods.[106]

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[102] "Who We Are - Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)," *Indian Affairs*, March 11, 2016, http://www.bia.gov/WhoWeAre/BIA/.
[103] This may also have resulted in a large measure from the fact that many Americans considered American Indians as an already defeated adversary.
[104] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 123.
[105] Ibid., 125–26.
[106] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 65–71.

Beginning around the 1870s and continuing until the 1920s the country saw a change in policy. In 1871, the government ended the practice of making treaties.[107] Instead of focusing on establishing reservations, the government made a new push to assimilate Native Americans.[108] The U.S. policy of assimilation involved attention to several different facets of Indian life. Aspects of daily Indian lives, such as marriage, disputes, and traditional religious practices, became subject to regulation by the government through Indian agents.[109] Additionally, allotment became a way for the federal government to replace tribal practices of collective property with the European-American ideal of the private property system. The U.S. formalized this plan in the General Allotment Act of 1887 (the Dawes Act). The act allowed the President to make allotments and also made those Native Americans given allotments citizens of the United States "entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens."[110] The government declared any land not distributed to tribe members as surplus and retained the right to sell this leftover land to non-natives. They believed having whites settle near American Indian communities would "expedite their acquisition of white attitudes and behavior."[111] Another facet of this push to assimilate involved the development of boarding schools to educate native children. Children were more likely than adults to adopt European-American practices and thereby become "civilized."

[107] Ibid., 73.
[108] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 123.
[109] Ibid., 127.
[110] Prucha, *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 170–73.
[111] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 127.

In 1872, Congress divided the Meshingomesia reserve into "farms" for eligible Miami.[112] Three commissioners, after conducting extensive interviews with the Meshingomesia band, decided 63 individuals were eligible for land. Interpreters were necessary for the interviews as this band of Miami mostly spoke their native language. Historian Stewart Rafert points out these interviews reveal the Meshingomesia band to be the least acculturated of the Miami still living in the state. The individual allotments ranged from 77 to 125 acres and were exempted from taxes, mortgage, and sale until January 7, 1881, when these 63 Miami would become U.S. citizens.[113]

Problems immediately arose after the land allotment. A tuberculosis epidemic in the group killed many of the men old enough to manage land. By law, all minor children awarded property or payments had to have a white guardian. These guardians could take over their charge's assets or overcharge them for management. Even after coming of age and taking over their property, these individuals found themselves encouraged to take on mortgages they could not afford. In the end, many Miami lost their lands, which were sold off at low prices to non-natives.[114] Those living on treaty grants near Peru, Indiana were more acculturated and had managed individual properties for a while. In 1880 they owned almost 2,000 acres. They also lived in an area of the state experiencing rapid economic growth and could gain employment with relative ease.[115]

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[112] Those eligible where those who "constituted the band of Me-shin-go-me-sia on the twenty-eighth day of November, anno Domini eighteen hundred and forty." *United States Statutes At Large*, vol. 17 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1873), 213.
[113] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 77–79.
[114] Ibid., 79.
[115] Ibid., 80.

In the 1890s children of the Indiana Miami attended federal boarding schools outside of the state, including schools in Carlisle, Pennsylvania and Lawrence, Kansas. Even though White's Manual Labor Institute lay five miles from Meshingomesia's reserve to educate poor children of any color, only one Miami child attended the school for a brief period. Instead, most of the children sent to Pennsylvania and Kansas were teenagers, who were the children of tribal leaders. They went by choice. The Miami did not have an Indian agent to force their children to attend these schools. Federal boarding schools sought to break the connection between a native child and their community to avoid the continuation of traditional native practices and beliefs. Therefore, attending White's would not break this connection for the Miami children.[116] However, it is unclear whether White's did not actively seek out Miami children or if the Miami chose schools outside Indiana purposefully to send their children to.

Conclusion

National and local events in Native American-European relations ultimately shaped Indiana. During the initial period of contact with French fur traders, local Indian communities had limited contact with settlers. This limited contact introduced economic and material changes to tribes without altering native religious beliefs or patterns of life. During the British period, native communities in the Midwest continued to experience limited European settlement. Both periods allowed the American Indians of the Midwest to adopt material rather than ideological aspects of European culture. The American period introduced rapid demographic changes in the Midwest as a result of numerous

[116] Ibid., 81.

treaties, forced and voluntary tribe relocation, and increased American settlement leading to Indiana's statehood. By 1850, many of the native tribes who originally occupied present-day Indiana no longer did. Those groups that remained had long before adopted European-American material goods and had large groups of Métis, or mixed-heritage, members. This allowed some natives to blend with the local American population more easily.

But, what about the environment of the state made it a location for boarding schools to form in the 1880s and 1890s? By this time, Indiana had been a state for nearly seventy years. Although closer to native tribes west of the Mississippi, most Americans considered Indiana a civilized region. The tribes still living in the state remained limited in number and were not as visibly different from Hoosiers as other tribes living on reservations in the west. Unlike states further east, Indiana had more available land acquired relatively recently through treaty cessions. Indiana had space where institutions could build the structures and farms they required for their training schools. Additionally, Indiana's location in the 1880s and 1890s made it convenient for boarding schools. These institutions wanted native children removed from their communities. Indiana's location in the Midwest placed it moderately close to the Indian reservations west of the Mississippi. School officials would not need to pay for students to travel all the way to states on the east coast. Yet, as an established and "civilized" state, it remained far enough from these reservations to break children's connection with their communities.

Chapter Two: Building Boarding Schools in Indiana

What was it about Indiana in the second half of the nineteenth century that made it a place to build schools for Native American students? How did two different religious denominations consider civilization through education? By examining letters written to and by school officials as well as the reports these officials made in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I argue White's relied upon the support of the local Quaker community while St. Joseph's sought a convenient location void of the competition of other religious societies. Both schools saw their work as altruistic. St. Joseph's served as one part of a much larger goal for the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and sought to send native boys back to their communities to teach their elders what they had learned. Finally, I argue the concept of "civilization" emphasized in the education at both St. Joseph's and White's promoted European-American ideals of masculinity and gender. These ideals contributed to the process of nationalism. Nationalism is the goal of achieving statehood and the belief in "collective commonality."[117] The process of nationalism "constructs and proffers a narrative of the 'nation'" and in the U.S. this narrative included a citizen defined by the characteristics of ideal masculinity.[118] Historian Joane Nagel argues "the culture of nationalism is constructed to emphasize and resonate with masculine cultural themes."[119] By the late 1860s, Christian churches played a very large part in attempting to civilize Indians.[120] In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant issued a peace policy for relations with American

[117] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 247.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., 251.
[120] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 126.

Indian tribes that argued Native Americans should be Christianized rather than killed. By shifting to a stance of civilizing tribes, the U.S. sought to calm their turbulent relations with natives. Grant's policy created the Board of Indian Commissioners, a civilian group, to advise the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and to monitor the funds appropriated for the BIA's work. He turned over the Native American agencies to missionary groups working within each reservation.[121] This would alleviate the U.S.'s financial burden of maintaining the agencies by transferring costs to missionary groups. These policies encouraged these missionaries to nominate a member of their own clergy as the official Indian agent for each agency and to staff the agencies with laypeople of their denomination to support the agent.[122] The government granted these religious missions land allotments to build schools to educate native children and paid a set sum for each child to offset educational and housing costs.[123] Grant's peace policy not only supported the collaboration of church and state in Indian policy. It also increased conflict between Christian denominations. Catholic missionaries felt slighted by both elements of Grant's plan. The members of the Board of Indian Commissioners all belonged to Protestant faiths. No Catholic sat on the bureau.[124] The government also assigned the agencies to religious communities with missionaries already present on the reservations. This

[121] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 1.
[122] Grant's peace policy indicates a double-standard in U.S. government relations with Native Americans. His support of religious denominations in Indian education contradicted his own argument regarding an absolute separation of church and state. For instance, he supported the Blaine Amendment, denying public funding for sectarian schools. Clearly the U.S. government, and Grant, perceived natives so differently from themselves that alternate policies were warranted. "Ulysses S. Grant," *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, & World Affairs, Georgetown University*, 2015, http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/people/ulysses-s-grant.
[123] Katharine Burton, *The Golden Door: The Life Of Katharine Drexel* (Muncie, IN: Scott Printing Company, 1929), 45–46. Note that by allowing missions to build these schools on the reservations, the U.S. government further reduced Native American lands.
[124] Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*, 1.

privileged the existing relationships between natives and missionaries on reservations. No provision addressed assigning agencies amongst competing religious groups in an area.[125] As a result, Grant's policy enhanced existing competition between Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

The ideas of civilization and manhood espoused by boarding school education directly linked to contemporary concepts of race and gender. Historian Gail Bederman writes that at the end of the nineteenth century "Americans were obsessed with the connection between manhood and racial dominance."[126] She argues social, economic, and cultural changes towards the end of the nineteenth century made the process of gender more active. When the middle-class began to define itself in the early 1800s, gender and manliness played key roles. The ideas of gentility and respectability the middle-class promoted defined women as pious, maternal, domestic, and virtuous while men were strong and self-controlled. Middle-class gender roles therefore supported the notion that men, who exercised their will to control their "masculine passions," also had an inherent strength, authority, and duty to protect and command those classes deemed weaker, such as women or Native Americans.[127] Every year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs submitted an annual report to Congress on the present state of the BIA's work. These reports bluntly communicated sentiments about bringing "civilization" to American Indians through the processes of education and Christianization. In 1881 Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stated "[t]he greatest kindness the government

[125] The Catholics expected to control 38 agencies, but only received 7. In contrast, the Methodists, whom Prucha describes as having done little mission work, received 14 agencies. Ibid., 2.
[126] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Women in Culture and Society Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 4.
[127] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

can bestow upon the Indian is to teach him to labor for his own support, thus developing *his true manhood*, and, as a consequence, making him self-relying and self-supporting."[128] Here Price's own opinions display the inherent connection between manhood, which Americans believed they needed to teach Indians, and racial dominance.

A later Commissioner, John D.C. Atkins, wrote that native students must learn European-American habits because "if a man will not work neither shall he eat."[129] In this particular statement, work most directly refers to the idea that teaching Indians European-American agricultural techniques would allow the government to discontinue provisions to tribes. Natives would be equipped to provide for themselves. Again, these statements link boarding school education to masculinity. Bederman writes "a manly character built on high-minded self-restraint was seen as the rock on which middle-class men could build their fortunes."[130] For Americans, manliness and self-restraint meant hard work. Hard work allowed men to achieve economic independence. Therefore, teaching native men the characteristics of middle-class manliness, in addition to specific farming and trade skills, would make Indian communities and families self-sufficient and economically independent.

Boarding schools also sought to achieve civilization through the promotion of European-American gender roles. Central Algonquian Indian women traditionally planted and cared for crops or gathered wild plants while the men hunted and trapped

[128] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 47th Cong., 1st sess., 1881, H. Exdoc.1/13, serial 2018, 1. Emphasis added by author.
[129] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885, H. Exdoc.1/26, serial 2379, 108.
[130] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 12.

game.[131] Therefore, in the eyes of Americans, Indians needed to learn their "correct" roles in society. Atkins claimed schools for natives meant to teach "the Indian child to read and write, the Indian boy to till the soil, shove the plane, strike the anvil, and drive the peg, and the Indian girl to do the work of the good and skillful housewife."[132] These roles mirrored the characteristics of middle-class men, strong and economically secure, and middle-class women, domestic and pious. Reinforcing stark differences in gender further contributed to the civilization of native communities. Bederman states gender roles were so essential to the notion of civilization that "one could identify advanced civilizations by the degree of their sexual differentiation."[133] Americans defined women as delicate, spiritual, and domestic and men as firm, self-controlled protectors. The distinctions between these characteristics therefore marked Americans as a civilized society. In contrast, Indian women performed labor, such as farming. Indian men did not practice the self-restraint of their emotions so highlighted in American manliness. Since Americans viewed native gender roles as less distinct, Native American communities were subsequently considered uncivilized.

Schools did not merely seek to reinforce American concepts of gender and manliness as a means of civilization. Government officials recognized that the U.S. had destroyed tribal economies through forced removal from traditional areas of subsistence, restrictions on activities such as hunting, and the allotment system, which discouraged the concept of common property among the community and replaced it with individual property ownership. As a solution, the U.S. sought to acculturate natives to the European-

[131] Glenn and Rafert, *The Native Americans*, 15.
[132] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 108.
[133] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 25.

American economic practices of farming and trades.[134] By having schools teach American Indian children these skills, the U.S. government hoped natives would adopt white lifestyles and then eventually acculturate to white society. This idea operated under the premise of acculturation over multiple generations. Native children would adopt some of the non-native cultural influences taught in boarding schools and miss the opportunity to learn about their community's traditions. As that generation grew older and sent their own children to schools, they would have fewer native traditions to pass on. This cycle would repeat, with the eventual goal of eliminating Indian practices and lifestyles altogether. In 1885, Commissioner Atkins articulated the idea that a combination of education and allotment would lead to civilization for natives, declaring:

> [w]hen the farm and the school have become familiar institutions among the Indians, and reasonable time has intervened for the transition from barbarism or a semi-civilized state to one of civilization, then will the Indian be prepared to take upon himself the higher and more responsible duties and privileges which appertain to American citizenship."[135]

Essentially, the U.S. saw education and agriculture as the "solution of the Indian problem."[136] Presumably, "responsible duties" referenced the hope Native American communities, once taught about European farming and individual property ownership, would no longer need or require the U.S. government to fulfill their treaty promises of food, financial annuities, or retained tribal privileges, such as hunting on lands ceded in treaties. Again, these opinions evoke the relationship between the civilization of tribes and the characteristics of middle-class manliness, namely self-sufficiency.

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[134] This idea of teaching Native Americans about agriculture is highly misleading. Many tribes, both the sedentary and the semi-sedentary, grew crops for consumption before and after the arrival of Europeans in the Americas.
[135] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 6.
[136] Ibid., 13.

Amidst the climate of religious competition Grant's policy sparked, the idea for a Catholic Indian bureau began to form. In 1874, a commissioner was appointed to work with the U.S. government on behalf of all Catholic missions.[137] Three years later Catholics applied to the government for financial support of Native American students in their mission schools. Succeeding in securing aid, this was the beginning the system of Catholic contract schools.

The U.S. government relied heavily on the mission schools in the contract system because there was no national school system for Native American children. U.S. treaties had promised many of the native tribes that their children would receive schooling. The U.S. government even blamed natives for a lack of money to fund and build these promised schools, claiming "if at any time they had demanded school-houses and teachers for every thirty of their children, the demand would have been complied with. But at no time have these Indians given any evidence that they would supply each of the necessary number of school-houses with its thirty children."[138]

By 1879, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) was established and led an increase in Catholic mission work. Although they began with only two boarding and five day schools, by 1883 they oversaw eighteen boarding schools.[139] Much of this increase resulted from the funding received from the U.S. government and money donated by Katharine Drexel. This capital enabled the Catholics to rapidly expand their

[137] Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*, 2.
[138] Burton, *The Golden Door*, 46–47; Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*, 3; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 84.
[139] Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*, 2–3.

mission activities.[140] Growing Catholic influence of native education faced major obstacles beginning in 1888, the first year of St. Joseph's operation as a contract school. That year, Benjamin Harrison became president and power shifted from the Democrats to the Republican Party, to which most Protestant reformers belonged. Harrison appointed Protestants Thomas Jefferson Morgan as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Reverend Daniel Dorchester as Superintendent of Indian Schools.[141] Morgan was both a public educator and a Baptist minister. Dorchester was a Methodist clergyman who had published a book critical of the Catholic school system.[142] Concern over the rumor of Harrison's appointments led to an unsuccessful Catholic attempt to prevent the Senate from confirming both men. This attack was led by the director of the BCIM, Father Joseph Stephan, and focused mainly on Morgan. Catholic papers, with the aid of the Democratic press, tried to prevent confirmation of Morgan and Dorchester by charging them with bigotry. Stories of the two men's anti-Catholic views included Morgan accusing Catholics of trying to destroy the public-school system and the dismissal of Catholics from the Indian service based on their religion. The *Catholic Columbian* in Ohio sent out ten thousand petition forms for individuals to mail to the Senate protesting the appointees. Despite these tactics, in February 1890, the Senate confirmed both men.[143] The conflicts between the Protestants and Catholics on their influence over

[140] In fact, this expansion ultimately led to the largest percentage of funding for contract schools going to Catholic missions. Ibid., 3.
[141] Interestingly, Morgan had several ties to Indiana. Born in Franklin and a graduate of Franklin College, Morgan served in the Union army as an officer under the command of Benjamin Harrison. Ibid., 10.
[142] Ibid., 10–12. Morgan served as the principal of state normal schools in Nebraska, New York, and Rhode Island before his appointment. He saw the public-school system as a way to promote American citizenship and deemphasize racial and ethnic differences, an idea he brought to his work on creating a national Native American school system. Dorchester's book, *Romanism versus the Public School System*, called Catholic schools anti-American.
[143] Ibid., 12–16.

Native Americans, both in terms of religious missions and educational institutions, highlight the importance politics played in the operation of Indian schools. In many ways, the field of native education served as another area where these two groups could compete in terms of their numbers and concentrations of followers.

St. Joseph's Indian Normal School

In addition to their involvement in both the national movement and the Catholic effort to educate Native American children, Katharine Drexel and Father Joseph Stephan also played primary roles in the founding of St. Joseph's. Stephan, as director of the BCIM, focused much of his time and energy on expanding Catholic missionary work.[144] Drexel took particular interest in the work of Catholic missionaries among the American Indian tribes. This, along with her relationships with Stephan and other Catholic missionaries, led to her significant financial contributions as well as her decision to enter the convent and become a missionary.

Katharine's family had made their wealth in banking. Following her father's death, she and her two sisters split his estate, valued at over $15 million.[145] While her step-mother's and father's support of different charities throughout their lives undoubtedly encouraged Katharine's charity work, a number of religious influences introduced in her early years shaped her own strong faith in the Catholic Church. Dr.

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[144] Stephan trained for a military career originally. After an attack of blindness and ultimately recovering his sight he became priest. Also, Stephan was the Indian agent at Standing Rock agency in Dakota for a time. Ibid., 12.

[145] Katharine Burton, *The Golden Door: The Life Of Katharine Drexel* (Muncie, IN: Scott Printing Company, 1929), 72; In 2015, the estate would be roughly equal to $23 billion. This number indicates the economic power which the Drexel family would wield in 2015, or how much influence the family had in controlling a portion of the US economy's production. Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present," *MeasuringWorth*, 2016, www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/.

James O'Connor, a pastor close to Katharine since her youth, became bishop of the diocese of Omaha, Nebraska, where a large portion of the population was Native American.[146] Through O'Connor's correspondence, Katharine learned about the work of Catholic missionaries among the native tribes and, in particular, the difficulties they faced in finding teachers and running schools.[147] O'Connor provided the catalyst for the formation of St. Joseph's by encouraging two priests to visit Katharine in the hopes of enlisting her financial help in support of their Catholic missions. One of these men was the director of the BCIM in Washington, Father Joseph Stephan.[148] This initial meeting between Drexel and Stephan in 1885 led to her first donation towards the Catholic missions, a sum of $3,000.[149] In mid-September of 1887 Stephan and O'Connor convinced Katharine and her sisters to visit the missions they had helped.[150] In addition to funding the building of schools for the BCIM, Katharine also spent her time writing and visiting different religious communities, promising to fund the support of the Sisters, in order to obtain staff for the schools.[151] Two months later, on December 8th, Stephan wrote to Drexel about opening a school for Indian children. The letter suggests the two had discussed the topic previously. By March 1888, correspondence between Stephan and Drexel discussed plans for buildings and the government contract for St. Joseph's. St. Joseph's was part of Stephan and Drexel's larger goals to promote and support the education of American Indian children in Catholic missions and schools throughout the U.S.

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[146] Burton, *The Golden Door*, 42.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., 73–74.
[149] This meeting occurred "some months after Mr. Drexel's death" in February of 1885. Ibid., 73–75.
[150] Ibid., 92.
[151] Ibid., 103.

St. Joseph's Indian Normal School essentially served as only one institution within Drexel and Stephan's larger effort to advance the spread of Catholic missions in greater numbers than Protestant schools. In a letter to Drexel on December 8, Stephan wrote that his conversations with the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs and other government officers led him to conclude "a central normal Indian school" should be established.[152] As normal schools trained students to be teachers, officials hoped students would learn skills, return to their communities, and teach other Native Americans what they had learned.

Stephan believed work on St. Joseph's should begin immediately in order "to succeed and monopolize it."[153] Stephan felt so strongly about the expansion of Catholic Indian missions that he often worked towards this end to the exclusion of all else, including his own health. Stephan replied to Drexel's concern over his well-being:

> a sick man hastens out of his bed when his house is on fire. he does not wait one minute, he jumps up and starts out in lightning speed. Our Osage Lords house is on hell fire; The Methodists have the burning torch in hand to destroy the truth and I have to hasten to pour such a strong and cold stream of facts on it to destroy their effect and reverse the case.[154]

By likening his work in Catholic Indian missions to putting out a fire, Stephan highlighted the intensity of his feelings towards Protestant missionaries. In his mind, St. Joseph's would serve as a preventive measure against the Protestant influence, a measure which would hopefully keep the fire from spreading. By establishing more schools, religious groups could educate more Indians. School education also included religious education by the denomination running the institution. Therefore, more schools also

[152] Stephan to Drexel, December 8, 1887, copy, INSC.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Stephan to Drexel, April 6, 1888, copy, INSC.

allowed religious communities the opportunity to convert more Indians to their faith. Thus, native education became a tool to encourage the spread of a denomination's own beliefs so as to prevent or counteract the proliferation of different faiths.

Others involved with St. Joseph's also saw their work as a step in the struggle with other religious denominations. After founding St. Joseph's, Stephan had Father George Willard, the vice-director of the BCIM, run the school until he found a Catholic religious order willing to take over the school. As director of the BCIM, Stephan's priorities limited him from directly overseeing the running of a single school. St. Joseph's in Rensselaer was only one school in what Stephan viewed as the continental fight for civilization and against Protestant influence. Henry Drees, the Provincial of the Fathers of the Precious Blood, wrote to Willard and offered to accept the operation of St. Joseph's.[155] Drees seemed to believe Stephan was considering entrusting the school to the Benedictine's. Since the Society of the Precious Blood already settled the area, he indicated to Willard that he believed another religious community should not come to the region.[156] His tone picked up more force when he later wrote he would "bring every reasonable sacrifice, before [he saw] some other Religious Society take charge of the Institution."[157] Drees' concern over the appearance of another religious order in the area, even a Catholic one, suggests conflicts arose among Catholic orders as well as between

[155] Drees brought B. Florian Hahn to serve as St. Joseph's superintendent in the last week of March 1889, see Anthony Dick to Willard, April 1, 1889, copy, INSC. Hahn took over the position from Anthony Dick, who had served as superintendent since at least February, Willard to Dick, February 1889, copy, INSC. So, in its first scholastic year, the school had at least three superintendents.
[156] The Society of the Precious Blood began as the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood in Italy. As missionaries, they were invited by the Archdiocese of Cincinnati to minister to the Catholic settlers in western Ohio who spoke German. Once they arrived in the U.S. the missionaries founded parishes and missions in western Ohio and Indiana. "History," Missionaries of the Precious Blood, accessed December 1, 2015, http://cpps-preciousblood.org/about/history.html.
[157] Drees to Willard, October 15, 1888, copy, INSC.

Catholics and Protestants. These struggles between Catholics and Protestants and even between different religious orders of the same faith highlight how non-educational and non-native issues affected the decisions made by religious officials regarding native education.

In addition to the competitive religious environment that school authorities lived in, these individuals were also shaped by the country's colonizing rhetoric and attitudes towards native peoples. The language white Catholic school administrators used in their correspondence to discuss their work gives insight into such prejudices, indicating how these men and women perceived both their pupils as well as their own roles within the school. Even small word choices by these officials displayed ideological beliefs regarding Native American peoples. Short phrases such as "obtaining the boys" highlight a very business-like attitude towards these children.[158] They did not recruit, persuade, convince, or invite American Indian boys to attend St. Joseph's. The choice of the word "obtain" conveys a sense that the students were inanimate objects. They lacked the ability to make their own decisions in the eyes of administrators. Other phrases also objectified native children. In one of his letters to Drexel, Stephan mentions a Reverend Perrig, who refused to provide five boys for St. Joseph's. Stephan seems surprised with Perrig's answer, believing Perrig forgot "that [he was] perfectly at liberty to act and take [the boys]."[159] Once again, the school officials dismissed the idea that the students or their families could make such a decision. Instead, Stephan displays the power he wields, which allows him to take these children based on his own discretion. Not only could

[158] Stephan to Willard, July 14, 1888, copy, INSC.
[159] Stephan to Drexel, August 10, 1888, copy, INSC.

these officials take students from reservations, they could remove them to Indiana, in some cases hundreds of miles away from their families and communities. The objectification continued when Willard, in referencing a student who arrived at St. Joe's apparently after the term had begun, wrote the school's superintendent "[k]eep the boy. It will make your complement of 50."[160]

As a boarding school educating only native boys, St. Joseph's was likely influenced by reactions to the social, economic, and cultural changes occurring around the turn of the twentieth century. Bederman argues these changes made the process of gender more active. She cites reoccurring economic depressions, fewer employment options, and conflicts with the working class, immigrants, and middle-class women challenging the authority of middle-class men as the pressures leading to the remaking of the concept of manhood. As a result, Bederman writes, "[b]etween 1880 and 1910, then, middle-class men were especially interested in manhood."[161] She includes several strategies these men adopted in their remaking of manhood. In the case of St. Joseph's two of these responses by middle-class men may have influenced the creation and operation of the school. One strategy focused on making boys into men through organizations such as the Boy Scouts and YMCA.[162] Teaching boys the characteristics of manhood, rather than focusing on differentiation of gender roles, then received higher attention in educational organizations. If institutions not seeking to solely educate natives focused on teaching boys, then it is not inconceivable St. Joseph's was founded as a boys' school because of the emphasis placed on teaching young men at the end of the

[160] Willard to Dick, February 14, 1889, copy, INSC.
[161] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 15.
[162] Ibid., 16.

nineteenth century. Bederman also discusses opposition to "excessive femininity" as a strategy to remake the concept of manhood, including the belief that strong women were a problem.[163] Men sought to dispel this extra femininity by recruiting male teachers, or ridding themselves of anything they considered effeminate. St. Joseph's may have been influenced in a similar manner. School officials sought to remove native children from the influence of their families, lest their communities corrupt their learning. As a boys' school, St. Joseph secluded boys from the influence of superfluous femininity while simultaneously denying native girls the opportunity to receive an education. Education might lead women to further challenge the ideals of manliness.

A strong concern over the financial aspects of running St. Joseph's and a dismissal of the students as people, pervades the surviving correspondence of school personnel. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs expressed similar views by calling Native Americans "objects of sympathy and governmental guardianship" and discussing the U.S. government's "wisdom and humane guardianship of this helpless race."[164] Clearly these officials considered even adult natives in a manner similar to that of Indian children, without the competency to make their own decisions. These statements reflect certain characteristics, such as lack of intelligence and a child-like nature, which Americans applied to Indians who did not conform to European-American gender and societal roles.

The U.S. government reinforced the use of this objectifying language through its own policies and procedures for contract schools. School authorities wrote of "obtaining" or "taking" American Indian children from their families because they received express

[163] Ibid.
[164] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 7-11.

permission from the BIA to do so. In July 1889, the school's superintendent, B. Florian Hahn, asked Willard how and where he could get more pupils for the next scholastic year.[165] Willard then wrote for, and received, authority from the BIA to take boys from two Wisconsin agencies.[166] In fact, Willard told Hahn if he "[could not] procure the entire number" of pupils he desired from the first agency, he should then go to the second agency and ask the agent to help "in *collecting* the additional pupils needed."[167] The agencies themselves were notified of the bureau's "*authority to take* children from the Indian Tribes under their supervision."[168] This allowed the BCIM the power, in their own words, to *take* children according to the school contracts they had with the U.S. government. Their power superseded the wishes of the Indian agents as well as the desires of the Native Americans whose children went to these schools.

The practice of allowing missionaries to take native children from their homes and families directly contradicted the U.S. government's laws regarding the rights and status of American Indian tribes. Recall that the U.S. acknowledged American Indian tribes as "dependent nations."[169] As nations, native communities should have had sovereignty over their own territory and people. The Dawes Act of 1887 gave individual Indians allotments and declared those who received allotments were U.S. citizens. As citizens, natives had "all the rights, privileges, and immunities" entitled to other Americans. However, in directing missionaries to travel to reservations and take children for their schools, the government's orders directly contradicted the sovereignty of

[165] Hahn to Willard, ca. July 1889, copy, INSC.
[166] Willard to Morgan, August 12, 1889, copy, INSC and Willard to Hahn, August 24, 1889, copy, INSC.
[167] Willard to Hahn, August 24, 1889, copy, INSC; emphasis added by author.
[168] Lusk to H.V. Belt, August 27, 1889, copy, INSC; emphasis added by author.
[169] Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 123.

American Indian nations and the rights granted them as U.S. citizens. This inconsistency is unsurprising, given the U.S. government's practice in ignoring treaty promises made to Indian tribes while upholding the parts of treaties benefiting their own goals.

Numerous references abound where administrators refer to the pupils by using the phrase "Indian boys." The authors of these letters thereby emphasized the "otherness" they attached to native students over their identity as human beings and children. By limiting the identity of male students to that of "Indian," these officials indicated a preconception of the character of their pupils. It also suggests they viewed their own influence as a positive force against stereotypical traits they considered unfavorable.[170] If those operating the school only perceived their students as "Indian," then this is the identity they must have sought to change through a combination of education and religion. During his stint as superintendent at St. Joseph's, Willard wrote to Charles Lusk, secretary of the BCIM, that he was pleased with the school and "the best of all is [the] boys are at once so docile and intelligent."[171] In fact, he believed these characteristics implied "it will be our own fault if we do not make a good showing in a very short time."[172] Willard's letter suggests his perception of the boys, as exclusively "Indian," included a notion of laziness and ignorance that the education and religious influence at St. Joseph would correct. In addition to the often indirectly-stated intentions of school authorities, sometimes these officials plainly declared their plans for Native American students. Such statements, while not necessarily containing the entire story, highlight

[170] I use the term "Indian" (in quotes) to refer to an identity based on fallacies and stereotypes that white colonizers applied to native peoples. This should not be confused with my use of the term Indian, which I use to refer to the various peoples whose ancestors first inhabited the United States.
[171] Willard to Lusk, October 17, 1888, copy, INSC.
[172] Ibid.

mindsets and often include the outcomes administrators and teachers desired for American Indian children. Willard explained the U.S. government's position to Anthony Dick when he wrote "it is not the wish of the Government that the Indians should go home."[173] While it is unclear whether this statement referred to returning home between school years or during the school year, the message remains obvious. Children who went home would find themselves outside of the "civilizing" influence of the schools and instead among their families. Officials feared students would forget what they learned at school and return to Indian traditions when among their families. By keeping students away from their homes, officials hoped to encourage them to forget their community's traditions. The 1881 annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reiterates this sentiment, by explaining that teachers found the "interest, aptness, docility, and progress" of Native American children the same as white children.[174] These teachers remained concerned that the progress of Indian children would be "seriously interrupted by the annual vacation, which returns the children to the old ways of speech, thought, and life."[175] White officials viewed the children's homes, usually on reservations, as full of "degenerating and demoralizing influences" counteracting the civilization process.[176] Compulsory education would therefore allow the majority of native children to become "civilized."[177]

[173] Willard to Dick, February 14, 1889, copy, INSC.
[174] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1881, 27.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., 28.
[177] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs expressed his opinion regarding compulsory education in 1885, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 113.

Further, Stephan explained definitively to Drexel that he wished St. Joseph's to be "better than Carlisle."[178] He told the two 18-year-old boys he sent to St. Joseph's to work as teachers "to be kind industrious and self-sacrificing, else [he did] not want them."[179] He must have hoped these types of teachers, hard workers who strongly believed in the necessity of their work, would quickly make St. Joseph's a success and produce the results he desired. Willard even told Stephan just after pupils began to arrive at St. Joseph's for its first year of operation, he intended to keep the boys happy "even if it does cost a few dollars."[180] At the same time, the religious ideologies held by those involved in St. Joseph's operation meant the education of American Indian boys became a way to help them both receive a white education and also save their souls by converting them to Catholicism. Many, if not all, truly believed by teaching these native children they did the work of God. Two of the Franciscan sisters working at St. Joseph's wrote to Drexel and professed their belief that Drexel's work with "the poor Indian Children" made her "a true Missionary who saved many souls for the Kingdom of Heaven."[181] If they believed in the value of Drexel's work in facilitating the building and operation of mission schools for Native American children, then surely they saw their own roles in the day-to-day education of said children in a similar manner. Even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs believed religious societies' "sole business consist[ed] in working for the elevation of

[178] Stephan to Drexel, December 8, 1887, copy, INSC. Presumably he meant St. Joseph's to be better in terms of educating large numbers of Indian children in different trades. It is unclear whether Stephan also referred to Carlisle's adherence to the ideology of "kill the Indian, save the man."
[179] Stephan to Drexel, July 31, 1888, copy, INSC.
[180] [Willard] to Drexel, August 27, 1888, copy, INSC. Although this letter does not have a signature, it appears to have been written by Willard. All other correspondence with the same symbol at the top of the first page was written by Willard.
[181] Sisters Cecile and Ida to Drexel, December 23, 1888, copy, INSC.

humanity" and their efforts at education "redeem[ed] these benighted children of nature from the darkness of their superstition and ignorance."[182]

In a letter written to John H. Oberly, then the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Stephan clearly stated the BCIM's intention in establishing St. Joseph's. He wrote that the bureau sought

> to place in [St. Joseph's] Indian boys who had received the benefit of tuition at the Reservation Schools and who evinced a desire for a higher order of education than could be obtained at such schools, and to fit such of them as showed an aptitude therefor to become teachers among their people and skilled mechanics.[183]

Willard confirmed this intention in writing to Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in July 1889. He stated St. Joseph's was to "meet the growing want among the Indians for better and more advanced education (especially in mechanical arts) than could be given then in most of our contract schools."[184] He also explicitly restated the intention of the BCIM in establishing St. Joseph's. These Native American students would "become teachers among their people."[185] Clearly the concept of achieving assimilation through education played a large role in this mission. Stephan described the boys St. Joseph's would accept as those looking for further education. This instruction would create Native American teachers and tradesmen who would serve as hosts, bringing aspects of white culture to their people. These aspects, white lifestyles and economies, were those the government most wanted natives to adopt so American Indian tribes would dissolve into the rest of American society.

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[182] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 48th Cong., 1st sess., 1883, H. Exdoc. 1/24, serial 2191, 32; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1885, 14.
[183] Stephan to Oberly, October 30, 1888, copy, INSC.
[184] Willard to Morgan, July 31, 1889, copy, INSC.
[185] Ibid.

The founding of St. Joseph's as an Indian normal school for boys highlights Stephan and the BCIM's view of gender and societal roles and how such roles played into the process of civilizing American Indians. As previously noted, the concept of civilizing Indians largely cited the need to teach Native Americans how to perform work, as defined by European-American culture.[186] The work schools often taught native children included farming and certain trades, such as carpentry. In European-American culture, men fulfilled these roles. St. Joseph's focused on teaching such traditionally masculine European-American skills. Additionally, as a normal school, St. Joseph's sought to prepare their students to teach these practices to other Native Americans. Again, note the focus on teaching Indians how to perform European-American, masculine work. Therefore, St. Joseph's centered its own efforts at civilizing tribes towards Indian men and boys, rather than both genders.

White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute

Josiah White conceived of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute as a manual labor school for boys and girls of any color. In manual labor schools, students completed agricultural and mechanical work in addition to attending classes. The students' work helped support the school's operation. White wanted to establish a school to care for and educate poor children, rather than specifically seeking to educate Native Americans. The Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends established the school after Josiah's death, according

[186] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1881, 1; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 108.

to his final wishes. White's accepted its first group of students in 1861.[187] Reportedly, during this first year, five Indian children attended the school.

Government sources likened White's to larger institutions discussed more often and in more detail by government officials. For instance, a U.S. Indian agent in Dakota remarked "[s]uch schools as Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Lincoln Institute, of Philadelphia, and schools at Carlisle, Pa., and Wabash, Ind., are doing much good by affording a wide field for those Indian boys and girls who are capable of and desire a more advanced education."[188] The agent's comment referred to the perception that Native Americans sought higher education, particularly in trades, at this time. Schools on reservations, especially day schools, often taught basic skills and subjects. These schools also focused heavily on teaching their students the English language. Boarding schools generally taught more advanced subjects than day schools. Government and school officials wrote native tribes wanted schools to teach their children trades, presumably with the hope that these skills might provide profitable work.[189] These trades included carpentry and blacksmithing. Whether the families of the students at White's felt this way remains to be seen.

It is important to note that White's held a high importance to the Society of Friends, also known as Quakers. Dr. James R. Rhodes was a representative of the Friends at the 16th Annual Conference with Representatives of Missionary Boards and Indian

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[187] Although White's did not accept its first group of students until 1861, the school was incorporated under a charter on October 25, 1852, Alice Patterson Green, *History of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute* (Muncie, Ind: Scott Print, 1929), 6–9.
[188] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 49th Cong., 2nd sess., 1886, H. Exdoc. 1/12, serial 2467, 285. The Commissioner compiled individual reports from the Indian agents at the end of the annual report. This particular agent was W.W. Anderson who oversaw the Crow Creek and Lower Brulé Consolidated Agency in Dakota.
[189] Willard to Morgan, July 31, 1889, copy, INSC; Stephan to Oberly, October 30, 1888, copy, INSC.

Rights Associations. He asserted that, of the three boarding schools and four day schools conducted by the Friends, "[t]he most important of these…is White's Institute, near Wabash, Ind."[190] He claimed White's was "considered to be a very efficient and well conducted Indian training-school" and personally viewed its work "with a great deal of satisfaction."[191] Rhodes' remarks suggest the Society of Friends saw their work with American Indian children, educating them and training them in trades and agriculture, as successful. However, instructing native pupils in technical skills and the basics of a European-American education did not comprise the entirety of the purpose of White's, as conceived of by the school's officials and others within the Society involved in Indian education. In a report from the Society of Friends in 1888, the author explained White's taught their Native American students "good manners, to be self respecting and courteous, and under instruction by word and example a large proportion of them become practical Christians."[192] School officials wished their American Indian pupils to learn the culturally accepted behaviors of white society as a replacement of their own social behaviors and norms. They also desired the conversion of their students to Christianity. These intertwined motives for educating Native American children at White's suggest a similar complicated and tangled web of values and lessons shaped the experiences of the students.

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[190] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1886, 1019. Later the annual report began to include an annual report of the Board of Indian Commissioners. This excerpt from the journal of the conference proceedings is from appendix D in the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners.
[191] Ibid., 1019-1020.
[192] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 50th Cong., 2nd sess., 1888, H. Exdoc. 1/15, serial 2637, 750. This excerpt is from the "Report of the Society of Friends (Orthodox)" found in appendix D of the annual report of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The inclusion of both male and female students at White's and the differentiation in their education based on gender roles, coincides with contemporary middle-class conceptions of gender and manliness. Since White's opened in the middle of the eighteenth century, rather than closer to the turn of the century, school officials stressed the middle-class characteristics of both genders. The pressures Bederman cites as leading to the remaking of manhood, and likely influenced St. Joseph's, would not have an impact until later in the century. As a result, White's was created before Americans began to place higher emphasis on education of boys to remove the influences of "excessive femininity."[193]

Initially, the Yearly Meeting built, operated, and made additions to the school with Josiah White's original donation along with a few other donations, including one from Josiah's daughters. However, the first two decades of White's operation, prior to receiving a U.S. contract for Indian students, saw a steady decrease in the income left to the school by Josiah. The Board of Trustees that managed White's had trouble finding individuals suited to their work who would stay at the school over a longer period. This resulted in a high turnover of superintendents until 1874.[194] These problems likely induced the school to search for other means of financial support. In 1882, the school decided to take on Indian education under a U.S. government contract. No information has yet been found which might indicate the number of American Indian students between 1861 and the beginning of the school's government contract. In the contract

[193] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 16.
[194] Green, *History of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute*, 10 and 25. Alice Green includes a listing of the school's superintendents and the years they began their position. Between its opening in 1861 and 1874, White's saw eight men serve as superintendent. The last of these, Oliver Bales, started at White's in 1874 and continued as superintendent until 1895, the last year White's maintained a government contract to educate native children.

system, the U.S. government paid an annual amount for each student enrolled in the school. Since the government did not require schools to have a contract to educate native children, the contract mainly functioned to provide income to schools for native students. White's educated students for twenty years before they received a government contract. It seems likely that attaining a contract became a necessity due to deficiencies in the institution's finances. Although this contract provided some U.S. federal funds for the native children, the rest of the money came from the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs (AECFIA). Created after Grant's peace policy in 1869, the AECFIA represented all Orthodox Friends of the U.S. who dealt with Native Americans and was responsible for overseeing the Indian agencies in parts of Kansas and Oklahoma.[195] In 1892, White's lost the financial support of the AECFIA. Insufficient U.S. federal funds and concern over the use of government money for religious work eventually led to the ending of White's contract in 1895.[196]

Conclusion

White's and St. Joseph's chose to build their schools in Indiana for different reasons. For White's, the location came both from the desires of Josiah White and the connection of a local Quaker community. This local community could found and oversee the operation of the school. In contrast, Stephan and Drexel picked St. Joseph's for two reasons. Indiana was conveniently located near Indian reservations west of the Mississippi but remained in a "civilized" region. However, Stephan's comments regarding his desire to dominate native education in the state reveal another motive. In

[195] Margery Post Abbott, ed., *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*, 2nd ed, Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 242.
[196] Green, *History of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute*, 11–15.

the 1880s only White's boarding school taught natives in Indiana and the school did not exclusively educate Indian children. This meant Indiana afforded Stephan, and the BCIM, the opportunity to found their Native American school in a region with little competition from other religious orders.

How did the two religious denominations in charge of St. Joseph's and White's consider the process of civilization through education? Both schools employed staff and officials who viewed their actions as altruistic. They helped the American Indian children learn what they perceived as acceptable social and cultural norms. In addition to the notion of altruism voiced by the staff of St. Joseph's, the school's development also arose out of politics and a clashing of religious denominations. Stephan and Drexel founded St. Joseph's as one of many Catholic native boarding schools in a larger battle. Their motives included the desire to increase and spread Catholic missionary work in the U.S. and an attempt to fight off the influence of Protestantism in the government, amongst Native Americans, and in the American population.

Another difference in the operation of St. Joseph's and White's occurs in the nature of the education they pursued. White's existed as a manual labor school. Boys learned different aspects of farm work and girls were taught household work. These skills would allow the poor children the school sought to help to succeed in their roles as adults. They also reinforced middle-class notions of gender roles from the mid nineteenth century. Stephan founded St. Joseph's as a normal school. Here male students learned trade skills, such as carpentry. Normal schools also functioned to teach pupils to become teachers themselves. In the case of St. Joseph's, native boys learned trades and were to take these skills along with their classroom lessons home to teach them to their

communities. St. Joseph's also perpetuated characteristics of a changing definition of manhood just as economic and social pressures combined to challenge the middle-class ideals of the mid-nineteenth century.

St. Joseph's and White's did not solely teach students work Americans considered suitable for each gender, such as farming or housework. They also perpetuated virtues related to the concept of masculinity. These virtues included discipline, industriousness, and independence, all of which reflect the masculine and national ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.[197] Note that these virtues would be considered the opposite of the characteristics Americans applied to native peoples, such as savageness, laziness, and dependence. Therefore, in teaching the ideal of masculinity, both St. Joseph's and White's also taught the ideals of nationalism. In doing so these schools attempted to make Indian children not only "civilized" but citizens of the nation.

[197] Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism," 245.

Chapter Three: Students Come to Indiana

Native boarding schools existed in the state of Indiana not only because religious groups built these schools, but also because Native American students attended St. Joseph's and White's. Without pupils to instruct, St. Joseph's and White's would not have been able to function. This chapter considers why Indian students would come to Indiana to attend boarding schools: Where did the native students at St. Joseph's and White's come from? What events and circumstances motivated students and their families to choose schools in Indiana over reservation boarding schools or larger boarding schools closer to the east coast? How much choice did native families have in sending their children to boarding schools in Indiana? I argue students at St. Joseph's and White's attended these schools due to a combination of coercion, availability of food and other resources, and the possibilities for advancement which agricultural and technical education offered.

Models of Boarding Schools

Missionaries, often aided by Indian agents, traveled to reservations to recruit students for their schools. Boarding schools usually needed to recruit their own students directly. This meant an individual needed to travel to a reservation, speak with native families, and, ideally, return with native students. Demand for these native children was high for a few reasons. Many schools encountered problems keeping their maximum attendance numbers. Schools needed their attendance as high as possible to take full advantage of government funding. As stated in an earlier chapter, the government paid schools a pre-determined sum for each student at any given school. In the case of both

White's and St. Joseph's, missionaries generally took up the role of traveling to native communities to obtain new students and encourage former students to return.

Missionary recruitment of Indian students addressed schools' need to constantly recruit new pupils. Some students ran away from their schools. School officials might find these pupils nearby and return them to the institution. However, not all runaways were found. Other students unhappy with their school requested to return to their homes and families. While school and government officials did not have to agree to these requests, breaks between school years allowed students to return home. Once they had left school, students did not always want to return and left vacancies. These reasons led schools into a cycle of constant demand for students to replace those who did not come back.

In addition to high demand for students, missionaries traveling to American Indian reservations had to deal with competition amongst themselves. As schools were established and gained government contracts, more representatives appeared at Indian agencies to recruit pupils. High demand for native children between the ages of 6 and 18 meant missionaries had to find ways to encourage Indian children and their families to choose their school over their colleagues'. Competition between missionaries representing different schools led them to promise native children and their families new experiences and adventures. The 1885 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs made note of these methods, saying "promises are made to Indian children and their parents that are afterwards broken."[198]

[198] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, 123.

Another tactic used to induce native children to attend boarding schools was blackmail. Missionaries seeking students for their boarding schools needed to have permission from the BIA in order to recruit students at a reservation. Once this permission was given the Indian agent was instructed to not only allow the missionaries to recruit students, but also to aid them. Father Stephan wrote to Miss Drexel on April 6, 1888 about recruiting students in this manner. He explained the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave Stephan a letter addressed to the Indian agent at the Osage agency in Oklahoma. This letter would give Stephan "full power to act and [the agent] to assist me." [199] The phrase "full power" suggests missionaries could use any means to obtain the necessary number of pupils. Congress formally acknowledged the extent of this power on March 3, 1891, stating "the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…is hereby authorized and directed *to make and enforce* by proper means such rules and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."[200] In 1893 Congress further clarified these powers, saying "the Secretary of the Interior may in his discretion withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in some school a reasonable portion of each year."[201]

Indian agents also played a large role in sending students with missionaries to attend boarding schools. Agents on native reservations held a large amount of power, including control over the rations and annuities to be distributed amongst the Indian

[199] Stephan to Drexel, April 6, 1888, copy, INSC.
[200] *United States Statutes At Large*, vol. 26 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1891), 1014. Emphasis added by author.
[201] *United States Statutes At Large*, vol. 27 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893), 635.

communities living on the reservation. By the 1880s and the rise of government funded boarding schools, the bison population, upon which several tribes relied for survival, had decreased significantly. Extermination of the bison, although not a part of the U.S. Army's official policy, sought to end traditional Indian hunting practices in the hope of replacing them with European-American agricultural practices. To this end, the high command of the U.S. Army often sponsored and equipped civilians for hunting expeditions on the plains.[202] Reducing the bison population forced Native Americans to rely more fully on the rations provided by the U.S. government and gave agents leverage over American Indians on their agencies. Indian agents could, and did, use this power to coerce native families into sending their children to distant boarding schools. Withholding rations when native communities had limited or no access to other means of subsistence effectively threatened starvation. The consequence of these threats was the destruction of the native family and community, who had little option but to let their children be taken to off-reservation schools.

Some agents supported sending American Indian children to boarding schools, but only to the school of their choice. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J.F. Kinney, the Indian Agent at the Yankton Agency, wrote:

> Education cuts the cord which binds them to a pagan life, places the Bible in their hands, and substitutes the true God for the false one, Christianity in place of idolatry, civilization in place of superstition, morality in place of vice, cleanliness in place of filth, industry in place of idleness, self-respect in place of servility, and, in a word, an elevated humanity in place of abject degradation.[203]

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[202] David D. Smits, "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 314–15.
[203] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1887, H. Exdoc.1/30, serial 2542, 143.

However, Kinney's report continues by arguing native students would best receive these benefits of education at reservation boarding schools. He believed at these schools "a healthful civilizing influence goes out from the children" to impart changes to the students' parents and families.[204] Kinney lists a number of reasons why he believed Indian children should not attend schools off the reservation, including lower costs for schooling, treaties promising schools, and the health of students. Kinney's opinion sheds light on why the officials at St. Joseph's needed to write to the government for permission to obtain students. Letters conveying authority to missionaries, such as Stephan mentions in his own correspondence regarding St. Joseph's, may have smoothed the path to recruit children at reservations where the Indian agent did not want to help school officials.[205]

The daily realities Indian families faced on reservations also influenced their decisions regarding education for their children. American Indian parents certainly heard stories of their children's experiences at schools when they returned home and in letters. Some of the White Earth students from St. Joseph's returned home and expressed their unhappiness with the school.[206] The entire community would likely have heard these stories, both through word of mouth and the newspaper article in the local paper mentioning the students' opinions.

In addition to leaving their families for an unfamiliar school and teachers, native students were forced to adopt non-native dress, language and mannerisms at boarding schools. Some schools began this process by giving their students new, Anglicized names

[204] Ibid.
[205] Stephan to Drexel, April 6, 1888, copy, INSC.
[206] Hahn describes these articles in his letter to Willard, see Hahn to Willard, May 26, 1889, copy, INSC.

upon arrival. Students often had their hair cut and received new clothes to replace their traditional dress. In some cases, the children sat for before and after photos of their transformation.[207] As well as these cosmetic changes, schools often required their pupils to speak only in English. For students arriving at boarding schools who did not yet know English, the directions and rules given by teachers meant little. Students who did not understand teachers would not know if they broke the rules and would be punished. These reactions must have confused and terrified native children who did not know what was happening to them.

Other facets of boarding school life contrasted with the lives of native children at home. Strict schedules enforced daily routines unfamiliar to native children, regulating the day into periods of academic and vocational classes, chores, meals, prayer and free time.[208] School officials and teachers had different concepts of punishment for children than many Indian communities. Children themselves were viewed differently by American Indian communities and by those running boarding schools. This is not to say all children had terrible experiences at boarding schools. Some children did well at boarding schools.[209] Regardless, Native American parents would have heard these details from their children and informed others in their community. Therefore, even before missionaries from White's or St. Joseph's sought out students on reservations, Indian families would have been familiar with boarding school life and formed their own opinions about such schools.

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[207] Peter Nabokov, ed., *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992* (New York, N.Y: Penguin, 1992), 216.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Peter Nabokov includes accounts from two different students which display the contrast of experiences of native students. See Ibid., 218–21.

While Native American families weighed these experiences about boarding schools as relayed by Indian children, they also considered the skills boarding schools taught. Native communities faced several difficulties at the time St. Joseph's and White's taught American Indian children. Traditional modes of subsistence became more difficult as the bison population rapidly declined, leaving communities relying even more heavily on government provisions. The Dawes Act of 1887, discussed in Chapter One, divided reservations into allotments. It also sold off undistributed lands to non-natives, which further reduced the Indian land base. Indian agents regulated traditional social customs and religious rituals.[210] In the face of these obstacles, American Indian traditions began to disappear. Schools offered native children the opportunity to learn to read and write English and the social customs of European-Americans. The ability to communicate and understand the ideas and values of non-natives allowed these children to protect themselves and their community from further abuses. Manual labor and industrial training schools taught students the skills for trades, such as farming, carpentry, and blacksmithing. Families hoped learning one of these trades would allow their children to provide for their families and communities at a time when traditional lifestyles were failing. In short, boarding schools offered native students an opportunity for success. Higher education and trade skills could translate to better positions in their adult lives on the reservation. By learning about European-American culture, some Native Americans could use their knowledge to work from within the dominant culture. This translated for some Indians into positions on the reservation, sometimes with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By understanding and adopting the trappings of the dominant, European-

[210] Ibid., 217.

American culture forced upon American Indian communities, native peoples could use the power they gained to protect themselves, their families, and their communities to some degree from non-native interference.

St. Joseph's and White's

To understand why American Indian students attended St. Joseph's and White's, we will first examine where these students' families and homes were located. Correspondence amongst officials at St. Joseph's list Chippewa, Menominee, Dakota, and Sioux boys as students of the school. In some cases, the boys' agencies are also mentioned. This allows us to determine what bands the students at St. Joseph's came from and where they lived. At various times St. Joseph's taught students from the following tribes: the Turtle Mountain Chippewa of North Dakota, the White Earth Ojibwe of Minnesota, the Spirit Lake Sioux of North Dakota, the La Pointe Chippewa of Wisconsin, and the Standing Rock Sioux of North Dakota. Letters also reference students from the Green Bay, Wisconsin agency.[211] While no records from White's Institute have been found which list the native students, many of the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs mention students from different agencies sent to attend White's. These reports note that White's educated students from the Sac and Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa as well as students from the Anadarko, Oklahoma agency and the Yankton, South Dakota agency.[212]

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[211] INSC. The Spirit Lake Sioux are referenced at different times in the correspondence as Devil's Lake Sioux or Devil's Lake Dakota. Turtle Mountain is also listed under the Devil's Lake agency in government reports.

[212] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1883, 143; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1887, 164; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 51st Cong., 2nd sess., 1890, H. Exdoc.1/14, serial 2841, 73; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 52nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1892, H. Exdoc.1/15, serial 3088, 478.

Based on the records available detailing the tribal affiliations of the pupils at White's and St. Joseph's, students clearly came from outside the state of Indiana to attend Indiana boarding schools. Why would native children and families in modern-day North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin send their children to Indiana boarding schools when other schools were closer to their homes? Of the listed tribes with children at St. Joseph's, the Wisconsin Chippewa lived the closest, over 500 miles from Rensselaer, Indiana. The furthest agency, Turtle Mountain, was over 950 miles away. The closest students attending White's that we know of came from the Sac and Fox from Iowa, over 400 miles from Wabash, Indiana, while the children from the Anadarko agency traveled nearly 900 miles to go to White's. There were certainly schools closer to the homes of these children. For instance, the 1888 annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs lists 59 day, boarding, and industrial schools in Dakota alone.[213] More specifically, the report lists seven boarding schools in the Devil's Lake, Standing Rock, and Yankton agencies, where students at St. Joseph's and White's came from.[214] For those students coming from agencies not in Dakota, several schools are listed. The Anadarko and Green Bay agencies each list two boarding schools, and the Sac and Fox and the White Earth agencies each list three boarding schools.[215] With educational opportunities located much closer to their homes and communities, Indian students and their families must have had a reason to send their children to boarding schools hundreds of miles away.

[213] Note that Dakota was the name for the region of modern-day North Dakota and South Dakota. The region was split in two and admitted as separate states in 1889.
[214] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 50th Cong., 2nd sess., 1888, H. Exdoc.1/15, serial 2637, 372-374.
[215] Ibid, 376-380.

The writings of Gertrude Simmons, later known as Zitkala-Ša, provide insight into the ways missionaries from White's enticed native children to travel far from home and family to an unfamiliar place. Simmons attended White's from 1884 until 1887.[216] At the age of eight, missionaries came to Simmons' home on the Yankton agency in South Dakota. They told the children that if they went east to school they would travel to a more beautiful country. Simmons' friends shared the missionaries' stories with her:

> Judéwin had told me of the great tree where grew red, red apples; and how we could reach out our hands and pick all the red apples we could eat. I had never seen apple trees. I had never tasted more than a dozen red apples in my life; and when I heard of the orchards of the East, I was eager to roam among them.[217]

Later, when the missionaries came to Simmons' house, she begged her mother to ask the missionaries and their interpreter about the apples.

> The interpreter heard me, and answered: 'Yes, little girl, the nice red apples are for those who pick them; and you will have a ride on the iron horse if you go with these good people.' I had never seen a train, and he knew it. 'Mother, I am going East! I like big red apples, and I want to ride on the iron horse! Mother, say yes!' I pleaded.[218]

The promises and suggestions of new adventures made by missionaries would have made some children excited, and as in Simmons' case impatient, to go to a faraway boarding school.

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[216] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), x. This work will follow the example of Tadeusz Lewandowski in the usage of Gertrude Simmons' name. Simmons went by Gertrude or Gertie, except for a two-year period from 1900 to 1902. However, she used Zitkala-Ša for publication and public appearances. Since this work is concerned with the period of Simmons' youth and her attendance at White's, I will refer to her as Gertrude Simmons throughout this work. See Tadeusz Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power: The Life and Legacy of Zitkala-Ša*, American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series, v. 67 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 11–12.
[217] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories*, 41–42.
[218] Ibid., 42.

Literary scholar Tadeusz Lewandowski notes Simmons' use of apples in the story may have been a literary device, despite the fact that she repeated the story in 1930 at the Lake Mohonk Conference.[219] Even if Simmons' story only used apples as a literary device, it seems reasonable to conclude the fruit at the very least represents some enticement missionaries utilized to persuade native children to attend White's. Simmons' writing also suggests once one child and their family had been convinced to attend the boarding school, other children may have asked to go with their friends. Simmons' brother had gone to an off-reservation boarding school. When she was eight, her friend Judéwin was to go to White's. As a result, Simmons began to wish to go to the "Wonderland," as she described it, as well.[220]

Simmons' phrase, Wonderland, highlights how Indian children and possibly their families viewed off-reservation boarding schools, particularly as a contrast to their lives on reservations. Many reservations were homes to multiple tribes, as recognized by the U.S. government. The U.S. forced these communities to move from their homelands onto predesignated lands. Natives had to share these lands with other communities with whom they did not necessarily get along. White settlement west of the Mississippi continued to grow, further hemming in Indian communities. Anthropologist Peter Nabokov points out while Native Americans "seemed to comply with government programs, underneath they were poor, hungry, ill-housed, defenseless against disease, and passively resistant."[221] Schools located away from these conditions likely appealed to Indian children. Families may have seen schools as an opportunity for their children to get away from their

[219] Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power*, 199.
[220] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories*, 40.
[221] Nabokov, *Native American Testimony*, 173.

community's forced relocation to someplace they would be regularly clothed and fed. Boarding schools also would have eased families' burdens in providing for children at a time when rations and other items were limited.

Lack of rations, money, and other resources for natives also resulted from abuses of Indian agents' powers. Agents had the ability to blackmail families into sending their children to schools by withholding already limited supplies. Simmons' mother had experienced this with her older son when the agent on the Yankton reservation threatened to cut her family's rations in half if she refused to send her son to a faraway boarding school.[222] If this happened with Simmons' brother, it likely happened to other Indian children on the Yankton reservation, who may have gone to White's.

At both St. Joseph's and White's, Indian children received a combination of classroom instruction, training in different industries, and religious education. A leaflet advertising St. Joseph's lists "shoemaking, blacksmithing, carpentering, harness-making, tailoring, gardening and farming" as industries taught to their native pupils. The school separated students into three grades, each of which was divided into two classes, for a total of six levels of classroom education. Subjects taught over these levels included reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, drawing, civics, physiology, and book-keeping. All students, regardless of grade, received singing lessons, religious instruction and drill exercises while instrument lessons were elective.[223] At White's, Indian students

[222] Doreen Rappaport, *The Flight of Red Bird: The Life of Zitkala-Ša*, 1st ed (New York: Dial Books, 1997), 3.
[223] "St. Joseph's Indian Normal School for Indian Boys," pamphlet, copy, Indian Normal School Collection, Archives of St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, IN.

attended classes for half the day and worked for the other half.[224] Unlike St. Joseph's, which emphasized education in industrial trades, White's focused on teaching their males students about farming. The school was a working farm of over 600 acres. Students learned farm work by direction of the school staff and their labor served to operate the farm, and thus provide for those living at the school. White's taught male students "all the processes of a large stock and grain farm," including how to raise "cattle, horses, sheep, swine, poultry, and bees" as well as how to grow "crops of grain, grass sorghum, and vegetables."[225] The school paid the boys for this labor in order to also teach them how to manage money.[226] There is no indication of how much White's paid the boys in this manner. The school also taught "some of the boys, as they [became] old enough for it…work at carpentering, painting, broom-making, blacksmithing and the mending of shoes and harness."[227] Female students learned "all forms of housekeeping and dairy work,…canning fruit and the care of flowers and of poultry" as well as dress-making.[228] While no sources mention the specific subjects White's taught native students, references in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs indicate students received religious instruction in addition to reading and writing in English.[229]

Although it is unclear whether White's or St. Joseph's required students to speak only English at school, language provided a source of conflict for students and teachers.

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[224] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1889, H. Exdoc.1/17, serial 2725, 955.
[225] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, 821; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1888, 750.
[226] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, 821.
[227] Ibid.
[228] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 52nd Cong., 1st sess., 1891, H. Exdoc.1/17, serial 2934, 1128; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1888, 750.
[229] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1888, 750.

Simmons described her own inability to speak English upon arriving at White's and the consequences of her inability to communicate. Simmons' own story depicts a friend who only knew the word "no" and when she had misbehaved, could only give this answer when asked if she would obey a teacher. Her inability to understand the teacher led Simmons' friend to receive further punishment in the form of yelling and spanking.[230]

Boarding schools barred native language not only to force students to learn English, but also to create a barrier between generations. By removing Indian children from their homes and communities and forcing them to use English, schools encouraged the erasure of Native American languages. Since schools educated children from a range of different American Indian tribes and communities, students often spoke different languages. This kept them from communicating with their classmates from different communities. With limited opportunities to use their traditional languages, over time Indian children could lose fluency or forget their first language altogether. When these pupils returned to their homes they had trouble communicating with older generations who did not know English. Disrupting the continuation of Indian languages also had cultural implications. Parents and elders taught cultural beliefs and traditions in their own tongue. These stories relied on traditional languages to convey cultural meanings. As with most languages, translating stories into a different language removes these cultural meanings. As a result, White's, St. Joseph's, and other boarding schools, used English to eliminate native languages and create barriers to the transmission of Indian cultural traditions.

[230] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories*, 57–59.

White's also followed the common practice in boarding schools of taking photos of native students.[231] The photos available show students in European-American clothing and hair styles. Simmons' writing of her own first days at White's detail the horror of having her hair cut and the uncomfortableness of her new clothes. In particular, she described the shoes that replaced her moccasins and the immodesty of tightly fitted clothing.[232] The cutting of her hair particularly highlights the physical changes forced upon White's students as a source of conflict and in some cases violence. This situation led Simmons to hide until a teacher physically forced her to sit still for a haircut. I have found no evidence to suggest St. Joseph's took photos of individual students. However, the school does appear to have taken group photographs of the students and teachers for the school year.[233] The available photo, from the 1892-1893 school year, displays rows of boys with short hair, most of whom are wearing dark colored suits and hard-soled shoes.

The process of photographing Indian students displays the characteristics and messages photographers and school officials sought to convey. Images of Native American children in European-American clothing and hairstyles communicate an aura of civility and respectability. A photo provided physical proof of the transformation of students into civilized young adults. Outward appearances also suggested internal changes in students' ways of thinking and acting. Officials used these photos as evidence that their approach to education successfully civilized Indian children. The images also

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[231] "Photos of American Indians from White's Institute, Wabash, Indiana," *Cowan's Auctions*, accessed February 17, 2017, https://www.cowanauctions.com/lot/photos-of-american-indians-from-white-s-institute-wabash-indiana-6934.
[232] Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories*, 52–56.
[233] One such photo is reproduced in Dominic B. Gerlach, "St. Joseph's Indian Normal School, 1888-1896," *The Indiana Magazine of History*, 1973, 16. I did not locate any photos of students in the course of my own research at St. Joseph's College.

served to counteract stories of physical and emotional abuse and of the spread of illness by offering a visual perception of the students' health and well-being.

In January 1890, the nineteenth annual conference with representatives of missionary boards and Indian rights associations met in Washington, D.C. to discuss policies towards Native Americans, including education.[234] At the conference, two members of the Sioux tribe from South Dakota spoke about their experiences of boarding schools and their opinions on Indian education.[235] One of these men, Lieutenant Patty, attended White's for an undisclosed period.[236] The lieutenant discussed his own educational history, the circumstances leading him to attend White's and the opinions of some of the members of his community regarding native education.[237] Lieutenant Patty first attended a mission school at his camp. There he learned to read and write in his native language. After that, he attended the government school at his agency for two years. The lieutenant explained the government school prepared students to attend schools in the East. After this, he stated his intention to go a school in the East:

> I desired to come and see the school where I could get a better education, but my mother would not let me come. I tried twice to come, but she would not let me. As I grew older I thought I was old enough to take care of myself, so I started to go to school in the East without telling her. I went to training-school in Indiana, where I learned to work.[238]

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[234] The conference is described as "The annual conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with secretaries of religious societies engaged in missionary and school work among the Indians, of Indian rights associations, and others." *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1889, 926. The journal of the conference proceedings can be found in Appendix F of *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1889.
[235] The journal of the conference proceedings does not indicate what tribe of Sioux the men belonged to or their Indian agency.
[236] Aside from naming Patty with the title of lieutenant, there is no additional information provided about his military status.
[237] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1889, 954-5.
[238] Ibid, 955.

The lieutenant's description of his educational journey highlights why American Indian students may have traveled hundreds of miles to Indiana for school rather than attending closer boarding schools. According to the lieutenant, the schools in South Dakota offered limited education for native pupils. These institutions were teaching Indian children the basics they would need to enroll in schools further east, where they would receive higher instruction.

After attending White's, Lieutenant Patty returned home and worked at the Indian agency. However, the lieutenant explains he "could not help [his] people very much with what education [he] had."[239] It is unclear what level or kind of education the lieutenant felt he needed or how he sought to help his community. Patty said he "learned to work" at White's.[240] Here work most likely refers to farm work, which White's focused on so heavily for native boys. It is possible the lieutenant may have also learned skills related to the trades the school taught to the older boys. Still, trades and farm work both fall under the category of the laborer. Since these skills did not provide the lieutenant the education he needed, he sought work on the agency which did not involve labor.

Lieutenant Patty also described the opinions of others in his community regarding native boarding schools:

> The old Indians are beginning to see that education is a good thing. They are anxious to have their children go to school. Some of them came east to ask for good schools on the reservations. The Government promised to give them good schools, and it is trying to build good schools now. Some of them came down to Hampton and visited our school. They said the work was very good. The only objection was about the climate.[241]

[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid.

This statement indicates the some of the members of his community wanted their children to receive an education. However, not all natives held this opinion. Patty's mother refused to let him attend a boarding school. He only managed to attend White's by leaving for Indiana without telling her. This contrast displays how decisions about attending boarding schools differed for each family and individual. The lieutenant's comments also show some Indians desired education for their children but disliked the distance involved. This lead them to request better schools for their children on their reservations. Patty described the schools near his community as preparatory in nature. Those who requested that the government build "good schools" then wanted schools which would teach the same subjects and skills found at institutions further east. Patty also references how health influenced native decisions to attend schools. He explained Indians who visited Hampton did not like the climate, because when students returned home they often died. The threat to their children's health at distant schools therefore played a role in whether families sent their children.

After Lieutenant Patty discovered his education would not allow him to help his community he asked General Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Normal Institute in Hampton, Virginia, for "a chance to prepare [him]self to help [his] people."[242] Patty compared life at Hampton to life in his community:

> We are taken care of at Hampton better than we are at home. When we go home our parents live in wretchedness, as somebody called it, and we do not like to go back to this way of living; but we do not despise our parents. We love them just the same, and we honor them; but we do know more than when we started, and so we are trying to bring them up out of their darkness.[243]

[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.

Here the lieutenant underlined one reason why some American Indian students chose to attend and remain at boarding schools. After living in an institution which altered students' appearance, language, and way of living and where the school provided food, clothing, and shelter, returning to a home where these amenities did not exist or were severely lacking proved challenging.

Lieutenant Patty's comments at the missionary conference in 1890 provide us with insights into the factors which influenced Native Americans about attending boarding schools. However, we must also consider the context of his speech. The lieutenant addressed the Board of Indian Commissioners as well as officials from missionary boards and Indian rights associations. These individuals met to discuss how their work had succeeded or failed in civilizing Native American communities. Lieutenant Patty spoke at the conference, and in front of General Armstrong, as an example of how Indian education at institutions such as Hampton was succeeding. It then makes sense Patty's words focus on his own pursuit of education and his support of boarding schools. However, the lieutenant's words still provide us with examples of the issues he and others in his community found in Indian education.

Few sources indicate the experiences of the native boys at St. Joseph's in their own words, except for a letter written by St. Joseph's student Charles White on October 6, 1889 to Father George Willard, Father Stephan's assistant. White wrote the letter in response to an earlier letter from Willard, which also contained a dollar for White. White responded to Willard's inquiry about St. Joseph's:

> This is a very nice school, I am well satisfied with it. Rev Father Florian is very kind to us he loves the Indian boys very much. We are all learning the carpenter trade and I think we will learn it very soon because we have

> a good carpenter. We build a chicken-house last week. it is well finished. Now we are commenceing to build a fine pig-stable. The black smith shop is not started yet but I hope it will started very soon.[244]

White indicated in his letter he liked St. Joseph's and Father B. Florian Hahn, the Superintendent of the school at that time. He stated his desire to learn blacksmithing at the school. White also told Willard he planned to remain at the school, stating "I will stay two more years."[245] In the case of Charles White, and perhaps of the other native boys attending St. Joseph's, a desire to learn motivated him to travel to Indiana for schooling and to plan to remain there for three years.

We must consider that White wrote this letter to Father Willard, an employee of the BCIM, which founded St. Joseph's. He may have intentionally left out any problems he had at the school because of Willard's connection to school officials. White also may have felt obligated to avoid conflict with Willard because he had received money from the man earlier. Finally, White referred to Willard as a friend in his greeting and his closing, expressed his desire to see Willard again before he left the school, and asked Willard to "write soon I like to hear from you."[246] These statements imply White felt comfortable with Willard to a certain degree. Yet, it is hard to determine whether this friendship would have left White feeling secure enough to share any issues he had at St. Joseph's with Willard.

While almost no student voices tell us about St. Joseph's, enrollment provides some insight into how students felt about the school. Similar to other boarding schools, St. Joseph's experienced high student turnover. Several letters from St. Joseph's officials

[244] Charles White to Willard, October 6, 1889, copy, INSC.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.

mention their need for more students, as they had trouble retaining the students they already recruited. During the 1888-1889 school year students at St. Joseph's asked to return home before the year had even ended.[247] B. Florian Hahn noted the White Earth students were "very dissatisfied" with St. Joseph's.[248] Their local newspaper published an article which stated " 'that some boys of the Rensselaer School came home somewhat disgusted with the management of the School.' "[249] Hahn also explicitly asked "Could I get some boys to fill out the vacancy, created by those, who left already and *who will leave* in the near future?"[250] In addition to replacing the students who already left St. Joseph's, Hahn sought to preemptively replace students because he knew the school would continue to lose pupils. Indian boys would run away from the school or would refuse to return to Rensselaer after they went home on a school break. The high turnover rate and officials' concern over maintaining enrollment numbers suggests students at St. Joseph's felt discontented. This may have been due to homesickness, dislike of school rules, unhappiness at the education provided, or conflict with teachers.

Conclusion

In considering why Native American children from reservations in North and South Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Michigan traveled to St. Joseph's and White's in Indiana to attend boarding school, several competing factors arise. The desires and powers of Indian agents and missionaries pressured native families to send their children to schools. Missionary competition led to promises to entice

[247] Werz to Willard, February 4, 1889, copy, INSC; Willard to Oberly, February 9, 1889, copy, INSC.
[248] Hahn to Willard, May 26, 1889, copy, INSC.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid. Emphasis added by author.

children and families to choose an institution. Indian agents used their power on the reservation over resources such as rations to impose their own desires on Indian families. These agents also felt pressure from the U.S. government to provide students to missionaries looking to keep their attendance at a maximum. The stories students brought or sent home regarding boarding school life highlighted largely unhappy and dissatisfied experiences. Yet the skills boarding schools taught presented an upcoming generation the possibility of seizing some form of power over their own lives and communities at a time when the government sought to destroy native traditions and lifestyles. Schools closer to students' homes did not necessarily offer enough education to accomplish these goals, leading students to travel great distances to Indiana. St. Joseph's and White's also gave students a place to live with adequate food, which they might not have at home. All these pressures combined to create a context where Indian children traveled hundreds of miles to attend boarding schools in Indiana.

Conclusion

From the time St. Joseph's accepted its first native students in 1888, the school as well as the BCIM in general faced opposition from Thomas Morgan and Daniel Dorchester. This hostility included conflict over the government's financial support of the school. Officials argued over the amount paid per pupil, delayed payments, and accusations of inadequate school conditions which voided the government's responsibility to pay St. Joseph's.[251] By 1895, the anti-Catholic American Protective Association pressured Congress into getting rid of contract schools in favor of government schools. As a result, Congress reduced appropriations for contract schools. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Daniel M. Browning chose to eliminate St. Joseph's. He cited its distance from the reservations and resultant high transportation costs.[252] For the 1895-96 school year, the government gave St. Joseph's permission to continue educating students from Indian reservations. However, the government would no longer provide the school with funding. Katherine Drexel gave the school $2,300 that year. Still, by the summer of 1896 the school closed and the students were sent home.[253]

White's also experienced financial difficulties towards the mid-1890s. In 1892, the Indian Aid Society ended their financial contributions to White's. As previously mentioned, growing opposition to religious contract schools in 1895 led to reduced appropriations. That was the last year White's maintained a contract for native education.[254] It is unclear whether the decreased appropriations led the government to

[251] Gerlach, "St. Joseph's Indian Normal School, 1888-1896," 35-38.
[252] Interestingly, the Hampton Institute in Virginia and the Lincoln Institute in Philadelphia had their contracts renewed, see Ibid., 40-41.
[253] Ibid., 41.
[254] Green, *History of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute*, 15.

refuse financial aid to White's or whether the school made the decision to end their contract. The 1895 Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs states that White's "desired no renewal of contract" and that the school "declined further Government support."[255]

Native voices have been largely ignored in U.S. history. The perspectives of white males in positions of power dominate the historical record. Historical sources on native education often come from white government officials, Indian agents, school officials, and teachers. However, even when few Indian experiences are available for interpretation, as in the case of White's and St. Joseph's, historians must focus on the narrative they communicate in order to balance the overabundance of non-native voices. Here I have attempted to place Native American stories at the forefront of the boarding school experience. This study also highlights a different facet of Indiana's role in the movement to civilize Native American tribes. The state's connection to Indians is not limited to the time prior to native removal or to those American Indian communities who lived in and around the state. Indiana had an impact upon Native American students and families on reservations across the country. By highlighting Indiana's connection to Native American history, this study helps to counteract popular notions of native history in the state.

This study also intervenes in existing historical research by highlighting the complexities involved in American Indian history in Indiana. When learning about histories of peoples who have experienced oppression, it can be easy to assign historical

[255] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., 1895, H.doc. 5/3, serial 3382, 11, 1071.

figures and communities into the roles of ‘good’ or ‘evil.’ This tendency to view the world in absolutes obscures the reality in which historical actors lived and made their own choices. Rather, this study points out that native history in Indiana exists on a spectrum. For example, the experiences students described at White’s and St. Joseph’s contradict the notion that boarding schools were only destructive, violent places and that American Indian communities fell victim to this education system. Native students have expressed both positive and negative experiences of White’s and St. Joseph’s. Also, viewing students and their communities as passive victims denies the existence of decisions these people made about their own lives.

In a similar fashion, this study also displays the complexities of identity in Native American history. People express themselves through different identities every day. However, a person’s identity should not be considered singular. Identity itself is a spectrum along which individuals exist and move. By inhabiting characteristics of an identity or set of identities, people are creating a performance tailored to their space and audience. This concept of performing one’s identity also applies to historical actors. Native students, such as Lieutenant Patty, expressed different identities relevant to their surroundings and situation. Patty was speaking to the Board of Indian Commissioners as well as officials from missionary boards and Indian rights associations. He also was speaking in front of General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Normal Institute and the man he had asked for a chance to attend Hampton. In that situation, the lieutenant decided how to express his identity. Patty spoke as an educated native man, as well as a lieutenant in front of a general, to convey the benefits he received from attending boarding schools. Lieutenant Patty’s speech was the result not only of his particular

circumstance, but of his own decisions to address the conference and the manner in which he would do so. By choosing how to express his identity at this moment in time, Patty displays how historical actors maintained the capacity to respond to their situation and exercised the ability to make their own decisions.

Just as the Native Americans mentioned in this study inhabited different identities, so did non-natives. Much of this study has discussed the actions and motivations of white males in positions of authority. However, each of these characteristics, being white or male, are themselves separate. The historical actors I have described as white men also inhabited their own complex and varied set of identities, including those of specific religious and political groups. While men such as Father Stephan did view their actions through a white, male perspective, other facets of their identities also played a role in their thoughts and actions. When considering how St. Joseph's and White's came to exist in Indiana and the experiences native students had at these schools, we must keep in mind that neither school and government officials nor students and their families can truly be described by a single identity.

After examining both the understandings and experiences of Indian education, it has become clear that different groups used the concept of education at a tool to achieve certain ends. The U.S. government utilized education to reaffirm white superiority and control native communities. Indian schools taught students American middle-class gender roles which emphasized masculinity. Masculinity in turn positioned middle-class white men in the role of protector and defender of the weaker sections of society, including women, immigrants, and natives. Similarly, religious denominations used education to confirm white superiority and gender roles, as they had built their institutional and

ideological frameworks around both of those ideals. Religious groups also employed education as an aid in the growing conflict amongst Protestants and Catholics in the late nineteenth century. Boarding schools allowed denominations to spread their influence in the competition for increased authority both nationally and in the government.

By reasserting white superiority and masculinity through Indian education, the U.S. government also sought to further its goal of nationalism. While the U.S. had achieved independence in the late eighteenth century, the existence of Native American tribes who maintained their own sovereignty challenged the establishment of state boundaries, the concept of a national identity, and therefore statehood. The government used native education to solve this problem by propagating the characteristics of national identity, which were tied to those of masculinity. Once American Indian tribes had taken on these identities, the government could end the reservation system in favor of private land ownership and eliminate both obstacles to American nationalism. Therefore, this study displays that education is a nationalist concept.

This thesis has also highlighted an important issue in the historical record and archival institutions. In looking at the available historical materials relevant to St. Joseph's and White's, a distinct lack of students' voices and those of their community becomes apparent. As previously noted, the historical record is composed mainly of sources created by white males in positions of power. This partially results from the types of materials considered worthy of preservation. Formerly, archives and other institutions were more likely to save sources written by those in positions of power. In the case of Native American boarding schools, those in control are the school and government

officials and Indian agents who write reports and keep other records for their institution or agency.

The relatively low values assigned to American Indian historical materials was particularly apparent in researching White's. I became aware of the existence of a collection of 37 photos, comprised mostly of studio portraits of native students in white clothing. There were also some before-and-after photos of students. Several photos were dated and some included the students' tribal affiliations. These photographs were sold at auction in 2003 for $4,600.[256] While there is no record of the buyer, it seems safe to assume they remain in a private collection. Further research failed to locate the images in an archive or other repository for historical materials.

The sale of these photographs highlights several issues in Native American history. This collection is an example of how values assigned to historic materials by those who record and preserve history ultimately shape the historical record. Images of native students were not valuable enough to be preserved in an archive or other institution. Instead, the photos were sold to bring the owner a profit. The sale also highlights how non-natives continue to use American Indians for their own benefit. The seller profited off images created out of coercion and violence, thereby propagating this cycle of abuse.

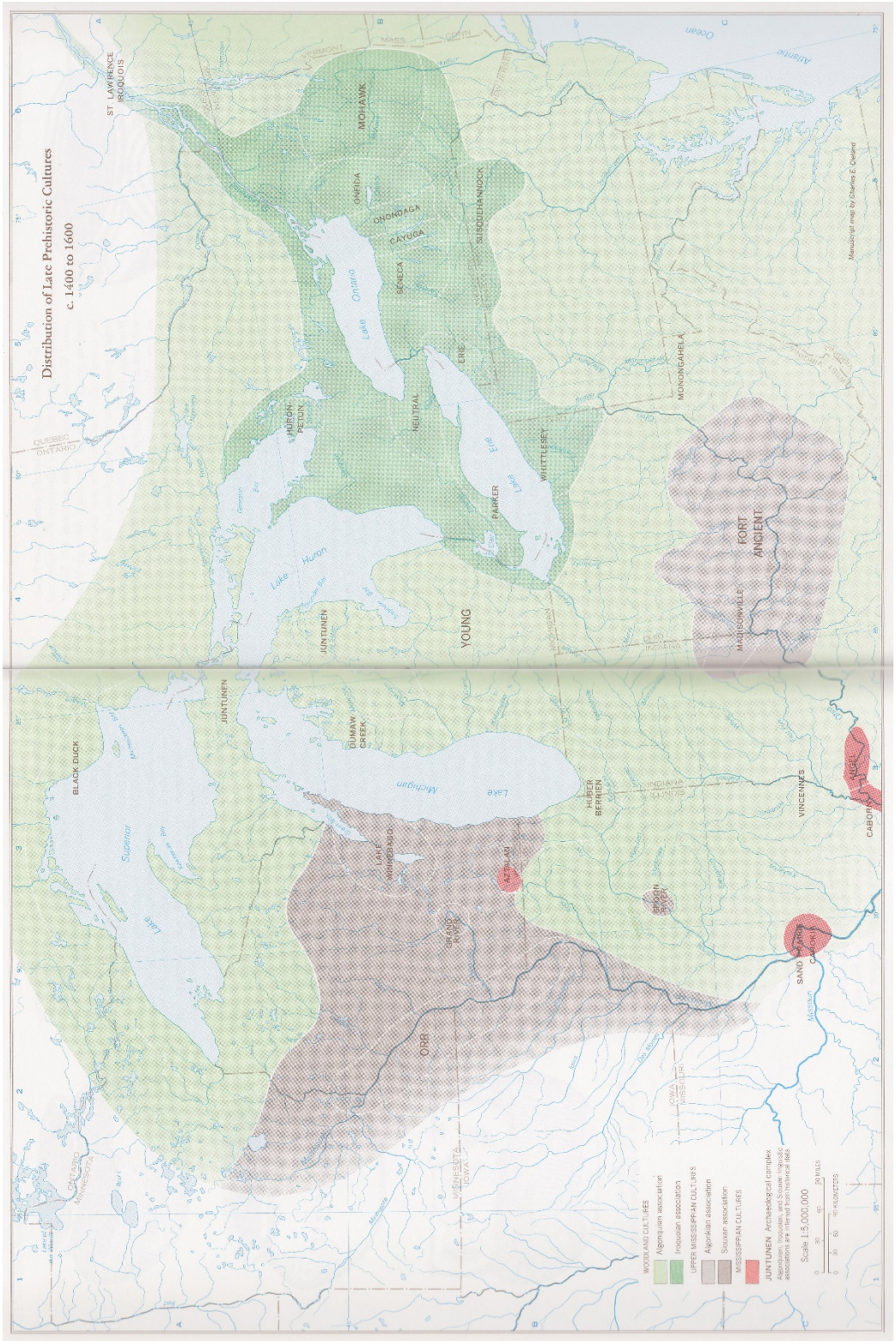
In repositories where sources created by American Indians do exist, these materials do not always receive the same degree of use as materials created by those in

[256] "Photos of American Indians from White's Institute, Wabash, Indiana," *Cowan's Auctions*, accessed February 17, 2017, https://www.cowanauctions.com/lot/photos-of-american-indians-from-white-s-institute-wabash-indiana-6934.

the dominant majority of society. Manuscript and other materials created by Native Americans provide another view through which historians and researchers can understand past events, peoples, and relationships. These voices are important to include so that historical research investigates multiple perspectives. Without the voices of different communities, historians risk presenting a singular, incomplete narrative silencing the experiences of the oppressed and minorities. However, including the stories of native students and their families and the photographs of students at boarding schools also brings up issues of privacy and violence. Boarding schools were sites of trauma and violence for many native students, who suffered physical, emotional, and sexual abuses. While historical scholarship does need to highlight Indian voices, it must seek do so with a degree of compassion. Researchers must consider the trauma associated with their sources in order accurately balance the need to include the perspectives of those oppressed with sensitivity towards the aftermath of violence and desires for privacy.

Future scholarship in Indiana history should investigate other areas where experiences of American Indians have been ignored or silenced. This study has attempted to provide the Native American students who attended Indiana boarding schools a voice in the state's history. White's and St. Joseph's were sites of struggle for these children. Some spent years at their school while others stayed for a year or even less. But regardless of how long they lived in Rensselaer or Wabash, the state of Indiana played a large role in the education and growth of Indian children. Their experiences deserve the same scholarly attention already given to white stories.

Appendix: Maps



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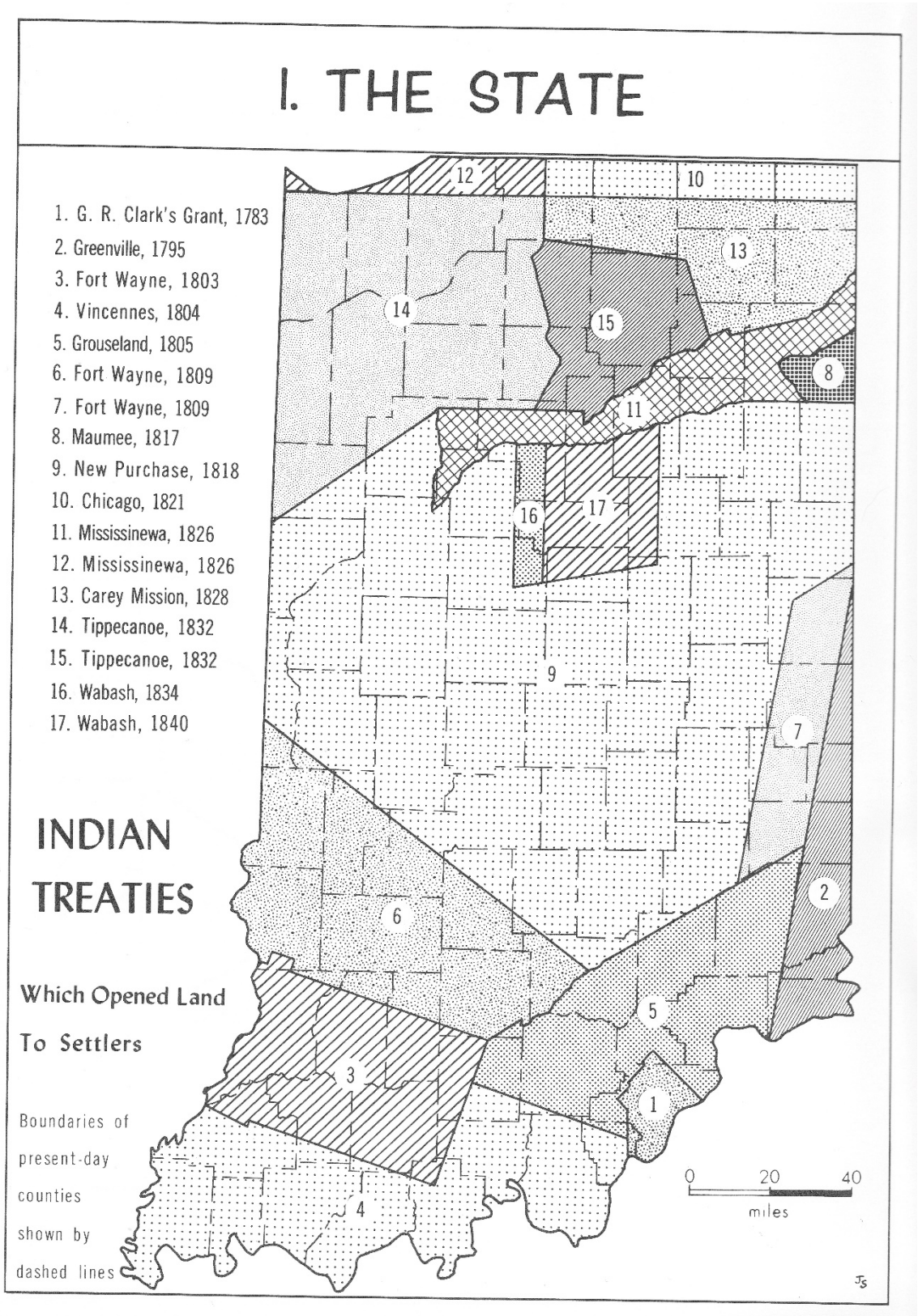

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Curriculum Vitae

Alysha Danielle Zemanek

Education

Master of Arts in History from Indiana University, earned at IUPUI. June 2017

Bachelor of Arts in History (Summa Cum Laude) from Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame. May 2014

- Minors: Mathematics, Anthropology, and Dance

Honors, Awards, Fellowships

Indiana University Graduate School 2016 IUPUI Chancellor's Scholar, 2017

IUPUI University Fellowship, 2014

Martha Mongomery Schurz Award for exceptional academic achievement in history, 2014

Moreau Presidential Scholar for Academic Excellence, 2010

Professional presentations and publications

Wood, E., Zemanek, A., Weiss, L., Caron, C., "Growing FLORES for the Museum," in *Collection: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*, Vol 12 No 1 (Winter 2016).

Anatomy of an Exhibit: "Leaving Home" at the Indiana Medical History Museum, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 2016.

Indiana Incarcerated: Public Histories of Incarceration at the Indiana Association of Historians annual meeting, Bloomington, Indiana, February 2016.

Fine-Tuning a Family Learning Object Rating System at the Visitor Studies Association annual meeting, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 2015.

Work Experience

Processing Assistant at the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana. June 2016 to present

Exhibit Development Assistant at the Indiana Medical History Museum, Indianapolis, Indiana. June 2016 to August 2016

Curatorial Intern (paid) at the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art, Indianapolis, Indiana. August 2015 to May 2016

Research Intern (paid) at the Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Indiana. June 2015 to August 2015

Research Assistantship at the Children's Museum of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana. October 2014 to May 2015

Projects

Contributor, Digitalpublichistory.com, 2015

Researcher and content contributor, *"States of Incarceration"* project with the Humanities Action Lab, New York City, New York, August 2015 to April 2016

Professional Organizations

National Council on Public History, 2015 to present

American Association for State and Local History, 2015 to present

Phi Alpha Theta, National History Honor Society, Psi-Lambda Chapter, 2013 to present