

The Episcopal Church in Native American Boarding Schools (1862 – 1905)

Varieties of Assimilation through Transfer Narratives

By

Jean A. Cotting

A thesis

submitted to the faculty of

the Department of Anglican Communion Studies of
the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Divinity

Alexandria, VA

May 14, 2020



(Signature)

The Rev. Dr. Robert S. Heaney, Ph.D, D,Phil
Faculty Advisor



(Signature)

Dr. Marion Grau, Ph.D
MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion
and Society
Reader

Copyright © 2020 by Jean A. Cotting
All rights reserved

In loving memory of my parents, Walter and Betty Cotting. They were my first theologians, teachers, preachers, and role models for thoughtful and reasoned discourse.

Table of Contents

Introduction	
Overview	2
Theoretical Setting of Boarding Schools	4
Historical Setting of Boarding Schools	8
Chapter One – Origins and Scope	
1.1 Roots of Assimilation: John Eliot and the “Praying Towns”	10
1.2 Defining the Scope of Episcopal Church Involvement: Schools and Individuals	14
Chapter Two – Assimilation vs. Counter-assimilation: Church Leaders	
2.1 Samuel Dutton Hinman	20
2.2 William Hobart Hare	29
2.3 Estelle Aubrey Brown	38
2.4 Henry Benjamin Whipple	46
Chapter Three – The Damage Done: The Boarding School Reality for Students	
3.1 Genocide	55
3.2 Emotional Toll	57
3.3 Illness, Torture, and Death	61
3.4 The Episcopal Church’s Involvement	63
Conclusion	
As Assessment of the Church’s Participation	71
Moving Forward	74
Bibliography	80
Appendix A – <i>The Spirit of Mission</i> index	
Appendix B – Lorenzo Veracini’s <i>Settler Colonialism</i> transfer mechanisms	

Acknowledgements

I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to several people who guided me through the process of writing this thesis. First and foremost, my advisor, the Rev. Dr. Robert S. Heaney who throughout my seminary studies has been a most excellent teacher and mentor. Much gratitude as well to my second reader, Dr. Marion Grau, who despite the COVID-19 pandemic, provided me with a wealth of rich and detailed feedback. Many thanks as well to Dr. Sharon Heaney, Dr. Mitzi Budde, Dr. Elizabeth Friend, Ms. Susan Sevier, and the staff of the Bishop Payne Library.

Introduction

Overview

Within the context of Native American boarding schools, the main objective of the founding Christian churches and later the government was assimilation of students. That is to say, unlike the conventional definition of assimilation which involves recent arrivals adopting the cultural norms of a new homeland,¹ the assimilative process of education in the boarding schools was designed so that children, already situated in their own homeland, gave up their distinctive culture and adopted the cultural norms of white settler society. Within boarding schools such assimilation consisted of eliminating the language, dress, cultural practices, and a unifying ethos of nationhood for Native American children. In this thesis I will identify these assimilative practices and streams of thought in the Episcopal Church from the mid nineteenth century through the early years of the twentieth century. Though understudied and often not recognized, there was at the same time a counter assimilative discourse at play within the church. I will identify this counter-assimilative discourse as present in the period under consideration in this study. Such a discourse demonstrates different practices of ministry were open to the Church and deepens the criticism of assimilative practices in the witness of the Episcopal Church.

The period in which the Episcopal Church was most active in boarding school programs was between the 1860s and the early twentieth century. This study will focus on the period from 1862-1905. 1862 marks the first year in which an article concerning Native American education was seen in the primary missionary literature of the Episcopal Church, and 1905 was the year that the last boarding school was founded by the Episcopal Church (in Alaska). It may seem

¹ Larry Ray, "Assimilation," *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*, Bryan S. Turner ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), accessed March 29, 2020, <https://0-search-ebSCOhost-com.librarycatalog.vts.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=217997&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

implausible to the modern reader that this endeavor to strip children of their cultural identity by removing them from their families and communities was initiated by Christian churches. At the time the church believed these institutions to be both benevolent and humanitarian. Many missionaries of the time thought that the adoption of euro-western culture was a prerequisite for conversion to Christianity. By holding fast to this belief, the Episcopal Church became involved with the founding and administration of Native American boarding schools, thus becoming agents of assimilation. However, during this time there were also individual perspectives that contradicted the assimilation movement. These exceptions demonstrate the church had other options available and could have adopted more broadly a different approach to mission.

A main source for understanding how the Episcopal Church viewed these institutions can be found in *The Spirit of Missions* magazine. This monthly periodical which was published from 1836 to 1939 is considered by the denomination to be “one of the major primary sources for the history of the Episcopal Church.”² It is the case that this is the most important source for a study of assimilative discourses at work in the Church. However, broader influences were at work and a history of assimilative attitudes already existed. Thus, along with other primary sources (autobiographical accounts and journals from the period), a sketch of some of the historical background and preconceived notions about evangelization will be discussed starting with John Eliot’s evangelization efforts in the seventeenth century. Because of the ambiguity around the involvement of the Episcopal Church in the boarding schools, Chapter one will also set out the reasons for the specific parameters of this thesis and will explain the logic behind the selection of the four individuals in the following chapter. Chapter two will focus in on these four key historical figures from this period: Samuel Hinman, William Hare, Estelle Brown, and Henry Whipple.

² The Episcopal Church website, “Spirit of Mission, The” glossary entry. Accessed November 11, 2019. <https://episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/spirit-missions>.

Chapter three will highlight the inconsistencies between the missionary literature of the period in the Episcopal Church and the lived experience of Native American students. In conclusion, the question of why the counter-assimilative voices were not able to decisively impact mission practice in the Episcopal Church between 1862-1905 and what lessons might be drawn for the witness of the denomination today will be considered.

Theoretical Context

In this study I am utilizing Lorenzo Veracini's work on settler colonialism to analyze the goals and intentions of the Episcopal Church's missionary work in the boarding schools. The Veracini models explain systematically the dominant white culture's assimilative efforts in North America as part of pattern of behavior in a wider global and historical context. Veracini's work builds on existing literature on colonialism to firmly establish settler colonialism (that form in which the Episcopal Church was part of) as distinct and separate from non-settler colonialism.³ His volume, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, emerges from studies of settler society societies such as North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel,⁴ and was the outcome of a project funded by the Australian Research Council's *Discovery Project*.

There are significant sociological differences between settler colonialism and non-settler colonialism. As with non-settler colonialism,⁵ there is an initial period of power inequality with

³ Veracini builds on the work of Louis Hartz's *The Founding of New Societies*; Patrick Wolfe's *Settler Colonialism and Transformation*, Marilyn Lake's "White Men's Country," the work of Donald Denoon, David Prochaska, Anna Johnston, and Alan Lawson. See Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 7-9.

⁴ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 23-24.

⁵ An example of non-settler colonialism would be the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South and Central America. Interaction between non-settler colonists and indigenous people is markedly different in these contexts. In colonies such as these that were carried out by predominantly by *conquistadors*, the colonizers needed the indigenous people to render these colonies profitable: farming, mining, pearl diving, etc. As these conquistadors were all male, there was also significant interaction with indigenous women giving rise to a mestizo population in

the indigenous people, usually the result of military force or superior technology. In non-settler colonial structures, the colonizers seek to maintain this inequality so as to maintain dominance over the indigenous population. Where settler colonial societies significantly differ is that they attempt to eliminate the relationship with indigenous people altogether:

...the settler colonial situation is generally understood as an inherently dynamic circumstance where indigenous and exogenous Others progressively disappear in a variety of ways: extermination, expulsion, incarceration containment, and assimilation for indigenous people (or a combination of all these elements), restriction and selective assimilation for subaltern exogenous Others, and an ultimate affirmation of settler control against exogenous metropolitan interference.⁶

In other words, the indigenous inhabitants are either destroyed and/or exiled through war or so thoroughly assimilated into settler culture that their identity as a separate and distinct people disappears.

The mechanisms by which the settler seeks to suppress the indigenous other is referred to as “transfer.” This term has been used by earlier historians such as James Belich to indicate the physical “mass transfer” of populations across geographical areas. Veracini expands this definition by arguing “that all settler projects are foundationally premised on fantasies of ultimately ‘cleansing’ the settler body of its (indigenous and exogenous) alterities.”⁷ Veracini identifies twenty six distinct ways in which transfer can be accomplished (see Appendix B). “Assimilation” is a distinct category unto itself in Veracini’s taxonomy.⁸ As Veracini himself notes, “Assimilation, however, can be an accessory to other transfers.”⁹ In the context of the boarding schools, this cross-over between assimilation and other forms of transfer can be seen.¹⁰ For

these colonies. See Joerg Rieger, *Christ & Empire: From Paul to Postcolonial Times* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 169. Another example of non-settler colonialism would be the British colonization of India.

⁶ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 16-17.

⁷ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 33.

⁸ Appendix B – item F.

⁹ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 39.

¹⁰ Appendix B – items B, F, I, J, N, O, S, X.

instance, “Ethnic transfer”¹¹ involves the movement of indigenous people from their territory to another so that they cease to be indigenous. While this may superficially appear to be distinct from assimilation, it serves the settler society in that once the indigenous have been transplanted to an alien location, they become far more vulnerable to assimilative efforts. Putting a Sioux student in a boarding school dormitory and classroom with no other Sioux students removed the child’s opportunity to speak his or her native language and forced them to learn English. More specific instances will be discussed in greater detail as they occur in the subsequent sections of this study.

In settler colonialism, narratives are often developed by the settler society about the indigenous that seek to prove the necessity of the settlers’ presence in the land. An example of this is found in section 1.2 and 2.2, in which the missionaries equate Native American spirituality with devil worship or demonic possession. This is not destruction through the literal killing of native people, but rather justifies the eradication of native culture. In Veracini’s taxonomy he refers to these instances as “transfer narratives,” and specifically cites four subtypes. The “devil worship” narrative is an example of one such transfer narrative.¹² In this type, the narrative tells a story that the indigenous have been destroyed and gives justification for their destruction. Devil worship was a justification in the mind of Christian settlers for destruction. There are three other categories of “transfer narratives” of significant importance.¹³ These categories are called “transfer narratives” because they refer to the stories that a settler society tells itself and about itself to justify its behavior. One of the key elements that a successful settler society requires is the ability to maintain their sense of righteousness concerning their occupation of the territory. When looking at the four varieties of transfer narratives one can see a progression of this behavior,

¹¹ Appendix B – item B.

¹² In Veracini’s scheme this is Transfer Narrative type II. See Appendix B, item J.

¹³ Appendix B – items I, J, K, and L.

although each can occur in isolation as well: Type I labels the indigenous as backwards, primitive, and unable to inhabit the present, and therefore, needs to be removed or terminated. Type II designates the indigenous as defeated, dying out, and no longer a legitimate part of the territory. Type III absolves the settler society from its guilt by relegating any injustice to prior age from which it disconnects itself. Finally, Type IV, establishes a contrived connection between the settler and the land, thus transplanting the settler as the legitimate occupant. The church's participation in using these transfer narratives is important because they were critical in influencing the wider church's support for promoting assimilation in the boarding schools.

These conceptual models can provide a useful tool in understanding some of the mechanisms at play in settler colonial settings in general, and specifically provide insight into how the church and its missionaries participated in assimilation efforts in the boarding schools. However, when considering the assimilative force in mission, these concepts need to be treated with some degree of caution. As Marion Grau points out:

It is important to highlight the adaptability, creativity and resistance, the agency and the ability to invent new forms or identity that show incredible resilience, particularly in the face of so much that cooperates to destroy self, community, and earth. Focusing either only on negative effects or, alternatively, on triumphalist accounts of mission false short of giving a differentiated representation of the many intercooled dynamics of such intercultural interaction. An exclusively negative evaluation of mission often tends to erase the agency of the persons and converts involved, and instead heightens the impression of a seemingly omnipotent and omnipresent shape of colonial forces.¹⁴

It is important to remember that despite the efforts of the colonial settlers of North America and the nation that evolved from it, assimilation was not completely or ultimately successful. Native Americans were resistant to these efforts. Native American culture in North America has endured and still exists in the modern age. The legacy of the boarding schools is the continued

¹⁴ Marion Grau, *Rethinking Mission the Postcolony: Salvation, Society and Subversion* (Continuum UK – Academic, Kindle edition), 22-13.

resilience in the wake of the trauma. The focus of this study is on how the Episcopal Church advanced the process of assimilation and how they might have acted differently.

Historical Context

In the first half of nineteenth century, the U.S. Federal government made provisions to fund efforts by “benevolent associations,” predominantly churches, to educate and assimilate Native Americans. From the mid nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century, the founding and support of Native American boarding schools was promoted and supported both financially and morally by many Christian leaders. In a reaction of horror to the plight of Native Americans resulting from the violence and destitution that occurred in the wake of the 1830 Indian Removal Act,¹⁵ the Episcopal Church, like many Christian denominations of the time responded to this horror with missionary zeal. These church leaders believed that there were two critical elements that could ease this suffering: conversion to Christianity and providing Native Americans with the tools to navigate the dominant white culture in an emergent United State of America.¹⁶ To the Christian missionaries, promoting assimilation was viewed as a necessary ingredient. The establishment of schools was one way of accomplishing this.

The conclusion of the War of 1812 ushered in rapid expansion of settlers into the U.S. interior. The founding of five new states from 1816-1821 in the lands east of the Mississippi River (Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri) pushed Native Americans further west. Even in instances in which the U.S. judicial system sided with Native Americans, as happened in

¹⁵ This term can refer various armed conflicts between indigenous North American people and European settlers, beginning in 1609 with the Beaver Wars between the Iroquois and the French. The final eruption of violence occurred in the post-1887 Apache wars which concluded in 1924. However, this paper is concerned primarily with the violence that occurred in the wake of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

¹⁶ Robert W. Prichard, “President Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy toward Native Americans and the Ministry of the Episcopal Church” (Unpublished: 2011), 4.

the case of the Cherokee nation in Georgia, the unrelenting demands of white settlers led to federal troops' removing and decimating the Cherokee population through disease and hardship along the Trail of Tears. Humanitarian grounds were used as a rationalization for the Indian Removal Act of 1830 which mandated the removal of Native Americans to west of the Mississippi. This position claimed that the Act's measures protected the native people from extinction.¹⁷ Dramatically reduced in number by war and disease, and restricted to the reservation system, Native Americans became the focus of assimilation by the US government. Although the reservations were under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the agents were frequently appointed based on the recommendations of the religious denominations that were serving a given area.¹⁸ Thus from its earliest days the boundary between church and state with regards to Native American policy was blurred. It is at this point in U.S. history that the Episcopal Church's efforts in educating native children by the missionaries on the reservations began to emerge. These efforts will eventually lead to the founding of the boarding schools. The boarding schools though were built on an already well established assimilative practices in the missionary work of the church. These practices date back to the earliest period of a missionary presence of the Church of England.

¹⁷ John P. Bowes, "US Expansion and its Consequences, 1815-1890," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 95-7.

¹⁸ DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1923), 42.

Chapter One Origins and Scope

1.1 Roots of Assimilation: John Eliot and the “Praying Towns”

The specifics of the missionary practices that led to the boarding schools can be better understood by exploring their ideological roots. The assimilative impulse of dominant white society underlying the boarding school system was not new or unique to the nineteenth century. Two centuries before the emergence of these schools, Christian church leaders were already using an ideology of assimilation. John Eliot was one of the first Anglican clergy to significantly interact with Native Americans. With the help of a former prisoner of war from the Pequot War named Cockenoe, Eliot began learning the Wapanoag language of the native people of eastern Massachusetts around 1643. From this instruction, Eliot was able to begin preaching to Native Americans in their own language and undertook translating the Ten Commandments and Lord’s Prayer. Eliot went on to translate further portions of scripture to Wampanoag as well.¹⁹ John Eliot’s first four meetings to proselytize Native Americans occurred in late 1646 from October through December of that year. Eliot reported the content of these conversations in his work, “The Day Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians.”

Eliot’s accounts of these early catechetical sessions reveal the same patterns of missionary views that would carry on into subsequent centuries. These attitudes and behaviors arose primarily from the assumed superiority of European, specifically English, culture over Native American culture. This attitude reflects a combination of ignorance and misinterpretation of early missionaries’ encounters with Native American societies. The missionaries characterized the behaviors, rituals, and cultural norms that were at variance with the missionary’s own culture as

¹⁹ William Wallace Tooker, *John Eliot’s First Indian Teacher and Interpreter, Cockenoe-De-Long Island and the Story of his Career from the Early Records* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896), Accessed 12/29/19. <https://archive.org/details/johneliotsfirsti00took/page/n9>, 12-15.

being bad, dirty, lazy, or sinful. In his first meeting, Eliot expressed his joy that "...it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits."²⁰ This observation led to a subsequent belief that English Christians, having a monopoly on virtuous, clean, and industrious behavior, had a moral obligation to share their superior culture with these lesser natives. Equating assimilation with repentance and establishing the necessity of assimilation as a prerequisite for conversion to Christianity arose from these convictions.

These foundational points can be seen in the selective interpretation and historically inaccurate explanation Eliot gave when he and his companions answered the following question from his prospective indigenous converts: "How come the English differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?" They responded that some of God's children were good, and some were bad. The "bad" ones, God ignored and left to their own devices; such was the condition of Native Americans. The "good" children, among which the English counted themselves, were obedient to God and chose to seek out and learn from God.²¹ Putting aside the historical inaccuracy regarding the conversion of European Christians, accounts such as this expose the foundation of the assumed moral and spiritual superiority of Europeans. Describing what he sees as the fallacy of indigenous spirituality, Eliot goes on to fault Native American spirituality for its failure to conform to the aesthetic sensibilities of the Judeo-Christian tradition. He describes native spirituality, saying, "...they are inheritors of a grievous and fearefull curse living so long without Ephod or Teraphim,

²⁰ John Eliot, "The Day-Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians," in *Day-Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians* (1903) 1-24, accessed August 12, 2019, <https://0-search-ebSCOhost-com.librarycatalog.vts.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip.cookie.url.uid&db=h8c&AN=44277694&site=eds-live> 2.

²¹ Eliot, "Day-Breaking," 9.

and in nearest alliance to the wilde beasts that perish...”²² The Native Americans names given to their concept of God or those elements pertaining to the spirit world, the English missionaries dismissed as being demonic. By unfortunate coincidence, one of the Native American names for their deity was *Chepian*, who took the form of a serpent. Naturally, the Christian missionaries like Eliot equated this figure with Satan in Genesis and sternly admonished the Wapanoag people that continued devil worship and reverence for this false god would result in eternal damnation.²³

It is interesting to note that rules Eliot established for these Native American converts had far less to do with theological beliefs or praxis than with policing cultural variances. Of the eight rules listed in Eliot’s text, only two pertain to morality (prohibitions against fornication and wife-beating). Six reflect English ideas of self-sufficiency and industriousness; they prohibit idleness and relying on the plantings of others. The remaining rules all pertain to hair length, appropriate clothing and matters of personal grooming.²⁴ This preoccupation with Native American hair length and clothing became a key feature of boarding school assimilation as well.

To further buttress the claim of cultural superiority and moral obligation, Eliot’s reflections frequently included testimonies of Native Americans’ own desire for assimilation. Sending Native American children to live and learn from the English was already an integral part of these early missionary efforts in the seventeenth century, and these accounts illustrate the effectiveness of Veracini’s Type I and II transfer narratives. Eliot reports one of the *Wampas* (sages) bringing four boys (including his own son), who ranged in age from four to twelve, to Eliot for an English education. When Eliot asked why he desired this, Eliot reported, “...his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped

²² Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 13.

²³ Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 19.

²⁴ Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 20.

they should do if they were constantly among the English.”²⁵ Eliot expands on his recommendations concerning further efforts of evangelization among Native Americans. Eliot explicitly states, “That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extreme ad extremum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extremely degenerate, must be brought to some civility before religion can prosper, or the word take place.”²⁶ Eliot saw the evangelical impact of educating the young as a means to further convert their elders; this too was recurrent feature in later promoting the boarding school programs. He goes on to state that adult members of the community, “...will be provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes fare so well among the English, and the civill authorities here so much favouring and countenancing of these.”²⁷ In other words, the Native Americans whose children converted to Christianity and learned to comply with English cultural norms would be perceived by other members of their own communities as more successful and better positioned than those who did not.

Over the next decades, Eliot would continue with his evangelization efforts, and by the early 1670s, he established nine “praying town” or settlements of Christian Native Americans.²⁸ However, the ongoing demand for land for the seemingly endless stream of European arrivals repeatedly displaced Native Americans and pushed them further west. Much of the enticement for the working-class English to immigrate to the Americas was the opportunity to obtain land ownership that would have been unobtainable had they remained in England. Most of these working-class settlers came as indentured servants. As their periods of indenture concluded, they

²⁵ Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 17.

²⁶ Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 14.

²⁷ Eliot, “Day-Breaking,” 21.

²⁸ John Eliot, “Brief narrative of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England, in the year 1670” No. 21 (Boston: Old South leaflets, 1896),

moved on to claim “unoccupied” lands for which they fully expected the colonial government to defend their right. One can only speculate whether English colonial authorities entered into land treaties with Native Americans in good faith. Ultimately those authorities caved into the demands of colonial settlers. Such was the cause of Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676 in which English settlers mounted a rebellion against Virginia governor, William Berkeley, demanding protections from raiding parties on whose lands the settlers were encroaching.²⁹ Given this established foundation of missionary work, it is little wonder that when westward expansion took hold, the pattern of assimilation was already deeply entrenched.

1.2 Defining the Scope – Schools & Individuals

It is unclear how many schools the Episcopal Church was directly involved in. A recent article by Jeffrey MacDonald suggests it may have been as many as fourteen.³⁰ Only twelve of these have been verifiable per the archives of *The Spirit of Mission* and the Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.³¹ An e-mail exchange with archives of the Episcopal Church dated September 17, 2019 indicates that the church archives do not have a list of Native American boarding schools in which the church was involved. Christian churches were frequently involved in the secular government schools and this occurred in two ways. First, it was not unusual for missionary groups to financially assist support the expenses for specific students from the mission territories in which their denomination operated. Similarly church attendance was considered a

²⁹ Matthew Crowe, “Atlantic North America from Contact to Late Nineteenth Century,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, eds. Edward Cavanaugh and Lorenzo Veracini (New York: Routledge, 2017), 99.

³⁰ Jeffrey G. MacDonald, “A Shocking History,” *The Living Church* (February 28, 2018). Accessed September 8, 2019, <https://livingchurch.org/2018/02/28/a-shocking-history/>

³¹ An article in *The Living Church* cited the number of schools as being as high as fourteen. However, the author of that article was not able to cite specific schools per an e-mail exchange with this author dated October 23, 2019. The figure of twelve was arrived at in collaboration with Dr. Denise Lajimodiere of the above-mentioned coalition in an e-mail exchange with the author dated October 19, 2019.

key component of the “civilizing” process. Secular government schools such as Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania, one of the largest of such schools, would then connect individual students with the nearby local clergy and congregation in Carlisle of the denomination serving the reservation from whence the student came (more on this in).

Because of this involvement with secular institutions, it is necessary to consider these institutions as well. The largest and most renowned of the secular institutions was the Carlisle Industrial school founded in 1879 by Captain Richard Henry Pratt. It was Pratt who is widely credited with the quote “kill the Indian to save the man.” Located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the school was sufficiently far away from the reservations of the west that only infrequent visits back to the reservations in the summer were feasible. In time even those were curtailed due to a highly successful “outing” program of placing Native American youth with white Christian families near the school to further ingrain the students in white society. Once ensconced at Carlisle, it was not unusual for children to be severed from their families and communities for a period of years at a time.

The twelve identifiable boarding schools of the Episcopal Church are listed in the chart below:

School	State
St. Mark's	Alaska
St. Theodore's	Minnesota
Emahaka Mission for Girls	Oklahoma
Creek Indian Territory	Oklahoma
Crow Creek Mission School / Orphan Asylum	Oklahoma
Hope School	Oklahoma
St. Elizabeth	Oklahoma
Ponemah	Pennsylvania
All Saints	S. Dakota
St. John's School for Girls	S. Dakota
St. Mary's School for Girls	S. Dakota
St. Paul's	S. Dakota

Following the Civilization Act of 1819, which allocated funds of the federal government to be paid to benevolent agencies, the first boarding schools began to appear as early as the 1840s. It was the founding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1849 that provided the bureaucratic infrastructure to support the administration of these programs.³² Although federal funding to church institutions through the annual budget of the Bureau of Indian Affairs ceased in 1900, funding of these operations continued through church contributions and the federal funds that were established as part of the peace treaties with individual tribes. The latter were distributed at the discretion of specific tribes and therefore could be used for church run institutions.³³

There were three variants of assimilative education for Native American children that were the product of the government funded schools. The formula for removing native children and transporting them far from their families was a process that developed over time as a matter of trial and error. The earliest schools were reservation day schools and they had the advantage of being the least expensive and the least likely to be opposed by native parents. Some advocates believed that children could act as conduits of civilization for their parents. As a tool of assimilation though, these schools were less than ideal. The children remained too embedded in tribal life for assimilation to be successful. The initial adaptation of the day school was the “on reservation” boarding school. In these institutions the children lived in dormitories but were still within reasonable travelling distance of their parents. Despite this intermediate distance, the near presence of family and tribal community continued to significantly influence students and impeded

³² The Bureau of Indian Affairs came into being when the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. See the “Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.” Accessed November 9, 2019. <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/075.html#75.1>

³³ David William Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 42

assimilation. Many of the on-reservation boarding schools were in close proximity to the Indian agents' offices where the adults would frequently congregate during events such as ration day.³⁴ Naturally the parents would want to visit their children. The proximity to their family homes further enabled the students to remain more in contact with parents and other members of their community.³⁵ In time advocates of Indian rights came to see the whole reservation system as being a significant barrier to the assimilation of Native Americans and strove to develop strategies to overcome these obstacles. From the perspective of those promoting assimilation, the obvious solution to these challenges came in the form of boarding schools that were a sufficient distance away from family and friends to allow assimilation to successfully take root.

The source material considered for this study began with a base list of 19 articles that were listed under the heading of "Indian Schools" in *The Spirit of Missions* catalogue. That list was expanded to include all cross-referenced index headings associated with the "Indian Schools" to arrive at the total list shown in Appendix A consisting of 284 listings. These cross-referenced subject headings are shown in column F, "Index headings." The content of the 284 articles were reviewed but obviously not all articles in that population were relevant to boarding schools. This was especially true of cross-referenced index items pertaining to individuals. For instance, Bishop William Hobart Hare was a significant figure in Native American boarding schools but not all articles on Bishop Hare related to boarding schools. Column H "Topic" indicate the relevance of each article. It is from this review of primary source missionary literature that three of the four individuals were selected for further consideration.

The Rev. Samuel D. Hinman. He is noteworthy for two reasons. First his work is featured in the earliest accounts found in *The Spirit of Mission* pertaining to the establishment of the

³⁴ The day that federal government payments and supply rations were distributed by government agents.

³⁵ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 28-35.

missionary schools.³⁶ Secondly, and perhaps more notably, Hinman writing shows him to be one of the counter-assimilative voices in the church.³⁷ He is credited with translating the *Book of Common Prayer* into the Dakota language. He favored the incorporation of Native American tribal rituals and spirituality into his evangelization efforts and for this he was temporarily removed from active ministry. His ministry also touched upon two of the other subjects of this paper, Bishops Hare and Whipple. He was ordained by Whipple, was involved in active ministry in Hare's diocese, and subsequently suspended by Hare due to allegations of misconduct. He was later reinstated by Whipple.³⁸

In the second half of the nineteenth century the modern states of Oklahoma and South Dakota were key missionary areas for the Episcopal Church. For this reason, the work and writing of Bishops Hare and Whipple are significant for this study. William Hobart Hare was consecrated the Missionary Bishop of Niobrara in 1872, which was the ecclesiastical name for the territory prior to the statehood of the western territories.³⁹ Henry Benjamin Whipple was consecrated the first Bishop of Minnesota in 1859. Like Hinman, Whipple too had a significant appreciation and respect for native culture. Both bishops were considered staunch advocates for the rights and well-being of Native Americans. They were both frequent contributors to *The Spirit of Mission* and

³⁶ As mentioned in the earlier section explaining the development of schools, this early school was a day school. It was located at the Sioux agency in Minnesota and described in a letter from Hinman to Bishop Whipple published in an 1862 edition of *The Spirit of Mission*. See vol. 27, 218, accessed October 10, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064896889&view=1up&seq=218>

³⁷ Jorge Valtierra Zamudio, "Indigenizing the Catholic Church: The Enculturation Process in Chiapas, Mexico," 30th Annual Conference of the Institute of Latin American Studies Student Association, at the University of Texas, February 2010, accessed March 30, 2020, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/ilassa/2010/zamudio.pdf>

³⁸ The Episcopal Church website. "Samuel Dutton Hinman" glossary entry. Accessed November 11, 2019. <https://episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/hinman-samuel-dutton>

³⁹ The Episcopal Church website, "Niobrara, Missionary District of," glossary entry, accessed March 30, 2020, <https://episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/niobrara-missionary-district> See also the website for the contemporary Niobrara Convocation, accessed March 30, 2020, <https://episcopalchurchsd.org/niobrara-convocation-1/>

advocates for the protection of Native American interests, or at least what they believe was in their best interest.

Estelle Aubrey Brown is not part of *The Spirit of Missions* index. She was not an Episcopalian but taught at the Crow Creek boarding school which was founded by the Episcopal Church. Her autobiography, *Stubborn Fool: A Narrative*, provides an account contemporary with and contradictory to some of *The Spirit of Missions* articles. As most of the day to day work of the boarding schools was carried out by teachers and they were the individuals who had the greatest opportunity to observe the condition of the students. As a non-Episcopalian and also as a woman, she provides a valuable outsider's perspective.

Brown's account testifies to some of the harsh conditions suffered by students and provides insight into the lives of those who taught in these schools. Most teachers in the boarding school system were women around age thirty. Some were attracted out of apparently altruistic motivations. The boarding school classroom also provided a socially acceptable opportunity for adventure far beyond the usual reach of well bred young ladies. Within the system though career advancement opportunities for women were very limited, life was often dreary, and the turnover in the schools was rapid.⁴⁰ In the next chapter the impact of these four individuals on the boarding school environment will be further elaborated.

⁴⁰ Adams, 82-9.

Chapter Two

Assimilation vs. Counter-assimilation: Church Leaders

In this chapter the work of Bishop Hare provides an example of the dominant view held by church leaders on assimilation. Bishop Whipple and the Rev. Hinman both exhibit a counter-assimilative perspective. Estelle Brown provides an assessment from outside the Episcopal Church.

2.1 Samuel Dutton Hinman: Counter-Assimilative Witness

Samuel Dutton Hinman's missionary activity demonstrates a counter-assimilative presence within the Episcopal Church during the developmental years of the boarding school system.⁴¹ Although many of the clergy ministering to Native Americans were horrified by their plight, Hinman was distinctive in how he participated in the missionary efforts of the church. He would not be involved in any of the Episcopal Church boarding schools. There is a temptation to overstate Hinman's egalitarian approach to his missionary efforts. In a 1969 article, William Barnds describes Hinman as "...determined to live with the Sioux and to become a part of their way of life and their community rather than render only a temporary ministry to them."⁴² This statement seems to imply that Hinman wished to adapt himself to native culture. While this is true, at the same time, he too, was deliberately working towards the goal of helping Native Americans assimilate to Euro American culture. He stands out among his contemporaries because he possessed a level of respect and appreciation for native culture and preserving their autonomy that

⁴¹ Hinman is most well remembered in the Episcopal Church for his translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Dakota language.

⁴² William Joseph Barnds, "The Ministry of the Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman, Among the Sioux," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 1969): 393-401, accessed November 9, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43748483>, 394.

was rare, and more importantly, stood in opposition to the transfer narratives that disparaged indigenous people. Because of this respect and appreciation, he did not resort to force or coercion. His sincere desire to help people was apparent and it was this sincerity that attracted indigenous people to the gospel message. Based on his own writings, it appears that Hinman's motivations were firmly rooted in a desire to re-establish agency and autonomy for the native population. He certainly did become a permanent part of their community and this is laudable, but to suggest that he was immune to the cultural biases of his race and context is not accurate.

Hinman was born in 1839 in Pittsburgh and orphaned at a young age. Upon completing his studies at the Seabury Divinity School, he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Whipple in the Diocese of Minnesota, and began serving at the Lower Sioux Agency in Redwood County. He was ordained to the priesthood three years later.⁴³ His initial assignment was to educate Native Americans, establish a day school for the children, and minister to both a native congregation and white settlers on Sundays. Following the Sioux uprising and their subsequent defeat in 1862, Hinman and his wife were sent with the Sioux to the Dakota Territory where he would continue ministering to them at the Santee Agency.⁴⁴

A portion of his personal journal from January 1869 was published as part of book later that year and provides valuable insight into his thoughts about his congregation and the approach he took to his work. Unlike Hare, and Whipple, Hinman was not a prolific contributor to *The Spirit of Missions*. In one of his journal entries he articulated his discomfort in writing about his work in appeal letters and other similar publications:

⁴³ David Hein and Gardiner H. Shattuck, *The Episcopalians*, Denominations in America (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), accessed December 20, 2019, <https://0-search-ebSCOhost-com.librarycatalog.vts.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=192553&site=ehost-live&scope=site>, 216.

⁴⁴ William Joseph Barnds, "The Ministry of the Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman, Among the Sioux," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* Vol. 38, No. 4, December 1969, 393-401, accessed November 9, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43748483>, 396.

It seems so akin to selfishness, and glorying in one's own strength and influence, that is why I always shrink from writing about the Mission work, or from telling it by word of mouth. If it is God's work, and if done according to His will, and in His way the blessing is assured, and there is no room for personality, and no right in its bearing the name of any human instrument, for God is not respecter of persons, and in our superlative weakness one man is as another before Him and each and every one utterly unworthy to minister for Him.⁴⁵

Between this self-consciousness and the long period as a *persona non grata* within the church due to his difficulties with Hare, the 1869 journal is one of his longest extant writings reflecting his missiological beliefs and methods. The above excerpt also provides some foreshadowing of Hinman's later difficulty. It shows the stark contrast to the character of Hare, who possessed no such inhibitions about publicly promoting mission work in the media.

Hinman was adamant about the need to train and educate native clergy. At the time of the journal, three of his protégés were well into their formation for ordained ministry: Paul Mazakuti, Christian Taopi, and Philip Johnson. All three were ordained by Bishop Clarkson of the Diocese of Nebraska later that same year, 1869.⁴⁶ Paul Mazakuti preached on a number of occasions during the span of the journal, and in all cases Hinman enthusiastically praised his homiletic skills and the superior effectiveness of the native clergy in proclaiming the gospel:

It shows what a wonderful advantage a native has over any foreign minister, be he ever so earnest. We must have a native ministry, and I have no confidence in the stability of right judgment of any foreign work, until they have such help, and lay such foundation. Religion can never flourish as an exotic, be nations ever so like in speech, and every mark that distinguishes men. The time of war and trouble will come, the foreigner be driven off, or rendered helpless, and his influence destroyed, and of all the work that has cost self-denial, and years of labor and much money, there will be scarce a vestige or trace. But a native ministry, sincere and earnest, will gather native strength. They understand their own people, their character, their habits, and their besetting as well as their less heinous sins. If truly faithful, and

⁴⁵ Samuel Dutton Hinman, "Journal Written at the Mission in Nebraska," in *Taopi and His Friends: or the Indians' Wrongs and Rights*, ed. unknown (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1869), accessed January 3, 2020, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/fk2b853p7m&view=1up&seq=9>, 20.

⁴⁶ William Joseph Barnds, "The Ministry of the Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman, Among the Sioux," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 1969): 393-401, accessed November 9, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43748483>, 397.

heartily, entirely and cheerfully devoted to the service of the Lord Jesus Christ, they and only they can be physicians skillful to deal with the infirmities of their own race.⁴⁷

On another occasion when lauding the qualities of his protégé's preaching he mused, "It is high time that the Sermon Paper, and by the page system of preaching was given up for more apostolic methods."⁴⁸ Hinman recognized his own personal inadequacies and the inadequacies of a Eurocentric institution in reaching native people. Rather than placing himself and his culture's methods in opposition to native culture, he demonstrated a willingness to use his authority to support and encourage the success of an indigenous evangelization that spoke to the people to whom he was ministering.

In addition to promoting the importance of native clergy, Hinman's writings show a church leader willing to defer to the sensibilities and judgment of his congregation. Writing just after the New Year, he describes a controversy concerning local dances. These dances and dinners were hosted by white settlers, but frequently native young men and women were invited to participate. The dances that Hinman had previously observed during his brief period at Crow Creek were "a disgrace to humanity," presumably involving alcohol and licentiousness. Hinman holds the opinion that these dances at the Santee Agency were well conducted and respectable. He expresses a sense of hypocrisy in forbidding his native congregation from participating in an activity in which the white community is free to engage. Furthermore, he recognizes the social importance of native dances and games, which the missionaries had forbidden because of their connection with native religion and gambling. He thinks that perhaps this might be an acceptable substitute and consults with Mazakuti, Taopi, and Johnson. All three candidates strongly oppose Hinman's proposal primarily because of the widespread availability of alcohol at these events. Hinman defers to their

⁴⁷ Hinman, "Journal," 17.

⁴⁸ Hinman, "Journal," 36.

judgment recognizing that they are in a better position to judge the matter than he is.⁴⁹ The mere fact that Hinman recognized the hypocrisy of forbidding native dances is commendable, but his willingness to cede to the three catechists even more so.⁵⁰

Hinman was not immune to the assumed superiority of white culture. In his opening introduction, which precedes the journal itself, he, too, devalues the native way of life relative to that of his own race: “We found these people utter heathens, in garb, in foolish superstition, and heathen in sin and savage cruelty. Now how changed, in costume – like whites, in habit – all outward signs of heathenism gone...”⁵¹ He also expresses cultural judgments concerning native ethics about work and reciprocity. In a letter to William Welch, a prominent lay leader in the church, Welch incorporated Hinman’s letter into a *Spirit of Mission* article in 1870, Hinman expresses the difficulties of working with members of the native population who have not been adequately assimilated. In the wake of a devastating tornado that all but destroyed the Santee facility, Welch apparently asked Hinman to seek native volunteers to assist with the rebuilding and ongoing maintenance. Hinman replied that this was not feasible when working with unconverted “heathens.” He went on to explain that reciprocity was assumed by Native Americans and they would become violent if they requested repayment and it was not honored. This he faults as a “selfish habit of all heathen,” saying, “They know nothing of disinterestedness, except among a person’s nearly related.”⁵²

⁴⁹ Hinman, “Journal,” 5.

⁵⁰ It is interesting to note though that as the decades and westward movement wore on, Christian attitudes towards native dance and gambling become much more relaxed. Although still frowned upon by government and church leaders, by the very early twentieth century when Gertrude Golden arrives at Red Moon in Oregon, these activities are occurring openly. See Gertrude Golden, *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a Schoolteacher in the Government Indian Service* (San Antonio: Naylor Co, 1954), accessed February 7, 2020. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106011859649&view=1up&seq=9>, 32-38, 39-40.

⁵¹ Hinman, “Journal,” 1.

⁵² William Welch, “Our Home Heathen,” *The Spirit of Missions* v. 35, June 1870, accessed October 31, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hxcrsa&view=1up&seq=392>, 340.

It appears, however, that Hinman was able to distinguish between the deleterious effects of “heathenism” and the inborn character of native people. In other words, he does not seem to imply that that these were their natural characteristics. On the contrary, he goes to considerable length to praise the aptitude, persistence, and other positive qualities of the native people he engaged with in ministry. This appears to be true from very early on in his mission work. In an early letter to Bishop Whipple in 1862, he praises the abilities of his students, “the progress of these Dakota pupils has been so commendable that many of them can read English with more or less proficiency; and there are hardly any that have not improved greatly, considering the difficulties in their way.” The “difficulty” to which he refers is the distance that many of the students travel through frequently adverse weather in order to attend school.⁵³ He is also quick to praise the moral qualities of his congregants. In the 1869 journal he relates an account of the burglary of a nearby general store. Initially there was suspicion directed towards the local native people but the crime was soon determined to have been committed by white bandits. The owner, in a disturbed state immediately following the crime, left the store unattended and unlocked for the better part of a day. The store was a popular meeting place for native residents in the area. They continued to come and go throughout the day despite the owner’s absence, but as Hinman reports, no thefts were committed during this time, and the people took good care of the shop during the owner’s absence.⁵⁴ On the whole, his journal attests to his admiration and fondness for his native congregation, not in a patronizing or paternalistic vein, but from genuine respect. The journal also implies a desire on his part to share and promote this respect among his fellow white Americans.

⁵³ Hinman, “Minnesota,” *The Spirit of Missions* v. 27, July 1862, accessed November 3, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064896889&view=1up&seq=214>, 196-7.

⁵⁴ Hinman, “Journal,” 8-9.

The exploitation and contempt with which his own people treated Native Americans was a source of pain for Hinman. His greatest frustrations seemed to be with members of his own race and their abominable conduct. Throughout the journal his anger at white indifference and government incompetence is apparent. Two stories stand out in the January accounts. It seemed to have been a frequent pastime of dissolute white settlers to furnish the native inhabitants with alcohol in order to observe their subsequent intoxicated behavior (see section 2.2). A local chief visited Hinman and reported one such incident to him: “The other day an Indian was made drunk against his will and then his head was split open by the same parties that furnished the whisky... We have comparatively little trouble here as yet, but the Indians wonder why we have no laws against such iniquity.”⁵⁵ Later when reflecting on the impoverished state in which government incompetence and corruption have left the native population he writes, “Enemies of all good works is always busy for evil, and then when these things are discovered by the Indians and we are questioned about them, we cannot but blush for shame to think of the years of ignorance and squalid misery that these people have endured because of our wrong doing.”⁵⁶ Although these are taken from Hinman’s journal, it was a portion of the journal that he selected for publication in a book which was to be used to promote support for the church’s missionary work. The fact that he did not delete these portions seems to imply Hinman wished to convey this frustration and disgust to his Euro American readers.

Some scholars believe that one of the major causes of the conflict between Hinman and Hare was Hinman’s acceptance of native cultural practices. Although he was initially found guilty by the church of misconduct, there was subsequently sufficient doubt cast on the evidence to

⁵⁵ Hinman, “Journal,” 15.

⁵⁶ Hinman, “Journal,” 26.

eventually overturn the results of the trial.⁵⁷ Hinman had a remarkable ability to discern which cultural elements worked in concert with his goal of promoting the gospel and which ones impeded it. He tolerated native medicine. While visiting a sick parishioner he encountered one of these healers and explains his lack of objection: “They do their patients no harm, and some of their remedies are quite good.”⁵⁸ More significant were his views on those matters relating to religious practices. For instance, Hinman accepted the native practice of leaving food on the graves of loved ones. Part of this custom was that the food was left for the first poor person to come along. He describes it as “a beautiful custom, because it unites the tender memory of the dead to compassion and charity for the living. Therefore we have not thought to forbid it.” He was especially touched by gifts of much treasured candy and treats from the mission’s Epiphany festival that the children had left on the graves of deceased younger siblings.⁵⁹

One of the most telling sections of the journal concerns Hinman’s views on hearing confessions. When contrasted to the rather paternalistic tone of Bishop Hare in the next section, it shows not only his willingness to make cultural accommodations but a willingness to accept the benefits of deferring to another culture’s preferences. At first reluctant to engage in hearing confessions, Hinman expresses his reticence. “Among the Indians, this seems to be necessary as it accords with their own custom in their heathen rites and fellowship, and when fearing the reproach that Churchmen might bring up this custom and anti-Protestant, we would have broken it up, the Indians have protested, and said that if men were sincere, they must not hide their sins.”⁶⁰ Hinman later notes that the custom of public confession appeared to be an amalgam of Medicine or Sacred Dance, the Soldiers’ Lodge, and the teaching of earlier Christian natives who came as part of the

⁵⁷ Hein, “Episcopalians,” 216-7.

⁵⁸ Hinman, “Journal,” 23.

⁵⁹ Hinman, “Journal,” 16-7.

⁶⁰ Hinman, “Journal,” 39.

Missionaries of the American Board. Hinman discontinued the practice of public confession but instead encouraged his congregants to make private confession to him or one of the catechists. He had come to the view this accommodation as a great benefit to both the congregation and himself. It caused members of the congregation to seek out individual spiritual guidance which gave him and the other ministers an opportunity to explain Christian teaching more fully in depth. Furthermore, it was of benefit to him as their pastor in providing him an opportunity to gain a more comprehensive understanding of native culture and character. Hinman was careful with these accommodations in that he did not incorporate any rites of absolution or give the practice sacramental status.⁶¹ In general, Hinman was wary of any practice that might be misinterpreted as equating to superstition. This was especially true around the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁶²

Whether these patterns of behavior or some other element caused Hinman's falling out with Hare, is open to speculation. Barnds postulates that Mary Hinman acted as a soothing mediator between her husband and the bishop, and that her death in 1876 removed her calming influence between the two men. Whipple did not doubt the integrity of either man but felt that Hare had been misled by unreliable accounts.⁶³ In any event, as a result of the accusations of financial and moral impropriety, in 1878 Hare removed Hinman's authority to function as a priest. The conflict ensued for the next several years and the two men finally reached a compromise in 1887 that allowed Hinman to be reinstated in Whipple's diocese. He spent his final years ministering to the Sioux at the Birch Coulee mission and died in 1890.⁶⁴ (See section 2.2)

⁶¹ Hinman, "Journal," 42.

⁶² Hinman, "Journal," 8-9.

⁶³ Barnds, "Hinman," 398.

⁶⁴ Hein, *Episcopalians*, 217.

2.2 William Hobart Hare: Promoter of Assimilation

When examining the Native American boarding schools of the late nineteenth century, Bishop William Hobart Hare was one of the most influential voices in the movement within the Episcopal Church. Hare was a strong leader and excellent administrator; his career shows a long list of notable accomplishments and successes as measured by the numbers of baptisms, confirmations, and overall church attendance. While this results oriented approach to ministry enabled him to succeed in many of his goals, it was also a weakness because it hindered him from developing any sort of appreciation of native culture and also blocked engaging in the cultural self-introspection that might have avoided some of the destructiveness that marred the church's evangelization of this period.

In 1871, at the urging of Rt. Rev. Dr. Harper Clarkson, the first Bishop of Nebraska, General Convention of the Episcopal Church created the Missionary Diocese of Niobrara, a jurisdiction established to focus on the missionary needs of Native Americans.⁶⁵ As its first bishop, they chose William Hobart Hare, a young priest then serving as secretary and general agent of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. Hare was thirty-four years old, making him the youngest bishop called in the Episcopal Church up until that time. Born in Princeton, New Jersey in 1838, his father was a priest and his maternal grandfather was John Henry Hobart, the first Bishop of the Diocese of New York.

Hare's profound desire to help the plight of Native Americans had its roots in a conversion experience that occurred in 1863. Travelling through Minnesota and Michigan that year because of his wife's poor health, Hare witnessed firsthand the cruelty of dominant white culture towards Native Americans and it greatly disturbed him. In Minnesota, he saw an advertisement in a local

⁶⁵ Barnds, "Hinman," 398.

newspaper offering \$250 for every Indian scalp turned into a government office.⁶⁶ He witnessed a particularly pathetic form of entertainment that was a common pastime for white settlers at the time: providing alcohol to Native Americans and encouraging them behave in a “heathen” manner for the audience’s amusement. In a letter to his Sunday school class back in Philadelphia, he described one such scene that occurred during a Fourth of July celebration:

They pounded the earth with their feet, they crouched to the ground, they leaped, and sang and whooped and yelled, occasionally firing their guns into the air, until I was sickened at the indecent sight. Thus my dear children I have seen white people, your and my brethren, teach the Indian evil and make them almost like that man possessed with the devil, mentioned in the Gospel, who roamed among the mountains crying and cutting himself with stones...

Hare went on to describe the cumulative impact of these episodes as bringing about a conversion experience for him. In his own words, “I returned to the East the Indian’s advocate.”⁶⁷

Hare’s 1872 letter to Miss E. N. Biddle reveals his internal struggle of discernment between accepting the role of bishop and continuing in his position as a mission administrator. He felt it illogical to devote his efforts to helping to convert “heathens” abroad when there were plenty at home. The overseas conversion of “heathens” was a responsibility shared with other Christian nations; in the United States that task was solely the responsibility of local church leaders. Furthermore, it would be far easier for the Board of Missions to replace him in his role as general agent and secretary than it would be to find another suitable candidate for a bishop to Native Americans.⁶⁸ Ambitious though Hare may have been, he did seem to possess a deep sense of obligation to use his gifts where they were best suited to the church.

⁶⁶ William Hobart Hare, “Reminiscences: An Address Delivered by William Hobart Hare, Missionary Bishop of South Dakota, at the Commemorative of the Fifteenth anniversary of his Consecration,” September 10, 1888, accessed September 11, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hx54qx&view=1up&seq=1,> 10.

⁶⁷ Hare, “Reminiscences,” 11.

⁶⁸ M.A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1923), 34-5.

In his early days as the Bishop of Niobrara, Hare set three priorities for his episcopate. The first was what he termed “mapping the field,” which involved recruiting and raising up the necessary clergy and lay leaders to firmly establish the church in the territory. The second was to establish schools, primarily boarding schools, for Native Americans. The final was to direct his efforts to those activities that only he as bishop could accomplish.⁶⁹ While only the second objective may appear to have had direct bearing on the development of boarding schools, the third should not be overlooked.

As part of his decision to delegate as much as possible those tasks that did not require his direct involvement, he determined that it was unnecessary for him to study the Dakota language. He mastered just enough of the language to be able to recite the service but never developed his proficiency any further.⁷⁰ Hare saw his role as that of facilitator, not as a pastor. “The Mission had two ends I was told, one in the East, where the money was, and the other in Indian Territory, where the work was. I was expected to look after both ends.”⁷¹ While this may have been an efficient distribution of duties, it may not have ultimately been to his benefit as the pastor of the diocese. His inability to engage in direct conversation with the Native American congregations under his care, prevented him from resourcing perspectives different from his own. Much of his information was coming from individuals, both native and white missionaries, who were under him in his chain of ecclesiastical command. As we shall see in the case of Samuel Hinman, it did not end well for those subordinates under Hare who deviated from conventional missionary approaches.

⁶⁹ Hare, “Reminiscences,” 16-17.

⁷⁰ Howe, *Life and Labors*, 51-3.

⁷¹ Hare, “Reminiscences,” 17.

When Hare began surveying his new episcopate in Niobrara⁷² in 1873, the Episcopal Church's missionary activities were in the early stages of implementation. Hinman had been at the Santee agency for a couple of years but had been ministering to the same population of Sioux in Minnesota since the early 1860s. Within a year Hare opened St. Mary's boarding school for girls at Santee. In addition, he founded three other boarding schools for Native American children: Crow Creek for girls (which later was expanded to admit boys), Cheyenne for boys, and two schools, one for each gender, at Yankton. Hare selected Yankton for his residence and planned to start a teacher training facility there. The success of eastern institutions such as the Hampton Institute and the Carlisle Industrial School made this impractical, and Hare decided that sending native students to the east for higher education was a better solution.⁷³

Both the church and the government of this era viewed the "Indian problem" as something that would vanish over time (Veracini's Transfer Narrative Type II). The prevailing thought in the Euro American establishment was that the native people would either die out or be thoroughly absorbed in Euro American society.⁷⁴ In this respect, Hare again saw himself as a facilitator, carrying out whatever was destined to be the outcome of Native Americans:

Suppose these people be designed by Providence to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. Our duty is to fit them for that lot. Suppose that they are to be merged in our more numerous race. Our duty is to fit them for that absorption by intermarriage, and so arrest the present vicious intermingling. Suppose that they are to die out. Our duty is to prepare them for their departure.⁷⁵

Hare goes on to state:

The Indians are not an insulated people, like some of the islanders of the South Sea. Our work is not that of building up a National Indian Church with a national liturgy

⁷² Niobrara territory was "bounded 'on the east by the Missouri River; on the south by the State of Nebraska; on the west by the 104th meridian, the Territory of Wyoming, and Nebraska; on the north by the 46th degree of north latitude.'" See Howe, 30.

⁷³ Howe, *Life and Labors*, 91-2.

⁷⁴ Barnds, 394.

⁷⁵ Hare, "Reminiscences," 11.

in the Indian tongue. It is rather that of resolving the Indian structure and preparing its parts for being taken up into the great whole in Church and State.⁷⁶

This refers to a biblical passage from the book of Joshua (v. 9:21). The white settlers saw themselves as being ordained by God to be in possession of the land. The terms “drawers of water” and “hewers of wood” refer to the Gibeonites who tricked the Israelites into entering a treaty which allowed them to avoid annihilation. According to Deuteronomy (v. 7:1-6), when the children of Israel came to the Promised Land, they were to completely wipe out all inhabitants of Canaan which the Lord God was giving to them. This mandate applied to the other peoples who lived in close proximity; it was permissible to enter treaties with distant peoples. The Gibeonites trick the Israelites into thinking they are from a far-off land, and not near neighbors, thus avoiding being slaughtered. Because the white settlers of North America saw themselves as modern day Israelites, this mentality gives rise to a belief that they had no more need to be troubled by the slaughter of Native Americans than the ancient Israelites had reason to be troubled by the slaughter of Canaanites.

Considering this white settler sense of entitlement and indifference to damage it wrought, men like Hare saw absorption as a humane and benevolent compromise to annihilation of Native Americans. While modern scholars such as Veracini can see that the destruction of another’s culture as being equivalent to military annihilation, it was apparently beyond Hare’s capacity to do so. Assimilation was seen as compassionate, and boarding schools, whose chief aim was to remove the cultural heritage of Native American children, were a critical component in achieving the goal.

The content of the stories and letters that Hare and his missionaries report in *The Spirit of Missions* was almost uniformly positive, extolling the accomplishments and general happiness of

⁷⁶ Hare, “Reminiscences,” 18.

the students enrolled in the boarding schools. Hare was a frequent contributor himself. His name shows up 173 times in the index of that periodical between 1873 and 1900,⁷⁷ contributing updates on the work of the missionary activity in his jurisdiction in which the schools figured prominently. These articles reflected some of the same thinking present in the era of John Eliot's praying towns: 1) the assumed and natural superiority of Euro American culture 2) the readiness and happiness with which the Native Americans were willing to embrace Euro American culture, and 3) Using children to convert parents. In one of Hare's early (1875) updates on the boys and girls boarding schools at Santee and Yankton, Hare relates the story of encountering an elderly Native American who wished to have his grandchildren baptized. Hare enquired if the parents were baptized, to which he replied they were not, but he was, and goes on to relate the following parable, which touches upon points two and three:

I have noticed that old antelopes are very wild and scary, and our hunters find it very hard to catch them. So they catch the young ones. The old ones come to seek their young, and then our hunters catch them too. And I thought if you would take and baptize these little grandchildren of mine, you might catch their parents too.⁷⁸

Appeasing his own sensibilities and those of his contributors in the east, Hare is quick to describe the extent to which the students are conforming to the cultural changes he and the missionaries have imposed on them. The content of the stories accentuates the happiness of the students enrolled in the boarding schools. While there may be some truth to these accounts, they thoroughly ignore the suffering and inadequacies of life on the reservations and in the schools. As the upcoming account from Estelle Aubrey Brown will show, this is a glaring omission. Demonstrated in another letter is the assumed superiority of white culture. He exclaims:

⁷⁷ 1873 marks the beginning of Hare's episcopacy and around 1900 his level of activity drops off dramatically due to failing health. See Hein, *The Episcopalians*, 214.

⁷⁸ William Hobart Hare, "Bishop Hare's School Circular" in *The Spirit of Missions* v. 40 (March 1875), accessed October 31, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897010&view=1up&seq=176,158>.

Indians who have been longer under good training, you would be greatly delighted. You would hardly believe, on visiting the Girl's School, Santee, or the Girls' School, Yankton Agency, that the neat, quiet, well behaved girls whom you will find busy in the kitchen, or working at a loom, or reciting their lessons in school, are the same creatures as those out of whom wild Indian life makes the repulsive-looking hags whom you see among them butchering beef or splitting wood; nor credit the fact that the boys of St. Paul's, now figuring at the black board, now rushing out hallooing for recess, and now setting the tables and making beds, would under other circumstances have grown up to paint their faces, wear the scalp-lock themselves and seek to take the scalp-lock of their enemies.⁷⁹

Implicit in these updates is an appeal that is designed to attract the baser instincts of self-preservation rather than any consideration for the wellbeing of Native Americans. In other words, support of the mission to Native Americans would ensure that the natives will remain docile, subservient, and unthreatening to white settlers.

Of the 173 articles mentioned above (see Appendix A) about forty have direct bearing on the schools and education of native children. Without exception they incorporate these recurring elements that are mentioned above. His school update in 1880 is patterned in much the same way. The boys at St. Paul's and girls at St. Mary's are making remarkable progress in their studies and mastering of manual and domestic chores. "We could hardly realize that many of these boys answering now so readily, I may say eagerly, were but a short time ago living their wild lives, and knowing nothing about either the language or the life with which they now seemed so familiar." This article also points out that the number of applicants far exceeds the spaces available despite the great distance from the children's homes.⁸⁰ Over and over again, he emphasizes these points: the children are happy and productive and want to be in the schools, the parents are happy and eager to have them there.

⁷⁹ Hare, March 1875 "Circular," 157.

⁸⁰ William Hobart Hare, "A Letter from Bishop Hare," in *The Spirit of Missions* v. 45 (January 1880), accessed October 20, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897069&view=1up&seq=23>, 11.

Some native children did in fact run away from the schools. These instances, when reported, are downplayed. In “Letters from Crow Creek Agency,” one of the schools under Hare’s jurisdiction, an unnamed teacher relates the story of four girls who ran away from the school. The ringleader of the escape, the oldest girl in the school, left a lovely note stating that she had always been happy at the school but wanted her freedom. The girl enticed three of her younger classmates to leave with her. The parents of all four children were reported to be distressed and ashamed by the children’s action and upon return to the school, all four girls immediately expressed remorse and regret for their actions.⁸¹

Hare was quick to point out that the education of children had bearing even on those Native Americans who epitomized the worst stereotypes of savage natives common among the dominant culture. These parents, too, were portrayed as being in favor of the education and assimilation of their children. He reported on a more savage and wilder individual that he encountered while conducting visits throughout his diocese. He said to Hare, “I want my boy to go to school, I am an old man. I am wounded all over. I like to fight. I love war. I went off the other day among some strange Indians. They said, ‘Go away, or we’ll kill you.’ ‘Kill away,’ said I: ‘that’s what I like.’” Hare does not offer any further explanation as to why this person wanted his children educated by Hare (nor does he explain how a “savage” had sufficient understanding of who Hare was to make the request in English, and Hare does not mention the presence of a translator) but notes in conclusion, “Is it and unheard of thing for white men to hate the restraints of religion and morality for themselves, and yet wish them for their children?”⁸²

⁸¹ Author unknown, “Letters from Crow Creek Agency,” in *The Spirit of Missions* v. 43 (May 1878), accessed November 10, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897044&view=1up&seq=264,252-3>.

⁸² Hare, “Reminiscences,” 15.

Given then that these schools contained happy and content children whose parents fully supported their attendance at these institutions, Hare saw a theological and moral mandate for white Christians to support these efforts with both funding and resource allocation. In his “Reminiscences” sermon, he framed the issue in terms of Proverbs 24:11-12, which in essence says that claiming ignorance of the plight of others is not an acceptable excuse. Hare saw a key part of his mission as educating east coast white Americans on the dire plight of Native Americans and marshaling their resources to aid this plight in what he believed to be the best course of action for the native population. In that respect, Hare was extremely successful in meeting his immediate goals. The problem was that he had never bothered to develop a deeper understanding of this plight that went beyond a superficial level of familiarity. This happened because of his narrow focus on end results and his failure to consider the perspective of those whose opinions differed from his, most notably, someone like Samuel Hinman.

In his view, anything that impeded the absorption of Native American culture into the more dominant Euro American culture was at best a temporary accommodation. Because of this he opposed anything, including the reservation system itself, which strengthened or reinforced native language or culture.⁸³ One can only speculate at this point what shape Hare’s ministry might have taken on if he had taken the time to learn the Dakota language and been able to fully communicate with unassimilated Native Americans. While Hare’s detached and distant methods may have been an efficient style of leadership, this lack of proximity meant that he was far removed from the suffering that resulted from some of his solutions. Estelle Aubrey Brown provides a firsthand account the actual situation in the schools.

⁸³ Hare, “Reminiscences,” 18.

2.3 Estelle Aubrey Brown: Outside and Counter-Assimilative

People outside the Episcopal Church had a vastly different perspective on the Native American boarding schools than the ones expressed in *The Spirit of Missions*, and this will be demonstrated in this section by contrasting an account from one of the classroom teacher in comparison to the descriptions that were typically published in the mission newsletter. Estelle Aubrey Brown's autobiography shows the schools were underfunded and understaffed. They were bureaucratically mismanaged; the staff was poorly trained and inadequately prepared. As we shall see from Brown's descriptions, these schools failed in adequately providing for basic needs for the students such as sufficient food and medical care. An autobiographical account from Gertrude Golden, another classroom teacher of the same era, indicates similar conditions in other government schools of the same era, though not with any associated with the Episcopal Church.

Writing in the early 1950s, Brown had the benefit of hindsight and years of personal reflection that missionaries writing articles for *The Spirit of Missions* did not. These missionaries, many of whom were clergy, functioned under the supervision of a bishop writing for a church periodical. This is not to say that these missionaries of the period were attempting to defraud their supporters, but merely that they did not have the same freedom of autonomy and objectivity that an individual such as Brown possessed. This is important because it sheds light on the discrepancy between the actual condition of the schools and the popular opinion Episcopalians of the era had about the efficacy of the boarding schools. Perceptions and reality of these schools were greatly skewed.

When Brown began as a kindergarten teacher at Crow Creek boarding school in 1902, the school had been in operation for eighteen years. Brown was herself a Presbyterian, had little prior contact with the Episcopal Church. Brown only stayed at Crow Creek for one academic year and

then transferred to the Navaho Agency in Arizona where she would spend the remainder of her sixteen years working for the United States Indian Field Service.⁸⁴ Despite her relatively brief time at this school, her account of this period, and her subsequent reflections on the boarding school endeavors, provide keen insights into the inherent problems and systematic injustice that were part of the system. Her lower status as woman working within the male dominated system and her lack of affiliation with the Episcopal denomination give her account an objectivity that are lacking in the denomination's own internal accounts of these institutions.

By the time Brown arrived, Crow Creek had become a secular government boarding school. The lines between government and church control of the boarding schools were not clear. Although the teachers and ancillary staff for government schools qualified through a civil service exam process, as previously pointed out, the churches performing missionary work in the region had significant input into the agents appointed in their spheres of influence.⁸⁵ An 1888 Senate-commissioned Bureau of Education documents other key statistics for each agency location⁸⁶ lists the missionary at Crow Creek during the year that Brown taught there was a Rev. H. Burt,⁸⁷ who had been at the mission since its inception in 1872.⁸⁸ The presence and influence of Rev. Burt and his wife at the school are evident throughout the Crow Creek chapters of Brown's autobiography. For instance, the superintendant asked Brown to take on teaching a Sunday school class upon her

⁸⁴ Author Unknown, "Estelle Aubrey Brown," Arizona Historical Society website, accessed February 3, 2020, https://www.arizonahistoricalociety.org/wp-content/uploads/library_Brown-Estelle.pdf, 1.

⁸⁵ M.A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1923), 42.

⁸⁶ Alice Cunningham Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization: A Report Prepared in Answer to Senate Resolution of February 23, 1885*, under the direction of the United States Office of Education (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1888), accessed February 3, 2020, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Wnnj-y4OBLMC&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA13>, 109-243.

⁸⁷ We learn from Brown's memoir that the Rev. Burt's first name is Hachaliah (47). However, in *The Spirit of Missions* and the government publications he is listed as "the Rev. H. Burt" without exception.

⁸⁸ Author Unknown, "Indian Affairs," in the *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), accessed February 3, 2020, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SGAvAQAAMAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PR1>, 273.

arrival on behalf of the Rev. Burt. She also assumed responsibility for saying grace for the students at breakfast.⁸⁹

Her overall opinion of the Burts was positive, but she questioned there being any real benefit to their function. She writes of them, “They taught and lived a way of life that embraced a Christian faith in love and selflessness and fair dealing. Yet they appeared before the Sioux as members of a race that had broken every early treaty with them in the interest of its own greed.”⁹⁰ The Burts themselves occasionally provided updates to *The Spirit of Missions* on the progress of the mission and the school. By contrast, these updates, written to muster support in the east for the missions, were optimistic and tended to gloss over the misery and squalor that persisted throughout the years of the mission. Writing in September 1884, Burt extols the tremendous progress the mission had made in its twelve years of operation. He highlighted that Native Americans were now living in proper homes rather than teepees; the homes on their farms are either frame or log houses. The boarding school was at that point fully functional and they have been able to send some of their most promising students back to the Hampton Institute for further education. He concluded, “While the people as a whole are trying to be civilized, or ‘like white men,’ as the expression is, the number who realize that there can be no true civilization without Christianity are yet in the minority.”⁹¹ Despite the attempted note of optimism, the Rev. Burt may, too, have had some sense of the futility of evangelization efforts at Crow Creek.

In the early twentieth century the boarding schools were undergoing a shift towards becoming increasingly secular institutions. Christian churches continued to play a significant role in the day-to-day operations of the school, though they no longer had exclusive control over the

⁸⁹ Estelle Aubrey Brown, *Stubborn Fool: A Narrative* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1952), 35-7.

⁹⁰ Brown, *Fool*, 47.

⁹¹ H. Burt, “From the Rev. H. Burt,” in *The Spirit of Missions* v. 49 (September 1884), accessed October 23, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897101&view=1up&seq=459>, 443-4.

institutions as they did in era of Bishop Hare. Gertrude Golden,⁹² who also taught in a number of schools in the Indian Service under various denominations in the early twentieth century, addresses this tension in her memoirs:

Ambitious missionaries, anxious to send to their boards reports of great progress (progress interpreted as names added to church membership lists), aided and abetted by narrow, bigoted government employees, often stirred up such bitter dissensions in a school that the atmosphere was anything but Christian...

The rules laid down by the Indian Bureau for the guidance of both missionaries and employees were plain and forthright. First they stipulated that missionaries must have the consent of the parents before enrolling a child in their class. Also there must be no attempt at proselyting, either by missionaries or employees, during the school year. If a child came in as a Protestant at the beginning of the year, he must go out the same at the end of the term. The same applied to Catholics.⁹³

This competitiveness for producing quantitative results, that is, increased membership numbers, may have further spurred missionaries to give overly optimistic accounts to their supporters and advocates in the east.

The classroom teachers, on the other hand, painted a different picture.⁹⁴ Brown's opinion of the school in her year at Crow Creek in South Dakota is dismal and bleak. Her presence at the schools takes place twenty years after Burt's article above, which seems surprising as one would expect the school to be operating on a more well-established footing. Her chief complaints about

⁹² Golden was a Roman Catholic lay woman who taught in schools predominantly under the missionary influence of the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, and, therefore, her accounts fall outside the scope of this thesis. However, her autobiography is in many ways consistent with the arguments found in Brown's autobiography, so I have included in her this chapter, though to a lesser extent.

⁹³ Gertrude Golden, *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a Schoolteacher in the Government Indian Service* (San Antonio: Naylor Co, 1954), accessed February 7, 2020. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106011859649&view=1up&seq=9>, 161.

⁹⁴ In 1968 the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare commissioned a survey of all literature written up to that point on the topic of the education of Native Americans. This was carried out by the Ohio State University Research Foundation. There are two teacher autobiographies that appear in this survey. The section of this thesis that follows contains reference to both, although only Estelle Aubrey Brown was taught at a school associated with the Episcopal Church. The other author, Gertrude Golden, was with schools under the missionary supervision of other denominations. See Brewton Berry, *The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature* (Washington DC: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1968), accessed December 20, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015001342651&view=1up&seq=7>

the school are that it is woefully underfunded and under-resourced; the agency system is crippled by a bureaucracy that renders the school ineffective; the teaching methods make no sense; and the hypocrisy and malevolent attitudes of the white establishment impede any progress towards improving the situation of Native Americans.⁹⁵

From the very beginning of her days in the service, Brown expressed feeling appalled by the lack of expertise required of teachers in the service. For Brown, who was twenty years old when she began teaching at Crow Creek, the sole requirement was to pass a civil service exam. While women were allowed to sit for exams, they were not considered for positions if qualified men were available. The exception to this rule was teaching kindergarten for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.⁹⁶ While she expresses no strong passion or desire to work as teacher in a boarding school, she is still dismayed by the lack of rigor and preparation required for teachers entering into the system:

When I went to Burlington to take the civil service examination, I had expected to be questioned about my knowledge of Indians, their tribal history and reservation conditions. I had expected to be tested on my fitness to teach children of a savage race to whom the word education was unknown and who were without knowledge of a written language. No such test was given. Later, when the Indian Bureau sent me to Crow Creek, it did not even tell me the name of the tribe it was sending me to teach.⁹⁷

Brown's sole preparation for teaching kindergarten consisted of seven evening tutoring sessions with the proprietress of a nearby private kindergarten so she could pass the qualifying exam.⁹⁸

This lack of focus on the qualification of teachers and the needs of students was not limited to the hiring process. Throughout her year as teacher, she continued to note how little attention the school and agency authorities paid to the business of education. One of her colleagues, Miss

⁹⁵ Brown, *Fool*, 20-105.

⁹⁶ Brown, *Fool*, 18.

⁹⁷ Brown, *Fool*, 48.

⁹⁸ Brown, *Fool*, 19.

Swinton, the school seamstress, shortly after Brown's arrival educated her about the periodic efficiency reports used to evaluate the performance of school employees. Brown asked her if these evaluations ever assessed the teachers' knowledge of Native Americans or the teachers' ability to work with them. They did not. In fact, during her entire year of teaching, neither the school superintendent nor the local agent ever observed her in the classroom or inquired how she was getting on in that capacity.⁹⁹

In addition to being poorly qualified, the school was woefully understaffed. At the time of Brown's writing, Crow Creek had about two hundred students evenly split between boys and girls between the ages of six and twenty.¹⁰⁰ There were only three classroom teachers for the whole school. The children spent only four hours a day in school and engaged in manual labor for the remainder of the day. Government administrators felt these numbers were sufficient to teach two hundred students for the four hours a day that school was in session. There were only a handful of employees for the school and students, even those quite young, performed most of the manual labor. Kindergarten age girls would spend four hours every day except Sunday mending clothing.¹⁰¹

Brown was also appalled by the students' ill health and malnutrition. Most children were covered with scrofula sores in her kindergarten class.¹⁰² The conditions under which the children worked at the school did not help matters. The only soap that students had for personal hygiene was the harsh industrial soap used for scrubbing the dormitories. Students also did not have access to warm water; between the abrasive soaps and cold water their skin suffered miserably. In the colder seasons when the South Dakota winters saw extended periods of sub zero weather, the

⁹⁹ Brown, *Fool*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, *Fool*, 35.

¹⁰¹ Brown, *Fool*, 45-6.

¹⁰² Brown, *Fool*, 41.

children did not have overcoats or even mittens.¹⁰³ As a result the children suffered from swollen joints, and their skin was cracked and inflamed.¹⁰⁴ Their daily diet consisted of coffee, bread and molasses, meat and gravy, and none of the ingredients were of decent quality. Brown writes, “Butter, cheese, fresh fruit, and vegetables were never seen in that dining room.”¹⁰⁵ The cumulative effect of all this institutional negligence was that the children’s health suffered badly, and the ignorance and bureaucracy of the school’s leadership were unwilling to address it.

One example of well-meaning white Christian ignorance occurred when Brown called to the attention of the school superintendent that the boys were scaring and menacing the girls into not eating their share of breakfast. Brown suggested that they segregate the boys from the girls to stop this from happening. The superintendent explains that they require the boys and girls to eat together at the same table to teach equality of the sexes to the native boys and girls, and until that is achieved, the boys and girls must continue to eat together. Brown attempted to point out, that the girls were not really eating and the arrangement, if anything, was reinforcing female subservience. After subsequently relating this story to Miss Swinton, the seamstress replied, “What right has he or any other man to ask us to teach what we ain’t got ourselves? Equality! And ain’t it just like us, now, trying to make them savages what we oughter be and ain’t. Trying to make Christians out of them heathen when we ain’t ever acted like Christians to ‘em.”¹⁰⁶

When a measles epidemic broke out at the school, it fell to the meager school staff to provide care for the students. The agent placed the school under quarantine thus forbidding agency personnel from helping at the school (although the Burts were not under the authority of the agent, so they could and did help). There was no clinic or hospital ward area where the sick students

¹⁰³ Brown, *Fool*, 70-5.

¹⁰⁴ Brown, *Fool*, 99.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *Fool*, 72.

¹⁰⁶ Brown, *Fool*, 60-3.

could be segregated from the healthy, and neither was there qualified nursing care. Furthermore, the children's dormitories, unlike the teachers' quarters, were unheated. One of the male staff, a Mr. Lamb, was caring for a boy whose condition worsened far more than usual for measles. Mr. Lamb wishing to keep the boy as warm as possible set out to get the boy a bedpan so that he could stay under the warm covers of his bed when he needed to relieve himself. Lamb discovered that there was supposed to be a bedpan per the supply list for the school, but no one at the agency was able to locate it. The agent refused to order a new one because according to the school supply list, they already had one.¹⁰⁷ Brown reports mindless apathy of this nature throughout her narrative.

For many teachers the attraction of working at the school had little to do with a desire to help the plight of Native Americans. The pay for teachers in these schools was far superior to teachers' salaries elsewhere, especially for women. Brown¹⁰⁸ and Golden,¹⁰⁹ both of whom taught in rural school districts prior to serving in the mission schools, more than doubled their salaries when they entered into boarding school service. These teachers were not always able to avail themselves of the higher pay. During her year at Crow Creek, the agent and the superintendent engaged in an ongoing conflict, most of which the agent took out on the teachers and school staff. Brown's first paycheck was delayed for two months because the agent arbitrarily decided to start paying the teachers quarterly. This created a hardship for several the school staff.¹¹⁰ When her first quarterly paycheck arrived, the agent insisted that the employees endorse their checks over to him, and he paid the employees with silver dollars. Brown speculates he did this so that he, the agent who is also the postmaster, can charge the employees additional fees for money orders.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *Fool*, 92-7.

¹⁰⁸ Brown, *Fool*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Golden, *Red Moon*, xi.

¹¹⁰ Brown, *Fool*, 67.

¹¹¹ Brown, *Fool*, 99-100.

Those in positions of authority, agents and superintendents, focused on this sort of pettiness and power struggles. Had they put the same amount of effort into actually helping the Native American people under their care, the outcomes would have been substantially different.

Brown requested a transfer away from Crow Creek for a non-teaching position as soon as she was eligible and left South Dakota the following academic year. Throughout her narrative she expresses an overwhelming sense of futility concerning the schools that remained with her throughout her years working for Bureau of Indian Affairs:

It called for a belief in the necessity for recreating primitive children in my own image. In sixteen years I did not acquire that belief. I had a vague sense of incongruity in the routine and purposes of the school but was too ignorant to trace it to a reliable source. Yet I instinctively felt that, in teaching Indian children to like and want the things we liked and wanted, we were headed in the wrong direction.

Ms. Brown's truth becomes even more apparent when we consider the boarding schools from the Native American students' perspective in the critique section of the next chapter. Not all bishops in the Episcopal Church were oblivious to the problems of assimilation. Bishop Whipple was one such leader.

2.4 Henry Benjamin Whipple: Counter Assimilative

The Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, first bishop of Minnesota, was one of the main voices¹¹² in the nineteenth century Episcopal church advocating for the rights of Native Americans. He did not write as prolifically for the *Spirit of Missions* as his colleague Bishop Hare on the specific topic of boarding schools primarily because a large portion of the Native American population was displaced from Minnesota to the Dakotas following the 1862 uprisings.¹¹³ Whipple's cultural

¹¹² Hein and Shattuck, *The Episcopalians*, 316-7.

¹¹³ Commonly referred to as the Dakota War of 1862, under the leadership of the Sioux chief, Little Crow, attacked the Lower Sioux Agency in Minnesota killing several US government officials and traders. The uprising was triggered by a series of failed promises and broken treaties on the part of the U.S. government. Fighting continued

sensitivity runs counter to the narrative espoused by so many of his contemporaries. Furthermore, his advocacy for the plight of Native Americans and the ramifications of that advocacy are of great significance to the development of boarding schools. Of the fifty-eight times that his name appears in the *Spirit of Missions* index during the scope of this thesis (1859 – 1905), only three articles pertain directly to schools for Native American children. Another twelve articles include general appeals to support Indian missions in his jurisdiction; some of these resources would have gone to support education. Because he is far less explicit about school activity in his diocese, it is difficult to ascertain the number of boarding schools founded or administered under his direction.¹¹⁴

There is no doubt that Whipple promoted assimilation.¹¹⁵ Yet the underlying motivations that support this promotion did not align with those of contemporaries such as Hare. Whipple's writing shows qualities running contrary to the prevailing white Christian beliefs of the times. Most noticeable is his high esteem and appreciation of Native American language, culture, and spirituality.

for several weeks with casualties on both sides. After sending in 1,400 troops, the US took about 2,000 Sioux prisoner. 1,400 were women, children, and the elderly, who were imprisoned at Fort Snelling. Over the winter, many of them died because of poor conditions. 392 Sioux men were tried, 303 received death sentences, 16 were given prison terms. December 26, 1862, in what to this day has been the largest mass execution in US history, 38 Dakota Sioux were executed by hanging. See Jill Doerfler and Erik Redix, "US-Dakota War and Little Crow," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*, Frederick E. Hoxie ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 188-190.

¹¹⁴ Based on the 1885 government survey of Native American education, there were two schools, one at Red Lake and another at Leech Lake, which were listed as both boarding and day schools in Minnesota, in addition to two industrial boarding schools listed. The section of the report covering missionary activity lists both the Episcopal Church and Roman Catholic Church as being active in the area (See Alice Cunningham Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization: A Report Prepared in Answer to Senate Resolution of February 23, 1885*, under the direction of the United States Office of Education (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1888), accessed February 3, 2020, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Wnnj-y4OBLMC&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA13,444>.) In his autobiography, Whipple frequently mentions Red Lake in his episcopal visits. The Native American Boarding School Survivors group is only able to identify one school, St. Theodore's, as being associated with the Episcopal Church in this geographic area (Denise Lajimodiere e-mail exchange dated October 19, 2019) A 2016 article in the popular press by Dr. Lajimodiere states that there were eventually as many 16 Native American boarding schools in the state but gives no indication which churches were involved with each institution (See Denise Lajimodiere, "The Sad Legacy of American Indian Boarding Schools in Minnesota and the U.S." in *MinnPost*, accessed March 4, 2020, <https://www.minnpost.com/mnopedia/2016/06/sad-legacy-american-indian-boarding-schools-minnesota-and-us/>).

¹¹⁵ Hein and Shattuck, *The Episcopalians*, 316-7.

Though it may seem anachronistic to portray Whipple as an advocate of ecumenism and interfaith dialogue,¹¹⁶ these are accurate in describing his conduct and beliefs. He warmly invited Christians of other denominations and the unchurched to receive Eucharist. In his pastoral care, he was perfectly willing to tend to the needs of Christians outside his flock. As we shall see shortly from his subsequent interaction with Native American spiritual leaders, he was interested in learning about their faith tradition through dialogue. These characteristics predated Whipple's encounters with Native Americans and are present in the early years of his priesthood in New York and Illinois. In addition to inviting Christians of other denominations to Holy Communion, he included individuals who were considered undesirable elements of polite society, offering the sacrament to dubious professions such as those in the theater and even going so far as to offer baptism to a prostitute. He saw these practices as being in perfect concord with the gospel.¹¹⁷

In addition to his ecumenical spirit, Whipple seems to have possessed a natural curiosity and interest in people outside of the usual sphere of a nineteenth century clergyman. Ordained to the priesthood in 1850, one of his early posts was in Chicago which at that time was still very much on the frontier of settled areas. Many of his friends warned him of the pitfalls of ministering in new territories, convinced that there was insufficient support in these newly settled communities. The new city was a hub of activity for the railroads. Wishing to engage with the railroad men in the area, he took the suggestion of the chief engineer of the Galena Railway and read Lardner's *Railway Economy* so that he could better relate to them and ask intelligent questions about their work. He soon became a favorite among the rail workers and engineers, frequently

¹¹⁶ One might consider labeling Whipple as "ecumenical" anachronistic because his early ministry predates by sixty years the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, which marks the beginning of the modern ecumenical movement. However, this seems to fit for lack of a better term. See Daniel Patte ed. "Ecumenical Movement" in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 352.

¹¹⁷ Henry Benjamin Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate: Being Reminiscences and Recollections of the Right Reverend Henry Benjamin Whipple* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1899), 21-3.

called on in times of crisis and accidents, which in those days were frequent. His Chicago congregation flourished.¹¹⁸ Later on in his ministry in Minnesota he had a dentist friend from Chicago teach him the correct way to pull teeth so that he could provide this service to those on the frontier, both white and Native American.¹¹⁹ These are but a two examples of a style of leadership that showed interest in and a desire to serve his flock that are exhibited throughout Whipple's autobiography.

In 1859, at the age of thirty-seven, he was consecrated the first Bishop of Minnesota, a territory far more remote and unsettled than Chicago. When he arrives in Faribault, there was no residence for him. Nor was there an actual church, simply a crude chapel. The white settlers in the area, both Episcopalian and otherwise, offered to fund a home for him, and so Faribault became his center of operations. The Board of Missions expressed their desire to locate his residence closer to Nashotah in Wisconsin, as it would place him in closer proximity to clergy colleagues.¹²⁰ Whipple, however, was determined though to live among the people he was called to serve. He spent little time in his new home in Faribault; he was frequently traveling through the far reaches of his diocese. He traveled on horseback, by foot, or canoe, and in one his journeys he writes of his appreciation of arriving at the home of a clerk for the American Fur Co. and enjoying a "bountiful supper of cornbread and molasses" and the luxury of sleeping on a floor rather than the ground.¹²¹ Whipple's comfort engaging with members of other Christian churches served him well in this period. Most of his Episcopal visits were held in school houses and churches on loan from other denominations.¹²² His choice of residence and grueling travel itinerary is significant

¹¹⁸ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 19-20.

¹¹⁹ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 83.

¹²⁰ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 59.

¹²¹ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 73.

¹²² Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 60.

for the era because unlike the bishop of Illinois,¹²³ who resided in relative comfort in upstate New York, Whipple willingly chose the physically challenging life of a frontiersman in opposition to what was customary for a bishop of his era.

This willingness to spend substantial time in the wilderness put him in greater proximity to the native population and Whipple was no less committed to the Native American members of his flock than to the white settlers in his jurisdiction. Upon his arrival white Christians in his territory advised him not to waste time on Native Americans because they are “a degraded, perishing race.” This advice deepened his resolve to do as much as he could for them.¹²⁴ He learned to speak Dakota and Ojibway, though the extent of his fluency is not clear. In the published excerpts of his diary from early 1862, he recounts some conversations in these languages and when referring to Native American individuals, he uses both their native and English names.¹²⁵ It is apparent that he learned enough to carry on at least simple conversations. More significantly he acquired a wealth of knowledge about the origins of the various languages spoken by each group and how they related to each other.¹²⁶

Whipple speaks of Native American spirituality with a surprisingly high level of respect and a great degree of familiarity. Unlike Hare, who was appalled by native ritual, Whipple not only tolerated the practices but invested substantial time learning about the theology of native religious rituals. He describes details of the native festivals the corn-dance, the sugar and berry feasts, and comments on the parallels between these events and the Jewish festival rites from scripture.¹²⁷ It appears that he may have engaged in some early form of interreligious dialogue

¹²³ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 25.

¹²⁴ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 32.

¹²⁵ Whipple, *Light and Shadows*, 68-84

¹²⁶ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 39.

¹²⁷ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 41.

with native spiritual leaders. Whipple explains to his readers what these native men found objectionable about Christianity; they felt it focused too much on the afterlife and not enough on the present age.¹²⁸ He goes on to explain that Native Americans are monotheistic, not idolaters, and that atheism is virtually unknown to Native Americans. Nowhere in his narrative does he describe these practices as satanic. Like Samuel Hinman, Whipple was moved by the native ritual of placing food on the graves of the recently deceased, and he goes on to explain that it is not a simple heathen practice of a primitive people. When white clergy pointed out to the relatives that the dead cannot eat, an unnamed indigenous person replied, “We know that; but there is something spiritual in food which nourishes life, and how do you know that they do not eat that?”¹²⁹

This depth of understanding of native culture and belief impacted his overall impression of native peoples. He writes:

The current idea that Indians are sullen and morose is false. In the presence of strangers they are reserved, but they are naturally cheerful and appreciative of fun, even making their misfortunes an occasion for joking. They are generous to improvidence, and there is a singular absence of greed which gathers treasures that cannot be used. They think white men fools to accumulate wealth.¹³⁰

He further reflects of the gross inaccuracies of the dominant white culture’s views on Native Americans:

Travelers usually form their ideas of Indian character by the vagabonds of the border village of railway stations, who have lost manhood by contact with the worst elements of our own race. It would be as just for a foreigner to describe the character and habits of the American people from what he had seen in the slums of New York.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 34.

¹²⁹ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 37.

¹³⁰ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 39.

¹³¹ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 50.

It is not surprising then that in Whipple's appeals to support the Indian missions, there is little condescension towards native people and the strongest sentiments are those he expresses about need for the white Christians to atone for the evil done to native peoples.

This desire to make amends fueled Whipple's support of efforts to assimilate Native Americans. One can only speculate as to what assimilation meant for him, but this impulse seems to stem from a genuine respect and affection for the native peoples. Additionally he was swayed by encounters with Native American leaders in which they asked Whipple to send missionaries and establish schools reinforced his conviction.¹³² In Whipple's view, assimilation was only slightly less evil than annihilation. Whipple was aware of damage done to native people through their exposure to white Christians. In visiting one native settlement outside the reservation system and living far from white settlers he describes feeling struck by the favorable environment he encounters. He records the following impressions:

The condition of this people is so unlike that of Indians in treaty relations with the Government, that one cannot fail to see at a glance the iniquity which lies at the door of the Government. As I looked into the anxious face of the chief, I could not help a great throb of pity for the helpless man who felt the pressure of a stronger power, knowing that he must sell and yet fearing that the sale of his land to great Christian nation would be his people's doom. God in mercy pity a people thus wronged, and help them!¹³³

It would seem, then, that while Whipple supported assimilation, his goal was to give native people the tools and skills they needed to protect themselves from further exploitation at the hands of the US government and white settlers, and not from a desire to destroy their culture and way of life. It appears then that Whipple was an assimilationist, but motivation was in opposition to the dominant transfer narratives.

¹³² For example: Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 61-63, 71, 75.

¹³³ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 76.

In the wake of the 1862 Sioux Uprising, many of the Native Americans in Minnesota were sent away to reservations in the Dakotas. Samuel Hinman, whom Whipple ordained and ardently supported in his missionary work, went with them. Whipple's advocacy for Native American people to the powers in Washington was not ignored. It was tragic that many of his recommendations laid a foundation that was highly susceptible to institutional abuse and oppression of the very people Whipple sought to help.

Throughout his episcopacy, Whipple advocated on behalf of Native American rights, most notably to presidents Buchanan and Lincoln. In a letter to President Buchanan written in April of 1860, he explains the need for assimilation, "The only hope for the Indians is in civilization and Christianization. They understand this, and I believe would welcome any plan which will save them from destruction." In this effort, he enumerates the many ways in which the Native American population were being persecuted and exploited. Essentially these concerned the white traders and settlers violating federal policies (conducting trade, especially sale of alcohol, in prohibited areas in a predatory manner), making no provisions for law enforcement among those who violated federal laws and policies, and conducting commerce in ways which ignored and consequently exploited Native Americans' unfamiliarity with protocols of white commerce. For instance, federal payments were made in one lump annual sum; white traders would immediately move in with unnecessary frivolous wares and the money would be gone long before it could be put to constructive use. Whipple recommended that if the government could not prevent this from happening, they should compensate indigenous people with necessary supplies rather than monetary payments. He further recommended that the U.S. Commissioner needed to be relocated from Washington to be in closer proximity to Indian territories. The government needed to stop the sale of alcohol and incentivize sobriety among the native population. Furthermore, tribes

should not have been comingled on the reservations. Lastly, and most germane to the topic of boarding schools, the government needed to develop programs and incentives to encourage Native Americans in agriculture and farming, and the government needed to found and administer industrial trade schools to educate Native Americans.¹³⁴ The government implemented many of Whipple's recommendations. Unfortunately, many of those carrying out these policies and programs did not engender Whipple's compassion or respect for Native Americans. In the next chapter we shall see the consequences of these deficiencies.

¹³⁴ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 50-53.

Chapter Three

The Damage Done: The Boarding School Reality for Students

3.1 Genocide

For Ward Churchill, author and professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Colorado, the residential boarding schools were one of the main instruments of genocidal aggression on the part of a Euro-western settler society against the Native American people. To justify this argument he begins with Raphael Lemkin's work in defining the term genocide that was later incorporated into the position of the United Nations.¹³⁵ Lemkin, a Polish attorney, was responsible for initially coining the term "genocide" and drafted the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Central to Lemkin's definition is that genocide consists of setting policies that are geared towards the destruction of a particular group: "Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor."¹³⁶ He stresses that frequently it does not mean the immediate destruction of a group, rather it is, "a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups."¹³⁷ Not all of Lemkin's original definition was incorporated into the final U.N. language around genocide. In his original work, there were three main instruments for carrying out genocide: physical which included slow measures such as starvation, exposure, and health hazards; biological which would include anything that inhibited reproduction; and cultural which includes any policies geared toward

¹³⁵ While the United States Senate voted in favor of ratification in 1986, it attached to it a "Sovereignty Package" which essentially nullified the agreement, exempting itself from compliance based on the argument that the U.S. Constitution was of higher authority than that of international law. See Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2004), 9.

¹³⁶ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), 79

¹³⁷ Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, 79.

destroying the characteristics whereby a group defines itself.¹³⁸ After much debate and negotiation, the final U.N. resolution set the following criteria:

- Outright killing of members of a group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm;
- Deliberately inflicting conditions calculated to bring about physical destruction;
- Measures to prevent birth within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.¹³⁹

Churchill's charges against the residential school system throughout North America align with the accounts found in Estelle Aubrey Brown's and Gertrude Golden's accounts (see chapter 2). Widespread throughout these institutions in both the U.S. and Canada, children were subjected to conditions that fit the above criteria. The children in these schools suffered from malnutrition due to inadequate and poor quality of food.¹⁴⁰ Lack of adequate clothing, sufficient shelter, poor hygiene, and the absence of even basic health care provisions led to widespread preventable deaths in the schools.¹⁴¹ All children, even those who were very young, were subject to forced labor. Although this was done under the guise of industrial training, the quantity of goods and services produced leave little doubt that generating revenue to support the schools was a significant motivation. Providing cheap farm and domestic labor to white Christians as part of the "outings" program instituted by larger schools like Carlisle, appears to be another motivator.¹⁴²

Two additional genocidal actions addressed by Churchill are torture and predation. Although the BIA guideline forbade corporal punishment, it granted wide interpretation for exceptions. These exceptions covered most, if not all, infractions that students were likely to commit: insubordination, stealing food, speaking in a native language, or running away. Some of

¹³⁸ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, 79.

¹³⁹ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 8.

¹⁴⁰ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 29-33.

¹⁴¹ Furthermore, as Churchill points out, recorded deaths were most likely significantly understated because seriously ill children were sent home to die. See Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 26.

¹⁴² Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 44-50.

the commonly used penalties were severe beatings, solitary confinement, starvation, washing the offender's mouth out with lye soap. There were also accounts of uncommonly harsh punishments: scalding, sewing needles pushed through the tongue, being stripped naked and beaten unconscious, burning. In some cases, boys who had run away, once apprehended, had ropes tied around their necks and were forced to run behind the wagon returning them to school. Bed-wetters might have their faces rubbed in human excrement. Although Churchill's account does not specifically name schools associated with the Episcopal Church, these methods went virtually unchecked throughout the system.¹⁴³

Given that such extreme abuses were tolerated, it should be no surprise that these institutions attracted all manner of sadists and sexual predators. Churchill does not accept the explanation that incidents of this nature were an unintended consequence. He instead points to the fact that sympathetic teachers who reported student abuse were frequently transferred or fired, and in some cases branded as liars or subversives, thus preventing them obtaining employment elsewhere. The offenders, on the other hand, were seldom removed or held responsible for their actions. Churchill contends that the system knowingly and willfully allowed these conditions to persist and, therefore, they cannot be interpreted as incidental.¹⁴⁴ The emotional toll that these conditions had on the student were equally devastating.

3.2 Emotional Toll

The emotional toll on the children was devastating. Denise Lajimodiere, the daughter of a boarding school survivor, likewise considers residential school programs to have been instruments of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Her father recounted stories of other boys in the dormitories

¹⁴³ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 51-60.

¹⁴⁴ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 61-68.

dying of loneliness. The accounts that Dr. Lajimodiere's father told her covered his early years in residential school. He refused to speak of his experience in the secondary school which he later attended; local elders subsequently told Lajimodiere that this most likely indicated her father was sexually abused. This reluctance to speak of the trauma experienced is not unusual for boarding school survivors. As one survivor said when asked why she would not speak of her experience to her children or grandchildren replied, "I have to think of this every day of my life, I don't want them to have to think of it for a minute of theirs."¹⁴⁵

The idea of children dying of loneliness and depression is not an exaggeration. Other accounts of the residential schools indicate that this was not an uncommon occurrence. The story of Lucy Pretty Eagle was one such case. Lucy came from the Rosebud Agency¹⁴⁶ in the Dakota Territory. She was ten years old in November 1873 when she was sent to the Carlisle school in Pennsylvania. Though school officials claimed she arrived in poor health, no doubt losing her family, her name, her long hair and familiar clothing, and her language, all took its toll on young Lucy. She died three months later of no apparent medical cause and was buried at the school, number thirty-five of the one hundred eighty nine children buried on the school grounds.¹⁴⁷

The emotional pain of separation was equally as great for the parents. Native parents, many of whom viewed their children's emotional state as equally important to their physical state, naturally wanted to provide the opportunity for their homesick and lonely youngsters the chance to come home over summer breaks. Given that the term of education at these schools was four years and that the age of incoming students was about twelve, homesickness and loneliness were

¹⁴⁵ Denise Lajimodiere, "A Healing Journey," *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 27 No. 2 Fall 2012, accessed 12/21/2019, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/488625>, 5-19.

¹⁴⁶ Rosebud was under the missionary auspices of the Episcopal Church. See Fletcher, *Indian Education*, 264.

¹⁴⁷ Barbara C. Landis, "Putting Lucy Pretty Eagle to Rest," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, Indigenous Education, Clifford E. Trafzer ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 123-130.

understandable. As the decades wore on, in the larger government schools such Flandreau in South Dakota and Haskell in Kansas, implemented policies that made even occasional visits during the summer hiatus difficult, if not impossible. These policies continued well until the 1930s. Approval for a child to leave school for any time involved not merely the permission of the school superintendent but reservation officials as well.¹⁴⁸ One policy that made visits difficult for many native families was the cost. The school superintendents required that the parents put on deposit with the school the round-trip travel costs to guarantee that the student would return in the fall. The round-trip rail fare alone from Haskell or Flandreau to the Ojibwe reservations in Minnesota or Wisconsin was over thirty dollars in 1925. The per capital annual income for Native Americans was only about eighty-one dollars at this time.¹⁴⁹

Most school superintendents and reservation agents did not see homesickness or parental loneliness as a valid reason for granting a child leave to visit home. Returning to visit their families was seen as a corrupting influence on the children. Even more serious grounds for leave were disregarded. Death of a sibling, saying goodbye to dying family members, and helping to care for sick relatives were usually dismissed as insubstantial reasons to grant a child leave to visit home.¹⁵⁰ The one justifiable reason to allow a student to return home for the summer was to work on the family farm. As was explained by one school administrator, "I have no authority to send pupils home for vacation unless there is a necessity shown for their return to assist their parents or guardians in the summer's work."¹⁵¹ Even in these cases, permission was usually only granted to

¹⁴⁸ Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Kindle Edition), Kindle Location 711-2.

¹⁴⁹ Child, *Seasons*, KL 725-7.

¹⁵⁰ Child, *Seasons*, KL 792-807.

¹⁵¹ Child, *Seasons*, KL 808-10.

those families who were “industrious Indians” and the child’s labor would augment the family’s income.¹⁵²

In addition to the emotional pain of separation from their families, students were also deprived of their own identities. The very purpose of these schools from their inception was to remove native children’s cultural identity. From the time they entered the schools, the vestiges of the cultural markers were immediately removed. Shorn scalps, according to school officials, were necessary for reasons of hygiene, and also a traumatic loss for native youth, especially the boys. They were given Anglicized names, and in a few cases merely numbers, and clothes were replaced with military style uniforms. Speaking in a native language was universally discouraged and severely punished in most instances. The whole purpose according to Churchill was to “destroy their sense of selves as Indians.”¹⁵³ A main focus of the schools was to indoctrinate students into becoming patriotic Americans. An excerpt from one of the commonly used history books by Horace E. Scudder, *A History of the United States of America*, described the U.S. in the following terms:

...peopled by men and women who crossed the seas in faith and that its foundations were laid deep in divine order...the nation had been entrusted with liberty that carries with it grave duties: the enlargement of liberty and justice is the victory of the people over the force of evil.

This indoctrination, which spurned and demoralized native culture, weighed heavily on the minds of young Native Americans causing them to question their own self and national identity as a people. Lajimodiere recounts a childhood recollection of one of her father’s intoxicated outbursts, when he cried out, “I just want to be a man, not a fucking Indian!”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Child, *Seasons*, KL 808-10.

¹⁵³ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 19.

¹⁵⁴ Lajimodiere, *Healing Journey*, 11.

The emotional trauma suffered by students in these institutions continues to plague Native Americans up to current day. Conditions such as alcoholism, drug addiction, and emotional disorders are all exacerbated by intergenerational trauma. The post-traumatic stress suffered by men such as her Lajimodiere's father throughout his childhood translated into patterns of dysfunctional parenting, domestic violence, and poor family dynamics that continue to haunt Native Americans decades later. Unlike some Native American advocates, Dr. Lajimodiere advocates a process of healing through forgiveness. Not all advocates agree with this. George E. Tinker likens this sort of reconciliation to expecting a rape victim to forgive the rapist while the rape is still ongoing. In his view, until such time as the dominant settler society is able to "kill the settler within" true reconciliation cannot occur.¹⁵⁵ The emotional toll was indeed devastating and long lasting; the immediate physical peril in the school was no less horrifying.

3.3 Illness, Torture, and Death

One of the stories that Lajimodiere's father did tell his daughter related to the results of the barbaric practices of corporal punishment in the schools. He received one particularly severe beating for gossiping with another student that he thought the headmaster and dorm matron were attracted to each other. The punishment for such an infraction was the "gauntlet" in which the offender was held down over a bed and the other boys were required to whip him with a metal studded leather belt. If a boy tried to be at all gentle with his strike, he would take the offender's place. Lajimodiere's father passed out from the pain and subsequently spent two weeks in the infirmary recovering from the incident. Not all students were so fortunate. A classmate died as

¹⁵⁵ George E. Tinker, "Preface," in Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2004), xxvii-xxx.

the result of a similar beating when his kidneys ruptured; the other boys were left with the crippling guilt of believing that they were responsible for his death.¹⁵⁶

Even in the absence of such sadistic cruelty, the boarding school system fostered conditions that were “deliberately inflicting conditions calculated to bring about physical destruction” as described in the U.N. definition of genocide. The combination of overcrowding, malnutrition, inadequate healthcare, and hygiene all combined to put students at significant risk. In 1897, to accelerate progress towards assimilation the Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed that the schools be filled to their capacity. An 1898 federal law mandating compulsory education for native students further reinforced this effort.¹⁵⁷ Students who were in poor health were not supposed to be admitted to residential schools but because the schools were paid by the government based on the number of students enrolled, the superintendents had financial incentive to ignore this regulation. As a result, influenza, scrofula, and tuberculosis outbreaks were common occurrences in the schools. A letter from the superintendent of the Crow Creek school¹⁵⁸ to the Commissioner attests to the pressure on the schools:

I care to explain further in this connection that under constant pressure and temptation to keep up the average attendance of the school, we habitually enroll pupils whom, in my judgment, it would be better to excuse-both for their own sake and for the general welfare. After we have taken all who are physically and mentally fit and of the appropriate age, we also enroll many who are conspicuously scrofulous, and others who at least very quickly develop tubercular lung trouble; also, as a rule, some whose age or character should exclude them. There is no other way to reach the desired enrollment. And we necessarily put these pupils, sound and unsound, into dormitories and classrooms together. Nothing else is possible.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Lajimodiere, *Healing Journey*, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Child, *Seasons*, KL 871-5.

¹⁵⁸ As previously explained, this was a school founded by Episcopal Church missionaries, though by the time of this letter was being administered by the government.

¹⁵⁹ Child, *Seasons*, KL 882-6.

In addition to overcrowding, substandard diet combined with the expectations of manual labor further contributed to the hazardous conditions at these schools. An account from the Fort Stevenson School in North Dakota tells of the following accomplishment of the thirty eight boys who were on work assignment:

In addition to the cutting and hauling 300 posts, fencing in twenty acres of pasture, cutting over 200 cords of wood, and storing away 150 tons of ice...mined 150 tons of lignite coal...a vast amount of hard labor was required to extract the coal, partly because about 9 feet of earth had to be removed before the vein was reached.¹⁶⁰

These students were estimated to be consuming only about 1,500 calories per day; the recommended amount for this level of physical labor is 4,000.¹⁶¹ The epidemics resulting from these unsafe conditions common throughout the boarding school system were devastating. Between 1881 and 1894 there were seventy-three students enrolled among the boarding schools at Carlisle, Genoa, and Santee. Of those seventy-three, only twenty six students survived.¹⁶² While many of these accounts are of a broad nature, there is significant evidence that the conditions in the schools of the Episcopal Church were as bad as others.

3.4 The Episcopal Church's Involvement

Federal government funding of sectarian contract schools for Native Americans, that is, schools run by churches, was gradually withdrawn starting in 1894 and finally eliminated altogether in the 1902. This shift in popular political opinion had already begun in the 1880s. This did not eliminate church involvement in the secular government schools. Because the United States viewed itself as a Christian nation, obviously the efforts to assimilate native people into the

¹⁶⁰ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 49.

¹⁶¹ Churchill, *Kill the Indian*, 49.

¹⁶² Child, *Seasons*, KL 886-9. Note that the Santee school was located on a reservation under the missionary jurisdiction of the Episcopal Church, which was likely involved in the founding of the school. See also Fletcher, *Indian Education*, 471-2.

dominant culture needed to involve basic instruction in the Christian beliefs. It was understood that some form of non-specific Christian education would continue. The Protestant denominations began to gradually withdraw from most contract school arrangements voluntarily in the mid-1890s. Roman Catholic missionaries opposed the reduction vehemently because they suspected this move towards non-specific Christianity was a euphemism for Protestant education.¹⁶³

The dispute was finally settled in 1902 when the Commissioner issued Education Circular No. 87. As mentioned earlier in an earlier section (see Estelle Aubrey Brown) schools were instructed that pupils should attend the church which their parents or guardians attended; this was usually a function of which denomination's missionary was active in the student's home territory. Proselytizing by the clergy was forbidden. The regulation provided for a mandatory two hours of religious instruction which was to be taught by a rotation of visiting missionaries from various denominations. Denominations that had a significant number of students were granted permission to petition for their own two hour interval to teach students who belonged to their church.¹⁶⁴ As a result of these measures, although Christian churches were officially removed from running these schools, in reality they remained substantially involved.

This is not to say that the relationship between the government run schools and the Episcopal Church was always harmonious. As the transition of many schools from sectarian to secular there were occasional tensions between the secular and missionary populations in the schools even in Protestant denominations. An unnamed correspondent from the *Church at Home and Abroad* wrote in 1890 about the superior moral virtue of teachers hired by missionary schools when compared to those hired by secular government schools. The government employees, he

¹⁶³ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools: 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 26-40.

¹⁶⁴ Prucha, *The Churches*, 167-8.

alleges were simply in it for the money as they were significantly higher paid than missionary teachers. Consequently, he believed secular government teachers cared little for the well being of the students. However, in his closing statement he indicates that he counted secular schools such as Carlisle and Hampton as religious institutions “because of the men who superintend them and whose positive Christian character makes these schools what they are.”¹⁶⁵ In an 1899 article William T. Harris extols the virtues of the Carlisle school and its ability to educate native pupils. In language that probably passed for liberalism in this era he writes, “Major Pratt in this school invented a method by the European civilization may be brought near to the Indian tribes without exterminating their brave people.”¹⁶⁶ Articles such as these are significant because they demonstrate that, even the schools in which the Episcopal Church had no direct involvement, the church’s missionary leadership was promoting and encouraging support by casting them a positive light to the readers of its publications.

One could argue that while the Episcopal Church may have been misguided in its support of assimilation, by the time the above mentioned atrocities were being committed, the schools in question were almost entirely under control of the federal government, and, therefore, the church was not responsible. A review of the denomination’s missionary newsletters reveals that well into this period the Episcopal Church missionaries were still actively involved in the operations of these schools. More telling is the degree to which this involvement was glossed over or omitted in accounts given to church benefactors in the east.

An illustration of this point occurs in the September 1899 issue of the *Spirit of Missions*. An article was published that consisted of a letter from Mrs. Burt, the wife the Rev. H. Burt, and

¹⁶⁵ Author Unknown, “Contract Schools,” *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 55, accessed October 10, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=iau.31858045930389&view=1up&seq=40>

¹⁶⁶ William T. Harris, “Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania,” *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 64, accessed October 11, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897218&view=1up&seq=326>

Miss Blanchard the girl's matron, thanking the generous donors of bible picture books to the boarding school girls at the Crow Creek school. This is the same school and the same year from which came the above superintendent's letter concerning overcrowding and the admission of sick children. The letter conveys none of the horrific situation at the school. Rather she details how overjoyed the girls are about their new Bibles:

Ah, I wish that you might, unobserved see these Indian children looking at their Bible pictures...Nothing that they see in life is more real to them; and they hang over the pictures, talking them over together. No others command their hear interest like these...They are never carelessly treated, torn up, and destroyed. I send you a picture in my room.¹⁶⁷



GIRLS AT INDIAN BOARDING-SCHOOL, CROW CREEK.

This rather sweet and charming tone in which this article is written with its accompanying photograph demonstrates three significant things about the Episcopal Church's involvement in this particular government boarding school. Long after the church ceased to directly administer the boarding schools that they founded, the missionaries continued to be actively involved in the day

¹⁶⁷ Mrs. Burt, "The Women's Auxiliary – Pictures Received; An Acknowledgement from South Dakota," *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 64, accessed October 12, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897218&view=1up&seq=521>

to day operations of the schools. The letter is credited as coming from Mrs. Burt and indicates an ongoing working relationship between her and the matron. The writer's perspective indicates that she is familiar with the girls' ongoing behavior (they take good care of these possessions). Secondly, this article's presence in this publication indicates the extent to which the Episcopal Church supported missionary efforts in the boarding school context. Lastly, the letter is dated in July 1899. This supports the assertion that substantial numbers of children were kept at school over the summer holidays away from their families; so clearly the Episcopal missionaries were aware of these circumstances. The author does not comment on this awareness in the article, nor is there any mention of the superintendent's concerns about tuberculosis or scrofula or anxious and lonely parents.

Consider another letter published in 1896 from Bishop Hare concerning the South Dakota missions. It is an update pertaining to one of the boarding schools he founded in the late 1870s, St. John's School for Indian Girls.¹⁶⁸ The letter covers a number of school-related topics but especially speaks to the amount of labor that was expected from the children attending the school. In particular the bishop with great pride wrote of the "remarkable industry" of the girls in their sewing classes. Each of the older girls in the sewing class produced "the average being ten complete dresses and two aprons for each girl." Additionally, the students spent one evening per week mending and repairing clothing. The students were responsible for all the cooking and laundry for the entire school, staff included. The bishop mentions the extended absence of both

¹⁶⁸ This school is first mentioned in the *Spirit of Missions* in a letter from Bishop Hare dated January 1880, see vol. 45, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897069&view=1up&seq=85>

According to the initial article the school was part of Cheyenne reservation. There is no mention of a St. John's school in Ward Churchill's list in *Kill the Indian for South Dakota*, although there is a Cheyenne River School. In 1896, the church was still referring to it as St. John's so it may have continued to operate separately as a church-funded mission or it could have been absorbed into the secular school. The bishop may have continued to call it by its original name for the sake of simplicity.

the matron and the industrial arts teacher for “some weeks,” during which time the girls were left to oversee all the domestic chores on their own.¹⁶⁹ One could debate whether or not this was an excessive workload for children of this era, most of whom were likely to be sickly and malnourished. As with most articles in the *Spirit of Missions*, the overall tone of this letter does not indicate that the students were anything other than a group of happy and hardworking girls. The letter does indicate though that the church leadership was aware of the workload assigned to children in its schools and considered it completely reasonable. The letter also indicates the church continued being actively involved in sponsoring boarding schools well into the late 1890s, in close partnership with the government administration.

The Santee school mentioned above in the section on student mortality, from 1881-1894, was most likely made up of two boarding schools founded by Bishop Hare in the 1870s: St. Mary’s School for Girls and St. Paul’s School for Boys. During the same period in which this horrific death rate occurs among the students, an 1895 article by Mr. Mugford, the superintendent of St. Mary’s, makes no mention of dying children. Rather the article is a glowing and happy account of the school’s preparations for Christmas: teachers making ready to prepare plum pudding; students were enjoying a hot and ample breakfast; a veritable feast was put on for students and their parents; presents, candy, and singing of carols.¹⁷⁰ While it is entirely possible Mr. Mugford did accurately report on these events, it is a deceptive portrayal of the harsh reality in which the student lived during that time.

As careful as the written accounts in the *Spirit of Mission* were to portray boarding school students as happy and productive, they were equally careful to demonstrate the wretched misery

¹⁶⁹ William Hobart Hare, “Work at St. John’s School for Indian Girls,” *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 61, accessed October 12, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897184&view=1up&seq=442>

¹⁷⁰ Mr. Mugford, “From St. Mary’s School,” *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 60, accessed October 12, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897176&view=1up&seq=84>

from which the assimilation and the boarding schools were sparing these students. Of equal significance were the lengths to which the missionaries went to convince the readers that the children's parents welcomed their presence and influence. Mrs. Burt at Crow Creek wrote an emotionally manipulative article, presumably to a little boy in the east about a little boy named Charlie. Little Charlie was the son of Indian parents who previously "wore blankets and painted their faces" but have since become Christian; his father became a catechist. His mother died when he was five and, because little Charlie was too young to go to the boys' boarding school, his mother's dying wish was that he be taken in by the girls' school until he was older. Little Charlie was taken in by the Rev. and Mrs. Burt. Mrs. Burt discloses in the letter that Little Charlie was quite ill and may not live, so she asks the little boy to pray for him.¹⁷¹

In this same issue a portion of a letter from a Dakota Sioux father who had converted to Christianity and travelled ten days to bring his son to the Rev. Burt read, "I have brought to you my son. When you can, I wish you to take him. He is a good boy. I wish him to become and grow up like a white man."¹⁷² These narratives, which alternate between demonstrating the desperation of Native American and the extolling the virtuous and positive experience of the boarding schools, in the final analysis were fatally flawed. Without doubt, the plight of Native American families on the reservations and in the adjacent territories was horrendous. The missionaries probably were sincere in their belief that assimilation was the only viable course through which they could ameliorate this suffering. At the time these well-meaning individuals felt that the total immersion experience that was being provided in the school was the quickest way to bring this about. The real danger of these narratives was in the fictitious belief that the dominant white culture could

¹⁷¹ Mrs. Burt, "Letter to a Little Boy at the East. From One of the Ladies of the Mission," *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 42, accessed October 12, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897036&view=1up&seq=164>

¹⁷² H. Burt, "An Indian Father's Plea for his Boy," *The Spirit of Missions*, vol. 42, accessed October 12, 2019, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89064897036&view=1up&seq=165>

rest assured that the poor natives were being aided, when in fact the solution brought about an unfathomable degree of suffering to the people it was supposed to help.

While the Episcopal Church and other denominations may not have been the proprietors of these schools for the entire duration of their existence, as this section demonstrated, they were complicit by propagandizing the harsh reality of these schools. The church participated in the systematic genocide of Native Americans. The boarding schools were a systematic attempt to destroy native culture once and for all and simultaneously ease the collective white conscience around that destruction.

Conclusion

An Assessment of the Church's Participation

The Episcopal Church played a significant role in the establishment and ongoing justification of the Native American boarding schools. The church founded twelve schools and their missionary literature idealized and promoted the work of these schools. These schools were instruments of assimilation (see section 1.2). Therefore, the Episcopal Church was instrumental in the coerced assimilation of native peoples in North America. This movement grew out of a longstanding missionary impulse, dating back to John Eliot that believed compliance with European based western culture was a prerequisite for the Christian religion. Western missionaries of the nineteenth century were motivated by a two-fold belief in their own culture's superiority and that they had been commissioned by God "because of their unique qualities, to be the standard-bearers of God's cause even to the uttermost ends of the world."¹⁷³ Church leaders were disturbed by the damage done through broken treaties and atrocities committed by white settlers and the U.S. military against Native Americans. Individual leaders in the Episcopal Church such as Bishops Hare and Whipple are examples of those who attempted to intervene on behalf of the native peoples. Those whose ministry enabled them to develop closer ties with native people, such as Hinman and Whipple, grew in an appreciation and respect for native culture. Leaders from other denominations such as the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, a Congregationalist minister, also expressed doubt about the morality of the settler mentality. Speaking of Native Americans he wrote:

They as well as ourselves are made to be immortal. To look down upon them, therefore, as an inferior race, as untamable, and to profit by their ignorance and weakness; to take their property from them for a small part of its real value, and in

¹⁷³ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Twentieth Anniversary ed., American Society of Missiology Series, No. 16 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), 305.

other ways to oppress them is undoubtedly wrong, and highly displeasing to our common Creator, Lawgiver and final Judge.¹⁷⁴

Veracini's work provides us with a broad theoretical taxonomy for settler societies that constructed narratives to justify and legitimize colonization and assimilation. In the final analysis, this study points to the need for a more subtle and nuanced taxonomy. For within the missionary narratives there is evidence of justification for colonization and assimilation and there is also evidence of counter-assimilative testimony. How are such conflicting narratives to be taken account of historically, theoretically, and missiologically? Why are the voices of influential moral leaders who promote a counter-assimilative vision not able to shape the practice of the church? Why, when they come so close to completely rejecting the principles that substantiate assimilation do they not quite get to the point of total rejection of assimilation? Hinman and Whipple both articulate a disdain for the bad behavior of white settlers. In these cases, they seem to view this as aberrant behavior for white settlers. They do not seem to consider such behavior as microcosms of bad behavior typical of the larger pattern of behaviors among settlers. There does not seem to be a connection made between the bad behavior of settlers and the bad behavior of a government that repeatedly breaks its treaties.

Hinman, of course, was limited in his ability to impact the perceptions of white Americans by the fact that he was discredited in the church due to the accusations and the subsequent guilty verdict that he received for his alleged misconduct. Long before those events unfolded, he expressed his discomfort with writing about his work and accomplishments as a missionary. For those reasons, his counter-assimilative discourse had less impact than they could have in shaping

¹⁷⁴ Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs* (Washington DC: Davis & Force, 1822), 82.

the perceptions of other Episcopalians, whose opinions were being largely formed from the accounts in *The Spirit of Missions*.

Whipple was able to have more bearing on popular opinion within the church. He was a man with extensive political and military connections, and it could be that this he was simply too much a part of the establishment to be fully objective. As Whipple himself pointed out in his memoir, he was not shy about using these connections to “secure justice for the Indians.”¹⁷⁵ The status that enabled him to aid native people might have also been what blinded him to the inherent immorality of assimilation. He may have simply felt he was being realistic about his own limitations in turning back the tide of settler expansion and chose to focus on more attainable goals.

In both the cases of Whipple and Hare, it should be kept in mind that the United States was not, a theocracy. While the Episcopal Church was not without influence, then as now, a bishop condemning behavior of society at large could not force or mandate compliance to gospel principles. Given Hare’s approach to ministry, which was focused on tangible results, he might have been the one best suited to engineer meaningful outcomes. As was the case with Whipple, the source of his strength was also his weakness. His focus on quantitative measures of success: baptism, confirmations, Sunday church attendance, the number of new churches and schools opened, took greater priority over the development of relationships. Had he invested the same amount of time and attention to building relationship with native congregations as his brother bishop Whipple, things might have turned out very differently. As it was, Hare was far too committed to assimilation and far too removed from direct involvement with Native American culture to have been persuaded to take on a non-assimilative posture. It is interesting to ponder how much of his conduct and opinions were tied up in his conflict with Samuel Hinman. One is

¹⁷⁵ Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, 5-6.

left to wonder whether his dislike of Hinman occurred because Hinman was counter-assimilative, or if Hare's firmly entrenched position as a promoter of assimilation grew out of an intense personal dislike of Hinman.

As pointed out in section 2.3, Estelle Aubrey Brown's account of Crow Creek was somewhat questionable because it was written some forty years after the events they describe. This is not to call into question Brown's honesty but rather to wonder if her denunciation of what she witnessed at Crow Creek would have been as adamant had it been written in closer chronological proximity to the events she describes. Her account is important because it firmly establishes that the type of mismanagement and poor conditions described as being typical of boarding schools were present in institutions with which the Episcopal Church was involved. It is also the only voice that questioned the validity of assimilation. As a woman, and thus being outside the power structures of the church, her opinions, even assuming they were fully developed in the early years of the twentieth century, most likely would have been dismissed.

The church's founding and direct management of these schools diminished substantially in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, these missionaries continued to promote the notion that these institutions were far more humane, beneficial, and effective than they actually were. The dissemination of such misinformation is a serious sin to be added to the assimilative practices the Episcopal Church needs to acknowledge and address.

Moving Forward

My interest in this topic arises from my formation experience in preparing for ordination to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. I am a descendant and beneficiary of the dominant white settler society and struggling to come to grips with a denomination and wider society in

which racism remains endemic. I want to understand why my own culture continues to repeat the same mistakes. As such, I have sought to investigate why and how the Episcopal Church allowed itself to become involved in these boarding schools even when at the time counter-assimilative narratives were present. Certainly, with hindsight and more recent work in missiology and intercultural theology, the Church's involvement in boarding schools seems clearly contradictory to the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁷⁶

By focusing on the white leaders and participants the Episcopal Church's boarding schools, I have chosen to focus on the white settler side of the problem. This study is not meant to be an apologetic but rather an attempt to cast aside the belief that the wrongs of the past were merely a lack of enlightenment on the part of our forebears. There was a counter-assimilative voice within the Episcopal Church that was ignored. Had it not been ignored, the missionary activity of the church could have taken a very different trajectory. There are lessons that can be learned from the errors of the boarding school history. In my opinion that there are three areas the church needs to focus on to address these issues: 1) Analyzing the mistakes of the past and acknowledging them, 2) Creating space for those voices that challenge us, and 3) restorative justice.

The first step involves education and this needs to occur on two levels. As stated above, transfer narratives need to be called out and named. They need to be examined, discussed, and better understood. Churches need to learn about the original inhabitants of the land and how they were displaced. Native children from throughout the United States were sent to the larger institutions such as Carlisle and Haskell. It is probable that most dioceses, including those that did not have boarding schools in their jurisdiction, were involved indirectly by supporting these

¹⁷⁶ Many resources are available that reflect this shift in the contemporary understanding of mission: Bevans and Schroeder's *Constants and Context*; David Bosch's *Transforming Mission*; Marion Grau's *Rethinking Mission in the Postcolony*; Joerg Rieger's *Christ & Empire*.

institutions. At the national and diocesan level, the church needs to develop and document a much more comprehensive understanding of its involvement. The fact that the Episcopal Church archives in Austin, Texas cannot provide a list of which boarding schools the denomination was involved with is telling.

These educational efforts can occur through sermons, adult and youth faith formation, and diocesan discussion and training forums. However, for these to be effective, both lay and clergy leaders need to have their education broadened in this direction. In the words of Robert Heaney:

Too often in church and in the academy do those who have benefitted from imperialism and those who are descendants of colonial settlers relativize, excuse, and even justify colonialism. At the very least, such impulses would be problematized if the literature produced by the colonized was taken seriously.¹⁷⁷

The works of Native American theologians that challenge the perspective of white dominant culture need to be given the same priority and respect as their white counterparts within Episcopal theological education. Seminary education needs to be expanded to include the works of Native American scholars. Theologians that should be more widely read are Randy Woodley, George Tinker, Richard Twiss, Steven Charleston and Elaine Robinson¹⁷⁸. These are examples of recently published scholars who are challenging the theology of the academic establishment.

Learning to listen to the voices of dissent from both within and without the church is a difficult task and one for which there is no simple remedy. A large part of it is simply learning to engage in active and deep listening without rushing into defense of one's own position. Again, this is something that church leaders at all level can strive to learn themselves and to model for others. One of the greatest temptations that a denomination largely inhabited by the descendants

¹⁷⁷ Robert S. Heaney, *Post-Colonial Theology: Finding God and Each Other Amidst the Hate* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019), 124.

¹⁷⁸ For examples of resources see the following theologians: Woodley's *Shalom and the Community of Creation*; Twiss' *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*; Tinker's *Spirit and Resistance*; Charleston & Robinson's *Coming Full Circle*.

of white settler society needs to learn to resist is continued belief that other cultures are in need of our input. Too often white dominant American culture rushes into encounters with people from other cultures believing that they need to “fix” the situation by imposing their culture on others. This is the same mistake that Anglican Christians have been making since they first arrived in North America and carried on through the boarding school era. One avenue for remedying this tendency is learning to engage missionally in mutuality, an idea explored by Cornelia Eaton and James Stambaugh in a recent joint essay. Mutuality simply put is this:

Mutuality occurs when we find each other, not in the merging or blending of our individual personalities, but when we are together in union with our Lord... In order to follow Jesus and take up our own cross, we must empty ourselves of selfish ambition and of the impulse to only look after the needs of one’s self, and instead regard the needs of others first. When we empty ourselves, we open ourselves up to see that we are interdependent on each other and on God.¹⁷⁹

For the descendants of settler colonist in practical terms this means to show up, be in relationship, listen deeply and carefully, resist the temptation to opine or “fix,” and help in ways only when and if invited to do so. Rather than focusing on “fixing” the situation of other cultures, white settler society needs to focus on addressing its own moral shortcomings, culpability, and need for atonement. This leads to the last and final area of ways in which the Episcopal Church might move forward.

Beginning in the 1990s the Canadian government and churches began a process of healing the damage done by residential schools through the means of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.¹⁸⁰ The Rt. Rev. Mark MacDonald, National Indigenous Anglican Bishop for the Anglican Church of Canada, is of the opinion that overall the efforts of the Canadian Commission

¹⁷⁹ Cornelia Eaton and James Stambaugh, “Communion as Discipleship of Mutuality,” in *God’s Church in God’s World*, Robert S. Heaney, John Kafwanka K, and Hilda Kabia eds. (New York: Church Publishing Inc, 2020), 124.

¹⁸⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement,” TRC website, accessed March 21, 2020, <http://www.trc.ca/about-us.html>

were positive, but that there remains much work still to be done. While his overall assessment of the process has been positive, it was not without flaws,¹⁸¹ and it is important resist the urge to think the process is completed. Racism has not gone away. Assimilative practices have not gone away. Currently in Canada there are more native children who have been separated from their families through the social welfare system than there were at the height of the residential schools. The “genocidal ideology, masked with good intentions” continues and remains alive in current social welfare policy in Canada.¹⁸² (This incidentally coincides with Veracini’s transfer mechanism)¹⁸³

While precise duplication of the Canadian process might not be feasible from a legal perspective in the United States,¹⁸⁴ the Episcopal Church and other denominations could voluntarily seek to conduct its own Truth and Reconciliation committee. The Episcopal Church’s repudiation of the Doctrine of Discovery¹⁸⁵ is a positive start but until it begins to filter down from the national level into individual congregations and diocese, and changes how we think

¹⁸¹ One of the chief objections on the part of some indigenous Canadians is the assertion that “reconciliation” implies that there previous state of conciliation that, in fact, never existed between native people and white settlers. Furthermore, unlike the South African Truth and Reconciliation hearing, the Canadian process did not have the power to subpoena witnesses. Consequently, few non-indigenous school staff participated in the hearings. Nonetheless, the hearings did, in MacDonald’s opinion, have a significant impact. He saw in the church leaders who participated in the hearing were “shook to their core” by the testimony of the damage and pain that the residential schools had on the students. The Christian churches involved in the national hearings were the Anglican Church of Canada, the United Church of Canada (Methodists), the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the Mennonites. A number of other churches that had no direct involvement in the residential schools voluntarily participated “as if they had been involved” and Bishop MacDonald felt quite moved by the commitment to support the healing process for indigenous people.

¹⁸² Interview with the Rt. Rev. Mark MacDonald, via Zoom teleconference, March 27, 2020, 11:00 AM EDT.

¹⁸³ Appendix B, item S.

¹⁸⁴ In the U.S. the statute of limitations for bringing legal action has expired. See MacDonald, “A Shocking History.”

¹⁸⁵ Katharine Jefferts Schori, “Episcopal Presiding Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori Issues Pastoral Letter on the Doctrine of Discovery and Indigenous Peoples,” The Episcopal Church website, May 16, 2012, accessed March 21, 2020, <https://episcopalchurch.org/posts/publicaffairs/episcopal-presiding-bishop-katharine-jefferts-schori-issues-pastoral-letter>

missionally, we run the risk of continuing to repeat the same patterns of behavior that led to the Native American boarding schools.

This work of educating, listening, and restoring justice is slow, difficult, and painful. The type of cultural shift that needs to occur within the church will come only as a result of long-term striving and a fresh movement of the Holy Spirit. As Grau points out in the conclusion of her work on post-colonialism:

Lacking a precise map, route, or clearly marked signposts, we are better off knowing the baggage we carry with us, along with a diagnostic instrumentation with potential for pattern recognition, assessing the terrain of encounter we engage, feeling the history of its wounds and blessings, as we learn from it for future encounters.¹⁸⁶

The Native American boarding schools is an unwieldy, heavy, and rancid piece of luggage that the Episcopal Church has been carrying with it for far too long, borne on the backs of our Native American brothers and sisters. It is time to remove this burden, unpack it, and cast it off so that all may continue the journey together.

¹⁸⁶ Grau, *Rethinking Mission*, 288.

Bibliography

- Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875 – 1928*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995.
- Author Unknown. “Estelle Aubrey Brown.” Arizona Historical Society website. Accessed February 3, 2020. https://www.arizonahistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/library_Brown-Estelle.pdf
- Author Unknown. “Indian Affairs,” in the *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1898. Accessed February 3, 2020, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SGAvAQAAAMAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PR1>
- Barnds, William Joseph. “The Ministry of the Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman, Among the Sioux,” In *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 1969): 393-401. Accessed September 11, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43748483>
- Berry, Brewton. *The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature*. Washington DC: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1968. Accessed December 20, 2019. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015001342651&view=1up&seq=7>
- Brown, Estelle Aubrey. *Stubborn Fool: A Narrative*. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1952.
- Cavanaugh, Edward and Lorenzo Veracini eds. *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Kindle Edition.
- Churchill, Ward. *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2004.
- Eaton, Cornelia and James Stambaugh, “Communion as Discipleship of Mutuality,” in *God’s Church for God’s World*, Robert S. Heaney, John Kafwanka K, and Hilda Kabia eds. New York: Church Publishing Inc, 2020.
- Eliot, John. “The Day-breaking of the gospel with the Indians.” No. 143. Boston: Old South leaflets, 1903.
- The Episcopal Church website. “Spirit of Mission” glossary entry. Accessed November 11, 2019. <https://episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/spirit-missions>

- “Samuel Dutton Hinman” glossary entry. Accessed November 11, 2019.
<https://episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/hinman-samuel-dutton>
- Fletcher, Alice Cummingham. *Indian Education and Civilization: A Report Prepared in Answer to Senate Resolution of February 23, 1885*, under the direction of the United States Office of Education. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1888. Accessed February 3, 2020. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Wnnj-y4OBLMC&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA13>
- Golden, Gertrude. *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a Schoolteacher in the Government Indian Service*. San Antonio: Naylor Co, 1954. Accessed February 7, 2020.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106011859649&view=1up&seq=9>
- Grau, Marion. *Rethinking Mission the Postcolony: Salvation, Society and Subversion*. Continuum UK – Academic, Kindle edition. Date?
- Hare, William Hobart. “Reminiscences: An Address Delivered by William Hobart Hare, Missionary Bishop of South Dakota, at the Commemorative of the Fifteenth anniversary of his Consecration.” September 10, 1888. Accessed September 11, 2019.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hx54qx&view=1up&seq=1>
- Heaney, Robert S. *Post-Colonial Theology: Finding God and Each Other Amidst the Hate*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019.
- Hein, David, and Gardiner H. Shattuck. *The Episcopalians*. Denominations in America. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004. Accessed December 20, 2019.
<https://0-search-ebSCOhost-com.librarycatalog.vts.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=192553&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Hinman, Samuel Dutton, William Welsh, Henry Benjamin Whipple, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and Huntington Free Library. *Taopi and His Friends: or the Indians’ Wrongs and Rights*. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1869. Accessed January 3, 2020.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/fk2b853p7m&view=1up&seq=9>
- Howe, M.A. DeWorlfe. *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare, Apostle to the Sioux*. New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1912.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. ed. *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lajimodiere, Denise. “A Healing Journey.” *Wicazo Sa Review* 27, no. 2 (2012).

- Lemkin, Raphael. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government Proposals for Redress*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944.
- MacDonald, G. Jeffrey. "A Shocking History." *The Living Church*. February 28, 2018. Accessed September 8, 2019. <https://livingchurch.org/2018/02/28/a-shocking-history/>
- Morse, Jedidiah. *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*. Washington DC: Davis & Force, 1822.
- Patte, Daniel ed. "Ecumenical Movement," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Prichard, Robert W. "President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy toward Native Americans and the the Ministry of the Episcopal Church." Unpublished, 2011.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- Schori, Katherin Jefferts. "Episcopal Presiding Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori Issues Pastoral Letter on the Doctrine of Discovery and Indigenous Peoples." The Episcopal Church website, May 16, 2012. Accessed March 21, 2020. <https://episcopalchurch.org/posts/publicaffairs/episcopal-presiding-bishop-katharine-jefferts-schori-issues-pastoral-letter>
- The Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 27, 35, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 55, 60, 61, 64. 1862-1899. See Appendix A.
- Tooker, William Wallace. John Eliot's First Indian Teacher and Interpreter, Cockenoe-De-Long Island and the Story of his Career from the Early Records. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896. Accessed 12/29/19. <https://archive.org/details/johneliotsfirsti00took/page/n9>
- Trafzer, Clifford E. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement." TRC website. Accessed March 21, 2020. <http://www.trc.ca/about-us.html>
- US Government Archives. "Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." Accessed November 9, 2019. <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/075.html#75.1>
- Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. New York: Palgrave, 2010.
- Welsh, William. "A Month Among the India Missions and Agencies on the Missouri River, and in Minnesota and Wisconsin." New York: American Church Press, 1872. Found in the

Project Canterbury archive. Accessed September 16, 2019.
<http://anglicanhistory.org/indigenous/month1872.html>

Whipple, Henry B. *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate: Being Reminiscences and Recollections of the Right Reverend Henry Benjamin Whipple, D.D., LL. D., Bishop of Minnesota*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899.

Appendix A - List of *The Spirit of Mission* articles

Topics:

1 = significantly relates to schools

2 = schools mentioned, not primary topic

3 = unrelated to schools

Index	Volume Roman	Vol #	Year	page#	index heading	desc	Topic
1	XIX		19	1854	14 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	appointment in FL	3
2	XIX		19	1854	171 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	report on FL (mission to slaves and whites - no indigenous)	3
3	XIX		19	1854	533 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	recap of appts.	3
4	XIX		19	1854	581 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	station lists	3
5	XIX		19	1854	315 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	(error - nothing there)	3
6	XXVI		26	1861	2 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	letter - general appeal for fund, books & missionaries for MN	2
7	XXVI		26	1861	103 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	donor list	3
8	XXVI		26	1861	229 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	report on MN - diocese just getting started, Dakota & Chippewa tribes mentioned	2
9	XXVII		27	1862	7 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	report of MN - follow up on Dakota & Chippewa - mission efforts still on land	2
10	XXVII		27	1862	45 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	report specifically on Indian Missions to Dakota & Chippewah	2
11	XXVII		27	1862	132 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	report specifically on Indian Missions to Dakota & Chippewah	2
12	XXVII		27	1862	197 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Hinman's account of the school at St. John's (Sioux agency, MN)	1
13	XXVII		27	1862	257 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	mention of the murder of missionaries at the Sioux agency, not far from Hinman's	2
14	XXVIII		28	1863	25 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	height of Indian Wars, beginning of MN mission work, good Whipple quote	3
15	XXVIII		28	1863	50 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's condemnation of the U.S. gov't Indian system	2
16	XXVIII		28	1863	174 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general news of dioc. territory	2
17	XXIX		29	1864	52 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's justification of his sympathy for indigenous peoples	1
18	XXIX		29	1864	262 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	(error - nothing there)	3
19	XXIX		29	1864	266 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's reflection on American church while recovering his health	2
20	XXXI		31	1866	169 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general	2
21	XXXI		31	1866	529 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general	2
22	XXXII		32	1867	253 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general update but Whipple mentions girls' school in his house in Faribault, MN	1
23	XXXIII		33	1868	3 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	(error - nothing there)	3
24	XXXIII		33	1868	250 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general	2
25	XXXIV		34	1869	3 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	(error - nothing there)	3
26	XXXIV		34	1869	73 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	letter concerning Santee reservation (includes two brief letter's from N.A. catechists)	2
27	XXXIV		34	1869	193 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	article by W. Welsh concerning the treaty with Santee people, provisions for citizenship and permanent ownership of land	1
28	XXXIV		34	1869	255 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	article by Hinman concerning unrest over gov't not keeping their treaty	2
29	XXXV		35	1870	85 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Santee and the difficulty with settler encroaching on N.A. land who are trying to gain title	1
30	XXXV		35	1870	278 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Rev. J.W. Cook's observations on the Santee	2
31	XXXV		35	1870	340 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	"Our Home Heathen" by William Welsh	1
32	XXXV		35	1870	393 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	tornado destruction of Santee settlement	2
33	XXXV		35	1870	478 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	update on the Yankton settlement	2
34	XXXVII		37	1872	279 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Peace Policy; letter concerning the desire of N.A.s to be Christianized	1
35	XXXVII		37	1872	320 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	brief letter concerning Chippewa reservation	3
36	XXXVII		37	1872	579 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	consecration of the chapel at White Earth	2
37	XXXVII		37	1872	611 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	"A Month Among our Indian Missions"	2
38	XXXVII		37	1872	721 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	update re: Santee reservation	2
39	XXXVII		37	1872	747 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	"The Board of Missions and the Indians"	2
40	XXXVIII		38	1873	31 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Election of Bishop Hare	3
41	XXXVIII		38	1873	33 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Brief note from Hinman on his travels	3
42	XXXVIII		38	1873	97 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Consecration of Bishop Hare	3
43	XXXVIII		38	1873	98 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	Hinman's arrival a Santee	2
44	XXXVIII		38	1873	169 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's sermon from Hare's consecration	2
45	XXXVIII		38	1873	177 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's appeal for funds (theology) and instructions for sending donated goods	1
46	XXXVIII		38	1873	294 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's background info	3
47	XXXVIII		38	1873	305 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple on civilizing efforts	1
48	XXXVIII		38	1873	308 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	(see Whipple's civilizing file)	1
49	XXXVIII		38	1873	311 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's resignation from previous post	3
50	XXXVIII		38	1873	367 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's visitation to the Oneida	2
51	XXXVIII		38	1873	477 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple in Peking	3
52	XXXVIII		38	1873	489 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare and Hinman road trip & Hare's appeal for school	1
53	XXXVIII		38	1873	627 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare on the initial rejection of schools by NA	1
54	XXXVIII		38	1873	688 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple theologizing on Indian missions	1
55	XXXIX		39	1874	3 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's pleas for missionaries	2
56	XXXIX		39	1874	97 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Oneida reservation - plea for funds	3
57	XXXIX		39	1874	156 Indian Schools	"Christian Schools Among the Indians" VERY IMPORTANT	1
58	XXXIX		39	1874	160 Indian Schools	Rev. Burt on Crow Creek school	1
59	XXXIX		39	1874	194 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Thank you note to Ladies Relief Assoc. (general gift - not school specific)	3
60	XXXIX		39	1874	259 Crow Creek Mission School	Opening of girls school	1
61	XXXIX		39	1874	284 St. Paul's School, SD	donor list	3
62	XXXIX		39	1874	287 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's reassurances concerning Indian attacks	3

Appendix A - List of *The Spirit of Mission* articles

Topics:
 1 = significantly relates to schools
 2 = schools mentioned, not primary topic
 3 = unrelated to schools

Index	Volume Roman	Vol #	Year	page#	index heading	desc	Topic	
63	XXXIX		39	1874	292 Crow Creek Mission School	"Mission and School Work at Crow Creek"		1
64	XXXIX		39	1874	354 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Visit to Red Cloud and Knotted Tail agencies		2
65	XXXIX		39	1874	554 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	White Earth visit		2
66	XXXIX		39	1874	560 St. Paul's School, SD	very brief update on school		2
67	XXXIX		39	1874	622 Indian Schools	Hare's School circular		1
68	XXXIX		39	1874	622 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Map		1
69	XXXIX		39	1874	674 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	speech - general commendation of the missionaries		2
70	XXXIX		39	1874	743 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's report on Indian Boarding Schools		1
71	XL		40	1875	87 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Request from Bishop Hare" and letter "Not so very dangerous"		1
72	XL		40	1875	129 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	"Letter from Bishop Whipple" appeal for general funding, not N.A. specific		2
73	XL		40	1875	156 St. Paul's School, SD	Bishop Hare's "School Circular" #3		1
74	XL		40	1875	156 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	duplicate		3
75	XL		40	1875	207 St. Elizabeth's School	discussion of church buildings		3
76	XL		40	1875	228 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"In Peril by the Heathen"		1
77	XL		40	1875	232 Indian Commissioner	"Extract from a Letter from the Report..." speaks to the ability of N.A.'s to be "civilized"		1
78	XL		40	1875	363 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Teachers wanted" address of Bishop Hare		1
79	XL		40	1875	431 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Letter - not boarding school specific but reflects his attitudes in general to N.A.		2
80	XL		40	1875	563 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Letter to Bishop Whipple from a Christian Indian		1
81	XL		40	1875	636 Indian Schools	brief update on St. Paul's school at Yankton agency		1
82	XL		40	1875	696 Indian Schools	Bishop Hare's "School Circular" #4		1
83	XL		40	1875	764 St. Paul's School, SD	Letter from one of the ladies of the mission		1
84	XLI		41	1876	89 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Bishop Hare's 3rd annual report		1
85	XLI		41	1876	202 Burt, Rev. H. - SD	Visit to Crow Creek Mission		1
86	XLI		41	1876	204 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	death of Mrs. Hinman		2
87	XLI		41	1876	242 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's visit to Colorado (mentions school)		2
88	XLI		41	1876	280 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Chinese mission		3
89	XLI		41	1876	326 St. Elizabeth's School	"Needs of the Indian Mission Schools"		1
90	XLI		41	1876	393 St. Mary's School, SD	Santee School for Girls (aka St. Mary's)		1
91	XLI		41	1876	494 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Ordination of two Indian boys (very brief)		2
92	XLI		41	1876	541 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	general news about the mission; violence of N.A.s This is not school specific but Hare's letter shows his horror at the plight of the NA		2
93	XLI		41	1876	590 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	NA		1
94	XLII		42	1877	17 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	death of one of the chiefs		2
95	XLII		42	1877	38 Crow Creek Mission School	donor list		3
96	XLII		42	1877	106 St. Elizabeth's School	"Open Letter" series of letters reflecting on missionary work		1
97	XLII		42	1877	133 Burt, Rev. H. - SD	ordination of a NA deacon		2
98	XLII		42	1877	138 St. Elizabeth's School	"An Indian Father's Plea for his Boy"		1
99	XLII		42	1877	190 Indian Schools	"An Overflowing School"		1
100	XLII		42	1877	215 Indian Schools	"Woman's Work"		1
101	XLII		42	1877	230 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general mission letter		3
102	XLII		42	1877	294 St. Mary's School, SD	"School Work Among the Yanktons"		1
103	XLII		42	1877	295 St. Paul's School, SD	"St. Paul's School Boys at Work"		1
104	XLII		42	1877	398 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Jottings by the Way on a Missionary Journey" "Acknowledgment of Boxes Received at Crow Creek Missions" (shoes and aprons)		1
105	XLII		42	1877	488 Crow Creek Mission School	aprons		1
106	XLII		42	1877	569 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Indian Commission - From Bishop Hare's Report"		1
107	XLIII		43	1878	24 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Extracts from Bishop Hare's Report"		1
108	XLIII		43	1878	115 Crow Creek Mission School	"Woman's Work - Letters from Niobrara"		1
109	XLIII		43	1878	118 St. Paul's School, SD	"Woman's Work - Letters from Niobrara"		1
110	XLIII		43	1878	119 St. Mary's School, SD	"Woman's Work - Letters from Niobrara"		1
111	XLIII		43	1878	128 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	apparent response to some sort of internal debates and strife		2
112	XLIII		43	1878	148 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Letter from Bishop Hare" Thanksgiving Day letter about St. Paul's		1
113	XLIII		43	1878	196 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Bishop Whipple sermon about work among "colored people of the South" "Letter from Bishop Hare - Collections for Indian Missions" Cheyenne Agency Mission		3
114	XLIII		43	1878	204 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Mission		2
115	XLIII		43	1878	237 Crow Creek Mission School	"School Work at Crow Creek Agency"		1
116	XLIII		43	1878	252 Crow Creek Mission School	story of runaway girls		1
117	XLIII		43	1878	365 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	committee lists		3
118	XLIII		43	1878	471 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	descriptions of Niobrara and Cheyenne missions		2
119	XLIII		43	1878	476 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's travel to new Rosebud agency in the Dakotas		2
120	XLIV		44	1879	27 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Letter from Bishop Hare (Cheyenne boarding school?)		1
121	XLIV		44	1879	70 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	administrative issues of MS		3
122	XLIV		44	1879	99 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	visit to Black Hills		2
123	XLIV		44	1879	135 Crow Creek Mission School	Letter from Crow Creek		1
124	XLIV		44	1879	138 St. Elizabeth's School	nothing school related		3
125	XLIV		44	1879	146 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	nothing school related		3
126	XLIV		44	1879	221 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Indian Youths in Christian Families"		1
127	XLIV		44	1879	255 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Easter sermon (unrelated)		3

Appendix A - List of *The Spirit of Mission* articles

Topics:

- 1 = significantly relates to schools
- 2 = schools mentioned, not primary topic
- 3 = unrelated to schools

Index	Volume Roman	Vol #	Year	page#	index heading	desc	Topic
128	XLIV		44	1879	263 St. Paul's School, SD	general update on Yankton, very little on school - just mention of the choir	2
129	XLIV		44	1879	304 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Letter about isolating young men preparing for ministry from their own kind	1
130	XLIV		44	1879	333 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	St. Mary's School update	1
131	XLIV		44	1879	371 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	nothing school related	3
132	XLIV		44	1879	440 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	1879 Bishop Hare's report including the schools	1
133	XLV		45	1880	6 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	"Words of Cheer from Bishop Whipple" - eschatological implications of mission work	1
134	XLV		45	1880	11 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"A Letter from Bishop Hare" - specifically about boarding schools	1
135	XLV		45	1880	68 Kinney, H.I. - SD	donor list	3
136	LV		45	1880	70 St. Paul's School, SD	station lists	3
137	XLV		45	1880	72 St. Mary's School, SD	Letters from St. Mary's School, Santee Agency, Nebraska	1
138	XLV		45	1880	73 St. John's School, SD	Letters from St. John's Boarding School	1
139	XLV		45	1880	77 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple letter on the need for continued missionary efforts	2
140	XLV		45	1880	143 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Fire at St. Paul's school	1
141	XLV		45	1880	151 Kinney, Rev. J.F. - SD	Letter from St. John's school	1
142	XLV		45	1880	189 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	appeal for funds to rebuild St. Columba's church (on a reservation)	2
143	XLV		45	1880	224 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's update letter on the schools (St. Paul's, St. Mary's, and Hope)	1
144	XLV		45	1880	294 St. John's School, SD	St. Mary's & St. John's schools	1
145	XLV		45	1880	336 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's visit to NA reservation	1
146	XLV		45	1880	416 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's report to Mission Board (theology)	1
147	LXV		45	1880	805 St. Elizabeth's School	double checked - no such page - nothing on St. Elizabeth's in this issue	3
148	XLVI		46	1881	14 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	letter from Bishop Hare (schools)	1
149	XLVI		46	1881	15 Hope School	letter from Bishop Hare (schools)	1
150	XLVI		46	1881	15 St. John's School, SD	letter from Bishop Hare (schools)	1
151	XLVI		46	1881	17 Hope School	letter from Bishop Hare (schools)	1
152	XLVI		46	1881	18 Burt, Rev. H. - SD	Thank you note to the donors	2
153	XLVI		46	1881	170 St. Mary's School, SD	Thanksgiving Day account at St. Mary's	1
154	XLVI		46	1881	184 Crow Creek Mission School	missionary work among the Sioux (theology)	1
155	XLVI		46	1881	222 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hope School at Crow Creek	1
156	XLVI		46	1881	223 St. Mary's School, SD	continuation of Hare's letter (222)	1
157	XLVI		46	1881	224 St. John's School, SD	continuation of Hare's letter (222)	1
158	XLVI		46	1881	299 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hope School at Crow Creek	1
159	XLVI		46	1881	334 St. Mary's School, SD	"Work among the Indians"	1
160	XLVI		46	1881	365 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Visit to White Earth reservation - no mention of school but reveals attitudes towards NA	2
161	XLVI		46	1881	393 St. Paul's School, SD	Letter from St. Paul's missionary in "Women's Work"	1
162	XLVI		46	1881	395 Knapp, Mrs. EE (Hope School)	Letter from Hope School missionary in "Women's Work"	1
163	XLVI		46	1881	396 Francis, Miss M.S.	Letter from Hope School missionary in "Women's Work"	1
164	XLVI		46	1881	467 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Report on Indian Territory and Arkansas	2
165	XLVII		47	1882	129 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Florida related	3
166	XLVII		47	1882	332 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	shipping supplies guidelines	3
167	XLVII		47	1882	372 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare opining on what "real" Indians are like	2
168	XLVII		47	1882	436 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's annual letter, including the Boarding schools update	1
169	XLVIII		48	1883	7 Hinman, Rev. S.D.	statement of the board supporting Bishop Hare with regards to Hinman	2
170	XLVIII		48	1883	30 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare on the general topic of Indian boarding schools	1
171	XLVIII		48	1883	79 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple on Missionary work in general	2
172	XLVIII		48	1883	114 Hope School	Christmas at Hope school	1
173	XLVIII		48	1883	126 Hope School	letter from Hare to donors in NY	1
174	XLVIII		48	1883	181 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general missionary statement (nothing remarkable)	2
175	XLVIII		48	1883	268 Indian Schools	Niobrara school section	1
176	XLVIII		48	1883	269 St. Mary's School, SD	Niobrara school section	1
177	XLVIII		48	1883	387 Hope School	Appeal for funds for building at Hope school.	1
178	XLVIII		48	1883	437 Hope School	closing exercises at Hope School	1
179	XLVIII		48	1883	523 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Bishop Hare's annual report	1
180	XLIX		49	1884	84 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	general update on the reservations	2
181	XLIX		49	1884	178 Indian Schools	fire at the Santee agency	2
182	XLIX		49	1884	206 Hope School	more on the fire at Santee	2
183	XLIX		49	1884	325 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Glimpse of Missionary Work in South Dakota"	1
184	XLIX		49	1884	359 Hope School	Letter from Hope School	1
185	XLIX		49	1884	382 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	brief summary of SD	2
186	XLIX		49	1884	405 Hope School	Update from Hope School	1
187	XLIX		49	1884	443 Burt, Rev. H. - SD	Update on Crow Creek	1
188	XLIX		49	1884	547 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's annual report, convocation/ordination	1
189	L		50	1885	84 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Bishop Hare's update (general information - not much on schools)	2
190	L		50	1885	125 Kinney, Mrs. H.I. - SD	St. John's school	1
191	L		50	1885	195 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	general reservation informatio	2
192	L		50	1885	309 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	SD update including schools	1
193	L		50	1885	359 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	letter from Hare - general update	2
194	L		50	1885	462 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	fundraising - general	3
195	L		50	1885	583 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	SD parish statistics	3

Appendix A - List of *The Spirit of Mission* articles

Topics:

1 = significantly relates to schools

2 = schools mentioned, not primary topic

3 = unrelated to schools

Index	Volume	Roman	Vol #	Year	page#	index heading	desc	Topic
196	LI			51	1886	12 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"An Admirable Indian School" on St. John's	1
197	LI			51	1886	45 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare returns east due to exhaustion	3
198	LI			51	1886	73 Kinney, Mrs. H.I. - SD	Christmas at St. John's school / Cheyenne agency	1
199	LI			51	1886	81 St. Paul's School, SD	(nothing - error)	3
200	LI			51	1886	145 Indian Schools	poetess' visit to Hare's school. Also mention of bringing children east to Carlisle	1
201	LI			51	1886	176 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare returns to his jurisdiction	2
202	LI			51	1886	441 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	letter from Whipple after train wreck; general mission content	2
203	LII			52	1887	117 St. Elizabeth's School	St. Elizabeth's school - at this point a day school?	2
204	LII			52	1887	193 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	"The Change at White Earth" (nothing remarkable)	3
205	LII			52	1887	267 Crow Creek Mission School	Grace Howard coming to work at Crow Creek (formerly involved at Carlisle)	1
206	LII			52	1887	267 Howard, Miss Grace	Grace Howard coming to work at Crow Creek (formerly involved at Carlisle)	1
207	LII			52	1887	365 St. Mary's School, SD	donor list	3
208	LII			52	1887	395 Lincoln Institute	Explanation of Lincoln Institute (was this supported by TEC?)	1
209	LII			52	1887	412 Indian Schools	"An Unparalleled Ruling" forbidding any instruction in NA languages. TEC expresses outrage over this.	1
210	LIII			53	1888	50 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Anniversary of Hare's consecration	3
211	LIII			53	1888	54 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	more on anniversary of Hare's consecration	3
212	LIII			53	1888	97 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Update on St. John's & "Do Indian Boys Ever Laught?"	1
213	LIII			53	1888	99 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	more on anniversary of Hare's consecration	3
214	LIII			53	1888	125 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	picture (not a very good one) of Whipple	3
215	LIII			53	1888	132 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	conflicts with Nas - not school related	2
216	LIII			53	1888	265 Hope School	Hare's visit to Hope school	1
217	LIII			53	1888	293 Carlisle School	pictures (not very good)	3
218	LIII			53	1888	294 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	the character needed for missionary work	2
219	LIII			53	1888	295 Indian Schools	***Fed gov't rules concerning Native language***	1
220	LIII			53	1888	305 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Sermon - Christian Unity	3
221	LIII			53	1888	348 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Cheyenne River agency - general, no mention of schools	3
222	LIII			53	1888	446 Howard, Miss Grace	women missionary updates on Crow Creek	1
223	LIII			53	1888	447 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	women missionary updates on Crow Creek	1
224	LIV			54	1889	92 St. John's School, SD	St. John's school named in honor of William Welsh	2
225	LIV			54	1889	110 St. John's School, SD	Cheyenne school's measles outbreak	1
226	LIV			54	1889	124 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's work among blacks	3
227	LIV			54	1889	130 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Appeal letter to white children for funds - interesting portrayal of NA	1
228	LIV			54	1889	261 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's address at cornerstone laying ceremony	3
229	LIV			54	1889	469 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Mentions church being filled with children from the US gov't boarding school "Contract Schools" discusses relationship between TEC and secular Carlisle & Hampton	1
230	LV			55	1890	28 Indian Schools	Hampton	1
231	LV			55	1890	33 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	Crow Creek agency- general info	2
232	LV			55	1890	68 St. John's School, SD	St. John's - weddings	1
233	LV			55	1890	126 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Bishop Whipple's recovery from the train crash	3
234	LV			55	1890	136 Indian Schools	"Indian Students' Generosity" - Carlisle	1
235	LV			55	1890	147 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple parable about what the white man did for the NA	1
236	LV			55	1890	172 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Bishop Whipple's Pioneer Days	3
237	LV			55	1890	207 Indian Schools	nothing relevant	3
238	LV			55	1890	302 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	China	3
239	LV			55	1890	388 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's episcopal visits	1
240	LV			55	1890	445 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	mention of new schools started by Bp. Hare	1
241	LVI			56	1891	7 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	mention of Hare's ill health	3
242	LVI			56	1891	13 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Indian uprisings impact on boarding schools in Hare's diocese	1
243	LVI			56	1891	64 Indian Schools	"Industrial Schools for the Indians"	1
244	LVI			56	1891	69 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	Niobrara convocation	2
245	LVI			56	1891	73 Francis, Miss M.S.	St. Elizabeth's school	1
246	LVI			56	1891	76 Kinney, Mrs. H.I. - SD	"A Prayer for the Indian Missions"	1
247	LVI			56	1891	147 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	nothing relevant	3
248	LVI			56	1891	174 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare in Japan	3
249	LVI			56	1891	175 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple travelling in Europe	3
250	LVI			56	1891	378 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare in Japan	3
251	LVI			56	1891	437 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare - general update on Niobrara	3
252	LVI			56	1891	496 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	women's auxillary update - not specific to schools	2
253	LVII			57	1892	384 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Japan	3
254	LVIII			58	1893	122 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple convalescing in FL	3
255	LVIII			58	1893	201 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	brief mention, nothing significant	3
256	LVIII			58	1893	257 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	ordination of NA deacon, brief, nothing significant	3
257	LVIII			58	1893	371 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	death of Rev. Strob, missionary at Santee reservation	3
258	LIX			59	1894	130 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	general reflection	3
259	LIX			59	1894	170 Indian Schools	nothing relevant	3
260	LIX			59	1894	217 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Hare's reflection on	1
261	LIX			59	1894	264 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	"Indian Boarding Schools in South Dakota"	1
262	LIX			59	1894	335 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	visit to the west coast	3

Appendix A - List of *The Spirit of Mission* articles

Topics:
 1 = significantly relates to schools
 2 = schools mentioned, not primary topic
 3 = unrelated to schools

Index	Volume Roman	Vol #	Year	page#	index heading	desc	Topic
263	LX		60	1895	66 St. Mary's School, SD	Christmas preparations at St. Mary's school	1
264	LX		60	1895	232 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	unrelated fundraising appeal	3
265	LX		60	1895	466 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Bishop Whipple's Welcome to the Board of Missions (unrelated)	3
266	LXI		61	1896	160 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple's editorial on blacks	3
267	LXI		61	1896	216 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	"The Spirit of Christ" Whipple's editorial on Native Americans	2
268	LXI		61	1896	382 St. John's School, SD	"Work at St. John's School"	1
269	LXI		61	1896	580 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	Board of Missions (unrelated)	3
270	LXII		62	1897	92 Francis, Miss M.S.	St. Elizabeth's school update	1
271	LXII		62	1897	106 Indian Schools	Fire destroying St. Elizabeth's school	1
272	LXII		62	1897	138 Indian Schools	More on St. Elizabeth's fire	1
273	LXII		62	1897	222 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	unrelated to schools	3
274	LXII		62	1897	296 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	unrelated to schools	3
275	LXII		62	1897	368 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	rebuilding of St. John's & St. Elizabeth's	2
276	LXIV		64	1899	64 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Whipple on winter vacation in FL	3
277	LXIV		64	1899	116 Whipple, Rd. Rev. H.B. - MN	Red Owl's conversion	2
278	LXIV		64	1899	136 Francis, Miss M.S.	Update from St. Elizabeth's school	1
279	LXIV		64	1899	244 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	Update from Crow Creek: Easter offering boxes and measles outbreak	3
280	LXIV		64	1899	292 Carlisle School	Explanation of Indian education - CRITICAL ARTICLE	1
281	LXIV		64	1899	407 Hare, Rt. Rev. W.H. - Niobrara	mission work in small towns - no mention of NA	3
282	LXIV		64	1899	483 Burt, Mrs. H. - SD	pictures and update from Crow Creek boarding school	1
283	LII		74	1909	74 Carlisle School	donor list	3

Appendix B

Lorenzo Veracini's *Settler Colonialism* - Transfer Categories

	Transfer Type	Summary	19th century experience of Native Americans	At play in boarding schools	Page	Part of Assimilative Process
A	Necropolitical	War	Y	N	35	
B	Ethnic	Transported to area where no longer indigenous.	Y	Y	35	v
C	Conceptual displacement	Indigenous are rendered not indigenous by collapsing them into external groups (eg. Palestinians are Arabs).	Y	Y	35	
D	Civilization	Indigenous are really the same as the settlers as evidenced by their traditional forms.	N	N	36	
E	Perception	Indigenous are not really there. Land is empty.	Y	Y	37	
F	Assimilation	Indigenous need to "raised" up to a better standard of culture.	Y	Y	37	v
G	Transfer by accounting	Utilizes the census categories into which indigenous are counted.	N	N	39	
H	By "repressive authenticity"	Reclassifying members out of a group by denying some members their authenticity.	N	N	40	
I	Narrative transfer I	Relegates the existence of indigenous to a past no longer able to inhabit the present.	Y	Y	41	v
J	Narrative transfer II	Indigenous have been defeated and are dying out. Additionally may demonstrate that their existence in the present is not "legitimate."	Y	Y	41	v
K	Narrative transfer III	Aggression against the indigenous belonged to discontinued settler past	Y	Y	42	
L	Narrative transfer IV	Narratives that establish settler as indigenous.	Y	Y	42	
M	Multicultural transfer	Indigenous collapsed into single category with exogenous other, such as "non-white."	Y	Y	43	
N	Bicultural transfer	Restrictions placed on expression of indigneous culture	Y	Y	43	v
O	Coerced Lifestyle change	Example: sedentarisation of nomadic people	Y	Y	44	v
P	Administrative	Redefining of adminstrative border that deny indignous of their entitlements	Y	N	44	
Q	Diplomatic	Containing indigenous in separate territorial entities.	Y	Y	45	
R	Non-Diplomatic	Same as diplomatic but the settler ostensibly relinquishes responsibility while retaining paramount control.	Y	Y	45	
S	Incarceration / criminilization / institutionalization	Establishing a legal system that predisposes indigenous to one of these three states.	Y	Y	45	v
T	Settle indigenization	Establishes settler identity that ties it to an indigenous quality to the territory.	Y	Y	46	
U	Transfer by performance	Appropriation of indigenous characteristics by settlers.	Y	N	47	
V	Name confiscations	Appropriaton of terms that identify indigenous people	N	N	47	
W	Racialization	Classifying into racial designations that eliminate indigenous identity.	N	N	48	

Appendix B

Lorenzo Veracini's *Settler Colonialism* - Transfer Categories

	Transfer Type	Summary	19th century experience of Native Americans	At play in boarding schools	Page	Part of Assimilative Process
X	Executive termination	Collapsing subgroups within indigenous population.	Y	Y	49	v
Y	Transfer of settlers	Movement of settlers into territory to establish control over indigenous population.	Y	N	49	
Z	Indigenous / National "reconciliation"	Reconciliation that results in the disappearance of indigenous section into dominant population.	N	N	50	