

ARTIST'S VERSION of Yanktonai Indians quarrying pipestone in the 1880s

PIPESTONE

The Origin and Development of a National Monument

William P. Corbett

TEMPERATURES dipped to near zero and snow swirled through the streets on the evening of January 14, 1932, as a group of concerned citizens met at the Calumet Hotel in the small southwestern Minnesota town of Pipestone. The purpose of the gathering was to form an organization to secure permanent protection and preservation of the red pipestone quarry located north of the town on land administered by the Office of Indian Affairs. Approximately thirty-five representatives from local civic, fraternal, governmental, and religious groups attended the meeting. Before they adjourned they had formed what first was known as the Pipestone National

Park Association and later became the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. For many years non-Indian residents of the area had recognized the historical and cultural significance of the quarry, but no successful attempt had materialized to obtain designation of the site as a national monument. This time the efforts would succeed. The origin and development of Pipestone National Monument reflected concern by local non-Indian residents for American Indian culture and produced a co-operative effort to preserve the Indian art of pipe carving.¹

The significance of the quarry came from its being an important source of the soft red stone that Indians of the northern Great Plains used in their ceremonial peace pipes. Often referred to as a calumet, from the French word *chalumeau*, meaning long flute, the peace pipe served as an integral part of religious ceremonies and civil functions of the Indians. The importance of the pipe rested in part on the belief that it acted as an intercessor when people offered prayers to God. Indian tradition accorded the peace pipe a divine origin. According to the Dakota (Sioux) legend of the White Buffalo Calf Girl, a young Indian maiden mysteriously appeared in a Dakota village and presented tribal leaders with a peace pipe. She instructed the headmen in the use of the pipe as an instrument of prayer. Then she turned into a white buffalo calf and trotted away across the prairie.²

Indian pipe craftsmen often made the sacred calumet from wood and stone. For the stem they hollowed a tree branch or sapling; for the bowl they used clay or soft stone, particularly the soft, red stone from the rolling hills of southwestern Minnesota. An Indian legend, which resembled the great flood of the Old Testament,

¹ Author interview with Winifred Bartlett, Pipestone, April 17, 1976; *Pipestone County Star* (Pipestone), January 19, 1932, p. 1. The Calumet Hotel still stands and is, in fact, undergoing extensive renovation. See *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 16, 1980, p. 3B.

² John W. Davis, "A History of the Pipestone Reservation and Quarry in Minnesota," 2, M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1934. The Minnesota Historical Society library has a copy. See also, Bruce G. Milne and Herbert T. Hoover, *A Teaching Guide for the Cultural History and Geography of the Western Frontier and the Upper Missouri Region*, N17-N19 (Vermillion, S.D., 1975).

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explained the specific significance of the red stone quarry. Once a "great freshet" began to cover the earth and to destroy all the nations. In order to escape the ravages of the flood, members from every Indian tribe gathered in the upland region. The hills, however, failed to provide a refuge as the waters engulfed the assembled masses, and their bodies turned to stone. Miraculously, a young maiden escaped and gave birth to twins who began to repopulate the earth. Because pipestone was created from the flesh of many nations, it was regarded as sacred, and the grounds became a neutral area where all could mine stone for peace pipes.³

No records survive to prove who discovered pipestone, but archaeological investigations indicate that the quarry may have been in use as early as 900 A.D. and almost certainly by 1200 A.D. Perhaps the watercourse of Pipestone Creek eroded the soil and exposed an outcropping of the red stone, or possibly migrating buffalo wore away the surface covering. Whatever the cause of exposure, the quarry was regarded as sacred, and members of various Indian tribes gathered to obtain pipestone apparently without fear of attack by hostile neighboring tribesmen. Unrestricted access to the quarry resulted in the distribution of red pipestone artifacts throughout North America. Pipes were transported by Indians who manufactured them or by men who traded them for other materials, such as Florida seashells. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Dakota Indians controlled the quarry site when the first non-Indians came to the region.⁴

Several prominent explorers and adventurers popularized the peace pipe and the red pipestone quarry. In 1683 Father Louis Hennepin, a Belgian-born Recollect priest of the Franciscan order, who lived for a time among Dakota Indians who captured him, wrote of the importance of the calumet to Plains Indian culture, described the pipe bowls made from a soft, red stone, and recorded his experiences in using a pipe to help protect him and his associates from any danger the Indians might represent. During the eighteenth century, Pierre Charles Le Sueur, a noted French explorer, and two English adventurers, Peter Pond and Jonathan Carver, made specific references to the pipestone quarry. American explorers and traders, too, provided written descriptions of the site and described the use of the pipe in diplomatic affairs. In 1832 Philander Prescott, a fur trader who lived many years among the Dakota, visited the quarry and became the first white man to record his trip there. He estimated the quarry to be approximately 100 yards long by about ten feet deep and to contain a vein of pipestone a foot thick.⁵

George Catlin, the famous western artist and painter of Indians, arrived at the quarry four years later. He painted a panoramic picture of the site and recorded in detail the religious rites practiced by natives before they

dug pipestone. The stone became known as "catlinite" after the artist and writer publicized the quarry and took samples to Boston to be chemically analyzed. Catlin's books on American Indians presented these rites, not as fairy tales but as beliefs of a proud people. In 1838 Joseph N. Nicollet, a French scientist commissioned by the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers to survey portions of western Minnesota, literally put the pipestone quarry on the map. While his party camped there, Nicollet observed Indians extracting pipestone, and he noted the unusual natural beauty of the place. He referred especially to the high rock cliff that marked the eastern extent of the quarry, to the waterfall that spilled over the precipice, and to the stream that meandered through the shallow, cradle-shaped valley. Nicollet and his associates (including "pathfinder" John C. Frémont) carved their initials on a rock that still can be seen. Finally, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow provided a romantic image of the quarry and the peace pipe when he relied heavily upon the accounts of George Catlin to write part one of the famous poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*.⁶

³National Park Service, *Pipestone* (Washington, D.C., 1976); George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2:168 (London, 1850).

⁴John S. Sigstad, "A Report of the Archaeological Investigations, Pipestone National Monument 1965 and 1966," in *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society*, 17:29 (December, 1970); June Drenning Holmquist and Jean A. Brookins, *Minnesota's Major Historic Sites*, 108-112 (St. Paul, 1972); Edvard D. Neill, *The History of Minnesota from the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time*, 514 (4th edition, Minneapolis, 1882); Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 1:67 (Philadelphia, 1852); Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 1:218 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin*, no. 30 — Washington, D.C., 1907).

⁵Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Father Louis Hennepin's A New Discovery of a Vast Country in North America*, 125, 654 (Chicago, 1903); Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., "Le Sueur's Fort on the Mississippi," and Carver's "Travels in Wisconsin," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 16:194 and 18:280, 331, 346, 348 (Madison, 1902 and 1908); Donald D. Parker, ed., *The Recollections of Philander Prescott, Frontiersman of the Old Northwest, 1819-1862*, p. 137 (Lincoln, 1966). See also, John Parker, ed., *The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents, 1766-1770*, p. 138, 139n (St. Paul, 1976).

⁶Catlin, *Illustrations*, 2:166; 28 Congress, 2 session, *House Documents*, no. 52, p. 11, 15-17 (serial 464). This was an 1845 publication of Nicollet's *Report*, which also appeared in 1843 in 26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 237 (serial 380). See also, Edmund C. Bray and Martha Coleman Bray, eds., *Joseph N. Nicollet on the Plains and Prairies*, 22, 72-85 (St. Paul, 1976). Of the various publications of *Hiawatha*, the author used the one in *The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Household edition, New York, 1902).



PIPESTONE INDIAN SCHOOL: main building and girls' dormitory (right) about 1900

AS THE NORTHERN PLAINS frontier moved westward, the Dakota experienced great difficulty in preserving their right to the quarry. By terms of the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in 1851, four eastern (Santee) Dakota bands — Sisseton, Wahpeton, Mdewakanton, and Wahpekute — relinquished claim to all their vast lands in Minnesota except for a small reservation along the Upper Minnesota River. They thereby surrendered their title to the quarry. But in 1858 the Yankton Dakota signed a treaty by which they gave up several million acres of aboriginal land and agreed to move to a reservation near Fort Randall, Dakota Territory. Head Chief Struck-by-the-Ree, however, refused to approve the treaty unless federal officials acknowledged the tribe's claim to the sacred quarry. Negotiators yielded to the chief's objection, and article eight of the agreement granted the Yankton Indians exclusive, free, and unrestricted use of the site. Soon thereafter the surveyor general of Minnesota ordered the survey of a one-square-mile reserve around the quarry. By July, 1860,

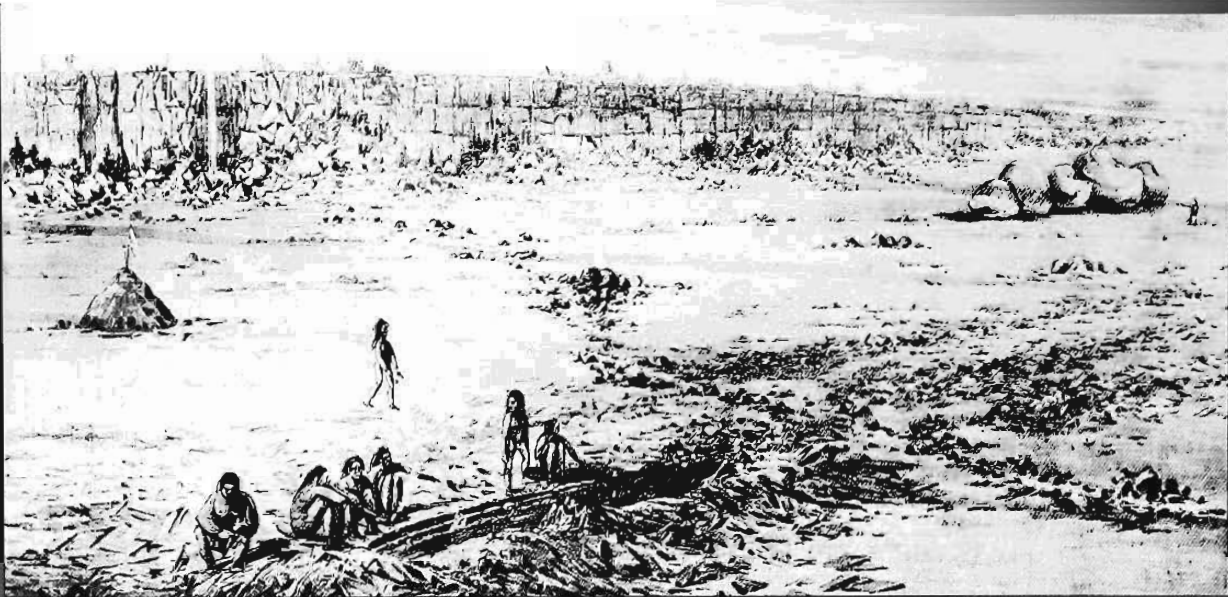
the survey was completed, the site was platted, and a description was recorded. Creation of the reserve did not, however, immediately solve the problem of encroachment by whites. During the 1870s and 1880s, several homesteaders filed claims on quarry land, and only after a lengthy court battle and the intervention of federal troops did the interlopers leave.⁷

In 1891 the Yankton band faced a final challenge to control of the sacred grounds. That year Congress authorized the Office of Indian Affairs to construct a boarding school on the reserve north of the quarry. The school also served as headquarters for Indian Office jurisdiction over all Dakota residing in Minnesota. Apparently no one consulted the Yankton people, who, after their experiences with squatters, were understandably hostile to further intrusions. The Yankton did not object to the school as such, but they regarded its location as an attempt by the federal government to invalidate their claim to the property. Subsequently, the United States attorney general ruled that the Yankton possessed only the right to quarry pipestone and that title to the land remained with the government. The Office of Indian Affairs continued to build the school, and the Yankton initiated legal action. In November, 1926, the United States Supreme Court finally ruled in favor of the Yankton Indians and authorized monetary compensation for land appropriated for the school. Furthermore, the court ordered that, after the Indians received payment, title to the reserve passed to the federal government and the Yankton retained the right to quarry pipestone. In June, 1929, the Yankton received \$296,835.94 as compensation for their claim to the quarry, and the government assumed title to the reserve. This action made possible the acquisition of land for a national park.⁸

Early attempts to create a public facility at the quarry had already stimulated local support. During the winter of 1889–90, a petition circulated in the town of Pipestone calling for congressional action to establish a national park at the reserve. Subsequently, congressmen representing Pipestone introduced legislation in Congress, but

⁷ Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2:115, 227–230, 305–310, 479–481, 496, 588–596, 776, 779 (Washington, D.C., 1904); John W. Cragun, *Petitioner's Proposed Findings of Fact and Brief for Yankton Sioux Tribe v. United States of America*, 55 (Washington, D.C., 1968); Commissioner of Indian Affairs *ad interim* to Commissioner of General Land Office, April 15, 1859, Captain J. W. Bean to Major General Alfred H. Terry, November 1, 1887, Office of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited OIA), letters received, National Archives Record Group (NARG) 75, Washington, D.C.; Robert A. Murray, "Administrative History of Pipestone National Monument," 21 (unpublished manuscript, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1961, Minnesota Historical Society has typescript); Theodore L. Nydahl, "The Pipestone Quarry and the Indians," in *Minnesota History*, 31:204–206 (December, 1950); William P. Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry: The Yanktons Defend a Sacred Tradition, 1858–1929," in *South Dakota History*, 8:102–106 (Spring, 1978).

⁸ Corbett, in *South Dakota History*, 8:108–116; Herbert T. Hoover, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Claims Against the United States, 1917–1975," in *Western Historical Quarterly*, 7:131 (April, 1976).



THE PIPESTONE QUARRY was pictured (above) by famed artist George Catlin, who did the oil painting after visiting the sacred grounds of the Indians in 1836. The red stone was named "catlinite" in his honor. — Courtesy of the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



INDIANS DIG slabs of pipestone from the quarry in about 1920, using more modern instruments than their forebears did. — © C. E. Sogn.

AN ASSEMBLAGE of Indians gathered at the quarry for this photograph, taken in about 1893. On the horizon at far left is a building of the then-new Indian School.



their efforts failed. In 1899 James McLaughlin, inspector for the Office of Indian Affairs, negotiated an agreement with the Yankton people that included a provision to maintain the quarry lands as a national park. Failure of the United States Senate to ratify the agreement temporarily ended local hopes for a federally funded facility. In June, 1916, the *Pipestone County Star* publicized plans prepared by Ralph J. Boomer, a resident of Pipestone, that stressed the recreational potential of the reserve with little emphasis on its historic nature. Although never implemented, Boomer's plan rekindled interest. Within the next ten years an association of Pipestone businessmen, members of the local Kiwanis Club, and the Minnesota Department of Highways all requested the Office of Indian Affairs to make land available for recreational projects. In each case the commissioner of Indian affairs refused to sell any of the reserve because of the ongoing title dispute.⁹

It was after title passed to the government that a well-organized effort to promote the quarry to national park status got under way. As mentioned before, members of local organizations formed the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association in January, 1932. The association's officers served as the executive committee and became the driving force behind the movement. They soon produced a legislative proposal for a national park, but their plan differed from previous projects in that it emphasized only the historical and cultural significance of the quarry. The executive committee enlisted the aid of the Office of Indian Affairs through James W. Balmer, superintendent of the local Indian school, and it communicated with the National Park Service. In a relatively short time, employees of that agency compiled a summary of pertinent information about the area and made it available to E. K. Burlew, an administrative assistant to the secretary of the interior. Although impressed with the "unique character" of the quarry, Burlew doubted whether it contained sufficient historical value to be included in the national park system. He recommended that the National Park Service send a regular investigator to Pipestone to conduct a more detailed survey.¹⁰

While national park officials pondered their next



WINNEWISSA FALLS, shown in this early photo by W. H. Illingworth of St. Paul for one of his stereoscopic views, quickly became a tourist attraction for non-Indians visiting the quarry nearby.

TOURISTS (below) were pictured atop the quartzite ledge near the falls in this photograph of about 1890. Several rock formations are among landmarks drawing visitors to the quarry area.



⁹ Arthur P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota*, 334 (Luverne, Minn., 1911); *Congressional Record*, 51 Congress, 1 session, February 26, 1890, p. 1751, 54 Congress, 1 session, January 11, 1896, p. 599; 56 Congress, 1 session, *House Miscellaneous Documents*, no. 535, p. 6, 39 (serial 3995); *Pipestone County Star*, June 30, 1916, August 5 and 29, 1921, September 29, 1922, and December 16, 1924, all p. 1; Murray, "Administrative History," 80.

¹⁰ *Pipestone County Star*, January 19, 1932, p. 1; author interview with Winifred Bartlett, Pipestone, April 17, 1976; E. K. Burlew to Winifred Bartlett, January 26, 1933, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79, Washington, D.C.

move, the Pipestone region's Indians made known their position. Several Dakota bands and the Consolidated Chippewa Tribes of Minnesota petitioned the Office of Indian Affairs for a public facility at Pipestone. These endorsements probably received considerable impetus from the fact that the Yankton Dakota had enjoyed a long-time, legal monopoly of the quarry. In response, the Yankton tribal council protested creation of a park and the possibility of opening the red stone pits to all tribes. The council also demanded that federal officials disregard a petition signed by many Yankton Indians in favor of a park, because it had not passed through proper channels. Finally, should the park be approved, the council wanted monetary compensation based on sentimental value. Shortly thereafter, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier acknowledged the Yankton complaint but ruled against further compensation because the band no longer held title to the land.¹¹

OPPOSITION by regional Indians seemed limited, and the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association intensified its efforts. In October, 1933, Winifred Bartlett, association president, traveled to Washington, D.C., at her own expense to confer with officials of the Office of Indian Affairs and employees of the National Park Service. Commissioner Collier indicated that land not essential to the operation of the Indian school could be made available for a historic park. When Bartlett met with park service personnel, she encouraged further investigation of the site and raised another point in its favor: much of the grassland surrounding the quarry remained virgin prairie. Senior officials of the park service, however, continued to refuse action on the basis of Burlew's initial negative report.¹²

Members of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association then prevailed upon United States Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota. Bartlett and others accompanied Shipstead on a tour of the site and convinced him of the importance of preserving the quarry. Between May, 1934, and August, 1937, Shipstead introduced in Congress three bills to create a National Park Service facility at Pipestone. In order to prepare reports for congressional committees, E. A. Hummel, a National Park Service historian, traveled to Pipestone to investigate the site. His evaluation provided a positive endorsement for a national monument, a designation generally used to describe small but unique archaeological or geological sites. He judged the pipestone quarry to be of significant national historical and ethnological value and more endowed with Indian lore and tradition than any other region in the United States. Hummel's report and Shipstead's persistence finally produced results. In August, 1937, Congress passed legislation and President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law an act that created Pipestone National Monument.¹³

Several problems still faced the National Park Service upon acquisition of the site. Congress readily provided the 115 acres requested for the monument — which included the quarry, virgin grasslands, the rock cliff, and the waterfall, among other landmarks — but failed to appropriate one cent for operation, maintenance, and development. Fortunately, laborers from the Indian Emergency Conservation Works had constructed a road, picnic tables, shelters, and fireplaces in 1934 and 1935 and had planted the only trees on the grounds — 100 white elms furnished by the town of Pipestone. The Office of Indian Affairs transferred possession of these improvements to the National Park Service. Also, the need for a caretaker arose, but Superintendent Balmer of the Indian school agreed to serve as acting custodian without pay until funds for a permanent employee could be obtained. The budget for fiscal year 1940 contained an appropriation of \$1,300 for Pipestone. The money was earmarked for a seasonal custodian and for maintenance supplies. Banner headlines on the front page of the *Pipestone County Star* welcomed the first permanent National Park Service employee. In January, 1940, Albert F. Drysdale, hired as a seasonal custodian, arrived at Pipestone and relieved Balmer. Drysdale found existing facilities in need of repair and, as soon as weather permitted, began to refurbish the area. Drysdale's term of active duty ended in September, and he reported that the monument had attracted 2,026 visitors in 1940 and that local citizens were pleased with the improvements.¹⁴

WORLD WAR II and the immediate postwar years were

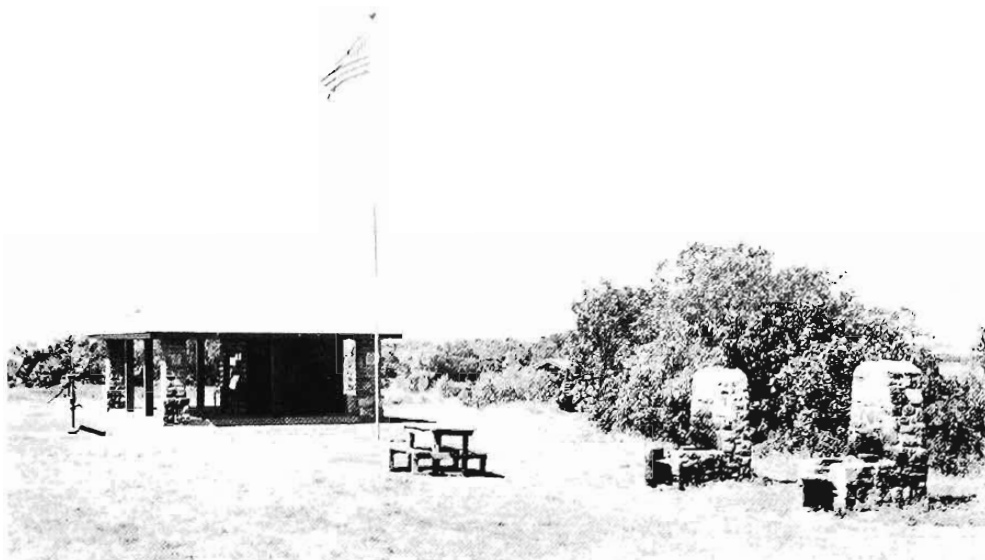
¹¹ File memo by C.C.Q., n.d., and Clement Smith to Horace Albright, May 11, 1933, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79; John Collier to Clement Smith, June 21, 1933, Indian Central File, OIA, National Archives, Washington.

¹² Bartlett interview, April 17, 1976; V. E. Shelford to H. C. Byrant, November 7, 1933, and Byrant to Shelford, November 27, 1933, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79. In the *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 16, 1980, p. 2B, staff writer Ruth Hammond interviewed Winifred Bartlett and said "She claims she's lived to 95 because she's ornery."

¹³ Bartlett interview, April 17, 1976; Herbert L. Brooks to a Mr. Chatelain, May 22, 1934, and E. A. Hummel to Regional Officer, Omaha, August 31, 1935, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79; William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service*, 49 (New York, 1972); *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 2 session, June 18, 1936, p. 9844, 75 Congress, 1 session, August 25, 1936, p. 9611.

¹⁴ 75 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Report of Public Bill 1065*, p. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1937), Murray, "Administrative History," 84-86; *Pipestone County Star*, January 12, 1940, p. 1; A. E. Demaray to Director, Region Two, January 11, 1938, A. E. Demaray to James W. Balmer, January 3, 1939, and *Superintendent's Annual Report*, September 11, 1940, all in General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79.

A CONTACT STATION for visitors is located in the Indian Shrine Park area at Pipestone National Monument. This view was taken in about 1950.



critical for Pipestone and the entire national park system. Drysdale resumed his custodial duties in the spring of 1941. He began a vigorous campaign against the proliferation of poison ivy, and personnel from the park service's regional office in Omaha, Nebraska, started to gather information to prepare a pamphlet about the monument. After this auspicious beginning, the priorities of war began to disrupt park service activities. The service budget was cut drastically, and park visitation plummeted. As a result, the custodial position at Pipestone remained seasonal, and employees performed only necessary maintenance. The end of the war brought revival of prewar trends, and large numbers of tourists again traveled to the nation's parks. Pipestone proved no exception; in 1945 it attracted a record number of visitors — 4,100. Yet appropriations did not keep abreast of the demands placed on staff and facilities. The Pipestone monument began to assume a shabby, unkempt appearance, and local residents became concerned. Members of the town of Pipestone's Civic and Commerce Association went to their congressional representative, H. Carl Andersen, for help, and he in turn approached Director Newton B. Drury of the National Park Service about the situation at the Pipestone quarry. Drury explained that a larger allotment for the monument appeared likely in the

future but that few immediate improvements could be made.¹⁵

Throughout the late 1940s and into the 1950s, increased appropriations and appointment of a year-round superintendent brought significant change to Pipestone National Monument. In 1948 Lyle K. Linch, the first full-time superintendent, replaced Drysdale. He initiated an interpretive program that included the excavation of a demonstration pit so visitors could see pipestone in its natural state. During the summer tourist season Linch employed George Bryan, a full-blooded Ojibway (Chippewa) Indian and experienced pipe craftsman, as the first seasonal ranger and trail guide. Physical improvements included construction of a house and office for the superintendent and resurfacing of roads and trails. Also, the monument grew in size. The Bureau of Indian Affairs ceded control of adjacent lands to the park service, and in 1956 the monument acquired more acreage after the Pipestone Indian School closed. These additions increased the area of the monument to approximately one-half of the 648 acres of the original reservation.¹⁶

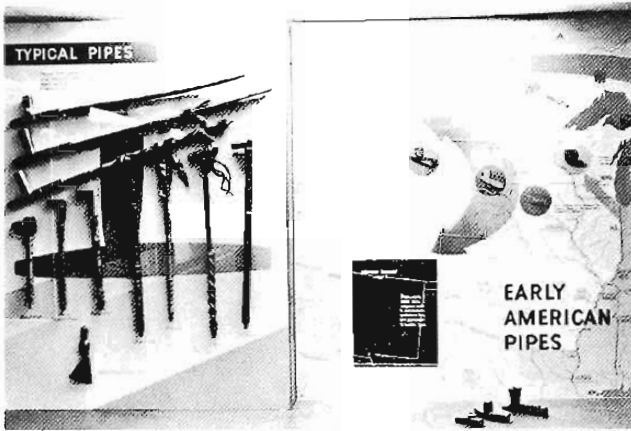
Despite various improvements, the monument again began to reflect difficulties that befell the entire national park system. Nationwide, visitation skyrocketed, but budgetary allotments failed to keep pace with demands placed on facilities and employees. In the ten-year period between 1946 and 1956, the number of people who annually patronized the nation's parks more than doubled, while a six-fold increase in the budget over the same ten years proved inadequate. More than 52,000 people visited Pipestone in 1955 — as opposed to 4,100 in 1945, as mentioned — but funds had not increased proportionately. Modern restrooms and drinking fountains did not exist, and one full-time employee was responsible for keeping the monument open seven days a

¹⁵Victor H. Calahane to Daniel B. Beard, July 1, 1941. Thomas Allen to Director, National Park Service, December 28, 1940. H. Carl Andersen to Newton B. Drury, May 11, 1946, and Drury to Andersen, May 17, 1946, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARC 79; letter to author from Odell Hanson, Office of Public Affairs, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Omaha, June 17, 1976; *Pipestone County Star*, October 3, 1947, p. 2.

¹⁶Murray, "Administrative History," 99, 102; author interview with George Bryan, Pipestone, May 17, 1976; United States, *Statutes at Large*, 70:290.



THIS VISITORS' CENTER, opened in 1958, serves as headquarters of Pipestone National Monument and as a museum housing exhibits depicting the quarry's history and legends. Two of the pipe exhibits are shown below.



week in addition to completing clerical duties and conducting routine maintenance.¹⁷

In order to remedy the problems experienced by Pipestone and the rest of the nation's parks and monuments, Director Conrad L. Wirth of the park service initiated a plan in the 1950s to revamp the entire system. With the support of Congress and President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the service inaugurated a ten-year, one-billion-dollar program called MISSION 66. The planned completion date for this mammoth undertaking — the summer of 1966 — corresponded with the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the park service.¹⁸

One of the first facilities to receive MISSION 66 funds, Pipestone entered a period of reconstruction and modernization. Continued preservation of the quarry and virgin grasslands presented little problem, but great need existed for improvement of cultural interpretation services, administrative quarters, and the maintenance setup. In the summer of 1958 Director Wirth presided at the official opening of a new, unobtrusive, centrally lo-

cated headquarters building at Pipestone National Monument. Aside from office and utility space, it contains exhibits that demonstrate the significance of pipestone to American Indian culture, displays that depict the history of the quarry, and an automated slide presentation explaining pipemaking by Indian craftsmen. Moreover, a full-time historian and clerk-typist joined the staff, and, as the number of visitors increased, additional workers filled temporary positions. By the time MISSION 66 assistance came to an end, the monument easily accommodated the thousands of visitors who arrived annually.¹⁹

THE STRUGGLE to obtain adequate physical facilities for the monument coincided with another difficulty — that of preserving the Indian art of carving pipes. By 1900, visits to the quarry by Yankton Dakota had become infrequent. The distance from their reservation at Fort Randall, the inroads made by Christian missionaries, and the controversy over title to the land all reduced Yankton interest in the red stone pits. Other Indians who lived in the vicinity of Pipestone used the quarry, but many of the items they produced had little resemblance to American Indian handicrafts. Candlestick holders, napkin rings, and paperweights proved more marketable than the traditional peace pipes. Also, non-Indian residents of the area often quarried pipestone to produce a variety of souvenir items. When the National Park Service assumed responsibility for the reserve, it developed a policy for use of the quarry. Permits were issued to those who came to work the stone pits, and non-Indians were

¹⁷*The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1958*, p. 707, 751; Odell Hanson to author, June 17, 1976.

¹⁸Everhart, *National Park Service*, 34–37.

¹⁹MISSION 66 *Prospectus for Pipestone National Monument, 1957*, and *Master Plan Development Outline, February, 1957*, in file D18, Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone; Robert A. Murray, *Pipestone: A History*, 57 (Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, 1965).



A PIPE MAKER and cultural demonstrator today for the National Park Service is George Bryan, an Ojibway. He is shown shaping a pipe bowl in one of three work booths in the Pipestone visitors' center.

²⁰C. J. Randall to T. J. Morgan, July 23, 1892, OIA, letters received, NARG 75; James W. Balmer to Paul Boswell, September 25, 1928, Bureau of Indian Affairs, classification files 1907-1939, NARG 75; Albert F. Drysdale to Regional Director, September 23, 1943, and James W. Balmer to Lawrence Merriam, November 23, 1945, General Correspondence, Pipestone National Monument, NARG 79; "Evidence for the Plaintiff," in *Records and Briefs: Yankton Sioux v. the United States, Red Pipestone Quarry Case*, 176, 205, 210, 221, 240, 254 (n.p., n.d.).

²¹Harvey B. Reynolds to Regional Chief of Interpretation, December 3, 1954, *By-Laws of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association*, Reynolds to Director, Region Two, February 7, 1955, and April 4, 1956, James W. Holland to Reynolds, March 24, 1955, and Dale S. King to Reynolds, all in file A42, Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone.

²²Superintendent, Pipestone National Monument, to Director, Region Two, September 15, 1960, and February 18, 1966, Paul L. Webb to Membership of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, January 20, 1960, in file A42, Pipestone National Monument.

refused permission to dig pipestone. The number of Indian pipe craftsmen, however, continued to decrease. The absence of a steady income from the sale of traditional handicrafts, the deaths of many old pipemakers, and the induction of young Indians into the armed forces during World War II accelerated the decline in the number of craftsmen. During the postwar years the situation continued to worsen as monument superintendents issued as few as four quarry permits annually.²⁰

Revival of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association provided a solution to the decline in pipe craftsmanship. After creation of the national monument in 1937, the association reduced its activities considerably, and by the early 1950s it barely functioned at all. Early in November, 1954, Winifred Bartlett and Dr. William G. Benjamin, a local physician and member of the association, met with Harvey B. Reynolds, monument superintendent, to discuss reactivating the organization. Interest soon stirred among other local residents, and in January, 1955, a small group gathered to approve a reorganized charter and bylaws. The new Pipestone Indian Shrine Association evolved as a co-operating agency of the National Park Service specifically for the purpose of ensuring the continuation of pipe craftsmanship and to provide a steady market for traditional pipestone handicrafts. The association operated on a marginal basis for several years as an absence of available capital became a constant problem. Interest-free loans from other co-operating agencies in the East and Southwest produced some relief, but in the spring of 1956 the association's board of directors wrote personal checks to meet immediate expenses.²¹

The situation improved greatly in 1958 when the new visitors' center opened. It contained a sales area which provided a base of operation for the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. In order to market products directly related to Indian lore, the association adopted a policy of selective buying and adjusted prices to provide higher compensation to craftsmen who produced traditional items. Local non-Indians showed increased interest also, and by 1960 the association had approximately 100 members. Yet the bulk of day-to-day management remained the responsibility of the monument's superintendent and his staff. They served as purchasing agents, salespeople, bookkeepers, and mail-order clerks. For all of their efforts, the sale of pipestone articles produced only a profit of \$1,300 in 1965, which continued to limit the operation.²²

Three local Indian families — the Bryans, the Derbys, and the Taylors — made most of the articles sold at the monument. They exercised their right to work the quarry on an uninterrupted basis and during the 1950s virtually kept the pipe craft alive. Most of these craftsmen learned their trade from Moses Crow, a full-blooded Dakota. George Bryan is an example. An Ojib-

way, he worked during the 1930s on the staff of the Pipestone Indian School. When not at work, Bryan directed much of his attention toward one of Crow's daughters. As a result of numerous courting visits, Bryan developed an interest in Crow's ability as a pipe craftsman. Soon Bryan was digging his own stone, carving pipes, and selling them locally. After his discharge from the military service at the end of World War II, Bryan returned and continued to make pipes. He began to deal through the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and eventually became an employee of the National Park Service as a cultural demonstrator. The Derbys and the Taylors made significant contributions, too, particularly by passing the craft on to younger generations.²³

The Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and the National Park Service encouraged craftsmen to make traditional articles from pipestone, but the establishment of an American Indian culture center at the monument greatly aided in preserving the art of pipe carving. Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel furnished the initial impetus for such a facility. In February, 1970, Hickel called on the park service to initiate programs to develop the cultural resources of American Indians. Superintendent Cecil D. Lewis at Pipestone submitted a proposal to the regional office of the National Park Service for construction of an American Indian craft center at the monument, and his plan received approval. In the fall of 1972 the Upper Midwest Indian Cultural Center opened to the public. Directly connected with the visitor center, it contains cases to display Indian handicrafts, work areas for Indian craftsmen, and a sales area for the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association.²⁴

As traditional American Indian handicrafts increased in popularity, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association produced greater profits, and the demand for quarry permits went up. Until the mid-1960s the red stone pits had been worked by a small group of men who dug in the same place each year. In later years the number of craftsmen began to increase as the sons and daughters of older pipemakers acquired the skill, and Indians from regional reservations developed an interest in pipes. Between 1966 and 1973 the number of open pits increased from ten to twenty-three. In recent years use of the quarry has stabilized, but in 1975 quarriers removed an estimated thirteen tons of pipestone. In addition, the demand for pipestone and other regional Indian handicrafts continued to rise as the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association's total sales in 1974 exceeded \$106,700. In

1979 the association sold \$145,000 of pipestone carvings at the monument and through mail orders.²⁵

THE DEVELOPMENT of Pipestone National Monument served a two-fold purpose. First, it preserved an area of historic and ethnological importance based on the peace pipe and its cultural and religious significance to Indians of the northern plains. From their first contact with Plains Indians, early explorers recognized the peace pipe as an essential part of American Indian tradition and custom. During the nineteenth century the red pipestone quarry received wide publicity from writers on Indian culture and like subjects. The organization of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association in 1932 began an effort by concerned citizens to preserve the historical and ethnological importance of the quarry. They expended great amounts of time, energy, and personal funds to gain the attention of a federal agency that could protect the area. The National Park Service accepted this responsibility. Following a period of feast-and-famine operation, the grounds underwent a complete renovation during the MISSION 66 program. The monument then acquired adequate facilities to explain the significance of pipestone and the peace pipe to thousands of visitors.

Second, Pipestone National Monument made possible the preservation of an American Indian handicraft which had begun to disappear. National Park Service employees at the monument, residents of the town of Pipestone, and members of the local Indian community reorganized the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association to promote pipe craft and to provide an outlet for finished products. Through careful management, the association developed into a business that created an incentive for making traditional pipestone handicrafts and furnished employment for several of the area's Indian families.

In safeguarding the quarry and insuring the continuation of pipe carving, local residents provided the driving force and co-operative assistance necessary for the permanent protection and preservation of a significant part of American Indian culture. To the concerned citizens who assembled at the Calumet Hotel in the winter of 1932 both Indians and non-Indians owe a considerable debt.

²³ Author interviews with Betty Zorich, Pipestone, May 18, 1976, and George Bryan, Pipestone, May 19, 1976.

²⁴ News release, February 2, 1970, and *Proposal for the Cultural Center*, in file K1817, Pipestone National Monument.

²⁵ Land Use Permits, Quarry Permits, 1973-1974, and Stone Quarry Questionnaire, January 9, 1976, in file L30, Pipestone National Monument; "Pipestone Indian Shrine Association Financial Statement, 1974," in Pipestone Indian Shrine Association Minutes, 1970-present, Pipestone National Monument.



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