NATIVES, NEIGHBORS, & THE NATIONAL GAME:

BASEBALL

AT THE PIPESTONE INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

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On a sultry July day in 1907, a Native American called Big Chief Mallory gripped a baseball. Adjusting his Pipestone Indian Training School cap and uniform, the teenager peered toward the batter, a white man from the village of Garner, Iowa, just outside Mason City, and the catcher beyond. After a brief deliberation, Big Chief breathed deeply, reared back, and hurled the sphere toward the plate. The batter's heavy swing to no avail, the ball thumped safely in the catcher's mitt, and Big Chief had retired yet another opposing hitter. By afternoon's end, the pitcher's performance helped fashion a 4-to-3 Indian victory, the team's seventh in its last eight games. Indeed, the Pipestone Indians—along with their pitcher—were making a name for themselves on the diamond.[1]

Just what kind of name, however, was not fully revealed to the spectators that day. Joined on the diamond by several "ringer" athletes paid to boost the touring team's competitiveness, these indigenous boys performed under fictitious, generic-Indian names: Big Chief Mallory, for instance, was the moniker given an Ojibwe boy named John Sky, whose teammates included "Little Red Cloud" (Roy Thompson), "Standing Bear" (Bill Free), and "Little Old Boy" (Vincent L. Sears). Nearly a month after many of their Indian school classmates had returned to their northern Minnesota reservations, these students found themselves playing ball amidst Iowa cornfields more than 150 miles from their surrogate home. Here, Native baseball prowess illuminated white Americans' keen interest in assimilating Indians by teaching them the national pastime—and then appropriating Indian ball for promotional purposes.[2]

Baseball, however, also furthered distinctly indigenous goals, such as enhancing pride through athletic conquest and distancing student athletes from an oppressive boarding-school regime. Intriguingly, then, Pipestone Indian baseball ultimately furthered two distinct—and frequently opposing—agendas: for local whites, promotion of Pipestone as a town imbued with exotic flavor, and for Native students, a chance to have fun, gain autonomy, and retain their Indian identity in challenging circumstances.[3] Indeed, the duality inherent in this July 1907 match proved a consistent theme during the existence of Indian baseball in Pipestone.

The origins of Pipestone Indian Training School in southwestern Minnesota are intimately connected with both the region's renowned pipestone quarries and the enterprising early citizens of the namesake town. Native peoples likely discovered and first quarried the area now recognized as Pipestone National Monument—a geologically unique place where ancient clay sandwiched between quartzite hardened into a malleable red stone—between 900 and 1600 A.D. In the ensuing centuries, Great Plains tribes traded pipestone widely, particularly prizing it for carving. During the midnineteenth century, Yankton Dakotas lived in the region and, when ceding vast tracts of southwestern Minnesota to the federal government in 1858, saved a reservation around the quarries for their tribe. Although encroached upon during the early settlement of Pipestone city, the reservation maintained quarrying rights and, initially, 600 acres for the Yanktons. By the late-nineteenth century, however, most tribal members had relocated near Flandreau, South Dakota, just across the Minnesota border, and visits to the quarries became only annual affairs. As area whites openly contemplated what to do with the uninhabited reservation, calls arose to establish an Indian boarding school on a portion of the site.[4]

Beginning in the 1880s, federal officials intensified the use of Indian boarding schools as a means to "civilize" Native children into mainstream white society. Teaching English, agriculture, and Christian doctrine all across the indigenous West, boarding schools also wrenched generations of children from their reservation communities

FACING: *Pipestone Indian Training School team and leaders (in coats and ties) Vincent Sears and James Irving, about 1913*

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to be raised in far-flung, culturally antagonistic settings. Nonetheless, many Indian families eventually turned to boarding institutions as an escape from the economic degradation and public-school discrimination abounding near reservations, as scholar Brenda Child has noted.[5] The institution at Pipestone emerged from this assimilationist mold.

By 1892 the new school—christened Pipestone Indian Training School (PITS)—was a reality, its commanding quartzite buildings rising prominently upon the prairie northeast of the quarries. The following spring, the school's first superintendent, C. J. Crandall, welcomed an inaugural class of six pupils, all of them displaced by the closing of a Menominee institution in Wisconsin. Enrollment grew quickly, and by century's end nearly 150 students, mainly from Minnesota's Ojibwe and Dakota communities, attended the school.[6]

The academic curriculum—grades one through eight—mirrored boarding institutions elsewhere, which emphasized English-language acquisition and gender-based industrial training. Various extracurricular activities augmented classroom learning, including annual school plays (the 1908 production was *Ten Little Indians*), a mandolin club, and several athletic teams. The school also used student labor to operate a highly productive dairy and vegetable farm, supplying the entire institution well into the twentieth century.[7]

Unfortunately, staff conflicts and several calamities marred the school's early years, including fires in 1894 and 1918, a near riot in 1908, and a shooting (not fatal) in 1906. Compounding these unusual episodes was an outmoded training regimen that, as Child has noted, never fulfilled its responsibility to teach Indians a vocational trade but, rather, "constantly bombarded . . . [them] that they were best suited for menial labor."[8] In this regard, life at Pipestone training school closely resembled boarding-school experiences elsewhere: despite occasional successes, the institution was not a very good place to learn.

Outside the realm of the classroom, baseball quickly emerged as a significant aspect of the Pipestone school. By June 1893, just four months after the institution opened, the town newspaper, the *Pipestone County Star*, reported a ballgame involving the "dusky lads from

Facing: *Students and teachers on the steps of one of the new school's imposing quartzite buildings, 1893*

the government school." Remarkably, the paper credited the Indian group with "playing good ball" after only several weeks' practice and declared the team "among the strongest in this section." The following month, Pipestone's nine traveled thrice to neighboring Flandreau for a series of formal contests against that Indian school's club. A dozen female students and six staff members—including the wife of Superintendent Crandall—accompanied the Pipestone boys to the last of these matches. At a time when total school enrollment was just over 50, plus nine employees, even this modest caravan represented more than one-third of the institution's populace. Clearly, baseball generated considerable interest among students and staff right from the beginning.[9]

The game's popularity at PITS amplified with each passing year. By 1895 a second ball club composed of "the youngest boys"—possibly ages seven, eight, or nine—emerged and would last for years to come. At the dawn of the twentieth century, word of the Indians' increasing eagerness for baseball spread beyond school walls: a 1902 newspaper from northern Minnesota's White Earth (Ojibwe) Reservation reported that at PITS, "Base ball shoes are in demand," and a 1904 *Star* article surmised, "There is said to be lots of base ball interest out at the [Indian] school." Enthusiasm even spilled into more formal school activities, like the 1909 commencement exercises that featured a recitation by Fred Campbell, one of the school's ballplayers, of the wistful poem "Casey at the Bat."[10] On and off the diamond, then, boarding-school students passionately embraced the game.

Pipestone's baseball zeal may have culminated in 1916, when the school newspaper, *The Peace Pipe*, noted the existence of three interscholastic teams alongside a host of additional pickup squads, likely composed of non-varsity players. According to the paper, saturated with baseball reporting, boys from each of the third through eighth grades "practice baseball every evening"; some of the school's girls "take a walk to the ballgrounds" nearly every night; administrators had recently purchased additional baseball "paraphernalia"; and employees labored to construct a new diamond on schoolgrounds.[11] The entire Indian school community, it seems, was smitten with the game.

Perhaps most important, this widespread baseball activity injected a modicum of enjoyment into an otherwise grinding routine. Farmhands and shop workers set aside their toils to delight in a spring day on the diamond, and scores of pupils clearly took such pleasure in baseball that they played or watched every night. Moreover, several varsity ballplayers liked the game enough to stay beyond the school's academic year, playing with the team through the summer rather than returning to their reservation homes. The game also provided an avenue for good-natured ribbing, as the victorious "Protestants" pickup team surely indulged with the losing "Catholics." Even the *Peace Pipe*'s seventh-grade reporters got into the mix, teasing "Rusty" to try swinging his bat at a bas-

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ketball, as the baseball had proved too small. In a world regimented by nearly inescapable white supervision, a deprecating curriculum, and onerous physical labor, baseball provided Pipestone's pupils a chance to smile, to joke, and to be happy. Offering the company of friends and the carefree spirit that play afforded, the sport served a significant, if overlooked, role for Native children at boarding school: it was fun. This, in and of itself, proved a victory for students at Pipestone.[12]

As baseball fever progressively gripped the school, local white citizens and press began taking notice. Through the first several seasons of Indian baseball, the *Pipestone County Star* made periodic, passing reference to the teams, often burying a small paragraph in the interior pages of its weekly newsprint.[13] Near the turn of the century, however, prominent coverage emerged, beginning with an audacious 1898 article, "Scalped the White Boys," describing the first Indian school victory, 19 to 6, over a Pipestone town team. The ensuing decade witnessed regular headlines—some in large, bold-faced type—including a 1905 article advertising an upcoming game against the Flandreau Indian School that announced, with a hint of intrigue, "Indians to Play Indians." A year later, stories on Pipestone Indian baseball featured prominently in the spring papers. Some issues

Worthy opponents: Flandreau Indian school team, early 1900s

carried multiple articles; over eight weeks, eleven stories on the teams constituted the entirety of reporting on the Indian school.[14]

This coverage appears to have aroused even greater community interest in the team. In 1906, for instance, city residents sprang into action when the Indian school scheduled a highly publicized home contest with a "professional," or paid, nine from Watertown, South Dakota. Local citizens sold advance tickets and arranged free carriage transportation to the grounds, while school administrators, "believing that such a game will be well patronized," erected a grandstand to accommodate the anticipated crowd. Only an ill-timed thunderstorm on the morning of the match prevented "hundreds of spectators" from attending, according to the *Star*.[15]

That same year, city residents launched a highly symbolic summertime spectacle, carving out a ball diamond on the prairie near the old reservation's Winnewissa Falls—Yankton property at the time—and scheduling the Indian team to play there beginning in June. Flandreau Indian School proved a popular opponent for games at the falls, and on several occasions a host of citizens ventured to watch games at the site they had dubbed an "Indian Eden," no doubt with mythic images of frolicking Natives dancing in their heads.[16] Clearly, local curiosity about the Indian team was growing, and community-minded citizens actively pursued their town's interests.

Pipestone had much to cheer for in the first decades of PITS baseball. Several talented players, including two pitchers who led the club in its heyday, bolstered the team to eventual preeminence over other clubs in the region. Initiating the team's ascendancy, Roy Thompson, a Stockbridge Indian born in Minnesota, made his debut in 1905—at age 16—and quickly became the school's ace. In September of that year, Thompson "pitched a superb game" in a victory over the highly touted Garretson, South Dakota, Sluggers. The following spring, he proved unbeatable, downing the Watertown, South Dakota, professional team in June and two weeks later striking out 17 in a victory over Flandreau Indian School. By summer's end, Thompson's stellar performance aided PITS in compiling a gaudy 27-and-8 season record, rendering 1906 the most successful year ever for a Pipestone Indian school club.[17]

The following year, Thompson shared the experience of the Iowa tour with his heir apparent, John Sky, the 14-year-old who led the team to victory in Garner. A second-string pitcher for much of that season, Sky saw his baseball career blossom several years later, beginning in 1909 when he fanned ten hitters in a season-opening victory over Slayton High School. After chalking up additional wins over Jasper and Fulda high schools that summer, Sky began the 1910 season as the team's acknowledged star. With the local paper gushing at his "remarkable strike-out records," he hurled 62 strikeouts through five games in May, then fanned 14 batsmen against Bushnell, South Dakota, in June. Afterward, Sky disappeared from the local press for several years—presumably, he left the Indian school—only to return to the PITS team in 1914, at age 21, when he dominated Wilmont High School in a 15-strikeout blanking in June. Helping their teams to "simply outclass" scores of white opponents, as the *Star* put it, Sky and Thompson boosted Indian identity and pride, a common function of sports at the boarding schools, according to historian John Bloom.[18]

Pipestone citizens likely viewed Indian-school ball as exciting, winning, and, beneath it all, exotic.

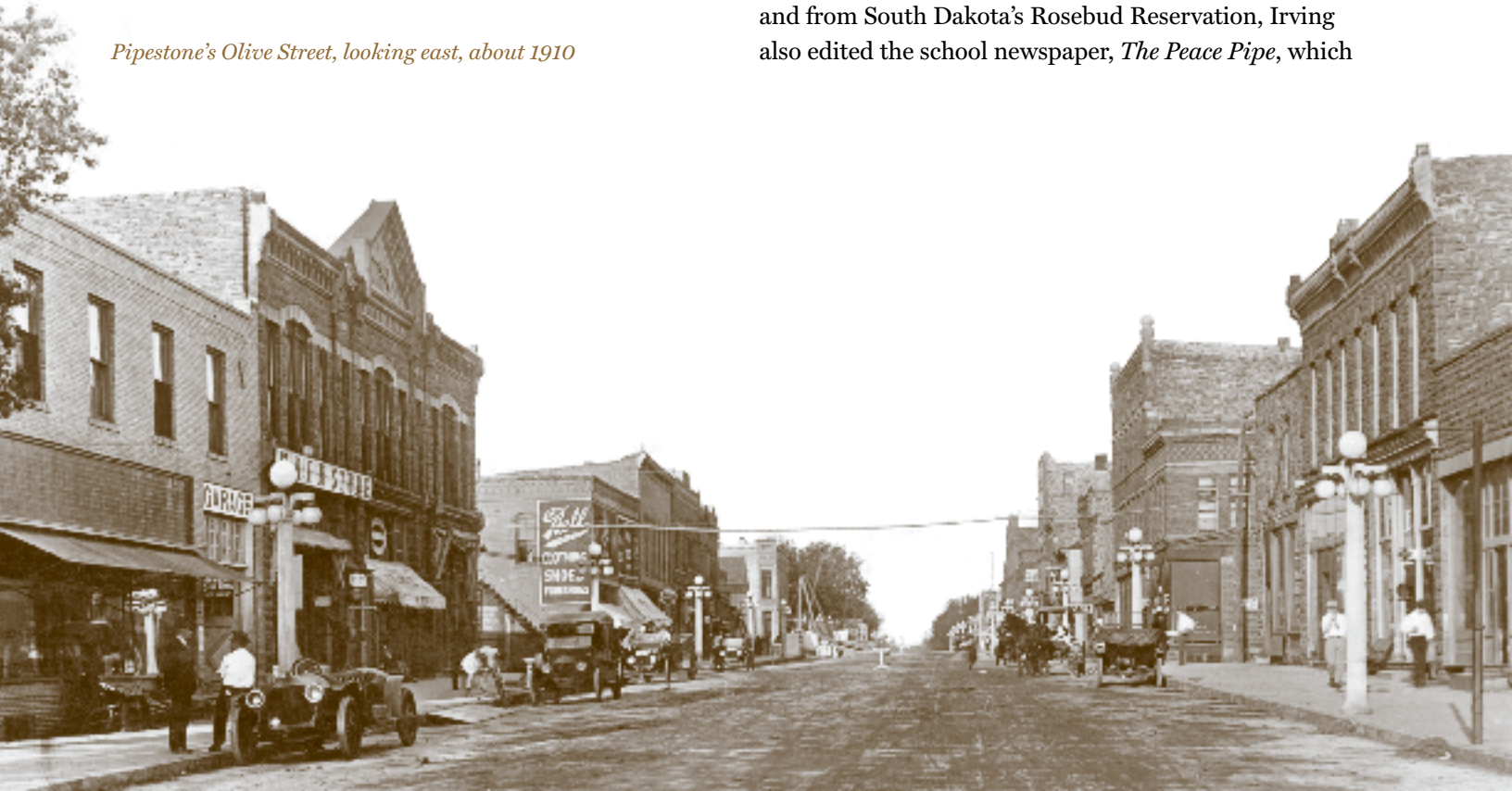
Building on the ballplayers' talent and on heightened community zest, local residents devised new promotional methods to showcase Indian school teams. Just before the 1907 Iowa tour, for instance, citizens liter-

ally made the Indians a carnival exhibit, staging games alongside an eccentric outdoor wrestling match in May and marketing the team as "one of the interesting attractions" during a weeklong festival in June. Pipestone's advertisements of the PITS nine captured the attention of outlying towns, including Sherburn, Fulda, and Lake Wilson, which in 1909 and 1910 used Farmer's Day celebrations and community-wide picnics to bring the Indian boys to their home diamonds. As Pipestone's Native teams increasingly ventured afield—PITS played a dozen away games in 1910, many of them on weekends at resort communities like Lake Benton, Minnesota, and Lake Norden, South Dakota—a growing number of regional residents wished to cash in on Indian baseball. By inviting the team to compete during a festive occasion or at a popular site, southwestern Minnesota communities sought to capitalize on the success and inherent novelty of the Indian ball team, thus appropriating the national pastime for their own promotional purposes.[19]

Still, the heart of the Indians' following lay in Pipestone, where by 1910 PITS baseball was front-page news. Lead articles featuring the team adorned the *Star* virtually every week in spring, recounting the on-field exploits of the best players and trumping the coverage bestowed upon the city's white clubs. The large crowds attending PITS games, the Indians' competitive mastery of Pipestone town teams, and the prolific news coverage all added up to a substantial local audience enamored with Indian ball. Eventually, Pipestone's clamor for Native baseball proved so great that the Indians shifted most of their home games from the boarding-school diamond to the city's Athletic Park, seeking to maximize attendance.[20]

But what, exactly, fascinated scores of Pipestone neighbors with Indian baseball? First, the attention showered upon Native teams—in print and in person—likely indicated the town's delight at the apparent success of assimilationist education. After all, these athletes had apparently laid aside indigenous traditions by competing in America's favorite pastime. To be sure, onlookers were also caught up in the well-documented national zeal for baseball—and, more broadly, for success in competition—at the turn of the century and into the 1910s. Yet, the Indians' racial and historical distinctiveness seem to have been magnetic allures to Pipestone citizens; the evocative presence of "real" Native people in the novel setting of a ballpark—the mythologized past in the modernized present—appears to have tantalized the imaginations of many local whites. All told, then, Pipestone citizens likely viewed Indian-school ball as exciting, winning, and, beneath it all, exotic.[21]

While promotional efforts served regional goals, one pair of PITS coaches likely furthered tribal pride. Stories from many boarding schools feature authoritarian white coaches rigidly disciplining their indigenous charges; in contrast, two Native Americans ran the Pipestone ball clubs for a time.[22] James Irving, a Yankton Dakota, served as printing instructor and athletics director at PITS for several years ending in 1916. Of mixed-blood heritage and from South Dakota's Rosebud Reservation, Irving also edited the school newspaper, *The Peace Pipe*, which



Pipestone's Olive Street, looking east, about 1910

may explain its extensive baseball reporting. Described in the *Star* as being "in the direction of athletic affairs," Irving probably oversaw scheduling, transportation, and equipment ordering for the squads, and, as PITS fielded only one varsity sport each season, perhaps attended practices and games as well. While his athletic background remains unclear, that of his baseball assistant, Vincent Sears, does not. Sears, a Lakota from Pine Ridge Reservation and a former Pipestone student, had played three seasons for PITS—1907 to 1910—as a third-baseman and occasional pitcher. While not a standout on the diamond, he proved a capable contributor. By 1912 the *Star* noted Sears as coaching the Indian team, and two summers later he organized a team of Oglala Sioux to compete against white squads throughout the region.[23]

Athletic director James Irving, about 1913

Coach Vincent Sears, about 1913

While the partnership of Sears and Irving produced unremarkable competitive results—one win and seven losses in 1914, for instance—it nonetheless created a respite for indigenous students. Pipestone's ballplayers learned and played in an all-Indian environment under leaders likely more tolerant of Native language and cultural practices and more sympathetic to the difficulties of boarding-school life than white administrators.[24] In this regard, the baseball field may well have been the most comfortable school environment for Pipestone's student athletes.

Irving, in particular, modeled the adaptation and persistence that could forge a new way of life upon indigenous values. After leaving PITS in the summer of 1916, he married a Dakota woman and served as disciplinarian at the Wahpeton boarding school in North Dakota before returning to southwestern Minnesota in 1918 to edit the small-town Holland and Woodstock newspapers. Next, he campaigned for the office of judge of probate for Pipestone County, securing the position in the general election of 1920 and serving for more than a decade.[25]

During his judicial tenure, the dispute over the Yanktons' Minnesota reservation emerged anew, with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1926 that the Pipestone quarry was Indian property, and, therefore, the tribe was entitled to just compensation for tracts acquired by the federal government. Called upon to assist in valuing the land, Irving declined, testifying instead as a Yankton at the hearing in Pipestone. Irving's choice of action evinces the enduring tribal identification of a man outwardly conformed to the Euro-American world. His baseball players a decade earlier, therefore, may well have experienced Irving as a role model of Native perseverance who encouraged them, by word or deed, to persist as Indians through the boarding-school environment, effectively countering the institution's assimilationist aims.[26]

Beyond the contributions of coaches, success on the diamond came foremost from players—not all of whom, ironically, were courtesy of the Pipestone school. Indeed, local papers make clear that PITS occasionally employed the services of outside athletes to further its team's cause. As early as the 1907 Iowa tour, the *Star* reported PITS to be "strengthening materially" for contests—an early baseball codeword for luring outside talent, sometimes with pay, to boost a roster for particular matches. In 1925 a pitcher called "Blue Bird"—also known as "the invincible Indian wizard"—took the mound against the Pipestone Independents, a squad of the town's best adult players, striking out 15 and silencing the crew with a two-hit shutout. Later that summer, Pipestone again used Blue Bird's services against the Ivanhoe town team. Blue Bird, however, hailed from the Flandreau Indian School and was not a regular on the PITS squad; without his pitching, a team from Tracy defeated that season's mediocre Pipestone Indians 23 to 2. Similarly, the prior year's "upbolstering" of the Indian school nine by "several star players from the school at Flandreau" allowed PITS to best an all-star team of Pipestone college players, 3 to 2.[27] Clearly, not all the Indian school's on-field accomplishments were entirely its own.

Yet Pipestone also contributed to this "revolving" of players, a classic feature of early baseball. Documented examples probably represent only a portion of the widespread practice. As early as 1897, student George Sheehy

assisted the Flandreau team in a game against Brookings, South Dakota. A decade later, several unnamed Native players helped a Pipestone town team defeat the high-school nine from Rock Rapids, Iowa, and in the summer of 1914 former PITS ace John Sky aided the Pipestone locals in several more triumphs. These instances demonstrate the opportunities baseball generated for some of Pipestone's most talented Native athletes. With offers to participate in games alongside white players and to travel individually to outside locales, Native baseballers escaped the rote boarding-school agenda to become decision-makers in their own right. Ironically, then, baseball recognition, besides furthering tribal values of attaining distinction through athletic excellence, also promoted autonomy and self-determination—traits the boarding schools were designed to eradicate.[28]

After two decades of passionate interest, Pipestone's enthusiasm for Indian ball was, surprisingly, on the wane. The varsity squad, front-page headliners in 1910, experienced a sharp decline in press coverage: after 1914 reports lapsed completely. While less frequent winning certainly contributed to this silence, perhaps the novelty of an Indian baseball team had simply worn off. By 1916, the year James Irving departed for Wahpeton, administrators unexpectedly severed athletic ties with Flandreau Indian School, ending the intense baseball rivalry between the two institutions. And in an ultimate about-face, school officials eliminated baseball—along with all other athletics, the school newspaper, brass band, and social activities—in 1917, possibly in deference to preparedness activities for World War I.[29]

This plummet in local attention to and school support for PITS baseball demonstrates the shifting whims of Pipestone's white audience and perhaps illuminates an underlying uncertainty in a new generation of Indian school leaders about the value of sports. While this dramatic reversal foreshadowed the federal abandonment of boarding-school athletics in the 1930s, it does not erase the game's 20-year history at Pipestone, a tenure marked by highly competitive teams, an avid Native following, and an extraordinary record of white promotions.[30]

Most turn-of-the-century Pipestone residents—Indian and white—proved intimately connected to the national pastime.

A decade before Pipestone Indian Training School opened, the *Star* printed an article promoting settlement of the newly founded town to eastern urbanites. "The savage has folded his tent," the paper assured readers, "and the blight of his presence has gone forever. The shadow of his dusky face no longer falls. . . . The curse of his presence has become a memory of the past."[31] Such language resonates with deep irony, considering that the Indian boarding school soon brought hundreds of Native children to Pipestone annually—and the school's baseball team provided an intriguing storyline that the very same newspaper reported with enthusiasm.

The athletic leadership of James Irving and Vincent Sears in the mid-1910s demonstrated firsthand to ballplayers the possibility of tribal persistence through adaptation.

Such contradictions proved common in the realm of Pipestone boarding-school baseball, demonstrating what scholar Philip Deloria calls two "distinct, even mutually exclusive" experiences embedded in Native play on the diamond.[32] Whites, it seems, embraced PITS baseball initially as a show of community support for the school, then as a highly successful, inherently novel touring attraction that brought publicity to the town and enhanced its reputation. Overlooked in other boarding-school narratives, this community response to Native students forged substantial associations between two seemingly disparate entities, frequently resulting in promotional benefits for the city.

On the other hand, American Indians procured different meanings from PITS baseball. Within the assimilationist confines of boarding school, the sport generated "revolving" opportunities for talented players, providing a chance for autonomy, self-determination, and traditional recognition of athletic excellence. Baseball also allowed students to gain distance from the boarding-school regimen when they traveled the region—or even played home games away from campus. Moreover, the athletic leadership of James Irving and Vincent Sears in the mid-1910s demonstrated firsthand to ballplayers the possibility of tribal persistence through adaptation, perhaps influencing

students to follow that path rather than assimilate completely. Finally, play on the diamond granted players and onlookers a respite from the wearisome boarding-school curriculum, a time to experience fun, enjoyment, and even joy playing catch with classmates. In this way, baseball at Pipestone Indian Training School proved a significant and complicated educational experience, helping one people to promote, and helping another, in the end, to persist. ▣

Notes

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1. *Pipestone County Star*, July 16, 1907, p. 6 (hereinafter, *Star*).

2. *Star*, July 26, 1907, p. 4, 6, Apr. 16, 1909, p. 1; *Pipestone Farmer's Leader*, June 27, July 11, July 18, Aug. 29—all 1907, p. 5. Pipestone resident Ralph "Kelly" Nason served as the Indians' "booking agent" for this tour, arranging games, assigning fake Indian names, and writing promotional reports for regional newspapers. The tour carried the team to Ellsworth, Rock Rapids, Sibley, Melvin, Little Rock, Hartley, and as far east as Garner and Belmond. The *Farmer's Leader*, smaller than the *Star*, noted that the Indians played 36 matches (and won 21), some of them in unspecified "eastern states." On other barnstorming Native ball clubs, especially the nationally traveling Nebraska Indians, see Jeffrey Powers-Beck, "'A Role New to the Race': A New History of the Nebraska Indians," *Nebraska History* (Winter 2004): 186–99.

On the derogatory functions of white-ascribed names for Indian players, see Tom Swift, *Chief Bender's Burden: The Silent Struggle of a Baseball Star* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). Children were also renamed by whites at Indian boarding schools; see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 108–10. Name changing in early baseball was most common in barnstorming teams when money was involved; under pseudonyms, athletes could take money and retain their amateur status. This practice raises the question of whether financial incentives for players underlay the Indians' 1907 tour.

3. Pipestone's efforts to showcase itself as a place with a romantic Native past continued throughout the twentieth century. For the origins of the city's Song of Hiawatha pageant, performed every summer from 1948 to 2008, see Sally J. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 121–43.

4. Robert A. Murray, *A History of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (Pipestone: Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, 1965), 11; William P. Corbett, "Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument," *Minnesota History* 47 (Fall 1980): 83–84; John Wayne Davis, "History of the Pipestone Reservation and Quarry in Minnesota," (M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1934), 52–57. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 30–31, explains that various Dakota bands objected to the Yanktons' claim, which excluded other Native people from quarrying. For opinions on establishing a school and for Yankton reactions, see Southwick, 65–68; Arthur P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota* (Luverne, MN: Northern History Publishing, 1911), 333.

5. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 189–210; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 21–24, 55–58; Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 19–25.

6. C. J. Crandall, *Report of School at Pipestone, Minn.* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1893), 421; Pipestone Co. Historical Society Book Committee, *A History of Pipestone County* (Dallas, TX: Taylor Publishing, 1984), 80. Pipestone Co. Statehood Centennial Committee, *Pipestone* (1958), 48, notes that Sac and Fox, Oneida, Potawatomi, Omaha, Winnebago (Ho-Chunk), Gros Ventre, and Mandan children also attended the school. See also Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 70; Crandall, *1893 Report*, 421.

7. De Witt S. Harris, *Report of School at Pipestone, Minn.* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1899), 402, and *1901 Report*, 541; Gaylord V. Reynolds, "History of Pipestone Indian School" (M.A. thesis, University of South Dakota, 1952), 37; Pipestone Indian School, *Pipestone School, Minnesota* (1914); Cynthia Leanne Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux: The Boarding School Experience for Students at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools" (Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 2002), 131. A 1914 school brochure listed four sports teams: football, basketball, and baseball for boys and basketball for girls.

Documenting the school's second full year, Harris, *1895 Report*, 377, showed cultivation of 150 acres and production of over 1,000 pounds of butter. A decade later, 50 Jersey cows produced "an abundance" of dairy products annually; Willard S. Campbell, *Report of School at Pipestone, Minn.* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1905), 423.

8. *Star*: Feb. 2, 1894, p. 4, Jan. 15, 1918, p. 1 (fires); July 6, 1906, p. 1 (shooting by recently fired employee A. C. Hart); Jan. 21, 1908, p. 1 (riot, apparently spurred by several drunken male students assaulting a Pipestone police officer); Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux," 111–17; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 75, 81. Staff problems intermittently distressed students; Supt. Campbell dismissed Hart in 1906 "on account of cruelty to one of the pupils," and in 1905 fired several employees who were "totally incompetent": *Star*, July 6, 1906, p. 1; Campbell, *1905 Report*, 423.

9. *Star*, June 2, 1893, p. 4, June 30, 1893, p. 1, 4; Crandall, *1893 Report*, 421.

10. *Star*, May 24, 1895, p. 2, June 1, 1906, p. 6, July 6, 1906, p. 8, Apr. 15, 1904, p. 8, June 8, 1909, p. 4; *Chippeway Herald* (White Earth), Apr. 1902, p. 2.

11. *Peace Pipe*, Apr. 1916, p. 10–11, 20. Informal ball clubs listed in this, the lone extant issue, include the "Scrubs," "Catholics," "Protestants," "Farmers," and "Shop Boys." Five recreational teams and three competitive squads add up to more than 70 players—over half the male student body circa 1916; Samuel A. Eliot, *Report on Schools in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1919), 81–82.

12. PITS teams played at least through the summers of 1905, 1907, 1925, and 1926; *Star*, Aug. 4, 1905, p. 1, Sept. 15, 1905, p. 5, July 26, 1907, p. 6, Aug. 25, 1925, p. 1, Aug. 17, 1926, p. 1; *Peace Pipe*, Apr. 1916, p. 10–12; Philip Deloria, "'I Am of the Body': Thoughts on My Grandfather, Sports, and Culture," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 95 (Summer 1996): 321–38; Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 8.

For more on boarding schools' physical, psychological and emotional drain on Na-

tive students, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Tim Giago, *Children Left Behind: The Dark Legacy of Indian Mission Boarding Schools* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2006).

13. Articles in the 1890s frequently employed terms of ownership—"our boys," "our Indian boys," and "boys from our Government School"; *Star*, June 30, 1893, p. 1, May 25, 1894, p. 4, May 24, 1895, p. 2, July 10, 1896, p. 5, June 15, 1900, p. 5. In the early 1900s, terms like "the Pipestone Indians," "the local Reds," or, most commonly, "the Indians," suggested a less personal connection to the team; *Star*, June 30, 1905, p. 7, June 1, 1906, p. 7, June 7, 1907, p. 1, May 11, 1909, p. 5, May 17, 1910, p. 1, May 21, 1912, p. 5, Apr. 14, 1914, p. 1. Later references occasionally were awkward and detached—"the U.S. Natives of this city"—perhaps demonstrating changes in social acceptance of more derogatory monikers; see especially *Star*, Aug. 24, 1926, p. 1.

14. *Star*, Apr. 29, 1898, p. 1, Apr. 21, 1905, p. 6, and May 4, 18, 25, and June 1, 8, 22, 29—all 1906.

15. *Star*, June 1, 1906, p. 4, 7, June 8, 1906, p. 3. The *Star* also noted that the Indian school incurred "considerable expense" for the occasion, an oddity in an era of closely regulated, highly conservative federal funding for Indian schools.

16. "Indian Eden" refers to Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*; Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 91. PITS games there include 1906 contests versus Flandreau, Edgerton, and Hawarden, Iowa, and two 1907 matches against Flandreau; *Star*, June 22, 1906, p. 4, June 29, 1906, p. 4, July 6, 1906, p. 4, May 24, 1907, p. 7, June 7, 1907, p. 1.

17. U.S., *Census*, 1900, *http://www.ancestry.com* (accessed June 22, 2008); *1905 Indian Census, Minnesota*, copy at Pipestone Co. Historical Society, Pipestone; *Star*, Sept. 15, 1905, p. 5, June 8, 1906, p. 3, June 22, 1906, p. 4, July 13, 1906, p. 1.

18. *Star*, Apr. 27, 1909, p. 1, May 10, 1910, p. 1, May 27, 1910, p. 1, May 31, 1910, p. 1, June 17, 1910, p. 7, June 2, 1914, p. 1, Apr. 5, 1910, p. 1; John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xvi, 51, 98. Sky was also throwing for the Pipestone town team that summer; *Star*, Apr. 14, 1914, p. 1, July 7, 1914, p. 1.

19. *Star*, May 31, 1907, p. 7, June 28, 1907, p. 1, May 11, 1909, p. 5, June 17, 1910, p. 7, June 21, 1910, p. 1, June 15, 1909, p. 1, July 24, 1925, p. 8, Aug. 25, 1925, p. 1, Aug. 17, 1926, p. 1; *Farmer's Leader*, Aug. 17, 1926, p. 5 (PITS teams were "a great drawing card wherever they go"). Benjamin G. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 157, notes a similar carnivalesque ambiance surrounding barnstorming black teams at this time. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 5, discusses the creation of "imaginary Indians" who could be advertised as community assets.

20. *Star*, May 18, 1909, p. 1, May 31, 1910, p. 1 (front-page news), May 18, 1906, p. 6, May 11, 1909, p. 5, June 8, 1909, p. 1, June 15, 1909, p. 1 (comparing white and Indian teams); Apr. 28, 1905, p. 4, June 30, 1905, p. 7, May 15, 1906, p. 5, July 6, 1906, p. 4, June 8, 1909, p. 1 (crowds); Apr. 29, 1898, p. 1, June 23, 1905, p. 6, June 30, 1905, p. 7, May 4, 1906, p. 1; *Farmer's Leader*, June 6, 1907, p. 5 (success against white teams).

21. On baseball's wide following, see Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 12–19; on competition, Elliot J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); on exoticism at Pipestone, Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 4–5, 25, 40, 148.

22. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 182–83, Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 21–30, and Sally Jenkins, *The Real All-Americans* (New York: Doubleday, 2007) focus on the Carlisle Indian School football teams, led by white coach Glen "Pop" Warner, who gained a wide reputation for domineering Native athletes.

23. *Star*, Aug. 18, 1916, p. 1; U.S. Indian Census Schedules, Rosebud and Yankton Sioux, 1934–35, *http://www.ancestry.com* (accessed June 22, 2008); *Peace Pipe*, Apr. 1916, p. 1. Documentation of Irving's start at Pipestone is patchy; he likely served for three to six years. For Sears, see *Star*, Apr. 27, p. 1, May 11, p. 5, June 8, p. 1, June 11, p. 1—all 1909; June 17, 1910, p. 7, Apr. 16, 1912, p. 1, July 7, 1914, p. 1.

24. On former students as lenient employees, see Wilbert H. Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881–1908," *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997): 263–304; Linda LeGarde Grover, "From Assimilation to Termination: The Vermilion Lake Indian School," *Minnesota History* 58 (Winter 2002–03): 224–40.

25. *Star*, Aug. 16, 1916, p. 1, Feb. 5, 1918, p. 5, Feb. 27, 1920, p. 1, Oct. 29, 1920, p. 3, Mar. 31, 1931, p. 1; Betty McCabe, Pipestone Co. Historical Society researcher, phone interview with author, July 17, 2008. No copies of the two papers during Irving's tenure have been found.

26. Davis, "History of the Pipestone Reservation and Quarry," 68–70; Corbett, "Pipestone," 82–92; McCabe interview. I am indebted to her for information on Irving, including newspaper clippings, photographs, and details of his role in the hearings. The final settlement for the Pipestone reservation land was $328,558.90 ($4,163,419 in 2010 dollars) distributed evenly to 1,953 members of the tribe in 1928.

27. *Star*, May 5, p. 1, July 24, p. 8, July 28, p. 4, July 21, p. 1—all 1925; June 17, 1924, p. 1, June 1, 1906, p. 7, Apr. 16, 1909, p. 1. Before PITS was first accused of adding outside talent in June 1906, the team had lost its last two games against Flandreau, 31 to 9 and 19 to 6; afterward, Pipestone won seven straight versus these foes. Flandreau faced the same accusation; *Star*, May 10, 1910, p. 1, May 13, 1910, p. 1.

28. Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 84–89; *Star*, May 21, 1897, p. 1, May 26, 1905, p. 1, Apr. 14, 1914, p. 1, July 7, 1914, p. 1. On the benefits of sport, see Johann Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway* (1860; repr., St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1985), 88–89; Patty Loew, "Tinkers to Evers to Chief: Baseball from Indian Country," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 87 (Spring 2004): 4–15.

29. After 23 articles on the ball clubs in 1906 and 15 in 1910, the *Star* published only two in 1912, six in 1914, and then none until 1924. *Star*, May 19, 1916, p. 5; Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux," 113–14. Many social activities were curtailed and civic organizations refashioned to serve war-related purposes; Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel, *Minnesota in the War with Germany* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1932), 2: 8–10, 23. Landrum notes that the elimination of athletics resulted in lowered enrollments at PITS. Varsity baseball returned briefly in the mid-1920s; *Star*, July 21, 1925, p. 1.

30. John Bloom, "'Show What an Indian Can Do': Sports," in Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds., *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000* ((Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum Publishing, 2000), 102–06. Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 10–30, notes "ambivalence" toward athletics by several decades of Indian Service personnel.

31. Cited in Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 55.

32. Deloria, "'I Am of the Body,'" 333; Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 103.

The photo on p. 60 and details on p. 66 are courtesy Pipestone Historical Society, Pipestone, MN; p. 64 is courtesy the State Archives of the South Dakota State Historical Society. All other images are in MHS collections.

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