

University of Wisconsin- Eau Claire

The Hayward Indian School: Realities of an Off-Reservation Boarding School

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## **Abstract**

This paper discusses student's experiences at the Hayward Indian School and the realities they faced in their daily lives. Their daily routines, education, health, and resistance to the boarding school system are examined and placed within the context of the Indian boarding school system through comparisons of schools in the Midwest. The Hayward Indian School was located in northern Wisconsin, near Hayward. It opened in 1901, enrolling mainly Ojibwe students from reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The vast majority of the school's population came from the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation, which was only ten miles east of the school. During those years, students at the Hayward Indian School had similar experiences to other students in non-reservation boarding schools. Over the course of three decades, thousands of Indian children passed through the school with one thing in common. Their experiences at the school stayed with them for the rest of their lives.

## Introduction

The Hayward Indian School opened September 1, 1901 “under very unfavorable circumstances. Clothing, subsistence, and equipments for the plant had not reached the school, and it took several months to restore order out of chaos.” The conditions were so chaotic, that the first superintendent of the school resigned within the first year.<sup>1</sup> These problems foreshadowed the future of the Hayward Indian School plagued with underfunding, overcrowding, and an inadequate staff; which was detrimental to student’s education and wellbeing.

The school remained in operation for over three decades, until it closed its doors in 1934. Thousands of Indian children from reservations around Wisconsin and Minnesota attended the school, but the vast majority of the students were from the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation in Sawyer County, Wisconsin. The Hayward Indian School was responsible for the education of the children living at Lac Courte Oreilles<sup>2</sup> and other reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The purpose of this paper is not to examine the policies surrounding Indian boarding schools. Instead, it looks at the experiences of the students and the realities of life at the Hayward Indian School. It examines their daily routines, their education, their health, and their resistance to the school. The experiences of Hayward’s students were similar to those of Indian children that attended boarding schools across the country, with few exceptions. This research expands the studies by others that show the difficult reality of life in an Indian boarding school. It also helps tell an important part of the history of an often forgotten population in northern Wisconsin.

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<sup>1</sup> Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (Washington D.C., 1902), 375.

<sup>2</sup> For the rest of the paper La Courte Oreilles will be referred to as LCO.

To place this research in context the author relied on several works written about the boarding school experience, relying more heavily on works about schools in the Midwest. Brenda Child's work, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, focuses on three schools: The Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, the Pipestone boarding school in Minnesota, and the Haskell Institute in Kansas. These schools were all located in the Midwest and had large Ojibwe populations. Child relies heavily on letters from students and parents in her work, making it an excellent representation of the children's experiences. Some comparisons are also drawn from Mary L. Burke's masters dissertation entitled "Workhouse of Acculturation: Tomah Indian Industrial School," which was located in Tomah, Wisconsin.

The first part of this paper covers the rise of off-reservation Indian boarding schools. The second section discusses the daily routines of the students and the adjustments they faced upon entering the school. The third section examines their classroom education as well as their industrial training. The fourth section looks at the health of the students. Finally, the last section examines the students' resistance to the school and its officials, and the punishments that they received for their actions.

## **Rise of the Off-Reservation Boarding School**

The birth of the off-reservation boarding school grew from Captain Henry Pratt's experiment with a hand full of Indian prisoners and gave birth to the Carlisle Indian School.<sup>3</sup> His theory became the backbone of new Indian boarding school system. The program removed Indian children from the reservation and instructed them in English, agriculture, and other trades. "This simple program, half days in the classroom and the remainder of the day at some form of

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<sup>3</sup> The Carlisle Indian School was located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

manual labor became the forerunner of the standard boarding school curriculum with its emphasis on vocational training.”<sup>4</sup> By opening Carlisle in November of 1879, he created the framework for the off-reservation Indian boarding school as a means to assimilation.<sup>5</sup>

Before the advent of the off-reservation boarding school, other methods were tried by Christian missions and the federal government. The earliest Indian schools were run by religious organizations. “Mission schools provided most Indian students with formal education before the late nineteenth century. These schools established the philosophy of using the curriculum to Christianize and civilize Native American children, the hallmark of Indian education throughout the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth.”<sup>6</sup> To government officials, the problem with mission schools was twofold. First, they were located on the reservation, which only separated the pupil from his or her native customs for a few hours each day. Second, many mission schools taught students in their own language, rather than in English.<sup>7</sup> Without any separation from native culture and language, other than the teaching of Christianity, the schools had little success assimilating the students.

The government also sponsored reservation day schools with little success in the civilization of the students. There were forty-eight day schools in operation by the 1860s. These schools suffered from the same problem as mission schools; they simply did not assimilate the children. Because these schools were located on the reservations, the children remained close to their tribal community and refused abandon their native ways and adopt those of the white man.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 51.

<sup>6</sup> Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 10.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971), 50.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 29.

Reservation boarding schools were established by the end of the 1870s. In 1870, Congress gave the first appropriation funds for use in Indian education. “Government officials encouraged a curriculum of academic and vocational subjects, and sometimes the Office of Indian Affairs paid a reservation carpenter, farmer, or blacksmith to offer courses.”<sup>9</sup> These schools were usually placed at the Indian agency and utilized the half day teaching method. Students attended class and learned English for part of the day, and for the other part students learned a trade. Boys were taught agriculture and the trades. Girls were taught aspects related to housekeeping and home making. The drawback to these schools was, again, their proximity to the reservation, the family, and the tribe. Students saw their family and friends too often to become immersed in white society; however, they were more successful than day schools because the students stayed at the school.<sup>10</sup>

With the success of the Carlisle Indian School, off- reservation boarding schools became popular. While the schools were gaining momentum, the Dawes Allotment Act passed in 1887. The Dawes Allotment Act was intended to end the nomadic habits of tribes by forcing them to settle down on individually owned plots of land. The head of a family received 180 acres and single males over the age of eighteen received eighty acres of land. Policymakers believed by splitting up the reservation, Indians would abandon their native lifestyles and begin farming the land. The Dawes Act had three main goals. First, by giving individuals their own land the government believed Indians would give up their tribal ties. Second, by owning their own land they would begin farming and “receive” the benefits of civilization. Third, Indians would become self sufficient, which would bring an end to the rationing system.<sup>11</sup> The Dawes

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<sup>9</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 11-12.

<sup>10</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 30.

<sup>11</sup> Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 81-82.

Allotment Act furthered the necessity for an Indian education that would quickly prepare children to farm their allotments and alleviate the government from responsibility to the Indians.

The Indian boarding school quickly gained momentum, especially the off-reservation schools. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated:

But so long as the American people now demand that Indians shall become white men within one generation, the Indian child must have other influences than reservations can offer. He must be compelled to adopt the English language, must be so placed that attendance at school shall be regular, and that vacations shall not be periods of retrogression, and must breathe the atmosphere of a civilized instead of a barbarous or semi-barbarous community. Therefore, youth chosen for their intelligence, force of character, and soundness of constitution are sent to Carlisle, Hampton, and Forest Grove to acquire the discipline and training which, on their return, shall serve as a leverage for the uplifting of their people.<sup>12</sup>

The goal of off-reservation boarding schools was assimilation of the Indian population within one generation. By 1900, twenty-four off-reservation boarding schools and 129 on-reservation boarding schools existed across the country. Of the 21,568 pupil enrolled in Indian schools, almost 18,000, were enrolled in boarding schools. By the late 1920s almost half of all students in boarding schools, were enrolled in the off-reservation schools.<sup>13</sup>

The Hayward Indian School opened during the expansion years of the Indian boarding school era. One of the most influential proponents for an off-reservation school near Hayward, Wisconsin was a man named R. L. McCormick. McCormick was part owner of the North Wisconsin Lumber Company, president of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and president of the Hayward School Board.<sup>14</sup> He authored the book *Evolution of Indian Education: Mission-Public school, U.S. Auspices in Sawyer County, Wisconsin*, which details the history of Indian education in Sawyer County leading up to the opening of the Hayward Indian School.

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<sup>12</sup> Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington D.C., 1881), XXIV.

<sup>13</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 58.

<sup>14</sup> J. G. Adams, *History of Education in Sawyer County, Wisconsin* (McIntire, Iowa: M.E. Granger, 1902), 190-191.

McCormick, a firm believer in assimilation, was influential in the process leading up to the creation of the school. He stated, “I unhesitatingly advocate Non-Reservation Indian Boarding schools as the best channel for the young Indian to develop citizenship.”<sup>15</sup> With persistent efforts, McCormick saw the realization of his dream when appropriations for the school were approved by Congress on March 1, 1899.<sup>16</sup> The location of the school, which was originally scheduled to be built at LCO, was switched to a location near Hayward because of pressure from whites like McCormick.<sup>17</sup> The North Wisconsin Lumber Company sold two sections of land to the United States for \$1 each,<sup>18</sup> and five brick buildings were erected on 640 acres overlooking a small lake 1 1/2 miles north of Hayward and eight miles west of the reservation.<sup>19</sup> After the school opened in 1901, it shaped the lives of the thousands of students that attended the school throughout the years.

## Daily Lives and Routines

The daily lives of the children who attended the Hayward Indian School were much like thousands of other pupils enrolled in other Indian boarding schools. Students were thrust into a daily routine that differed greatly from their lives on the reservation. They lived a military style life, where strict schedules dictated most of their day. Children were forced to accept Christian names, wear military style uniforms, and pupils were forced to cut their long hair. Pupils exchanged their native ceremonies and yearly rituals for Christian and patriotic holidays. The editors of *Boarding School Blues* stated native “students had to adjust to daily schedules set by

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<sup>15</sup> R. L. McCormick, *Evolution of Indian Education: Mission-Public School, U.S. Auspices in Sawyer County, Wisconsin* (Hayward, Wisconsin, 1901), 8.

<sup>16</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1900, 621.

<sup>17</sup> McCormick, *Evolution of Indian Education*, 50.

<sup>18</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1900, 621.

<sup>19</sup> McCormick, *Evolution of Indian Education*, 49-51.

bells that signaled the day's events: waking up, toilet breaks, lining up for meals, classroom attendance, work periods, and bedtime."<sup>20</sup> The routines students faced were vastly different from their lives at home.

Upon entering a boarding school, one the first experiences was the replacement of their Indian name with a Christian one. Brenda Child stated, "Casting off the Indian name and the assumption of a 'Christian' name was the first sign that 'civility' had indeed touched the savage."<sup>21</sup> Michael Vincent Wolf's records from the Hampton Institute reflect the change in names. Michael was a student at the Hayward Indian School prior to transferring to Hampton in 1909. His file indicated his given name was Widonique, which meant Still Cloud, but when he entered the boarding school he was forced to accept a Christian name.<sup>22</sup> Bill Baker's biographer also noted the renaming of Indian children stating, "The school refused to address students by their Indian names, using instead their given Christian first names; thus Bineshi (Spirit Bird) became William."<sup>23</sup> School officials saw the shedding of Indian names, and their replacement with Christian ones, as the first step toward civilization and acculturation into mainstream American society.

Part of the students' assimilation was Christianization of the students. Along with receiving Christian names, they were also told their religion was wrong and school officials attempted to baptize the students. Former Hayward pupil, Jim Clark, recalled "our boarding school tried to teach us that our religion was false, that it was nothing, that we should not believe

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<sup>20</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 29.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Wolf, "Papers of Michael Wolf," a subpart of the whole *Burt Wolf Collection*. Stone Lake, WI. Photocopies located at the Chippewa Valley Museum.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Vennum, *Just Too Much of an Indian: Bill Baker, Stalwart in a Fading Culture* (LaPointe, WI: Just Too Much of an Indian Press, 2008), 58.

in it. They tried to baptize all the Indian children who attended the school there.”<sup>24</sup> The purpose of the schools was not only to educate the children and teach them a skilled trade, but also to teach them Christian morals. Officials believed that Indian children were:

Born a savage and raised in an atmosphere of superstition and ignorance, he lacks at the outset those advantages which are inherited by his white brother and enjoyed. He must be taught to lay aside his savage customs... and take upon himself the habits of civilized life... His moral character has yet to be formed. If he is to rise from his low estate the germs of a nobler existence must be implanted in him and cultivated... In a word, the primary objective of white school is to educate the mind; the primary essential of Indian education is to enlighten the soul.<sup>25</sup>

Because officials thought Indian children lacked moral character, they believed it was their duty to indoctrinate the pupils with Christianity in order for their character to elevate to that equal of a white child’s.

Another step toward assimilating the students was the donning of a military style uniform. In 1901 the Commission of Indian Affairs stated, “He must be taught to lay aside his savage customs like a garment and take upon himself the habits of civilized life.”<sup>26</sup> The replacement of their Indian clothing with that of a white man was, according to school officials, another crucial step towards the civilization and assimilation of the Indian children. Prior to Bill Baker’s enrollment at the Hayward boarding school he remembered seeing “platoons of boys in military uniforms” marching near Hayward.<sup>27</sup> “Children arriving at school... were forced to exchange Indian garb for military uniforms.”<sup>28</sup> Every picture of Vincent Wolf, in his Hampton file, showed him dressed in a uniform with short hair. The students at the Hayward Indian School faced dramatic changes immediately upon entering the school.

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<sup>24</sup> Jim Clark, “Respecting Each Others’ Beliefs,” Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, [http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page\\_culture.aspx?id=206](http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page_culture.aspx?id=206) (accessed September 16, 2009).

<sup>25</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Vennum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 25.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 64.

After the initial shock of a new name, a haircut, and a new set of new clothing; children had to get used to a new culture within the schools. “The experience was punctuated by... a difficult period of adjustment to an alien and culturally hostile environment.”<sup>29</sup> The pupils had to adjust to technology and furniture that were familiar to the average American, but completely foreign to some pupils that came from poverty stricken reservations. Students saw furniture and other equipment they had never seen before, such as flushing toilets, needle baths<sup>30</sup>, electric lights, steam heating, and other new inventions.<sup>31</sup> Bill Baker “recalled sitting next to James [Kingbird] his first week in the dining hall, having to show him how to use a knife and a fork. And when the boy was assigned a desk in the classroom, it was clear he had never seen such a piece of furniture before... he found the poor kid sitting on the desktop, his long legs draped over its edge, with his feet resting on the seat!”<sup>32</sup>

Students were subjected to a strictly regimented routine marked with “orderly sitdowns announced by whistles and bells,” which differed greatly from the lives of students coming from reservations.<sup>33</sup> The stringent schedules differed significantly from the laid back life of the reservation. The students at the Hayward Indian School, like students in other Indian boarding schools, lived a life dictated by strict schedules dictated by bells and whistles.

A uniform experience across the Indian boarding school system was the military style life filled with drilling. In 1901, the year the Hayward Indian School opened, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated, “military discipline is maintained” in the boarding schools.<sup>34</sup> School

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<sup>29</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> A needle bath is a shower like apparatus.

<sup>31</sup> David Wallace Adams, “Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 46.

<sup>32</sup> Vennum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 57.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>34</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 19.

officials saw the military training as a vital part of the civilization process. They believed stern military training would speed the process of assimilation; therefore, students at the Hayward Indian School lived a military like life in hopes of faster assimilation.

Hayward's students marched and drilled in every aspect of school. Saxon St. Germaine remembered that "when they went to half a day of school, they had to march there in formation, they had to go to their work sites, they marched there."<sup>35</sup> Louis Barber described the education as "military learning" and said the students were separated into two platoons.<sup>36</sup> Other students also recalled the military routine. "In the morning, we lined up and marched to the mess hall and the classroom in military style. Mr. Denomie... would say, 'attention – right (or left) face – forward march' and 'company halt – proceed to your classroom.'"<sup>37</sup> Inspectors of the school also noted the military training at Hayward, stating the students received "fine training in military – marching and formations."<sup>38</sup> Military marching and drilling were major components in the daily lives of the children of the Hayward Indian School.

Children were also separated by gender at the school, which was strictly enforced by the superintendent. Whenever possible, girls and boys were separated, even during play times.<sup>39</sup> During a Columbus Day parade, in which the Hayward students marched, they were arranged "by gender and size, beginning with the shortest girls, followed by the company of medium-sized girls, then the tallest girls, and continuing with the boys."<sup>40</sup> This was not only true of the

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<sup>35</sup> Michael Hilger, ed., *Speaking for Ourselves: Tribal stories and Oral History of the Lac Court Oreilles Band of the Ojibway-Anishinabe: Interviews with Elders*, transcribed by Janine Strunk and others, 1991, 45.

<sup>36</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 161.

<sup>37</sup> Jim Clark, "My Memories of Indian School," Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, [http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page\\_culture.aspx?id=139](http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page_culture.aspx?id=139) (accessed September 16, 2009).

<sup>38</sup> Inspectors Report: Hayward Indian School for year ending June 30, 1917, United States OIA, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Narrative Report: Hayward Indian School for year ending June 30, 1915, United States OIA, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Vennum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 68.

Hayward school, but was common in all boarding schools. Administrators, fearing the Indians immorality, made sure “contact between the sexes was kept to a minimum.”<sup>41</sup>

Students tried to combat the tediousness of boarding school life by creating humor in the drab environment. They played pranks, told jokes, and teased other students.<sup>42</sup> Bill Baker engaged in these activities at the Hayward Indian School. He had a “reputation as a trickster, playing practical jokes. He as a creator of some enjoyment in an otherwise dreary world of bells, uniforms, classes, horrible food, and chores.”<sup>43</sup> Bill, in his one year at the school, organized a dance in the woods, held horse races in the dormitory<sup>44</sup>, and replaced an important line during a Columbus Day pageant.<sup>45</sup> During the play, when Bill was supposed to greet Columbus with, “Who is this stranger who wishes to land on our shores?” He instead improvised and yelled, “Go home, white man” in Ojibwe.<sup>46</sup> Pranks, like the ones played by Bill, helped students deal with the repetition and dreariness of boarding school life.

Some children enjoyed certain aspects of boarding school life, at least in part. A “source of enjoyment was the schools’ extracurricular programs.”<sup>47</sup> Haskell and Flandreau students played sports, baseball and football for boys and basketball and tennis for girls.<sup>48</sup> Hayward’s students, at times, were also able to participate in some athletic programs at the school. Boys played baseball, basketball, football, and the girls played basketball.<sup>49</sup> Students competed against other schools like Northland College, Bayfield, Odanah, Spooner, and Hayward.<sup>50</sup> Although, they participated in some sports and competed against other schools, a lack of funding

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<sup>41</sup> Adams, “Beyond Bleakness,” 52.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>43</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 62.

<sup>44</sup> Two boys acted as jockeys, riding other pupils’ backs in a race.

<sup>45</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 74-78.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>47</sup> Adams, “Beyond Bleakness,” 49.

<sup>48</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 76.

<sup>49</sup> Narrative Report, 1914, 4.

<sup>50</sup> Narrative Report, 1918, 11.

in the 1920s caused the school to discontinue those activities. In 1923, an inspector noted that “because of lack of funds there are no... basketball games.”<sup>51</sup> Hayward’s students, for a while, were able to participate in some of the athletic activities that the larger Indian boarding schools provided for their pupils.

The majority of Hayward’s pupils had the luxury of going home during summer break, at least the ones from LCO. Indian boarding schools required parents to pay for round trip travel expenses before the break. Given the poverty on reservations and the distance of most schools from reservations, it was difficult for many parents to afford travel expenses for their children. “Children from the Upper Midwest usually attended boarding schools located at some distance from their home communities.”<sup>52</sup> Schools, like the Tomah boarding school, required parents to prepay for their children’s travel expenses, which kept many of the students at the school over summer break.<sup>53</sup> Students from LCO were less than ten miles away from their homes, making travel expenses a non-issue. Students that attended other schools saw their parents less frequently and were often forced to spend their summers at the schools.

The daily routines at the Hayward Indian School were similar to those of other students in the boarding school system. They followed strict schedules and adhered to a military like schedule. The children tried to combat the monotony by playing pranks and, when they could, participate in extra circular activities. Their experiences were punctuated by drastic changes upon entering the school and a monotonous daily routine.

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<sup>51</sup> Inspectors Report, 1923, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 44.

<sup>53</sup> Mary Lynn Burke, “Workhouse of Acculturation: Tomah Indian Industrial School, 1893-1935” (M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 1993), 18.

## Education

The educational goal of the Hayward Indian School was civilization and assimilation of Indian youth into mainstream American culture. This goal applied not only to Hayward, but to all off-reservation Indian boarding schools. The summer before the Hayward Indian School opened, the Commissioner of Indian affairs stated, “The object of education is civilization, and the object of civilization is to make the Indian self-reliant, self-supporting, and independent of further bounties on the part of the General Government.”<sup>54</sup> To accomplish this goal, Hayward’s administrators strove to provide their pupils with an education focused on the English language, other basic classroom work, and industrial training gained from hands on work in the schools garden, farm, sewing room, and kitchen. The Commissioner also stated, “The coordination of work and study is the prime essential in the course of study in Indian schools... The day in Indian schools is divided into two parts of three hours each, one of which is devoted to the study of books and the other to industries taught in the schools.”<sup>55</sup> The Hayward Indian School attempted to follow the method outlined by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but was hampered by underfunding and overcrowding.

The classroom work at Hayward focused on the English language, as many of the students spoke little or no English. Pratt stated, “The chief point is the mastery of the English language, reading and writing accompanying and waiting upon this language study. We have not aimed to urge the more advanced pupils beyond practical knowledge of the primary English branches.”<sup>56</sup> Without a practical knowledge of the English language, students could not be successfully assimilated.

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<sup>54</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 14.

<sup>55</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, 185.

The school struggled with an inadequate amount of space and a limited amount of teachers to thoroughly educate the students in the classroom. Two years after the school opened, the superintendent noted the “crowded condition of the schoolrooms.” Until the previous January there had been only two teachers for the 179 pupils enrolled in six grades.<sup>57</sup> With only three hours per day of classroom education and only two or three teachers to educate the pupils, it was impossible to properly educate the pupils in all aspects of academic work. Another report stated, “The primary department is much too crowded for efficient teaching.”<sup>58</sup> The superintendents commented almost yearly, that the school needed additional classroom space and additional teachers with little results, to the detriment of the student’s education.<sup>59</sup>

Some of the superintendents realized the importance of classroom work for the young students, but overcrowding caused the school to forgo the Office of Indian Affairs’ policy of a full day’s education for students in the lower grades.<sup>60</sup> One superintendent stated, “These little folks should unquestionably be in school all day through the fifth or sixth grade and the instruction which they would receive as a result of this practice would greatly overshadow the benefits that they are receiving from the industrial training, which is being given on the one-half day basis.”<sup>61</sup> Inspection reports also regularly commented on the fact that students should be kept in the classrooms for a full day until fourth grade, rather than on the half day schedule.<sup>62</sup> Insufficient space caused the school to operate contrary to official policy by limiting the classroom education of the youngest pupils.

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<sup>57</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1903, 355.

<sup>58</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1904, 457.

<sup>59</sup> The requests are too numerous to cite. For more information see the Narrative Reports.

<sup>60</sup> Narrative Report, 1924, 6.

<sup>61</sup> Narrative Report, 1926, 1.

<sup>62</sup> See Inspectors Reports for 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1925.

The school was not successful as an academic educational institution, with very few graduates.<sup>63</sup> Even when students did fulfill the requirements for graduation from the school, they could be denied a certificate of graduation. Superintendent William Light stated, “I have refused to grant certificates of graduation to young men and women whom I knew would return to the reservation and by adopting the illegal and immoral life there, would bring dishonor to the school.”<sup>64</sup> Academic training took a backseat to civilization process.

The main educational focus in Indian boarding schools was industrial training. Pratt stated “occupation in the industrial departments is of prime importance.”<sup>65</sup> Hayward followed Pratt’s model, centering its education on industrial training. The stated purpose of the industrial education at Hayward was as follows: “The plan of the school is to give such industrial training as will fit the young Indians of this section to be self supporting citizens, reasonably capable in ordinary business transactions, and entirely competent to own and manage a home.”<sup>66</sup>

The industrial training had two purposes. First, officials thought training children in agriculture and trades would open up opportunities for employment away from the reservation or allow them to successfully farm their allotments after graduation. Secondly, the Hayward Indian School lacked adequate funding to support the needs of the school, so the children’s labor in the field, the barn, the kitchen, and the sewing room helped the school feed and clothe the children. This was common to other schools as well. Students enrolled at Flandreau and Haskell spent extensive time laboring for their schools, leading the superintendent of Haskell to state, “This

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<sup>63</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 7-8.

<sup>65</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, 185.

<sup>66</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 1.

school could not long continue without the great amount of free labor contributed by the pupils.”<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Hayward could not have remained in operation without the student’s labor.

Male students at the Hayward Indian School focused mainly on agricultural pursuits. The school attempted to follow the Commissioner of Indian Affairs’ goals: “As a very large percentage of the boys propose to live on their allotments, and thus become farmer, stress is laid on those trades the rudiments of which every agriculturist should understand. They are taught blacksmithing, carpentry, stock raising, care of tools, and such allied industries to an extent commensurate with their future vocation.”<sup>68</sup> A superintendent at Hayward agreed, stating “taking the industries as a whole, it is a certain fact that the Indians’ future will lie in agricultural pursuits. It will be necessary for him to use his allotment if he has one, clear the land, raise crops as well as cattle and swine.”<sup>69</sup>

The school attempted to teach the boys economical methods of clearing the land, how to break the soil and prepare it for seeding, the best crops to plant, the proper way to plant, how to harvest and store crops, and care and management of livestock.<sup>70</sup> However, the school did not have any qualified instructors to teach the students these methods of agriculture. The superintendent of the school noted, “We do not teach scientific agriculture” because “not a single employee of the school is qualified to do so.”<sup>71</sup> Insufficient and under qualified staff caused the school to only teach the rudiments of agriculture.

Because the school was not able to teach scientific agriculture, the students instead learned through their labor. By 1912, the school had 260 acres under cultivation, all of which had

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<sup>67</sup> Quoted in *Boarding School Seasons*, 35.

<sup>68</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 13.

<sup>69</sup> Narrative Report, 1918, 15.

<sup>70</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 1.

<sup>71</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 16.

“been cleared during the past 9 years by school and pupil labor.”<sup>72</sup> One superintendent reported that the school needed more laborers on staff because of the young age of the pupils, but was unable to secure funding for additional staff.<sup>73</sup> Administrators justified the hands-on approach stating, “Our boys... have a chance to study farming from the time that clearing begins and until the land is put in the best of condition for growing crops. The boys thus learn by doing, which is the very best instruction that can be given them.”<sup>74</sup> Other schools taught students in the same manner. Flandreau’s students’ vocational training “consisted primarily of labor at the school.”<sup>75</sup> The Tomah industrial school also used manual labor as a means for industrial education.<sup>76</sup> Because Hayward lacked funds and therefore an insufficient staff, the pupils supported the school and learned through their labor, which was admittedly too much for the small children.

Their efforts provided the school with much needed food for the cafeteria. Students played a major role planting, maintaining, and harvesting the crops. In 1910, the superintendent reported “for six years past, we have produced the greater part of our forage, and all the vegetables our pupils could use.”<sup>77</sup> A few years later the superintendent noted the importance of the students’ work with the livestock and the crops, stating “we have a fine herd of dairy cows bred at the school, fine hogs, and a small flock of fine chickens. We produce all the vegetable, hay, ensilage, ect. that we use at the school.”<sup>78</sup> Inspectors regularly noted the production and quality of the school farm. One inspector reported that Hayward had a better farm than any of the other boarding schools in Wisconsin.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Narrative Report, 1912, 20.

<sup>73</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 13.

<sup>74</sup> Narrative Report, 1918, 8.

<sup>75</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 73.

<sup>76</sup> Burke, “Workhouse of Acculturation,” 1.

<sup>77</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 2.

<sup>78</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 6-7.

<sup>79</sup> Inspectors Report, 1917, 1.

Inspectors were far less impressed than superintendents with the quality of the dairy herd. Where a superintendent stated they had a “fine herd of dairy cows,” an inspector noted that “the dairy herd is not well managed or well cared for.”<sup>80</sup> During an inspection in 1923, the inspector stated that unless the school was provided with proper facilities for dairying “the teaching of dairying will remain a farce.”<sup>81</sup> Hayward’s, dairy herd was nowhere near the quality of those like Tomah’s, which had the best rated dairy herd in the system.<sup>82</sup> The students’ hard work could only educate them to a point, without proper equipment and instruction they could not learn how to properly care for livestock.

The school also tried to give male students practical knowledge in other industries, but just as in the agricultural fields, the school lacked the resources to give proper instruction in the fields of carpentry, blacksmithing, and mechanical engineering. By 1905 the school had a blacksmith and a carpenter to instruct the boys in the trades.<sup>83</sup> In 1910, the superintendent reported that some boys were taught carpentry, blacksmithing, and engineering.<sup>84</sup> Although the school did have a carpenter, a blacksmith, and an engineer, the students were not educated thoroughly in the trades.

By 1912, the superintendent noted although they are instructed in industries, “none of them acquire a trade.”<sup>85</sup> He said the cause of the poor training was lack of funds along with three other reasons, which were repeated year after year. “(1) The instructors lack special training as teachers of industries... (2) Instructors are compelled to apply most of their time to actual labor on the duties of their positions and have very little time for actual instruction... (3) We lack the

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<sup>80</sup> Inspectors Report, 1922, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Inspectors Report, 1923, 5.

<sup>82</sup> Burke, “Workhouse of Acculturation”, 31.

<sup>83</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1905, 436.

<sup>84</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 2-3.

<sup>85</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 12-13.

proper equipment for best results in industrial training.”<sup>86</sup> The school officials realized they could not produce “finished tradesmen,” but believed the instruction the students received in trades would be “very valuable to them in their farm and homework.”<sup>87</sup>

Inspectors did not share the superintendent’s optimism. In 1917, an inspector said that the general mechanic gave “practically no instruction” in the trades he was responsible for teaching.<sup>88</sup> In 1921, an inspector noted that “the scheme of industrial training outlined by the Indian Office is not well carried out.”<sup>89</sup> The following year an inspector stated that the industrial training was weak and “the Hayward school is a splendid example of things going in a direction in which they ought not to have gone.”<sup>90</sup> The inspector’s reports prove the industrial training given to Hayward’s pupils was far from competent.

Hayward’s female pupils were taught homemaking skills, including sewing and cooking. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated, girls “are taught the care of home, the production of simple household articles, mending, and the manifold duties of the housewife. Cooking is theoretically and practically taught.”<sup>91</sup> The first annual report from the superintendent at the Hayward Indian School stated, “Girls are taught all branches of the domestic with a purpose to fit them to be home makers.”<sup>92</sup> Just as the boys learned through hands-on work, so did the girls.

As part of the girls’ industrial training in home making, some learned how to run a house through practical experience. Six of the girls even lived in a separate dwelling called the “Homestead Cottage,” which was under the supervision of a female employee. The girls lived as

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<sup>86</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 16.

<sup>87</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 7.

<sup>88</sup> Inspectors Report, 1917, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Inspectors Report, 1921, 6.

<sup>90</sup> Inspectors Report, 1922, 5.

<sup>91</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, 14.

<sup>92</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1903, 355.

a family and were “taught family cooking, baking, washing, mending, ect.”<sup>93</sup> The stated goal of the “Homestead Cottage” was to “prepare them... to keep a home of their own,” and they were even required to keep their own garden. The “Homestead Cottage” was treated as a real home, and the girls were responsible for every aspect of the home as if it were their own.<sup>94</sup> Other schools in the Midwest also used this method to train girls. Flandreau added a “practice cottage” to their curriculum in 1932.<sup>95</sup> Hayward’s cottage only lasted until 1915, presumably because of lack of funding.

The closing of the cottage marked the end of a core aspect of the school’s domestic science department. The school continued to teach girls homemaking skills, but again lacked space. The superintendent noted that kitchen bake room, laundry and sewing room also needed to be enlarged “so that more and better instruction can be given and thus be able to impart more valuable training to our girls.”<sup>96</sup> The girls continued training in home making, learning housekeeping, sewing, cooking, laundering, and nursing, but as the superintendent reported, the training did not produce a “finished pupil.”<sup>97</sup> The inspectors generally gave much more favorable remarks to the industrial training of the girls than they did of the boys. In 1917, an inspector stated that cook gave “very good instruction” training the girls in cooking, serving and baking. He also noted the “seamstress is giving good instruction” to the girls in the sewing department.<sup>98</sup>

The girls’ work was invaluable for the school. They produced hundreds of articles of clothing for the school. In 1920 alone, the sewing shop produced almost \$3,500 worth of goods.

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<sup>93</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Narrative Report, 1916, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 80.

<sup>96</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 7.

<sup>97</sup> Narrative Report, 1920, 13.

<sup>98</sup> Inspectors Report, 1917, 4-5.

They produced 164 dresses, 198 sheets, 700 towels, 108 aprons, 510 dresses, 119 nightgowns, and various other articles of clothing.<sup>99</sup> In 1922, they made 629 dresses, 566 sheets, 1,080 towels, 141 aprons, 124 bloomers, and various other articles of clothing.<sup>100</sup> Hayward's girls were not the only Indian students that provided clothing for their boarding school. Girls at Flandreau sewed their own dresses and uniforms as well.<sup>101</sup> Hayward's female pupils also prepared and served most of the meals that the students ate, as they did most of the baker's work.<sup>102</sup> Although the industrial education for the girls left much to be desired, they did learn aspects of home making and their contributions in the sewing room and the kitchen were invaluable to the school.

One aspect of the girls' education that seemed to contradict the policy of assimilation was the instruction in native artwork. "Boarding schools like Carlisle, Flandreau, and Haskell actually encouraged Indian artistry."<sup>103</sup> The students at Hayward, at least in the early years of operation, were encouraged to produce traditional beadwork and buckskin work. In 1903, the superintendent stated, "several of the older girls have acted as instructors in native bead and buckskin work."<sup>104</sup> The following year the superintendent reported that along with their instruction in home making, "the interest in native bead and buckskin work and art needlework is encouraged and is increasing."<sup>105</sup> This encouragement in their native pursuits seemed to have ended shortly thereafter. By 1910 there were no more mentions of native bead or buckskin work.

The Hayward Indian School was somewhat unique, in that it did not use the "outing" system, where students were hired out as farmhands or housekeepers, as part of its industrial

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<sup>99</sup> Statistical Report, 1920.

<sup>100</sup> Statistical Report, 1922.

<sup>101</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 79.

<sup>102</sup> Inspectors Report, 1918, 12.

<sup>103</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 80.

<sup>104</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1903, 355.

<sup>105</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1904, 458.

training.<sup>106</sup> The “outing” system was supposed to give Indian children firsthand training in civilization while earning money by working for civilized white folks. “Policymakers praised the outing concept as a powerful mechanism for carrying out the government’s assimilationist aims.”<sup>107</sup> Schools like Haskell, Flandreau, and Carlisle used the outing system, which most historians describe as exploitive, for industrial training. Indian children involved in the program rarely had positive experiences.<sup>108</sup> Hayward’s students were not farmed out to whites like so many other children in the system.

Hayward’s students did not receive a quality classroom education or industrial education. The school lacked the proper facilities and staff to fully educate its pupils. Students spent large amounts of time working for the school rather than learning from it. Their contributions, though invaluable to the school, only trained them as laborers.

## **Health**

Disease, infections, and epidemics were common at all Indian boarding schools. Schools provided the perfect environment for contagious diseases to spread because of the overcrowded, cramped, and unsanitary conditions. Another factor that contributed to the spread of disease stemmed from school officials decision to put industrial education and assimilation ahead of the health and of the children. David H. Dejong stated “student health in the Indian school system was a secondary matter to the overall scheme of education.”<sup>109</sup> The “secondary” consideration of health resulted in the spread of communicable diseases. “Disease spread easily in the

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<sup>106</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 5.

<sup>107</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 162.

<sup>108</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 82-85.

<sup>109</sup> David H. Dejong, “Unless They are Kept Alive: Federal Indian Schools and Student Health, 1878-1918,” *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2007): 259.

communal environment of the boarding schools, where students shared not only pencils and books but also soap, towels, washbasins, beds, and even bathwater.”<sup>110</sup>

No matter what precautions a boarding school took, children inevitably came into contact with deadly, contagious diseases. Epidemics of tuberculosis, trachoma, measles, influenza, and pneumonia were frequent and often times deadly. The children’s diet also contributed to their ability to contract and fight off disease. “Food preparation and service were seldom given high priority in government schools. Cooks did not have to meet any particular qualifications.”<sup>111</sup> Many of the health problems stemmed from overcrowded dormitories, poor bathroom facilities, poor ventilation, and poor diet.

Overcrowding was a constant issue at the Hayward Indian School. Superintendents repeatedly requested funds to add on to, or build new facilities to house the children. When the school opened in 1901, it was designed to house 150 students. By its second year, the school enrolled 179 students and had an average attendance of 165.<sup>112</sup> In 1905, the school responded to the overpopulation by adding an additional frame building, but the school was still overcrowded.<sup>113</sup> Shortly thereafter, the dormitories were again enlarged to hold 215 students.<sup>114</sup>

By 1910, the school was overcrowded again with an average attendance of 227, which caused the superintendent to request more space stating, “The school needs room for its pupils and its facilities... the capacity of the dormitories should be increased.”<sup>115</sup> In 1912, the superintendent noted that a provision had been made and funded to increase the capacity of the

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<sup>110</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 58.

<sup>111</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 34.

<sup>112</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1903, 492.

<sup>113</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1905, 436.

<sup>114</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1906, 391.

<sup>115</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 6.

dormitories, which were expanded by adding additional space in the boy's dormitory.<sup>116</sup>

Requests for funds to enlarge the girl's dormitory were reiterated year after year, but the school did not receive appropriations to do so.

By 1920 the enrollment at the school had reached 296.<sup>117</sup> The constant overcrowding led the superintendent to state, "The rated capacity of the Hayward School in past reports is placed at 230 but this number is far in excess of the actual number that can be accommodated without overcrowding. The actual capacity of the dormitories without overcrowding is 184. The average attendance at this time is about 193 so that in a number of cases it is necessary to place two pupils in a single bed in order to take care of the number now enrolled."<sup>118</sup> This revelation by the superintendent demonstrates that the school was extremely overcrowded, especially at times when the majority of the enrolled students were present at the school.

Inspectors also revealed the overcrowded condition at the school. In 1921 an inspector stated, "The girls' dormitory is an evidence of neglect of the interests of the girls. Ninety are housed in insufficient space."<sup>119</sup> The inspector went on to state that "in some cases two sleep in one bed."<sup>120</sup> In 1927, an inspector again reported that the girls shared beds.<sup>121</sup> The lack of space and the willingness of superintendents to enroll far more pupils than the school could house, forced close contact with other students to the point of sharing beds. Sleeping two in a bed created an ideal situation for the spread of contagious disease.

An inadequate facility for exercise and play during the long Wisconsin winters was major health concern at the Hayward Indian School. A superintendent noted, the lack of a gymnasium

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<sup>116</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 17.

<sup>117</sup> Statistical Report, 1920.

<sup>118</sup> Narrative Report, 1923, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Inspectors Report, 1921, 7.

<sup>120</sup> Inspectors Report, 1921, 72.

<sup>121</sup> Inspectors Report, 1927, 7.

“has an adverse influence upon discipline, health, and the intellect of the children.”<sup>122</sup> The superintendent stated, in 1920, that lack of a winter play house was “not conducive to the best of health nor health conditions.”<sup>123</sup> Inspectors also saw the adverse affects on the children enrolled in the Hayward Indian School from the lack of an exercise facility. One inspector stated, “We cannot possibly justify the continuance of a school in this northern latitude which lacks the provisions necessary to keep the children healthy...”<sup>124</sup> The Hayward Indian School was the only “nonreservation school in the north without one.”<sup>125</sup> A gymnasium was one of the most requested items by supervisors and inspectors, but appropriations for the structure were denied.

The school was forced to improvise and use other facilities to cope without a gymnasium. Sometimes the school used the chapel for athletics.<sup>126</sup> They also used the basements of the dormitories for play and exercise during the winter, but this proved inadequate. A superintendent reported, “These playrooms are quite small and if all of the pupils are placed at one time in these rooms an overcrowded condition exists. No satisfactory arrangement for proper ventilation is provided in these rooms and the air at such times when the pupils are in the rooms is almost stifling.”<sup>127</sup> The school’s existing facilities were far from a quality alternative.

The superintendents’ frustration with Congress about this issue was evident. In 1915, the superintendent ranted, “When I read that Congress has appropriated money for such structures in the southern part of the U.S. where children can play outside throughout the year, and the same Congress declines to provide such buildings for every school in the north, I am compelled to question the wisdom of their action and doubt their real interest in the welfare of Indian

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<sup>122</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 4.

<sup>123</sup> Narrative Report, 1920, 9.

<sup>124</sup> Inspectors Report, 1922, 2.

<sup>125</sup> Inspectors Reports, 1923, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 10.

<sup>127</sup> Narrative Report, 1923, 8-9.

children.”<sup>128</sup> Later, in 1923, a superintendent stated, “This condition should not be allowed to continue for without doubt the health of the pupils of the school is at stake.” He went on to say that an appropriation of only \$10,000 would pay for the structure.<sup>129</sup> In 1925, an inspector stated strongly that the school still needed a gymnasium and an additional school room and “if most of these things cannot be done then the school should be closed.”<sup>130</sup> The failure to appropriate funds for the school led even the school officials to question Congresses commitment to the health and wellbeing of the children. Hayward remained unique, as the only Indian boarding school in the North without a gymnasium. Given Wisconsin’s long winters, the lack of such a facility inevitably had an effect on the children’s health.

Sanitation, especially when concerned with the bathroom facilities, contributed to the spread of disease. “School dormitories often failed to provide adequate sanitary facilities for students. Toilets were generally located in the chilly cement basements of buildings, and upkeep of the facilities was poor because of limited funds.”<sup>131</sup> This was true of the Hayward Indian School. One superintendent reported, the “water closets are a source of trouble and labor and expense to keep in sanitary condition.”<sup>132</sup> Inspectors regularly reported on the lack of sanitation in the bathroom facilities at the Hayward school. These “trouble” areas, like bathrooms, were a hotbed of germs and viruses. These hotbeds aided and resulted in the spread of infectious diseases.

Sanitation in the school’s kitchen also left much to be desired and aided the spread of disease. Inspectors were at times very critical of the sanitation of the kitchen. In 1917, an inspector noted that the storage room for food supplies and dishes was a “very unsanitary place

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<sup>128</sup> Narrative Report, 1915, 5.

<sup>129</sup> Narrative Report, 1923, 8-9.

<sup>130</sup> Inspectors Report, 1925.

<sup>131</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 38.

<sup>132</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 3.

for the care of such supplies.”<sup>133</sup> The next year, an inspector was appalled at the situation he found in the kitchen. The superintendent “would not permit the water heater in the kitchen to be used, except once or twice a week, and then only for a short time so that the cook was not furnished hot water in which to cleanse her dishes and cooking utensils. Thus for the sake of saving a few pounds of coal it was impossible to clean dishes and kettles as they should be cleansed.”<sup>134</sup> The fall of that same year marked the arrival of the Spanish influenza in Wisconsin and at the school. Poor sanitation in the kitchen may have helped spread the disease and contributed to the horrendous death rate at the Hayward Indian School, which was ten times higher than Wisconsin’s.<sup>135</sup>

Dental hygiene and the care of toothbrushes were also cause for concern at the Hayward school. In 1917 an inspector reported, “The cases, in which the brushes are hung, are not sanitary. The brushes are often touching each other.”<sup>136</sup> This certainly led to the spread of germs. Hayward’s staff also failed to teach or enforce dental hygiene. During an inspection by the Chief Medical Supervisor he “saw no toothbrushes in the boys building and was told by the boys that they never use them.” He also noted that although the girls brushed their teeth, they were “not supplied with past or powder.”<sup>137</sup> The staff of the Hayward Indian School neglected their responsibility to look after the children’s dental hygiene.

The children’s diet contributed to their ability to fight off disease and recover from diseases when they occurred. “When nutrition declined at the schools, children became more susceptible to tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, diphtheria, typhoid, colds, and a host of other

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<sup>133</sup> Inspectors Reports, 1917, 4.

<sup>134</sup> Inspectors Reports, 1918, 8-9.

<sup>135</sup> Kirstin L. Lawson, “Healing the Frontier: Catholic Sisters, Hospitals, and Medicine Men in the Wisconsin Big Woods, 1880-1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 2008), 211.

<sup>136</sup> Inspectors Reports, 1917, 1.

<sup>137</sup> Inspectors Reports, 1923, 4-5.

infectious diseases.”<sup>138</sup> It is difficult to say whether diet was a contributing factor to disease at the Hayward Indian School. Superintendents routinely noted the production of the school’s farm, but inspectors were critical of the food that actually ended up on the student’s plates, especially their ration of milk.

The school had a large farm with over 250 cultivated acres of various crops and vegetables, a herd of dairy cattle, and several other livestock such as chickens and pigs. In 1910, the superintendent stated “for the past six years we have produced... all the vegetables our pupils could use” and that the surplus crops “find ready sale at fair prices.”<sup>139</sup> Later, a superintendent stated, “We produce all the vegetable, hay, ensilage, ect. that we use at the school. Thousands of gallons of milk and hundreds of pounds of butter are produced.”<sup>140</sup> Despite the production from the school’s farm and dairy, inspectors found fault with student’s diets.

In 1918, an inspector criticized a superintendent’s actions regarding the diet children received at the school.

The superintendent has been severely criticized by some of the Indians, because of the fact that he has not had the children fed the proper ration. I have found that to be the case on several occasions. The bread furnished the children came to the table in a moldy condition. This was due to the fact that the baker was required to use but such a small amount of wheat flour and only purchase such substitutes as were very difficult to make bread out of. By trying to economize he has in many ways, he has acted to the detriment of the children and to the school. During the entire summer to June until September, but 50 pounds of sugar was issued the cook. This is the entire amount the children received.<sup>141</sup>

Student’s accounts revealed a diet high in carbohydrates and meat. “[Boarding] school students subsisted on a diet high in starch and meat...Standard dinner fare included bread baked

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<sup>138</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 20.

<sup>139</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 2-4.

<sup>140</sup> Narrative Report, 1917, 6-7.

<sup>141</sup> Inspectors Report, 1918, 8-9.

at the school and stew or meat with gravy.”<sup>142</sup> Louis Barber, a formal pupil, recalled the school’s food. He said the school “had fresh meat, we had a lot of gravy,” “a real good garden,” and a “good potato field.”<sup>143</sup> Although they ate from a “real good garden”, his description of what they ate focused mainly on starches, meats, and gravy. “Willie”<sup>144</sup> hated the endless diet of sliced white bread, fried chicken, pork, potatoes, white rice, and the other starch-heavy foods served in the school dining hall.<sup>145</sup> These two accounts point to a diet high in starch and meat.

Other inspectors were critical of the school’s milk rations. Although the superintendents bragged about the quantities of milk the school farm produced, it seems much of that milk did not make it to the tables. In 1923, an inspector noted that a circular from the Office of Indian Affairs stated that each school should supply “one pint of milk per day to each pupil,” but it needed “closer attention” at Hayward. The inspector said the students needed more whole milk on a daily basis.<sup>146</sup> A visiting doctor agreed with the inspector, reporting students were not even given half enough milk from the school’s dairy.<sup>147</sup> Students at other schools suffered from inadequate milk rations as well. Flandreau’s dairy produced enough milk but still failed to provide students with at least one pint of milk per day.<sup>148</sup> It seems that even with Hayward’s large farm and dairy, Hayward’s students, like those in other schools, did not receive proper milk rations.

The students’ diet consisting of starchy foods, moldy bread, and inadequate servings of milk combined with overcrowding, and poor sanitation contributed to health problems at the school. Students repeatedly suffered epidemics and diseases that were sometimes fatal. They

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<sup>142</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 32.

<sup>143</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 159.

<sup>144</sup> Bill Baker was called “Willie” at the school.

<sup>145</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 46.

<sup>146</sup> Inspectors Report, 1923, 2-3

<sup>147</sup> Inspectors Report, 1925, 1.

<sup>148</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 32.

suffered from measles epidemics in 1903, 1910, 1913 and 1916. The epidemic of 1903 affected eighty-seven students, fifty-one at one time, and resulted in the deaths of two students. It was so severe that schoolwork was suspended and all the staff abandoned their regular duties to care for the sick children.<sup>149</sup> In 1910, the epidemic affected ninety-seven students and one faculty member. The same year fifteen “severe” cases of pneumonia occurred, and complications from two resulted in deaths. The epidemic in 1913 was less severe, but caused the school to send two pupils to a better hospital in Ashland. The measles epidemic of 1916 did not prove to be fatal, but left many children in a “run-down” condition.<sup>150</sup>

The Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918 was the worst epidemic in the school’s history. It devastated the school along with the rest of the Indian population. The hospitals at Haskell, Pipestone, and Flandreau were overflowing with students, including 300 critically ill at Haskell.<sup>151</sup> Hayward reported over 200 cases and nine deaths from the epidemic.”<sup>152</sup> Kirstin L. Lawson note the death rate per 100,000 was an astonishing 3,111.1 among Hayward’s students, compared to 279.3 for the state of Wisconsin and 308 for Sawyer County.<sup>153</sup> “The fact that all of these children were confined in overcrowded facilities certainly contributed to the high morbidity and mortality rates in late 1918.”<sup>154</sup> Poor sanitation in the kitchen, as discussed earlier, also may have contributed to the spread of Spanish Influenza within the school.

These epidemics made attending the Hayward boarding school a dangerous proposition, and some parents withdrew their children for fear they could have become the next victim of disease at the school. Inspectors and doctors regularly reported their amazement that the

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<sup>149</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1904, 457.

<sup>150</sup> Narrative Reports, 1910, 1913 and 1916.

<sup>151</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 55-56.

<sup>152</sup> Narrative Report, 1919, 5

<sup>153</sup> Lawson, “Healing the Frontier,” 211.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

students were not in even worse health. A visit by Dr. L. L. Culp in 1924 recommended “better medical attention to the school,” because “there does not appear to be the full spirit shown which is necessary to obtain a proper foundation looking toward the prevention of communicable disease in the school.” He went on to say that “it is merely a circumstance that other communicable disease is not present in the school at this time... but 24 of the 134 pupils have been examined by the physician at the close of one month of the school year.”<sup>155</sup> When the doctor returned a year later he again stated, “If Indian pupils are to be congregated as they are here, they are entitled to better medical and nursing supervision than these are getting.”<sup>156</sup> The doctor clearly believed the Indian children deserved better medical care than they received at the Hayward Indian School.

One major difference at the Hayward Indian School compared to boarding schools was the relatively low rates of tuberculosis and trachoma. Tuberculosis was considered the “largest threat to Indians,” infecting one in twenty of the Ojibwe population.<sup>157</sup> Trachoma was a close second, “afflicted nearly half of the boarding school population.”<sup>158</sup> Although these diseases were present at the school, they had a much lower occurrence in the Hayward Indian School than in many other schools around the country. In 1910, there were only 2 cases of tuberculosis. That same year the superintendent stated that trachoma “exists but is not yet prevalent.”<sup>159</sup> In 1912, the superintendent stated there was no trachoma or tuberculosis.<sup>160</sup> In 1915, there were a few mild cases of trachoma that were treated at the school.<sup>161</sup> A doctor examined 196 of the students in 1923 and found only 10 cases of trachoma. He successfully operated on all ten,

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<sup>155</sup> Inspectors Report, 1924, 2-3.

<sup>156</sup> Inspectors Report, 1925, 1.

<sup>157</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 12.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>159</sup> Narrative Report, 1910, 9.

<sup>160</sup> Narrative Report, 1912, 8.

<sup>161</sup> Narrative Report, 1915, 1.

however due to the lack of space in the hospital he was forced to do all the operations in the bathroom.<sup>162</sup> Upon his return two years later he examined 173 students and found and operated on 11 cases. He also stated, “The trachoma situation at this school and at this agency is almost at an irreducible minimum.”<sup>163</sup> In 1928 the superintendent stated that “trachoma has been virtually obliterated” and the “tuberculosis situation is not alarming.”<sup>164</sup> Given the constant overcrowding and sanitary conditions of the school, it is surprising that the school seems to have avoided, for the most part, the two most prevalent communicable diseases found in Indian boarding schools across the country. These diseases, considered the “twin scourges of the boarding school institution,” were not commonplace at the Hayward Indian School.<sup>165</sup>

Disease and epidemics were a common threat to the student’s health and lives at the Hayward Indian School. Overcrowded dormitories where students were forced to share beds, the lack of a proper exercise facility during the long Wisconsin winters, sanitation issues, and a diet that was sometimes insufficient helped contagious diseases spread through the school. These diseases, brought on by the conditions at the school, caused severe discomfort and ultimately death for some at the Hayward Indian School.

## **Resistance and Punishment**

Boarding school students lived in an environment regulated by strict rules and even stricter punishments when the regulations were not followed. Students were forced to speak a language they hardly knew and forced to conform to rules and regulations that were foreign. Although they were forced to comply and follow the rules, many resisted in various ways. This

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<sup>162</sup> Inspectors Report, 1923, 1.

<sup>163</sup> Inspectors Report, 1925, 1.

<sup>164</sup> Narrative Report, 1928, 1.

<sup>165</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 67.

paper will use David Wallace Adams definition of resistance: “resistance is defined as any form of opposition to the boarding school, ranging from overt behavior such as the threat of violence to more subtle methods of opposition such as general uncooperativeness in the classroom. The student’s persistent adherence to traditional modes of thought and behavior will also be interpreted as a form of resistance.”<sup>166</sup> Resistance was a frequent form of protest within Indian boarding schools. Hayward Indian School’s students resisted overtly, by running away and stealing food, but the most common form of resistance was clinging to their native ways by speaking their native tongues when they were alone.

The punishments students received for their resistance came in various forms, and varied based on the offence.

When students spoke their own languages, lied, used obscene language, fought, stole, or misbehaved; teachers, disciplinarians, matrons, and superintendents could inflict corporal punishment or imprison the child. School officials withheld food, restricted student privileges, or forced children to march, mop floors, paint walls, clean filthy bathrooms, and perform other distasteful jobs. Teachers slapped the palms of students’ hands, made students stand in the corner, lie on the floor in front of classmates, wear dunce hats, stand on one foot, and clean the mortar between bricks with a toothbrush.<sup>167</sup>

Many of these punishments were common for children at the Hayward Indian School. Hayward’s teachers, superintendents, and disciplinarians punished students with extra chores, humiliation, beatings, and confinement in the school jail. The penalties for infractions varied based on the severity of the offense, with the harshest penalties for overt resistance.

Students commonly resisted the system by speaking their native language, which was strictly forbidden at Indian boarding schools. Jacqueline Fear-Segal addressed the issue in her essay “The Man on the Bandstand at Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” noting that the schools newspaper reported violations for speaking a native language. The newspaper left “a detailed

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<sup>166</sup> David Wallace Adams, “The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975), 3.

<sup>167</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 21.

record of... the children's determination to speak their own languages."<sup>168</sup> Students at Hayward were just as determined to hang on to their native language. A former pupil recalled, "We Ojibwe speakers used to get together on weekends. We were allowed to play out in the woods, so we played like we were home and talked in our language." He went on to say, "We wouldn't let non-Ojibwe speakers go with us because they would tell on us for speaking Ojibwe, and we were punished."<sup>169</sup> Several other Hayward students remembered their resistance to the English only atmosphere. Louis Barber called to mind a similar experience, "they just wanted us to forget that language but out here most of us was Chippewas and we'd go out in the woods and talk it."<sup>170</sup> Another student remembered "the de-Indianization process," stating, "if we were caught talking Indian, or doing anything Indian, we were sharply reprimanded or punished severely."<sup>171</sup> Even though Hayward's school officials were very harsh with their punishments for speaking a native tongue, students continued to resist and if caught, dealt with the consequences.

Students routinely snuck off to the woods to speak in their native tongues, but they also went for comfort and the familiarity of home. "Children ran off to riverbeds, nearby woods, or orchards where they comforted one another, danced, drummed, sang, and told stories – all in their own languages."<sup>172</sup> Hayward's pupils used the woods to remind themselves of their heritage. Barber recalled "some of us used to go out and make little camps there. We'd do our own cooking, anything we'd snare a rabbit or something, we'd do a little cooking out there just

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<sup>168</sup> Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "The Man on the Bandstand at Carlisle Indian Industrial School," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 115.

<sup>169</sup> Jim Clark, "Keeping the Ojibwe Language Alive," Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, [http://www.millelacs ojibwe.org/Page\\_culture.aspx?id=195](http://www.millelacs ojibwe.org/Page_culture.aspx?id=195) (accessed September 16, 2009).

<sup>170</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 43.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>172</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 22.

to keep up what we knew. And we had fish that came down the creek there, and we had fish in the spring.”<sup>173</sup> Students used these outings to remind themselves of their lives back home and to retain the knowledge was passed down to them by parents, grandparents, and elders in their communities.

At least one group of students attempted to hold dances in the woods near the school. Bill Baker put on a “squaw dance” in the woods to the north of school with the help of some girls and his friend Jimmy Mustache. The girls made dresses in sewing class and secretly sewed jingles on them right before the dance. Bill and Jimmy secretly practiced their drumming and singing in the dorms late at night, risking punishment and the confiscation of their drum. The students escaped to the woods to hold the dance. It only lasted half an hour before the superintendent and another member of the faculty, Mr. Setter, showed up. “The super carried a clipboard, and setter had the broomstick handle he used for rapping the knuckles of boys who misbehaved.” They all faced punishments. Willie had his picture show privileges revoked for the rest of the year and his drum was burned in the school furnace. The girls had to wear signs that read “I will not squaw dance” for an entire week.<sup>174</sup> All of the students involved knew the consequences of their actions, but took the risk to keep part of their culture alive while attending the Hayward Indian School.

Practicing native customs and speaking their native language were not the only forms of resistance the children used. “Children stole food from the cafeteria, often because they were hungry and did not mind breaking the rules.”<sup>175</sup> This was, in part, because they were not used to such regimented schedules, where they only ate three times per day at assigned times.

Hayward’s students rebelled by stealing food. “The girls had learned to hide small onions from

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<sup>173</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 159.

<sup>174</sup> Vennum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 66-68.

<sup>175</sup> Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues*, 22.

the kitchen under the elastic of their bloomers, while the boys had mastered stowing apples under their pillows for late-night snacks.”<sup>176</sup> These acts seem to have gone undetected, but other attempts did not fall under the radar and harsh penalties were the result.

Bill Baker and his friend Bobby tried to steal food from the school kitchen, but the plot was discovered when Bobby fell in a vat of syrup while trying to enter the kitchen through an old coal chute. “As immediate punishment for poor Bobby, instead of having him cleaned up, the super made him sit in a chair outside the dorm, dripping syrup, attracting flies, and inviting the ridicule of his schoolmates. He was required to stay there all the next day.” This cruel punishment provoked not only the ridicule of his peers, but ultimately he was expelled. Bill received a full week in the school’s jail, located in the basement of the boy’s dormitory.<sup>177</sup>

Bill’s confinement to a jail cell was not an isolated incident. An inspector’s report noted the superintendent was “in the habit of confining boys in a jail, located in the basement of the boys’ dormitory, where the boys were kept for mischievous acts. They have been confined behind bars for a period of days at a time, and kept on bread and water.” He went on to say, “to confine a boy in a prison of this sort, is the worst thing that can be done in my judgment, as it is making a criminal out of him and is a matter that will be remembered by him all of his days.”<sup>178</sup> The inspector was absolutely correct; children did remember the harsh punishments. When speaking at the Governor’s Commission on Human Rights in 1951 former pupil, Michael Wolf, stated that he “very vividly” remembered being locked “in a dingy cell with a very small window light... for three days with four other boys.”<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 52.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-55.

<sup>178</sup> Inspectors Report, 1918, 7.

<sup>179</sup> Wolf, “Papers of Michael Wolf.”

Students at the Hayward school were also subjected to beatings for their transgressions. A twelve year old boy from LCO, Duffy Cadotte, was caught stealing milk, “punishment for which was always ten strokes of the super’s oak paddle. The instrument, with several holes drilled through it to increase the power of its blows, was as long as a baseball bat.”<sup>180</sup> An inspector described the beatings that students received for their disobedience, stating “there have been occasions when these boys have been severely strapped.”<sup>181</sup> Students at the Hayward boarding school were subjected to punishments, which could be brutal, at the whim of school officials. Given the harsh punishments, it was remarkable that the students continued to resist the school’s officials.

Runaways were a constant problem for the Hayward Indian School, as they were in most Indian boarding schools. Child argues, “Running away became a common occurrence, indeed even a universal thread that united boarding school students throughout the decades.”<sup>182</sup> Right after the Hayward school opened, the superintendent reported “there has been much trouble at the Hayward school over runaway pupils during the past year.”<sup>183</sup> Two years later he reduced the amount of runaways by, “promptly retuning” them and “when necessary, by punishing offenders for repeated offences; by withholding the privilege of a visit home during the summer vacation from those who desert.”<sup>184</sup> The reduction was not permanent. In 1920, an inspector reported sixty-nine runaways that year alone and fifty-seven the year before.<sup>185</sup> Given the proximity of the school to the LCO reservation it is not surprising how many runaways the school had.

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<sup>180</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 61.

<sup>181</sup> Inspectors Report, 1918, 7.

<sup>182</sup> Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 6.

<sup>183</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1903, 350.

<sup>184</sup> Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1905, 438.

<sup>185</sup> Inspectors Report, 1920, 1.

Former students remember their attempts to run away. When Louis Barber was asked about running away, he replied, “I done that... you’d hear somebody say he’s going home, you know, I was all for that.”<sup>186</sup> Bill Baker was also caught running away from the Hayward Indian School. “Willie’s escape from school was not an isolated incident. Runaways were a constant problem, especially among the first-year kids, who were the most homesick. Miserably unhappy, they took every chance to return home to LCO, even though the trek back to the reservation was ten miles on foot. The school disciplinarian spent a lot of time in his buggy chasing after truant students.”<sup>187</sup> Administrators did their best to keep children in the schools, but because of the frequency of escapes they devoted large amounts of time to tracking deserters down. Most students did not think an escape would lead to emancipation from the school.

However, students continued to runaway in large numbers and those runaways were not always from LCO. Students from reservations in Minnesota ran away, even though their homes were hundreds of miles away. In 1921 three boys from Minnesota ran away and “succeeded in reaching their homes.”<sup>188</sup> Two years later, several boys from White Earth, Minnesota ran away.<sup>189</sup> Over the course of the school’s operation, hundreds of students deserted despite the long journey home, sometimes hundreds of miles, and the harsh punishments they faced.

An expert from a letter written from Bill Baker to Thomas Venum sums up students’ feelings while attending boarding schools. “I want to go home. I’m getting lonesome to do some singing, what I mean singing Indian songs, Ojibwa songs... lonesome for the woods where I was born. Hungry for wild animal meat.”<sup>190</sup> The children longed for their native language, food, and culture. They were not afraid to resist the administrators at the school, even though

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<sup>186</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 160.

<sup>187</sup> Venum, *Just Too Much of an Indian*, 63.

<sup>188</sup> Inspectors Report, 1921, 16.

<sup>189</sup> Inspectors Report, 1923, 39.

<sup>190</sup> Bill Baker, Quoted in *Just Too Much of an Indian* by Thomas Venum, 51.

getting caught resulted in being beaten, humiliated, or even locked in jail. These subtle and sometimes overt forms of resistance were common not only at the Hayward Indian School but in all federal Indian boarding schools.

## **Conclusion**

Off-reservation boarding schools lost their momentum in the 1920s. The federal Indian school system was, by the 1920s, an example of inefficiency. The publication of the Meriam Report, in 1928, highlighted the inefficiencies and showed the failures of allotment and the boarding school system. The boarding school era began to decline as government officials lost their faith in Pratt's system. "From 1928 to 1933, the number of boarding schools decreased from seventy-seven to sixty-five." The Meriam Report recommended public school for younger children, and boarding schools for instruction in a trade. "When the child was old enough to attend boarding school, then he would leave home for that period of time and learn a trade that would enable him to find a job."<sup>191</sup> The report effectively ended the goal of assimilation in federal off-reservation boarding schools.

The Hayward Indian School closed its doors in 1934, in the wake of the Meriam Report. The report not only showed the ineffectiveness of the boarding school system, it also laid the path for a new era of Indian administration. Policy makers were shifting away from the policy of assimilation and moving toward recognition of Indian identity. Hayward was just one of many Indian schools that closed after the Meriam Report was published in 1928.

The school's goal was assimilation, but the students were hardly taught the skills necessary for that goal. Just as with all other boarding schools, they were taught on the one-half

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<sup>191</sup> Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 23-24.

day basis, and even the youngest that were supposed to be in school all day were forced to only attend half days because of a lack of space and an insufficient number of teachers. Hayward's industrial training lagged behind that of some of the larger schools and like most Indian boarding schools, the students learned through their work and provided the school with sustenance and clothing. Hayward's industrial education differed slightly from other schools because it did not use the "outing" program in its curriculum. Overall, the children attending the school experienced a rudimentary education based on labor because of overcrowding and a lack of staff.

Overcrowding at the school was detrimental to the student's health and education, but was a common feature in boarding schools. It led to close quarters, which encouraged the spread of deadly pathogens. Students at Hayward, in some cases, were forced to share beds. The students lacked a winter play area and were forced to use cramped unventilated basements for exercise during the winter months. Pupils were fed a starch heavy diet, insufficient amounts of milk, and sometimes moldy bread. Their diet may have been a contributing factor in their ability to fight off or recover from disease. These issues led to a school plagued with epidemics of influenza and measles, which made life at the school uncomfortable and sometimes deadly.

One area where the Hayward school differs from that of other schools is the relative lack of trachoma and tuberculosis. Hayward's students suffered very few cases compared to that of other schools. It is surprising that these diseases were not prevalent at Hayward, given doctors comments about the conditions in which the students lived. Hayward's students were lucky to avoid, for the most part, the two most dangerous diseases in the boarding school system.

Students routinely resisted the system as did other Indian children around the country. They spoke their own languages whenever they were out of earshot from administrators. They stole food and snuck off to the woods to remind themselves of home. Hundreds, if not thousands

ran away from the institution that many of them despised, despite the harsh punishment they faced for those actions.

Children at the Hayward Indian School, at least the ones from LCO, were lucky in one regard. The proximity of the reservation to the school allowed for more contact with their community. Children from LCO were able to spend summers at their homes, even though the school followed the policy requiring parents to prepay for travel. The school was less than ten miles from the reservation, making prepayment for travel a non-issue for the students from LCO. These students saw their families far more often than many of the students enrolled in other schools.

The experiences of students at the Hayward Indian School were much like those of students across the country. The largest exception was the proximity of LCO to the school. Otherwise, they lived a life dictated by strict routines and military discipline where the only language they could speak was English. They spent half their day in the classroom and the other half laboring to support the school. Students were confined to overcrowded quarters, where disease spread easily and children often died from epidemics. Children were not afraid to stand up and resist the system by speaking their own language or running away, even though the punishments could be severe.

Although Hayward Indian School's pupils had experiences similar to Indian boarding school students around the country, each viewed their experience differently. Some looked back on their experiences in a mostly positive light, while others had overwhelmingly negative views of their time at the school. In either case, the school shaped the lives of its pupils.

Some students remember their time at the school with fondness. Former pupil, Jim Clark, described his experience at the school as a "good memory." He fondly remembered a

matron helping him with his homework, and believed the military drilling from his boarding school days helped him when he joined the military later in life. He even went as far as to say the boarding school were better than public school because of the personal attention he received.<sup>192</sup>

Other students like, James Pipe Mustache and Bill Baker, has less positive things to say about their experiences at the school. James' recollections revolve around the loss of culture and the punishments for trying to keep that culture alive.<sup>193</sup> Bill Baker' one year at the school was a source of pain and resentment that he carried for the rest of his life. He viewed his time at the school with contempt. All students, including Clark, commented on the parts of their culture they lost as a result of their education at the Hayward Indian School.

At least one former student, Michael Wolf, had very negative experiences at Hayward, but very positive things to say about the boarding school he attended after Hayward. He believed the boarding school system was one of "torture and domination." He went on to say "I thank God that innocent little Indian Children no longer have to live in fear of the white man and his system of education." When Michael transferred to Hampton in 1909, his views of that school were much brighter. "At Hampton, under the leadership and guidance of kind and tender teachers and instructors who were giving their lives for the advancement of the Indian race, I soon found that America was also meant for Indians." He also said, "I worked my way through Hampton, and I have never found it to be a disgrace nor a disadvantage."<sup>194</sup> His statements clearly demonstrate a drastically different experience at the two schools.

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<sup>192</sup> Jim Clark, "My Memories of Indian School," Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, [http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page\\_culture.aspx?id=139](http://www.millelacsojibwe.org/Page_culture.aspx?id=139) (accessed September 16, 2009).

<sup>193</sup> Hilger, *Speaking for Ourselves*, 34.

<sup>194</sup> Wolf, "Papers of Michael Wolf."

However students view their experiences at the Hayward Indian School, their lives were shaped by their stay. For some it was bitter resentment, while for others it was a positive experience helped them later in life. Those experiences have shaped the lives of not only the students of the school, but their children as well.

“Yes, such was our life in our tender years—  
deprived of the embraces of loving parents and  
the scenes of our childhood homes.”<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> *ibid.*

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