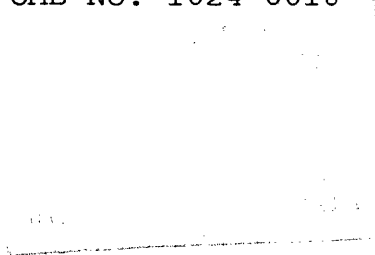


United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

1577



**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
REGISTRATION FORM**

=====

**1. Name of Property**

=====

historic name Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District

other names/site number Pawnee Indian Agency; Pawnee Indian School; Pawnee Indian BoardingSchool

=====

**2. Location**

=====

street & number Pawnee Tribal Reserve east of Pawnee, roughly bounded by Morris Road, following Harrison Street and Agency Road not for publication N/A

city or town Pawnee vicinity N/A

state Oklahoma code OK county Pawnee code 117 zip code 74058

=====

**3. State/Federal Agency Certification**

=====

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination \_\_\_\_\_ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets \_\_\_\_\_ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this \_\_\_\_\_ property be considered significant \_\_\_\_\_ nationally \_\_\_\_\_ statewide X locally. ( \_\_\_\_\_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Bob Beal \_\_\_\_\_ 10-23-00  
Signature of certifying official Date

Oklahoma Historical Society - SHPO  
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property \_\_\_\_\_ meets \_\_\_\_\_ does not meet the National Register criteria. ( \_\_\_\_\_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of commenting or other official Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal agency and bureau

=====

**4. National Park Service Certification**

=====

I, hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register  
\_\_\_\_\_ See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the  
National Register

\_\_\_\_\_ See continuation sheet.

determined not eligible for the  
National Register

removed from the National Register

other (explain): \_\_\_\_\_

Elson A Beal 12/28/00

Bob \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Keeper Date  
of Action

=====

**5. Classification**

=====

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
<u>13</u>	<u>5</u> buildings
	<u>      </u> sites
<u>7</u>	<u>1</u> structures
	<u>3</u> objects
<u>20</u>	<u>9</u> Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 2

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

=====

**6. Function or Use**

=====

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: <u>EDUCATION</u>	Sub: <u>School</u>
<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>Education related</u>
<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>Government office</u>
<u>HEALTHCARE</u>	<u>Hospital</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: <u>GOVERNMENT</u>	Sub: <u>Government office</u>
<u>HEALTHCARE</u>	<u>Civic</u>
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	<u>Single dwelling</u>
<u>VACANT/NOT IN USE</u>	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

=====

**7. Description**

=====

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

LATE VICTORIAN: Queen Anne  
OTHER: Folk Victorian  
\_\_\_\_\_

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation STONE: Sandstone  
roof ASPHALT  
walls STONE: Sandstone  
WOOD: Weatherboard; wood shingle  
other \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

=====  
**8. Statement of Significance**  
=====

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- a owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- b removed from its original location.
- c a birthplace or a grave.
- d a cemetery.
- e a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- f a commemorative property.
- g less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

ETHNIC HERITAGE: Native American  
EDUCATION  
ARCHITECTURE  
\_\_\_\_\_

Period of Significance 1876-1950

Significant Dates 1876  
1878  
1909  
1932

Significant Person  
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above) N/A

Cultural Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Architect/Builder Unknown  
\_\_\_\_\_

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

=====

**9. Major Bibliographical References**

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(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Oklahoma Historical Society; National Archives-Southwest Region, Fort Worth

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**10. Geographical Data**

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Acreage of Property approximately 29 acres

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	—	—	—	3	—	—
2	—	—	—	4	—	—

X See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

=====

**11. Form Prepared By**

=====

name/title Nancy M. McClure/Public Historian

organization Oklahoma State University date 5 September 2000

street & number 1406 Lewis Street telephone 307-673-9661

city or town Sheridan state WY zip code 82801

=====  
**Additional Documentation**  
=====

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.  
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage  
or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

=====  
**Property Owner**  
=====

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma  
Street & number P. O. Box 470 telephone 918-762-6446  
city or town Pawnee state OK zip code 74058  
=====



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Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District  
name of property  
Pawnee, Oklahoma  
county and state

**SUMMARY:**

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is located just east of the town of Pawnee in Pawnee County, Oklahoma, and encompasses approximately 29 acres of the 726 acre Pawnee Tribal Reserve owned by the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma. The district includes 15 contributing buildings and 7 contributing structures. Two of the contributing buildings, the Pawnee Agency Office and the Superintendent's Residence (resources 2 and 3 on the accompanying district map), were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1973. The district also includes 9 noncontributing resources, including 5 buildings, 1 structure, and 3 objects. Although there are now some modern buildings, traffic signs, and paved streets within the district, the historic resources predominate and it retains its historic character. The spatial relationship of the resources to each other and to the open space between them preserve integrity of location and setting. The district retains its overall sense of a place apart from the nearby town of Pawnee, an important element in the historic relationship between the tribe and the federal government on the one hand and the largely separate white community on the other. The district also retains enough intact physical features to convey the historic character of the property and to accurately reflect its period of significance; this adds to the sense of historical presence and reflects integrity of feeling and association.

The approach to the district is from the west, following Harrison Street across the bridge that spans Black Bear Creek and serves as the dividing line between the town and the reserve. The district features two nodes, or concentrations of resources. The northern node includes a hospital, agency office, and residence associated with the administration of the agency and school, while the southern, larger node contains resources historically associated specifically with the boarding school. The two nodes are separated by a tributary of Black Bear Creek that flows through the district. As one enters the district on Harrison Street, the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital (resource 1) and the Pawnee Agency Office (2) appear on the left, or north, encircled by a secondary road. Near the office, Harrison begins curving south and becomes Agency Road, which passes over a culvert/stone fill structure (17), with a stone footbridge (16) and the Superintendent's Residence (3) to the left side of the road and a stone wall (18) to the right. Continuing south, the road passes over a bridge (19) spanning the tributary of Black Bear Creek and enters the southern node of the district. The resources of the boarding school campus are arranged in roughly a backwards "D". Proceeding south along Agency Road, one passes the Home Economics Building (4) and 1932 School Building (5) to the left, or east, and the Employees' Club (6) to the west. Turning west onto an unnamed street that encircles the back of the campus, one then passes the Bakery (8), Cellar (22), and Girl's Dormitory (7) to the north; then rounds a curve to head north, passing the Employee Quarters and Guest Building (9) to the east, the Laundry (10) to the west, and the 1913 Schoolhouse (11) and Boys' Dormitory (12) to the east. As one continues around the curve of the "D" and heads back to the east, one passes two Garages (13 and 14), and the 1909 Principal's Residence (15) to the north. The road then again meets Agency Road. This "D" also contains two stone walls (20 and 21). Another unnamed street curves around the back side of the Home Economics Building and 1932 School Building. The noncontributing resources are distributed throughout the district.

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Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District  
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**DESCRIPTION:**

Construction dates of the contributing resources of the district range from 1876 to 1932. The dominant building material used for the agency and boarding school buildings is locally quarried sandstone ranging in color from light tan to red. Most of the buildings have irregularly-coursed, square cut, or ashlar, masonry, although three have regularly-coursed stonework. The cut stone blocks are also quarry- or rough-faced, with the exception of the Superintendent's Residence, which has smoother-faced stone on the building and quarry-faced stone on the porch supports. Several of the 12 predominantly masonry buildings have secondary additions that are of wood frame construction. With a few exceptions, wood trim, porch supports, and gable ends are currently painted white. According to a former student of the boarding school, these features were similarly painted at least in the mid- to late-1940s.<sup>1</sup> The 3 remaining contributing buildings within the district are of wood frame construction.

The period of significance for the district, 1876-1950, attests to the continued use of the district and its evolution as a dynamic institution that grew and changed according to its needs. These changes are reflected particularly in some of the alterations that have been made to the buildings. This work has included the construction of additions, the removal or replacement of additions, and, in at least one case, the significant alteration of a roofline. Although these changes have had an impact on the original appearance of the buildings, most of them occurred during the period of significance. Despite the alterations and additions to certain resources, the district as a whole retains overall integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The design of the campus, including space utilization, the relationship of buildings to each other, and the visual rhythms of the plan, remain largely unchanged. The retention of original construction materials of the major resources strongly contributes to integrity; even later frame additions are functionally integral to the buildings. Integrity of workmanship is evident in the architectural details identified as defining characteristics of several buildings.

Roof shapes vary from simple hipped or gabled roofs on some buildings to complex rooflines on others. All but one building have sloped roofs; portions of the 1932 School Building have flat or very low-pitched roofs. Although there are exceptions, the majority of the buildings are now roofed with modern, composition shingling materials. Historic documents and photographic documentation indicate that several roofs had metal shingles at one time; these remain on a few buildings.<sup>2</sup>

The condition of the resources varies considerably, particularly between buildings currently in use and those that have been vacant for several years. In early 1999, the School of Civil Engineering and Environmental Science of the University of Oklahoma, in consultation with Benjamin Wallace, a practicing engineer, did a structural assessment of several of the buildings. According to Wallace's report of the assessment, the individual stones of most of the buildings are in good condition, but there is "significant mortar deterioration" in places on some buildings. There is much variation between buildings in the condition of the masonry walls, some of which exhibit cracking and/or bowing. Wallace notes that although "several appurtenances," such as porches, have settled, "most main building foundations do not appear to have settled significantly, based on observations of cracks in walls which would indicate settlement of building corners." Because of the poor condition of the shingles on many buildings, the report indicates concern over

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possible "interior structural damage due to moisture problems."<sup>3</sup>

**PREVIOUSLY LISTED RESOURCES, BUILDINGS:**

Pawnee Agency Office (Resource number 2 on district map)

The Pawnee Agency Office is one of two buildings already listed on the National Register. The nomination form refers to it as the "original" office building and assumes that it must have been constructed in the late 1870s, shortly after the tribe's arrival at the new reservation. While this assumption was logical because the agency would have needed an office immediately, independent research has found that this building was constructed in 1906. It appears that the agency originally solved the problem of office space by combining the functions of office and residence in one building. The 1876 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* mentions only one stone building and it seems more likely that this describes the Superintendent's Residence, as it refers to a combination office and dwelling.<sup>4</sup>

The Pawnee Agency Office is a one-story structure. The main stone portion has a hall-and-parlor plan with a side-gabled roof. The stonework is of quarry-faced, coursed, ashlar sandstone blocks. The building has a narrow, full-width porch with simple supports and a balustrade made of pipe. There is now a small skylight near the ridgeline of the roof. The gable ends are wood, painted white, and have brackets. The back of the office is complex, with a gable-roofed stone extension at the northwest corner, part of a 1928 addition that also included squaring up the front corners of the building; a small concrete vault with hipped roof west of center, a 1914 addition; and a wood frame addition of unknown construction date extending off the rear of the building at its northeast corner. The wood addition, painted white, has a combination hipped roof with a very low-pitched gable-like feature at the top. The boards of the addition appear to simply abut the stone of the main body of the building.<sup>5</sup>

The Pawnee Agency Office is currently in use for tribal office space and retains integrity. Although there is evidence of some foundation settling at the northeast corner of the stone portion of the building and of the porch slab where it meets the building, the structural assessment notes that cracks at window and door opening corners are probably "due to thermal expansion and contraction." They do not indicate structural problems, "and [are] expected in this type of construction." The "awkward roof shape and flashing detail" of the frame addition where it meets the stone structure may cause continued problems with roof leaks in that part of the building.<sup>6</sup>

Superintendent's Residence (Resource number 3)

The Superintendent's Residence, the oldest building of the historic district and already listed on the National Register, was built in 1876. Although originally built as an office and residence for the Indian Agent, following a shift of administrative duties from the agent to the school superintendent at the turn of the century, this individual occupied the house, giving it its current name.<sup>7</sup>

The building is a two-story, Queen Anne style building with a front-facing gable, a secondary side-facing gable, and a massed plan. The building is of coursed ashlar sandstone with a smoother surface than many of the other buildings of the district. It has a full-width wrap-around porch supported by squared, wooden columns resting on stone

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piers. This porch replaced the original porch in 1916. The house has an added porte cochere on its west side, with full-height stone piers. The quarry-faced stone piers of the extant porch supports are finished differently from the stone of the building and appear to match those in a photograph included in the 1916 buildings report. Although the piers on a porte cochere present today also match the porch piers, the porte cochere does not appear in this photograph.<sup>8</sup>

The second story of the side-facing gable, a sleeping porch, is frame but is supported by a stone room on the first floor; the upper room overhangs the lower and has the same diamond and fishscale shingle pattern that appears in the gables. The stone walls of this lower room appear to simply abut the stone wall of the main house, indicating that it is likely an addition.

The building has a shed-roofed kitchen on the south side and a small, hipped-roof room nestled in the L-shaped space made by the kitchen and the cross-gabled wing. The roofs of both these rooms have green composition shingles, while the main house now has asbestos shingles in a large diamond pattern. The building originally had wooden shingles.<sup>9</sup>

The Superintendent's Residence has some character-defining features in its architectural details. The gable ends have patterned shingles, diamond and fishscale, that are painted white and emphasize the Queen Anne style of the house. The stone lintels, also character-defining, project slightly from the plane of the wall and have distinctive, carved, diagonal lines that illustrate craftsmanship in the details of the stonework.

Although the Superintendent's Residence is currently unoccupied and, therefore, has suffered some deterioration, it retains its design and materials and so maintains integrity. Cracks in some walls indicate settling of the northwest corner of the building, but most condition problems relate to secondary additions. The foundation of the porch has settled worse than the main structure and both its floor slab and the perimeter stemwall exhibit cracks. The porte cochere roof has begun to fall in due to rot.<sup>10</sup>

**CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES, BUILDINGS:**

**1. Pawnee-Ponca Hospital**

Construction of the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital began in 1929 and was completed by 15 January 1931, the date it opened. The hospital had a fifty-five bed capacity, and included an attached ward for tubercular patients and a separate, matching building to the west of the main building for use as a nurses' residence.<sup>11</sup>

The buildings are three stories, with two and one-half stories above ground. The nurses' home mimics the hospital in appearance and matches the original tubercular ward on the east end of the hospital. The stone buildings are made of quarry-faced, regularly-coursed, ashlar sandstone. They have ample windows with white painted trim, although the sills and lintels are stone. The main body of the hospital has a hipped roof with a centered, south-facing gable. To either side of the gable there is a hipped dormer that reappears on other buildings of the district. The nurses' home and the former tubercular ward have pyramidal roofs. The roof covering now consists of modern, composition shingles. The steps leading to the doors of the buildings are now covered with modern awnings.

The United States Public Health Service operated the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital for the surrounding tribes. It is

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now a clinic run by the Indian Health Service, with the former nurses' home used by the clinic's administration. Because it has been in use since its construction through the present, the hospital building has been maintained and presumably renovated to keep it in good condition as a modern hospital and clinic. It was not inspected for the structural assessment done in 1999, but the buildings appear to be in very good condition and retain their integrity.

**4. Home Economics Building**

Because resource number 4 has had several different uses through its history, it is currently known by the use that most distinguishes it from the other buildings of the district. The Home Economics Building was constructed in 1909 as a combination steam laundry and carpenter shop. A 1916 report refers to the building's two rooms as a laundry room and an engine room.<sup>12</sup> Circa 1922, the laundry machinery was moved to another building, number 12 below, thereby converting the former laundry into a storeroom. Former boarding school student Mildred Hudson, who attended the school in the late 1920s and early 1930s, remembers the building as home economics, but Mary Wabaunsee, a student circa 1927-1929 and again circa 1932, says it was used as a dormitory while she was there. Documentation indicates that the agency remodeled the "Old Laundry" for use as a dormitory in 1930.<sup>13</sup> By the mid-1930s, when a map of the agency and school grounds was drawn, the building was being used as employees' quarters.

The Home Economics Building is a single story structure made of quarry-faced stone, with square-cut, irregular courses. It has an L-shaped plan with a front-facing gable on the west-facing extension of the "L." The other leg of the "L," on the north-south axis, has a side-facing gable on both ends. These white-painted gable ends retain metal shingles in a large, U-shaped pattern, reminiscent of fishscale but with a vertical ridge bisecting the "U." These shingled gable ends are a character-defining feature. There is a return on the roofline in all three gables.

The building, currently in use as the headquarters for Pawnee Nation Law Enforcement and Pawnee Nation District Court, has undergone some physical changes in recent years. The front-facing gable, which appears to have been the main entrance, has a large door opening that has been filled in to accommodate a modern-scale door. Other historic door openings have tall transom windows, and a door opening on the north side has been completely filled in. The building also originally had metal shingles. In 1999, the Home Economics Building was reshingled, although these new composition shingles covered or replaced other replacement shingles and not the original metal shingles.

According to the structural assessment, the Home Economics Building suffers structural deficiencies due to "a combination of foundation settlement and roof structure problems." The east and west walls of the south end of the building lean outward where they meet the roof, so much so that at some time steel plates were attached to the exterior of these walls and are presumably anchored together in the interior of the building to pull the walls together and stabilize them. Wallace attributes bowing of the north end of the east wall to weakness in the roof and rafter structure where the legs of the "L" meet. Similar problems occur elsewhere in the structure and have caused several cracks in the walls. Foundation settlement at the northwest corner of the building has also caused vertical cracks.<sup>14</sup> The building does still retain its integrity, including its materials and form.

**5. 1932 School Building**

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The 1932 School Building was dedicated in September 1932, although one source indicates that the building was not considered completed until October 1933. The building contained classrooms, offices, and an auditorium, consolidating functions that had previously been scattered among other buildings. In addition to the academic lessons that went on in the classrooms, the large gymnasium hosted assemblies, school dances, and sporting events. This building served as the main school building from its opening through the remainder of the boarding school's active history. According to Pawnee Business Council President Robert L. Chapman, when the building was used as a nursing home during the 1960s, interior doorways were widened to accommodate transfer of beds. The 1932 School Building was renovated in 1976 and is now leased from the tribe by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the administrative offices of the Pawnee Agency.<sup>15</sup>

The 1932 School Building has irregular or rubble-coursed, quarry-faced stone. It has one above-ground story but has a basement under the north wing and the gymnasium. This was the last building constructed on the campus, and has several features that vary from those of the other buildings. It has a T-shaped plan, with classrooms and offices in the cross of the "T" and the gymnasium in the stem. The most distinctive feature is the portico adorning the center entrance, with three round-arched open doorways facing forward and a matching window opening on each side; these arches have large keystones. Centered above the middle arch is a date stone, "1932," that also contains the name of the superintendent at the time of the building's construction, "A. R. Snyder."

The building has character-defining architectural features in its details. Within the portico, the center, double-doored entrance is framed by a large round-headed arch. The lintels on the doors on either side are flat, but have carved diagonal lines with the top of the lines slanted toward the center door. The arched motif that appears on the portico is repeated in decorative form toward the sides of the front facade, where an arched niche is defined by a slight recessing of the stone within it.

The building has a complex roofline. The main part of the building has a mansard or deck roof, with a flat-topped and hipped form. At either end of the front, or west, facade, the roof extends forward and forms a gable with roofline returns over the decorative arch in the wall. This effect forms a sort of bay at each end of the facade, with the arched niche in the center, and projecting stonework forming pilasters under the roof returns. A fanlight appears near the peak of the gable of these bays, well above the arched niche. The central portico has a flat roof. The gymnasium has a quite low-pitched gable roof with no overhang; roofing material appears to be light gray, corrugated metal. The end walls extend straight up into the gable, but where the peak would be, a flat-topped parapet extends above the ridge. The rest of the building has modern, composition shingles.

Because it was remodeled in 1976 and is in use as the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters of the Pawnee Agency, the building is in good condition and was not inspected thoroughly for the structural assessment. Wallace noted that shingles on the sloped roof were worn, but that the stone walls did not exhibit any cracking.<sup>16</sup>

**6. Employees' Club**

The Employees' Club, which housed unmarried employees of the school, was built in 1927 and replaced a frame building that had served the same purpose.<sup>17</sup> The building is now unoccupied, but is used for storage.

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The two-story building is rectangular, with a massed plan and a front-facing gable. It is constructed of irregularly-coursed, ashlar, quarry-faced stone like most of the buildings of the district. There is a two-story frame addition of unknown date on the rear of the building; it has a low-pitched, hipped roof. The building has a nearly full-width front porch with a hipped roof that has exposed rafter tails. The porch has four simple, classical columns for support; these are painted a pinkish-cream and match the color of the clapboard wood in the gable and remnants of paint on the addition. Some remaining wooden support members indicate that the porch may have been screened at one time. Metal shingles remain on the roof of the main, stone portion of the building, while the frame addition appears to have reddish composition shingles. The front-facing gable has brackets under the eaves.

According to the structural assessment, the roof of the main building seems to be in good structural condition and the "sheet metal shingles appear reasonably intact." The porch, however, is in poor condition, with a rotted roof and floor. The minor cracks on the north end of the west wall are probably simply from thermal stress and not from foundation settlement or structural problems, and the building retains integrity.<sup>18</sup>

7. Girls' Dormitory

The Girls' Dormitory has the most complex construction history of all the buildings in the historic district. In its first configuration, it was completed in 1878 as the original boarding school building, and housed the boys and girls as well as the classrooms. The stone building, 31 by 90 feet, had a kitchen extension that was either part of the original construction or added the same year.<sup>19</sup> In 1890, a two-story, 20 by 50 foot frame addition was added and projected out to the front of the west end of the original stone facade. The work also included a veranda that wrapped around the front and east side of the building. By 1891, this and other various additions gave the school an odd-shaped footprint; 1891 photograph shows the sprawling building with its stone and frame components, a cupola, and the veranda. A line currently visible on the back of the dormitory suggests that this veranda continued around that side of the building.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the additions intended to improve the building and add space for the many functions within it, superintendents complained about its deficiencies for years.<sup>21</sup> By 1909, Superintendent George W. Nellis was making plans to remove the frame additions on the west side and replace them with stone. When finally accomplished in 1912, the new stone addition and a few other adjustments brought the building to roughly its present form, substantially altering its appearance. The stone addition, with front-facing gable, replaced the earlier 20 by 50 foot frame addition and a frame room of unknown date directly behind it. This construction project apparently included the addition of two secondary gables on the original stone portion of the building, possibly to increase the amount of natural light reaching the dim second floor. The cupola was likely removed at the same time. By 1916, the rear portion of the veranda on the east side of the building had been removed. The last frame portion of the structure, at the rear of the east end of the building, had also disappeared by 1916.<sup>22</sup>

By 1928, the poorly designed foundation of the building had caused serious problems with the inadequately supported floors. Visiting District Superintendent John A. Buntin reported that the floors had "given away to such an extent that it ha[d] become necessary to practically work over almost the entire inside of the girls' building." Workers leveled the floor by adding support for the sagging joists. Because this raised much of the first floor by 4 to 6 inches, the

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old plaster, which had been applied directly to the stone, cracked throughout the building. Superintendent Snyder opted to “even up” the irregular stone walls with cement and sand, and apply a new, even coat of plaster to the more uniform surface. Snyder also removed several of the many partitions on the second floor to better utilize the space and to facilitate evacuation in the event of a fire.<sup>23</sup>

A 1954 Annual Report indicates that the Girls’ and Boys’ dormitories were remodeled for total of \$17,000 in that year, but does not discuss the specifics of the work. The Girls’ Dormitory was renovated by James Strider and Associates in 1976 and now houses the Pawnee Tribal Offices.<sup>24</sup>

The Girls’ Dormitory presents a symmetrical facade that masks its complex construction history. As it stands today, the building has a roughly U-shaped plan with an extension attached perpendicular to the end of one leg of the “U.” This extension partially encloses the courtyard made inside the “U.” The roof is complex, but gabled over all parts of the building. The front facade has front-facing gables on either end, with two smaller gables between them, on the center linear section of the building. The rear of the structure also has gables, with the extension mentioned above forming a cross-gabled component. A south-facing gable also appears inside the “U” and has wooden, fishscale shingles. The extensive, wrap-around porch that once adorned the building is no longer extant. Small, white vestibules now mark the two front doors of the building.

The stonework of the dormitory is quarry-faced, rubble masonry that varies in appearance among the sections of the building constructed at different times. The lines of stonework on the west, gabled section and on the extension waver more than on the rest of the building, and that of the kitchen extension vary still more, testifying to the different construction episodes of the building. Orderly quoining on the corner of the kitchen is in sharp contrast to the crude appearance of the rest of the stonework on this part of the building. On the front facade, large blocks create a quoin effect that indicates the line where the west addition to the building was joined to the earlier building. While most of the lintels on the Girls’ Dormitory consist of one flat stone, the first story windows on the west side have segmental arches made of several individual stones.

The major problems with the Girls’ Dormitory noted in the structural assessment relate to the roof structure. Significant sagging along the north side of the roof may be due to “creep of the roof framing over time.” According to the assessment, “this may have been caused by a marginal design, past water damage to the roof structure, or removal of interior roof bracing.” Sagging of the ridge of the east roof may be related to that of the north roof. Bowing of the south wall of the center section may have been caused by “the horizontal forces” generated by this problematic roof structure.<sup>25</sup> Despite these problems, the Girls’ Dormitory reflects the alterations in design that were part of its history during the period of significance, and the building retains its construction materials and overall integrity.

8. Bakery

The Bakery building was constructed in 1909 and originally contained the bakery and a room “for the care of meat and dairy products.” By 1916, this second room was called the milk room and took up about one third of the space. The building likely remained in service as a bakery until construction of the 1932 School Building, which stimulated a shift of functions between several buildings. After all classes were moved to the new school building, the



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1913 Schoolhouse became the dining hall and kitchen, and the bakery was installed in the basement of that building. By the mid-1930s, the Bakery had been converted into employee housing.<sup>26</sup> The structure is currently vacant.

The Bakery, a one-story building that originally had a double pen plan, has stonework similar to most of the buildings. It is made of quarry-faced, irregularly-coursed, ashlar stone. It has a hipped roof with gabled dormers at each end of the ridgeline. The dormers appear to be for ventilation. The stone portion of the building retains historic metal shingles. A gable-roofed, frame addition of unknown date but likely added when the building became a residence, extends from the back of the building at the northwest corner and converts the original floor plan into an L-shaped plan. The addition's roof has gray composition shingles. Remaining kitchen and bathroom fixtures in the building testify to its later use as a residence.

One of the character-defining features of the building is a very low-pitched segmental arch over the doorway toward the east end of the south-facing wall. The arch is made of red brick, and a matching arch appears over what used to be a doorway toward the opposite end of the wall; this doorway, which would have entered into what is now the bathroom, has been filled in with stone. The gabled dormers at either end of the ridgeline recur on the Boys' Dormitory and its bathhouse annex, and also are character-defining features of both of these buildings.

The Bakery was not inspected during the structural assessment of the campus buildings. Because it is unoccupied, it has suffered some deterioration from lack of maintenance. The historic windows appear to have been removed and replaced with relatively modern metal-framed windows, but it otherwise retains its historic materials.

9. Employee Quarters and Guest Building

The Employee Quarters and Guest Building was built in 1927 and originally housed two classrooms and an office for the school principal. When the 1932 School Building opened, all classes were moved into the new facility, and the 1927 building was converted to employee apartments. By the mid-1930s, a report on the school plant noted that the building was used for school employees and any guests visiting the agency or school, calling it Employee Quarters and Guest Building. It likely retained this function up to the school's closure.<sup>27</sup> The tribe now uses the building as a fitness center.

In keeping with the rest of the buildings of the district, the Employee Quarters and Guest Building also has quarry-faced, irregularly-coursed ashlar stone. The building has a rather unique decorative feature that the other buildings lack. On the lower third of the building, some of the rectangular stones are placed vertically in a somewhat uniformly-spaced pattern. This creates a subtle horizontal band of vertical stones on the front, or east, facade. The building is rectangular with a hipped roof, although a gable centrally placed over the front door breaks up the horizontal roofline. Four steps lead up to the door; the original large door opening under a large lintel stone has been filled in to accommodate a smaller, modern door that has replaced the original door.

Because it is one of the newer buildings and it currently in use, the Employee Quarters and Guest Building is in good condition, one of the most sound on the campus. Cracks in the south and east walls indicate minor settling, but some cracks are instead "consistent with typical cracking due to normal thermal stresses." The assessment notes that the flat roof planes indicate that the roof is structurally sound.<sup>28</sup>

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**10. Laundry**

The building now known as the laundry was constructed in 1909 as a store house or commissary but was converted into the Laundry building in 1922. A frame lean-to addition, no longer extant, is visible in a circa 1916 photograph of the building. The building is currently unoccupied.<sup>29</sup>

The Laundry building is a one-story structure of one rectangular room under a front-facing gabled roof. The door centered in the front facade lines up with the door centered in the back wall. The building is constructed of quarry-faced, irregularly-coursed, rubble masonry. The gable ends are shingled, and the front-facing gable has a louvered vent. The building is in the poorest condition of the buildings of the district. It was not inspected for the structural assessment. Much of the roof sheathing is missing, exposing the rafters below. Despite these problems, the building retains its form, its original sandstone structure, and remnants of the historic metal shingles.

**11. 1913 Schoolhouse**

The 1913 Schoolhouse was ready for use just after the commencement of the academic year in the fall of 1913. The building contained two classrooms and an assembly hall on the main floor and a furnace room, coal room, and storage room in the basement. Plans dated 1911 and labeled "Schoolhouse No. 80," indicate that the building may have been built from standard plans used by the Office of Indian Affairs. Following completion of the 1932 School Building that caused the reshuffling of functions and space utilization in other buildings, the 1913 Schoolhouse was remodeled for use as the school dining hall. The extensive renovation, completed by the end of June 1933, included outfitting the building for a dining room and kitchen on the main floor; these function were moved from the back of the Girls' Dormitory. The school bakery and meat locker were also moved from other facilities and installed in the basement of the old schoolhouse. In 1951 and 1952, the building was again remodeled for \$42,550, including labor and materials. According to a construction report, the remodeling job constituted a substantial project and included work on excavating, concrete, stone, floors, roof, lath and plastering, insulation, equipment, sewer tank, wiring, and plumbing.<sup>30</sup> The Pawnee tribe now serves meals for senior citizens in the former schoolhouse and dining hall.

The 1913 Schoolhouse has a complex and irregular plan, but the front presents a symmetrical, rectangular facade with centered double doors. The hipped roof has a small, centered, hipped dormer that appears to be for ventilation. The symmetry is now masked by an awning or shed-like roof over a modern handicapped access ramp. The core of the plan is essentially T-shaped, with an extension at different locations on each side of the stem that mask its symmetry. The stem of the "T" also has a hipped roof. The extension on the north side of the building, toward the back, or west, end, and that on the south side may have been added. Two windows and a door on the south extension have been filled in, with the stones in the windows recessed slightly into the frame.

The stonework on the 1913 Schoolhouse, in particular, exhibits quality craftsmanship. It is quarry-faced and irregularly-coursed like that of many of the buildings of the district, but special care was taken with the details. The corners have drafted margins, meaning the tips of the corner are incised or mitered. Another character-defining feature of the building is a pair of stones that together make up date stones. On the south end of the front facade is a stone carved "A.D." On the north end of the wall another stone is carved "1913." The stonework also creates a water table

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or belt-course effect around the building. The stones of this feature are of uniform rectangular blocks, quarry-faced, and projecting slightly from the wall.

The building has modern composition shingles, although those on the stem of the "T" appear to be older than those on the front cross section. The building also has a basement with a concrete floor; the space is currently used for storage. The structural assessment determined that the 1913 Schoolhouse is one of the buildings in the best condition on the campus. The limited cracking of the walls indicates "little foundation movement" and more likely is due to "normal thermal stresses." The roof structure appears sound, "without noticeable sagging or other obvious distress."<sup>31</sup>

12. Boys' Dormitory

The existing Boys' Dormitory was built in 1909 to replace an 1892 facility that burned down in 1904. The basement contained the furnace, a sitting room, a large closet, a washroom, and a toilet room; the first floor had rooms for matrons and assistants, an office, and a dormitory room; the second floor was primarily dormitory space. The original building had a classically inspired portico with columns and a center, front-facing gable. It is not known when this portico was removed and replaced with the one the building now retains, a hip-roofed structure with square, tapered columns, although it appears in a photograph keyed to a school plant report from the mid-1930s.<sup>32</sup>

In 1927, the agency built a nearly full-height, wood frame addition onto the rear of the Boys' Dormitory. Agency correspondence refers to the addition as the sleeping porch and it was used to provide sleeping quarters for additional male students. Theodore Morgan, a student at the boarding school during the late 1940s, also used this name when discussing the frame portion of the dormitory.<sup>33</sup> Circa 1929, a small, stone annex to the dormitory was built behind the building and was connected to the sleeping porch by a frame passageway. With this addition, school administrators were able to move the unsatisfactory bath and washroom facilities out of the basement of the main building to the annex.<sup>34</sup> The two dormitories on the campus were remodeled for total of \$17,000 in 1954, but documentation does not discuss the specific work done.<sup>35</sup> By 1958, the year the boarding school closed, use of the Boys' Dormitory had been discontinued, and the both the male and female students were then housed in the Girls' Dormitory. The building remains unoccupied.

The original, stone Boys' Dormitory is a large, rectangular building with a massed plan, two-and-a-half stories in height, with the basement window sills at ground level. The masonry is made up of quarry-faced, irregularly-coursed, ashlar sandstone blocks. The structure has a hipped roof, with a small gabled dormer at each end of the ridgeline. A hipped dormer, likely for ventilation, is centered low on the roof near the front roofline. The roof has composition shingles. The lintels and sills of the Boys' Dormitory windows are each made of one flat stone, are quarry-faced, and project somewhat from the plane of the wall. The front doorway of the dormitory is centered on the east facade, and is accessed by steps up to the front porch. The current porch has a hipped roof with exposed rafter tails. Tapered, square columns, one of which is missing, support the porch roof and rest on square piers.

The sleeping porch addition, of wood frame construction and almost full-height, is attached to the rear of the structure. It has a very slightly-sloped roof that appears to be just barely hipped. Because of the poor condition of the ceiling on the second floor, the eave of the roof over the masonry part of the building can be seen extending under the

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roof of the frame addition; this at one time was concealed by the addition's ceiling. A small, gable-roofed vestibule projects from the south side of the addition. Behind the addition, an enclosed walkway leads to the small, single-story, stone bathhouse annex. The bathhouse has a hipped roof; it and the enclosed walkway still have metal shingles.

The vacant Boys' Dormitory is in poor condition, although it retains its form and materials. The structural assessment expresses concern over the roof and floor structures, which are damaged from extensive roof leaks over time, and in places the ceiling and floor joists are exposed. The frame addition has sustained substantial water damage that has rotted the roof and floor structures.<sup>36</sup>

13. Garage

West and slightly south of the 1909 Principal's Residence stand two wood frame garage buildings. While their date of construction is uncertain, the circa 1935 map of the campus shows footprints that appear to match their shape and placement. The buildings do not appear on a 1912 block plan that clearly shows the Principal's Residence with no nearby buildings. Because minor buildings and outbuildings are less well-documented in the records of the agency and school than major buildings, no further information has been uncovered.<sup>37</sup>

The westernmost garage, resource number 13, is rectangular and has one south-facing garage door opening and a gable roof. The building is in poor condition. Settling has shifted it visibly out-of-square; the bottom of the garage door is pushed into the interior of the building.

14. Garage

Resource number 14 is located just east of number 13 and is the larger of the two garages. It is also rectangular, but has a hipped roof with exposed rafter tails. Three garage doors are located on the east-facing facade. The building is in poor condition and is missing some of the wood cladding on the south side. Settling of the building now prevents the garage doors from closing completely.

15. 1909 Principal's Residence

The largest of the three wood frame buildings designated as contributing to the district is called the Principal's Residence in a circa 1935 report on the school plant. Completion of this building for housing an employee was part of a rather extensive construction expansion undertaken in 1909. In addition to the erection of the stone Boys' Dormitory, the Bakery, the laundry and shop building (Home Economics), and the commissary that later became the Laundry, the work included frame barns and poultry houses, sheds, a coal house, a root cellar, three concrete caves, and four employee residences. It appears that the Principal's Residence is the only one of the residences that survives. It is now being used as a private residence.<sup>38</sup>

The 1909 Principal's Residence has a complex roofline. Hipped at its core, the roof has a gabled peak placed on top of the main hipped portion. Other gables appear almost as large dormers; windows in these gables let light into what is likely a small, attic-like second floor. An addition on the east side of the house has a shed roof, and in a circa 1935 photograph appears to have once been a screened porch. Although the building retain its historic fabric for the most

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part, the windows have been replaced, and some have been altered, with the addition of two windows where originally there had been one. The building fabric appears to be somewhat deteriorated, as is the white exterior paint.

**CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES, STRUCTURES:**

**16. Footbridge**

Between the Pawnee Agency Office and the Superintendent's Residence, a stone footbridge carries a sidewalk across a dry or intermittent ravine. This contributing structure is constructed of the same type of sandstone used in the majority of the district's buildings. The rubble stone is regularly-coursed. The footbridge has a center arched opening and a concrete sidewalk with metal pipe railing. Although the exact date of construction of this structure is uncertain, it likely dates to the episode of construction and improvement undertaken by the school and agency's administration in 1909. The appearance of the footbridge is in keeping with the district. A curved stone wall beginning perpendicular to the footbridge on its south end connects it with structure resource 17, with which it is associated. Although the bridge crosses the same ravine that the curved street (Harrison/Agency Road) crosses, the bridge is straight. The footbridge appears to be in good condition.

**17. Culvert/Stone Fill**

Along the street where Harrison curves into Agency Road, a culvert and large amount of fill carry the road across the ravine. The structure is faced with a stone wall on the east side of the road; this wall then curves to meet resource 16. On the west side of the road, the structure appears as an embankment of rubble stone and soil. This structure also likely dates to the 1909 construction period. The structure utilizes the sandstone found throughout many of the district's buildings.

**18. Stone Wall**

The historic district contains three stone walls of similar character that qualify as contributing structures. The first and shortest wall parallels the west side of Agency Road just south of the culvert/stone fill structure over the ravine. This wall is fairly low and stepped in three levels, with the highest along the wall's center section. The wall is missing some stones, and is capped by a layer of concrete. It, too, may date to the 1909 construction period.

**19. Bridge**

The district also contains a concrete bridge over the tributary of Black Bear Creek that passes under Agency Road just north of the road system that encircles the main boarding school campus. Although the bridge appears to be newer than the structure over the ravine, according to staff at the State Historic Preservation Office, it may date to the 1930s or 1940s, which would place it within the district's period of significance. It has been designated a contributing structure. The bridge consists of two bays, squared at the outside, upper corners, and angled at the center corners. Wing walls angle out from the sides, and on the west, stone walls made of coursed, rubble stone line the stream channel.

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The bridge design includes a floor at the bed of the stream. The bridge is in good condition.

**20. Stone wall**

The most substantial wall in the district follows along the inside of the road that defines the yard north of the Boys' Dormitory and turns south near the intersection of this road with Agency Road; it then follows along the ditch by Agency Road as shown on the district map. This wall, which consists of coursed, sandstone blocks, has a concrete cap, and contains a set of steps that once allowed access from the road to a building north of the Boys' Dormitory that is no longer extant.

**21. Stone wall**

The third stone wall in the district, largely subsumed by sod, runs north to south along the road to the east of the Employees' Club. This wall also contains a set of steps placed roughly across from the southern end of the Employees' Club building.

**22. Cellar**

The last contributing structure in the historic district is a cellar, mostly underground, located between the Girl's Dormitory and the Bakery. The portions of the structure visible are made of concrete, and consist of an enclosed entrance stairway on the east end of the cellar; a low, stepped wall perpendicular to the stairway; an arched wall at the west end of the structure; and a window well at the center of the west, arched wall. The ground over the cellar, between the two walls, is mounded up over the structure. Only one, bent, corrugated metal door remains on the stairway access. It is possible that the cellar is one of three "concrete caves" listed in a 1913 buildings report. The caves mentioned on the list were constructed in 1909 and measured 8 by 12 feet.<sup>39</sup>

**NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES:**

**NC1 and NC2**

Two modern, corrugated metal buildings stand immediately west of the nurses' home building of the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital complex. These utilitarian buildings, used by the tribe as supply and maintenance facilities, are of a different character than the contributing buildings of the district. They are recent additions outside the period of significance, and not associated with the historical function or purpose of the agency and school. Because of their proximity to the Hospital and their placement within the yard and road system surrounding the Hospital, they are inside the district boundaries, but designated noncontributing. Although NC1 is smaller than NC2, both are single-story, rectangular buildings with low-pitched, side-gabled roofs made of the same, cream-colored metal as the walls.

**NC3, NC5, and NC6**

Three small, rectangular, wooden sheds are located within the district boundaries, one between the Pawnee-

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Ponca Hospital and the nurses' home (NC3), one behind the Home Economics Building (NC5), and one behind the 1932 School Building (NC6). NC3 is screened from the view of the main facade of the hospital by a fence-wall between the hospital and the nurses' home. NC5 is tucked into the angle created by the south wing and the stem of the "T" on the rear of the School Building. NC6 is placed behind the Home Economics building and is, therefore, also hidden from the front of the building, but is visible from various vantage points within the district. The sheds are the barn-shaped storage units with gambrel roofs that are simply set on the ground and can be moved easily.

NC4

The district also contains a memorial to the Pawnee Scouts, members of the tribe who served in the United States Army during the 1860s and 1870s. The monument, erected in 1986, is a three-sided metal pyramid, painted tan, and placed on a two-tiered concrete pad. A bronze plaque on the monument discusses the role of the Pawnee Scouts in the history of the Pawnees and the Indian Wars, and the removal of the tribe to Indian Territory. The Scout monument has been designated noncontributing because it is a commemorative object and its construction date is outside the period of significance for the district.

NC7

A baseball field, located to the southeast of the 1932 School Building, is also located within the district and designated a noncontributing structure. The ballfield now consists simply of fences extending from a backstop and around the outfield, a canopy behind what would have been home plate, and lettering identifying it as Moses Yellowhorse Memorial Field. According to Theodore Morgan, who attended the boarding school in the late 1940s, this field was in use when he went to school, although he remembers that there was then no fence around the outfield.<sup>40</sup> Because the date of the current fencing and backstop is uncertain, the field is currently noncontributing.

NC8 and NC9

The district contains two other noncontributing objects with obscure histories. Located on the lawn between the Boys' and Girls' dormitories, the matching objects consist of a center circular basin encircled by a low concrete curb. It appears that these may have served as flowerbeds at one time, and grass and small shrubs now fill in the space inside the curbs. Oral interviews indicate that the center basins may have originally been wash basins in the basement of the Boys' Dormitory. Wash and toilet facilities were transferred from the dormitory to the stone bathhouse annex when it was built circa 1930; it is unknown when the basement basins would have been removed from the main building. Because the basins no longer serve their original purpose and the date of their current configuration and use is unknown, they are noncontributing resources.

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1. Ronnie Goodeagle, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 28 October 1998, tape recording.
2. Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916, Subgroup 91, Records of the Pawnee Agency and Subagencies, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives-Southwest Region, Fort Worth, Texas (hereafter cited as Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth).
3. Benjamin Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report, Pawnee Tribe Complex*, 7 January 1999.
4. "Pawnee Indian Agency," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 11 April 1973, State Historic Preservation Office, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1876, 56, 1906, 320 (microfiche), (hereafter cited as *ARCIA*); Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
5. A. R. Snyder to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 12 July 1928, Sketch of Office, "Improvements 1928 and 1929" file, Box 5, Subgroup 86, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
6. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.
7. *ARCIA*, 1876, 56; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
8. Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
9. Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
10. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.
11. *Annual Report of the Pawnee Indian Training School and Agency*, 1929, Health Section, 2, 1931, 1-2, in *Superintendents' Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from Field Jurisdictions, 1907-1938*, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives (microfilm), (hereafter cited as *ARPITSA*); Pawnee-Ponca Hospital and Nurses Home, "Construction" file, Box 38, Subgroup 85, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth; Donald C. Nelson, "Health Safeguards," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* 2 (April 1933): 6.



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12. *Annual Report for 1909*, Microfilm Roll PA49, Pawnee Agency and Subagencies Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS), citations referring to parts of the collection that have been microfilmed include the roll number, if no roll number is noted, reference is to original documents; Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements on Pawnee Indian Reservation at Pawnee Training School, 30 June 1913, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.

13. "Building Plant, Pawnee Agency, Oklahoma," 30 May 1922, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; Mildred Cleghorn Hudson, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 6 October 1998, tape recording; Mary Louise Wabaunsee, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 12 October 1998, tape recording; List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933, "Construction" file, Box 7, Subgroup 86, Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935, "Buildings - Pawnee 400" file, Box 38, Subgroup 85, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth.

14. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.

15. *ARPITSA*, 1931, Section IV, 1; List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933; 1932 School Building date stone, Pawnee Agency Reserve, Oklahoma; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935; Robert L. Chapman, President, Pawnee Business Council, interview by author, 16 March 2000.

16. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.

17. John A. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 May 1927, "Buntin" file, Box 1, Subgroup 86, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth; List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935; Theodore Morgan, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 6 October 1998, tape recording.

18. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.

19. *ARCIA*, 1878, 63; Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements, 1913.

20. *ARCIA*, 1890, 199; Pawnee School Ground Plan, February 1891, Roll PA5, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; Photograph 4163, School Building, Pawnee Agency, Photograph Division, OHS.

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21. C. W. Goodman to Asa C. Sharpe, 26 October 1897, Letterpress Volume 11, Roll PA6, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; *ARCIA*, 1900, 345, 1903, 275, 1904, 303.
22. *Annual Report for 1909*; Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements, 1913; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916.
23. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 July 1928, "Buntin" file, Box 1, Snyder to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 August 1928, "Improvements 1928 and 1929" file, Box 5, List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933.
24. *Annual Report of the Anadarko Area Office, Branch of Education*, 1954, Box 1, Subgroup 193, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth, 22 April 1999.
25. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.
26. Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935. Although members of the Advisory Board of the Pawnee Tribal Facilities Project refer to the Bakery as the "Principal's Residence," the ca. 1935 report indicates that a pine structure across the road north of the Boys' Dormitory, building number 15 in the historic district, served as the principal's residence at that time; it is possible that the former Bakery housed the principal at a later date, accounting for its common name.
27. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 October 1927, "Buntin" file, Box 1, Subgroup 86, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth; List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933; Edith Hunter, "Superintendent of Pawnee Indian Agency," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* 2 (April 1933): 13; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935.
28. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.
29. *Annual Report for 1909*, Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements, 1913, "Building and Plant, Pawnee Agency, Oklahoma," 30 May 1922, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935.
30. *ARCIA*, 1914, 173; Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916; *ARPITSA*, 1913, 1; Schoolhouse No. 80 Plans, "Pawnee Indian School - Blueprint of School" file, "Pawnee Agency - Pawnee Indian School - Report - Books - School Blueprints - School Seamstress Report" Box,

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Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS; Elsie Shilling, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 6 October 1998, tape recording; Goodeagle, Hudson interviews; Monthly Construction Report, November 1952, Box 3, Subgroup 193, Records of the Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth.

31. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.

32. Statistics Covering Buildings Report, 1916; *ARPITSA*, 1910, n.p.; Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935.

33. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 October 1927, 28 July 1928; List of work done during fiscal years 1927 through 1933, "Construction" file, Box 7, Subgroup 86, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth; Morgan interview.

34. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 July 1928; Snyder to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 21 September 1928, "Buntin" file, Box 1, Snyder to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 12 February 1929, "Improvements 1928 and 1929" file, Box 5, Subgroup 86, Records of Pawnee Agency, Fort Worth.

35. *Annual Report of the Anadarko Area Office, Branch of Education*, 1954.

36. Wallace, *Structural Assessment Report*.

37. Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935; "Block Plan of U.S. Indian School Pawnee Okla.," October 1912, "Pawnee Indian School, Blueprint of School" file, "Pawnee Agency, Pawnee Indian School, Report, Books, School Blueprints, School Seamstress Report" Box, Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS.

38. Pawnee Indian School Plant Report, ca. 1935; Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements, 1913.

39. Annual Statement of Government Buildings and Improvements, 1913.

40. Morgan interview.

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**SUMMARY:**

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A, association with events or trends “that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.” As the administrative center for interaction between the Pawnee tribe of American Indians and the federal government, the district has significance in the area of ETHNIC HERITAGE/Native American history, as the agency sought to implement the programs of federal Indian policy that affected the culture of the Pawnees. It also has significance in the area of EDUCATION for the prominent role the boarding school played in the lives of the Pawnee children and the tribe as a whole as school administrators pursued the assimilation policy of the federal government. The district is significant at the local level as well as in the history of northeastern Oklahoma.

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is also eligible for the National Register under Criterion C for the craftsmanship of the stonework and the visual unity of the individual resources that together make the district a distinguishable entity. Although the buildings of the district do not possess the characteristics of a single, significant architectural style, the use of locally quarried sandstone and a similar masonry construction unifies them in a distinct appearance that clearly sets them apart from resources outside the district and from the neighboring town of Pawnee. The buildings also exhibit workmanship in architectural details that relate the buildings to each other as the resources that make up the complex of the Pawnee Agency and the Pawnee Boarding School.

The period of significance for the Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is 1876-1950. This period begins with the construction of the Superintendent’s Residence in 1876, shortly after the arrival of the Pawnees in what was then Indian Territory. It ends fifty years before the date of nomination to the National Register, although the boarding school remained open through the spring term of 1958 and the agency continues in operation today. As the construction dates, alterations, and changing functions of several of the buildings illustrate, the district evolved throughout its history, justifying this inclusive span of dates as the period of significance. Other significant dates include 1878, when the first permanent school building was built, 1909, when a significant building episode occurred, and 1932, the construction date of the last school building, which completed the campus and consolidated classrooms, school offices, and an assembly hall/gymnasium in one building.

The agency and school resources are primarily significant at the local level, for although they have meaning to the Pawnees and the surrounding area, they were one of many Indian agencies and boarding schools in Oklahoma and the nation. The historic district fits into this larger context, but derives its significance primarily as a local, surviving example of its type – an Indian agency and reservation-based boarding school that functioned for much of their history as a combined administrative unit. The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School represents the administrative structure of an agency placed under the control of a school superintendent, a system that evolved at the turn of the twentieth century in response to civil service reform. This combination is important and binds the resources of the district together as one entity. First overseeing the affairs of the Pawnee tribe and the education of Pawnee children, the agency and school expanded its jurisdiction to encompass four other tribes in northeastern Oklahoma for substantial periods of its history. While this area of Oklahoma is also the location of another significant Indian boarding school, Chilocco was an off-

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reservation school that lacked the added component of an attached agency, and no longer retains the integrity found in the Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District.

**BACKGROUND<sup>1</sup>:**

Pawnee history reaches back several centuries before the tribe's arrival in Indian Territory. Cultural predecessors of the Pawnees likely inhabited the central plains for seven to eight hundred years prior to the United States' acquisition of the region as part of the Louisiana Purchase. By the seventeenth century, the direct ancestors of the Pawnees lived in villages along the Platte and Republican rivers in central Nebraska, but also ranged onto territory far to the west and south to hunt buffalo. By the time Lewis and Clark observed the Pawnees in 1805, the tribe consisted of four confederated bands, the Chaui, the Kitkihahki, the Petahaurata, and the Skidi, living near each other along the Loup River and its juncture with the Platte. While the four bands were largely autonomous, they formed a loose confederation overseen by a council made up of village and band chiefs. Throughout the nineteenth century, population loss due to epidemic disease and warfare with other tribes had led to the consolidation of the villages of each band and a stronger identity of the four bands as one tribe.<sup>2</sup>

In Nebraska, the Pawnees were semi-nomadic, gaining their subsistence through a combination of horticultural practices and buffalo-hunting. Community life centered on the villages, with the Pawnee women gathering nearby wild food but also tending the corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, melons, and sunflowers that they planted in fields surrounding the villages. Most of the tribe set off twice annually on a buffalo hunt on the central plains to secure meat and hides. The rhythm of the annual subsistence cycle included a rich ceremonial component that regulated planting, harvesting, and the hunt, and was intricately woven into the fabric of Pawnee culture.<sup>3</sup>

In a series of treaties throughout the nineteenth century, the Pawnees entered into a formal relationship with the federal government. Through treaties negotiated in 1818, 1825, 1833, 1848, and 1857, the United States secured acknowledgment of its supremacy and promises of friendship from the Pawnees. Beginning with the 1833 agreement, the government also began extending its "civilization" program among the bands, with the goal of assimilating the Pawnees into the dominant culture of whites. The treaties also undermined the tribe's land base through the cession of territory, so that by 1857, only a reservation fifteen miles wide by thirty miles long remained; the Pawnees also accepted the presence of an Indian agency on the reservation.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the intentions of the government and its agent stationed at the Pawnee Agency to assimilate the tribe and advance them toward "civilization" according to Euro-American standards, the Pawnees did not prosper on their Nebraska reservation. By the mid-1870s, the traditional pattern of Pawnee life had suffered serious disruption. Attempts by the government to settle them on individual farms and to discourage the buffalo hunt had placed stress on the tribe. Crop failures due to drought and insects, and Sioux attacks on the Pawnees during buffalo hunts had threatened the food supply. The devastating Sioux raids, both on the hunting grounds and near the villages, had killed many Pawnees and bred fear among the people. Neighboring white settlers encroaching on the reservation continually stole timber in open defiance of law. Disease spread through contact with whites and warfare with the Sioux had

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drastically reduced the tribe's population from an estimated eight to ten thousand in the late 1830s, to four thousand in 1860. By the mid-1870s, the Pawnees numbered only 2,200. In an effort to escape the effects of all these pressures, the Pawnees decided, many reluctantly, to abandon their Nebraska home and move south to Indian Territory. To the Pawnees, the move was a desperate attempt to save their tribe from destruction and keep their remaining cultural traditions intact. To the Indian agent in charge of the Pawnee Agency, it was an opportunity to continue the work of "civilizing" the tribe without the distractions of marauding Sioux and greedy white settlers.<sup>5</sup>

Although some Pawnees began traveling south as early as 1873, the formal resolution to remove to Indian Territory was not adopted by the tribe until October 1874. There was disagreement within the tribe over whether to abandon their homelands, but the decision was eventually made in tribal councils, with the guidance of the local agent and regional superintendent. Agent William Burgess traveled to Indian Territory in late 1874 to select land for a reservation. His choice, a 283,026 acre tract between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers purchased from the Cherokees and Creeks, was approved in March 1875 by forty Pawnee men chosen to represent the tribe. The last of the tribal members reached the new reservation in December of the same year.<sup>6</sup>

Following the removal to Indian Territory, the Pawnee Agency refocused its energies on its responsibility as a component of the Office of Indian Affairs to implement federal Indian policy among the Pawnees. The first permanent building at the new reservation, a combined office and residence for the Indian Agent, was built in 1876 as the center of administration for the agency. The first stone school building was not completed until 1878; with its construction, the agency reestablished a boarding school it had maintained in Nebraska. These two buildings, now known as the Superintendent's Residence and the Girls' Dormitory, are the oldest resources of the historic district, and formed its nucleus at the beginning of the period of significance.<sup>7</sup>

**AREA OF SIGNIFICANCE, ETHNIC HERITAGE/Native American:**

The history of the Pawnee Indians in Oklahoma, then, begins with the tribe's removal from their traditional homelands in Nebraska to Indian Territory in the mid-1870s. With the 1857 treaty, the Pawnees had entered into a changed relationship with the United States by accepting the presence of an Indian agency on the reservation and the administration of their affairs by an agent. When the Pawnees moved south to Indian Territory, the Pawnee Agency was reestablished on the new reservation to continue the government's presence. This presence and the federal programs carried out by the agency had lasting effects on the ethnic heritage of the Pawnees. The history of this tribe's relationship with the federal government serves as a local example of the effects of federal Indian policy on an American Indian tribe, and that tribe's active role in responding to these effects and in striving to retain their ethnic heritage. The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District reflects its past, and illustrates this aspect of the history of interaction between tribes and the federal government, itself a significant area of American history.

As a component of the Office of Indian Affairs, the Pawnee Agency sought to implement the policies devised by the United States government to guide its relationship with native peoples. While the specific programs designed by the government and the methods used to carry them out changed through the years, for much of the history of the

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interaction of American Indians with the United States, the goal of federal policy was the assimilation of the tribal members into white society. While the Indian Office, as a hierarchical arm of the government, directed federal Indian policy from Washington, D.C., the administrators and employees of the various agencies throughout the country worked directly with tribes to carry out the programs mandated by the office. Throughout the period of significance for the historic district, 1876-1950, the Pawnee Agency, along with the boarding school, was, therefore, the focal point of the tribe's interactions with the federal government, a central presence in the lives of the Pawnees. The agency implemented federal policy, worked with the members of the tribe as they adjusted to the changes, and reacted to the consequences of the government's programs among the Pawnees. The responsibilities of the agency included fulfilling the obligations of the United States as a result of past treaties with the tribe, including distribution of an annuity and providing for the education of the children. Later, the agency worked to implement allotment and deal with its repercussions, including land ownership, leasing, and sale, and the responsibilities of citizenship. With the Indian New Deal of the 1930s, the agency assisted the Pawnees with the reorganization of tribal government. And throughout the 1940s, the Pawnee Agency sought to guide the tribe through the shifting goals of federal policy and administrative reorganization of Indian affairs.

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is primarily significant on the local level for its association with the Pawnee tribe, but is also important in the history of northeastern Oklahoma. For portions of its history, the agency oversaw the affairs of three or four other tribes in addition to the Pawnees. Immediately following the Pawnees removal to Indian Territory, the Pawnee Agency was a distinct entity of the Indian Office, but during the 1880s, it was consolidated with the Ponca, Otoe, and Oakland agencies. This placed the Pawnee, Ponca, Otoe-Missouria, and Tonkawa tribes under an agent on the Ponca Reservation, but kept a clerk at the Pawnee Agency to oversee day-to-day administration. In 1891, immediate charge of the Pawnee Boarding School was placed in the hands of a school superintendent. In 1901, as part of a nationwide trend to eliminate the politically appointed agents, the Indian Office transferred all aspects of administration among the Pawnees to the school superintendent, who thereafter had responsibility for the Pawnee Boarding School as well as the agency. Although the Ponca, Otoe, and Oakland agencies were separated from the Pawnee Agency for much of the early twentieth century, by 1927, the Pawnee Agency again oversaw the Ponca, Otoe-Missouria, and Tonkawa tribes, and the Kaw tribe. Despite some further reorganizations in the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the regional and national levels, the Pawnee Agency continues its presence among these five tribes today.<sup>8</sup>

Following the removal of the Pawnees to Indian Territory in the mid-1870s, the Pawnee Agency continued its administration of the affairs of the tribe in accordance with federal Indian policy. The previous interaction of the tribe and the government in Nebraska had already impacted the culture of the Pawnees, and led to changes in their subsistence patterns as the Indian Office sought to implement its "civilization" program. With the loss of land through treaties and the discouragement of the semi-annual buffalo hunts, the office hoped to settle the Pawnees on their reservation as individual farmers. In exchange for the cession of land and acceptance of the civilization program, the 1857 treaty between the United States and the tribe had guaranteed the Pawnees a perpetual annuity. The obligation of the government to provide the annuity began in 1858, with the tribe receiving, for the first five years, forty thousand dollars

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each year, and thirty thousand dollars per year thereafter, to be divided equally among the tribal members. Although the 1857 treaty had provided that at least half the annuity be distributed in goods, an 1893 amendment, desired by the tribe, changed this provision to a full distribution in coin.<sup>9</sup>

The Pawnee Agency distributed the annuity to the tribal members semi-annually, with one payment in the spring and another in the fall. The thirty-thousand-dollar total, divided equally among the entire population of the tribe, did not amount to a large sum of money for each individual. In 1884, when half the annuity was still paid in goods, the cash portion amounted to approximately thirteen dollars per person, which Agent John W. Scott noted did not go far toward the support of tribal members. The change making the entire annuity payable in cash – coupled, ironically, with the high death rate that contributed to a decline in population – increased the amount of the payment for each individual. By 1917, annuity payments brought the Pawnees between forty and fifty dollars per year. Mary Wabaunsee, a former student of the boarding school, remembers that in the twenties, her family used their annuity moneys to purchase clothes, and the amount of her annuity was sufficient to supply her with a wardrobe each spring and fall. The annual distributions to the members of the tribe on a per capita basis has continued to the present. As the Pawnee population has stabilized and recovered throughout the twentieth century, now standing at approximately 2,500 members, the decreasing per capita amount of the annuity has become less significant on the practical, financial level, but is still an obligation of the federal government to the tribe for the 1857 cession of much of its Nebraska homelands.<sup>10</sup>

Another major responsibility of the Pawnee Agency in its administration of the government’s relationship with the tribe concerned the allotment of the reservation. Allotment of lands in severalty, the break up of tribally held reservation lands into individual parcels for each tribal member, had a serious impact on tribal culture and entailed a significant administrative undertaking for the agency. Following allotment, the further ramifications of leasing of allotments, administration of the lands of deceased allottees and the resulting heirship cases, and eventually the sale of allotments added to the work done by the agency on behalf of individuals of the tribe. As a major component of the government’s civilization program, the Indian Office saw allotment of lands in severalty for use as individual farms as the means to assimilate American Indians into the dominant society.

The government had begun planning for the individualization of the Pawnees with the treaties of 1833 and 1857, which both promised agricultural equipment and the services of farmers to teach the methods of intensive agriculture. These early attempts had met with little success in Nebraska, both because individualized farming conflicted with the tribe’s traditional lifeways and because Sioux attacks discouraged the Pawnees from scattering to farms isolated from the protection of their villages. With an 1876 act of Congress that authorized the sale of the Nebraska reservation and formalized the land purchase in Indian Territory, the government further encouraged agriculture and individual property ownership. Each head of family or single Pawnee over the age of twenty-one, who so elected, would receive an allotment of 160 acres.<sup>11</sup>

Although their agent had hoped to disperse quickly the Pawnees on individual farms following removal to Indian Territory, the immediate concerns of food and shelter, and a high death rate prevented early implementation of the plan. Upon arrival at the new reservation, many Pawnees erected cloth tipis or built mudlodges near the agency. To supplement the meager government rations, the agent allowed the women to plant vegetables on land set aside for the



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government farm. Discounting this traditional Pawnee subsistence practice and denigrating the garden tracts as "squaw patches," the agent allowed the planting only as an expedient to stave off starvation. Despite these allowances, Agent Burgess and his successors affirmed their commitment to the "civilizing" affects of individual land ownership and continued to pressure the Pawnees to take up individual farms.<sup>12</sup>

Because the agency continued to struggle with meeting basic needs throughout the first several years in Indian Territory, it made little progress in allotment. The tribe suffered from hunger and disease, with the population continuing to decline; by 1877, the 2,200 tribal members counted in 1875 had dwindled to a startling 1,521. In an effort to quickly provide food, the agency set to work breaking sod and planting crops, allowing the tribe to temporarily settle together in their bands despite the desire to disperse them on individual allotments. Although the Pawnees maintained "band farms" and worked them communally, dividing the produce among the band members, agents saw these farms as antagonistic to the civilization program, and tried to eradicate them. During the 1880s, agents finally began reporting a few allotments among the Pawnees.<sup>13</sup>

While the agency's rather informal process of allotting the reservation lands continued, the prosperity anticipated by agents did not materialize. Those selecting allotments could not successfully farm them until they had fields ready to plant, implements with which to work them, and homes to occupy. Drought and other unfavorable weather conditions took their toll on crop yields, contributing to continuing subsistence problems. The alarming death rate drew pessimistic pronouncements from successive agents, who attributed it to "hereditary and constitutional diseases." In 1887, Agent E. C. Osborne added up the "gradual yearly decimation" since the tribe had arrived in Indian Territory – a loss of 1,108 in eleven years. The population then stood at 918; that year deaths exceeded births 125 to forty-five. Yet, despite the grim statistics, Osborne reported of the Pawnees, "They were a tribe of villagers a few years ago, but that condition has very nearly been broken up, and they now are in families located upon farms extending over almost the entire reservation."<sup>14</sup>

Although the agency had apparently succeeded in scattering the Pawnees on individual farms, passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act in 1887 offered a more comprehensive program. Promoted for decades as the means of instilling in Indians the principles of citizenship and individual property ownership so dear to white Americans, allotment of lands in severalty became the driving goal of humanitarian reformers in the latter part of the nineteenth century. According to Francis Paul Prucha, "No panacea for the Indian problem was more persistently promoted. . . . It was an article of faith with the reformers that civilization was impossible without the incentive to work that came only from individual ownership of a piece of property." By placing the ownership of land in the hands of individual members rather than in the tribe, the Dawes Act presumably was to ensure Indians a place in a society that highly valued private property. Granting legal title to a small parcel of land was to secure a home for each individual before all land was lost to whites continually pressuring reservation boundaries. Opening surplus acreage left over after allotment was to quell the land hunger of these white settlers, and intersperse them among the Indians, thereby teaching, by example, farming skills and responsible citizenship. Indians laboring on the land as yeoman farmers were to absorb the ideals of America's dominant culture, and feel the stir of pride and incentive to work that was to come from individual landownership. In addition to the sincere humanitarian wishes of the reformers, western land interests recognized the potential surplus acreage that the Dawes Act would open up to them, and joined the reformers in support of the program.<sup>15</sup>

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The major provisions of the Dawes Act authorized the president to survey reservations with agricultural and grazing land and allot tracts to individual Indians. As passed in 1887, the act stipulated 160 acres for each head of family, eighty acres to single adults and orphaned children, and forty acres to other single persons under eighteen born before the date the president authorized allotment for their reservation. An 1891 amendment equalized this provision by authorizing eighty acres for each individual regardless of age, including married women, whom the original act had excluded. Each allottee was to receive a patent for the land, to be held in trust by the federal government for twenty-five years, for the "sole use and benefit" of the allottee. After the trust period expired, the Indian would receive a fee simple patent for the land, removing restrictions against its alienation or encumbrance. The president could extend the trust period at his discretion. Indians who accepted allotments became citizens of the United States. If anyone failed to select an allotment within four years of the order for allotment on his reservation, the Secretary of the Interior could direct the agent to select one for him.<sup>16</sup>

After passage of the Dawes Act, Osborne eagerly awaited application of the policy to his agency. His successor, D. J. M. Wood, described the Pawnees as eager to accept allotment and suggested that they would accept their land in severalty if the Indian Office made "proper overtures." Two years later, Wood admitted that while some were anxious for allotment, many actually opposed it. The split generally occurred between the older members of the tribe, including the chiefs and religious leaders attempting to preserve some of the communal nature of traditional culture, and younger "progressives" more accustomed to white culture through their education in government schools. This second group more easily accepted change, including the idea of allotment.<sup>17</sup>

In 1892, the Cherokee Commission, appointed by the president in 1889 to acquire "surplus" tribal lands in Indian Territory for white homesteaders, arrived at the reservation to negotiate with the Pawnee tribe. By this time, the chiefs and others who had previously opposed allotment had accepted the inevitable division of the reservation into individual tracts. It remained for the commissioners to execute an agreement with the tribe to formally accept allotment and to cede the remaining land. Although the Pawnees objected to the cession and price per acre of the surplus lands, through a series of councils, the commission extracted an agreement from the tribe for the allotment of the reservation and the sale of the surplus for \$1.25 per acre.<sup>18</sup>

The final agreement formalized allotments already being made and confirmed those that had been made prior to passage of the Dawes Act. The Pawnees had four months from the date of the agreement to finish making their selections; an allotting agent completed and mailed the allotment schedules by the last week of June. Despite threats to the contrary during the negotiations, all children born since 8 February 1887 and up to the completion of the allotment process received allotments. From the proceeds of the sale of the surplus lands, the tribe would receive eighty thousand dollars, to be divided among the tribal members. The government would hold the balance from the sale in trust at 5 percent interest, with the interest to be distributed to the tribe annually on a per capita basis.<sup>19</sup> At the completion of the allotment process, the 821 living members of the tribe received allotments for a total land area of 112,701 acres. The agency reserved 840 acres for school and administrative purposes. And the Pawnees ceded 169,320 acres, more than half of the original 283,026 acre reservation.<sup>20</sup> The agreement thereby fulfilled the two main goals of the Dawes Act, allotting individual plots to the Pawnees and opening the rest for land-hungry whites.

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The administrators in charge of the agency had looked forward to the allotment of the reservation since the tribe's arrival in Indian Territory, and now expected to guide the Pawnees through this step of the civilization program. Succeeding agents believed that once the Pawnees shared in the benefits of individual land ownership and citizenship, the tide of civilization would envelope them, and they would join in the prosperity of American society. Agency personnel set out to aid the Pawnees in settling on their allotments by building homes and developing their farms. But, just one year after allotment, Agent J. P. Woolsey stated that conditions for the Pawnees had materially changed. Although they had become citizens, Woolsey's assessment of its effect on them was decidedly negative. Several refused to stay on their land and attend to their farming, proclaiming a new independence as citizens of the United States. While Woolsey's reaction reflected resentment of his own diminishing power as the tribe's agent, he also expressed concern for the welfare of the Pawnees, who were now less inclined to take his advice. As citizens, the Pawnees were now subject to the laws of Oklahoma Territory; short of withholding annuity payments, the agent could no longer simply demand obedience. Woolsey also cited the detrimental effect of cash payments to the Pawnees, including the annuity and the eighty thousand dollar payment from the proceeds of the sale of their ceded land that made the 1894 payment unusually large. Woolsey claimed that the lack of farm work done by the Pawnees was a direct result of the influx of cash.<sup>21</sup>

Allotment and the opening of the surplus lands also brought white settlers onto the former reservation, with many homesteaders interspersed among the Pawnee allotments and others concentrated in the town of Pawnee that sprang up near the agency. Although intermingling with whites was one of the goals of the Dawes Act and was to teach Indians by example, the agent quickly lowered his opinion of the benefits of interaction with whites. In addition to a cycle of debt in which many Pawnees soon found themselves, they also had to contend with the occasional theft of belongings and disrespect from homesteaders. With the passage of time, respect and genuine friendships developed between some Pawnees and their new neighbors, but mutual hostility continued to characterize some interactions. The Pawnees retained a distrust of the motives of whites.<sup>22</sup>

Agent Woolsey and the clerk in immediate charge of the Pawnee Agency, W. B. Webb, deplored these negative effects of the allotment program and the problems they presented as the agency tried to settle the Pawnees down to productive agriculture after the fashion of other Americans. Woolsey contended that the tribal members were not prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship or for interaction with crafty whites intent on cheating them. He and Webb also grew increasingly frustrated by the lack of work many Pawnees did on their farms. Yet, in assessing the actions of the Pawnees following allotment and the arrival of white settlers, Woolsey, Webb, and their successors consistently demonstrated a lack of understanding of the complex and profound changes Pawnee culture had endured. Ignoring the long-term assault on tribal traditions by the government, beginning decades before allotment, agency administrators frequently contended that the Pawnees did not take life very seriously, preferring dances and visiting to working their farms.<sup>23</sup> Agents failed to consider the psychological effects of a continued high mortality rate and the disruption of communal ties that the government's demands for individualization caused. What agents perceived as unconcern for the future and frivolous social activities were instead manifestations of this cultural disruption and attempts to cope with the changes allotment and its consequences had caused.

If they discussed them at all, agency personnel exhibited only a superficial understanding of the reasons behind

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the Pawnee response to allotment and the civilization program. In 1898, Webb reported, "The greatest difficulty in the way of getting these Indians to remain permanently upon their allotments is their dislike of the isolation, their fondness for visiting." Rather than consider the cultural implications of this behavior, Webb tried to force them back to their allotments, "to impress upon them the necessity of looking forward and staying at their homes." Despite the serious repercussions and cultural disruption of allotment, agents continued to focus on the ultimate goal of transforming the Pawnees into individual citizen farmers, regardless of the painful transition.<sup>24</sup>

Disappointment with allotment and its results went well beyond the Pawnee Agency. Those who had promoted allotment as a panacea to cure the "Indian problem" soon discovered that it fell considerably short of its goals. Although some voices had cautioned that allotment itself was only the beginning and the transformation of Indians into self-supporting citizens would take time, most had been optimistic at passage of the Dawes Act. When positive results failed to manifest themselves, disillusionment quickly set in, and reformers searched for answers by revising the provisions and implementation of the act. Many Indians could not farm their land because they did not have the necessary agricultural equipment. While the Indian Office attempted to provide equipment and training, both were often inadequate for the number of Indians needing assistance. More troubling to the critics, the Dawes Act had placed numerous restrictions on the Indians' free use of their allotments. Originally designed to protect the new landowners from losing their property, such restrictions soon became the target of reformers hoping to thrust Indians immediately into American society. As had been the case with the original Dawes legislation, aggressive land interests joined the reformers in calling for a lessening of restrictions on Indians' use of their land.<sup>25</sup>

Policymakers had designed allotment to give Indians a place to labor for their own support, and to instill in them a pride of private property ownership. To that end, Indians were to work their land themselves. Therefore, the Dawes Act prohibited the leasing of land to others. It soon became apparent, however, that many Indians were not able to farm their land themselves. The allotments of women and children, the aged, young adults away at school, and the disabled often lay fallow, of no benefit to their owners. If the government removed restrictions on leasing for these situations, the allottees could collect rent, providing for their economic needs. It soon followed that allowing able-bodied allottees to lease a portion of their lands would provide the means to purchase badly needed equipment and improvements for that portion of their land that they did farm. An 1891 amendment to the Dawes Act granted leasing privileges to those who could not farm for themselves "by reason of age or other disability." In 1894, a further revision added the ambiguous term "inability" to this list, and leasing of allotments became increasingly common.<sup>26</sup>

Leasing of Pawnee allotments began almost immediately after completion of the allotment process, and the agent initially was optimistic about leasing and the income it brought to lessors. But by the late 1890s, many lessees were already delinquent on their payments, and agency personnel began complaining that the income was a disincentive to labor. As with allotment, they quickly began to lower their opinion of the value of leasing. Webb soon decided that it had demoralized the tribe. By adding over twenty-four thousand dollars of cash revenue to the annuity that the tribe already received, Webb contended, it "only encourages idleness and extravagance [*sic*]." In 1899, new agent J. Jensen decided leasing had been a mistake, and in the same ethnocentric tone of his predecessors, declared that "the Indian is not much inclined to labor at any time, and when he can get enough to live on by renting his land he will do absolutely

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no work at all.” Although Jensen admitted that whites would probably do the same under similar circumstances, he complained that the Pawnees worked less and less each year and that the tribe was steadily deteriorating. By 1900, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had come to the same conclusion about leasing, stating, “By taking away the incentive to labor it defeats the very object for which the allotment system was devised.”<sup>27</sup>

By 1904, when George W. Nellis took over as superintendent, statistics offered a grim picture of the condition of the tribe. Although the population had finally begun to stabilize after a 1901 low of 629, Nellis reported that only forty Pawnee families lived on and cultivated their allotments, down from 125 ten years before. Only 15 percent of subsistence for the tribe as a whole came from what the Indian Office considered “civilized pursuits” – farming or laboring for wages; 43 percent came from the cash annuity, and the remaining 42 percent from lease money. The number of farming and grazing leases for the year stood at 340. Leasing continued under Nellis’s administration, but, in keeping with national policy, he required all able-bodied Pawnees to hold back a minimum of forty acres of arable land from leasing. They were to use this small tract, farming it themselves. By this method, Nellis hoped to foster responsibility and prevent the total reliance on cash payment that leasing entire allotments had created. Nellis reported some positive results, noting that several Pawnees had improved their farming capabilities and their care of livestock. On the surface, this program seemed to present a rational balance between insistence on total self-support through labor and total dependence on lease and annuity money. Nellis felt that the income from leasing could assist Pawnees in improving their homes and the forty acres they farmed for themselves. When extended from leasing to the sale of lands, however, the idea had ominous implications.<sup>28</sup>

The Dawes Act had been intended to prevent the sale of allotments during the twenty-five year trust period. Not until the trust period expired and the Indian Office issued a fee simple patent could the allottee sell or encumber the land. The exception for leasing, which distanced many allottees from the use of their land, was the first breach in this safeguard. From leasing, it was a small step to sale, which separated Indians from their land entirely. In 1902, Congress authorized the sale of the land of deceased allottees to avoid complicated partitioning of land among heirs. In 1906, passage of the Burke Act again broke down protection from the sale of allotted lands, further diminishing the land base of American Indians as individuals lost all or large portions of their allotments. The act authorized the issuance of fee simple patents before the end of the trust period to Indians declared competent to manage their land. Intended to remove restrictions for those ready to assume full responsibility for conducting their own affairs, according to Prucha, the new policy instead “opened the door to early alienation of allotments.” Determination of competency was not always considered carefully and the sale of an allottee’s land often occurred quickly after he received the patent. In 1907, Congress went so far as to allow the sale of the land of noncompetents in certain circumstances, with the income from the sale to be used for the seller’s benefit.<sup>29</sup>

By 1910, under the more liberal policies made possible by the Burke Act, Superintendent Nellis had begun encouraging Pawnees, in some cases, to sell parts of their allotments. Many of the younger men, willing and able to farm, had no farming equipment and no funds to buy it. Selling some of the land gave them the money to get started in farming, but at the expense of further erosion of the Pawnee land base. Successive superintendents continued the policy of leasing or selling large portions of allotments to finance improvements on the portion retained for the owner to farm

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for himself. Amid the general support of these sales, some voices of alarm went up over the liberal policy of issuing fee patents. Some superintendents worried about the number of fee patents being issued and admitted that many who received a patent in fee for their land sold it shortly after delivery of the patent. And despite an insistence that allottees used sale and lease proceeds to improve homesteads, much of the money also went to paying off debts many had incurred in the town of Pawnee. Superintendent Thomas Ferris hoped to eventually eliminate the sale of land to cover expenses. By 1919, when he reported some success in paying off the debts, Ferris noted, "this tribe has no land to spare, very likely half of them now being landless."<sup>30</sup>

By 1921, only 52,000 acres of the original 112,701 acres allotted remained in Pawnee hands. Superintendents had begun equating land that had been patented with land that had been sold. Although some Pawnees who received fee patents retained and worked the land successfully, most sold it shortly after gaining full title. The trend was the same on many allotted reservations and the Indian Office began moving more cautiously on issuing fee patents and authorizing sales. The Pawnee Agency also shifted course, and tried to curtail land sales that earlier would have been authorized to equip the owner for farming. Superintendent J. C. Hart in 1922 indicated that he discouraged land sales, partly because land prices were low, but more importantly because he believed it was "decidedly unwise to allow lands to be sold for support only unless the case is very urgent." Superintendents reiterated the same reasoning through the 1920s, and tried to hold down the number of land sales on noncompetent and inherited land as well as on patented land. Agency personnel continued to cite the cash income from the annuity, interest on trust funds, and leasing, which eventually included oil and gas leases on some allotments, as a disincentive to labor.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout this period following the allotment of the reservation, the responsibilities of the Pawnee Agency expanded. While the agency had previously dealt more with the tribe as a whole, it soon took a more active role in the lives of individual members of the tribe. Although the government had intended allotment to further individualize Indians as separate citizens, it soon found that doing so significantly increased the workload of agency personnel as they oversaw the income of individuals through accounts kept by the agency office.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the amount of time involved in overseeing the accounts, staff worried that the cash brought in through the annuity, lease rentals, and land sales had a detrimental effect on the tribal members. Complaints began shortly after allotment, and successive agents and superintendents cited the annuity and lease money as a disincentive to labor for self-support, and decried the cash payments as excuses for idleness. Rather than farm their own allotments, many Pawnees, according to superintendents, chose to lease their land and live on the semi-annual payments due them from the rental and annuity.<sup>33</sup> In 1903, Superintendent George I. Harvey summed up the sentiment of administrators by declaring, "When a person can live as well as he cares to live without work, it is a difficult task to teach him to labor."<sup>34</sup>

In addition to the lack of incentive caused by cash income, administrators also complained about the vulnerability of individuals to the crafty business community in the town of Pawnee west of the agency. Well aware of the semi-annual cash payments to the tribal members, many storekeepers and bankers took advantage of the situation, extending credit between payments and calling in debts on distribution days. Martha Royce Blaine relates the tactics of Thomas Berry and H. M. Thompson, owners of a meat market where many Pawnees purchased meat on credit. According to Blaine, "On annuity payment day, [Thompson] and Berry placed a table by the door where the agency personnel handed

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out the annuity.” After a tribal member received his annuity, he immediately met Thompson, who collected the money owed the store while Berry noted the transaction in a ledger. Similar practices by other merchants and bankers kept many Pawnees constantly in debt, borrowing against future annuity and lease payments.<sup>35</sup>

The mounting debts incurred by the Pawnees eventually led to alarm and action by the agency superintendent, who began to vigilantly supervise individual accounts. By 1914, W. W. McConihe feared that every Pawnee had “a millstone of debt hanging around his neck” and that “there seem[ed] to be a well systematized plan in the town of Pawnee to keep him in debt by loaning him money and charging him interest.” When Ferris took over in 1918 as superintendent, he took it upon himself to get the serious indebtedness under control, and thwarted the local merchants by requiring the Pawnees to secure his written approval before making purchases or buying on credit. Although such strict control appeared to contradict the goal of making the Indians self-sufficient, Ferris judged it necessary to help the Pawnees climb out of debt. Merchants and bankers were less inclined to lend credit knowing that the superintendent would scrutinize the transaction. In 1919, Ferris reported that loans that had previously run to one hundred thousand dollars had been reduced to a few thousand. He continued his crusade to pay off the debts by close supervision. At the same time, Ferris pushed for increased farm production as the means to advance the tribe closer to self-support.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, the Pawnee Agency pressed on with the work of managing the land and the individual accounts of the Pawnees from the agency office. By 1918, the income of each individual from various leases, formerly spread out among different accounts, had been consolidated into one account, somewhat simplifying administration. The agency distributed the annuity money twice each year, in the spring and the fall, and supervised the drawing up of leases and collection of the rental fees. The office examined individuals to determine competency when they applied for patents in fee, and preferred that anyone wishing to sell land do so through the office to guarantee a fair price. According to former students of the boarding school, their parents took care of business with the agency, and a student wishing to withdraw money from his or her account had to have a parent’s permission. With the individualization of the Indians, the agency remained intimately involved in even the routine transactions of the Pawnees.<sup>37</sup>

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, Pawnee Agency superintendents had begun placing less emphasis on land and farming as the only avenue of success for Indians. Although some had recognized since the early twentieth century that not all Indians took naturally to farming or stock raising, the recognition had generally been overwhelmed by the Indian Office’s drive to transform the Indians into self-sufficient agriculturalists. But the difficult economic times during the depression, especially for farmers, forced the agency to acknowledge that land, equipment, and hard work did not necessarily guarantee success in farming. Many Pawnees increasingly turned to other types of work for income. Some worked in the oil fields, for road and bridge contractors, as agricultural field hands, as Indian service employees, and in a variety of other trades. While not the yeoman farmers that supporters of allotment had envisioned, these men and women supported their families by other means. When the depressed local economy took its toll on such work, the agency hired all the men it could to assist on building projects at the agency.<sup>38</sup>

The doubts that surfaced at the Pawnee Agency about the practicality of compelling Indians to take up agriculture as their sole avenue to self-sufficiency coincided with broader stirrings against accepted federal Indian policy. Although the Indian Office had held steadfastly to the basic philosophy behind allotment and the full assimilation of

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American Indians into white society as farmers, the office soon faced mounting criticism of the policy and the related leasing, patenting, and sale of Indian land. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, a reform movement, pushed by numerous organizations but increasingly led by outspoken reformer John Collier, had gathered momentum, and called for sweeping changes in federal Indian policy. With Collier's appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933, the possibility of reform and a shift of policy away from assimilation moved a step closer to reality. According to Prucha, Collier's ultimate hope for the reform of federal policy was "a restoration of Indian culture, a return to Indian political autonomy, and communal ownership of land and resources instead of the individualism of allotment." Efforts to implement his ideals culminated in passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in June 1934. Although intense opposition from both Congress and many Indians led to a watered down version of Collier's original proposal, the basic provisions of the IRA, or Wheeler-Howard bill, prohibited further allotment and allowed for voluntary transfer of allotments to tribal ownership, gave tribes the right to organize under a constitution and bylaws, and encouraged them to incorporate to manage their own property.<sup>39</sup>

As finally passed, however, the Wheeler-Howard bill excluded the Indians of Oklahoma from its provisions. Because of opposition by some Indians, many of whom believed they would lose their allotments, and his own objection to parts of the legislation, Oklahoma Senator Elmer Thomas had seen to the exemption of Oklahoma Indians. To justify his position, Thomas cited the fact that many Indians in Oklahoma had moved beyond the reservation system and so should not be made to return to a former, more communal state. But Collier lamented that the tribes of the state would also be excluded from several other benefits of the act, and, working with Thomas and Oklahoma Representative Will Rogers, drew up another piece of legislation tailored more specifically to the needs of the Oklahoma Indians. Thomas solicited the opinion and suggestions of the Oklahoma tribes and their superintendents on legislation suitable for Oklahoma, and the Thomas-Rogers bill, known officially as the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, became law on 26 June 1936. Although the act was even farther from Collier's original vision than the IRA, it allowed participation in similar provisions of self-government, corporate organization, land purchase, and credit.<sup>40</sup>

The Pawnees had a mixed reaction to Collier's reform goals. Although they eventually chose to participate in self-government, many voiced opposition to any movement that would return allotted land to tribal ownership. On the surface, the tribe would seem to illustrate the negative effects of allotment Collier so wanted to reverse. By 1934, the original Pawnee land base in Oklahoma had been drastically reduced. The tribe had settled in Indian Territory on a reservation of 283,026 acres. Allotment had broken down the boundaries of the reservation, had given the 821 members of the tribe individual parcels adding up to a total of 112,701 acres, and had forced them to cede 169,320 acres considered surplus by the government. Through 1934, 75,669 acres of the land, 434 of the original allotments, had been alienated. A total of 37,032 acres remained in trust status, protected from sale. Of this remaining land, the agency classified 23,656 acres as grazing land, leaving only 13,374 acres of land considered suitable for agriculture in Pawnee hands.<sup>41</sup>

But although many Pawnees had indeed lost their land through leasing and sale, some individual families had fared well under the allotment system and successfully managed their land holdings. Mary Wabaunsee's grandmother, who remembered the hardships of the early years in Indian Territory, recalled that life got better for her family after



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allotment. Despite the emphasis on quick land sales after patenting and the squandering of proceeds by some Pawnees, superintendents also reported that some managed their money and their land quite prudently. When Collier began asking for the reactions of Indians to his reform plans in preparation for introduction of the Wheeler-Howard bill, those who had managed to keep their allotments intact made it clear that they did not want to return their land to tribal ownership as Collier had hoped.<sup>42</sup> For the Pawnees, the effects of allotment had progressed too far to reverse the policy, and the tribe chose not to take advantage of any opportunity to adjust land ownership.

Yet, Collier's "Indian New Deal" did offer the Pawnees other means by which to build their future and revive their tribal identity. In addition to his goal of stopping and reversing allotment and its accompanying philosophy of assimilation, Collier hoped to revive and reorganize tribal governments as a step toward self-government and self-sufficiency. Although tribal constitutions adopted under the IRA and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act showed heavy influence from Collier in their structure, they did involve Indians more intimately in their tribal affairs.<sup>43</sup> The Pawnees, who had already taken steps toward more active involvement in the decisions made at their agency, soon began the process of reorganizing their tribal government.

In traditional Pawnee society, the four bands had formed a loose confederation governed by consensus. Village and band chiefs were respected by the people and sought their opinions before making decisions. As was the custom of the government in its interaction with American Indians, in negotiating treaties and agreements with the Pawnees, federal officials preferred to deal with those they recognized as the chiefs and headmen of the tribe. Although these leaders continued to seek consensus with their people, the government used councils to superimpose a more hierarchical structure on the decision-making process, and secure the signatures of these leaders on behalf of the tribe. After the turn of the twentieth century, the Pawnees began appointing informal committees to confer with the administration of the agency whenever matters affecting the tribe arose. According to the superintendent, these committees consisted of two or more representatives of each band, chosen to advise him and sign any necessary paperwork. By the mid-1920s, following an appeal by the tribe to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Pawnees formed an officially recognized business committee, which was to be composed of twelve elected members of the tribe. While the committee was only advisory, superintendents generally praised the committee, and saw it as a means of facilitating acceptance of federal policy and programs. Soon all five tribes under the jurisdiction of the agency had business committees, and at times met together in a joint committee to discuss their mutual concerns.<sup>44</sup>

With passage of the IRA and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act in the mid-1930s, the Pawnee tribe would soon take the next step in the development of its tribal government. In 1937, Willard W. Beatty, Director of Education of the Office of Indian Affairs, articulated the changed relationship of tribes to the federal government that the reorganization of tribal governments under the Indian New Deal would entail. Beatty spoke of the need for "the development of that partnership between the organized tribe and the agency personnel which the reorganization program envisages, the further education of the Indian community in the possibilities for group action in its own behalf, and the education of the councils in simple techniques of operation." Beatty's education division offered practical assistance in helping educate tribes for the reorganization, and he hoped to aid in "bringing reality to the promises inherent in the reorganization program."<sup>45</sup>

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In the summer of 1937, the Pawnee business council worked with an organization field agent to prepare a constitution and charter. Although Collier provided an outline constitution and bylaws for tribes to follow as they drafted these documents, Regional Coordinator A. C. Monahan mentioned that the Pawnees adjusted some of the provisions to suit their tribal needs. Monahan noted that although there had been some apprehension in the tribe earlier, opinion had recently “crystallized in favor of proceeding” with organization. The shift had come from the election of new business council members and presenting a full explanation of the provisions of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. The new business council, according to Monahan, had carefully considered the drafting of the documents and were “possessed of full information regarding the status of their tribal affairs and the wishes of the tribal membership.” With a balance between an elected business council and a Nasharo, or Chiefs, Council, the proposed Pawnee constitution sought to ensure representation of all tribal interests and to maintain traditional respect for the band chiefs.<sup>46</sup>

The office of the Secretary of the Interior approved the draft constitution and bylaws and both were submitted to the tribal members for approval through referendum. The Pawnees approved the constitution and bylaws in January 1938 and a corporate charter in April. The constitution created the “Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma” and defined its purposes. The organization was “to define, establish and safeguard the rights, powers and privileges” of the Pawnee tribe and its members, to secure benefits under the Thomas-Rogers bill, and to promote the common welfare of the tribe. The constitution defined membership in the tribe and gave the Pawnee Business Council power to set rules for future membership with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and the Nasharo Council. The document designated the Pawnee Business Council, with eight members elected every two years, as the “supreme governing body of the Tribe.” The Nasharo Council was to consist of a total of eight members, with two “selected from the chieftainships” of each of the four bands; the members would serve four year terms. The Nasharo Council had the power to review actions of the Business Council, but any actions disapproved by the Nasharo Council would be submitted to the tribe and could be approved by a majority of at least 50 percent of eligible voters. The constitution included a bill of rights and allowed for amendment. The bylaws denoted the duties of the offices of president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer of the Business Council.<sup>47</sup>

As was true of all tribal organization under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, the corporate charter, and not the constitution, set forth the actual governmental powers of the Pawnee tribe. These included the power to enter into contracts for corporate purposes, to borrow from the Indian Credit Fund set up through the IRA, to deposit corporate funds in a national or postal savings bank or with a disbursing officer, to employ counsel, to protect tribal rights guaranteed by past treaty, and to advise the government on appropriation estimates or federal projects for the Pawnee’s benefit. The charter also gave the tribe the power “to negotiate with the Federal, State, or local governments and to advise or consult with the representatives of the Interior Department on all activities of the Department that may affect the Pawnee Indian Tribe.” Several other provisions dealt with the protection of tribal land from sale or mortgage and assigning tribal land to members of the tribe; because the Pawnees did not retain any land in tribal ownership following allotment, except that reserved for administrative and school purposes, these provisions likely reflected Collier’s original hope of returning much Indian land to tribal ownership.<sup>48</sup>

Collier had intended tribal organization under constitutions and corporate charters to launch a new stage in the

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relationship between tribes and the federal government, and the new Pawnee Business and Nasharo councils worked in conjunction with the Pawnee Agency to advance the interests of the tribe. Yet, in looking after the welfare of tribal members, the new councils were also continuing and augmenting the role of the council in existence since the 1920s. In Collier's enthusiasm for his programs, he saw the changed relationship of the Indian Office and tribes as one of "active, responsible and authoritative partnership." Although there was not total acceptance of Collier's vision and he let himself be blinded to problems in the organization process, Prucha notes that "a new period in Indian relations with the government had begun, and the tribal councils [created under the IRA] became the basis for later developments in tribal autonomy."<sup>49</sup> In the meantime, though, Collier's dreams were nearly derailed by a hostile Congress, and Indian affairs entered a period of uncertainty and bureaucratic reorganization.

Although the Pawnee tribe approved their constitution and corporate charter in the late 1930s, reaction against Collier's Indian New Deal had been gathering strength since passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. Collier faced opposition from Congress and some Indians as well; many saw his program as an extremist movement bent on returning Indians to tribalism or criticized his heavy-handed administration of the Indian Office. The long-standing drive for the assimilation of American Indians and for the lessening of federal responsibility for and investment in Indian affairs both worked against the IRA. Failing to repeal the act entirely, Congress eventually effectively undermined it by withholding the appropriations necessary to fund it. World War II also worked against Collier's program, as Indians joined the armed forces abroad and the wartime workforce at home, embracing their experiences in the larger society. The 1940s, then, propelled Indian policy toward the drive for termination of federal responsibility to tribes that would mark the next decade.<sup>50</sup>

For the Pawnees and the agency, the 1940s brought several adjustments. Following the adoption of the constitution and bylaws, and the corporate charter, the tribe continued to grow in tribal self-government, but remained tied to the regulations of the Indian Office and the Pawnee Agency. Accompanying the shifting philosophy and policies at the federal level, administrative reorganization added to the uncertainty of this era in Indian affairs. In 1947, the Indian Office, which officially adopted the name Bureau of Indian Affairs in that year, reorganized its hierarchy to increase administrative effectiveness. At that time, the Pawnee Agency became a subagency of the Western Oklahoma Consolidated Agency at Anadarko, Oklahoma, and a district agent remained stationed at Pawnee. A reduction in staff left the agency unable to maintain its previous level of supervision over individual transactions; although staff still supervised decisions of sale of restricted lands, individual Indians were to prepare their own leases, which were then subject to the approval of the agency.<sup>51</sup>

In 1949, yet another reorganization occurred, making Anadarko one of eleven area offices across the country. The Pawnee Agency became an area field office under the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Area Office. In 1950, at the close of the period of significance for the historic district, the Pawnee Agency, as a field office, maintained its jurisdiction over the Pawnee, Ponca, Otoe-Missouria, Tonkawa, and Kaw tribes, overseeing their relationship with the federal government.<sup>52</sup> Although there have been variations in federal programs, funding levels, and philosophies since then, particularly through the era of termination and the subsequent rise of Indian self-determination, the Pawnee Agency today continues its role as the local manifestation of a federal administrative presence among these tribes.

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As evidenced by the history of the Pawnee tribe in its interactions with the Pawnee Agency, government policy toward American Indians, for much of its history, has focused on the assimilation of tribal members into mainstream society. This is a large part of the history that has taken place among the resources of the Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District. But in more recent times, tribes, including the Pawnee, have asserted their rights of sovereignty and have defended the value of remembering and celebrating their cultural heritage, and have taken a more active role in their own administration. The Pawnees' relationship with the federal government and the interaction of that relationship with their own cultural traditions are part of their ethnic heritage. The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is significant for its association with these historical events that occurred within its boundaries. The district retains enough integrity to accurately illustrate its significance under Criterion A for this association with historic events in the area of the ethnic heritage of an American Indian tribe.

**AREA OF SIGNIFICANCE, EDUCATION:**

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is also significant under Criterion A for its association with the historic trends of education, particularly as it relates to the history of Indian education. In addition to education as a general area of significance, the history of the education of American Indians in government-administered schools has another dimension – that of the policy of assimilation of the children. The Pawnee Boarding School was a prominent part of the lives of the children who attended it and of the lives their families. Reestablished in 1878 on the reservation in Indian Territory following the removal of the Pawnee tribe from Nebraska, the school continued in operation throughout, and beyond, the period of significance for the historic district, and its history is an important part of the history illustrated by the resources that remain.

The students of the Pawnee Boarding School attended an educational facility born out of the federal government's drive to force the assimilation of American Indians into mainstream society and to obliterate native cultures. Boarding schools operated by the Office of Indian Affairs sought this objective through curriculum, work details, regimentation, discipline, and activities designed to mimic white cultural values. Although the Indian Office shifted the aims of federal Indian education policy at times throughout the Pawnee Boarding School's eighty-year history, the overall program at the school continued to reflect the goal of assimilation. Yet, despite a program that emphasized white culture over Indian, the students endured, finding within their experiences the benefits of education, the playfulness of childhood, and the survival of ties to their native communities.

At the time of the boarding school's reestablishment, the government considered land use and education key components in the assimilation, or "civilization" process, and expected to accomplish the transformation of a people from a "savage" into a "civilized" state in just one generation. In addition to allotment, which was to transform Indians into citizen farmers, education was to push the next generation of Indians further into the dominant white culture. Through the controlled environment of the boarding school, all vestiges of tribal culture were to be obliterated. It was hoped that the children, considered more malleable than adults and therefore more easily separated from their native roots, would emerge from their educational experience transformed into model citizens of mainstream, white society.

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The children would, by example, draw their parents closer to civilization, and after reaching adulthood, would raise their own children as fully assimilated Americans. Future generations of Indians would have no further need of reservations and separate schools, for they would be an indistinguishable part of the dominant culture. Education, along with self-sufficient farming, were to end the dependence of native tribes on the federal government.<sup>53</sup>

Governmental policy on the Pawnee reservation in Indian Territory embraced the goals of the civilization program, promoting both allotment and education as essential. Although the last of the tribal members arrived at the reservation at the end of 1875, the boarding school building was not completed until 1878. In the meantime, teachers set up two day schools by early 1876 to resume classes, but Agent Burgess considered them only preparatory and inadequate to carry out the job of assimilating the children, and pushed to get the boarding school completed as soon as possible. In their attitude toward day and boarding schools, Burgess and subsequent agents echoed the philosophy of the Indian Office, which advocated a hierarchical system of schools. Day schools, the first contact with formal education for most children, would introduce them to English and the basics of primary education. Reservation boarding schools would continue the primary education, add more advanced grades, and focus half of each school day on industrial education. Off-reservation boarding schools would continue the process with more advanced education and industrial training. Theoretically, Indian children would move up the hierarchy only after attaining a sufficient level of achievement in each successive school.<sup>54</sup>

Burgess had begun planning for the construction of the boarding school building even before the entire tribe left Nebraska, and by February 1876, plans and specifications for its construction were in progress and stone for the building was being quarried. Funding difficulties stemming from the Indian Office's interpretation of the 1857 treaty, which guaranteed ten thousand dollars annually for the support of schools but not for their construction, delayed work until the summer of 1877, when the Indian Office finally awarded the contract. Although the contractors completed the building in May 1878, further problems with the water supply and equipping the building prevented opening the school until 11 November 1878, when classes began. In accord with the Indian Office's assimilation policies, John C. Smith, agent by that time, proclaimed that, along with agriculture and modern homes, good schools would elevate the Pawnees "socially, intellectually, and morally."<sup>55</sup>

The curriculum of the Pawnee Boarding School reflected the overall goals of the Indian Office. Throughout the early years of the school, policymakers considered "training in agriculture or the common trades for the boys and in the domestic tasks of white households for the girls. . . indispensable. Calling it "industrial education," the Indian Office contended that "training of the pupils in the manners and habits of civilized life is held to be quite as important as acquiring a knowledge of books. . . the opportunity for teaching Indian children how to live, as well as how to read and think, is found only in the boarding school."<sup>56</sup> The Pawnee Boarding School, therefore, strongly promoted industrial and domestic instruction.

Because the Indian Office considered adoption of agriculture one of the marks of civilization for Indians, the industrial education of boys emphasized training in crop growing and animal husbandry. Under the direction of the industrial teacher and the farmer, boys learned to plow, harrow, cultivate, reap and bind crops, and to care for a garden. Corn, oats, wheat, and potatoes were common crops. The school maintained cattle and hogs that the boys tended;

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slaughtering from the herds provided meat for the kitchen. Although farming occupied the greater part of the industrial curriculum for boys, they received instruction in other trades as well. As in most Indian boarding schools, the needs of the institution offered boundless opportunities to train children in what were considered practical work skills. Pawnee boys thus assisted in the carpenter and shoe shops, and cut and stacked cord wood for the agency's use. Any new construction at the school presented a variety of tasks that student labor could accomplish, no matter how tenuous the relationship between the job and education. The boys spent much of 1892 assisting in the construction of their own dormitory. Under the supervision of the industrial teacher and the farmer, they quarried and hauled over two hundred cords of stone, excavated the basement, trenched for proper drainage, and waited on the masons and carpenters erecting the building. According to School Superintendent T. W. Conway, "The assistance they have rendered, as well as the knowledge they have acquired, has been considerable." The next year, students painted a new barn, corncrib, and cowsheds.<sup>57</sup>

Industrial training for girls consisted of domestic chores. Girls assisted in the kitchen, laundry, bakery, dining room, dormitory, and sewing room. According to the agent, such instruction would make them "realize the necessity of neatness and thoroughness in all kinds of household work" and give them a "true foundation of domestic or home life." Girls attended classes in cooking, baking, dairying, and dressmaking. In the kitchen and dining room, they had to "prepare, cook, and serve meals at table until they [did] it well." As with the boys' chores, the girls' training often coincided with the needs of the institution. In 1896, the girls in the sewing room did the mending for the entire school and produced over 1,800 articles for the school's use. Girls also mastered crocheting, knitting, embroidery, and needlework.<sup>58</sup>

Like the academic and industrial curriculum, other aspects of the boarding school experience also sought assimilation and reflected the values of the dominant white culture. Students were required to speak English at the school, both in and out of class, and were punished for speaking their native language. Additional school exercises included music and singing, drawing, outdoor walks to study natural history, storytelling, reading and retelling Bible stories, chapel, and Friday evening socials. American holidays were also significant events in boarding schools, where Indian children learned to celebrate those days important to the mainstream society. Pawnee Boarding School students participated in holiday celebrations and often performed public entertainments for their relatives. Prominent holidays included Christmas, Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, and Franchise Day, which commemorated passage of the Dawes Act with its added responsibilities of private property and citizenship that it brought for American Indians.<sup>59</sup>

As in most Indian boarding schools, regimentation was part of the experience of the students of the Pawnee Boarding School. Although off-reservation schools stressed military routine most strongly, other boarding schools also incorporated it into their programs. Used partly as an aid in organizing the large numbers of students, administrators also saw military drill as a way to promote patriotism, neatness, good health, and obedience. Policymakers also thought that an ability to "follow orders in a hierarchical organization" would help the children advance further toward civilization. In accordance with these goals, Pawnee school students received instruction in marching and military drill. The students engaged in other physical activities such as calisthenics and outdoor sports as well.<sup>60</sup>

Boarding schools ranked between day schools and off-reservation schools in the hierarchy of the Indian

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education system. In accordance with accepted policy, Pawnee Boarding School administrators advanced promising students to the next level. Through the years, many students went on to attend Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and especially Chilocco Indian School in northeastern Oklahoma following its 1884 founding. Many also transferred to public schools, particularly after the turn of the twentieth century when the Indian Office increasingly emphasized a desire to shift students from the government Indian schools to public schools.<sup>61</sup>

Enrollment figures were prominent features in the records of schools and the Indian Office. Government officials often cited statistics to indicate the progress, or lack thereof, of schools in their educational efforts and their pursuit of assimilation. High enrollment rates could bring more resources into a school and justify expansion of facilities. Reports regarding the Pawnee Boarding School, which usually enrolled at least one hundred pupils, often discussed the number of children in the school relative to the total number of school age children of the tribe. Although the reports often indicated a willingness of parents to place their children in school, administrators at Pawnee had problems similar to other boarding schools in securing and maintaining the attendance of some students. Truant officers might be used to retrieve children, and the agency might also withhold annuity payments from families until their children appeared for classes.<sup>62</sup>

Through the years, while lessons went on inside the boarding school, administrators faced continuing problems with the physical structures and support facilities. Successive agents decried the inadequacy of the buildings, both in capacity and in quality. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions led to much of the clamor for additional facilities, and the water and sewer systems were frequently sources of complaint. In the 1890s, the agency and school managed to improve the campus with the addition of some frame buildings, and a new boys' stone dormitory, although none of these buildings survive today. By the early twentieth century, the water and sewer systems had also been improved.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the progress made in improving the infrastructure and adding buildings, the school suffered a setback in early 1904 when the 1892 boys' dormitory burned down. A newspaper reported a total loss of the structure and its contents and estimated the damage at twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars. Although all the boys and staff members had gotten out of the building safely, the incident prompted anxiety about the danger of fire to other buildings as well. The next school report noted that the original school building, by then known as the girls' dormitory, was "very badly planned, having very low ceilings, and being so cut up with small halls running in all directions as to make it very improbable that the children could be gotten out of it without loss of life if a fire should occur in the nighttime."<sup>64</sup>

Following the fire, the Pawnee Boarding School administration sent some of the youngest boys home and found room for the rest in other campus buildings. But in the next few years, the school returned to the task of updating the lagging physical plant. A 1909 expansion brought much needed renovation and construction. The agency erected a new stone dormitory to replace the burned building and remodeled the girls' dormitory that dated to 1878. Smaller support facilities also built in 1909 included a stone commissary (the Laundry building in the historic district), a combination laundry and shop building (Home Economics), the bakery, and a frame domestic science building. The school expanded further in 1913 with the addition of a stone schoolhouse containing classrooms and an assembly hall. This structure would serve as the main classroom space until the construction of a large, new school building, complete with an auditorium, in 1932. The campus that existed after completion of the School Building served the boarding school until

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its closure in 1958.<sup>65</sup>

After the turn of the twentieth century, the Indian Office, under Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones and his superintendent of Indian education Estelle Reel, placed an increased emphasis on practical skills in Indian schools. In accordance with this emphasis, the Pawnee Boarding School attempted to maintain industrial training and domestic science as important parts of the school program. Such training was to mesh with work the students were likely to find in the local area after completing their educations. In 1910, Superintendent George W. Nellis reported that training for the girls included housework, cooking, sewing, laundering, and poultry raising. Noting that agriculture was the principle industry of the Pawnees, Nellis reported that industrial training for the boys emphasized farming, stock raising, and gardening. These domestic and farming skills dominated the industrial training provided at the school, although reports at times also mention dairying, carpentry, elementary mechanics, engineering, and painting for boys, and baking and nursing for girls.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the service-wide focus on industrial education, superintendents at the Pawnee Boarding School often remarked that their own curriculum fell short. Some cited lack of staff to properly carry out the training. Later superintendents mentioned the youthfulness of the students. Ralph P. Stanion explained in 1915 that the industrial training was "rather elementary" because the school only taught children up to age fourteen. Students then generally advanced to off-reservation schools, where they encountered more extensive industrial and vocational education. H. M. Tidwell also stated in 1925 that the children were "nearly all too young for much industrial training."<sup>67</sup>

But although successive superintendents claimed to be unable to offer the industrial courses promoted by the Indian Office, they managed, as suggested by the office, to give the students "a practical drill" in industrial skills. As was the case in many government boarding schools, student labor, justified as a means to further their industrial training, also doubled as free labor for operation of the institution. Work detail by students included many tasks designed to increase the school's self-sufficiency. Domestic training for girls coincided with the needs of dining room and kitchen; girls also tended to dairy products and sewed articles for use at the school. Boys helped with farm work, cared for livestock, and were drafted at times for laundry work and housekeeping. Both boys and girls tended gardens, thereby providing much of the food served in the dining room. Several reports discussed the need for more staff to carry out the work necessary to sustain the school and train the children. Yet, despite their youth and small size, students were clearly enlisted to pick up the slack as they ostensibly honed their industrial and domestic skills.<sup>68</sup>

By the 1920s, a movement to reform the Indian Office, known chiefly for its bureaucratic inefficiency and ineffectiveness, began. The office came under withering criticism in a 1928 report entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration*, or the Meriam Report. The section on Indian education, authored by W. Carson Ryan, focused its criticism on the boarding schools, where investigators found inadequate food and medical care, overcrowding, student labor, poor quality teachers, military routine, and harsh discipline. Ryan also attacked the inflexible curriculum that ignored local conditions and excluded Indian culture, language, and religion. While many reformers hoped to end the boarding school system, Ryan considered its immediate elimination unrealistic and instead sought a shift of the youngest students to community-based day schools, a revamping of the boarding schools, and a gradual movement of students into public schools. Ryan's recommendations for improvement included allowing adaptation of the curriculum to the



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local area and incorporating the cultural values of Indian students. He also stressed changes in vocational training to facilitate the adjustment of students to either an urban setting away from the reservation or a return to their people. The hope was that the educational experience would allow the students to adapt to the white world while retaining ties to their home communities.<sup>69</sup>

According to Margaret Szasz, "in the years of reform that followed its publication, the Meriam report became the symbol of definitive response to the failure of fifty years of assimilation policy." During the 1930s, particularly under the leadership of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the successive Educational Directorships of Ryan and Willard W. Beatty, the Indian Office implemented some of the recommended reforms. Although Collier's Indian New Deal "maintained a paternalistic control over the lives of the Indian people," some conditions did improve. With increased funding for the Indian Office in 1930, boarding schools finally met the basic necessities of adequate food and clothing for the children. The Education Division made inroads toward cross-cultural education as it sought to train teachers to be "sensitive to Indian cultures and to consider teaching methods adapted to the unique characteristics and needs of Indian children." Yet, as Szasz concludes, although some aspects of Indian culture entered the curriculum, it was fragmentary at best and lacked cohesiveness. By World War II, the gains made the previous decade suffered from shifting national priorities, budget cuts, and a return to the policy of assimilation.<sup>70</sup>

Despite some of the changes made in Indian education policy during the 1930s, few of these improvements, with the exception of better food, seem to have made their way into the Pawnee Boarding School to a substantial degree. Much of the difficulty of implementing changes mandated by the Indian Office stemmed from the lag that occurred in attitudes filtering down through the hierarchy. Local school superintendents, having risen through the ranks through the years, often reflected the philosophy of the commissioner and the education director in office at the time they were hired. Prucha notes that while "the work of the schools depended upon administrative direction from the Office of Indian Affairs," it was also "greatly affected by the quality of the persons in the field who implemented official policy." These people were often slow to accept or implement new, more progressive ideas, and school programs continued without abrupt changes in design.<sup>71</sup>

The recounted experiences of former students who attended the Pawnee Boarding School confirm this, and suggest a continuity throughout much of the school's history. Basic curriculum, regimentation, discipline, and work details, all firmly established during the early years of the school, remained a part of the students' lives after the Meriam Report, the subsequent Indian New Deal, and through and beyond World War II. Whatever occurred at the federal level, staff and students at the school continued to focus on their immediate environment. While school administrators had to answer to the hierarchy of the Indian Office, the operation of the school did not necessarily mirror policy mandated from above. The Pawnee Boarding School responded to local conditions, and interviews with former students offer a firsthand account of life at the school during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the latter part of the period of significance for the historic district.

The curriculum offered at the boarding school depended somewhat on the grades taught and the number of students and teachers at the school. In the early 1920s, the school offered classes only through the fifth grade. By the end of the decade, sixth and seventh grades had been added but were discontinued in 1930. In the mid-thirties, the

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school expanded through the eighth grade; grade levels stabilized with the addition of the ninth grade by the 1940s. The number of students at the boarding school also fluctuated. Following the closure in 1919 of the Ponca, Otoe, and Shawnee schools, the Pawnee Boarding School enrolled students from several other tribes in addition to Pawnee children. Although enrollment stood at just seventy-six in 1922, it increased to between 150 and 200 during the 1930s and 1940s. The school also boarded older students who attended Pawnee High School. By the late 1950s, enrollment had dropped below one hundred, and by 1958 the school enrolled only fifty-three pupils.<sup>72</sup>

According to students who attended the school in the late 1920s through the 1940s, the academic curriculum at the boarding school consisted mainly of the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mary Wabaunsee, a student at the school in the late 1920s and early 1930s, remembers that the boarding school taught classes comparable to those in public schools, which she also attended at times. By the mid-1950s, school schedules also listed classes in language arts, penmanship, social studies, geography, health, civics, and art and music appreciation. Although policy advocated vocational education at boarding schools, little was offered at Pawnee beyond the standard home economics for girls and agriculture for boys. Students often got their first exposure to a greater variety of classes after advancing to off-reservation schools for further education. Elsie Shilling, who attended the school in the 1930s, learned typing and shorthand at Haskell; Wabaunsee later earned a nursing degree on the Navajo Reservation and returned for a career at the hospital near the Pawnee Agency Office.<sup>73</sup>

Despite Indian Office attempts to bring Indian culture into the classroom in the 1930s, Pawnee Boarding School students clearly state that although the school did not try to prevent them from learning about Pawnee history and culture, instructors made no attempt to incorporate the students' own heritage into their classroom experiences. Mildred Hudson, who attended the school in the late 1920s and early 1930s, says teachers simply went by their textbooks and "the history of the Indian in the books was terrible." Students instead relied on their family and tribal connections to preserve their cultural heritage. According to Theodore Morgan, a student in the late 1940s, because traditional culture was not taught in school, he learned it at home. In the summers, when away from the confines of the boarding school, children participated in tribal celebrations and ceremonies such as war dances and hand games.<sup>74</sup>

Although students had some free time for play, much of their time outside the classroom continued to revolve around the work details that served the institution. During the 1920s, the school often used the "half-day plan" for its older pupils, with children spending half of each day in class and half in work details. By the 1930s, students spent more time in the classroom, but did not escape their institutional chores, which they did before and after classes. The youngest children were given the job of picking up papers and trash on the school grounds, the boys and girls each around their respective dormitories. Older girls had detail in the kitchen and dining room, serving food, clearing tables, operating the dishwasher, and sweeping, mopping, and waxing the floors. Girls learned to darn socks and sew, made dresses, sewed numbers on football jerseys, and made their own basketball uniforms. Boys worked in the dairy, assisted in butchering, and tended the school garden that provided food for the kitchen. Both boys and girls took care of housekeeping in the dormitories, including the onerous task of cleaning the bathrooms. Children also worked in the laundry and bakery. By the late 1940s, boys also had to help in the kitchen, peeling potatoes and washing dishes. Older students served as officers, supervising the younger children. School employees imbued these mundane chores with

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educational significance as they taught what they considered proper manners and work ethics. As Elsie Shilling says, both at Pawnee and at Haskell, "they tried to teach you the social graces." Shilling recalls that they really told her the same thing her mother had; with characteristic humor, she adds that they "just said it with more finesse, but when you get right down to it it was the same thing."<sup>75</sup>

The importance that the Indian school service placed on time led to a strictly regulated schedule in the boarding schools. Courses of study periodically included in annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs allocate each hour of the day, including time spent on course work, industrial training, military drill, religious instruction, competitive games, free time, meals, and sleep. The resulting routine and regimentation remain a prominent part of the recollections of former students, many of whom likened it to being in the military. Pawnee Boarding School students awoke to the 6:00 a.m. rising bell; girls assigned to kitchen detail arose at 5:00. Students first made their beds, a drill so repetitious that Mary Wabaunsee remembers each detail over sixty years after attending the school. Students then stood by their beds for inspection. Ronnie Goodeagle remembers the inspector tearing up poorly made beds just "like in the military." Students then went to the basement washrooms to clean up before morning detail, breakfast, and cleaning up the dormitory. School began at 8:30 a.m. and ended at 4:00 p.m., when students alternately cleaned the school buildings and participated in activities and clubs until the 5:30 p.m. meal. More activities and some free time followed supper. The youngest children went to bed at 8:00 p.m., the oldest an hour later. The logistics of operating the boarding school also led to the assignment of a number to each child and his or her belongings, with the number sewn in clothing and attached to various personal articles.<sup>76</sup>

Former students have vivid memories of marching everywhere in lines strictly segregated by gender. Movements across campus became a familiar routine, with the boys lining up in front of their dormitory on one side of the campus, the girls in front of theirs on the other. Students marched at the sound of the bell to the dining hall, back to the dorms to prepare for school, to the classroom, to and from the noon meal, and out of school at the end of the day. Late afternoon play also ended with a bell; the children then washed up and marched in line for the evening meal. Students were also drilled on weekends in military style companies. Mary Wabaunsee recalls that if bad weather prevented outside drilling, the routine took place in the long living room in the girls' dormitory.<sup>77</sup>

Students learned to follow the routine and do their jobs well or face the consequences. Besides redoing a carelessly made bed, Mildred Hudson learned that "if they assigned you a job, you do it well the first time because if you don't you go back and you do it again," a lesson that has stayed with her throughout life. School administrators expected students to follow the rules and forced conformity. In 1925, Superintendent Tidwell requested that the Indian Office add the position of disciplinarian to the employee force and noted that two or three "incorrigibles" had been sent to state institutions. Without elaborating on the reasons for such measures, a 1928 report remarked that "occasionally, a minor has to be sent to the State Reformatory." School staff also issued demerits, withheld privileges such as going uptown or to the movies, gave extra detail, and inflicted physical punishment to maintain discipline.<sup>78</sup>

As in the early years of the Pawnee Boarding School's history, even after the Meriam Report, staff continued to demand that the children speak English and forbade them to converse in their native languages. William Collins, a Ponca student who could speak no English when he started school in 1930, was once forced to chew lye soap when caught

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speaking Ponca. The prospect of punishment bred fear in students. Levi Horse Chief, who attended the school in the mid- and late-1920s, made sure he did not speak Pawnee at school and was quick to stop his younger brother, who risked breaking the rules by singing in Pawnee. Horse Chief does not remember the specific punishment meted out, but says "they watched that stuff pretty close." In later years, the rules against speaking native languages relaxed somewhat. Mary Wabaunsee remembers when children spoke Ponca among themselves, school employees did not "bother them about it because they could speak English." Ironically, easing up on punishment for speaking native languages seems to reflect not a more enlightened attitude, but "success" in stamping out this aspect of native culture. Theodore Morgan remembers overhearing his grandmother, who spoke Pawnee, lamenting the loss of the language in younger generations. She was glad the children were learning "the white man's ways, their language, their customs" because they needed this to get along in the world, but she feared they were losing their own language. She said, "They're going to be like white people; what will our tribe be like a hundred years from now?" By the latter years of the school's existence, most students spoke English proficiently, and only a few still knew their native tongue.<sup>79</sup>

For many children, attending the boarding school meant separation from their parents for the first time. Children struggled with loneliness and many former students discuss the difficulty of being away from home at such a young age. Although by the 1920s school administration allowed parents to visit their children whenever they wanted to and students could go home for weekends and vacations, transportation considerations often placed limits on such visits. Levi Horse Chief's family lived a day's wagon ride from the school so he rarely saw his family during the school year. William Collins, whose home was near Ponca City, forty-five miles away, did not see his family for the duration of the school year, September to May. Mary Wabaunsee says, "some of those little kids I remember would just cry when they come, they'd be [so] homesick." She adds that the matrons either did nothing to comfort the children or simply told them to stop crying. Elsie Shilling speaks of loneliness at Pawnee and at Haskell, where she attended high school. Although she adjusted after two or three weeks, Shilling even recalls experiencing the feeling every fall for the first few years after completing school.<sup>80</sup>

Some students resorted to running away in response to homesickness and dissatisfaction with the school. Mildred Hudson ran away once in her teenage years with two or three friends, although she says "we didn't get very far" before they were found and returned to school. Students recall that children from other tribes, farther from home and therefore less likely to see their families regularly, ran off more often than Pawnee children whose families lived closer. Mary Wabaunsee remembers several Ponca girls desperate enough to run away during the winter with no shoes. Returned to the school and locked in an upstairs room, the girls tied sheets together and again escaped, only to be found and returned once more. Theodore Morgan jokes about students running away, retelling how a boy's parents might enroll him at school in the morning, spend some time shopping in town, and "why, when they got home. . .he'd be at home waitin' for 'em!" Punishment for running away, though, was not a humorous matter and ranged from confinement to campus or extra detail for girls to cutting or shaving hair and physical beatings for boys. Ronnie Goodeagle received a beating after running away in the first grade and never tried it again.<sup>81</sup>

Corporal punishment for boys could be particularly severe. Ronnie Goodeagle describes vividly the method of beating used by the boys' advisor. The man wielded a thick leather strap "built kind of like a paddle." The boy being

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punished had to take his pants down and grab his ankles while the advisor delivered five lashes. Goodeagle remembers that "if you straightened up they'd give you another lick." The school also enlisted other children to inflict punishment. For running away, stealing, or getting in fights, boys often "got the belt line." The boys' advisor set up the belt line on the football field with two rows of boys lined up armed with their own belts. The offender, given a ten-yard head start, was sent running between the rows while the children tried to strike him on the bottom. Surprisingly, with the passage of time, some former students are able to look back on the belt line with a certain amount of humor. Theodore Morgan jokes about a friend sent through a belt line set up between the dormitories because of bad weather. When the boys caught up with him, he leaped up the steps of the girls' dormitory, ran in the front door, through the building, and out the other side. The girls' building was forbidden territory for the boys, and former classmates still tease him about it at reunions. By the late 1940s, staff had eased up on use of the belt line.<sup>82</sup>

Although girls escaped the belt line, Morgan remembers them at times "watching the spectacle." By the 1920s, punishment for girls generally entailed extra work in the dormitory, restrictions on going uptown, and having hands swatted with rulers. The severity of the discipline also varied depending on the temperament of the employee meting out the punishment. Though Mary Wabaunsee notes it was infrequent, treatment of children could be brutal. She says that while most of the matrons treated the girls well, the dining room matron "had a mean nature about her." In directing the children in serving food, the matron slapped a child so hard she fell to the floor. The girl coming behind was too close to stop and also fell. Both were carrying hot beans and burned their arms, yet "it didn't bother that woman." Mildred Hudson sums up the disciplinary measures by saying, "they were real strict down there. . . .I guess that just about covers it."<sup>83</sup>

For the most part, the harsh disciplinary measures were carried out by the boys' advisor and the matrons. Many former students fondly remember their teachers, who treated them well. Elsie Shilling appreciated the sewing skills she learned from her home economics instructor and spoke fondly of Mr. Dunlap, the eighth and ninth grade teacher. She remembers Dunlap, part Choctaw, preparing the students for when they ventured out into the world. He said, "You're Indian, and when you get out there you can't just be good, you gotta be better, or try to be better." Dunlap recognized the obstacles the children faced from racism in the dominant society, but urged them to strive to succeed in spite of the difficulties. Shilling says of Dunlap, "he inspired a lot of us." While most teachers at the school were white, long-time fourth and fifth grade teacher Dorothy Howacum was Laguna Pueblo. Boys' advisor Hugh Chouteau was part Kaw. At times, relatives of the local children worked at the school as matrons, cooks, and in other capacities.<sup>84</sup>

The Pawnee Boarding School provided its students with a variety of extra-curricular activities, clubs, athletic events, and holiday celebrations. As was the case with the curriculum, rarely did these programs incorporate elements of native culture, but former students all enjoyed participating in these activities. Children had playground equipment, including swings, slides, teeters, trapeze, a "giant stride," and an "ocean wave." The young children spent much free time playing marbles. Numerous clubs kept the children busy as they joined Girl or Boy Scouts, Arts and Crafts, Library Club, Farm Co-op, Good Manners Club, Future Homemakers, Music Club, or the Boys' Glee Club. The school band performed at football games and marched in parades, although Ronnie Goodeagle recalls the band's activity faded in the later-1940s.<sup>85</sup>

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Although most of these activities reflect white cultural values, the school also had an Indian Club, where students performed traditional tribal dances and songs. The group was invited to perform at local and regional events. Thelma Cahwee, a student during the late 1920s and early 1930s, remembers traveling to Tulsa to perform at Girl Scout functions. In 1954, the principal of Chilocco wrote to Pawnee School Superintendent George Walker to invite them to Chilocco's seventieth anniversary celebration, "knowing that the Pawnee Indian School sponsors a splendid Indian Dramatics Club doing Indian dances, songs and drum numbers." Unfortunately, the event fell on the last day of school; Walker declined the invitation because the students would be going home for summer vacation.<sup>86</sup>

Former students particularly enjoyed participating in athletic activities. At times, the school sponsored teams in football, basketball, baseball, volleyball, and track. Theodore Morgan loved his time on the football team and went on to play football in the military. The "Braves," in their blue and white uniforms, did not have the best equipment but would sometimes "pull off an upset" in matches against high school teams. Morgan also played basketball and baseball. Ronnie Goodeagle recalls boxing until the school discontinued the sport; in this the school followed the lead of Chilocco, which suspended boxing in 1949 after criticism over its health hazards. Elsie Shilling and Thelma Cahwee have happy memories of playing on the girls' basketball team. Mildred Hudson played well enough to be recruited by a nearby school, and transferred to Burbank to play on their team.<sup>87</sup>

Students also found time to have fun and enjoy being children. Elsie Shilling remembers agency roll, when the employees invited the older children to the agency to entertain them and play cards. On weekends, students were trusted to walk uptown to the movies if they returned to the school at a designated time. A nearby farmer sold inexpensive watermelons that many of the children recall purchasing. Students also dubbed the school "Gravy University" for the chipped beef gravy that graced most of the meals. Although the name was bestowed during leaner times, the students who attended in the late 1920s and after remember good food, and several say they loved the gravy and never tired of it.<sup>88</sup>

The school year culminated with graduation and an all-day picnic on the school grounds. Also known as play day, the last day of school turned into a celebration that included students, staff, parents, and townspeople from Pawnee. Students wore their best clothes, not restricted to the government clothing they wore as uniforms during the year. Theodore Morgan remembers the night before play day as the one day a year students could stay up as late as they wanted. Staff prepared the food, barbecuing a beef all night. Potato salad, fruits, and vegetables completed the feast. Students competed in track events including relays, sack races, ball throws, and dashes, and the school awarded prizes and ribbons to the winners. At the end of the day, children headed home for summer vacation with their parents, having completed another school year.<sup>89</sup>

At times throughout the Pawnee Boarding School's history, administrators in the Bureau of Indian Affairs had considered closing the facility and compelling all students to attend either day schools or public schools. Most superintendents argued for keeping the boarding school open. Throughout the 1930s, they cited the distance many students lived from public schools, the short terms of country schools, and overcrowding in the public schools as reasons to continue the boarding school. Threats of closing the school became more serious in the late 1940s and coincided with the rise of the movement calling for termination of federal responsibility to American Indians. This post World War II

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policy shift reversed some of the gains of the 1930s that had begun to recognize the value of native cultural traditions. As part of the measures that collectively became known as "termination," Congress sought to end the services provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs by transferring responsibility for them to other federal agencies, to state or local governments, to private agencies, or to the tribes themselves.<sup>90</sup>

In keeping with the prevailing mood for reduction of federal involvement in Indian Affairs, the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 recommended cuts that would have forced the closure of eight Oklahoma Indian schools, including the Pawnee Boarding School. Members of the Student Council appealed to the congressional delegation during the crisis. Representative George B. Schwabe wrote back to the students to assure them that he was in favor of continuing the school and promised to work toward that end. Senator Elmer Thomas also worked to restore the funds and the school escaped immediate closure. In 1949, in an attempt to emphasize the importance of the school, Principal L. E. Larson reminded his superiors how many tribes it served, stating that the closure of other area Indian schools thirty years earlier had rendered "Pawnee Indian School" a misnomer. Larson concluded, "We doubt if many outside of the Indian Service understand what a large area we serve as a boarding school." Two years later, Principal William T. Johnson reiterated this fact, stating that the closure of the other schools had left "only the Pawnee Indian School (an elementary and junior high school) to serve this area."<sup>91</sup>

Although the boarding school continued in operation at the close of the period of significance for the historic district, the threat of closure continued during the 1950s. By the middle of the decade, enrollment at the school had started to decline. In 1957, more hints from the Bureau that rising per capita costs might force it to shut down the school stimulated a local drive to increase enrollment, but by the 1957-1958 school year, less than sixty children attended the school. As it moved closer to closing the school, the Bureau explained that the rising costs made it difficult to offer the small number of students a well-rounded program with the shrinking educational staff. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons stated that "our main concern is to assure that the remaining pupils continue their education in schools offering fuller programs which will more adequately serve their needs." In May 1958, eighty years after the completion of its first building, the boarding school closed its doors.<sup>92</sup>

While former students have some unpleasant memories, most also remember positive aspects of their time at the Pawnee Boarding School that mitigate some of the negative experiences. The boarding school gave some of the students the opportunity to receive an education they might not have had otherwise. Many families lived far from the nearest public school, and a few depended on the school to adequately feed and clothe their children, a benefit not available in the public schools. Students of the school got a well-rounded, if basic, curriculum that gave them the foundation for further education if they chose to move on to an off-reservation or public high school. The children made meaningful friendships at the school and most speak fondly of teachers that took a special interest in their development as students as they prepared to venture out into the wider community. Some former students can even find benefits in the discipline at the school, contrasting it with the laxity that they feel prevails in child rearing today.<sup>93</sup>

Of her time at the Pawnee Boarding School, Elsie Shilling says, "Those were good days." Yet she also notes, "Maybe I just want to remember the good things." Those who attended the boarding school certainly recognize the complexity of their experiences, the mixture of good and bad. Shilling, as well as other former students, are aware of the

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negative aspects but choose to focus instead on the benefits of education and the special joys they found in their school days.<sup>94</sup> The students of the Pawnee Boarding School made the most of their experience, enduring some hardships, but finding the good in education, in the friendships they made, and in the lessons that have served them throughout life. The school's history fits into the context of education, especially Indian education, and serves as a local example of an Indian boarding school. And in spite of the fact that the Pawnee Boarding School was a government built and administered school with the purpose of assimilating the Pawnees into white society, it now serves as a source of pride for the Pawnees. The school is important as the place of shared experience for many of the Pawnees and the children of other tribes who attended it. This not only makes the school significant in the area of education, but ties its history to the ethnic heritage aspect of the entire historic district.

**AREA OF SIGNIFICANCE, ARCHITECTURE:**

The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District is significant under Criterion C because it represents "a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction." Although they do not represent a specific, significant architectural style, the resources of the district are interrelated, both visually by their similar appearance and method of construction, and historically by their function and overall purpose. The visual and historical distinction of the buildings and structures, when viewed together as a concentration of related resources, clearly sets them apart as a district that still conveys its significance through its location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association with important historical events.

When the Pawnee tribe was removed to Indian Territory in the mid-1870s, the site chosen by the government for the Pawnee Agency was located near the banks of Black Bear Creek, important as the source of water for the administrative center of the agency and for the boarding school that would soon be erected. The location was also near a source of local building materials, including sand, clay, limestone, and particularly the sandstone used in the majority of the buildings and structures that now make up the district. Although the first buildings erected were log, they were replaced, as planned, by stone buildings of a more permanent nature as soon as possible. The first of these was the combination office and residence for the Indian agent, later known as the Superintendent's Residence, completed in 1876. The agency constructed a separate office building in 1906. The first school building, housing the classrooms and boarding facilities for students and teachers, was finished, after numerous delays, in 1878. The agency and school underwent a substantial building expansion in 1909, when the Home Economics Building, Bakery, Laundry, Boys' Dormitory, and Principal's Residence were built, and most likely several of the structures found within the district. The late 1920s brought another construction and alteration episode that included the Employees' Club, Employee Quarters and Guest Building, and a wood frame addition and stone bathhouse annex for the Boys' Dormitory. The Pawnee-Ponca Hospital, opened in 1931, and the 1932 School Building completed the complex that make up the district. With these last two substantial buildings, the historic district took on the appearance it largely retains.

As noted above, the buildings of the historic district do not share a single, accepted architectural style. They are, however, united visually in their use of similar materials and in the repetition of some design features on various



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buildings. The sandstone used in the majority of the buildings, in the footbridge, and in the stone walls came from the local area, and despite some variation in how it is coursed and in how the faces of the blocks are finished, it varies only minimally in color, and makes the resources that utilize it recognizable as integral parts of the district. The details that reappear on different buildings also facilitate the sense of cohesion in the district. These include the gabled dormers at the ridgeline of the Boys' Dormitory, its bathhouse annex, and the Bakery; the hipped dormers centered between ridgeline and eave on the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital and the 1913 Schoolhouse; the lintels of one flat stone on several of the buildings; and the use of white paint on the wood portions of nearly all the buildings.

The absence of one, overriding architectural style but the presence of similar details among the buildings testifies to the historical evolution of the district. The resources were constructed over a long time span – 1876 through 1932 – by different, now unknown, designers and builders. Although these successive workers did not build new buildings that mimicked those already present, they did include details that bound the buildings together as a recognizable unit, an integral part of the agency and boarding school complex. These craftsmen also took the time on several buildings to include aesthetically pleasing details that give the buildings individual character, most notably the drafted margins on the 1913 Schoolhouse, the date stones on the 1913 Schoolhouse and the 1932 School Building, the diagonally carved lines on the lintels of the Superintendent's Residence and the 1932 School Building; the patterned shingles in the gable ends of the Superintendent's Residence and the Home Economics Building, the band of vertical stones on the Employee Quarters and Guest Building, and the use of arches in the details of the 1932 School Building.

The district does contain three contributing buildings that do not utilize the sandstone that makes the rest of the buildings so distinctive. The two garages and the 1909 Principal's Residence are of wood frame construction, as were many of the employee residences built throughout the life of the school. Most of these buildings no longer survive due to the use of less enduring materials and their less permanent nature. These three buildings, then, contribute to the district for their association with its history in function, date, and location, and not for their appearance.

While the district does contain nine noncontributing resources, the historic, contributing resources predominate. The noncontributing resources are of a smaller scale and profile than most of the contributing resources and so are relatively unobtrusive. They also are constructed of different materials that preclude confusing them with the historic resources. Three of these noncontributing resources, the small, barn-like sheds, could be removed easily to return the district more closely to its historic appearance. The monument to the Pawnee Scouts, while noncontributing, honors tribal members and commemorates historic events important to the tribe's history and identity.

The sense of cohesiveness apparent among the individual resources is also important when they are viewed together as a district. While the buildings share related characteristics in design, materials, and workmanship, the district as a whole is integrated through its spatial organization and setting. Resources specifically related to the agency are located in the northern node of the district, the first area encountered when approaching the complex. The boarding school campus, in the southern node, is somewhat more isolated and sheltered, due to its location across the tributary of the creek and the arrangement of the buildings in an inward facing, backwards "D." The entire district is also separated geographically from the neighboring town of Pawnee, with Black Bear Creek marking the legal boundary between the town and the Pawnee Tribal Reserve. And although the town also contains many stone buildings, they do not have the

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visual unity that the buildings within the district have, for they did not share a unified, historical purpose as did the buildings constructed by the government for the Pawnee Agency and Boarding School.

This historical purpose of the district, as the place where the federal government interacted with the Pawnee tribe to carry out federal Indian policy through the agency and the boarding school, is reflected in the setting and design of the district and its resources. The physical separation from the neighboring town, both geographically across the creek and visually by the appearance of the buildings, emphasizes the historic relationship between the district and the community. The agency and school predate the town, which grew up following the allotment of the Pawnee reservation, and so were well-established in their setting before the town of Pawnee appeared. The existence of the tribal reserve and its boundaries limited the growth of the town, and therefore affected its historical development. The separation between the district and the town also existed on a social and cultural level, an important part of the historic relationship between the two entities that is further reinforced by the setting and visual distinction of the district. These elements of setting and architecture, due to the historical role and purpose of the district, contribute to a feeling of time and place, and help to illustrate the district's significance as a distinguishable entity under Criterion C.

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**NOTES**

1. Background, Ethnic Heritage, and Education sections of this nomination are based largely on a Master of Arts final report by the author; Nancy M. McClure, "The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District: Toward a National Register of Historic Places Nomination" (M.A. report, Oklahoma State University, 2000).
2. David J. Wishart, "The Dispossession of the Pawnee," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (September 1979): 382-83; John W. Williamson, "Go South and Be Free: John W. Williamson's Account of the Pawnee Removal," ed. Thomas R. Buecker and R. Eli Paul, *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 65 (Summer 1987): 133; Pawnee Nation website, <<http://www.pawneenation.org/history.html>>; Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe with a Closing Chapter on the 'Universe Regained'* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965), 2-7.
3. George Hyde, *The Pawnee Indians* (n.p.: George E. Hyde, 1951; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 137-44; Wishart, "Dispossession of the Pawnee," 383-86; Weltfish, *Lost Universe*, 7-8; Alexander Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: Ghost Dance Revival and Ethnic Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933; reprint, 1996), 37-38.
4. "Treaty with the Pawnee Marhar, 1818," "Treaty with the Pawnee Tribe, 1825," "Treaty with the Pawnee, 1833," "Treaty with the Pawnee, 1857," in Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, *Treaties*, 159, 258-59, 416-17, 571, 764-67; Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game*, 1; Martha Royce Blaine, *Pawnee Passage, 1870-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 40, 42; Wishart, "Dispossession of the Pawnee," 392-93; Hyde, *Pawnee Indians*, 244-45.
5. Wishart, "Dispossession of the Pawnee," 387-96; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), 112 (microfiche), (hereafter cited as *ARCIA*); reasons and motivations for removal summarized from research paper, Nancy McClure, "The Disruption of Subsistence Patterns and the Pawnee Removal," Oklahoma State University, 1998, manuscript in possession of author; for a detailed account of the events leading up to removal, see also, Blaine, *Pawnee Passage*.
6. *ARCIA*, 1874, 35-36, 1875, 30, 77-78, 288, 321, 1876, 226; Council Minutes, 18 October 1873, 15 November 1873, 8 October 1874, Council Proceedings Volume, microfilm Roll PA3, Pawnee and Subagencies Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as Pawnee Agency Collection, OHS), citations referring to parts of the collection that have been microfilmed include roll number, if no roll number is noted, reference is to original documents; William Burgess to Barclay White, 12 February 1875, Resolution, 4 March 1875, Letters Received, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives (microfilm); *Correspondence of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Relative to the Removal and Necessities of the Pawnee Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875),

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14. U.S. Executive Branch Documents, 1789-1909, Interior Department (microfilm).

7. *ARCIA*, 1876, 56, 1878, 63.

8. McClure, "The Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District," 23-25; according to Francis Paul Prucha, prior to the 1890s, agents and other personnel were appointed under a system of political patronage that often allowed the appointment of inexperienced or incompetent individuals in the Indian Service. After the president extended civil service rules to several positions below the level of agent in 1891, including school superintendent, the office began transferring duties from agents to superintendents. The administration of the Pawnee Agency was separated from the Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland Agency through this mechanism; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984; Bison Books, 1995), 723, 731, 734.

9. "Treaty with the Pawnee, 1857," Kappler, vol. 2, 764; Martha Royce Blaine, *Some Things Are Not Forgotten: A Pawnee Family Remembers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 40, 43, 46; Joseph Stanley Clark, "The Ponca Indian Agency" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1940), 407; "Pawnee Indian Lands," in Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, vol. 1, *Laws* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 498.

10. *Annual Report of the Pawnee Indian Training School and Agency*, 1916, 13-14, 1917, 6, in *Superintendents' Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from Field Jurisdictions, 1907-1938*, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives (microfilm), (hereafter cited as *ARPITSA*); Blaine, *Some Things Are Not Forgotten*, 27, 87; Mary Louise Wabaunsee, interview by Joseph M. Reed, 12 October 1998, tape recording; current population from Pawnee Nation website, <<http://www.pawneenation.org/history.html>>.

11. "Treaty with the Pawnee, 1833," "Treaty with the Pawnee, 1857," in Kappler, vol. 2, 416-17, 765; *An Act to Authorize the Sale of the Pawnee Reservation, Statutes at Large* 51, sec. 5, 30 (1876).

12. *ARCIA*, 1876, 56, 1877, 95, 1879, 71, 1880, 79.

13. *ARCIA.*, 1875, 112, 1877, 95, 292, 1880, XXXII, 79, 1881, 88, 1882, 78, 352; Lesser, *Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game*, 31-40.

14. *ARCIA.*, 1883, 77, 1884, 87, 1885, 94-95, 1887, 88, 354-55.

15. Prucha, *Great Father*, 659, 664-71; U.S. Congress, House, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior; Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 1, H. Exec. Doc. 1, part 5, 46<sup>th</sup>

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Congress, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session, 1880, Serial Set 1959, 11-13. This coalition of disparate interests – humanitarian reformers and aggressive whites seeking land – often backed the legislative programs of federal Indian policy; L. G. Moses, personal communication with author, 6 April 2000.

16. *ARCIA*, 1887, 274-77; Prucha, *Great Father*, 667-68; D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 6-7, 185-86, originally published as “History of the Allotment Policy” in *Readjustment of Indian Affairs*, (hearings on H. R. 7902 before the House of Representatives’ Committee on Indian Affairs), pt. 9, 428-89, 1934.

17. *ARCIA*, 1889, 193, 196, 1890, 199, 1892, 397; Lesser, *Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game*, 37, 39-40.

18. Prucha, *Great Father*, 746-47; *ARCIA*, 1893, 33, 262; Lesser, *Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game*, 39; Blaine, *Some Things Are Not Forgotten*, 35-49; “Report of Councils held by Cherokee (Jerome) Commission,” transcript, quoted in Blaine, *Some Things Are Not Forgotten*, 36-48; the homesteaders were to pay \$2.50 per acre before receiving the patents for their homesteads, “Indian Legislation” in *ARCIA*, 1893, 511-12.

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	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A:	14	698040E	4023490N	I:	14	698220E	4023070N
B:	14	698080E	4023580N	J:	14	698220E	4023160N
C:	14	698290E	4023580N	K:	14	698190E	4023160N
D:	14	698290E	4023510N	L:	14	698190E	4023190N
E:	14	698400E	4023440N	M:	14	698220E	4023190N
F:	14	698400E	4023320N	N:	14	698220E	4023350N
G:	14	698540E	4023220N	O:	14	698330E	4023350N
H:	14	698550E	4023070N	P:	14	698270E	4023490N

**VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION:**

The boundary of the nominated historic district is shown as the dashed line on the accompanying map entitled "Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District, Boundary and Resources."

Beginning at the northwest edge of the district at the intersection of Harrison Street and Morris Road, the boundary follows Harrison as it proceeds east and then curves south, at which point Harrison becomes Agency Road. The boundary includes the stone wall near the culvert/fill and footbridge over a ravine and the bridge over a tributary of Black Bear Creek. At the bridge, the boundary proceeds west, crossing the tributary, to a point approximately 410 feet west of the bridge. At this point the boundary proceeds straight south and meets the westernmost portion of the right-of-way that encircles the campus. It follows the right-of-way to a point 6 feet north of the north wall of the Laundry, proceeds west 62 feet to a point 9 feet west of the west wall of the Laundry, then south 30 feet before heading east to again meet the right-of-way. This extension encompasses the Laundry building. The boundary then follows the road system counterclockwise, eventually proceeding north along the easternmost section of road. As it rounds the curve heading back toward the intersection, the boundary turns north before reaching the intersection, and meets the southernmost curve of the paved circle near the modern camping grounds. It then follows the camping grounds drive back to where it meets the road system that encircles the Pawnee Agency Office and the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital. The west end of this road meets Morris Road, at which the boundary follows Morris to the point of beginning, at its intersection with Harrison.

**BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION:**

The district boundary encompasses the main grouping of historic resources related to the agency and boarding school, utilizing cultural resources (the road system, which has evolved throughout the history of the district) and the distribution of resources. Some of the surrounding acreage originally encompassed agricultural lands used for growing

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Section 10 Page 74 Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic  
District  
name of property  
Pawnee, Oklahoma  
county and state

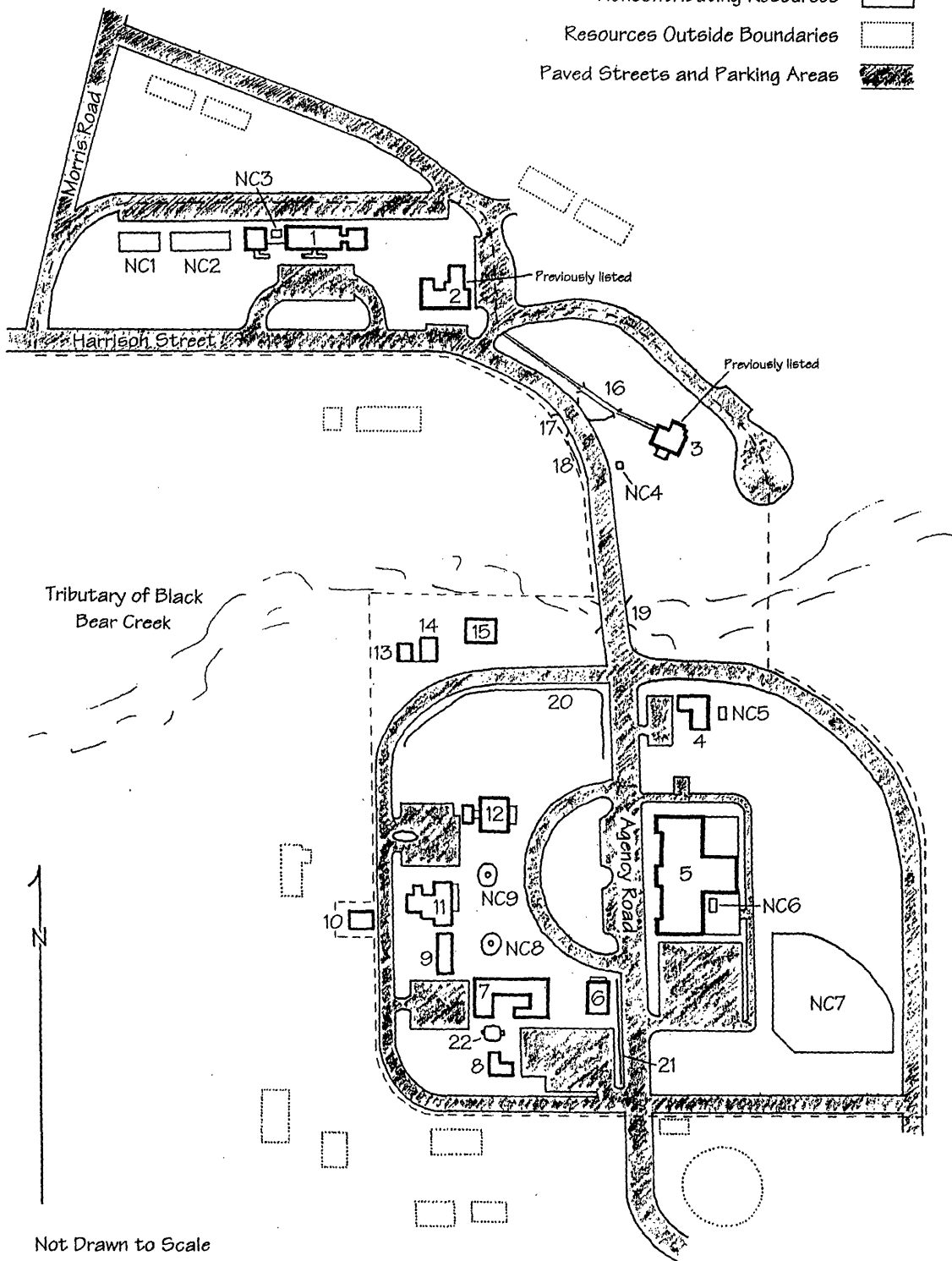
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food and for training boarding school students in farming and gardening techniques, but these activities took place outside the core of the campus. Buildings associated with the farmwork, including barns and other outbuildings, were of a less permanent nature than the sandstone buildings of the campus core. Many were of frame or metal construction and were frequently replaced. For these reasons and for their relatively poor condition, those buildings that remain from the agricultural function of the school have been excluded from the district.

The boundary also excludes resources that post-date the period of significance of the historic district and are located on the periphery surrounding the district. Resources kept outside the boundary for this reason include two buildings northwest of the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital that now serve as the Pawnee Dental Clinic and the Office of Environmental Health and Engineering, two shop buildings northeast of the Pawnee Agency Office, a wood frame building and shed south of the road fronting the Pawnee-Ponca Hospital and the Pawnee Agency Office, and the modern Roundhouse and shed south of the district. As with the agricultural buildings, these modern buildings are visually distinct from the sandstone buildings of the agency and boarding school in the core of the district.

Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District, Boundary and Resources

- District Boundary -----
- Contributing Resources [Solid rectangle]
- Noncontributing Resources [Dashed rectangle]
- Resources Outside Boundaries [Dotted rectangle]
- Paved Streets and Parking Areas [Hatched area]

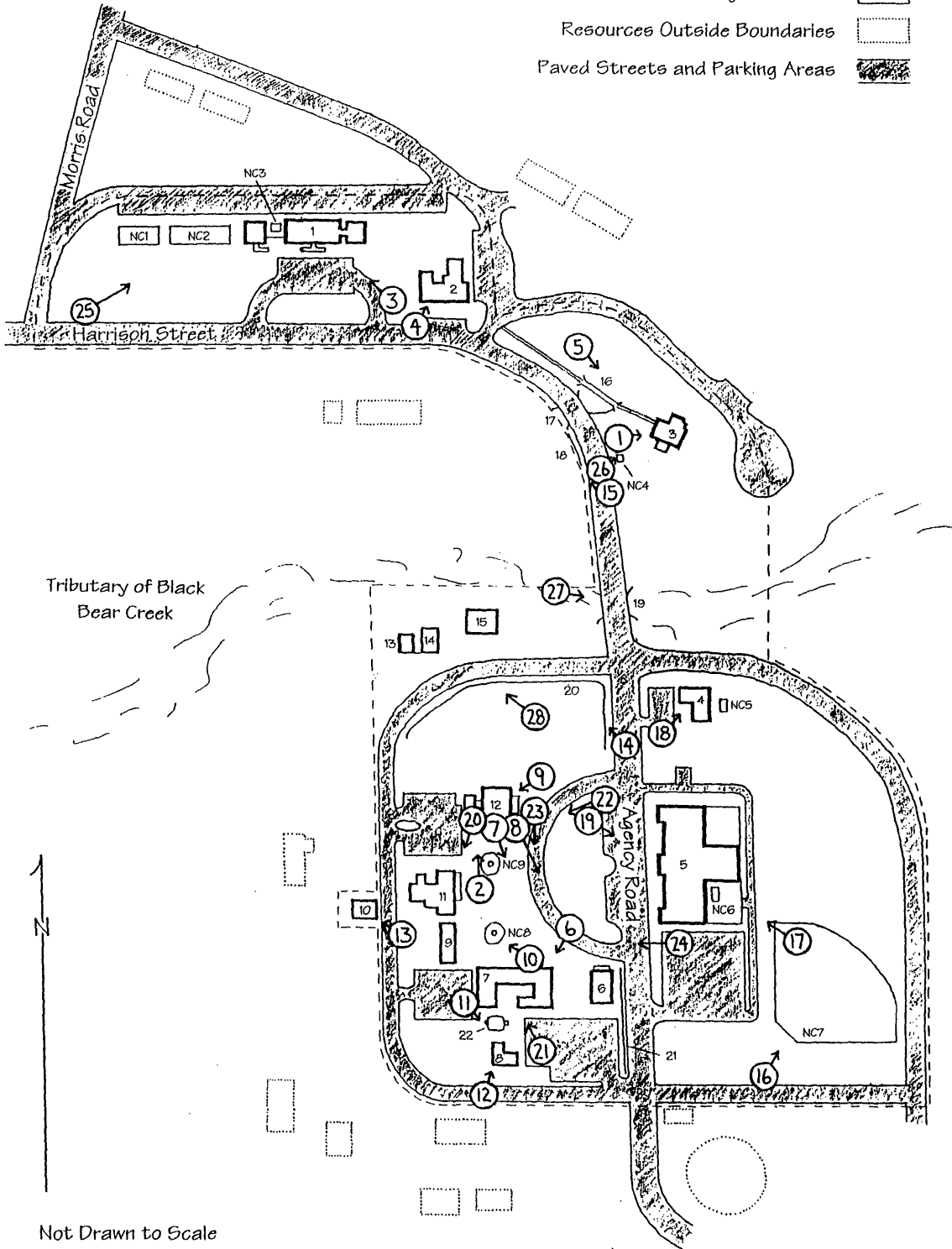


Not Drawn to Scale

Pawnee Agency and Boarding School Historic District  
 Photograph Key, Black and White Prints



- District Boundary -----
- Contributing Resources [Solid Line Box]
- Noncontributing Resources [Dashed Line Box]
- Resources Outside Boundaries [Dotted Line Box]
- Paved Streets and Parking Areas [Hatched Box]



Not Drawn to Scale