"You can't mix wheat and potatoes in the same bin": Anti-Catholicism in Early Dakota

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In 1960, during the now-famous Senate race between South Dakotans George McGovern and Karl Mundt, Catholicism became a prominent issue. Running the same year as John Kennedy, who would become—just barely—the nation's first Catholic president, McGovern suffered politically when rumors linked him to Irish Catholicism. Even though McGovern was a Methodist, his Irish-sounding last name led some to suspect that he "might secretly be a papist." According to his biographer, such charges were especially damaging, for South Dakota "harbored a particularly virulent strain of anti-Catholic prejudice."[1] McGovern and Democratic governor Ralph Herseth both went down to defeat in 1960, blaming their losses on "the Kennedy issue." Earlier that fall, following a campaign stop in South Dakota, John Kennedy had commented to his brother on the possible impact of their visit on McGovern's candidacy: "Bobby, I think we just cost that man a seat in the Senate."[2] Consistent with the events of 1960,

1. Robert Sam Anson, *McGovern: A Biography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p. 95.

2. Quoted ibid., p. 96. *See also* George S. McGovern, *Grassroots: The Autobiography of George McGovern* (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 83, and Mark S. Massa, *Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2003), pp. 77–81. McGovern later told Congressman Frank Denholm that the Catholic issue was "killing" him. Jon Lauck and John E. Miller, interview with Frank Denholm, Brookings, S.Dak., 5 Nov. 2003. When Robert Kennedy was searching for a campaign manager for his brother in 1960, the South Dakota Democratic Party chairman sent him to Bill Dougherty, "the only Catholic he could think of" (Jon Lauck and John E. Miller, interview with Bill Dougherty, Sioux Falls, S.Dak., 12 Jan. 2004). *See also* David Kranz, "Dougherty remembers Kennedy's life," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 5 June 1988.

Catherine McNicol Stock's study of the Northern Great Plains later showed religion to be one of the "notorious political divisions in Dakota society." In particular, the differences between Protestants and Catholics constituted one of the "most enduring divisions" in Dakota life.[3] The anti-Catholicism that surfaced in the 1960 elections had roots in the early history of the state, where evidence of such antagonisms can be found in the statements and exclusionary tendencies of the Protestant establishment and detected in the battles over schools, prohibition, federal Indian policy, and the state constitution.

Although religious conflict has not been a prominent theme in previous works on the early history of South Dakota, religion was clearly a powerful social force during those formative years. In an address to the State Historical Society, Charles N. Herreid, who served as South Dakota governor from 1901 to 1905, emphasized that the white settlers of Dakota "were a religious people."[4] Historian Howard R. Lamar has also noted the "religious fervor of Dakota's missionary founding fathers" and explained the attraction the territory held for "highly religious groups from Scandinavia, Germany, Bohemia, and Russia."[5] A church was often one of the first buildings constructed in a territorial town. Immigration Commissioner Pattison F. McClure commented that "towering church spires on the prairie, like signal-lights of the harbor, point out each city, town or modest village."[6] In 1888, one year before South Dakota achieved statehood, the *New York Independent* indicated that there were more than one thousand churches in Dakota Territory.[7] Great Plains historian Frederick C. Lue-

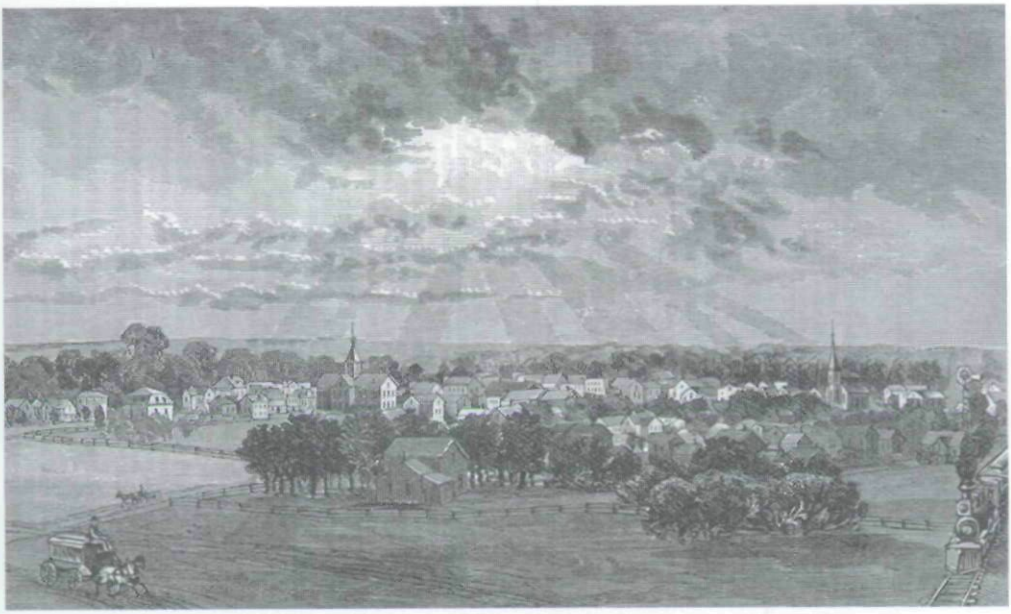
3. Stock, *Main Street in Crisis: The Great Depression and the Old Middle Class on the Northern Plains* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 71.

4. Herreid, "The Pioneers of Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 13 (1926): 15. *See also* Robert C. Ostergren, "The Immigrant Church as a Symbol of Community and Place in the Upper Midwest," *Great Plains Quarterly* 1 (1981): 225–26.

5. Lamar, "Public Values and Private Dreams: South Dakota's Search for Identity, 1850–1900," *South Dakota History* 8 (Spring 1978): 128.

6. Quoted in William Maxwell Blackburn, "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 1 (1902): 78.

7. George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, and George Martin Smith, ed., *South Dakota: Its History and Its People*, 5 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1915), 2:1855.



A church steeple rises at right in this idyllic view of Elk Point from an 1883 pamphlet promoting Dakota Territory to potential immigrants.

bke concluded that churches on the plains "frequently provided the nucleus of ethnic life and functioned as substitutes for the array of social and cultural societies that were available in urban centers."[8] Town names like Epiphany, Eden, Mission, and Sinai also reflected the religious inclinations of their settlers.[9]

Despite the central role churches played in the lives of early South Dakotans, some of the major works on the state's history do not address anti-Catholicism or, to any extent, religion. The discussion of the territorial period in Herbert S. Schell's standard survey of South Dakota history focuses on the development of political institutions, the territory's strides toward statehood, and the growth of agrarian

8. Luebke, "Regionalism and the Great Plains: Problems of Concept and Method," *Western Historical Quarterly* 15 (Jan. 1984): 33–34.

9. South Dakota Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, *South Dakota Place Names* (Vermillion: University of South Dakota, 1941), pp. 59, 80, 92, 111.

populism during the late nineteenth century but does not treat religious conflict or political/religious culture in detail.[10] Howard Lamar's monograph on Dakota Territory, a dissertation written in the 1940s and published as a book in 1956, also focused on political wrangling and the development of institutions. Lamar viewed his work as a study of the "neglected American territorial system" and concentrated to a great extent on the role of government in the development of Dakota Territory. In keeping with the "progressive school" of American history and a focus on the history of class conflict that became prominent in the early twentieth century, Lamar emphasized economic conflict between farmers and more powerful "interests." His study was also firmly grounded in the broader debate over Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis concerning the impact of the frontier on American development.[11] In later years, Lamar pointed out the failure of historical works to account for South Dakota's Protestant/New England heritage and called for more studies of the state's social and cultural traditions, including the activity of Christian missionaries.[12] He has also called on historians of the American West to pay more attention to religion, the neglect of which he deems "indefensible."[13]

10. Schell, *History of South Dakota* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. xiii; Keith Thomas, "Politics: Looking for Liberty," *New York Review of Books* 52 (26 May 2005): 47. Useful surveys of the growth of Protestant and Catholic denominations appear in chapters sixteen and seventeen of the recently published *A New South Dakota History*, edited by Harry F. Thompson (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, 2005).

11. Lamar, *Dakota Territory, 1861–1889: A Study of Frontier Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956), pp. vii, xiii. *See also* Lamar, "Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians*, ed. Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), pp. 105–7.

12. Lamar, "Public Values and Private Dreams," pp. 124, 141–42; Lamar, "Much to Celebrate: The Western History Association's Twenty-fifth Birthday," *Western Historical Quarterly* 17 (Oct. 1986), 411–13.

13. Lamar, "Westering in the Twenty-first Century," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), p. 269. Earl Pomeroy also called for study of religion on the frontier in "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41 (Mar. 1955): 593. Patricia Nelson Limerick notes that Frederick Jackson Turner's discussion of religion "never got beyond the perfunctory" ("Turnerians All: The

More recent works by American historians, postdating the books by Schell and Lamar, have focused on late nineteenth-century ethnocultural-religious conflict.[14] Paul Kleppner, for example, criticized the "strong economic determinist bias which has permeated American historiography" and ignored "ethnic and religious attitudes."[15] Kleppner explained that political affiliation often depended on an individual's connection to ethnic and religious groups, associations that gave meaning to "the otherwise inchoate world of politics."[16] Similarly, Richard Jensen found that religion constituted "the fundamental source of political conflict in the Midwest."[17] Frederick Luebke's analysis of the Great Plains showed that ethnically English and Scandinavian groups generally supported the Republican Party while Catholic groups voted Democratic. Jon Gjerde's recent book also notes the political conflict that accompanied increased Catholic immigration to the rural Middle West.[18] While historians of an earlier era simply saw farmers aligned against bankers, for example, recent studies take note

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Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World," *American Historical Review* 100 [June 1995]: 711), while D. Michael Quinn contends that the "New Western History," of which Limerick is a leader, has largely excluded religion ("Religion in the American West," in *Under an Open Sky*, p. 165). *See also* Ferenc M. Szasz, "Religion in the American West: An Introduction," *Journal of the West* 23 (Jan. 1984): 3.

14. *See* Lamar, "Persistent Frontier: The West in the Twentieth Century," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (Jan. 1973): 7, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," in *The State of American History*, ed. Herbert J. Bass (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 71.

15. Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900* (New York: Free Press, 1970), p. 37n.2.

16. Ibid., p. 35. *See also* Robert Cook, "The Political Culture of Antebellum Iowa: An Overview," in *Iowa History Reader*, ed. Marvin Bergman (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), p. 87.

17. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 58.

18. Luebke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (Oct. 1977): 429; Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 7–8, 285–88. In an older work, Robert V. Hine briefly noted Catholic-Protestant tension in frontier towns. *Community on the American Frontier: Separate but Not Alone* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 145, 147.

of numerous social conflicts, such as those between Catholics and Protestants.[19] The renewed interest in ethnocultural-religious divisions has been complemented by a surge of interest in the history of American Catholicism. Although historians generally have not given Catholic history much attention, the "last generation has witnessed a renaissance in the study of American Catholics," according to scholar John T. McGreevy.[20]

Catholic-Protestant differences became a driving force in American politics during the 1850s, a period when nativist and anti-Catholic sentiment ran strong in the United States. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the same year Dakota Territory was established, momentarily refocused the country, but the concerns of the Protestant establishment over the growing power of Catholics persisted. Northern abolitionists, in addition to advancing the antislavery cause, were often anti-Catholic, a tendency reinforced by a papal tilt toward the Confederacy. Republicans viewed Catholics as their principal enemy in the North and tended to place them in the same category with southern rebels.[21] "The idea that American Catholics, like southern Confederates, threatened the foundations of the nation-state," John McGreevy notes, "became a truism in some religious and intellectual circles."[22]

19. Robert Kelley, "Ideology and Political Culture from Jefferson to Nixon," *American Historical Review* 82 (June 1977): 532. Richard Hofstadter's work in the 1950s is thought to have helped historians move beyond the simple focus on clashing economic interests. *See* Daniel Joseph Singal, "Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography," *American Historical Review* 89 (Oct. 1984): 976–78.

20. McGreevy, "Catholicism and American Freedom," *Historically Speaking* (Sept./Oct. 2004): 26. *See also* Eugene McCarraher, "Remarks on John McGreevy's Catholicism and American Freedom," ibid., p. 29, and McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), p. 14. As recently as 1993, however, Leslie Woodcock Tentler believed that Catholic history was "still essentially ghettoized" ("On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," *American Quarterly* 45 [Mar. 1993]: 106).

21. Ward M. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 18, 64; Leo P. Ribuffo, *Right Center Left: Essays in American History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 46.

22. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 98. Some blamed the assassination of Lincoln on a "Romanist plot." *See* Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), pp. 96, 140, 235.

President Ulysses S. Grant led his fellow Republicans, who feared the potential power of Catholics in the United States, in opposing aid to sectarian schools.

After the Civil War, the process of developing Dakota Territory's institutions in preparation for statehood was controlled by leaders who were primarily Protestant, Yankee, Republican, pro-Union, and, often, veterans of the Civil War. In 1875, Republican President Ulysses S. Grant, the former Union war hero and a one-time nativist Know-Nothing, stoked the fires of anti-Catholicism during a famous reunion speech to veterans of the Army of Tennessee in Des Moines, Iowa. Grant denounced aid to "sectarian" schools, a term commonly understood to mean Catholic schools.[23] Republicans subsequently engaged in a "national campaign of anti-Catholic bigotry" against the Democratic Party, home to most Catholics, as the effectiveness of appealing to memories surrounding the Civil War waned.[24] By the 1880s, according to one prominent analyst, religious conflict had caused a "crisis in Protestant-Catholic relations."[25]

Although the era in which South Dakota became a state is known for its anti-Catholicism, the phenomenon dates back to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. When Protestants began to break away from the united Christian church headquartered in Rome, they published derisive critiques and quasi-historical propaganda regarding Roman Catholicism. The ensuing religious wars between Protestants and Catholics in Europe, always tied to national loyalties, only deepened the sectarian divide. In England, Catholics were banned from the teaching and legal professions, excluded from universities, and fined for not attending services of the state church. The English who settled in America, Ray Allen Billington wrote, "carried with them to the new land the same hatred of Popery which characterized the England of that day," attitudes that "intensified" in the colonial hinterlands.[26] As more Catholics migrated to the United States, the majority

23. Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 322; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 91; Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 7.

24. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, pp. 6–7. *See also* ibid., pp. 41, 55; Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, p. 325; Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 10.

25. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 59.

26. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), pp. 3–4.

Protestant population feared that Catholics would attempt to reassert Roman control over the new American republic. At the time white settlers were arriving in South Dakota, renewed religious conflict in Europe brought yet another influx of refugees to America. Germans, who became the largest foreign-born population in South Dakota, were deeply divided by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's "kulturkampf" against the Catholic Church in Germany. The first Catholic bishop of South Dakota, Martin Marty, was forced to leave his native Switzerland when Protestants took over the town where he attended a Jesuit high school. The effort to drive the Jesuits out of Switzerland was the beginning of similar religious conflicts in Italy, Spain, Germany, and France, which convulsed late nineteenth-century Europe and ultimately affected politics in the United States.[27]

As South Dakota approached statehood during the 1880s, a nativist revival was fully underway. The anti-Catholic American Protective Association was formed in 1887 in Iowa, the place of origin of many Dakota settlers. John Higham noted that the fears of a papal-led takeover of the United States had their greatest strength in the rural Midwest. The American Protective Association, which absorbed numerous other nativist societies, was particularly strong in Nebraska and Minnesota and claimed three thousand members in South Dakota.[28] Correspondents affiliated with the organization informed the governor of Nebraska and a United States senator from Minnesota that arms were being shipped to priests in Michigan and Nebraska in coffins or in boxes labeled "holy wine."[29] In preparation for a rumored Catholic uprising, one schoolteacher in rural Minnesota "went about

27. Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 17; McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 41; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, pp. 19–20, 22, 98–99, 104–7; Robert F. Karolevitz, *Bishop Martin Marty: "The Black Robe Lean Chief"* (N.p.: By the Author, 1980), pp. 12–18.

28. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 80–85; Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, pp. 61–64, 71–73. Kinzer also notes the prevalence of the American Protective Association in the Midwest, where many Dakota settlers originated. The fact that no records for the organization are known to exist inhibits the search for information about possible Dakota affiliates. Kinzer cites *The Cyclopedia of Fraternities* as indicating that the American Protective Association had three thousand members in South Dakota in 1897. *See Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, pp. v, 58, 178.

29. Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 97.

heavily armed for weeks to defend himself against the anticipated massacre."[30] The settlement of Dakota, one of the last remaining agrarian frontiers, contributed to concerns about the rising levels of immigration during an age when the frontier "safety valve" was closing.[31] The instigation of political populism also involved anti-Catholic sentiments. While the *Nation* traced the "deep agrarian unrest in the West to 'peasants fresh from Europe,'" some Populists correlated the centralized power of the Catholic Church with the power of centralized economic monopolies.[32]

In Dakota Territory, Protestantism was the dominant faith, and Protestants held most positions of power. Catholic Bishop Martin Marty seemed a bit overwhelmed when he wrote in 1885 of the territory's "protestant sects," whose "number is legion."[33] During his first trip to Indian country, Marty immediately encountered a "bigoted agent."[34] Unlike Catholics, who tended to come from poor immigrant backgrounds and were predominantly rural, Protestants, writes Sister Claudia M. Duratschek, "came to Dakota as government officials, land prospectors and economic leaders. They had transferred from older states and knew the English language and the United States system of government. These men naturally became leaders in the different settlements."[35] Several historians have noted the importance of Protestant, Old American, and Yankee leaders in molding the cultural patterns and institutions of Dakota, which, essentially, were trans-

30. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 85.

31. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 42; Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1968), pp. 56–61; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 206; Lamar, "Frederick Jackson Turner," pp. 84, 88; David M. Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 5.

32. Quoted in Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 78. *See also* McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 125.

33. Marty to Father Rosen, 17 Feb. 1885, no folder, Box Bishop Martin Marty, Catholic Diocese of Sioux Falls (CDSF), Sioux Falls, S.Dak.

34. Ildefons Betschart, *Der Apostel der Siouxindianer, 1834–1896 (Bishop Martin Marty, O. S. B., 1834–1896: Apostle of the Sioux)*, trans. Sister M. Stanislaus Van Well (Yankton, S.Dak.: Sacred Heart Convent, 1979), p. 55.

35. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom: The History of the Catholic Church in South Dakota* (Yankton, S.Dak.: Benedictine Sisters of Sacred Heart Convent, 1985), p. 87.

planted from New England.[36] Lynwood Oyos writes that "Yankee merchants" and "members of the Eastern establishment . . . became the Territory's politicians, educators and cultural advocates," and Dakota "Congregationalists brought with them their New England Puritan heritage."[37] In subsequent decades, social and economic life in the Dakotas continued to be controlled by men who tended to be "Yankee or Scandinavian, Protestant, and Republican."[38]

In his magisterial work *Albion's Seed*, David Hackett Fischer traces the migrations of four English subcultures, or folkways, to America, including the Puritan transplantation from East Anglia to New England. These New England Puritans built their communities around the Congregational Church, and their descendants had a major influence on the politics of Dakota Territory. One account of the early days of Dell Rapids mentions the post-Civil War arrival of pioneers with New England backgrounds. Among the most influential figures of the territory's formative years was the Congregational minister Joseph Ward, who maintained close ties to New England. Like many of the Yankee-Unionist-Protestant founders of South Dakota, Ward was a Civil War veteran and a graduate of such eastern institutions as

36. Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, 245–46; Gary D. Olson, "Yankee and European Settlement," in *New South Dakota History*, p. 119. For a discussion of the transplantation of New England Yankee culture elsewhere on the frontier, *see* Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 1–16, and John C. Hudson, "North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78 (Sept. 1988): 395–413.

37. Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," in *New South Dakota History*, pp. 332, 334. W. H. H. Beadle noted that many prominent leaders in Dakota Territory were Congregationalists. "Congregationalism and Civic Growth" (handwritten manuscript), Folder 1, Letters and Manuscripts, Box 3536A, W. H. H. Beadle Papers, State Archives Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society (SDSHS), Pierre (this collection is hereafter cited as Beadle Papers). For the impact of Congregationalism in Kansas, *see* Nathan Wilson, "Congregationalist Richard Cordley and the Impact of New England Cultural Imperialism in Kansas, 1857–1904," *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 (Summer 2004): 185–200. The famous Congregational minister Josiah Strong, author of the widely read anti-Catholic tract *Our Country* (1886), did missionary work in Cheyenne, Wyoming. *See* Dorothea R. Muller, "Church Building and Community Making on the Frontier, A Case Study: Josiah Strong, Home Missionary in Cheyenne, 1871–1873," *Western Historical Quarterly* 10 (Apr. 1979): 191–216, and McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 125. Strong worried about Rome "concentrating her strength in the western territories" (Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 19).

38. Stock, *Main Street in Crisis*, p. 13.

Phillips Academy, Brown University, and Andover Theological Seminary.[39] Known as "the father of Congregationalism"[40] in Dakota, Ward helped launch the movement for statehood in 1879, the principal leaders of which were all members of his First Congregational Church in

39. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Gertrude Stickney Young, *Dakota Again* (Brookings, S.Dak.: By the Author, 1950), p. 19; Thomas J. Gasque, "Church, School, and State Affairs in Dakota Territory: Joseph Ward, Congregational Church Leader," in *South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to Oscar Howe*, ed. Herbert T. Hoover and Larry J. Zimmerman (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1989), pp. 144–45.

40. Lamar, "Public Values and Private Dreams," p. 125.

Congregational minister Joseph Ward was a transplanted New Englander who became a driving force in the political and intellectual life of Dakota Territory.

The principal leaders of the early statehood movement shared Ward's background and worshipped at his First Congregational Church in Yankton, pictured here.

Yankton and were designated "latter-day Pilgrims" by one historian.[41] By 1888, there were two hundred Congregational churches in Dakota Territory. The Congregational Conference of South Dakota published news of the church's work in its publication, *The Pilgrim Herald*, and sponsored missionary work among the Sioux Indians.[42] Historically,

41. Gasque, "Church, School, and State Affairs," p. 149.

42. Kingbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1855; K. Brent Woodruff, "The Episcopal Mission to the Dakotas, 1860–1898," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 17 (1934): 557. *See* assorted issues of the *Pilgrim Herald* in Box 3591A, South Dakota Congregational Conference Publications, State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

according to Ray Allen Billington, the Congregationalists of New England were known for their longstanding "hatred of Popery," which inspired a popular game in New England known as "Break the Pope's Neck."[43]

Wielding more power in Dakota Territory was the Episcopal Church, which historically shared the Congregationalists' hatred of Rome.[44] Descendants of the Anglican settlers of Virginia, the Episcopalians in Dakota established their first church in the year the territory was established, immodestly calling it the "Mother Church of the Dakotas."[45] Herbert T. Hoover found that during the early history of the territory the denomination's influential families in Yankton "became as much a political caucus as a religious group."[46] Howard Lamar similarly notes the presence of numerous Episcopalians among the leading figures in Dakota. Grant's Peace Policy, which assigned the administration of Indian agencies to various religious denominations, also allowed the Episcopal Church to appoint most Indian agents in Dakota Territory.[47] According to Hoover, the appointment privilege "brought enormous economic benefits to Episcopal caucus leaders and their friends at Yankton" since "the best full-time jobs in the territory existed at Indian agency jurisdictions."[48] Hoover further contends that a notorious defrauder of the Indians was found innocent of corruption charges due to his connections to the powerful Episcopal Church.[49]

Although the ancestors of Dakota Territory's Congregationalists and Episcopalians had once battled one another during the English civil wars, their enmity was long past, and these influential denomi-

43. Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 4. *See also* ibid., p. 16.

44. Ibid., p. 1.

45. Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," p. 334.

46. Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," in *New South Dakota History*, p. 103.

47. Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, p. 180; Schell, *History of South Dakota*, p. 199; Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," pp. 111–12. The Sioux agency at Lake Traverse was assigned to the Congregationalists, and the Sioux agencies at Standing Rock and Devils Lake were assigned to the Catholics. The Episcopalians were responsible for the remainder of the agencies in Dakota Territory. Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," p. 111.

48. Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," p. 112.

49. Ibid., p. 108.

nations made common cause against Catholicism in the territorial rivalry among churches for Indian souls, especially after the arrival of Martin Marty in 1876. Lynwood Oyos describes the leaders of the Episcopal and Congregational churches in the two decades prior to statehood as representative of Dakota Territory's predominantly Yankee Protestant heritage.[50] The upstart Sioux Falls politician Richard F. Pettigrew highlighted the combined power of these churches in territorial politics when he "railed against the 'Yankton Ring' of politicians obviously gathered in the Episcopal and Congregational caucuses."[51]

In addition to old-stock American settlers, Dakota Territory also saw a large influx of foreign-born Scandinavians who, in the words of Norwegian-American author Ole E. Rølvaag, were "strongly inclined toward religion."[52] One poet designated the God-fearing Norwegians who came to South Dakota as "Viking Abrahams" who had "left the fjords and mountain scenes behind."[53] As in other Norwegian communities throughout the state, the Lutheran minister in Renner instructed young people in Norwegian and required them to commit Luther's Catechism to memory.[54] In his study of nativism, John Higham noted that anti-Catholic sentiment was especially strong among Protestant immigrants from Scandinavia, who had a particular dislike for the Irish. The Irish reputation for unruliness surely grew in the 1870s as rumors spread of an Irish Catholic invasion of British Canada to be launched from Dakota Territory.[55] Another recent

50. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, pp. 16, 212, 233; Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," p. 111; Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," p. 335.

51. Hoover, "Territorial Politics and Politicians," p. 113.

52. Ole E. Rølvaag, *Concerning Our Heritage*, trans. Solveig Zempel (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1998), p. 116. *See also* Olson, "Yankee and European Settlement," pp. 124–29. Frederick Luebke notes that Norwegians "adhered strongly to Lutheranism" ("Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 [Oct. 1977]: 417).

53. Doris Stensland, Robert Lundgren, and Donald J. Sneen, "Life in the New Land—The Scandinavian Experience (1859–1880)," in *Prairie Faith, Pioneering People: A History of the Lutheran Church in South Dakota*, ed. Donald J. Sneen (N.p.: South Dakota District, American Lutheran Church, 1981), p. 35.

54. Ibid., p. 27.

55. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 83; "Fenians in Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 6 (1912): 117–30a; McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 21.

study also underscores the strength of anti-Catholicism among immigrant Lutherans, who feared the political power of the Catholic Church.[56] One anonymous circular written in a Scandinavian language and distributed throughout South Dakota in 1894 was entitled "A Terrible Discovery! A Catholic Conspiracy!" The circular denounced Bishop Marty's support for Senator Richard Pettigrew and claimed that a vote for Pettigrew was "a vote for Catholics and for Catholic supremacy in America."[57] Not surprisingly, Marty took notice as more Scandinavian Lutherans made their way to Dakota. "Swedes and Norwegians are arriving like armies," he wrote in 1885.[58]

At the turn of the twentieth century, nearly 55 percent of South Dakotans were foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents, and many of these immigrants were Scandinavians who clung to their cultural heritage. Lynwood Oyos noted the determination of these Dakota immigrants to maintain their religious identities in their new surroundings, writing that religious practices brought from the Old World were seldom questioned or changed.[59] It is not surprising that the Norwegian Lutherans kept their solidarity and cultural unity in the New World, given that they had come "largely from self-enclosed rural enclaves where shared values had reinforced and perpetuated a common life style"[60] and where the most powerful influence was the "stern, pervasive Protestantism of the state church."[61] In 1883, the year in which Dakotans drafted their first state constitution, Lutherans celebrated the four-hundreth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, who had deemed the pope a "bloodthirsty, unclean, blas-

56. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 294–95. For a humorous rendering of enduring Catholic-Lutheran differences in the Midwest, *see* Janet Letness Martin and Suzann Nelson, *They Glorified Mary . . . We Glorified Rice: A Catholic-Lutheran Lexicon* (Hastings, Minn.: Caragana Press, 1994).

57. *Sioux Falls Press*, 3 Nov. 1894.

58. Martin Marty, "Das apostolische Vikariat Dakota," 19 Mar. 1885, File 1879–1894 History, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

59. Herreid, "Pioneers of Dakota," p. 17; Lynwood E. Oyos, "Lutherans Discover Each Other and American Values (1920–1948)," in *Prairie Faith, Pioneering People*, p. 99.

60. Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*, p. 87.

61. Gudrun Hovde Gvåle, biographical note in Ole E. Rølvaag, *Peder Victorious: A Tale of the Pioneers Twenty Years Later* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), p. 322.

phemic whore of the devil" and helped to write "history" books that described the piling of six thousand children's heads in a nunnery fish pond during the reign of Pope Gregory I.[62] In Ole Rølvaag's novel *Peder Victorious*, the character Beret fights to preserve her family's Norwegian heritage on the Dakota prairie and castigates her son Peder for fraternizing with Irish Catholics, "those people" of a "dangerous" faith. Another Norwegian settler in *Peder Victorious* insists that "before he'd let any of his marry a Catholic he'd see him buried alive!" The prospect of such a wedding causes a "terrible rumpus" and "awful commotion" in the settlement. Beret denounces the "wickedness" of Peder's consorting with an Irish Catholic girl, telling him, "If the day should come that you get yourself mixed up with the Irish, then you will have lost your mother—that I could not live through!" She then declares with conviction, "You can't mix wheat and potatoes in the same bin."[63]

In addition to Protestant politicians and Scandinavian immigrants, fraternal orders with a history of anti-Catholicism also influenced territorial politics during the late nineteenth century, which is known as the "golden age of fraternity."[64] In 1888, Dakota Territory counted 621 members of the Knights Templar and 735 members of the International Order of Odd Fellows. According to the rules of the Order of the Eastern Star of South Dakota, a man had to be a "Master Mason" in order for his mother, wife, sister, daughter, or widow to be allowed membership.[65] Such a requirement underscores the power and reach

62. Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 3. *See also* McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 103.

63. Rølvaag, *Peder Victorious*, pp. 104, 175, 235–36.

64. Jason Kaufman, *For the Common Good?: American Civic Life and the Golden Age of Fraternity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 3.

65. *Proceedings of the Grand Commander of Knights Templar of Dakota Held at Mitchell, June 5th and 6th A.D. 1889* (N.p.: Grand Commandery, Knights Templar of Dakota, 1889), p. 46, Folder Knights Templar Proceedings, Box 3711; *I. O. O. F. Proceedings of the Grand Encampment of Dakota 9th Annual Session, May 21, 1889, Held at Jamestown* (N.p.: Grand Encampment, 1889), p. 295, no folder, Box 3712B; *Proceedings of the Convention of Chapters, Order of the Eastern Star Held in Watertown, South Dakota, July 10th and 11th, 1889* (Aberdeen, S.Dak.: News Printing, 1915), p. 21, Folder Proceedings, 1889–1898, Box 3721, all in State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

A room in the territorial capitol at Yankton served as the first meeting place for the Masons in Dakota Territory, but by the first decade of the twentieth century the Yankton Masons had built this impressive temple.

of the Masons, whom Catherine McNicol Stock has called a "wholly middle-class, Anglo/Nordic, Protestant organization."[66] The first masonic lodge in South Dakota was formalized in Yankton in 1862 on the second floor of the capitol, where it continued to meet close to the territory's levers of power. Episcopal minister Melancthon C. Hoyt, generally regarded as the father of the early Episcopal Church in Dakota Territory, was the first master mason of the lodge.[67] By 1888,

66. Stock, *Main Street in Crisis*, p. 178.

67. *Yankton Press & Dakotan*, 25 Apr. 1875. The descendant of an Englishman who arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1628, Melancthon Hoyt attended Yale University and was a member of the first graduating class of Yale Theological College. He established churches in Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Sioux City, Iowa, before moving to Yankton in 1861 and organizing the first church in Dakota Territory. Dorothy Westhorpe Pederson, "The Reverend Melancthon Hoyt, D. D. and His Family" (radio broadcast transcript), 5 Mar. 1939, Folder H41-001, Box 3649A, State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

the Masons boasted a membership of 4,088 and had established 102 lodges throughout Dakota. In 1888 alone, Masonic membership grew by at least another 500 members.[68]

The Masons were highly organized and rule-oriented and maintained a quasi-religious outlook. In addition to praising the "Grand Architect of the Universe" and "His divine will as laid down upon the Masonic trestle-board," members adhered to a "Masonic Code" and the accompanying "common law of Masonry," which would "aid in the diffusion of Masonic light."[69] Such founders of South Dakota as George Hand (Grand Master), George Kingsbury (Senior Grand Warden), William Beadle (Grand Marshal), Oscar Gifford (Grand Junior Steward), Arthur Mellette (Grand Treasurer), and Andrew Lee (Grand Senior Deacon) were all Masonic officers.[70] Beadle, the architect of Dakota Territory's common school system, was a "member of all regular Masonry including the 33d degree of Scottish Rite."[71] In 1881, George Hand, Grand Master of the South Dakota Masons and a leader in the constitutional conventions, praised those who "gather around this altar, with hearts and hands intent upon building up in this new land the great moral temple of Freemasonry." During the 1885 and 1889 constitutional conventions, more than half of the delegates were Masons, as was the president for both conventions, federal judge Alonzo J. Edgerton.[72] John Higham has noted how "Masonic lodges,

68. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Dakota, Deadwood, June 12th and 13th, 1888* (Fargo, D.T.: Argus Printing, 1888), pp. 57–58, Folder Proceedings 1885–1901, Box 3705A, State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

69. *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Dakota, Begun and Held at Bismarck, June 8th, A.L. 5886, A.D. 1886* (Fargo, D.T.: Argus Printing, 1886), pp. 6–7, ibid.

70. *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Dakota, Begun and Held at Yankton, Dakota, June 8th, A.D. 1880, A.L. 5880* (Yankton, D.T.: Bowen & Kingsbury, 1880), p. 3, ibid.

71. "The School and Endowment Lands," p. 8, Folder 1, Letters and Manuscripts, Box 3536A, Beadle Papers.

72. Robert Benton, "Masonry in the Constitutions of the State of South Dakota," Folder Masonic Lodge, Vertical Files, State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

being tinged by an anti-Catholic heritage," often provided members for anti-Catholic groups in the late nineteenth century.[73]

The issue of prohibition, of which Catholics tended to be less supportive than Protestants, also created friction. The temperance movement targeted German immigrant imbibers but carried obvious anti-Irish overtones, as well. By the late 1880s, a strong temperance sentiment pervaded the political parties in the territory, and only a few counties had not banned liquor sales under a local option law. A prohibition statute was adopted by a statewide vote in 1889.[74] One minister, speaking to a crowd in Yankton, "had consigned the German population of the place to the bottomless pit for its stand against prohibition." In another speech denouncing the "liquor traffic" to German immigrants, many of whom were Catholic, the minister exclaimed, "'Ye dogs, ye vipers—that's what our Savior called such cattle as you are when He was upon earth.'"[75] One Dakotan also wrote to Bishop Marty accusing him of selling liquor and warning that he was a candidate for arrest.[76] While the state's Episcopal bishop, William Hobart Hare, supported an exemption for sacramental alcohol in prohibition legislation, the Methodists, State Prohibition League, and Woman's Christian Temperance Union all opposed the exemption. One leading Methodist minister objected to the measure precisely because it took Catholic tradition into account. "It might not be an unpardonable sin in this age of advanced light to differ 'from the customs of the Catholic Church,'" he suggested before going on to denounce bringing the "cup of death" and the "monstrous evil" of alcohol to church altars.[77] The Congregationalists and Scandinavian im-

73. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 80. *See also* ibid., p. 58. The founder of the anti-Catholic American Protective Association was an "enthusiastic Mason" who "considered the A.P.A. an offspring of Masonry" (Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, pp. 40–41).

74. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 292–93, 301–7, 307; McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 73; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1532; John D. Hicks, "The Constitutions of the Northwest States," *University Studies* 23 (Jan.–Apr. 1923): 118.

75. Edwin C. Torrey, *Early Days in Dakota* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Farnham Printing & Stationery, 1925), pp. 201–2.

76. Letter to Martin Marty, 1891, File American Indian Culture Research Center, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

77. Unidentified newspaper clippings, Jan. 1890, Folder Prohibition, Box 5, Bishop Hare

Whether or not this temperance group included any Catholics is not known, but the placard indicates their nativist views. They had been arrested for singing temperance songs in front of a Redfield saloon.

migrants also supported prohibition. The establishment Masons opposed drinking until the 1930s.[78]

The topic of education provided Protestants and Catholics with yet another point of contention. Conflicts in American politics over schooling paralleled developments in Dakota, where matters of religion and education intertwined. Immigration Commissioner Pattison

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Papers, Center for Western Studies (CWS), Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. (this collection is hereafter cited as Bishop Hare Papers).

78. Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," p. 334; Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 295; Stock, *Main Street in Crisis*, p. 177.

McClure asserted that the "interest displayed in educational matters is always an index of the religious and moral culture of a community" and that in Dakota, churches and schools "occupy the first cares of every new community."[79] Education, like "no other issue," states John McGreevy, "quickly generated both anti-Catholicism and Catholic belligerence, and at the state and local levels debates over education blazed their way through electoral politics."[80] In the 1870s, according to Ward McAfee, Republicans hoped to use an expanded public school system to remake the defeated South and promote a generic Protestantism by ensuring that "sectarian," or Catholic, schools did not tap public coffers. In 1875, President Grant made his vigorous commitment to preventing public aid from being spent on sectarian schools, and Speaker of the House James Blaine took up the cause by promoting an amendment to the United States Constitution to that effect.[81] Blaine understood the political value of the nativist and anti-Catholic rhetoric that accompanied the president's proposal. The *Nation*, which favored the Blaine amendment, noted that it was designed for use in a "campaign to catch anti-Catholic votes."[82] In his run for the governorship of Ohio in 1875, Rutherford B. Hayes instructed his campaigners to keep "the Catholic question" front and center and made the advantages of this strategy clear to Blaine.[83] When Congress failed by a slim margin to adopt the Blaine amendment in 1875, its supporters turned to the individual states, most of which eventually enacted similar legislation or wrote it into their constitutions. Antisectarian school funding provisions found their way into the South Dakota Constitution, which was written during the 1880s.[84]

79. Blackburn, "History of Dakota," p. 78.

80. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 112.

81. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, pp. 6, 23; Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, p. 324. In 1960, when attempting to temper anti-Catholic bias among voters, John Kennedy asked Protestants to consider his stand "'against unconstitutional aid to parochial schools'" (quoted in Massa, *Anti-Catholicism in America*, p. 81).

82. Joseph P. Viteritti, "Blaine's Wake: School Choice, the First Amendment, and State Constitutional Law," *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 21 (Summer 1998): 670–72.

83. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 178.

84. Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, pp. 324–26, 340–42; South Dakota, Constitution, art. 8, sec. 16.

Support for Blaine, who hoped his campaign against sectarian schools would propel his own bid for the presidency in 1884, was strong in Dakota Territory. George W. Kingsbury, an early political leader and territorial newspaperman, believed Blaine to be "a great leader and an able statesman," and the 1884 Dakota convention of the territory's dominant Republican Party endorsed Blaine with "no dissension."[85] The two delegates chosen to attend the national Republican convention were instructed to vote for him. Similarly, most of the delegates to the Republican territorial convention of 1888 supported

85. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1354.

As speaker of the United States House of Representatives, James Blaine led the unsuccessful campaign for a constitutional amendment to prohibit the use of public funds for sectarian schools.

Blaine. In 1889, the year South Dakota became a state, a new national organization sought to revive the Blaine amendment.[86] As late as 1892, South Dakota Republicans were still backing Blaine. At a mock national Republican convention held in Aberdeen, the attendees once again "nominated" the eastern politician. Edwin Torrey recounted the critical moment when "a leather lunged pest in the gallery broke up the meeting. 'Nominate Blaine!' he yelled. Nearly every man in the hall was at heart a Blaine man, though for expediency's sake he had kept his sentiment to himself. 'Nominate Blaine' was a blast upon the bugle worth a thousand men. It was all over in a minute more. Blaine was nominated by acclamation, and the audience melted away midst shrieks and laughter."[87]

The burst of anti-Catholicism nationally and the intense criticism of sectarian education corresponded to the years when the Catholic population in Dakota Territory grew most rapidly and the church pressured its priests and parishioners to build a school system for Catholic children. In 1879, when Martin Marty became prefector apostolic of Dakota Territory, one year prior to being named bishop, there were twenty Catholic churches and twelve priests in Dakota. By 1884, with the Great Dakota Boom in full swing, Marty reported overseeing eighty-two churches and forty-five priests.[88] One 1885 publication noted the existence of "many parochial schools of the Catholic Church."[89] George Kingsbury mentioned in his history of Dakota Territory that in 1887 the "growth of the Catholic religious and educational institutions in Dakota had been a matter of some discussion."[90] When Marty left South Dakota in 1894, the state had 143 Catholic churches, 68 priests, and "many Catholic schools."[91] Six Catholic hos-

86. Ibid., 2:1353, 1515, 1517; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 60.

87. Torrey, *Early Days in Dakota*, pp. 213–14.

88. Doane Robinson, rev. Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, "The Roman Catholic Church," in *Denominational Histories of South Dakota*, comp. Donald Dean Parker ([Brookings, S.Dak.: n.p., 1964]), p. 116; Undated newspaper clipping, *Bridgewater Dakota Journal*, no file, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

89. O. H. Holt, *Dakota: "Behold, I show you a delightsome land"* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1885), p. 25.

90. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 1:1498.

91. Robinson, "Roman Catholic Church," p. 117.

Martin Marty served as bishop from 1880 to 1894, a period that saw a large increase in the number of Catholics and Catholic institutions in Dakota.

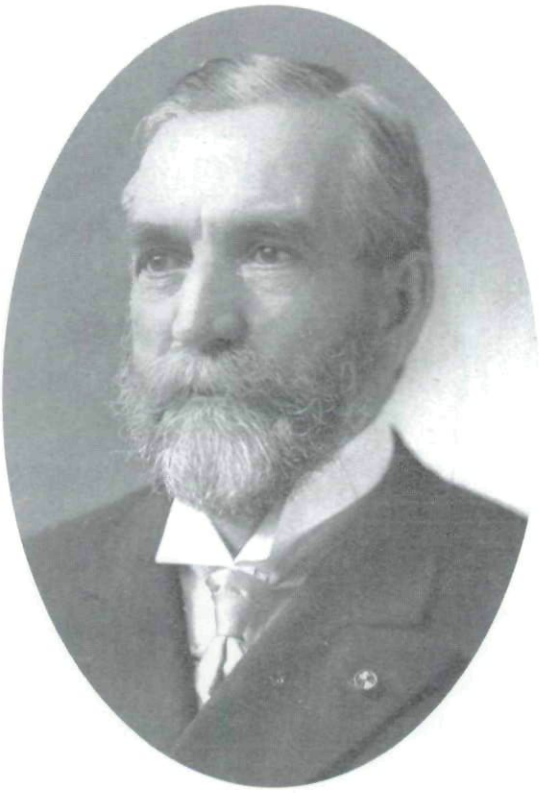
pitals and numerous Catholic high schools were also founded, and the Benedictine, Mercy, Saint Joseph, Saint Vincent DePaul, Presentation, and Saint Francis sisters established orders in the state. By 1906, 177 Catholic churches and 82 priests served seventy-nine thousand Catholics in South Dakota. By the early twentieth century, there were eight Catholic high schools and forty-four elementary schools in the state.[92]

In contrast to the Catholic schools, the public, or common, schools bore a strong Protestant imprint. One early study highlights the influence of the New England Puritans who helped shape South Dakota public education. Just as the colonists had patterned their schools on old English models, the settlers of Dakota organized their system along the lines of those of the eastern states with which they were familiar. Author Walter Ludeman indicated another parallel between New England and Dakota, writing, "Colonial school history can almost be told by recounting the achievements of notable characters of that day. The names of Edwards, Mather, Cheever, Poymont, Lancaster, Phillips, Barnard, and Mann mean much to the development of New England education as do the statutes, in the enactment of which they were so instrumental." For Dakota Territory, the author's list of educational luminaries included "the Shaws, Bradfords, Caulkins, Turners, Fosters, McIntyres, Millers, and Beadles."[93] William H. H. Beadle, the undisputed leader of the common-school movement in South Dakota, was also a Mason, a Republican, and a Union veteran of the Civil War with close ties to Joseph Ward, pastor of the influential Congregational church in Yankton, which carried on the tradition of New England Puritanism in Dakota. While serving as territorial superintendent of public instruction, Beadle advocated adopting the township system for schools, the same plan used in New England.[94]

92. George Martin Smith, "The Roman Catholic Church," in *Denominational Histories*, pp. 122–23; Doane Robinson, "Religion," in *Denominational Histories*, p. 132.

93. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education in South Dakota," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 12 (1924): 377. Richard Jensen has also noted that "education was a New England export" ("On Modernizing Frederick Jackson Turner: The Historiography of Regionalism," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 [July 1980]: 310).

94. Beadle, "Congregationalism and Civic Growth," p. 6; Doane Robinson, *History of*



As superintendent of public instruction, William H. H. Beadle sought to pattern the educational system of Dakota on the model of eastern schools.

Early education statutes also underscored the efforts of the old-stock American leaders to maintain American traditions. In 1879, the territorial legislature adopted a provision that required withholding funds from any school that did not teach the English language exclusively. In 1881, the territorial legislature passed a law permitting schools, after a vote at the annual school meeting, to teach one foreign

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South Dakota, 2 vols. (N.p.: B. F. Bowen, 1904), pp. 717–19; Cleata B. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota: Its First Hundred Years, 1861–1961," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 36 (1972): 232.

language, such as German, for one hour per day. Later in the decade, Wisconsin and Illinois also banned foreign-language instruction, angering German immigrants.[95] Such prohibitions, contends legal scholar Joseph Viteritti, were designed to "harass sectarian schools which often provided instruction to immigrant communities in their native language."[96]

In order to circumvent the Protestant-dominated education system, Catholics in Dakota Territory emphasized the building of their own parochial schools. One historical account notes that some Lutheran and Episcopal elementary schools existed but that most Protestants were content to leave the education of elementary students to the public schools, while Catholic communities definitely desired a religion-based education for their children. The Councils of Baltimore, which Bishop Marty attended in 1884, encouraged the publication of Catholic newspapers and books and also made Catholic education a mandate.[97] "It cannot be desirable or advantageous," stated one Catholic pastoral letter, "that religion should be excluded from the school."[98] In some cases, Catholics faced excommunication for not sending their children to church schools.[99]

To the chagrin of Catholics, Protestant ministers in South Dakota often took the lead in promoting the public school system by serving as county superintendents, teachers, or board members.[100] The strong influence of the Protestant ministers involved in public school policy

95. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," p. 459; R. W. Kraushaar, "Brief Chronological History of School Legislation and Growth," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 18 (1936): 19; Dakota Territory, *Laws Passed at the Fourteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota* (1881), pp. 80–81; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 124.

96. Viteritti, "Blaine's Wake," p. 677. The Nebraska prohibition of foreign language instruction was found unconstitutional in *Meyer v. State of Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

97. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom*, p. 87; Carol Goss Hoover, "Catholic Missions, Churches, and Schools," in *New South Dakota History*, p. 325; Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 13.

98. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom*, p. 87. *See also* McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 114.

99. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 61.

100. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom*, p. 87. The "dominance of native Protestant culture" underpinned the common school movement. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), p. x.

raised concerns among some Catholics that proselytizing of their children might occur in the Protestant-dominated public schools. Because of this distrust, the building of parish schools was deemed only slightly less important than building houses of worship.[101] Bishop Marty instructed one priest that in order "to keep up and propagate a good spirit, you ought to have at least one Catholic school in the district."[102] The common schools had also been mandated by the territorial legislature in 1875 to adopt the Protestant-leaning McGuffey textbooks, including *McGuffey's New Eclectic Speller, McGuffey's New Primary Charts, McGuffey's New Eclectic Reader,* and *McGuffey's New Eclectic Speaker.* No other textbooks could be used without specific permission from the territorial superintendent of public instruction.[103] The McGuffey books, according to one study, had been known for their "strong and universal" anti-Catholic sentiments.[104]

The so-called Bible battles of the late nineteenth century also found parallels in South Dakota. In 1869, a non-Protestant majority on the Cincinnati, Ohio, school board voted to abandon the Protestant practice of beginning each school day with Bible reading and hymn singing and thereby triggered a nationwide frenzy of anti-Catholicism.[105] In New York, when Democratic political boss William Tweed succeeded in securing some public funding for Catholic schools, outraged Protestants demanded that public aid to sectarian education be banned and that sectarian teaching in public schools be prohibited. One prominent Presbyterian minister in Dakota Territory weighed in on the controversy, denouncing the "schemes the Romanists engineer through the New York legislature."[106] In 1872, Iowa and Illinois,

101. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom,* p. 87.

102. Martin Marty to Father Rosen, 9 Feb. 1882, no file, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

103. Kraushaar, "Brief Chronological History of School Legislation and Growth," p. 17; Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 215; Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," p. 349.

104. Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. 46. *See also* McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom,* p. 39.

105. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction,* pp. 28–29.

106. William M. Blackburn, "Pulpit, Pew, and Paper" (scrapbook), no file, Box 3374A, William Maxwell Blackburn Papers, State Archives Collection, SDSHS (this collection is hereafter cited as Blackburn Papers). *See also* McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom,* pp. 115–16.

whose constitutions provided guidance to South Dakota's constitutional drafters, amended their constitutions to prohibit the spending of public funds on sectarian education. In 1875 and 1876, Missouri, Alabama, and North Carolina also adopted constitutional prohibitions on aid to sectarian education, while Congress required that Colorado and all states subsequently entering the Union adopt constitutional bans on aid to sectarian schools.[107] Concerns were also expressed about New Mexico, which was considered a "Catholic land" occupied by a "Catholic people."[108] Responding to critics who feared that Catholics were taking over the schools, the secretary of New Mexico Territory outlawed aid to Catholic schools in 1875. At the time South Dakota gained admittance to the Union in 1889, Congress still refused to admit New Mexico, given its Spanish Catholic proclivities and doubts over its commitment to the American public school system.[109]

The laws governing public schools in Dakota Territory also reflect anti-Catholic sentiment in that they sought to preserve the Protestant tradition of Bible reading in school as part of a student's moral education. In 1883, the Dakota territorial assembly adopted a law guaranteeing that the Bible "shall not be excluded from any public school, nor deemed a sectarian book. It may be read in school without sectarian comment, not exceeding ten minutes daily, and no pupil shall be required to read it contrary to the wishes of his parent or guardian or other person having him in charge. The highest standard of morals shall be taught, and industry, truthfulness, integrity and self-respect inculcated, obedience to law enjoined, and the aims of an upright and

107. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, pp. 57–58, 182, 220. Joseph Viteritti notes that the Colorado constitutional convention was controlled by supporters of Grant, Blaine, and Henry Blair and that pro-Blaine amendment sentiments were "ingrained in the political culture of the states and territories" ("The Inadequacy of Adequacy Guarantees: A Historical Perspective," paper delivered at Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 13–14 Oct. 2005, p. 21). Philip Hamburger writes that "Nativist Protestants . . . because of the strength of anti-Catholic feeling, managed to secure local versions of the Blaine amendment in a vast majority of the states" (*Separation of Church and State*, p. 335).

108. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 117.

109. Ibid.; McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 189; Hicks, "Constitutions of the Northwest States," p. 23; Lamar, "Westering in the Twenty-First Century," p. 260.

useful life cultivated."[110] The 1887 territorial code included similar provisions prohibiting "sectarian" activities while exempting Bible reading: "No sectarian doctrine shall be taught in any public school but the bible may be read in school not to exceed ten minutes daily, without sectarian comment."[111] Another section of the law specified that "no sectarian doctrine shall be taught or inculcated in any of the public schools or the corporation; but the holy scriptures without note or comment may be used therein."[112]

The fact that Dakota legislators considered Bible-reading to be a nonsectarian activity indicated their support for a "generalized Protestant morality," which they did not consider to be sectarian.[113] Richard Baer, Jr., has explained that Catholics made no such distinction between Bible reading and "sectarian" activities. "For Catholics, who were not in favor of individual interpretation of Scripture," Baer writes, "the simple reading of Scripture (especially from the King James Version) commonly practiced in the 'public' schools was anything but a religiously neutral or 'nonsectarian' activity. It was an establishment of a majority's religion against a minority's." Further, according to Baer, Horace Mann, a leading advocate of the common schools, did not consider his own generic Protestantism to constitute "sectarian" teaching. Mann "fervently believed that religion should be taught in the compulsory common schools, but [that] it should be of a nonsectarian variety—a religion that he thought was common to all Christians, but that, when all was said and done, looked almost identical to his own Unitarianism."[114]

110. Dakota Territory, *Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly* (1883), ch. 44, sec. 91, p. 102. According to one study, Horace Mann, a leader of the common-school movement, "insisted on Bible reading, without commentary, as the foundation of moral education." Nondenominational Bible reading and "generalized Protestantism became the common religion of the common school" (John C. Jeffries, Jr., and James E. Ryan, "A Political History of the Establishment Clause," *Michigan Law Review* 100 (Nov. 2001): 298–99.

111. Dakota Territory, *Compiled Laws of the Territory of Dakota*, (1887), ch. 17, art. 2, sec. 1706, p. 379.

112. Ibid., ch. 17, art. 3, sec. 1829, p. 407.

113. Frederick Mark Gedicks, "Reconstructing the Blaine Amendments," *First Amendment Law Review* 2 (2003): 91–92.

114. Baer, "Perspectives on Religion and Education in American Law and Politics: The

An article in the *Dakota Catholic* complained during the final adoption of the South Dakota Constitution about the "anti-Catholic" proclivities of public schools and maintained, "Too often 'freedom from sectarian control' in our public schools, practically is made to mean the careful exclusion of every thing Catholic."[115] The first constitution drafted for South Dakota in 1883 included a provision against aid to "sectarian" schools, as did the subsequent drafts in 1885 and 1889. The 1889 federal Enabling Act creating the state of South Dakota also required the new state to create "a system of public schools, which should be open to all children and free from sectarian control."[116] Senator Henry Blair of New Hampshire viewed the nonsectarian mandate of the Enabling Act as completing the unfinished work of the failed Blaine Amendment.[117] Blair had also sought federal legislation similar to the Blaine amendment and, when his efforts failed, he blamed Jesuit priests, deeming them a "Black Legion" and an "enemy of this country" whose goal was "destroying the public school system." The senator considered the ban on public aid to sectarian schools contained in the Enabling Act to be the "very essence" of the Blaine Amendment.[118]

Negative attitudes toward Catholics could be detected at the Dakota constitutional conventions themselves. During the days of the 1883 constitutional convention in Sioux Falls, opening prayers were given

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Supreme Court's Discriminatory Use of the Term 'Sectarian,'" *Journal of Law and Politics* 6 (Spring 1990): 456–57. *See also* Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, p. 220; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 24. In 1929, the South Dakota Supreme Court ruled in favor of a Catholic student whose parents brought suit to reverse the expulsion of their son for refusing to read the King James Version of the Bible in class. The court noted that the King James Version "is a translation by scholars of the Anglican Church bitterly opposed to the Catholics, apparent in the dedication of the translation, where the Pope is referred to as 'that man of sin'" (*State v. Weedman*, 226 N.W. 349–51 [S.D. 1929]).

115. *Dakota Catholic*, 3 Aug. 1889.

116. Marie Louise Lotze, "How South Dakota Became a State," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 14 (1928): 471–72.

117. *Congressional Record*, 50th Cong., 2d sess., 1889, 20, pt. 3: 2100–2001. Senator Blair's work earned him a listing on the American Protective Association's "Roll of Honor." Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, p. 259.

118. Joseph P. Viteritti, "Davey's Plea: Blaine, Blair, Witters, and the Protection of Religious Freedom," *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 27 (Fall 2003): 313–14.

by Congregational, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Reformed church ministers. None were given by Catholic priests.[119] In debates over taxation during the 1885 convention, some delegates expressed concern about exempting church property on the grounds that doing so would aid the Catholic Church. In fact, writes John D. Hicks, "Some delegates declared that the only reason why the customary exemption was opposed was an unworthy desire to cripple the Roman Catholic Church."[120] One delegate conceded that the church had

119. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1670–1715.
120. Hicks, "Constitutions of the Northwest States," p. 128.

Constitutional convention delegates assembled on a Sioux Falls street for this photograph taken in September 1883. Protestant-Catholic divisions surfaced among delegates to both constitutional conventions held in the mid-1880s.

extensive property holdings but appealed to delegates to set aside their prejudice on the matter. Another delegate advocated a substantial exemption for church property even if the Catholic Church was aided thereby.[121] President Grant had helped to advance the notion of taxing church property in his 1875 antisectarian school speech in Des Moines. According to Ward McAfee, the measure proved "popular with those who assumed that the Roman Catholic church would suffer the most under taxation."[122] Philip Hamburger also indicates that Grant used this "anti-Catholic" taxation proposal to "stir the basest passions of his fellow Americans."[123]

Religious conflict in Dakota Territory also arose from the federal Indian policies of the late nineteenth century. In keeping with President Grant's "Peace Policy," which had been designed to remove Indian affairs from the hands of corrupt politicians and the military, the federal government assigned the administration of each Indian agency to a particular religious denomination. In Dakota Territory, agencies were allotted to the Episcopalians, who, because of their political influence, received the majority; to a joint Congregational/Presbyterian organization; and to the Catholics, who were assigned to the Devils Lake Agency in northern Dakota and the Standing Rock Agency in what would become South Dakota and North Dakota. It was at Standing Rock that Martin Marty arrived from a monastery in Indiana for his first Dakota assignment in 1876. For several years following the institution of the peace policy in 1869, Catholic missionary efforts lagged behind those of the Protestant denominations.[124] The Catholic Church gained ground, however, and when Grant's Peace Policy came to an end in the early 1880s, Catholics went to work es-

121. *Dakota Constitutional Convention Held at Sioux Falls, September, 1885*, vol. 1 (Huron, S.Dak.: Huronite Printing, 1907), pp. 473, 475.

122. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction*, p. 195.

123. Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, p. 324; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, p. 92. In the 1850s, some states had also prohibited Catholic bishops from owning property. Ribuffo, *Right Center Left*, p. 44.

124. Karolevitz, *Bishop Martin Marty*, pp. 6–7, 58; Joel Rippinger, O.S.B., "Martin Marty: Monk, Abbot, Missionary, Bishop – II: Missionary to the Indians," *American Benedictine Review* 33 (Dec. 1982): 376; Hoover, "Catholic Missions, Churches, and Schools," pp. 320–21.

tablishing numerous missions on the reservations that had formerly been closed to them. By 1884, when the Third Plenary Council met in Baltimore and mandated the building of a Catholic education system, Marty, now bishop of Dakota, had become a strong voice in discussions about the needs of Sioux Indians.[125]

In the competition for Indian converts both before and after the peace policy, Catholic-Protestant friction was common.[126] Presbyterian records in South Dakota indicate a willingness on their part to cooperate with fellow Protestants such as the Congregationalists, but Catholics are mentioned only as "Romanist" opponents.[127] At the agency on Pine Ridge, the Oglala Sioux leader Red Cloud demanded Catholic priests instead of the Episcopal ministers who had been assigned to serve the Oglalas. Spotted Tail, leader of the Brulés, made the same request at Rosebud. When Bishop Marty traveled to the agencies to respond to these requests, the Episcopal bishop, William Hobart Hare, "hurried from Niobrara to Rosebud to express regret that [Marty] had ventured onto the reservation contrary to government policy."[128] Marty continued to conduct missionary work on Pine Ridge and Rosebud, sometimes returning in secret after being run out by federal officials at the request of the Episcopalians.[129]

Throughout the 1880s and beyond, a spirit of ecumenism among religious groups, and between Protestants and Catholics in particular, was practically nonexistent.[130] Bishop Marty and subsequent missionaries "faced and participated in vigorous, sometimes vicious, interdenominational competition for souls in Sioux Country," according to one historian. At Sisseton and Flandreau, for example, Catholic mis-

125. Karolevitz, *Bishop Martin Marty*, p. 94; Hans Janssen, "Bishop Marty in the Dakotas," *American-German Review* (June–July 1961): 25.

126. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, pp. 112–13; Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, pp. 74–78.

127. Bruce David Forbes, "Presbyterian Beginnings in South Dakota: 1840-1900," *South Dakota History* 7 (Spring 1977): 150.

128. Karolevitz, *Bishop Martin Marty*, pp. 69–70.

129. Sister Ann Kessler, O.S.B., "First Catholic Bishop of Dakota: Martin Marty, the Blackrobe Lean Chief," in *South Dakota Leaders*, p. 112.

130. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom*, p. 84.

"The Greatest of Treats—Bishop Hare's Visit" read the caption for this photograph taken at an Episcopal boarding school in South Dakota and published in a booklet sent to mission benefactors.

sionary efforts were "stifled" by those of Congregationalists and Episcopalians.[131] Another study concludes that the Catholic-Protestant conflict went beyond interdenominational pettiness to become "nothing less than flagrant bigotry on the part of the Protestants who dominated the mission field."[132]

With the arrival of Marty, Catholic missionary work among the Sioux accelerated, first at the assigned agency of Standing Rock, where the Benedictines built a boys' school in 1877 and a girls' school in 1878.[133] Despite the one-church rule of Grant's Peace Policy, the bishop also dispatched missionaries to other agencies. The Rosebud Sioux, Marty observed, were "very partial to the religion of the Blackrobes [Catholics] and the persecution they have to suffer from their agent, a fanatical Episcopalian, has only strengthened them in their desire to have a Catholic Church and school."[134] Over one two-and-

131. Hoover, "Catholic Missions, Churches, and Schools," p. 319. *See also* ibid., p. 322.

132. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 1:523.

133. Hoover, "Catholic Missions, Churches, and Schools," pp. 318–23.

134. Marty, "Das apostolische Vikariat Dakota."

one-half-year period in the early 1880s, three priests on the Rosebud baptized eight hundred Indians, and in the middle of the decade, Saint Francis boarding school was opened.[135] In 1886, the federal government gave Catholics the authority to build the Jesuit-run Holy Rosary boarding school on the Pine Ridge, where Red Cloud and his family had been baptized. Another Catholic mission was opened at Crow Creek Agency in 1887 with the aid of a government contract. On Crow Creek, Catholic Indians outnumbered the combined total of all other Christian denominations.[136]

After the failure of Grant's Peace Policy, the federal government continued to contract with religious groups for the operation of additional schools on Indian reservations. Believing it had been shut out under the peace policy, the Catholic Church viewed the contract system as an opportunity to expand its efforts and gain dominance over Protestants in the Indian mission field. The practice of paying for these contract schools with federal funds aroused anger among Protestants, who again found occasion to criticize the giving of government aid to "sectarian" schools. The Protestant-dominated Indian Rights Association took a leading role in objecting to what it viewed as the favoritism being shown to Roman Catholic schools on Indian reservations and brought an unsuccessful lawsuit to block the use of Indian trust and treaty funds to pay for the operation of such schools. In reporting on the dispute over the federal funds going to "sectarian schools," the *Washington Post* cited funds being given to the "Roman Catholic Church."[137]

Episcopal Bishop William Hare, head of the most politically powerful church in Dakota Territory, led criticism of the use of federal Indian funds for Catholic schools, and his protests triggered much na-

135. Sister Mary Clement Fitzgerald, "Bishop Marty and His Sioux Missions, 1876–1896" (master's thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1933), pp. 24–25. One account indicates that by 1936 the Jesuits of Saint Francis had baptized eighty-five hundred Indians. Gertrude Stickney Young, *South Dakota: An Appreciation* (Brookings: By the Author, 1944), p. 35.

136. Fitzgerald, "Bishop Marty and His Sioux Missions," pp. 26–27, 35.

137. Kinzer, *Episode in Anti-Catholicism*, pp. 74–78, 205–7; Prucha, *Great Father*, 2:707–8, 777; Marty, "Das apostolische Vikariat Dakota"; Statement of the Agency of the Indian Rights Association, 4 Feb. 1905, Folder Indian Rights Association, Box 5, Bishop Hare Papers; *Washington Post*, 1 Feb. 1905.

200 WICOTAKUYE TECA OYAKAPI KIN.

LXVI.—CHRIST YUTAPI WAKAN SACRAMENT KAGE KIN.

1. Waonspewicakiyapi siha wicakiciyujajapi kin ohakam, Christ taku awacin on qon he wanna hiyohi. Wanna kakije kte cin iyehantu kte qehan, taku itokam owicakiyake ciqon he hduecetu kta "Tancan kin yutapi kta e wicaqu kta, qa we kin yatkanpi kta e wicaqu kta iwahowicaye ciqon."

2. Heon etanhan, wota iyotankapi kin econhan, Jesus agu-

yapi itokam yanke cin icu, qa, nape wakan kin ohna icu, qa maḣpiya ekta etonwan; hehan wopida eye, qa, aguyapi kin yawaśte, waonspewicakiye cin wicaqu, qa heya: "De icupi qa yutapo; DE MITANCAN KIN EE, niçupi." Wicoie kin dena on Jesus aguyapi kin tancan ohodapica kin ee kaga.

The Last Supper and other stories from the Bible were featured in *Wowapi Wakan: Bible History in the Sioux Indian Language*, written in 1897 by a Catholic priest for use in the mission field.

tional reporting and commentary. Hare raised fears that the federal funds being spent on Catholic schools in South Dakota were being "abused . . . for the aggrandizement of Rome."[138] In its defense of Indian mission schools, the *Catholic Sentinel* called the government-run schools "often bitterly anti-Catholic" institutions where Indian children would be subjected to "Protestant Propaganda."[139] Bishop Marty wrote to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington, D.C., in 1891 that he was "defending our Indian schools against the combined power and craft of Protestant church and State."[140] Another account of the battle over the funding of Indian schools concluded that "bigotry was at the root of the propaganda against sectarian Indian schools, although it masqueraded under the guise of patriotism and deep concern for the preservation of the principle of 'separation of Church and State.'" Furthermore, the author contended, Catholic mission schools suffered under a financial disadvantage because the training of priests required a larger investment of time and study than did the training of Protestant clergy, who also had the advantage of being allowed to enlist the aid of native helpers in running their schools.[141] Bishop Marty had complained in 1885 that "the Protestant missionaries in the west are amply and gloriously supported by their coreligionists in the East" while "Catholics can not ever get the surplus of our rich Catholics on reasonable interest."[142]

As leader of the Episcopal Church in Dakota Territory and, later, South Dakota, Bishop Hare represented the transplantation of an eastern cultural heritage that had long harbored hostility toward Catholics. Hare's biographer describes him as the "best Anglican type" and an "English churchman of gentle breeding" who "sprang both from the New England Puritans and the Pennsylvania Friends whose beliefs and standards have played so important a part in the re-

138. Letter from Bishop Hare, 30 Aug. 1889, Folder 1889, Box 4, Bishop Hare Papers. *See also* assorted newspaper clippings, Folder H5/58, Box 5, ibid.

139. *Catholic Sentinel*, 6 Feb. 1902.

140. Martin Marty to Bishop, 19 Dec. 1891, Folder American Indian Culture Research Center, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

141. Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom*, p. 158.

142. Marty to Father Rosen, 11 Mar. 1885, no folder, Box Bishop Martin Marty, CDSF.

ligious and political life of America."[143] The Episcopal Church, the bishop said, stood against religious extremism, including "the excesses of Rome." Catholics, according to Hare, "huddle together in the dark, shut off from modern thought, cherishing dear but exploded theories and legends, reviving antiquated customs, and seeking to impose them as laws upon others, thus binding living men to-day in the cerements of the dead past."[144]

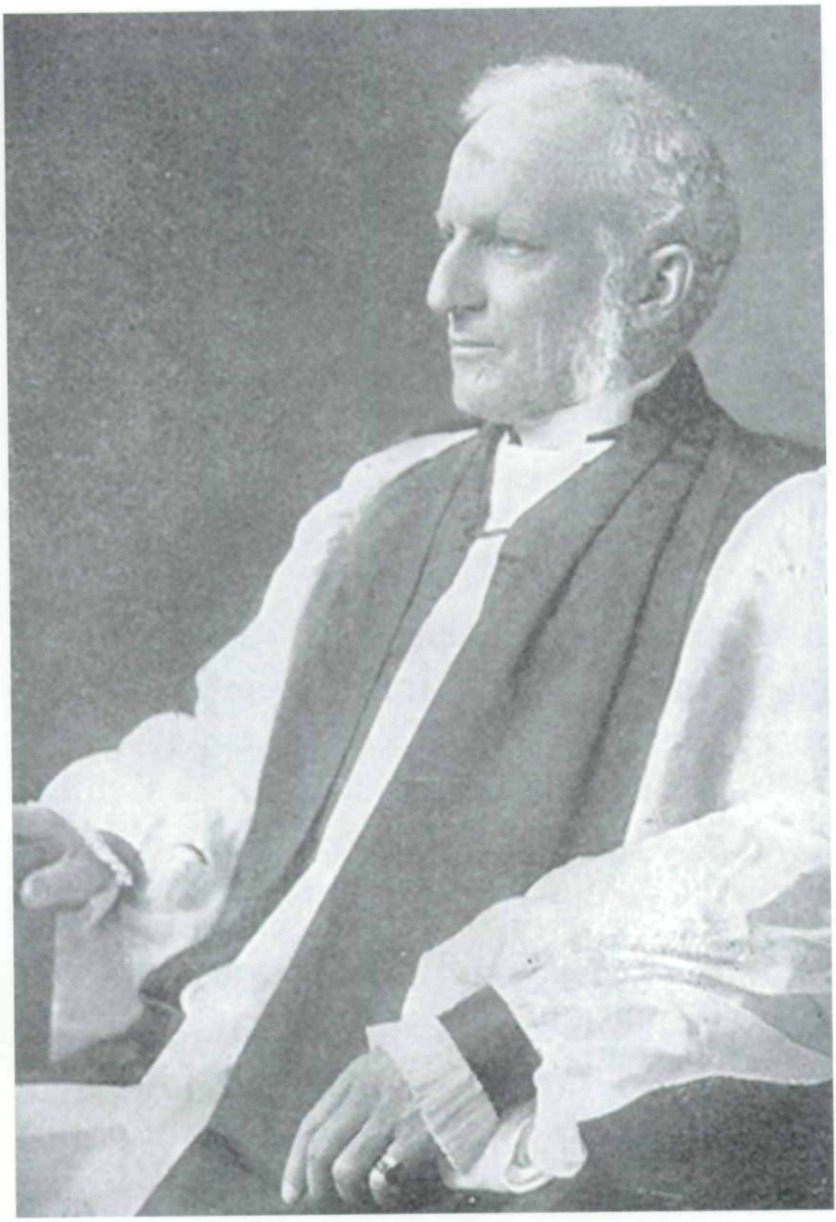
The Episcopal bishop's papers are filled with anti-Catholic clippings that discuss "Jesuitism and the central rule of Rome," which "cannot be the religion of the citizens of a free country." One pamphlet denounces the Catholic Church as an "un-American" institution whose rituals date back to "barbaric times" and whose priests are "under the orders of a foreign superior." Hare also saved items that referred to "the colossal usurpations of Papal tyranny" and quotations from William Gladstone criticizing "Papal Supremacy."[145] A pamphlet by the former British prime minister entitled *The Vatican Decrees* represented Catholicism as a formidable foe and became extremely popular in the United States when New York publishers rushed it into print in 1876. Bishop Hare also collected writings from the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, founded in 1889, which denounced aid to Catholic Indian schools and called for the revival of the Blaine amendment.[146] The strength of Hare's opinions is evident in a letter written after he learned that a Catholic priest had nearly been allowed to use an Episcopal cathedral to conduct a funeral. "The mere thought of a priest of Rome addressing the Virgin in prayer at

143. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1911), pp. 5–6.

144. Ibid., pp. 327–28.

145. Assorted pamphlets, Folder H5/58, Box 5, Bishop Hare Papers; undated clippings, Folder 24, Regeneration, Conversion, Folder 36, Notes on Roman Catholic, and Folder 165, Quotes, all Box 7, ibid. William Blackburn, a prominent Presbyterian minister in Dakota Territory, also collected clippings referencing "papal arrogance and bigotry." *See* "The Reform Movement in Germany" (scrapbook), no folder, Box 3374A, Blackburn Papers.

146. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, pp. 98–99; "Address before the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians, October 9, 1890," Folder H5/58, Box 5, Bishop Hare Papers; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 60.



William Hobart Hare, who led the Episcopal Church in Dakota from 1873 to 1909, viewed Roman Catholicism as a threat to American institutions.

the Cathedral altar," he wrote, "[is] painful to me."[147] Despite his recurring clashes with the Catholic Church, Hare asked that evidence of interdenominational friction be "carefully excluded" from Doane Robinson's history of South Dakota, published in 1904.[148]

The anti-Catholic sentiment evident during the territorial period persisted in the decades after statehood. During the national surge in Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activity in the 1920s, it was the anti-Catholic aspect of the Klan that prompted many of the approximately three thousand South Dakotans to join. In fact, when the KKK planned meetings in South Dakota in the 1920s, it emphasized that only Protestants could attend.[149] According to one study of the KKK in Dakota, "several local former Klansmen suggested that opposition to Catholicism was their sole reason for Klan membership."[150] Catholics in the Black Hills towns of Lead and Sturgis were subjected to cross burnings and dynamite blasts, and one interviewee recalled the school superintendent in Rapid City being terminated for refusing to fire all Catholic schoolteachers at the behest of the KKK.[151] In eastern South Dakota, the Catholic Church also became a focal point for Klansmen, who targeted Catholic "card parties, dances, and booze parties." The Klan newspaper specifically mentioned card parties "put on in the Catholic churches in Madison, Nunda, and Ramona," calling them "fronts for dances and liquor parties with the sole intent of gaining converts to Catholicism." Such claims, according to one researcher, were designed to "fuel the klan membership to start fires of hatred towards

147. Quoted in Gerald W. Wolff, "First Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Dakota: William Hobart Hare," in *South Dakota Leaders*, p. 94.

148. Hare to Doane Robinson, 3 Apr. 1903, Folder 88, Box 3361A, Doane Robinson Papers, 1880–1946, State Archives Collection, SDSHS.

149. Lorraine Collins and Scott Stoel, "The Invisible Empire of the Plains," *South Dakota Magazine* 11 (May/June 1995): 37, 39; *Fort Pierre Times*, 9 Oct. 1925.

150. Charles Rambow, "The Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s: A Concentration on the Black Hills," *South Dakota History* 4 (Winter 1973): 74. One historian has noted that in the early years of Dakota Territory "a substantial percentage of the Black Hills miners were Irish Catholics and Democrats who were at odds with the Protestant/Republican majority living east of the Missouri River" (Hoover, "Catholic Missions, Churches, and Schools," p. 323).

151. Rambow, "Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s," p. 74; Paul Higbee, "A Photographer's Photographer: Rapid City's Bill Groethe has focused on the Black Hills for 66 years," *South Dakota Magazine* 21 (May/June 2005): 59.

The Ku Klux Klan, pictured here on parade in Rapid City in the 1920s, singled out Catholics as targets for their hate messages in South Dakota.

Catholics."[152] A study of KKK activities in Grand Forks, North Dakota, also concluded that anti-Catholicism, ginned up by a prominent Presbyterian minister and supported by a Protestant establishment that raised concerns over the Catholic threat to public schools, formed the basis of KKK activity.[153]

More typical than those who participated in the extreme anti-Catholic groups were those Dakotans who concerned themselves with issues closer to home, such as preventing marriages between Protes-

152. Kenneth R. Stewart, "The Ku Klux Klan in South Dakota," paper presented at Dakota History Conference, Madison, S.Dak., 6 Apr. 1973, pp. 7–9, copy in Vertical File "Ku Klux Klan," State Archives Collection, SDSHS. Stewart also notes sympathy between Masons and Klansmen.

153. William L. Harwood, "The Ku Klux Klan in Grand Forks, North Dakota," *South Dakota History* 1 (Fall 1971): 311–12. In a statewide referendum in 1948, North Dakota also voted to prohibit nuns who taught in public school from wearing religious clothing. Twenty-nine Protestant ministers and the secretary of the state Masonic Lodge helped lead the effort to pass the law. Linda Grathwohl, "The North Dakota Anti-Garb Law: Constitutional Conflict and Religious Strife," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1993): 189, 193. The KKK and the Masons also led a successful effort in the 1920s to pass an initiative to ban private schools in Oregon. Viteritti, "Blaine's Wake," p. 675. The Oregon law was declared unconstitutional in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510 (1923).

tants and Catholics. Norwegian-Lutheran families were particularly tight-knit and found it "very upsetting" if a family member "associated too closely with someone of another denomination or nationality."[154] Ethnic intermarriage was firmly discouraged, and Norwegian pastors "warned their flocks not to associate too closely with outside groups."[155] Scandinavians were not alone in holding such restrictive views. One anecdote tells of a German farmer who, considering his daughter's potential husband, remarked that the "first count against the suitor was that he was an Irishman."[156] According to Frederick Luebke, Germans who adhered to either the Lutheran or Catholic faiths "would have remarkably little to do with each other" despite their ethnic bond.[157] For Germans and Norwegians, "endogamy," or marrying within one's own group, was the general rule. As John Hudson has emphasized, the "Dakota frontier was not a melting pot."[158]

Catholic-Protestant differences continued to be an issue throughout much of the twentieth century when, for example, Catholics in South Dakota were still known as "cat lickers" (a play on words) and "fish eaters" (a reference to the Catholic practice of abstaining from eating meat on Fridays).[159] One South Dakota journalist recalled in later years that during the presidential race in 1960, a fellow student at Watertown Junior High School had torn a Kennedy campaign button from his coat and stepped on it, exclaiming, "Those damn Catholics."[160] Another South Dakota journalist recently wrote of the

154. Oyos, "Lutherans Discover Each Other and American Values," p. 99.

155. Oyos, "Protestant Faith and Learning," p. 340. Robert Ostergren also notes that ethnic group interaction was difficult due to "cultural values and prejudices" ("European Settlement and Ethnicity Patterns on the Agricultural Frontiers of South Dakota," *South Dakota History* 13 [Spring/Summer 1983]: 79).

156. Douglas Chittick, "A Recipe for Nationality Stew," in *Dakota Panorama*, ed. J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman (N.p.: Dakota Territory Centennial Commission, 1961), p. 102.

157. Luebke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," p. 412.

158. John C. Hudson, "Migration to an American Frontier," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (June 1976): 257, 265.

159. Dolores Barnes Wilson, *From the Wrong Side of the Tracks* (N.p.: By the Author, 1980), p. 40.

160. David Kranz, "Killing brought down dream," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 20 Nov. 1988.

ban on Catholic school participation in end-of-the-season high school sports tournaments that remained in place until the 1960s. One lobbyist described the effort to end the ban as a "tough, bitter religious fight. They talked about the pope running the schools. [Today] you just can't believe it."[161] When the anti-establishment National Farmers Organization started agitating against corporate agriculture in the 1960s, a disproportionate number of its members were Catholics, another reflection of the persistence of differing world views between Catholics and Protestants.[162] As recently as 1970, when the South Dakota Democrats nominated Catholic candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, some observers predicted a voter "backlash."[163] The South Dakota Democratic Party in those years, according to one prominent participant, was like "Mass in the precincts," indicating the persistence of a partisan split based, at least in part, on religion.[164] In a newly published memoir, one woman who grew up in a small town in North Dakota during the 1960s and early 1970s noted that a Lutheran marrying a Catholic was a "scandal where I came from."[165]

Although the subject of anti-Catholicism in South Dakota has not been a major focus of historians to date, the evidence of its existence in the early history of the state justifies further research and inquiry. In addition to being an important social force on its own terms, anti-Catholicism constitutes a unique form of social tension that can inform the study of politics, social structures, and political culture. An understanding of anti-Catholic sentiments also promotes a broader understanding of public-policy battles over prohibition, education,

161. Kevin Woster, "Just being there a victory in itself; Catholic teams celebrate inclusion in state events," *Rapid City Journal*, 14 Nov. 2005.

162. Jon K. Lauck, *American Agriculture and the Problem of Monopoly: The Political Economy of Grain Belt Farming, 1953–1980* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 26–27.

163. David Kranz, "Dougherty remembers Kennedy's life," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 5 June 1988. Despite the predictions of an anti-Catholic backlash, Richard Kneip and William Dougherty were elected governor and lieutenant governor in 1970.

164. Jon Lauck and John E. Miller, interview with Ted Muenster, Brookings, S.Dak., 13 Nov. 2003.

165. Debra Marquart, *The Horizontal World: Growing Up Wild in the Middle of Nowhere* (New York: Counterpoint Press, 2006), p. 31.

and Indian affairs. As historians delve deeper into the ethnocultural heritage of South Dakota and the formative period of the state's history, an awareness of the religious friction revealed in recent works on the history of American Catholicism and overlooked in the existing historical literature of the American West will help to provide a more complete historical account.

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