(There is a loud whistle at the very beginning of this tape, immediately after I say That I'm going to check to see if the recorder is working, please lower volume to its least until you hear me say, "we're talking with Jose Toledo...")

Q We're talking with Luana Mangold and her uncle Jose Toledo...

A Jose Rey Toledo.

Q Okay. Who's here from New Mexico. Now I don't have anything in particular to sak- but I imagine that you knew many people who had been to the school here... (phone rings) Larry, would you get that? And one thing that they were interested in at the beginning was how good the school was or how important it was.

A Who is 'they' ?

Q The Pennsylvania - well, actually, the people I work with who wanted to do this interview program whether the school was useful...in whose terms I don't know... but I think that what, partly, they are talking about too was did it accomplish what Colonel Pratt intended, which was to acculturate people, or did it do that because of the school or did it do that because of the people. Were some groups of Indians more ready, more able than other groups of Indians? I don't know, maybe you could just think about the people you could just think about the people that you knew who came and who came - wen t back home, what it meant to them, what it meant to the rest of the Pueblo (place)

A Well, isolating the topic down to the Pueblo world, I can only talk about the Jemez. experience that I had when I first heard about Carlisle was when they would single out people having been to Carlisle, they would call it Car-ly, Car-ly instead of Carlisle, which meant this school that was set apart, that was so far away, like Philadelphia. In the area of Philadelphia, I don't why Carlisle was so associated with Philadelphia when it's so far away fraom Philadelphia.

Q Maybe it's the nest stop on the train...

A Yes, and there were two peopl that I saw in Jemez Pueblo that came here, but I don't know the name of both of them. All I know was one of them was the father of my brother-in-law, John Shamone. I don't know whether his father's name was John Shamone also or not. But at any rate he was a blacksmith up at Jemez Pueblo and when I saw him actively engaged in blacksmithing was in the years 1922, '23, perhaps 1924. And he had a forge and was doing very well repairing wagons in the village, and he would go and collect charcoal from the outdoor ovens where the Pueblo women did their baking, and there was always a surplus of charcoal that was swept aside when they were going to bake, and he would have his gunny sack and fill up his bag wiht charcoal a,d would take it to his forge and then he had bellows, hand-operated, sort of on the half-gear, they would make a loud sound as he was forcing the fire through this little grate that would heat up the metal. And he was always pounding, you could hear it for a long ways, his pounding of the anvil. And, like I was telling Luana, that he was- his services were used by some of the neighboring villages, too. Some of the Spanish-speaking people that lived in the area, as well as other Pueblos. They would bring their wagons, either to have spokes renewed or the rim adjusted to the wheel, or some such thing.

Q Would he have...could anybody learn blacksmithing elsewhere?

A I don't think so, I know of no person at the pueblo who could have access to blacksmithing. Of course there wa s another blacksmith which was probably a takeoff from this experience. But he was educated at the St. Catherine's Indian School, and he was not as

successful as the Carlisle product. I don't know whether my brother-in-law's father graduated or not, but he certainly made good use of his trade.

Q Was he happy?

A I beg your pardon.

Q Was he happy?

A Was he happy? I don't know, he was, I guess he was satisfied. I wasn't mature enough to know what kind of income he made, or what kind of arrangements he made, but we had the bartering system in those days when we traded our services for items, oh, agricultural products or meats or, whatever it is that was offered/

Q For services.

A Yes.

Q I guess I wondered whether having been away he looked forward to coming home or whether he was treated differently by people at home for having been away?

A I wish I knew because I would know from the records that they might have had at Carlisle on the Carlisle files, when he came and how long he was here. And then another man, he was very short of stature ( Mr. Toledo re-pronounces 'stature'), kind of old at the time I knew him as a child. He spoke very good English, and he was used to translate letters or to interpret requests from strangers that came by. He wrote letters for families, letters that went out to different children at different schools in the area.

Q How did people, or maybe still do, I don't know, but how did people regard the schooling experience in itself?

A I don't know how they regarded the School but I do know that the Carlisle Indian School students were very useful. They applied themselves in areas where the tribe could use them, for example, there is a person by the name of Walter Saraceno from the Pueblo of Laguna,and Walter Saraceno was part Jemez also, and I understand he attended Carlisle Indian School - whether he graduated or not I don't know, but he was very active in the political area, and he demonstrated his skill by, you know, by keeping up a very good garden and had a variety of fruit, and had a vineyard that he kept in addition to his real job, which was to supervise a hotel. Whether that was his hotel, I don't know, but it was a stoppping place on the Santa Fe Railway System at Laguna, where tourists debarked and took in the Indians.

Q I wonder though, not so much about the Indian- The Carlisle Indian School, but is it a hard thing for Indian kids to have to go away to school? Is there anything that makes it good, or bad?

A I heard mentioned that there was a move on the part of the United States Governement to take children and to help tame, "t - a - m - e ", the Indian populace, to show them the way of the white man, and that they were going over there to learn the way of the white, and wherever Carlisle was, it was somewhere 'east'.

Q Some kids seemed to come all by themselves, I mean, or with another child, or even with someone maybe they didn't know, and the idea of seeing your child go or leaving, and saying goodbye to your mom and dad, and your aunts and uncles, and not knowing where the end was... that must have been very hard to do.

A I see. Probably, but speaking of the Pueblo world, I forgot that the Laguna Indians had

A an agreement with the Santa Fe railway - I don't know what the real agreements were, but they were issued passes and they had the first opportunity to work for the railroad, and learn trades that the railroad system incorporated, such as pipefitting and many other trades that the railroad implied, then they were offered free passes. I don't know what the geographical limit was but they used to go to the west coast to work or they were assigned to work there in various communities, like Riverside, (California), Riverbank, and I don't know where else. But it is possible that the children could have come, or their relatives could have come to Pennsylvania by that method.

Q You know that's interesting because there is an Indian School inRiverside.

A Is that right?

Q One of the disciplinarians who was an Indian - one of the women I spoke to earlier, was now, or had been at the time she was talking about, after this school closed, working at the Indian School at Riverside, California. And I know that the football team what out there at one time, too, to play the team at that school...

A (Mrs. Mangold) The school uncle attended in Albequerque, the Albequerque Indian School, was patterned the same pattern of Carlisle was taken and put out there and he was looking through some of the activities and the whole curricula set-up of Carlisle and he said this was exactly what we had when he went to school.

Q Well many of the students went on to become teachers at other schools, I understand, too...

(nods and general assents)

so maybe that the pattern got spread that way too. But I think the school changed greatly from the time that Colonel Pratt started it and retired, and then toward the end. I know I don't know whether I had read these things when I had come to see you (Mrs. Mangold), but there were some hearings - 1914 or '15, the Superintendent was in hot water because of improprieties, everywhere from physical punishment to growing food, ostensibly for the school, and then selling it to hotelkeepers or whatever, so that the children were hungry, and this was a big - at least this was what came out in the Hearings - it's very hard to get those transcriptions.

A Who was the Superintendent at the time when the charges were made?

Q Friedman.

A Friedman? Was that after the Colonel retired?

Q Yes, it was well after. I think he retired in 1902 or something, I don't know what he retired in.

A Well, I was looking over the roster of graduates from 1879 on, at least for the first ten years or so, there were no graduates listed, but after that it seemed to be a yearly graduating affair, and um, there were about twenty-five graduating ceremonies during the life of Carlisle Indian School up to 1914, and, I wondered how many of those also were productive students, what percentage were really productive, of course, many of them were cross-breeds, too, apparently. They already knew the white world, because they were children of mixed parents, some of them were very light, too, and I imagine that those adjusted better than say, the people from the Sioux in their original setting, and even the Apache. I imagine that the first years were very rough years, because the children were just simply illiterate, not able to read.

Q And being spoken to all the time in some incomprehensible language.

A Some were very illiterate...

(I check the machine for transcription)

A and it interests me to know how course were conducted. I don't imagine every area was a success the first few years, but like you say, eventually, as the people begin to hear more and more, and as the graduates were observed in their own home communities, they probably realized that iās for the good.

Q I wonder, when you mentioned that some were cross-breeds, do you suppose that that would have been a factor in their deciding to go or being chosen to go to the School?

A Well, they, being cross-breeds, had more knowledge of intent of European oriented society and I'm sure they were more successful. I knew it was like that at the Indian School where I attended in 1925, some of these from other areas, like Oklahoma and even the Laguna Indians from New Mexico, were much more behaving in an approved manner because they had contact with the white world through the in-roads being made by the railroad. personnel. And then, as a result, they had access to employment opportunities of a kind which other, more isolated reservations didn't have, and they knew the meaning of fitting, steam fitting, plumbing, I know that the Laguna children along with other Oklahoma Indians and Sioux Indians, for example, were very selective in their vocations because their parents had experience, yeah, they already knew what to choose, what to take.

Q At the school you were at were only Pueblo there, or were their students from other areas too?

A There were Apaches from both state, from Arizona and New Mexico, there were Navajoes from throughout the whole nation, the Navajo nation. There were a few Chippewa, about half a dozen Sioux from North and Sout Dakota, and there were all the Pueblos represented. The Utes were there and some Mission Indians were there too, from California. But they were very outspoken in their Chicano tongue, they weren't Chicanos but they were almost the same people.

Q Now when you say outspoken, they didn't see any need to change their language, is that what you mean, or...?

A A lot of Indians spoke good Spanish, and they related to them pretty well, a lot of students had a pretty appreciable knowledge of Spanish already, before they even went to the Albequerque Indian School, so the Islatas were very mixed too, usually with the Spanish descendants, and the school experience was as I discover now, very much patterned very much after teh curriculum of the Carlisle Indian School of that time. For example, when I was in school in 1925 I was just only in the fifth grade, rather I think it was 1926 when I went for the first time to Albequerque, and I was started in the fifth grade and until I was in the seventh grade I took ordinary vocational advantages - like housework, taking laundy every week to the laundry and the laundress there was a woman by the name of Abner, she was from Laguna too, and she graduated I noticed in one of the classes. And then I had for my fifthe grade teacher - her name was Anna Canfield, who also graduated in 1901, she was from Laguna Pueblo. She was my fifth grade teacher, and then there were others in the area who had gone to Carlisle. But I noticed that Anna Canfield was classed as a housewife, when she actually had been teaching for many years already.

Q I wonder about the records.

A That's what I said, I don't know whether they really investigated or whether they guessed in some of those instances because Mrs. Abner and Mrs. Canfield were Civil Service employees already when I was in school, and, those are practical experienced graduates. They didn't know their native tongue at all.

A Indian School, and the Congress was notified about it, it would be a wholesale investigation of all the Indian Schools that existed, for example, the contemporary school agencies that existed, the boarding schools, were, The Albequerque Indian School for one, the Santa Fe Indain School and Haskell Institute and one in Riverside, California, and uh, another uo in the Northwest coast, Laughton , was kind of famious as a government institution, too, Laughton, Oklahoma, I suppose. And then, there is the hometown of Sequoia was a pretty good Indian School, I believe it is in Cherokee, Oklahoma, I forgot the name of that Cherokee center there.

Q Do parents - I think it's called Cherokee.

A It must be, I know it was reputed to have the best weaving.

A (Mrs. Mangold) Caliqua.

A Caliqua, yes, that one, yeah.

Q I talked to a woman who lived in Cherokee...

A There is Cherokee, but the school is within the confines of that agency.

(I am mistaken in which Cherokee they are talking about. Mrs. Mangold and her uncle are explaining at the same time the confusion. They are not referring to Cherokee, N.C., but to the Cherokee reservation in Oklahoma.)

A They have a very modern, very modern motel comples that the Cherokee's built themselves. They had an industrial plant there, I thin k, they made pottery.

Q I wish you could have seen some of the things in the exhibit (The Historical Society's exhibit on the Carlisle Indian School). Some of it is very nice. I think some of it shouldn't be there.

A Where is the exhibit?

Q In the Museum down here. It's open tomorrow.

A Oh, I wish I could have seen it. Is it? What time tomorrow.

Q Probably in the afternoon. One to four.

A Oh, we won't be here. I guess I'll have to make another trip someday.

Q The War College also has Indian artifacts. A (Mrs. M) Yes, we were through the Hessian part. Of course we wanted to go through the Archives, I called Monday about that and they said they were not open, and that no one would come in on a Saturday to...

Q I wonder if General Smith could have gotten somebody to go in?

A He would have had he still been there, but I wouldn't want to impose on him in private, but I was disappointed. I couldn't think of the man who was in charge of the photographs. Because he was the one who was enthusiastic the one who wanted to have any information...

Mrs. M.

Q I have a person you might like to meet when she's finished with her work. She's doing her dissertation on the Carlisle Indian School photgraphs, and I just got some of these (photographs) out of the vault down at the Historical Society - there's just one picture that I love - this is the Debating Society which I think is sort of nice too, but- but this is Colonel Pratt back here...

Q I wonder how that was regarded back home?

A Well, those who spent too many years away from their homes... well, you see it would be a long time before they graduated, depending on how old they were when they came to Carlisle, even just ten years is long enough for a child to forget some of their built-in ancestral ways.

Q So they might not go back home again and be received...?

A Well, another thing, when she was fresh out of school she married another Anglo who was sheep herding in the Laguna Reservation at the time of their marriage. He was sheep-herding because of her I suppose. And he became an instructor in auto mechanics there at the Indian School - his name was Mr. Canfield.

Q He was from out there and she met him, or...?

A Well, I don't know where they met, but, they were married already when I started school...

Q Did kids from your school run away too, kids who wouldn't...

A I wouldn't know, that's too far back for me...oh, from the Indian School? Oh, yes! I too ran away on a couple of occasions.

Q Did you? Did you get far?

A Well, I succeeded on one occasion and, but before then, when kids ran away they were placed in jail, there was a little - it could be almost five-by-five - guard house for infractions that the students , for the infractions that they were called in for, if they were serious they would put you in jail, in this jail, and one of them died in jail. It was in 1928, one of them died in jail, was found dead in the jail, and so, I imagine the Pueblos bore down hard on that and an investigation was called, Congressional investigation, but it was blown up before the investigators got there.

Q How convenient.

A Yes.

Q I was going to ask you, there was a little jail out at the Barracks...

A I noticed that, it's not any different except that that's more protective from the elements. (the Carlisle jail (school jail)

Q Yes, it was unheated, and people were thrown in there for running away.

A (Mrs. Mangold) There was more than one, according to Dad, there was more than one, there was more than one. There was another one, I was telling Uncle the story when ...

Q The door?

A Yes, they built another one. It was on another guardhouse. (Mrs. Mangold)

Q Another one! It was interesting out here too, because I'll ask somebody about a building, and they'll say, "Oh, that got burnt down." or, "that one got burned down". Now I understand that the lighting was different then,maybe more candles, but I sort of wondered if maybe there would be a little rage involved in it too.

A Yes. Well, I think that probably if an investigation would be conducted at theAlbequerque

A Um-hmm.

Q So, it must put it somewhere between 1880 and 1900, they were one of the earliest groups, I think, of children.

A Well, you could tell the children that came 'raw', directly from the Reservation by the bewildered look, and almost disappointed ... attitudes. Almost throughout the whole picture.

Q Yes, Do you think, when you talk about the people trying to run away, and getting thrown in the guardhouse or the jail, did the children's parents have any opportunity to learn about that? And if they did, could they do anything about that?

A Well, I don't know, I', sure they knew about it, but, education was like health to the Indian people of that day. You talk about health till you're blue in the face, and some people aren't interested. Education was somewhat like that. It wasn't until pressures came from the outside, as for example, now, there are many pressures relating to public works that came as a result of the Office of Economic Opportunity that had to - some of it fell on the shoulders of the Pueblo administrators for the Pueblos, as well as others' governements of the various tribes, for example, proposals had to be made by them and approved, otherwise if somebody did it for them it would be questioned, somebody from the outside, it would be questioned.

Q And these were things that they wanted, or didn't want, or just felt they had to do, or...?

A Well, they were going to be funded, naturally, they had to do them. They had to be done somehow. And it's very serious now, for the opportunity to make proposals go unnoticed. In fact, it ousted one of the political leaders of my tribe because he didn't want to do any proposals, he didn't want any outside projects in the Pueblo, and as a result, the Indians got mad and they ousted him. It has happened twice to leaders that otherwise wouldn't have happened in the traditional setting.

Q So there's a real pressure there between two people who want to be more traditional and people who want to...

A Today the emphasis is on education and you find many competitive efforts on the part of say, Headstart teacher - the requirement that she would meet in order to retain her job or get an extra promotion- would be to obtain an AA degree, whatever 'AA' means, and then with that in the bag, she would try to get a BS or a BA degree, and with that she has no more chance of getting permanent employment in the Civil Service - usually they go into the Civil Service or into the Public School, and they are determined after that to continue with better paying job opportunities. So the emphasis is on education, and sure, in some respects I feel that there still is a need for isolated governemnt boarding schools of the type we had, maybe with a different approach, with more opportunities for having jobs in the metropolitan community - uh - more advantages in those categories.

Q You think that that would be a good thing for individual...?

A Some reservations still are at that state where they shouldn't have relinquished the government schools, of course, the approach would be different today.

Q Maybe, I don't know.

But they can't do it now because there are certain laws that prohibit favoring an Ethnic group.

Q Oh, is that?

A Well, you know, otherwise they'd ask for a case of maybe civil rights or whatever you

want to call it.

Q Yeah, that people should go to a school near them, and not be segregated...?

A The philosophy of government funding today has been that everybody participates, because it's a general thing.

Q Would you say that graduates of Indian Schools, or people who went to Indian Schools, whether it's Carlisle or other ones, where would they be - on which side - like, to mine uranium or to keep those people out, or to send people to schools or to not want to that, to keep traditional ways, or to be non-traditional?

A Well, if worse came to worst, if the government had to do it again anyway, and the Indian knew they were going to be on the losing end but they would at least get some monetary advantages, they would probably say, well, let's stipulate that a large portion of that be given to educate our young, or get them better health services. You know they are still reluctant because, again in isolated instances, where the Indian nations, I'll say Indian nations, because tribes are considered to be nations in some respects, are adhering to their traditional ways because that's a form of salvation for them, there's more survival found in their adherence to the traditional ways, whether it be maintenance within a society of their traditional practices, whatever they may be, as opposed to giving a lot of freedom and letting the people run helter-skelter, and let the young go head above shoulders, or whatever you want to call it, head over heels, with the Rock theory, and have all religious denominations come into one original setting, and dispersed. It's always been a constant fight. Which has been in the past... the definition of a civilized Indian was one who, on the part of the government, was one who behaved in the Christian moral setting. perhaps, or one who had had the frontier spirit , you know, to go and gain as much as they can,...

Q Individually...

A Yeah, or something that defines as close - that type of civilization, they call civilization. Whereas the Indian - our view of life is to adhere to the tradition of and be cognizant of his surroundings in a natural setting, and to be conservative in the way of natural resources.

Q Probably think that the white man is a mad man for behaving, I mean, on the one hand, it's almost like savage - going out and riding horses and finding frontiers or something, and asking individual ...

A (Mrs. Mangold) Racing every day, racing everything.

A Well, I don't know really who is the savage, you know, when you really get down to it. But, even today, we are so idealistic. We feel that competition must be there. If competition is not there then the effort is worthless, or that they say, we want to enjoy freedom and life, and on the other hand, one corner of their mouth they will say that, but on the other hand they will be death-oriented, and produce as much weaponry as possible to use to kill. So, who is saying what, you know. I don't know.

Q You mentioned 'salvation'. Do you feel that the - well, you can probably speak for how you feel as a Pueblo, but that Indians today feel the need, that it's a matter of salvation. Are they still... do you feel pressured and pushed by the white society.

Yeah. Well, I think, it spells the matter of survival really. The word 'survival' can be defined in many ways. We're feeling a lot of pressure, in Jemez Pueblo we feel a lot of pressure, like the geothermal question, which in the Jemez area, I've attended many meetings and I've been instrumental in trying to explain to concerned people that are more for the developers and less for the good of themselves, even though they live

A in, the area. I try to explain to the Indians ideology that the geothermal explorations is conducted and then certain benefits are obtained - it's not going to do the immediate area any good because the general effort seems to be to supply energy and energy resources to distant communities. By the same token...

Q Will they go way down?

A That's right.

Q Through the water table?

A Well, down to where the hot rock is. And then Jemez has an abundance of - the Jemez area - and it just so happens that our ancestors are buried in most of those areas, outside of the Reservation we still live largely by the impact made by our ancestors. We revere them. We revere the earth around them. We are very concerned about the game in the mountain areas that are really a breadbasket for us out there, generally, and legal measures are so specific - they want to say, "where is your sacred place?", is that sacred place is in the area of the exploration, just where is it?", and the Indian isn't about to tell where it is. He can't, can't tell, without the danger of having a lot of curious people molest the area. So, I don't know, it's hard to really explain the, what the Indians consider precious issues, precious issues that the Caucasian might hear but he's not going to hear unless specific questions are answered, such as I explained. Then, it will get rid of the game, too, the area is still used for hunting and for training, training the hunting, the procedures in maintenance of the hunting ways of our people. Many other factors that hinge on the area in dispute, you know.

Q Well, once again they're trying to... tell you how you can live your life, without... you know, you can't live it here, you have to go there.

A That's right. Well, there's always a government world view of ... the use of resources irregardless of how long people have lived in that certain area, and how vital the areas are to the maintenance of the society in a given area. It's very difficult, to be always on the defense...

Q I didn't want to make you talk more than you want to talk...

A It's all right.

Q I was wondering how you felt - not how you felt - when Harold (Ironshield, a Sioux who stayed with the interviewer's family for some days on the occasion of The Long Walk for Survival's passing through Carlisle) was here, we went out one morning, the last morning they were here, to the burial ground (at the Carlisle Barracks) and, it's not the real burial ground - they just moved the stones -

A Yes, they did.

Q That's what we wondered, they just moved stones, they didn't move the bodies, right? (Mrs. Mangold)

Q I think so.

A I couldn't, I don't see how they could have occupied such small spaces.

Q Yes, that they were very small. And I think that where the old one was is underneath the present gymnasium, I'm not sure. No?

A It was supposed to be right behind the bandstand.

Q The bandstand - I don't think I've ever seen it.

(Mrs. Mangold) Yes, they rebuilt it last year. The gazebo.

Q I've seen pictures of that. Mr. Wardecker's.

A They rebuilt it very similar to the other one. The only thing different is the roof- the first roof was much more expensive to put on, fancier. It really puts it back in looking like the old pictures of the CArlisle Indian School.

Q They must have been good memories for some purposes - students when they get together- young people, would tend to enjoy themselves somewhat, anyway, no matter what the circumstances of being away from home, I mean they must have had some good memories of being together, and I wondered whether they - we talked about this - whether they got to know other groups of Indians that they might never have known before - in your school, whether you made friends with Chippewa or with Mission Indians, or did you tend to keep friends with people who you could identify with more?

A Well, I was rather of the opinion that if I were to learn something I would have to mingle with other than my own tribesmen. At times I mingled with them because we had tribal meetings, at least maybe once a week we had tribal meetings where we tried to form organizations and conduct meetings exercising the parliamentary procedures, you know, but we always ended up joking with each other, and not taking it very seriously, and as a result it was j-ust routine to have tribal meetings.

Q Now, those weren't allowed at this School, at that time.

Is that right?

Q There was strong discouragement from any association, in fact they broke up groups...

A (Mrs. Mangold) They were paired in rooms with other than their own, so they wouldn't speak the language.

Q Yeah, whether or not you could speak English very well, or not...

A Well, the speaking of English was discouraged when I went to school, and some of them suffered as a result of it, and they held it against the school and made it distasteful for that reason, but I had.. (End of Tape 1, Side 1)

Q but the kids must have gotten together and enjoyed each other's company, and sneaked out at night...

A Oh, yeah, you bet. The guards weren't always on guard either (laughter), I don't care, the rooster will always want to get into the hen yard, regardless.

Q Well, they must have, because, well how could they survive ...

A because he's a rooster...

Q They're eighteen year old kids, twenty-year old kids, to keep everybody separated, you know. It's funny, because the people in Carlisle whom I've spoken to, for the most part - well, they say that - whether they believe it or not, I don't know, but they say, "Oh, no, the boys walked to school one way, or to church, one way and the girls walked the other way, and they had to come home by separate ways, and they had to do this, and they could never go into town unchaperoned and they could...", you know, you have to believe that they had no imagination if they were going to live that way..."no, no."

Q They've got to go out and have freedom.

Yes.

Q And play, and they did that, I'm pretty sure. Only one woman said, "yes, once in a while, her parents would take them to the movies, and there'd be groups of Indians at the movies having a wonderful time, and various other things that she remembered. And kids playing, of all things, cowboys and Indians over across the railroad fence, things like that.

A Well, in my case, we had governemt boarding schools experience though fortunately we were not so far away that we couldn't run away and be successful getting home...

Q If only for a break.

A But I had often hoped, that, in those days, the public was smpathetic enough to invite you to their homes, you know in the city, and be taken to their church or place of worship or be allowed to play with their children and particpate in their idea of what the urban society was like, no, they came every Sunday to watch us do precision drilling behind a fence, and they would line up cars and honk their horns, and we made a very good brilliant performance, militarily speaking, and they rushed back to their homes once the drilling was over... every Sunday afternoon when we could have been somewhere else. We could have been at the zoo, to enjoy, or we could have seen two or three movies in town, or watched them play, wherever they played (laughter) instead of we being the recipient of serious gazes - we could have been sharing what they call their objectives to civilize us.

Q There's thaat thing too here, because I've asked many people "Well, if these kids went to school, Sunday school, here at the church, did they go home with you for dinner? And no, except one man, he said yes, they always came. His father taught Sunday school. ~~An~~ And yes, he said, at his church, yes, many families took kids home for Sunday meal. And, of course with the Outing Program, many kids went out to work on farms and spent time ... not only farms, but like, young girls would go and be friends to another little girl. You know, that kind of thing. And I just wondered how, you know, the variety of the experiences must have been wide. Did they have Outing Programs at your school.

A No. The only outing, what might be equivalent to an Outing opportunity was Saturday morning, if you behaved yourself, you weren't ending up in the brick pile, uh, you would work for about thirty-five cents a morning rearranging the coal bin in some private home, or cutting grass, but housewives were very conservative in Albequerque, they wouldn't as much as dispense with fifty cents, and unless, their grass was too high, or something like that.

Q What's the 'brick pile'?

A Well, the brick pile is where we were doing what they called extra duty, depending on the degree of the infraction to the community, if you as much as crossed the boundary line on the girls' side, you received one hour of extra duty. It could be mopping the floor some place, or - for an hour, or making lines prior to a football field - with lines, you know, goal lines, or you could - if you committed a more serious crime, the offender was mostly in the high school level where they went to a nearby Spanish barrio to twirl around a few hours with Spanish girls, and , or drinking homemade wine in Oldtown, and coming home drunk...

(Mrs. Mangold) But anyway the brick pile was recycled bricks, you know, and you have to chip them off, and so they had to..

A Yes, where you had to chip off cement by rubbing them together or hitting one...all day, if you were serious.

Q There was one - Mr. Garvie, I think it was, told me about- a couple of other people too, I think it must have happened frequently,fairly frequently, a young man who, I don't know what group he represented, but he would not participate. He would not talk - at all. And he would not do anything, so they put him in the guard house, because he wasn't being a good anything, and they asked Mr. Garvie to go and talk to him - he was a good bright boy, they wanted him to play some musical instrument or they thought he could, or did something. And so James Garvie and another student went, and he said that he was not going to do anything, he was not going to do whatever they wanted him to do, and he was regarded as one of the most dangerous, I think, the people there, and they put him under guard, and they took him to Harrisburg, and the guard was under orders to see that he got on the train, and that the train was going fast before they left the station. To see that he wouldn't jump off and come back - as though he wanted to come back - he didn't want to come back at all. But, I don't know how far they sent him, or...but he didn't run away, but he was just not going to.partic-pate.

A They thought he was a rebellion or something (Mrs. Mangold) (laughter)

Q I think maybe that's what they were worried about, but you know when there's somebody at the extreme like that, you sort of feel that there may be others along that line who may not be quite as extreme....

A Yes.

Q but who have feelings that way, and of course there are feelings this way, as in any group, but even in the late day he was talking about there were some pretty strong resentments...and about what? That's the thing, there are many thin gs that you can protest about, being there, or what you find there - like the treatment there. I just wish I could meet more people.

A You should really talk with some female students (Mrs. Mangold) to get - they would observe a lot of things that the males would tend to just glide over or not, you know, they're not concerned with. You know, like some of the ones back home, as I told you before, they had tremendous influence...

Q Yes.

A You know, this is what I speculate on, I like really honestly survey the good and bad effects of a campaign that was conducted by the United States Governement at the insistence of well-meaning people, I'm sure, some of them were well-meaning. And to try to see what the taming procedure was of that time, you sse that the whole objective of that time was to tame us from our wildness. Of course, the Pueblos were at peace then, they weren't fighting anybody, but the Sioux nation and others, like the Long Walk in 1868, which wasn't very long ago, was still fresh in the minds of the Navajo, and just nine years later Carlisle Indian School opened, you know.

A (Mrs. Mangold) And the first students theytake are Sioux and Apache.

A What would be forty minus one hundred and forty-four? What number would that be?

Q One-oh- four.

A One-oh-four. Well, out of o hundred and four peoples pupils in the graveyard nearly twenty five of them were Apache.

Q I wonder how, or why so many?

A Well, because, I suppose they were the most nomadic of the times, today. They lived in

A wickiups, but they were just apparently taken with no background experience in the whote world, it was just sheer thievery of children, and they looked so unhappy in the pictures...

Q. I wonder if these children (referring to a picture)...?

A I imagine so. It doesn't identify them but they are angry and rebellious, inside they are rebellious. To take them so far away as Carlisle, where they are...

A (Mrs Mangold) And the climate change, like uncle's experience, coming from Albequerque to here, where our altitude is almost a mile high, like Denver, and dry. And then he comes here where - the Philadelphia area, between two and three hundred foot sea level, and so humid, and he's feeling such a terrific change in adjusting, and look at these poor young people, on top of everything else they had to adjust to, just the physical adjustment of climate and food, and trying to understand the language, and you're away from your loved ones, and, oh...it's unbearable to think about it yourself as a child or as a mother.

A Well, I could probably say that the aftershock was... the cultural aftershock was tremendous, it just killed them, just that, they were dying by inches, those are the grave that I assumed that we saw...I had to perform a ceremony over there, for them. I had them in mind, all this time I had them in mind, ever since I learned that there were graves, children who died as a result of illness, but more through loneliness. I always felt esteem, I always wanted to pray, to do something to leave me of the feeling of sympathy, and today I feel good.

Q That's where Harold too, did a ceremony, with sage, and he put a feather and some sage in one of the trees, and he said it was still there.

A (Mrs. Mangold) I know it is visited. When we had our group - very active in the Philadelphia area, they came on Memorial Day, and did a memorial service here, and there's another tribe who comes here very regularly and does, and does a service. I don't know if it's the Onandagas or someone else. They come down and do it every year.

A But today, the opportunity, advantages, for Indian children that I know, where I come from, the public schools under the new system is no more than a concentration camp for a lot of these children, even today. They rate very low on the national norm, the scale or rating, ohatever you call it, and some of them graduate with blank diplomas, which are never made good, simply because they have to be moved out of the school. And then the personnel come from fifty miles bringing metropolitan problems with them, and some of them teach literally nothing, I'm sure there's some well-meaning people too, but the percentage is really low. And they are there for a very short period of time and school is out early, about three o'clock the campus is empty. And as a result the children get no experience, it has to be done all over after they finish school, through some kind of scholarship arrangement, by that time, you know, they might have survived this alcohol and drug abuse period...

Q Who has charge of the schools and the curriculum, is it...?

A The New Mexico School Board, the School Board of New Mexico.

Q So where, you don't know where, I mean whether to be controlling as a reservation, a Pueblo, or,.. then when you, what they would call the ..-assimilated, then you lose that control, even to say how you want your kids educated, as long as it has to be in that way, that doesn't seem fair.

A Well, it's hard to assess education again, simply because it's not a popular topic for ~~Indian ac~~

A Indian administrators, as earlier I said, it's like health. You talk about health few people will be interested, not until they get sick are they interested to take steps and measures to.prevent more serious occurences.

Q When you say Indian administrators do you mean BIA people or do you mean...

A Oh, yes, I mean Indians themselves, governing bodies of the Indians.

Q What are they interested in... in traditional ways?

A First of all they are interested in themselves, they want to enhance themselves, they've been in so long, and so deaf to some aspects of problem-solving areas, that sometimes it takes pressure too, to bring on, the very pressing nature of need.

Q Are these people people who the Bureau would deal with?

A Yes, primarily. Now the question of who is Indian and who is not Indian is a very very damaging question, if an Indian is defined by BIA is even more damaging because grandmothers lose their kin, for eligibility when you get below one-fourth degree, that's plaguing the Indian mothers too, grandmothers particularly. They are not eligible even to be enrolled in some instances. The definition of an Indian by BIA is the most damaging thing I've ever seen in my lifetime. It depopulates the reservation - pretty soon there's going to be no Indians, cause our full-bloodedness is decreasing, not increasing, and it - it's the extermonation policy again, very vividly portrayed. Those are the sad facts.

Q I never thought about that!

A Isn't it something.

Q I knew about the quarter, but I never realized that...Would you say that that's a benign policy or one that's designed to do just that? To empty the reservation.

A It must be. I've never heard a real clear-cut definition of why that exists. Of course, I'm not a politician, and I'm not a lwyer, but I sure think that some measures are more harmful when it comes to assessing beneficial and not beneficial. I mean, their attempt to guide the destinies of the Indian nations, you know...

Q So maybe somebody at some time, in order to get, say a monetary settlement, said, "Well, then, yes, we'll cut off here." And that cut-off came to apply across the board in other ways too.

A (Mrs. Mangold) .... it happens so often. Or maybe it was understood in a meeting, but by the time it got recorded in Washington, it was watered down and meant something else entirely.

A Well, what I'd like to know is, what is the lasting affect of this attempt, at one time, which was Colonel Pratt's idea, to set aside specifically an institution like the Carlisle Indian School to help expedite the Indian to becoming like the white man, and be an approved model for what was supposed to take place wholesale at some time, maybe not immediately, well, after the school was done away with, what was the attitude of the group of people that became acquainted with the Indian problem at that time?, and if they were effective, what follow up is being made today, you know, on a national scale, what became of it ?

Q Of that effort, to...?

A Yes. Yes.

I don't know - is it still going on,the effort forcing people into somebody else's mold?

I don't know if the children of Carlisle here are more alert - they're so cheerful - they even spoke to us, they say "Hi!", didn't they?

(Mrs. Mangold) Yeah, the people who live here.

To me especially they were curious about me, they knew I was an Indian but there's not that curiousity that I find in other places, which is more a stare, you know.

I think maybe there's a grape vine that exists here, and has existed for sixty, seventy years, anyway, witness Mr. Wardecker finding out - somebody called him and said'there's an old Indian gentleman at the Courthouse." And he ran right.up there and nabbed you, like people watch, and know, and wait, and Carlisle regards the School a few different ways, I think, and some of them I think are hidden ways, but one way they do regard them as an honor, they are proud that the school was here, that they somehow thought that something different from other people that they had that opportunity. I don't know what they made of that opportunity, how close they got. I think they were prevented from becoming too close by some of the rules, but what I find in talking to people is that they almost have an official line- they say-"oh, it's wonderful, it's this, and this and this", andthen when you get to talk to them, they say other thing, bu t when you question them about other things they go back to the formula answer, and don't see the discrepancy. For instance, just let me give you one instance, talking with a woman who lived out in the country, and they had a young boy come and help with the harvest one summer, and in the conversation, she had really no more to say than that - we talked about how farming was done, and in the course of the discussion she just mentioned that once she saw Indian boys clearing the railroad tracks after a blizzard. And I said, oh, "why were they doing that?". Who paid them?" , you know, did they do it out of the goodness of their hearts?, or did they get permission? How did that happen, and she jus t couldn't say that, she never really thought about in terms of 'were those children being used to do that. And I didn't pursue that, because I din't want to, you know, we just talked around it, but you know, it's a blindness kind of a thing. But they had very good feelings, generally good feelings, but I don't think they were very critical, or very thoughtful about what was going on. None of them will admit knowing that there was a guard house or that it was used, except for ... they'll say,"yes, I heard, one time I went to deliver pies and cakes, and I heard groaning, and then you'll say, well, was the discipline...? , and they'll say, Oh, no". You know, they don't think in too critical, they're not too critical about what they know.

(Mrs. Mangold) Yncle, give her that example you were telling about, if you were late, they had a very big ting about the students being punctual, like for band practice and all that, and if they were late ... for drill practice, they had to run through the belt line.

Yeah.

And the belt line... (Mrs. Mangold)

I went through that several times...

Who administered the belts, the other students?

Yes, the students themselves, we had belts that had a little metal on the ends, and if a person straggled in - even much less than a minute, boy, you were there, they took immediately, they were strung up on both sides and you had to run through that, you'd zig-zag to avoid one but you got the other anyway.

Was it done with gusto?

A Yeah, they loved that. If ~~you~~ felt hot, you know, they either get you up here or down there (laughter), they know where to hit you.

Q Well, did people carry grudges against people who liked to hit too well?

A You couldn't, because you were trying to just go through the line...

A (Mrs. Mangold - laughing) He couldn't remember who...

A You couldn't remember who hit you the hardest.

Q That's humiliating though.

A It is! That was a very common practice, almost daily, it was just a practice that they had. I dreaded that practice.

A (Mrs. Mangold) But you were late anyway. (Laughter)

A I never got over it, I'm still late for lots of things.

Q And no one belts you, I hope.

A And no belt line would cure me from that.

Q That's showing them.

A Well, what I would like to know also is that there is something that met with approval, for example, I read an account, I think I was in the Dakotas at one time, and I read something that to the effect that there were a group of children in their native garb, I don't know where they were coming from or where they were going, but they had to stop overnight at a frontier person's home. And this ragged load of children came into the home and they were to eat supper. So the woman was very cautious, and she knew that there were still uprisings around, and she couldn't possibly believe that she would be safe from these children, well, they behaved in their natural manner, and she was anxious that this ordeal to be over with. Well, they ate supper, and whoever was taking them got them together, and he asked the woman to ~~could~~ play the piano, and they sang with very beautiful voices, hymns, Christian music, and you know, it just melted that person's heart. Well it took that which was pleasing to the ears to dispell the curiosity of the fear of the host, or hostess. That was certainly apporoved, supposing they didn't do that?

A (Mrs. Mangold) They were little good will ambassadors.

A There were all kinds of stories I heard when I was with the Sioux. On another occasion the one nurse was telling me - there was only one Public Health Nurse on the reservation, and she had to travel by buggy house to house, and these house were far apart. One night she had to put up with a home, and before she entered the home she saw a cage and there were a lot of mice, rats, field rats, or whatever they were,in the cage. Well, she put up, and they had supper later on, and she ate strange meat, it was very tasty, but as she was leaving the next days she found that there were fewer rats than she saw when she came. She wondered if she ate them. (laughter)

A (Mrs. Msngold) A good rat stew, hmm?

A For a Public Health Nurse that seemed horrible. (Laughter) Well, they weren't the kind you'd find in the house, but they were probably of the squirrel family. That tickled me. The Worst thing you remembered the longest time.

Q Well, as far as the good and the bad that came with it, it must have to do with - well as you say, the Apache were singularly unprepared to derive any benefit from an experience like that, whereas the Pueblo brought a lot to it, and could shape it, because of what they were, which is no fault of their own as much as it was no fault of the Apache's being the way they were, and it was unfortunate, I guess, to have an agency, governmet, or whatever, to be so short-sighted, or blind to see everyone as the same, and call everybody by the same name... I'm trying to figure out what tosay about the School, was it good, or bad, and on whose terms. I can't figure it out, and there are too many qualifications. Waht good it did, or did it acculturate people, or did the Indians acculturate the School, and you know, what happened.

A I came here with some of ... with something of the hero image in these children that died as a result of their removal, whether they died, you know, naturally because they were ill, or whether they died of loneliness, I don't know, but however they died, I felt that t they were, to me, they were heroes. You know, they cast that image. In a way, I have mixed feelings but at the same time, they died, they were sacrificed. AND IT ALL GOES back to the parent, how really willing were they to send them, and they did. Why wasn't there a way to have invitations, at theexpense of the government, to have... a noted leader of tehNavajo reservation, he was powerful leader in my day, in the '20's and early '30's, ?Chief Dodge? came and visited all the Navajo students, and spoke to them personally in the auditorium, and told them what was going on in Navajo, then there was another, a Spanish man, I think his name was - oh, he had a series of trading posts on the Navajo reservation - I forgot his name right now, he spoke Hopi and Navajo fluently, and he came and spoke to the entire student of Hopi and Navajo in their language, upgrading too, encouraging. Why couldn't that have been done here? Is there a record of it having bbeen done, I don't know.

Q Probably not early on. I don't know about later.

A Well, I think..

Q It would have to be regular to mean anything...

A Yeah, but I think that the worst years were the first probably ten years, then it tapered up somewhat. Bad stories circulated that more children from a certain language group died, perhaps. I'd like to go and follow up and see if there are any stories about Carlisle, either adverse or good, I don't know what it is, but I'd like to do a follow up if I can. See what recollections people have, because most of the products of the Carlisle Indian School are dying, it's surprising how many people have died who went to school here. And if they are still living they are getting too old.They are up in the '80's.

Q I know, Mr. Garvie is in his mid to late eighties, and he is stone deaf, absolutely stone deaf. I wrote everything out for him.

A Did he answer?

Q Oh, Yes, he was very funny, it was confusing, and funny too, because I'd write out a question - he'd read it and answer it, and while he was answering I'd think of something else that - in response to what he was saying, and I'd write another question, but by the time I'd finished writing the question he'd be off on another tangent, and he'd look at the question I wrote down and look at me as though I were absolutely out of my mind, for going off the subject, you know. So we went around, it was very pleasant, but I think he thinks I'm a little daft.

A Who is still stable, but would have as much information as anyone else?

Q There are several people in Cherokee, in North Carolina, and I understand there are still

Q some people inNew Mexico, a family, Herrera, had several relatives here, and a woman who used to.write for the Sentinel here, wnet down to visit her daughter in Albequerque, she, works for a news station, a TV station, and was going to get some tapes for me, and then her daughter broke her leg or something, and so she had to help take care of the kids, so she never got out to do the tapes. She left them with someone else to the tapes, but I don't know whether I'll ever see them again. And the same thing in Cherokee, a woman down there, I got in touch with her, and she's going to do me some tapes, but I Haven't heard from her. But there are several people still alive.

A I wish you'd follow up on that and get some rewults pretty soon. I played a role in the Legend of the Lone Ranger, a movie that was made last year, and many Indians participated particularly from the communities of the Pueblo world out there. There was an elderly man, I was walking to our set, the location, I was walking with him, and he said he went to school in Carlisle. H e was really gifted, too. He hadn't been home at all. He was an entertainer, worked in such places, for example as resorts in Colorado or Wisconsin. Places like that. And I learned to like him very well. He was very nice and he spoke as we went along, but didn't appear to be any older than I was. The movie was made in Apache, and I ahd my eyes wide open, because we were supposed to play the role of the ... I'm the Chief of the Lone Ranger and Tonto when they were young and became blood brothers. Slashing, they were both victims of tragedy, their people were massacred. It's a legend. It's almost become...(laughter)

Q You must be tired... could we see your pictures, I'd love to see your pictures.
(Mr. Toledo is an artist, a potter, and a weaver. )
Thank you, for everything.

End of Tape.