Two Pairs of Shoes, a Bed, and Food: Wisconsin American Indian Women in the Military during World War II

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One thing about the service, you get two pair of shoes and you get a bed and you get to eat.
—Marge Pascale, Interview with Kristina Ackley, 1992

Marge Pascale, a Red Cliff Ojibwe woman, joined the Air Women’s Army Corps in 1943. During her enlistment she traveled across the country, rode in airplanes, and generally enjoyed the prosperity of the wartime economy; experiences she would not have had without the military. Like Pascale, many Native women, including those in Wisconsin, volunteered for military service to escape severe poverty. For centuries, their ancestors suffered great cultural and economic loss due to colonialism. By volunteering for military service, these women broke this trend of financial instability, bringing themselves out of poverty and into the thriving economy of wartime America. Enlisting also helped these women break the passive role that was placed on them by Western society. They fought against the oppression their people faced by using the same system that pushed them down to bring themselves out of poverty. This paper follows the experiences of four Wisconsin Native women who joined the military during World War II. Their recollections illustrate that by enlisting in the military during World War II, Wisconsin American Indian women were able to take advantage of new economic opportunities previously unavailable to them.

All work in the field of American Indian studies should in some way be decolonizing, and this paper is no exception. The research and information presented disprove the stereotypes of all Native men being warriors while all Native women simply prepare food and tend crops. The women discussed in this paper fit neither stereotype, which challenges many people’s views of Native people. Having their views challenged forces people to rethink the stereotypes they place on Native people. This paper will assist in breaking down the stereotypes of Native people and their cultures by disproving the idea that all Native men and women fit into one clichéd image.

American Indian women and their role in the military during World War II have been largely overlooked in historical literature. Until the 1990s no literature existed that focused on Native people’s contributions to the war in general. Peter Iverson, a former professor of history at Arizona State University, follows American Indian history through different events and politics in the twentieth century in his book “We Are Still Here”: American Indians in the Twentieth Century (1998). Unlike most American Indian history books, “We Are Still Here” begins just after the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 instead of ending at this event. The book contains one section on American Indians during World War II, with one paragraph focusing on women workers. Iverson’s work briefly mentions women, but does not shed light on women in the military.

American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs, published in 1991, was a groundbreaking book because it was the first about American Indians and their efforts to assist the United States throughout World War II. The author, Alison Bernstein, is the director of the Institute for Women’s Leadership at the State University of New Jersey. In American Indians and World War II, she
details the state of Indian affairs just before the war to the uncertainties soldiers faced when returning home after fighting ceased (Bernstein vii). The book mainly focuses on men’s contributions to the war through military service and defense-related jobs, discussing women intermittently throughout the chapter about efforts on the home front.

Shortly after Bernstein published this book, other historians began attempting to fill this literary gap. Jeré Bishop Franco published *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II* in 1999. While this book contains multiple references to women’s efforts during the war, the book mainly focuses on Native men’s contributions, as Bernstein’s book does. Kenneth William Townsend, author of *World War II and the American Indian* (2000), also reports on the overall experience of Natives during the war. Townsend argues that the experiences and skills Natives gained during the war helped prepare them for life in mainstream America after the war’s end. Also, like the aforementioned books, the author discusses Native women in the chapter on war efforts on the home front. The literature on American Indians and the war is scant and mainly focuses on men.

A few sources exist that do not leave out the important role Native women played during World War II. Grace Mary Gouveia’s dissertation, “Uncle Sam’s Priceless Daughters: American Indian Women during the Great Depression, World War Two, and the Post-war Era,” (1994) addresses the changes in American Indian women’s lives because of the war. Gouveia discusses the subject that other authors had mostly ignored to that point: American Indian women in the military. Gouveia also discusses women on the home front more thoroughly than other books on Natives and the war, giving multiple examples of women’s experiences off and on reservations.

Patty Loew, a Wisconsin American Indian historian and professor at University of Wisconsin—Madison, took a more focused approach when researching women and World War II. In her article “The Back of the Homefront: Black and American Indian Women in Wisconsin during World War II” (Winter 1998–1999) she discusses the experiences of African American and American Indian women in Wisconsin during the war and how this differed from their white counterparts (Loew 83). Loew’s research on this topic provides a good starting point when researching Wisconsin Native women during the war years.

**Indian Country Economy Prior to World War II**

The economic environment in Indian Country prior to World War II was bleak. Centuries of cultural decimation by Euro-Americans had destroyed Native ways of life. The United States government outlawed Native religions, forced tribes onto reservations, and sent Native children to boarding schools far from their families and cultures. Tribal lands were also split up into individual plots instead of being left to community ownership. The Dawes Act of 1887 assigned plots of land to tribal members and sold the excess allotments. This caused many tribes to lose a great deal of land from their reservation; by 1934 only three percent of the land allotted under the Dawes Act was still owned by Indians (Morrison 143). The ever-shrinking amount of tribal lands often did not yield enough food to feed the community. Most tribes were forced to live off of rations from the government, which were often spoiled by the time they reached the reservation.

These desperate circumstances motivated John Collier, a social worker from New York, and some colleagues to form the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA) (Townsend 8). The organization...
condemned government policies, such as allotment, and pushed for better education, health care, and the right to self-determination on reservations. AIDA also began compiling information that brought to light the dismal living standards in Indian Country. This caught the attention of the federal government, creating pressure to inspect reservations. Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work ordered an investigation into conditions in Indian Country in 1926. The resulting 453 page report, often referred to as the Meriam Report, revealed the desperate conditions caused by United States policy with Native nations. High rates of poverty, disease, and illiteracy were more prominent among Natives than was previously thought. According to Kenneth William Townsend, an American military and cultural historian, one of the most immediate concerns uncovered by the Meriam Report was the loss of tribal lands which “reduced the already limited economic potential of most Indians who attempted farming or ranching enterprises” (10). Tribal members were barely able to sustain themselves and their families on what little land they had, so running an economically-successful farm on land that was forever shrinking was even more difficult. These circumstances contributed to the living conditions requiring eighty-four percent of all Natives to live on less than two hundred dollars per year (10). The staggering results of the Meriam Report emphasized the poor economic conditions in Indian Country even prior to the Great Depression.

During the Depression one of the cofounders of AIDA and Franklin Roosevelt’s Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, was appalled by the results of the Meriam Report. He consequently appointed Collier as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1932 to assist him in redirecting federal Indian policy. Collier followed Roosevelt’s example by organizing an “Indian New Deal” which aimed to “end the damaging impact of previous federal Indian policy” (15). To do this, Collier requested money from federal agencies to fund reservation reconstruction. The money would finance projects such as building roads and health care centers on reservations and purchasing land for tribes. He also endorsed the passage of a congressional bill aimed to “structurally alter the very foundation of federal Indian policy” (15).

The commissioner convinced Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana and Congressman Edgar Howard of Nebraska to present his plan to Congress. The Wheeler-Howard Bill, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), ended allotment of tribal lands and provided funding for Indian chartered corporations, loans for vocational and trade schools, and the acquisition of land (Indian Reorganization Act NP). Tribes could also organize and self-govern under a tribal constitution. Even more astounding was the fact that tribes were permitted to accept or reject the bill. For the first time since the American government began suppressing their rights, tribes were able to reject a federal policy (Townsend 15). The IRA recognized the injustices of previous policies and enacted measures to improve living conditions on reservations.

World War II brought about more changes in Indian Country, such as one of the first mass migration of Natives off of reservations (Bernstein 15). Thousands of young Native men and women left their reservations to join the military or defense industries. Those who stayed on the reservations confronted labor shortages, rationing, and worry for loved ones who fought overseas. Many of the changes that occurred during World War II were spurred by economic concerns. For example, joining the military enabled many young Indians to ensure they always had food, clothing, and a place to sleep. Joining the
military was a way to escape the poverty-stricken circumstances of reservations and to be sure there was always a steady income of money.

**Wisconsin Women Warriors**

Many Wisconsin Native women made the decision to join the military during World War II, a few which the Wisconsin Historical Society interviewed in the early 1990s. The aim of these interviews was to capture the experiences of Wisconsin women during the war of various economic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. The historical society interviewed eleven Native women, including four that served in the military. These four women all had very different experiences, but common themes emerged throughout their interviews. The women’s stories shed light on the economic concerns that influenced their decision to enlist as well as the economic benefits they received while in the military.

Marge Pascale, the Red Cliff Ojibwe woman mentioned earlier, joined the Air Women’s Army Corps (WAC) in 1943 (Pascale 1). The Air WAC was a division of the WAC, which assigned women to the Army Air Forces, Army Ground Forces, or Army Service Forces (“Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps” NP). Women in the Air WAC took jobs such as weather observers, control tower specialists, and airplane mechanics. Pascale served as a photo-laboratory technician during her time in the service. She developed pictures for the military and made maps with those images (Pascale 31). Pascale also inspected parachutes for defects and worked as a nurse’s aide.

Lucille Rabideaux, a woman of Lakota and French ancestry, enlisted with the 44\(^{th}\) General Hospital Unit based out of Madison in 1943 (Rabideaux 22). Though she was not a member of a Wisconsin tribe, she moved to Hayward before the war in 1939. As a nurse for the military, Rabideaux performed many jobs. She worked in the psychiatric and venereal disease wards of Camp Ansa Station Hospital in California, as well as administered shots to soldiers. Rabideaux was even sent overseas to the Pacific Islands and Australia to dress patients’ wounds and pass out medications (45).

Ernestine Murphy, a Stockbridge-Munsee woman who joined the Marines, also enlisted in 1943 (Murphy 1). The Marines allowed women to join beginning in 1942 due to an increased demand for manpower. Female Marines performed non-combat jobs such as clerical work so male Marines with these jobs could be freed to fight overseas (Stremlow 2). During her service in the Marines Murphy performed various jobs such as sorting mail and supervising her barracks. When she was transferred to Washington D.C. she worked with confidential files, mainly monitoring where soldiers were transferred to and if they were killed in action (Murphy 36).

The Navy also accepted female enlistees during the war. Gwendolyn Washinawatok, a Menominee woman, joined the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, or WAVES, in 1944 (G. Washinawatok 7). WAVES was formed for similar reasons to why women were allowed to enlist in the other branches, “to release male officers and enlisted men of the naval service for duty at sea” (Establishment of Women’s Reserves NP). While in the service, Washinawatok chose to be placed in the communications field, though her dream was to be a pilot (R. Washinawatok NP). She was then trained to interpret and record international code messages transmitted by the Japanese.
These four women took advantage of the opportunities the military gave them during the war. The decision to join the military drastically changed their lives, taking them away from their families and into mainstream America. Their stories bring to light the common experiences Wisconsin Native women had in the military during the war.

**Recruiting**

The military did not officially recruit Native women during World War II, but the recruitment efforts used for non-Native women often reached them (Gouveia 116). Pascale found out about military opportunities for women through information on posters and the radio (Pascale 18). Washinawatok heard about these positions in a similar way. She remembered advertisements being put up in factories and shop windows with images of military personnel (see fig. 1) (G. Washinawatok 14). While this information did not specifically target Native women, it was effective in recruiting them. The posters that advertised military opportunities for women during the war had an appeal to both Native and non-Native women. The advertisements suggested that by enlisting, a woman would be performing a patriotic service for the country: men would be freed to fight overseas because women were brave enough to take their place at home. While this sense of patriotism may have appealed to both Native and non-Native women, another underlying message of the posters caught Native women’s attention. The women pictured in the posters appeared to be put together, well respected, and economically stable—they were self-sufficient. Joining the military seemed to assist these women in improving their lives, both economically and socially. Native women, with limited job opportunities on and off the reservation, desired this kind of advancement (Gouveia 123). Native women’s attraction to these advertisements could also indicate a perceived connection between being privileged and being white. White women more often had the luxury of joining the military for patriotic reasons than economic necessity.

The posters convinced many Native women to enlist by suggesting that women who joined the military would dramatically improve their lifestyle. Direct recruitment of Native women did take place at boarding schools. Newsletters at schools such as Haskell Institute in Kansas and Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma praised graduates and students who enlisted (116). In one issue of the “Indian Leader”, Haskell Institute’s newsletter, the paper
commended its female graduates for serving in women’s auxiliaries. The “Indian Leader” declared “not to be outdone by the male warriors, former Haskell girls are stepping in to claim their share of warrior glory” (116). Though not endorsed by the military, this form of recruiting encouraged students of the schools to join the military once they graduated.

It comes as no surprise that boarding schools encouraged students to enlist after they finished their schooling. Students had very few job prospects after graduation (122). Native females mostly learned clerical or domestic skills while in school and finding a good-paying job in one of those fields was difficult. Many women simply returned to their reservations after school where there were even fewer employment prospects. Enlisting was an easier way to find employment and economic stability after school.

Murphy, a graduate of Flandreau Indian School, found her experience there helpful once she joined the military. Though not recruited at or during school, Murphy enlisted in the Marines one year after she graduated from Flandreau. Her experience with following orders and having someone control every aspect of her life at school made her transition into the military an easy one (Murphy 32). Many boarding school graduates who enlisted had similar experiences to Murphy’s. These Native women were accustomed to marching, drilling, inspections, and barracks-living because of years spent at boarding schools (Gouveia 124). This familiarity with a regimented lifestyle helped Native women excel where many non-Native women did not. Because non-Native women did not attend boarding schools they often questioned military practices instead of simply following them. These women questioned the standards of the military such as punishing an entire barracks for one person’s mistake (125). The experience at boarding schools assisted Native women in adjusting to military life as well as aided their decision to enlist.

**Reasons for Enlisting**

Native women’s reason for joining the military varied as much as how they were recruited. One reason for joining the military was for the sense of adventure that went along with experiencing something new. Washinawatok joined the WAVES in January 1943 because the group provided her with the adventure she was seeking: “I thought it would be…something interesting and a[n] adventure that was not offered that often” (G. Washinawatok 15). Because of her enlistment, Washinawatok was able to travel to New York, Ohio, Washington, and California, an experience she would not have had if she did not enlist. A longing for something new drew Rabideaux, a nurse from Hayward, into being a nurse for the military. She believed doing something different with her life was a positive change; otherwise she would stay in one place and be “in a rut” (Rabideaux 22). Rabideaux traveled to California, the Philippines, New Guinea, and Australia while she was a nurse for the military. She wanted to do something more with her life, so like many other Native women, she joined the war effort.

Until the war most Indian women stayed on their reservations, but World War II caused one of the first mass migration of Natives off the reservation. The promise of work in the prosperous war economy lured many Native women into urban settings and the military. Murphy, the Stockbridge-Munsee Marine, believed that if World War II had not occurred she never would have left Shawano County in Wisconsin (Murphy 75). Moving to urban areas for a job or joining the military were ways to earn
more money than would have been available in Indian Country. Jobs on reservations were scarce, so moving to an urban area and joining the military made finding a job and economic stability easier. Besides this sense of adventure, military service also provided many women with a sense of pride in what they were doing for their country. Native women responded to the war with acts of patriotism just as non-Native women did (Gouveia 123). Washinawatok knew her work with international code was vital to fighting the Japanese. She expressed her sense of pride to Kristina Ackley in an interview in 1992 for the Wisconsin Historical Society, saying, “It made you feel good that you knew you were doing really important work” (G. Washinawatok 34). This sense of importance was a big change to the feelings of helplessness felt during the Depression. Having a steady job in the military also fostered a sense of purpose for Native women. Women were recruited so male military personnel would be freed to fight overseas. Taking a job in the military and freeing a man to fight was a great source of pride during the war. These feelings of pride and personal accomplishment in one’s job helped push approximately 800 American Indian women to take part in the American military during World War II (Hurt 364).

Murphy presented another reason for entering the military: education (Murphy 9). During her term of service in the Marines she was able to travel across the country and meet new people, experiences she would not have had without the military. During World War II, education was required only up to eighth grade, so many people did not get an education after grade school (6). Some women who joined the military also hoped to receive job training that would help them in the civilian world. Murphy enlisted hoping to learn a new skill, “something that I could do when I got to be a civilian” (21). Women who did not have an education past the eighth grade were not likely to be hired into well-paying jobs. The military helped these women make money while learning a new skill that could help them advance in the civilian work world.

Having a stable job that provided food and income was another benefit of military service. Hopes for a stable job and financial security through enlistment seemed to have a stronger draw among minority women (Gouveia 122). As mentioned previously, Pascale joined the Air WAC because it provided her with the bare necessities (Pascale 19). With poverty levels remaining high in Indian Country before and during the war, the service was a way to ensure food, clothing, and shelter were available and there was always a steady income. According to historian Alison Bernstein, “One of the most significant benefits of Indian participation in the military was that thousands of young Indian men and women made a decent living for the first time in their lives” (59). The armed forces offered an economic opportunity to Native men and women who had lived in poverty on the reservation. Many women in the military earned more money per week at civilian jobs during the war, but this did not include living expenses. Pascale was paid more at her job in the Ambrosia Chocolate Factory during World War II than in the Air WAC, but her living costs were covered in her military pay. Service members did not have to pay for food, housing, and clothing as civilians did, so though they were not paid much, it was often worth the loss in monthly income to receive these amenities. On average, a woman in the armed forces earned approximately fifty dollars per month, plus food and quarters allowance. Including these allowances women would earn 142 dollars per month, or roughly thirty two dollars per week (Women in the War 5). With promotions women could earn around 200 dollars per
month. Washinawatok also remembered being paid more at her civilian job in a defense plant, but she did not seem to regret her decision to enlist (see fig. 2).

*I did make more money in the defense plant than I did in the service. But, again, in the service it's your food and your clothes and your housing...all of that you didn't have to worry about. Your physicals or dental work or if you got sick you were taken care of. So all of that expense was something you didn't have to worry about. And we had good food. You didn't even think about the rationing after you got in service because you didn't have to do any of the cooking, it was done for you...we ate very well. (G. Washinawatok 29)*

Washinawatok did not have to pay for personal expenses during her time in the military, so she was able to use any money she made for leisure activities instead of buying food and clothing.

Murphy recalled the services and discounts she received while in the military in place of a higher salary. Soldiers were able to go to the general store on base to “buy things really cheap” (Murphy 27). They also got some things for free, such as soft drinks. Murphy believed it was difficult to adjust to life after the military because “you got kind of spoiled” with the discounts and free services (27). Though women earned less money in the military than in civilian jobs, these women did not mind the salary cut because their personal expenses were covered and they received discounts where civilians did not.

Another contributing factor in Native women’s decision to enlist was racial discrimination in the civilian work force. Minority women during this era were restricted to clerical work and domestic jobs (Gouveia 122). Pascale worked as a babysitter and housekeeper for a family in Milwaukee before the
According to Pascale, there were quite a few Indian girls working for families as domestic workers in that area (Pascale 11). Domestic employment was not a well-paying job, but joining the military was a way to escape the low-paying positions offered to minority women. Women in the civilian workforce also received lesser pay than their male equals. Pascale was hired at Ambrosia Chocolate Factory after she lost her babysitting job. She recalled being paid less than the male workers at the factory who were performing the same job (16). Discrimination in the type of work and the pay contributed to some Native women’s decision to join the military.

Once a Native woman enlisted in the military, she had little need to worry about discrimination. Native soldiers were placed in integrated units (Gouveia 114). According to American Indian historian Patty Loew, the BIA and some tribes actually requested that Native soldiers be put into segregated units. They “insisted that American Indians would perform better in segregated units since many did not speak English and had had little experience with whites” (Loew 84). This request was not honored. Secretary of War Henry Stimson ordered that Natives serve in integrated units with white soldiers (Gouveia 114). Pascale recalled being the only American Indian in her unit of the Air WAC, and Washinawatok was listed as white when she joined WAVES (Pascale 25; G. Washinawatok 18). Once Native women joined the military they did not have to face the discrimination they did in the workforce based on race.

Native women did not have to worry about discrimination when being assigned a job in the military either. African American enlistees were placed into segregated units and often received less desirable jobs because of their race (Celello NP). Their economic situation may have been compromised because they received the least attractive, lower paying jobs, but Native women did not have need to worry about this. Indian females “entered all branches of the service with ease” (Gouveia 117). This effortless process to obtain good-paying jobs was another incentive for Native women to enlist in the military.

**Economic Gains**

Military women found ways of entertaining themselves and participating in the booming wartime economy in their free time. Washinawatok recalled working 48 hour shifts, but when she would get an extra day off she and her friends would go sight-seeing. While stationed in California they often went to Los Angeles or Hollywood on their days off (G. Washinawatok 27). Murphy also remembered going out during her free time. She and her friends would go to town on weekends when they were stationed in Oklahoma (Murphy 29). They would go dancing and out to eat with each other or a date. Fairs and shows were also popular ways to spend time and money.

Having money to spend on leisure activities was a first for many Native women who joined the service. Some worked to earn money for their families, and others were sent to boarding schools because their families could not afford to feed them at home. Murphy’s parents sent her to Flandreau for this reason, though they would send her packages of food and clothing when they could. Once in the military, Murphy was able to use her newly-found financial freedom to go to shows and eat out with friends (12). Money for leisure activities was rare in Indian Country, so Native women in the military took advantage of their disposable income.
Instead of spending extra money, some women chose to save it. Rabideaux saved the extra money she earned while overseas (Rabideaux 68). She received a small amount of money each month and the rest was sent to an international bank where she kept a few thousand dollars of her income. In Indian Country, having enough money to keep some in a savings account was rare, so this extra income was a first for many Native enlistees. Growing up during the Depression and in the poverty of reservations, Native women were not able to save money toward their futures. The possibility of saving extra income was another way in which Native women benefitted economically from joining the military.

Conclusion

Native women who chose to find work off their reservations found many opportunities awaiting them. Women who enlisted did so for a variety of reasons, some personal, some patriotic, and others economic. Recruitment posters reached many Native women, encouraging them to enlist to do their patriotic duty. These women believed they were freeing a soldier to fight overseas by taking over a home front position. Other women enlisted for personal gain, such as a steady income and education. The skills they acquired could help them continue their financial freedom after the war by assisting them in finding a civilian job. Discrimination in the civilian workforce was another issue. While Native women were often denied jobs because of their ethnicity in the civilian world, the military did not discriminate against them when assigning units.

The stories of Native women in the military have been largely ignored in the context of American history as is evidenced by the lack of secondary sources on the topic. Their stories challenge the dichotomy of the male warrior and the subservient female squaw. Of the history books that discuss Indians in the military and warrior societies, women are not included in the discussion. Native women are mostly mentioned in history books when discussing who gathered food in a tribe or who owned the home. The stereotypical image of a Native woman entails being a quiet, submissive wife who does little other than prepare food and clothing for their families. The women discussed in this paper prove that Native cultures and people are not black and white; their lives and experiences vary greatly and there is no one image that can possibly fit them all. Consequently, this knowledge will help Native communities fight the same perception about themselves and their cultures. If non-Native people begin questioning one stereotype, they might begin to question others.

Native women in the military not only broke the gender roles placed on them by Western society, but also the submissive role Western governments had forced on their race. The purpose of colonization was to force Native peoples into a passive role so it was easier to take their land and resources. Instead of following this pattern of passivity, Native women who joined the military chose to take a more active role in the fate of their people and themselves. They took advantage of the system that pushed them down to bring themselves to a financially stable position. Through doing this they defied the passive role they were forced to play and helped their communities begin addressing the issues surrounding self-determination.

Native women have earned the right to be honored for these courageous efforts in the military and the stories of Pascale, Murphy, Rabideaux, and Washinawatok represent this overlooked genre of American history. Like much of American history, women are pushed to the background while men take the
forefront of glory. Most history enthusiasts know of the Navajo code talkers, but nothing of women like Washinawatok and Pascale who also left their families to assist in the war. The reasons many Native women chose to stay on their reservations during the war must also be investigated, as well as a more in depth look at women who sought civilian work off their reservations.

Understanding why Native women found work off their reservations is essential to realizing how these women took control over their lives. Native women chose to leave their families to find a more independent, financially-secure life through the military. By joining the military, Native women broke away from the cycle of poverty in Indian Country. In many cases, this was the impetus for gaining entry into the flourishing American economy.

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