13. Native Americans

We have been talking a little about the Indians. Let's take a closer look at that topic before we continue with the story of my family. What did the immigration of our ancestors mean to the Native Americans who had lived in America for hundreds or thousands of years?

THE AMERICAN INDIAN – NATIVE AMERICANS

My dear Johnnie, I do have to tell you that even though I want to be proud of what my ancestors accomplished by being pioneers, leaving the security of their homes and traveling such far distances in sometimes harsh conditions in order to give their families a better life, and I am proud of them, I am also deeply unhappy to think of how our white people took away the Indians' land and especially how they treated the Indians. That was simply not right nor fair. Iowa was declared "safe from Indians" following the Blackhawk War. Our ancestors came to Iowa in 1854, and while most of the Winnebago Indians who were living nearby had relocated in 1848-1849 to Minnesota, there were still Winnebago near Ft. Atkinson, 68 miles northwest of New Vienna. Those Winnebago continued living there for nearly the next 100 years and were peaceful Indians. Family historian Jack Henkel said,

Our ancestors never fought Indians, but they benefited from the fact that someone else had already fought the Indians and cleared Iowa for white settlement. So how did our ancestors feel about the way we took this land from Indians? They probably didn't even know how that took place. The Black Hawk War had occurred a quarter century before our ancestors got here. Our ancestors might not have even heard about it. They probably knew this had been Indian land at one time, since they had seen Indians here. Our ancestors might have thought they could make more productive use of the land than the Indians who used to live here, since they were farmers and the Indians were mainly hunters.

And they might have thought the Indians deserved to have their land taken from them because of the way they killed whites. In 1857, the year after our great-grandfather arrived in Iowa, occurred the Spirit Lake Massacre in northern Iowa, in which white settlers were killed by Sioux Indians. And then in 1862 occurred the Sioux Uprising in southern Minnesota - more settlers killed by Sioux. (And some of those Sioux were imprisoned at Camp McKinley in Davenport when our great-grandfather was stationed there in 1864 after he got drafted into the Civil War.) Our ancestors might have only heard about Indians when they were killing settlers, and they probably didn't know why Indians were so mad that they felt they had to torture and kill us. (Although, judging from those excerpts from the National Geographic book *The Indian Wars*, Indians didn't seem to torture and kill people until Europeans came here; they were treating whites the way whites treated them.) Our ancestors didn't have time to look through archives and historical collections to find the primary sources which document the history of how Indians were treated. But in this age of instant information from the internet we have no excuse for not knowing how Indians were treated in their own country.

We know that pioneer life was grueling, all-consuming work, and once a family had staked a claim or bought a piece of land, all thoughts were focused on making a success of their new life, within the certainty that they were doing God's work for their adopted country.

However, the question of the American Indian interests me greatly, and I would like to spend some time on it. The large race white people call American Indian was actually a group of very heterogeneous tribes with different names, physical characteristics, languages, customs and cultures. Even within large tribal organizations like the Sioux, there are a number of subtribes, like the seven Sioux tribes. Despite constant warfare among the tribes over land or grazing rights, there was a good bit of intermarrying among the tribes. Some of the tribes speak similar languages, like the Winnebago speaking a form of Siouan language. Some of the tribes were mostly peaceful and tried to work with the U.S. government, and some remained hostile. Classifying them all as one, as the U.S. government did during the Indian Wars, was particularly harmful to all of them in various ways. There are as many stories about the Indians as there are tribes, but it would be helpful for us to understand just one tribe, the Winnebago, who lived near us. Many of the stories of the other tribes were similar in ultimate outcomes.

Let's look at this history by Lee Sultzman in *Winnebago History*. This article is indeed very long, but because it is so complete, it will help us understand the whole Indian question.

The Winnebago do not remember a time when they did not live at Red Banks on the south shore of Green Bay. Their occupation of Wisconsin is very ancient, perhaps thousands of years. Although they have no memories of mound-building, they may well be descendants of the earlier Mississippian, Hopewell, and Adena cultures. Their homeland lay between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago in northeast Wisconsin but they dominated the area from Upper Michigan south to present-day Milwaukee extending west to the Mississippi. Beginning in the 1640s, thousands of Algonquin refugees from the Beaver Wars (1630-1701) invaded Wisconsin from the east, and the resulting wars and epidemics brought the resident tribes, Winnebago and Menominee, to the point of near extinction. The Winnebago who survived remained near Green Bay but were forced to share their homeland with other tribes.
When the French returned to Wisconsin in 1665, wars and epidemic had reduced the Winnebago to fewer than 500, from the estimated 20,000 it had been. After the French and Great Lakes Algonquin victory over the Iroquois in 1701, many of the refugee tribes left Wisconsin allowing the Winnebago to reclaim some of their homeland - especially after the near-annihilation of the Fox during the Fox Wars (1712-16 and 1728-37).
The Winnebago spread south afterwards along the Wisconsin and Rock Rivers into southern Wisconsin, eventually claiming a portion of northwestern Illinois. American settlement of Wisconsin began after 1825, and the Winnebago rapidly lost territory. By 1840 the Winnebago had ceded their Wisconsin land and agreed to move to northeast Iowa. Despite this many Winnebago remained in Wisconsin defying efforts to remove them. During the next 50 years, the Winnebago were shifted around like a piece of unwanted baggage. In 1848 the Winnebago were sent north to the Crow Wing River in Minnesota. Eight years later, they were moved south to Blue Earth County, Minnesota where they remained until after the Sioux uprising in 1862. Although the Winnebago had no part in this, the government deported them to South Dakota and placed with the Nakota (Yankton Sioux).

At this point, the Winnebago began to rebel. Many left the reservation and returned to Iowa, Minnesota or Wisconsin. The others fled down the Missouri to the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska. In 1865 the government accepted this and created a separate Winnebago Reservation (40,000 acres) in northeast Nebraska. During their many moves, many Winnebago never left Wisconsin. In addition, some had managed to stay in northeast Iowa and southern Minnesota when the main group was moved. Raided by the Lakota and pressured to allot their reservation, many Winnebago left Nebraska during the 1870s and 80s and went home to Wisconsin. The government would send them back, but the Winnebago just kept going, and the government finally gave up and purchased land in Wisconsin for the Winnebago. As a result, there are two separate Winnebago tribes today: the Wisconsin Winnebago with 4,400 acres (333 acres tribally owned) scattered in small holdings across ten counties; and the Nebraska Winnebago who still have 27,500 acres from their 1865 reservation, 3,100 belongs to the tribe.

Mention Sioux, and visions of war bonnets, horses, buffalo, and tepees flood the mind. However, this would be a poor description of the Winnebago. Although the Winnebago spoke a Siouan language, they were very much a woodland tribe whose lifestyle and dress closely resembled their Algonquin neighbors in the upper Great Lakes. Like other Siouan-speaking peoples, the Winnebago were taller than other natives (for that matter, taller than most Europeans). Nicollet in 1634 described them as brave but lacking in humility ...almost to the point of arrogance. Their clothing was fringed buckskin, which the Winnebago frequently decorated with beautiful designs created from porcupine quills, feathers and beads - a skill for which they are still renowned. Men originally wore their hair in two long braids, but in time this changed to the scalplock and roach headdress favored by the Algonquin. Body tattooing was common to both sexes.

In the process of rebuilding their population after 1670, the Winnebago frequently intermarried with Algonquin. So much so, it has been suggested they lost their original traditions and replaced them with Algonquin. Intermarriage certainly happened, and as a result, the purest Winnebago bloodline may actually be the Iowa and Otoe-Missouri. However, prior to contact, the Winnebago resembled the Algonquin in so many ways, there was not that much to change. The Winnebago were one of the northernmost agricultural tribes. In spite of a limited growing season, the Winnebago successfully grew three types of corn together with beans, squash, and tobacco. They supplemented this with fishing and hunting, including buffalo from the prairies of southern Wisconsin. Using dugout canoes (rather than the lighter birchbark variety used by the Ojibwe and Ottawa), they also gathered wild rice from the nearby lakes during the fall. The Winnebago used pottery for cooking and food storage, and copper implements were fairly common since it was easily available from the south shore of Lake Superior.

The Winnebago also resembled the Algonquin in that they were patrilineal with descent and clan membership determined by the father. Winnebago clans served both ceremonial and social functions, but in distinctive Siouan characteristic, were grouped into two major divisions, or moieties: an Upper (Sky) with four clans; and a Lower (Earth) having eight. Of these, the Thunderbird and Bear clans were the most important with the hereditary head chief of the Winnebago almost always chosen from the Thunderbird clan. Clan membership was more important among the Winnebago than band affiliation, and a Winnebago chief governed with the help of a council composed of the principal members of each clan. Despite intermarriage with Algonquin, it would appear the Winnebago made few changes to their traditional social or political structures.

Of course, they never surrendered their distinctive Siouan language, but it was not uncommon for a Winnebago to speak several languages besides his own (Algonquin, French, and English). Originally a farming people, the Winnebago lived in large semi-permanent villages. Unlike the Algonquin, they followed the Siouan pattern and did not usually separate into small, scattered hunting camps during winter - a possible link to the earlier Mississippian Culture. The Algonquin influence, however, revealed itself in the eight types of lodge (round or oval) the Winnebago are known to have used during the historic period. This included the tepee for temporary shelter on buffalo hunts. Burials varied according to clan with the dead either buried or placed on a platform. Some things, however, never changed. They were always allies of the Menominee, but throughout their long history, the Winnebago remained enemies of the Illinois.

In the meantime, the British encouraged the formation of a western alliance to keep the Americans out of Ohio. They succeeded until the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The Winnebago in Wisconsin were too far away to participate in this effort, but the British dominated the tribes and trade of the Upper Great Lakes until the 1830s. Intertribal warfare during the 1770s and 80s had hindered the fur trade, and at the request of Montreal fur traders, the British met with the tribes of upper Great Lakes at Michilimackinac in October, 1786. The treaty signed there produced 20 years of peace with the exception of the war between the Dakota and Ojibwe which continued until the 1850s. This, however, was not a problem for the Winnebago who were friendly with both parties and free to hunt in the war zone between them. They also maintained a friendship with the Fox and Sauk living along the Mississippi in eastern Iowa and western Illinois, and it can be said that during this period the Winnebago lived in peace with very few enemies. However, their ties to the Fox and Sauk and those lead deposits in northwest Illinois would soon bring this to an end.

The United States purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 changed the Winnebago's homeland from being at the edge to the center of American territory. Before this, the Winnebago had known the Americans as a distant enemy. Aside from their foray into the Illinois with the British in 1780, the Winnebago had never really met an American. This changed when Zebulon Pike's expedition explored the upper Mississippi in 1805. His meeting with the Winnebago near Prairie du Chien was peaceful, but the Winnebago soon had reason to worry. During 1804 William Henry Harrison entertained a visiting Fox and Sauk delegation at St. Louis and, after getting them drunk, succeeded in convincing them to sign away their tribe's lands east of the Mississippi in exchange for a few presents. Next came Fort Madison, the first American fort on the upper Mississippi, built in southeast Iowa in 1809 and garrisoned with 50 soldiers.

The Fox and Sauk refused to acknowledge the 1804 treaty and instantly became hostile to the Americans. The Winnebago were also concerned because of the lead deposits in their lands in northwest Illinois. In 1788 the Fox had allowed Julien Dubuque, a French-Canadian from Michilimackinac, to open a lead mine near the site of the Iowa City which now bears his name. Dubuque obtained a Spanish land grant to the site in 1796 and became wealthy from fur trading and lead mining. When he died in 1810, St. Louis creditors and land speculators attempted to seize his holdings, but the Fox and Sauk prevented this by burning Dubuque's buildings to the ground. The threat of American takeover was no longer a distant threat in Ohio, and the Winnebago listened with great interest in 1809 to the religion of Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet and the call for unity and no further land cessions by his brother Tecumseh. Within a short time, the Winnebago were one of the most militant members of Tecumseh's alliance against the Americans.

The Winnebago began making regular visits to Prophetstown (Tippecanoe) in Indiana during 1810 and even established a permanent village (Village du Puant) nearby. Tecumseh went south in the fall of 1811 to enlist the southern tribes against the Americans. During his absence, the Potawatomi attacked American settlements in Illinois starting a frontier war. William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, organized an army and in November marched on Prophetstown. Tenskwatawa ignored his brother's instructions to avoid any confrontation with the Americans while he was absent and ordered his warriors to attack. The Winnebago lost heavily at the Battle of Tippecanoe, but the military defeat was not nearly as important as the damage done to Tensquatawa's reputation as a prophet. Angry Winnebago warriors held him prisoner for two weeks and almost killed him. When Tecumseh returned in January 1812, his alliance was in shambles, but he able to rebuild and soon regained the allegiance of the Winnebago. With the outbreak of the War of 1812 (1812-14) in June, the Winnebago threw their support to Tecumseh and the British.

With the Fox, Sauk, and Potawatomi, the Winnebago besieged Fort Madison and forced its abandonment in 1813. Winnebago warriors also fought as part of Tecumseh's forces at Maumee Rapids and River Raisin in Ohio and Michigan. After Tecumseh was killed at the Battle of the Thames (October 1813), the Winnebago joined 500 warriors from the upper Great Lakes to help the British defeat the American attempt to retake Fort Michilimackinac in August 1814. The War of 1812 ended in a stalemate between the British and Americans, but for the tribes of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley it was total defeat. The Winnebago made peace with the Americans at St. Louis in June 1816. Their first treaty with the United States did not involve land cessions and called upon both sides to forgive and forget injuries suffered during the war. The Winnebago kept their part of the agreement but remained hostile. They allowed Americans to travel through their territory from Mississippi to the Fox portage but charged tolls.

After the War of 1812, settlement began to advance up the Mississippi from St. Louis, but warfare in Iowa and Minnesota between the Dakota, Ojibwe, Fox, and Sauk slowed its progress. The government in 1825 attempted to end the fighting at a grand council held with the area's tribes at Prairie du Chien. Attended by the Ojibwe, Fox, Sauk, Menominee, Iowa, Sioux, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, the resulting treaty attempted to end intertribal warfare by establishing boundaries between them. It also created a 40-mile-wide buffer zone between the Dakota, Fox and Sauk in northeast Iowa. Called the Neutral Ground, the Americans hoped to relocate the Winnebago there since they were friendly with both sides, but the Winnebago did not share the Americans optimism for this arrangement. Since its purpose was to facilitate settlement, the treaty made almost no provision to protect native lands from white encroachment. It had only limited success in preventing warfare, but settlement afterwards moved north at an accelerated pace.

During the next 15 years the Winnebago would be forced to surrender most of their homeland. The first target was the lead deposits in northwest Illinois, and in what can be described as the first (and last) "lead rush," Americans rushed in to stake their claims. Government agents described these people as "lawless" but did nothing to prevent encroachment. Less than two years after the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, the Winnebago were forced into war to defend their lands. The resistance, known as the Winnebago War (1827), was led by the Winnebago Prophet White Cloud and the war chief Red Bird. Fighting began in the summer of 1827 when a barge ascending the Mississippi near Prairie du Chien was fired upon. Other attacks killed some settlers along the lower Wisconsin River and struck the lead mines near Galena, Illinois. Soldiers were rushed north from Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis, and by August it was over. Faced with a war they could not win, Red Bird and White

Cloud surrendered themselves to be hanged to save their people. Red Bird died in prison, but White Cloud was pardoned by the president and released. Meanwhile, in a treaty signed at Green Bay in August 1828, the Winnebago (also Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Ottawa) ceded northern Illinois for $540,000.

With the lead mining district secured, the next victims were the Fox and Sauk in western Illinois. As a condition of peace in 1816, the United States had finally gotten their reluctant acceptance of that dubious treaty signed at St. Louis in 1804 ceding all of their lands east of the Mississippi. The bait was that the Fox and Sauk could stay until the Americans needed the land. Most likely neither the Fox, Sauk nor the American representatives realized how soon this would be. Illinois became a state in 1818 and within ten years was pressing for removal. Blackhawk's Sauk at Rock Island refused to move, but after the Menominee and Dakota murdered 15 Fox chiefs on route to a meeting with the Americans at Prairie du Chien, war seemed eminent. Blackhawk brought his people west into Iowa to protect the Fox and Sauk villages there from Dakota attacks which never came. When he started back to Illinois, the Americans refused to allow him to re-cross the Mississippi.

Throughout the winter of 1831-32, the old war chief sat in eastern Iowa and fumed. In his anger, he listened to arguments from his friend Neapope and the Winnebago Prophet (White Cloud) convincing him the British and other tribes were ready to join him against the Americans. In the spring he defiantly crossed the river into Illinois touching off the Blackhawk War (1832). The help did not materialize. Only a few Potawatomi and White Cloud's small following among the Winnebago joined the revolt. Pursued by the army and Illinois militia, Blackhawk retreated towards Wisconsin hoping to reach safety with either the Winnebago or Ojibwe. Most Winnebago wanted nothing to do with him and refused to help. Finally realizing this, Blackhawk turned west to try to return to Iowa. He never made it. Trapped between an American army and gunboat at the mouth of the Bad Axe River, the Sauk were slaughtered before surrendering. Menominee and Dakota warriors killed many of those who managed to elude capture by the Americans.

A marked man, Blackhawk escaped before the battle and fled north. He was captured by the Winnebago of Chief Spoon Decorah (Choukeka), a friend of the Americans, who delivered him to the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien. Despite this, the general feeling among the Americans was that the Winnebago had cooperated with Blackhawk. By the harsh terms of the treaty negotiated by General Winfield Scott at Fort Armstrong in September 1832, the Winnebago ceded their lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to move to Neutral Ground in northeast Iowa. They were to receive $270,000 ($10,000/year for 27 years) and were required to surrender several of their tribesmen accused of murdering whites during the war. Settlement moved into southern Wisconsin afterwards, but the Winnebago remained in their old lands, primarily because of hostility among the Fox and Sauk for the Winnebago's failure to help them during the Blackhawk War.

One out of four Winnebago died during a smallpox epidemic in 1836, which may have been a not-so-subtle hint for them to leave Wisconsin. A second treaty signed at Washington, D.C. in 1837 confirmed the Winnebago cession of Wisconsin and reduced the size of the Neutral Ground, but the Winnebago did not leave until 1840 when General Henry Atkinson refused to make their annuities except at the Turkey River Subagency (Decorah, Iowa). By 1842 approximately 2,200 Winnebago had settled in villages near the agency, which was guarded by cavalry stationed nearby at Fort Atkinson, a necessary precaution since the threat of attack by the Fox and Sauk was very

real. During the winter of 1839, they had killed 40 members of a Winnebago hunting party west of Wapsipinicon River. The following year, Fox and Sauk decided to attack the Winnebago villages near the agency but were only prevented by an unusually heavy snowfall that winter. Meanwhile, more than 1,000 Winnebago had remained in their homeland giving Fort Atkinson's cavalry the added problem of keeping the Iowa Winnebago from going back to Wisconsin.

With Iowa statehood in 1846, it was time for the Winnebago to be moved again. In an 1845 treaty, the Winnebago exchanged their Iowa lands for the 800,000-acre Long Prairie (Crow Wing River) reserve in Minnesota and $190,000. The move ended the threat of the Fox and Sauk but placed the Winnebago as a buffer between the Dakota and Ojibwe. Some Winnebago managed to remain in northeast Iowa for more than a century, but the main group was moved during 1848 and 1849. The new location was unsatisfactory from the beginning. Not only was there poor soil and a short growing season, but the Ojibwe used the agency as a waystation to attack the Dakota. In a treaty signed in 1856, the government allowed the Winnebago to exchange the Long Prairie reserve from another farther south in Minnesota at Blue Earth. As their population declined, the Winnebago surrendered a part of this in 1859 as excess lands.

All went well until the Dakota uprising erupted in the Minnesota River Valley during 1862 killing over 400 whites. The Winnebago had no part in this, but in the aftermath, Minnesota was no longer safe. The Winnebago were forcibly gathered together and deported by steamboat down the Mississippi and then up the Missouri to the Crow Creek reservation in South Dakota with the Yankton (Sioux). Some got to leave the steamboat at Hannibal, Missouri, and travel by train to St. Joseph where they were put back on a boat for the rest of their journey up the Missouri. Even allowing that the Civil War was in progress, conditions were terrible at the South Dakota reservation. Many Winnebago slipped away to return to Minnesota and Wisconsin. Finally, the remaining 1,200 left en masse and fled down the Missouri to ask the Omaha in eastern Nebraska for a refuge.

The government finally accepted their self-relocation and in 1865 purchased 40,000 acres from the Omaha to provide the Winnebago with their own reservation. Life in Nebraska was far from easy, and exposed to Lakota (Sioux) raids, many of the Nebraska Winnebago volunteered as army scouts against Lakota during 1868. While Winnebago were serving as scouts, the Indian Bureau - in its wisdom - conceived a plan of relocating the Winnebago to North Dakota as a buffer between the Lakota and the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. For some reason, the Winnebago declined. Meanwhile, the Winnebago in Wisconsin were routinely being arrested and returned to Nebraska. Within a month, they were usually back in Wisconsin. After ten years of this game, the government gave up after 1875, purchased homestead lands for the Winnebago, and let them stay in Wisconsin. During the 1880s, over half of the Nebraska Winnebago went home to Wisconsin where they have remained ever since scattered across ten counties. The other Winnebago remained in Nebraska although 1/3 of their original 40,000-acre reservation was eventually lost to whites through allotment after 1887.

Kluge Fellow historian at the Library of Congress, Joseph Genetin-Pilawa talks about his book *The Indians' Capital City: 'Secret' Native Histories of Washington, D.C.:*

The presence of Natives in Washington in the first half of the 19th century coincided with removal of Native tribes from their homelands in the South and West. How do you interpret this tension between Natives being welcomed in Washington while Washington elected officials evicted

Natives nationwide? Was that tension felt at the time? That's certainly a big part of what attracted me to this project. Much of the early artwork in the city was created and installed in the 1830s, '40s, and '50s, to support and justify the removal and reservation policies being simultaneously crafted by Congress and the Presidents. Yet, hundreds and thousands of Indian delegates were in the city concurrently. White Washingtonians told themselves one story on their walls and in their paintings, a story of a completed conquest and vanishing Indians, yet experienced an entirely different story in their everyday lives as they encountered actual Native people all over the city.

From the perspective of the Native visitors themselves, the tension was not so much about the representation versus the reality, but about resisting the very representations themselves. That process started in the earliest days of the city and continues to the present.

The artwork in the rotunda of the Capitol Building, for example, focuses on Native people assimilating (like Pocahontas), signing land treaties (William Penn and the Delaware), and being subjugated (Daniel Boone fighting Indians). My book argues that, unlike the Native subjects of capital art and architecture though, Indigenous visitors and inhabitants engaged with non-Native individuals and the symbols of settler society in Washington, carved out their own space(s) within it, and claimed or reclaimed an ownership of the place.

The photo above shows Indian delegations at Washington in a presentation to the president, from a photograph by A. Gardner, Washington, D.C. Harper's Weekly, March 16, 1867. Library of Congress

Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-106694. A New Vienna pioneer, Frank Rohenkohl, born in 1845, told the story about how, when he was three years old, three hundred Indians came through New Vienna on their way to Washington, DC, and camped about two blocks from their home. His father sold them five head of cattle to furnish with meat for supper and breakfast. The Indians were noisy but agreeable. The 300 Indians that Mr. Rohenkohl saw as a child were probably Winnebago Indians on their way to Washington to make another appearance before the President. Immediately upon being relocated to the Long Prairie Reserve in Minnesota, the Winnebago realized how unsuitable the area was for them. They would have traveled again to Washington to try to negotiate for a different location, which obviously was not satisfactory again, because in 1856 the Winnebago were back in Washington to sign the 1856 Peace Treaty.

The settlement areas of our ancestors are known more today as the homeland of the Sac and Fox Indians than of the Winnebago, but we will have to discuss that long history another time. This is a nice picture, though, of young Sac and Fox Indians in their holiday attire near Prairie du Chien, which is 18 miles from Bloomington. Prairie La Porte, meaning "the door to the prairie," was the first name given to Guttenberg, Iowa by French explorers in 1673. Gutenburg is 18 miles northeast of New Vienna, and it was a site of Sac and Fox campgrounds until 1823. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 transferred ownership to the United States and the Black Hawk Purchase of 1833 finally opened the area for legal settlement. Let's look at this paragraph from the *National Geographic Magazine*.

Every square inch of North America was home to some Native American. However, from the papal bulls to the Doctrine of Discovery, Spain, France England, and other European nations never saw indigenous land tenure or use as ownership. They believed that Indians had rights of occupancy only, not ownership. Without obtaining any permission from the first people of North America, they fought one another over rights to colonize the land and the people who were there first. After the American Revolution, the new American nation adopted the beliefs and practices of the colonial empire they had revolted against. The government paid war veterans in land grants to tribal territory it had never obtained, setting the stage for repeated conflicts. The Office of Indian Affairs was created in the Department of War, with full knowledge that its mission was to systematically dispossess the tribes. The Americans felt that trampling the Indian was not only unavoidable, but also their God-given right. The 19th-centruy political writer John L O'Sullivan summed up the sentiment: "Other nations have tried to check....the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." That perspective shaped Indian policy for much of the country's history.

Manifest Destiny was the 19th-century doctrine or belief that the expansion of the US throughout the American continents was both justified and inevitable. What this doctrine justified was nothing less than the slaughter and annihilation of an entire race of people, in other words, genocide. The

Indians who lived in the US had no say in whether they wanted to be ruled by Americans, or by the French or Spanish before that. From the very beginning European immigrants have not treated Indians as equal. We weren't willing to share their land, we wanted it all for ourselves.

After the colonies won their independence, the United States steadily extended its borders westward, and indigenous peoples struggled to retain their autonomy and cultural identities. Conflicts arose between American Indians and others -- especially ranchers and homesteaders --over land and border disputes. Tribes adopted various strategies of survival. Some tribes signed peace treaties with the U.S. government or land agents in an attempt to retain their ancestral lands. Others held on to their lands through armed resistance—with devastating losses for all parties involved.

When the Indians fought back and tried to protect their lands and heritage, they became the "enemy", a foe that needed to be vanquished and destroyed. In the popular press they were demonized and portrayed as savages. According to Col. Richard Pratt's sanctimonious speech in 1892: "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man."

The way to do that, they determined, was to forcibly take Indian children away from their parents and send them to Indian boarding schools where they were to be "turned into whites."

Early in the history of American Indian boarding schools, the U.S. government argued that Indians were savages who should be compelled to send their children to schools by whatever means necessary. Later the government recommended increased Indian control over education at the schools. A report in the late 1880s defended the early days of the schools. In the 1920s, a report concluded that children at federal boarding schools were malnourished, overworked, harshly punished and poorly educated. And in 1969, a report declared Indian education to be a national tragedy.

A Bureau of Indian Affairs was set up to "manage the Indian question." It quickly proved its purpose was to keep the Indian in his place. The Bureau, including the Indians who worked in the Bureau, was viewed with contempt by most Indians, who considered it as representing white oppression and control. Indians affiliated with the Bureau worked against the race.

Researcher Glenda Riley asked whether this attitude of fear and hatred ever changed as whites came to actually know Indians. She notes in *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915,* that while this adversarial attitude remained firm in pioneer men, it did not remain so in pioneer women, once they had been exposed to real Indians.

While many argue that white women often shared the prejudices of the men with whom they lived, the major finding of this study is that women's perceptions of minority groups were modified by their perceptions of themselves and their distinct place in American society. As women moved westward, they, like whites in general, did carry with them certain deeply ingrained images and preconceptions of the native groups they would meet. But, as women, they also labored under a set of images and preconceptions of females in the nineteenth century that influenced and shaped their views of American Indians. As a result, they emphasized and reacted to particular aspects of Indian culture, society, and value systems. They responded, at least initially, in exactly the ways expected of properly indoctrinated white women of the nineteenth century. A crucial change in their pattern of response appeared frequently as frontier women came into contact with various types of American Indians, while at the same time discovering their own resilience in the face of the harsh demands imposed on them by the western environment. The effect of both experiences was quite often a revision of commonly held beliefs regarding what constituted "real" Indians and "true" women. Many frontierswomen began to reject such stereotypes in favor of a more authentic relationship between themselves and Indians. They started to trade and mix socially with natives and sometimes even expressed affection for and sympathy toward certain individuals.

Popular press of the time accepted the fact that the white male could enter into a relationship with a Native American woman but could not accept a white female entering into a relationship with a native man. Ms. Riley asks the hard questions, "Why haven't the stories of women such as Elaine Goodale Eastman received attention from novelists and screenwriters? Where is the media saga of the female settler who went west to become the happy wife of an Indian and the fulfilled mother of 'half-breed' children? Could it be because the Indian male, castigated by the white male as inferior, was not after all inferior, and therefore was a threat to the white male view of their own superiority?"

Some of the pioneer women braved censure and spoke out. Army wife Frances Roe wrote, "If the Indians should attempt to protect their rights it would be called an uprising at once, so they have to lie around on sand hills and watch their beloved buffalo gradually disappear, and all the time they know only too well that with them will go the skins that give them tepees and clothing, and the meat that furnishes almost all of their sustenance."

Another Army wife, Frances Carrington wrote that, "at the time of my arrival it had become apparent to any sensible observer that the Indians of that country would fight to the death for home and native land, with spirit akin to that of the American soldier of our early history, and who could say that their spirit was not commendable and to be respected?"

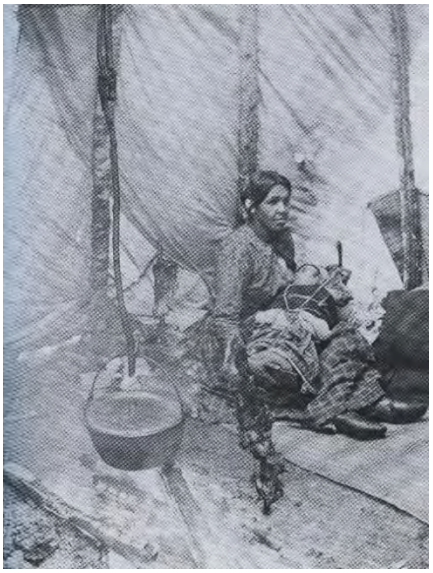
Even female captives usually reported, "I was well cared for," "I really liked them," "they made a pet of me," "It seems wrong for me to call those two Indian women squaws. They were as lady-like as any white women, and I shall never forget them."

Nevertheless, they were ignored in the interests of land expansion. The images and myths remained because an accurate portrayal of Indians as rational, capable beings would jeopardize

the white man's superiority. The Indian needed to be made to be a savage in order to justify the stealing of his land.

Throughout this whole process, the voices of the Indians themselves had been ignored, of course, and it was not until after the turn of the century that Indians realized that their only salvation and protection lay in ignoring their traditional tribal antipathies and coming together as a group to fight for their rights.

Here we see some of the images of Native American women that helped white women change their attitude toward them:



Mother and child, and Chippewa woman making a birch bark canoe, circa 1900. White women were often moved to change their views of American Indians after observing their homemaking and childrearing practices and they came to admire and respect the skillfulness and ingenuity of native women.

Water carriers, circa 1880. Both white and Indian women of all ages worked under difficult conditions to provide food, water, and clothing for their families.

White Mountain Apache woman named “Na-tu-ende” or “Forty Horse Cayetro,” daughter of “Brigham,” circa 1883. Many white women overcame their early prejudices and developed relationships with Indians based on mutual respect and trust.

In the early 1900s, three prominent American Indians, Dr. Charles Eastman, his brother Reverend John Eastman and Rev. Sherman Coolidge first discussed organizing a Pan-Indian or intertribal Indian rights organization. However, they concluded the time was not yet right to broadly advance the idea, believing such a movement "would not be understood either by our own people or the American people in general," present a "grave danger of arousing the antagonism of the Bureau," and compromise the many progressively oriented Indians affiliated with Government service and programs.

That feeling changed in 1909, after the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It seemed that “the time was ripe for a national organization of educated and progressive Indians." The result was the Society of American Indians (1911–1923), the first national American Indian rights organization run by and for American Indians. The Society pioneered twentieth century Pan-Indianism, the movement promoting unity among American Indians regardless of tribal affiliation. Dr. Charles Eastman, (Santee Dakota), physician, and by then the husband of Elaine Goodale, was one of the six Indian intellectuals and leaders on the planning committee.

So who exactly was this Elaine Goodale we keep talking about?

Elaine Goodale was a young woman of genteel New England upbringing, superior education, and proven literary ability who went to Dakota Territory in 1886 as a teacher at a day school in a tiny, isolated village on the Great Sioux Reservation. Her frontier was more than a geographical one, for she was a pioneer in a broad-based attempt to bring the Indians into the mainstream of American life. The military campaigns to subjugate the Indians were now over and the task ahead was to fit

them into the larger society. Government and church efforts were directed at teaching the Indians to live like their white neighbors – the obvious solution to the so-called Indian problem in an age of "melting pot" optimism and belief in the social as well as physical survival of the fittest.

Although Elaine Goodale shared the general convictions of her white contemporaries about the superiority of their culture, she had an ability, particularly remarkable in the late 1800s, to see her Indian friends sympathetically as complex human beings and to adopt aspects of their lifestyle that she found admirable. During her five and a half years on the reservation she wrote copiously about the Indians and their concerns, submitting her writing to Eastern journals for publication. By 1890 her work was so respected that she was appointed Superintendent of Indian Education for the Two Dakotas.

Born in 1863, Elaine could read by age 3, as many children of her age could. Her accomplished mother homeschooled the four Goodale children, with visiting artists, botanists, or clergymen giving the children lessons in Greek or botany or drawing. Elaine was an avid reader and matriculated into Smith College, from which she graduated in 1884. She became a teacher at the Hampton Institute, a historically black college in Virginia for the education of freedmen. While there she taught a new group of 100 Native American Sioux students from the West and became interested in the history of the Indians, just as she had become interested in the history of the freedmen. In 1885 she made a tour through the Sioux Reservation, as she wanted to learn more about her students' world. She became interested in the cause of Indian reform and in 1886 received a government appointment to teach Indians at the White River Camp, where she set up a day school. She strongly supported educating children at day schools on the reservations rather than sending them away to boarding schools.

In the aftermath of the Wounded Knee Massacre in December 1890 she cared for the wounded with Dr. Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux doctor of part Anglo-American ancestry. They fell in love, and in 1891 she and Charles were married in New York. Wounded Knee Massacre, also called the Battle of Wounded Knee, happened on December 29, 1890, near Wounded Knee Creek on the Lakota Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The U.S. 7th Cavalry Regiment went into the camp to disarm the Lakota and in the ensuing confusion wherein an old man was performing a ritual called the Ghost Dance, a deaf tribesman named Black Coyote did not want to give up his rifle, claiming he had paid a lot for it, and it went off. The U.S. army began shooting at the Native Americans, the disarmed Lakota warriors did their best to fight back, but over 150 men, women and children of the Lakota were killed, with many others wounded so seriously they later died. The US. awarded 20 of those soldiers the Medal of Honor, and in 2001 the National Congress of American Indians passed two resolutions condemning the military awards and called on the U.S. government to rescind them. This was but one of the many actions of the US government and military that should be labeled disgraceful.

Elaine has occasionally been criticized for promoting the adoption of the Middle Class, conventional white culture by the Indians, but that sentiment does not take into account the fact that the U.S. government mandated that adoption and had a mission to eradicate the Indian culture. Elaine loved and respected the Indian culture and tried to help the Sioux adapt to living in the white culture simply to survive. It is very clear in her writings how much she admires the Sioux, even to her own adoption of certain of their practices, like wearing moccasins or living in teepees. Her tireless advocacy for the Sioux made her an effective go-between for the government and the native peoples, and her humane approach to Native American education made her stand out among reformers of her era.

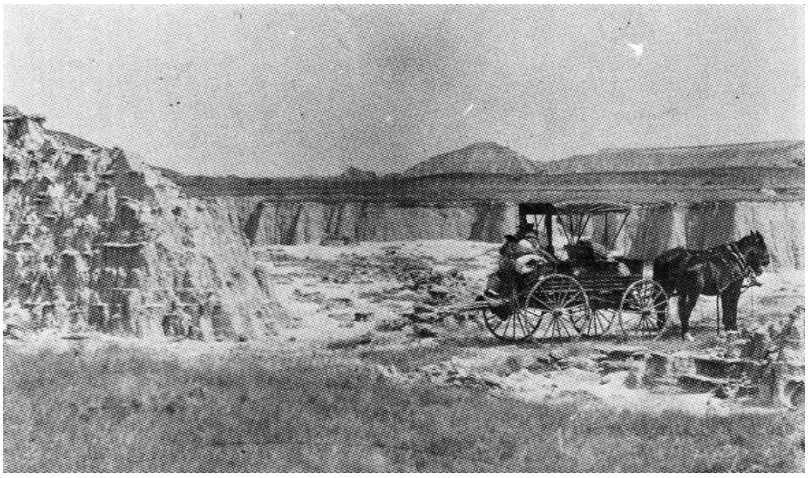
I learned of Elaine Goodale by accident. After Johnnie and I moved to Wisconsin, I visited the library one day and found that someone had donated a copy of a book called *Yellow Star* that had been published in 1911. The cover of the book interested me. I checked it out and was immediately drawn into a new world that fascinated me. When I went to return the book I asked the volunteer librarian if there were any more books by this author. She checked their inventory and did not find any, but she said that the book's donor mentioned that Elaine Goodale had published articles in magazines while she was living with the Sioux in South Dakota. She said she would inquire. The next time I visited the library, she told me that indeed, that book donor's mother was the one interested in Elaine Goodale. When the family lived in Connecticut before moving to Bloomington, the mother used to get a publication called *The Independent*, and that magazine used to carry articles by Elaine Goodale. Because her mother liked to save everything that had to do with the Congregational Church, she did indeed have old copies of The Independent, and that is how I eventually got to read some of Elaine Goodale's dispatches from the Sioux Reservation. I also learned about the illustrator for *Yellow Star*, Angel De Cora, and Angel's husband William Henry Dietz.

Angel De Cora was born into the Thunderbird clan of the Winnebago Indians in Nebraska on May 3, 1871. She was kidnapped at a young age and sent to school in Hampton, Virginia. Three years later she was returned to her parents, but her father and the chief had died and with them the old Indian life was gone. As granddaughter to the chief of the Winnebago tribe, she existed in a position of influence. She became a painter, illustrator, Native-American rights advocate and teacher. The federal government vision was "educating Indian girls in the hope that women trained as good housewives would help their mates assimilate into the U.S. mainstream culture." Toward the end of her career De Cora and her husband taught art at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, PA. He painted scenes from her childhood on the Nebraska plains and was the best-known native Americana artist before WWI.

Here are some of the articles Elaine wrote: "The name Dakota, loosely translated as friends or kinsfolk, covered seven or eight distinct bands of Sioux. They were not federated tribes like the Six Nations, but a people of one blood and one speech, with minor variations, and intermarried freely. When I first went to live among them, old customs were beginning to lose validity, but had by no means been forgotten. It was a period of changing manners and conflicting codes."

This is a photo of Chief Medicine Bull and his wife, Ina. "Fifty years ago a gifted, lovable, self-reliant people stood at the crisis of their fate. The old way of life was hopelessly destroyed and their more far-seeing leaders ready and eager to advance into a new world. They might still have preferred their own, if given a choice, but since there was no choice, they wanted to advance much faster than we would let them. The hour had struck for a swift transition to another pattern of life altogether, before their self-respect had been undermined and their courage exhausted. Having lived at the heart of the issue, I deeply regret the folly of holding the tribes together in compact masses and teaching them dependence upon the federal government. It has, quite unnecessarily, kept the majority of Indians children and wards to this day.

Says a man proud of his Sioux heritage and background and at the same time adequate to present-day demands: 'There is plenty of evidence to prove that one generation is more than sufficient to civilize Indians, provided they have the same opportunities given ordinary citizens. The reservation system and department policy is to blame for keeping them back.'"



Notwithstanding the aridity of the short-grass plains and the extensive "bad lands" where nothing would grow, there was strong pressure for opening the Sioux reservation in the eighteen-eighties. The drive at that time was probably initiated by the railroads and kept alive by speculators in town sites and by the local press.

Elaine describes in detail her first witnessing of the Omaha, or grass, dance – a kind of masque performed by young men attired mainly in paint of gorgeous hues with elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments of shells, bells, and bears' claws.

"The throbs of the dance-drum measure the hot, breathless silence. Against a background of sunburnt grass and dazzling sky assemble groups of gazers. The step is indescribable – it is as if

the dancers were treading on hot iron or pointed knives, so delicately do they touch the sod and so fantastically bend their supple bodies in perfect time with the singing of the old men. The music lasts for a few minutes, stops abruptly and all seat themselves. After a brief interval it begins again, and perhaps two men rise, or it may be twenty, to repeat indefinitely the series of short turns that lend a dramatic effect to the performance."

Fifty years ago, a few strait-laced individuals needlessly rejected everything characteristically native without regard to intrinsic values. I was once taken to task by a good missionary of my acquaintance for habitually wearing moccasins in the house and about the camp. I am sure that same clergyman – if he had ever heard of it – would have rebuked me even more severely for taking part in an inter-camp game of "shinny" with a hundred or more yelling and excited men and women! Perhaps we placed undue emphasis on surface indications of conformity. On the other hand, there is no doubt that these help to bolster up the courage of the new convert and effectively advertise his change of heart.

Community suppers, magic-lantern shows, and other wholesome diversions were a part of our plan, largely supplanting the native dances. A Since these not only involve paint and Dakota dress, but revival of war games, late hours, and a general relaxation of all rules, church workers and conscientious government employees felt bound to discourage them. They were not, however, forbidden. Recent governmental policy promotes such amusements notwithstanding they tend strongly to drunkenness gambling and sexual excesses.

Elaine with her driver and outfit, 1890. She spent a year inspecting schools, going from one to the other with her horse and buggy. She spoke fluent and correct Dakota and was respected. And she continued to write articles for *The Independent* and other publications. Photo below: Elaine Goodale (black hat and coat to left of door) with her day school students, 1887.

“Scant attention had thus far been paid to the views of patrons, but ability to speak Dakota fluently and correctly proved an instant passport to their confidence. I consulted them freely and often found my reasoned conclusions anticipated by these intuitive and keen judges of human nature. They resent an indifferent or patronizing attitude and despised a grafter. In this case, there is no doubt that the little ones were ill-fed and had been known to faint in class from hunger. “

Girls in those days didn’t wear breeches, slacks, or shorts, and I thought to strike a happy medium between comfort and convention by adopting a simple one-piece dress, made in gingham or flannel according to the weather, and worn with a soft hat and moccasins. The mountain wagon provided for my use was roomy and substantial. Tent, mess-chest, and canvas-covered rolls of bedding for the three of us (Elaine, driver and his wife who cooked) were strapped on behind. Buckets, coffee pot, and lantern dangled at the sides, while valises, camera, gun, and miscellaneous impedimenta filled every available inch of space beneath and around the occupants. A good team of blacks hauled us over unmarked and often difficult trails. The wheels drag heavily in the sand. On the downgrades, the driver jams on the brakes and the big horses hold back with all their might. At the bottom, there is a steep gully or one of the little creeks that intersect this vast empty landscape with a network of tributary streams, all flowing into the White River. The shotgun, by the way, was carried for the sole purpose of adding occasional small game to our usual fare of canned goods, bacon, biscuit, and coffee. While Leon is stealing up on a flock of plover, trying to get two of the birds in line, an old Indian on a small white pony overtakes the wagon. The schoolhouse, he says, is just at the foot of the next hill. Has he a child in school? He has. Is it a good school? Yes, they have a good teacher. There is only one thing that doesn’t please him. Many of the children walk a long way to school, stay until the sun is low, and walk home again, and all that time they eat nothing but one hardtack and part of a cup of coffee.

Day school on the Cheyenne River Reservation, with Elaine Goodale's tent and buggy in the left background.

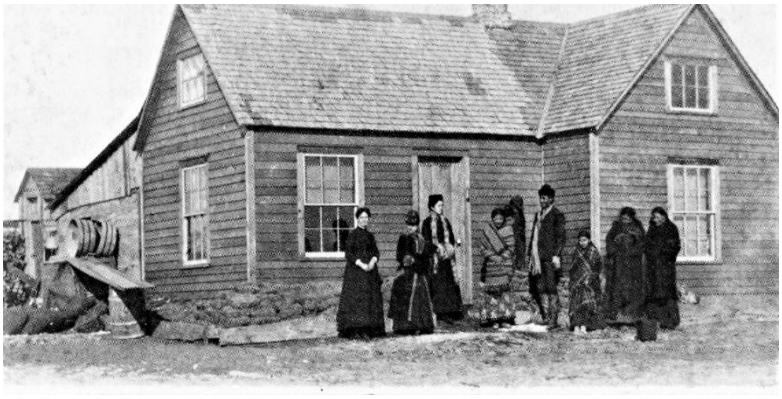
As we learned from her writings, she preferred to live in the tent rather than in cabins or houses.

Pine Ridge agency, 1890, the year before I was born.

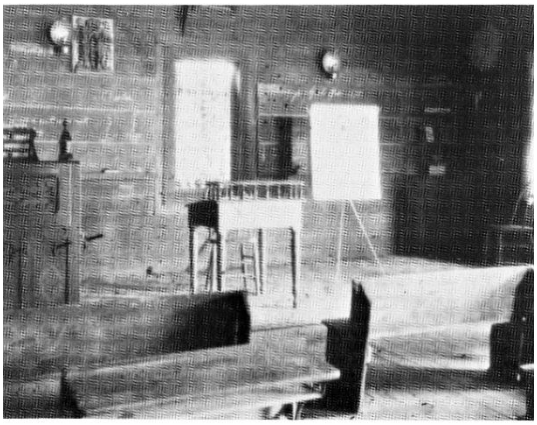
"There was implied compliment to the Sioux in the very fact of my choosing to speak their tongue although it was not required of me, in my frank enjoyment of their company, my habitual wearing of moccasins, and my choice of the Dakota lodge over every other form of canvas house. Its merits, indeed, were admitted when it was made the model for the Sibley army tent. It is roomier and prettier than a wall tent, less liable to overturn in a high wind, and is ventilated as well as warmed by the central fire with opening above. The chimney flaps, properly regulated, carry off most of the smoke, and the whole is easily transformed in a few minutes into a breezy awning for summer weather."

Soldier stationed outside the Oglala boarding school, Pine Ridge, 1890.

"Although the native policemen, looking dignified and responsible in natty blue uniform, might often be found beside the door as a symbol, it was rarely necessary to compel, or even to urge, attendance at day schools. The Indian's need of the white man's tools was obvious enough. He might be inclined to allow but two or three years at most for an education, but that misconception was bound to disappear in time. I was sometimes taken out behind an Indian team to view the location they had agreed upon among themselves for another little school, and to verify their count of the required thirty children within walking distance."



White River mission day school when Elaine Goodale taught there, January 1887. Left to right: housekeeper, Laura Tileston (lady missionary), Elaine (third from left) and Dakota neighbors.



Interior of White River day school.

"Even the natural objections to distant boarding schools could be largely overcome with patience and discretion. I advised them only for young people prepared to make good use of wider opportunities – never for small children with a day school at hand. I carried a portfolio of attractive Carlisle and Hampton photographs and, while the boys and girls were turning them over, would casually let fall a few words meant to arouse latent interest and ambition."

In three years at White River camp, I had not received so much as a printed circular from the Indian Office, or from the superintendent of Indian schools. I was only once visited by the latter and then in the most perfunctory and mechanical way. I received no instructions whatever, and the most necessary school supplies were issued irregularly, or not at all.

The experience was typical. Each of these little camp schools was an isolated unit, functioning blindly and without standards. The stock excuse of the inefficient teacher was the bald

assumption that “Injuns just won’t talk American,” or “You can’t learn them sums, they’ve not got the head for it.” Everything was copied off the board on slates without explanation, and many had no idea of teaching conversational English other than by labored translations from the vernacular. It may be taken for granted that mine was no conventional call some twenty minutes long, ending in a formal handshake and an inscrutable smile. I gave no less than a full day to each little camp school at each visit, and to every boarding school a week or more. Then I offered such encouragement as I honestly could, together with a few constructive suggestions, and repeated their substance in a carefully written letter soon afterward.

In some instances a short program had been memorized for the benefit of a possible caller. The drill ended, the complacent pedagogue would propose adjournment for luncheon and rest. My unexpected reappearance in the schoolroom the minute recess was over no doubt caused him considerable embarrassment. Occasionally, when the work was particularly hopeless, I would offer to teach for a couple of hours. Rather to my surprise, the suggestion was usually received with undisguised relief. Probably it excited hopes of witnessing a humiliating failure on the part of this presuming stranger.

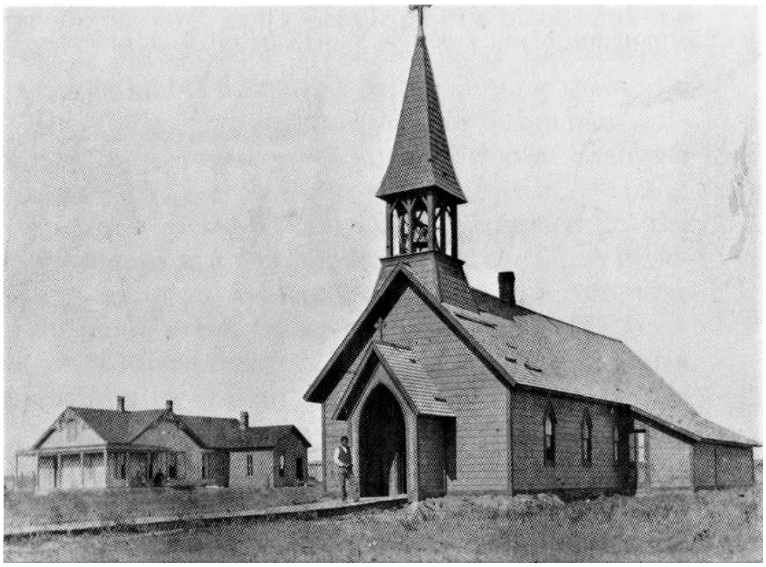
One of the most aggravating cases I recall was an attempt to seat about a hundred children, unwashed, uncombed, noisy, and undisciplined, in a schoolroom planned to accommodate fifty. Two were actually assigned to each seat, and when invited to come to the front for a recitation, the youngsters were compelled to scramble over one another’s shoulders. The man in charge, originally a trader’s clerk, was apparently almost illiterate. Though a good deal disconcerted by my appearance, he bravely called upon a class to rise amid indescribable racket and confusion.

This time I took the drastic step of dismissing one-half the school, had the desks rearranged, placed the one small blackboard in a prominent position, and taught orally for the rest of the morning, utilizing every object and picture I could lay my hands on, introducing marches, motion plays, and action songs, and winning a better response than seemed possible under the circumstances. I advised this man to divide his school into two platoons and to concentrate for the present upon reasonable order and practice in idiomatic English. Too many of the teachers were middle-aged men, not only incompetent in teaching skills but totally unadaptable. Young women as a rule did better. In some cases a couple was employed to good advantage.

One can hardly wonder that I found the boarding school routine in general drab and lifeless, and the military discipline needlessly harsh. The children had too much drudgery and too little relaxation. They were frequently unhappy and homesick. Some regimentation is no doubt unavoidable in large groups, but one could not but compare these depressing institutions with Hampton, where each individual was loved and studied with Bishop Hare’s homelike, small church schools, and with the famous “Outing” at Carlisle, giving opportunity for normal home and school like in association with good American farm families.

“I was, of course, at once escorted on a formal round and expected to spend so many minutes in each room, to ask a few cut-and-dried questions, listen patiently to the usual requests for transfers, and go quietly away again. My inconvenient habit of dropping in frequently at odd hours, talking privately with pupils, as well as with matron, seamstress, and cook, tasting food prepared for the children, and entering overcrowded dormitories late in the evening to complain of the bad

air no doubt seemed to the persons in charge both unnecessary and meddlesome. Bedroom windows, I was informed, must be kept closed and locked in order to be certain that no boy entered the girls' apartment, and the lack of ventilation was unavoidable, even though, with other unsanitary habits, it helped to spread tuberculosis among healthy children. True, the obvious deficiencies of these institutions were not so much chargeable to the staff, expected to feed, clothe, and teach their charges upon an allowance of some $167.00 per head per annum, as to the negligence and apathy of Congress and the public."



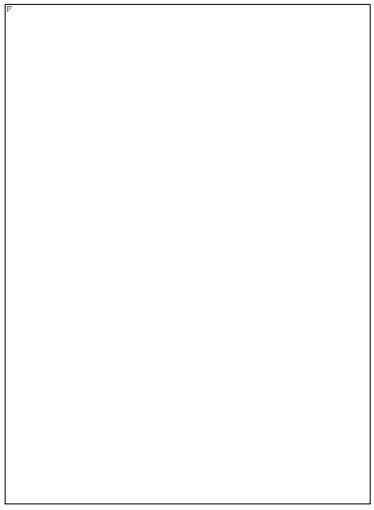
Chapel of the Holy Cross, Pine Ridge, used as a hospital where Dr. Eastman and Elaine cared for the Wounded Knee Massacre victims in 1889.

In the late fall of 1889 the New York Evening Post ran a special dispatch from Washington, part of which is reproduced here:

Miss Elaine Goodale's work among the Sioux Indians of the two Dakotas in the exercise of her office as supervisor of education is attracting much attention at the Indian Bureau, her communications from the field being wonderfully business-like, candid, and specific in detail. Commissioner Morgan has supplied her with a wagon and camping outfit, as there are no railroads or regular stage conveyances in the country through which her labors carry her, and has hired an Indian man to drive and his wife to do the cooking for the party. This makes her entirely independent, and she is busily engaged in inspecting and reporting upon the condition of the schools.

Her territory is large, embracing a greater number of these institutions than any other state or territory.... Of sixty schools, forty-nine are wholly supported by the government, nine by religious societies under contracts by which the government pays annual sums ranging from $108 to $175 per annum for the care of each pupil and his tuition, and two by the government and a religious society combined.

Considerable criticism was provoked by the choice of a young unmarried woman for the work in this wild Dakota country, but the Commissioner reasoned that....one who had already proved her mettle as Miss Goodale has, and whose training was so thorough in all directions, would make a more striking impression upon the Indians than a man. He is very desirous, now that the Sioux – an especially strong and vigorous nation – are coming gradually out of the tribal relation and into recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the individual, to turn their thoughts as much as possible toward education, as the key to the problems that confront them in their new estate.



The Commissioner continued to encourage Elaine to write and publish in such journals as *The Independent*, and she got into some trouble with the Catholic Church for an article she published criticizing their contract school. The Catholic Church filed a complaint in Washington, and the Commissioner felt compelled to send Elaine a formal reprimand, the sting of which was removed by a private letter in the same post exonerating her of any wrong. Indeed, General Armstrong wrote in an article in *The Independent*, addressing Miss Goodale, "It is excellent- wise and fair. You have found just fault with Catholic schools, and some of their teachers admit that you are right. Your point about inquiring into and inspecting contract schools is sound, and you can greatly improve them while securing their respect by being candid."

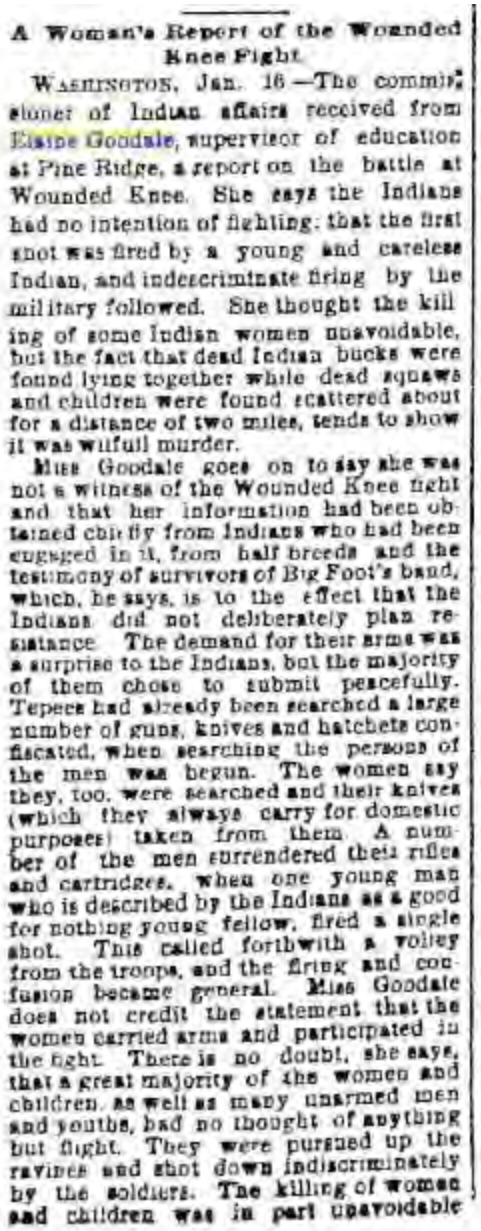
Table of contents and masthead from the January 4, 1919 edition of *The Independent*

The Independent was a weekly magazine published in New York City between 1848 and 1928 and financed by a group of New York businessmen led by Henry C. Bowen of the silk wholesaling firm Bowen & McNamee. It was founded in order to promote Congregationalism and was also an important voice in support of abolitionism and women's suffrage. The editorial policy was strongly antislavery, which hurt the magazine's circulation initially, but it improved through the 1850s to reach 35,000 by the beginning of the American Civil War.

In 1861 Henry Ward Beecher, who had been a regular contributor to the magazine, became its editor. His assistant editor was Theodore Tilton, who succeeded Beecher as editor in February 1863 and remained in the position until 1870. During Tilton's tenure, *The Independent* took up the cause of women's suffrage. It also published poetry and literary contributions by authors including Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Greenleaf Whittier and James Russell Lowell. It reached its highest circulation of 75,000 in 1870, the year in which Tilton retired as editor.

Tilton was succeeded by Henry C. Bowen, who continued as both editor and publisher until his death in 1896, when William Hayes Ward became editor. Thereafter the magazine devoted less attention to religious affairs and contained more political coverage and illustrations. This trend

continued under the editorship of Hamilton Holt, a strong proponent of the League to Enforce Peace and later the League of Nations. During the second decade of the twentieth century *The Independent* absorbed three other magazines: *The Chautauquan* (1914), *Harper's Weekly* (1916), and *Countryside* (1917).

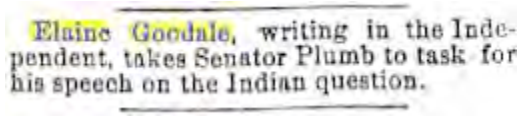


A Woman's Report of the Wounded Knee Fight

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—The commissioner of Indian affairs received from Elaine Goodale, supervisor of education at Pine Ridge, a report on the battle at Wounded Knee. She says the Indians had no intention of fighting; that the first shot was fired by a young and careless Indian, and indiscriminate firing by the military followed. She thought the killing of some Indian women unavoidable, but the fact that dead Indian bucks were found lying together while dead squaws and children were found scattered about for a distance of two miles, tends to show it was wilfull murder.

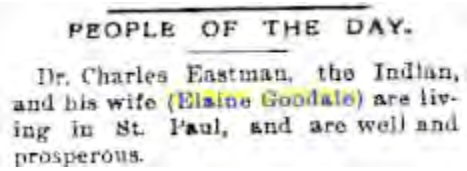
Miss Goodale goes on to say she was not a witness of the Wounded Knee fight and that her information had been obtained chiefly from Indians who had been engaged in it, from half breeds and the testimony of survivors of Big Foot's band, which, he says, is to the effect that the Indians did not deliberately plan resistance. The demand for their arms was a surprise to the Indians, but the majority of them chose to submit peacefully. Tepees had already been searched a large number of guns, knives and hatchets confiscated, when searching the persons of the men was begun. The women say they, too, were searched and their knives (which they always carry for domestic purposes) taken from them. A number of the men surrendered their rifles and cartridges, when one young man who is described by the Indians as a good for nothing young fellow, fired a single shot. This called forthwith a volley from the troops, and the firing and confusion became general. Miss Goodale does not credit the statement that the women carried arms and participated in the fight. There is no doubt, she says, that a great majority of the women and children, as well as many unarmed men and youths, had no thought of anything but flight. They were pursued up the ravines and shot down indiscriminately by the soldiers. The killing of women and children was in part unavoidable

Elaine attracted a surprising amount of press for a woman of her time. *The Dubuque Herald* newspaper published this article about Elaine's report on the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. There were also several short notices in *The Dubuque Herald* about Elaine, like this one in 1886:



Elaine Goodale, writing in the Independent, takes Senator Plumb to task for his speech on the Indian question.

And this one in 1894 after Charles and Elaine had relocated to St. Paul, Minnesota:



PEOPLE OF THE DAY.

Dr. Charles Eastman, the Indian, and his wife (Elaine Goodale) are living in St. Paul, and are well and prosperous.

Some of the articles that Elaine wrote for *The Independent* that I especially liked were

A protest Against the Abolition of the Indian Dance, August 1902

Side By Side, March 1896

A Ballad, January 1897

Meanwhile, the Society of American Indians that had been founded in 1911 began publishing their *Quarterly Journal of the Society of the American Indians* in 1916 and focused heavily on legal issues for Indians.

And the Lesson to Take away from all of this Is a Question:

WHO IS PRIMARILY TO BLAME FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE NATIVE AMERICANS?