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WOMEN AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AMERICAN INDIAN
SCHOLARSHIP, 1830-1941

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

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Acknowledgments

As historians we study change and continuity over time. Through our words the dead are made to live probable lives and long-past events are given possible forms. Our profession is built on the belief that the past has something to say to us, that by-gone eras can yet illuminate the present. With some trepidation we keep alive the Confucian observation, “those who do not learn the lessons of the past are condemned to relive them.”¹

Yet in a really profound way history is more often an intellectual and emotional process by which we say goodbye. In this respect the historian tackles cultural myths, abuses of power, miscarriages of justice, frightful bigotry, sexism, prejudice, ignorance and invisibility. We diligently pursue the complex cultural stories hidden within chronological events so that flawed humans from the past can encourage flawed humans of the present to make wiser choices. As historians we say a great deal exerting a strong sense of moral and ethical certainty, indeed our dirty little secret is that we hope to change the course of history for the better.

But irrespective of our work's contemporary relevance, regardless of our scholarly skills, the inescapable fact of our profession is that we are simply picking through the rubble of time, dusting the corpses and repainting tombs; we are only re-preparing the dead and forgotten to lie in state for a season. Our scholarship is but a eulogy for the deceased.

As historians we are always repackaging the past for a present generation to

1 Frederick Jackson Turner spearheaded this view in the new American History profession. Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of History,” in ed. John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 11-30.

mourn, we are always prepping the dead for the living to bid goodbye. Like any funeral the experience can be sobering, we pledge to always remember, to keep the past alive in our hearts, but the inevitable march of time lessens the effect of the moment and its emotional din gives way to a re-manufactured memory, a new vision of who and what was. As historians we are always saying goodbye, indeed it is cemented into the very foundation of our profession and perhaps therein is the struggle for all historians. To acknowledge the past and say goodbye we have to empathize with it, to know history we have to imagine it, to see the paths blazed by our elders we must see within the mind's eye a reasonable vision of what was and through it see what it became. But more so, to finally say goodbye we must also say thank you – to show gratitude for what was learned, thankfulness for mistakes forgiven and remorse for lessons ignored.

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Often the outside outside field committee member is just that – outside. Dr. Lewis was not. I thank Dr. Lewis for invaluable insights into British imperial history that ultimately helped frame my analysis of the intellectual and cultural legacy of British transplant and noted American Indian historian Annie Heloise Abel.

Likewise I thank Dr. Keppel for his advice and guidance over the years, but most importantly for his dedication to secondary source material. From the beginning of my tenure as a graduate student Dr. Keppel emphasized that what distinguishes our endeavors from those of self-anointed scholars, historical writers, armchair antiquarians, genealogists and online blather is that we ground our work in tried and true peer reviewed secondary sources. While we may ultimately argue against prevailing interpretations, our work builds from the profession's only distinctive tool – the historiographical cannon. Good new scholarship stands the test of time because it is first tested against good old scholarship that stood the test of time.

Finally I would like to thank the History department for funding much of my East coast research through the A. K. and Ethel T. Christian Graduate Research Fellowship and for graciously funding research and related expenses for my West coast work. But most importantly I am thankful for the GA position that made graduate school economically feasible.

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In contrast to unrequited thank yous stand those for present loved ones. For my mother I do appreciate your love, devotion and encouragement over the years, it meant the world to me. Last but not least, Bart. You were the one who saw a potential, who insisted that I could do better, who promised to see me through it – and did. I could not have done this without you and now you must know I cannot do the rest without you either. Forgive me if I do not say thank you – because I cannot say goodbye.

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Abstract

Between 1830-1941 a select group of European American women's rights proponents crafted a body of American Indian scholarship through which they were able to exercise an extraordinary degree of social and political influence. That much of this scholarship was written before women gained the right to vote and when few had advanced degrees or professional positions suggests its avant-garde nature. During the one hundred and eleven years addressed by this study, these women played a key role in the appropriation and construction of Indian scholarship.

The pre-professional era (1830-1890) facilitated European American women's American Indian research and expertise as Indian scholars. Professionalization would quickly erode the political and scholarly status this work afforded. More damning, Professional anthropologists and historians would eventually call into question the racial theories that underpinned women's Indian scholarship. In destabilizing racial evolution professional anthropologists and historians also altered the historical narrative of the American West.

This reconfiguration would remake the western conquest into a tale of inevitable and beneficial European American progress. The earlier work of women Indian scholars would not find a niche within this new history. In turn the scholarship of western frontier settlement would become the specialty of professional male historians. Largely ignored by male colleagues, Indian history would be taken up again by an emerging cadre of marginalized professional women historians. Retooled as a non-partisan study of Indian treaties and legal relations with the United States, the new Indian political history would

become identified with women historians.

As autonomous professional women scholars had done three decades before, professional women historians (1890-1929) appropriated American Indian history and inscribed it with new meaning. In a move that increased their own professional stature, women historians took up Indian political history to make it their own because it was the only subject not claimed by male colleagues. Much of this history would be authored by women historians employed outside the academy. Until the mid-twentieth century Indian history would be largely associated with the women's colleges, state historical societies, museums and historical archives where the majority of women historians were employed.

This trajectory began to change in the 1930s when a new generation of European American and Indian women historians at the University of Oklahoma took up Indian history. Spearheaded by Angie Debo and growing to encompass Anna Lewis and Muriel Wright (of the Oklahoma Historical Society) the new Indian history launched what would become a discipline-wide critique of American internal-imperialism and U. S. Indian policy. While Debo's work initiated a new anthropological and ethnological sensitivity in Indian history, the 1940 publication of *And Still the Waters Run* proved a culminating act in European American women's long hegemony over American Indian scholarship.

Introduction

Women's Rights and the Construction of American Indian Scholarship

In 1941 the eminent historian of American Indians, Angie Debo asserted, “[e]very schoolboy knows . . . Indian warfare was a perpetual accompaniment of American pioneering, but the second stage in dispossessing the Indians is not so generally and romantically known.”² Debo's perspective was new, a dramatic departure from the historical vision of Frederick Jackson Turner. In his 1889 review of Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, Turner had relegated frontier Indian history to, “[t]he conflicts of the pioneers with the Indians” which “give opportunity for romantic treatment unsurpassed.” Four years later Turner's Frontier Thesis developed the point further largely relegating American Indian history to the initial stages of European North American colonization.³

Unlike Turner, Debo did not confine American Indians to the distant colonial past or to quiet graves on the fringes of the frontier. Nor were Debo's Indians indistinctly blended with European Americans in the soothing homogeneity of assimilation. Angie Debo's Indians were contemporaneous, alive and striving to interact with Twentieth Century European Americans on their own terms. Yet while her approach signaled an abrupt rupture in the Turnerian view of Indians and frontier progress, it also hailed the creation of two new topics for professional historical analysis, namely Indian sovereignty and the Indian as abused ward.

2 Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1940), ix.

3 Frederick Jackson Turner, review of *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt, *The Dial* vol 10 no 112 (August, 1889): 71-73.

Reflecting a trend among socially and politically conscious women dating to the early Republic, Debo's scholarship would signal a final phase in European American women's scholarly appropriation and construction of American Indian culture and history.⁴

Culminating a little over a century of European American women's Indian scholarship, Debo's work would lay the foundation for a modern ethnologically and anthropologically based Indian history. In turn this legacy would quickly entangle both European and Indian historians in new kinds of post-colonial arguments over scholarly representations of Indian culture and history. Encompassing a broad range of contentious topics including European American imperialism, colonization and cultural hegemony, the new Indian historical scholarship challenged European American women historian's traditional monopoly of Indian scholarship.

4 The use of construction in this context refers to the act of building a scholarly and later an historical field through the appropriation of Indian cultures and identities. Inscribe refers to how a select group of European American women attached social, economic and political importance to these appropriated cultures reflecting both their own self interests and social uplift concerns. Neither appropriation or inscribe should be understood as purely opportunistic, the motives of these women were complex and often encompassed genuine sentiment and benevolent intent on their part. Moreover, as marginalized often single women who had to fend for themselves in an era before a social safety net, the self interests that motivated the construction and inscription of Indian scholarship often reflected dire rather than simply selfish needs. While this dissertation looks at how American Indian writing was built through European American women's use of appropriation and construction, on occasion the more negative post-colonial concept of commodification will be used to underscore egregious misuses of each. See, Michael Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1983), chaps., 8-9; Jan Blommaert, *Discourse: A Critical Introduction* (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39-66; Michael Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge* (New York, New York: Vintage Books, 2010), chps., 3-6; James W. Underhill, *Creating Worldviews: Metaphor, Ideology and Language* (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), passim. Margaret Jane Radin, *Contested Commodities: The Trouble with Trade in Sex, Children, Body Parts and Other Things* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), passim; Martha M. Eartman and Joan C. Williams, *Rethinking Commodification: Case and Readings in Law and Culture* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2005), 8-33, 34-45.

By the time of Debo's death in 1988 a small cohort of largely male post-colonial American historians had explored aspects of American Indian cultural appropriation setting the stage for a new contentious scholarship. Their analysis focused largely on how European Americans appropriated, interpreted, inscribed and monetized Indian identity and culture through museum and archive collections, western art, popular publication, photography, theater and film. In helping turn historian's interests from Indian politics to Indian cultural appropriation Debo's scholarship contributed to the emerging critical examination of European American internal imperialism and its legacy.⁵

Yet in looking at how American culture exercised patrimony in the representation of Indians, historians gave little attention to how a select group of scholars manufactured an often equally exploitative and opportunistic commodity in the form of Indian history. This scholarly construction encompassed a body of racial evolution/assimilationist work principally articulated through scholarly journals and publications. “Construction” indicates the ways in which European

5 For examples see, James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665-1965* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1977); Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, New York: Random House, 1979); Gretchen Batille and Charles Silet, eds., *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1980); Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Raymond W. Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982); Brian Dippy, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U. S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1980); Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); Phillip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1998) and James A. Clifton, ed., *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990).

American women scholars between 1830-1941 appropriated American Indian identities and cultures and deployed them as political metaphors, symbols and historical narratives that furthered their own self and social uplift interests. This study uses “construction” as an analytical tool to examine some of the ways in which European American women scholars represented Indians in their published works.⁶

A few historians have considered the role that ethnologically minded male and female scholars assumed in creating an anthropological narrative of American Indians, however no work has yet examined the closely knit cadre of European American scholars who fashioned the corollary history of American Indians. Moreover, while men and women participated in the construction of Indian history, a disproportionate number of socially and politically active women promoted their expertise as Indian scholars. Comprised largely of marginalized women's rights proponents these women used their American Indian scholarship to exercise an extraordinary degree of social and political influence before women won the right to vote. Given the social and political power eventually wielded in this endeavor, it is surprising that historians have not considered how and why women scholars

6 For “Indian commodification” see, George Pierre Castile, “The Commodification of Indian Identity,” *American Anthropologist* vol 98 no 4 (December, 1996): 743-749; Kathryn W. Shanley, “The Indians America Loves to Love and Read: American Indian Identity and Cultural Appropriation,” *American Indian Quarterly* vol 21 no 4 (Autumn, 1997): 675-702; Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the Native American, Incorporated* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jason Edward Black, “The ‘Mascotting’ of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation,” *American Indian Quarterly* vol 26 no 4 (Autumn, 2002): 605-622; Sarah Harding, “Cultural Commodification and Native American Cultural Patrimony,” in Martha M. Ertman and Joan C. Williams eds., *Rethinking Commodification*, 137-155.

came to play such an influential role in shaping American Indian history.⁷

Perhaps in examining this question it is not possible to discuss historical subjects without creating new historical commodities and certainly fifty years of contention regarding who has the right to participate in cultural and historical analysis has solved little, though it certainly set scholarly parameters. Regarding the history of American Indian history these limits have served to scatter and obscure the cultural and intellectual threads that bound together a unique contingent of European American women who shaped the politics and scholarship of Indian history for over a century. Reconnecting the historical continuity of these relationships will undoubtedly challenge established boundaries.

Addressing how and why these women constructed American Indian scholarship is a difficult subject that immediately raises the specter of a scholarly witch-hunt. The purpose of this study is not to indict American historians, historical figures or to devalue compensatory histories of women, but rather to address why a core group of women played a key role in formulating Indian

7 Notable among these are Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1995). For general treatments of European American women's non-scholarly use of American Indian imagery see, Gail H. Landsman, "The 'Other' as Political Symbol: Images of the Indian in the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Ethnohistory* vol 39 no 3 (1992): 247-284 and Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1840-1940* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), chaps, 2, 3, 7. Among women scholars of American Indians Amelia Quinton and Helen Hunt Jackson are noted as reluctant supporters of women's rights. In Quinton's case the reluctance was more a matter of pragmatism. She recognized political power was grounded in her status as an Indian expert. For Jackson the matter was far more complex. Jackson's public actions as an Indian assimilationist and scholar often contradicted her earlier rather conservative statements about women's rights.

scholarship for a little over a century. While arguably the line of influence can be traced to the first European colonists, the evidence implicates a narrow group of socially and politically conscious women linked by the emerging women's rights movement and a concurrent bid for social and political influence.

It seems logical that a study of European American women's construction of Indian scholarship should address that personal intersection where the abstract elucidation became manifest in time and space. In doing so the often confusing tatter of scattered and obscured threads that once formed the common intellectual fabric of women 's American Indian scholarship is re-knitted and given a starting point. With all due respect to the public performance requirements of professional objectivity there is a point where the historian meets the history. Honesty about that intersection requires its own objectivity and distance. In this instance my own early experience with how ostensibly European American women appropriated Indian history proved the catalyst for this study.

I remember clearly, distinctly in fact the first time that I actually heard the term *Indian*. I was nine years old and ensconced as usual with my grandmother and great aunts around the old Formica topped chrome dinner table in my great-grandparent's kitchen. The year was 1976 and all six of my grandmother's siblings and many of their children and grandchildren were gathered in Snyder, Oklahoma for the annual family reunion. As tradition dictated, my great-grandmother Armour "Polly" presided over preparation of a true Eastern Oklahoma style dinner. Over the course of four hours Armour "Polly" prepared heaps of stuffed and fried Long

John peppers, boiled squash, red beans, fried catfish, little new potatoes from her garden, green beans, corn bread, sliced garden tomatoes and apricot cobbler. With the meal prepared Armour “Polly” then eighty three years old, retired for a nap while the women pulled their chairs around the table to catch up on family gossip and events of interest.

Being an election year it was not long before the conversation turned to politics. Then an unschooled novice in such matters, I agreed with my conservative, fundamentalist Christian compatriots that Gerald Ford seemed like a nice man and that Jimmy Carter was a dumb hick. I can still hear my grandmother asking her twin sister, “Who is momma going to vote for?” And the deadpan reply, “Carter.” Indignantly, my “wealthy” great aunt asked, “Good Lord, why?” Which led to a flawed historical refrain I had heard many times before, “Oh that's what Daddy wants – well you know since Daddy's father fought for the Democrats in the Civil War and he thought the Republicans almost starved him to death at the end, then Daddy thinks the Democrats can do no wrong.” But then my grandmother added something new – at least to me – “and of course she's an Indian and only got to go through the fourth grade, so he thinks she doesn't know anything.” Perplexed, I exclaimed as only a precocious child can, “Excuse me, but Grandmomma is NOT an Indian.” And as only a parent can my grandmother gave me a look that simultaneously meant, “You be still now” and “you may very well get a spanking later.” So, I was “still.”

At the time I assimilated the information in that odd oblivious way that

children do. I remember thinking, “Grandmomma does not look like an Indian.” No long braided hair and I certainly had never seen her lurking in the garden with a bow and arrows. No buffalo meat hung in her yard drying in the hot summer sun and though she dearly loved her furtively dipped snuff, I was certain she had never smoked a peace pipe, nor lived in a teepee. But as dismissive as I was, my grandmother's clear declaration never left my mind. I continued to ponder just what “she's an Indian” meant.

My grandmother and her siblings did not prove to be helpful in further elaboration of just why great grandmother called herself an Indian and at the time I was far too young and infrequent a visitor to pry much information from our beloved matriarch. Her most memorable statement on the matter was, “I just hate that the government called my momma and her family liars.” At the time the statement greatly puzzled me. Moreover, I had no idea what tribe she claimed or through what line of descent she traced “Indian-ness.” As children are so inclined I proceeded to make up my own rather elaborate story and tormented friends and family alike with lurid details of how my great great great grandmother was kidnapped by a band of wild Indians and after escaping gave birth to a little Indian girl. They were not impressed.

However, my narrative allowed for something far more effective at the time – the appropriation of my own purported Indian-ness. When my grandfather and I decided that we needed a backyard garden and my grandmother balked, I replied “well we are Indian so it will probably make us feel better to grow things.” We got

a vegetable plot. When my grandfather and I decided we wanted a pet duck and my grandmother balked, I replied “well you know Indians like animals.” We got the duck.

But sometimes appropriation bit back – and hard. When I decided to become a vegetarian (briefly) and my grandmother balked, I replied, “well you know Indians mostly eat vegetables.” To which she replied, “no, now I know that is a lie.” I did not become a vegetarian. When I decided that I could no longer abide the puerile suffocating and destructive mental violence of the family's traditional fundamentalist Christian church and my grandmother balked, I offered “well you know Indians never went to church before white people came along.” My grandmother replied, “for your sake I hope to God I never hear you say anything about Indians ever again.” It would be a long time before Indians were mentioned again. But my Indian background, submerged though it was, re-emerged and set me on the path that culminated with the present study.

In 1990, long after my great grandmother Armour “Polly” died and I had set out on my own a now deceased relative mailed an odd assortment of documents and asked if I might be interested in helping “file for an Indian card.” I was not particularly interested in genealogy (or amateur history); nevertheless read the material. For the most part it was my great great great grandfather, David Clark Ward's Dawes Commission paperwork. In short, Ward and forty-one of his relatives, all decedents of David's purported grandfather Tobias Ward, appealed to the Dawes Commission for allotments in the Choctaw Nation based on their claim

to be Choctaw by “blood.”

Existing treaty and statutes would have allowed Ward to seek allotments if in fact Tobias Ward was his relative and had taken an allotment in Mississippi under terms of the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Sixty some years later neither Ward nor his relatives knew anything about the 1830 treaty. Their reply to the various commissioner's and commission counsel's queries (more aptly condescending questions) on the matter was that they wanted allotments because they were Choctaw by “blood.”

The notoriously corrupt Commission chief Tams Bixby, political patronage replacement for retired Senator Henry L. Dawes, never disputed that David Clark Ward was Choctaw by “blood.” However, once Bixby's Commission/real estate office geologists discovered that potential Ward allotments might have mineral value they quibbled over whether David Ward's grandfather was indeed Tobias – going so far as to introduce incomplete and misleading evidence. After being presented with evidence indicating that Tobias was David's grandfather, Bixby's government/private interest commission ultimately contended that David Ward's ancestor had not met the 1830 treaty obligations. Bixby's commission rejected the Ward family application.

David Ward and his fellow petitioners found the ruling unacceptable, particularly after learning in 1902 that vested interests had thwarted new allotment claims in an attempt to monopolize Choctaw lands believed rich in mineral resources. David Ward and family were so adamant they deserved land in the

Choctaw Nation that they carried on a legal fight with the Dawes Commission and the Interior Department that lasted for over three decades even though they were impoverished tenant farmers. Having selected allotments in 1902 and worked cotton and broom corn tenant farms in the Choctaw Nation since the late 1800s, many of the Ward family were eventually forced to leave the old Choctaw Nation in the late 1920s. Armour Polly and her husband Commodore Aldee left the Nation in 1927. David Clark Ward died in 1911 and was buried in the Clabber Flats cemetery in the Old Choctaw Nation.⁸

Although lacking access to Ward attorney files, or for that matter any of the related legal paperwork, I decided to look into the matter further. With the

8 The Choctaw Nation by 1902 vigorously opposed most new allotment claims. Choctaw national attorney Patrick J. Hurley and other legal counsel argued by 1913 that claimants were largely motivated by unscrupulous agents of the Texas Oklahoma Company, a syndicate of lawyers who promised cash payments for claimant's parts in residual disbursements from remaining Choctaw Nation lands. In refuting the right of Mississippi Choctaw and their descendents to claim allotments in the Choctaw Nation according to provisions of the 1830 treaty, Hurley and the Choctaw counsel in essence rejected treaty law embracing instead Congressional right to adjudicate matters of Tribal membership and allotment per 30 Stat. L., 495; 32 Stat. L., 641 and 34 Stat. L., 137. In the relevant Congressional hearings, Hurley, who was in fact a European American with no American Indian ancestor (his father had been adopted by the Choctaw Nation) cast aspersions on Mississippi Choctaw, arguing that the terms of Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty were limited and Choctaw claimants under articles 14 and 19 were victims of a money-hungry lawyer syndicate. Most disturbing, Hurley and Choctaw counsel shrewdly presented thirteen "representative" cases – clients of the Texas Oklahoma Company (TOC) syndicate and former slaves of Choctaw masters – to argue against all claimants. The thirteen cases concerned individuals solicited by the TOC who were seeking monetary compensation for claimed Choctaw residual land. Hurley and the Choctaw counsel's theatrics were shockingly racist, calculated for political effect and patently disingenuous. While the claimant process did in fact attract hordes of greedy non-Indian opportunists and the Choctaw government was in fact duty bound to protect its republic and its citizens, in respect to the Ward case the claimants sought land allotments, not monetary compensation, Ward et al were not represented by the TOC and they were Choctaw by "blood" not Freed People. While Choctaw counsel and others would note Ward et al were not "full blood" Choctaw, with some being as little as 1/8 it is worth noting that Patrick Hurley was not Choctaw at all, that Principle Chief Victor Locke was believed 1/2 or less, Eliphalet Nott Wright was 1/2 and his daughter Muriel Wright was 1/4 Choctaw. For the relevant Congressional hearings and arguments see, Patrick J. Hurley, *Report of P. J. Hurley National Attorney for the Choctaw Nation to Victor M. Locke, Jr. Principle Chief of the Choctaw Nation, May, 1916* (n.p.,; n.p., 1916), 1-40, 305-425.

purchase of a computer and access to online archives I discovered the depth of Bixby's deception and my great grandmother's disgust – her great great great grandfather had fulfilled his obligations under the treaty. This fact was born out by an 1846 patent signed by President James Polk granting six hundred and seventy-eight acres in Mississippi to Tobias Ward under terms of the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.⁹

Because Tams Bixby denied the Ward family claim they were also denied Choctaw citizenship. The Ward petitioners were not listed on the final Dawes Roll. Frankly, it would have been nice to avenge my ancestors and receive a tribal membership card, but the Choctaw Nation only admits those with relatives listed on the final Dawes roll. That is fine, sovereign nations must retain the right to define citizenship on their own terms. It was sufficiently satisfying to know that “Polly” was right – that she was indeed an Indian. While pleased for my great grandmother on the one hand, on the other I remained perplexed at how a single piece of legislation passed in 1887 (The General Allotment Act and the related Curtis Act of 1898) could have had such a powerful and destructive influence over the lives of American Indians and their decedents.

I read everything I could get my hands on and quickly noticed an intriguing trend, namely that many of European American women had written Indian historical scholarship, particularly after 1865. Intrigued, I examined a wide range

9 Tobias Ward Land Patent, 3 September, 1846, M53260, Document 141, Columbus, Mississippi, Mississippi State Land Patent, General Land Office, Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of the Interior.

of women's post bellum Indian work. Additionally, I read contemporary historical treatments including biographies and scholarly interpretations of women's Indian assimilation activities. Increasingly, I became troubled by the prevalent presumption among historians that as disfranchised groups American women and Indians were bound by a kind of mutual empathy and that sentiment – more than anything else – motivated women's Indian scholarship and assimilation work.¹⁰

Considering the plethora of women assimilationist writings concerning Indian “savagery,” “barbarism,” “brutality,” cultural “perversity” and the corollary need to “civilize” and “Christianize” the Indians, historical interpretations rooted in the great sisterhood of women and essentialized maternal gender traits seemed very suspicious. After critically reading a wide range of works on women and Indians, it became clear to me that the cultural and political relationships that existed between European American women and American Indians were imbedded in historical relationships, relationships driven by events that shaped a host of political and cultural agendas – more so than the mutual empathy of two disenfranchised groups. Considering the historicity of these relationships I realized that my interest in women scholars of American Indians was closely related to those early questions about the construction of Indian-ness that emerged around my

¹⁰ Examples include, Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Shirley A. Leckie and Nancy J. Parezo, eds., *Their Own Frontier: Women Intellectuals Re-Visioning the American West* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Patricia Loughlin, *Hidden Treasures of the American West: Muriel Wright, Angie Debo, and Alice Marriott* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of Albuquerque Press, 2005); Darlis Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

great-grandmother's kitchen table.

Given the way in which my grandmother and great aunts deployed the term Indian as a social and political quality and my dissatisfaction with the way existing scholarship romantically addressed the post bellum relationship between women scholars and Indians, it became clear that my interest concerned women's appropriation of Indian cultures and identities, or more precisely: How scholarly European American women's publications presented American Indians as social, political and cultural commodities serving a range of complex self interests and political goals. Moreover, as an historian I was interested in how this appropriation shaped American West and American Indian scholarship. Both questions ultimately merged to form the thesis of this study: Between 1830-1941 a select group of marginalized European American women's rights proponents crafted a body of American Indian scholarship through which they were able to exercise an extraordinary degree of intellectual, social and political influence. That much of this scholarship was written before women gained the right to vote and when few had advanced degrees or professional positions suggests its avant-garde nature.

While a comprehensive view of how women came to adopt Indian scholarship is essential to the success of this argument, the initial scope was too broad. Practicality required both a refined focus and some means for putting the material into an achievable historical narrative. The nature of my queries and the evidence provided both a framework and focus. The narrative that follows

examines a sampling of significant women scholars who played a key role in formulating Indian history. I selected these women because they were prominent, published and influential.

The successful construction of Indian scholarship required domination of the intellectual and political discourse about Indians. The attempt by women to dominate almost any intellectual discourse in a world controlled by men risked failure. Their success, however limited and fleeting, was remarkable if only because women had challenged patriarchal authority and prevailed.

Notwithstanding the historical abuse of women and their agency, research into the origins of women's appropriation of Indian cultures and identities raised serious questions about how American culture and historians have addressed civil rights and minority history. Rather than deploying their work for the exclusive benefit of disadvantaged groups, women often used minority scholarship opportunistically, adopting and dropping politicized minority groups in quick succession according to the political and social fortunes of the moment. Surprising was the rapidity with which minorities were picked up and then thrown down. In the span of four decades slaves and freed people were fanatically adopted as political metaphors by women's rights proponents and then definitively dropped by 1879 in favor of American Indians. By the early 1900s politically appropriated American Indians were likewise largely and quietly dropped when the true benefits of assimilationist's reform work came into question threatening the credibility of

the women's rights and suffrage movements.¹¹

One such example is found in the lives and works of Harriett Foote Hawley and her sister Kate Foote Coe. Early abolitionists, both sisters contributed to the “racial uplift” of freed people after 1865 working as teachers and philanthropists in Beaufort, South Carolina; St. Augustine, Florida; Fernandino, Florida and Jacksonville, Florida during the tumultuous years of Reconstruction. However, by 1877 when the North virtually abandoned Freed People withdrawing wholesale from the occupied South, both sisters returned to Washington and immediately began earnest work on behalf of assimilating American Indians. Until her death in 1885 Harriett Foote Hawley would serve as the vice president and then president of the Washington branch of the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) at which time her sister Kate Foote Coe assumed the office. Only a drastic shift in political fortunes can help better explain the pace with which women's rights advocates such as the Foote sisters dropped one political cause in favor of another.¹²

The dynamic nature of Indian appropriation employed by European American women raised troubling questions about the American women's rights movement and its relationship with minority politics. For instance did European

11 Indian “uplift” after 1900 would take on a life of its own as one of several emerging interests of middle class European American and American Indian club women. N.a., “Federation of Women's Clubs,” in N.a., *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1921), 10; Dolores Janiewski, “Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the 'Woman Question,' and 'Indian Reform'” in Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack eds., *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 325-347.

12 C. Bancroft Gillespie, *A Century of Meriden: An Historic Record and Pictorial Description of Meriden, Connecticut and the Men Who Made it* (Meriden, Connecticut: Journal Publishing Company, 1906), 320-322.

American women engage in political appropriation of African Americans before 1865 and if so why were Indians largely ignored? Have historians of women obscured or ignored the role of women in minority scholarship by asserting that the women's rights movement emerged from the abolition movement? And more importantly, had compensatory historians essentialized their subjects by promoting a singularly positive reading of maternal patriotism – effectively removing women scholars from their larger cultural, social and political contexts? The answers to these questions illuminate the historical forces and political agendas that helped shape European American women's engagement with American minorities. More disturbing, the often flexible and opportunistic nature of this political appropriation seems to suggest in part, why Nineteenth Century minority rights movements failed. In particular, the history of women's Indian scholarship strongly suggests a general pattern in which American minority rights are precariously tied to a conflicting and often ineffective body of majority political interests. With this in mind the first and second chapters of this study specifically address a troubling question: How was conservative European American women's paltry antebellum interest in Northeastern Indians transformed into the national assimilation cause of post bellum liberal women?¹³

13 A notable formulation of this “singularly positive reading of maternal patriotism” is Patricia Loughlin and Siobhan Senier's treatment of Helen Hunt Jackson. As a “Hidden Treasure” of the American West, Jackson is characterized as sympathetic to American Indians (she was) and one of the few individuals who raised objections to assimilation (she did not). As chapter 1 and 3 of this study demonstrate Jackson accepted the viability of racial evolution and its application through assimilation. Helen Hunt Jackson and other post bellum European American women scholars of American Indians can be studied as well-meaning individuals, political leaders, hopeful progressives and ethnological/anthropological pioneers who pushed the boundaries of contemporaneous gender roles *and* as racial evolutionists/assimilationists who promoted

In addition to raising political questions research also uncovered a curious connection between post bellum American formulations of Darwinism, racial politics and autonomous professional women. Historians have largely separated American Darwinism (racial evolution) from intellectual and cultural developments concerning the West, but the evidence reveals a cohort of women, particularly women's rights proponents and women American Indian scholars who embraced not only the idea of human evolutionary change but also the racial dimensions of American Darwinism.

This study does not support the “historical” narrative advanced by “Intelligent Design” academicians, however it does argue that American Darwinism/racial evolution played a key role in shaping women's post Civil War American Indian scholarship – for about three decades spanning 1860-1890. The role of American Darwinism/racial evolution in the intellectual and cultural development of the West proved crucial to understanding how women's post bellum American Indian scholarship was trivialized and virtually forgotten. Although a comprehensive treatment is beyond the scope of this study, the late Nineteenth Century scientific and academic rejection of racial evolution and the early Twentieth Century rise of Eugenics fueled this demise by discrediting the idea of environmentally conditioned racial characteristics.¹⁴

destructive cultural hegemony for their own political gain. Loughlin, *Hidden Treasures*, 159-161; Siobhan Senier, *Voices of American Indian Assimilation and Resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca, and Victoria Howard* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 29-72.

14 Recently an article by the author of this dissertation was included in an anthology of papers presented at a 2009 San Diego State University conference. The anthology is titled, *150 Years*

A key player, but by no means originator of this fall was Frederick Jackson Turner. Turner's famous Frontier Thesis, advanced at the 1893 Chicago World's Colombian Exposition would eventually become an influential academic model that helped make anthropology/ethnology and racial evolution theory taboo – for a season – in American West historical scholarship. Though the Frontier Thesis did not garner widespread professional attention immediately following the Chicago gathering, its effect on the academic world after 1893 would be pronounced.

The Frontier Thesis attack on the so-called German Germ or Teutonic Theory is largely ignored in modern treatments, or framed as Turner's rejection of his graduate mentor's fondness for the theory, however it also constituted a savvy rejection of the racial assimilationist politics of American Darwinism. Encapsulating far more than an imperialistic or masculinized view of the American West, the Frontier Thesis was also an academic methodology – a way of looking at American history. It is the contention of this study that the Frontier Thesis furthered a developing profession-wide bias against anthropology/ethnology and

of Evolution: Darwin's Impact on Contemporary Thought & Culture. The author's article appears with several including a work by Richard Weikart – an “Intelligent Design” scholar. Following the anthology's publication in 2011 an “Intelligent Design” website styled “Uncommon Descent: Serving the Intelligent Design Community” published an endorsement of Weikart's article. The endorsement included a blurb about the anthology and its contributors that can be misunderstood. To be clear, the author of this dissertation is not a proponent of the so-called “Intelligent Design” theory and as an historian does not link Darwin or Darwinism to the silly body of evils contrived by so-called “Intelligent Design” historians. Mark Richard Wheeler and William Anthony Nericcio eds., *150 Years of Evolution: Darwin's Impact on Contemporary Thought & Culture* (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 2011); accessed September 1, 2011 www.uncommondescent.com. For a short overview of Eugenics theory and its effect on American Darwinist/Neo-Lamarckian thought see, Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2005), 27-57.

racial assimilation which helped marginalize the work of women American Indian scholars. While Turner was not opposed to evolutionary science in general, he did not see a role for racial assimilation theory in the explication of American history. Turner was not omnipotent and he did not originate the profession's anti-ethnological/anthropological tendencies, but his scholarly rejection of the racial evolution aspects of American Darwinism proved to be very influential.

Turner's Frontier Thesis played a well-known role in the development of professional American history and helped shape the intellectual geography of the emerging profession. Serving as a narrative for how professional historians should depict the European American colonization of North America, the Frontier Thesis proposed a uniquely European American version of American West history. From the turn of the last century the Frontier Thesis was one of the most widely discussed and debated pieces of historical scholarship ever written.

Even if some professional American historians were not versed in the Frontier Thesis or steeped in American West history, they were almost invariably exposed to Turner's general argument. Scholarly exposure did not equal discipleship, however among the professional effects amplified by the Frontier Thesis' wide diffusion were the solidification of key American exceptionalism concepts and a growing disdain for the historical application of ethnological and anthropological scholarship.¹⁵ Bolstering this assertion, historians have noted that

¹⁵ Notable exceptions were William Graham Sumner and Walter Prescott Webb. Webb in particular claimed to have developed a Frontier Thesis type interpretive model prior to his knowledge of Turner's scholarship. Regardless of origin, this demonstrates the pervasiveness of American Exceptionalist theory among the generation of American West historians who came

the Frontier Thesis and American Exceptionalism were part of a cultural turn that foreshadowed American Eugenics theory. By the early 1900s several noted Indian assimilationists would drop racial evolution and embrace eugenics theory.¹⁶

While Turner's role in these developments was contributory rather than pioneering, as a key figure in the creation of the Frontier/West history field he promoted women graduate students when most men in the early days of the profession did not. Emma Helen Blair and Louise Phelps Kellogg are notable examples of women students accepted by Turner. At Turner's prompting Blair and Kellogg would eventually fill a void within the profession, becoming noted specialists in American Indian history. Turner's support for women students was not purely sentimental or selfless – he promoted them because they had a useful role to play in his academic and research interests. Notably, Turner and a few of his male colleagues believed that women American/West historians (MA and Ph. D.) teaching at the secondary and high school levels would help stem the tide of anti-American influences they tied to new European immigration.¹⁷ However, as an MA

of age in the first decade of the new profession. See, Donald K. Pickens, "Westward Expansion and the End of American Exceptionalism: Sumner, Turner, and Webb," *Western Historical Quarterly* vol 12 no 4 (October, 1981): 409-418.

- 16 Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar and Teacher* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 108-131; Daniel J. Krevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York, New York, Knopf, 1985), 64; Kerry Soper, "Classical Bodies Versus the Criminal Carnival," in *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s*, ed. Susan Currell (Athens, Ohio: University of Ohio Press, 2006), 269-307. For Indian assimilationists and Eugenics thought see, Charles A. Eastman, "The Indian Health Problems," *Popular Science Monthly* vol 86 no 1 (January-June, 1915): 49-55; Chester Lee Carlise, "The Causes of Dependency Based on a Survey of Oneida County," *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin* no 15 (Albany, New York: 1918), 8-19; C. Michelle McCargish, "Advocacy of the American Eugenics Movement, 1880-1920" (master's thesis, Oklahoma Panhandle University, 2007), 71.
- 17 Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003),

and doctoral mentor Turner reflected the contemporaneous male prejudice against employing women in the public realm and actively worked to prevent women graduates from gaining faculty positions at comprehensive academic institutions. Notably, Turner *did* promote the employment of women historians in respected positions at archives, museums, state historical societies, women's colleges and high schools. While Turner did not create the sexual division of labor in professional history, he did perhaps unwittingly contribute to it.¹⁸

So, in addition to analyzing women scholars of American Indians, this study raises related queries concerning evolution, Turner, the rise of women Indian historians and the profession's sexual division of labor. The answers to these questions ranged a little over a century – from the dawn of women's political appropriation of American minorities (1830) to the sunset of European American women's monopoly of the construction of Indian scholarship (1941). As such, during the historical progression of women's rights, the construction of American Indian scholarship by socially and politically conscious European American women definitively shaped the contours of Indian history, the history profession and the careers of women historians. Given the wide range of information and historical actors it was necessary to divide the time frame in order to clearly address the thesis and explain how women and the developing historical enterprise (such as it

30-38; Allen G. Bogue, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 50-60, 235-240.

18 Albert Hurtado outlines contributing factors behind the decision by some male historians to accept women students. See, Albert L. Hurtado, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2012), chap., 10.

was before 1890) put Indian scholarship to political use.

This study examines three distinct eras. The first (1830-1893) looks at the origins of European American women's scholarly appropriation of American Indians and the cultural forces that helped shape their work and ultimately identified it with the nation's capitol. Particularly, the self interests, rather than philanthropic aspects of this endeavor will be analyzed by examining the cultural and historical links between socially and politically conscious women's scholarly representation of slaves and American Indians. The second era (1893-1925) looks at the cultural and intellectual forces that contributed to the nadir of pre-professional women's American Indian ethno-political scholarship during the years of Frederick Jackson Turner's academic ascent. Special attention is paid to the anti-anthropological/ethnological bias that developed within the American history profession and the role it played in trivializing women's earlier Indian scholarship. Given the diminished stature of Indian scholarship, the concurrent emergence of a uniquely professional women's Indian history niche is also examined. Finally the third era (1926-1941) considers the role a handful of professional European American and Indian women historians played in restoring a politically oriented anthropological/ethnological sensitivity to American Indian scholarship.

This dissertation is not a biographical or compensatory study of women American Indian scholars. Rather it is an intellectual and cultural history that draws heavily on biographical information. While this study makes use of biographical material culling the primary and secondary sources of various women

and men related to the central characters, its focus has been narrowed to the intellectual and cultural activities of nine women who definitively shaped Indian scholarship, its historical development and its political use. The one hundred and ten years examined in this study looks at the deep cultural process through which women were intimately associated with Indian scholarship and why it became a powerful political tool for marginalized women. No single decade or era reveals how American Indian scholarship and women were intimately molded together in American culture. As revealed through an examination of the lives and work of Helen Hunt Jackson, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Emma Helen Blair, Louise Phelps Kellogg, Annie Heloise Abel, Muriel H. Wright, Anna L. Lewis and Angie Debo, the evolution of women's part in the construction of Indian scholarship was a complex venture that unfolded over the course of a century.¹⁹

In the first era spanning 1830-1893 Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Helen Hunt

19 Mari Sandoz is not included in this study because she does not belong to the historiography or historical trajectory in question. Although scholarship sometimes mistakes Sandoz as a pioneering historian of American Indians, she was not a formally trained historian and did not have a degree in history. Sandoz, while a contemporary of Louise Phelps Kellogg, Annie Heloise Abel and Angie Debo was not herself a professional historian. Sandoz did engage in historical research for her writing projects, but like Willa Cather she was an accomplished and gifted writer of historical fiction and amateur history. Sandoz's most prominent work on Indians, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* published in 1940, contains fictionalized material, no citations and no bibliography. Awarded an honorary doctorate in English literature later in life, Sandoz cannot be placed among either the pre-professional women Indian scholars or the Professional women historians of American Indians. Sandoz did use ethnographic material in her works on Indians, however as a writer of historical fiction and amateur history working outside the academy her publication did not influence the pioneer generation of women American Indian historians. See, Helen Winter Stauffer, *Mari Sandoz* (Boise, Idaho: Boise State University, 1984), 1-53; David L. Bristow, "The Enduring Mari Sandoz," *Nebraska Life* (January-February 2001): 1-8; Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* (New York, New York: Knopf, 1942), 1-428.

Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson are situated within the complex cultural developments that brought European American women to the Indian assimilation cause analyzing each woman's intellectual development – and decline – as American Darwinists and Indian scholars. During the second era encompassing 1893-1925 this study locates Emma Helen Blair, Louise Phelps Kellogg and Annie Heloise Abel within the nationalistic anti-ethnological American Indian history that emerged during the professional and academic rise of Turner's Frontier Thesis. In the third and final era spanning 1926-1941 this work looks at the role Anna L. Lewis and Muriel H. Wright played in fostering Angie Debo's decidedly anti-Turnerian revolt – a quiet revolution that reinstated a politicized anthropological/ethnological historical scholarship of American Indians.

Before discussing chapter outlines three cautionary notes are offered on terminology used in this study. First, the terms American Indian and Indian, rather than Native American are used. This dissertation specifically applies the term Indian in deference not only to my great grandmother, but also to all of David Clark Wards' relatives who described themselves as Indians. As a descendent of Choctaw relatives who fought a long, bitter and costly legal battle with the Dawes Commission and the Department of the Interior in an effort to be recognized as Indians, I feel the term confers dignity on the individuals who rightly claimed it.

Equally so, among the dozens of letters written by Omaha to Alice Fletcher, each writer used the labels Omaha and Indian interchangeably. While some American Indians reject all but traditional tribal or nation designations, others reject

American Indian in favor of Native American, Indigenous Peoples or First Nations Peoples. Such distinctions are appropriate to their own histories and experiences and should be respected. This study accepts the word that David Clark Ward, Wa-Jae-pa, and Joseph La Flesche chose to identify themselves.²⁰

Christina Berry notes, American Indians will individually call themselves what they please according to their own experiences and reasoning. For my great grandmother and her family, as for myself, I think there was a more nuanced motive in holding on to the term Indian. Among those who are removed or displaced from traditional cultures and only distantly recall an American Indian heritage, the very act of suddenly taking up all too proper and all-encompassing American Indian identities, replete with carefully enunciated names and titles feels pretentious, disingenuous and presumptive. For American Indians who are on the outside of American Indian culture and history, Indian and American Indian are middle ground terms that identify who we are in the broad almost generic sense that we have experienced and understood our own Indian history. More so, the distance implied by the terms Indian and American Indian signifies a conscious desire to treat that heritage with a respect that knows the chasm is too great and the lines of descent too long and varied to claim a history and meaning not directly experienced.²¹

20 Cornel Pewewardy, "Renaming Ourselves on Our Own Terms: Race, Tribal Nations, and Representation in Education," *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* vol.1 no.1 (Spring 2000): 11-28; Pauline Turner Strong and Barrick Van Winkle, "Indian Blood': Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native American Identity" *Cultural Anthropology* vol 11 no 4 (November, 1996), 547-576.

21 Christina Berry, "What's in a Name: Indians and Political Correctness."

The second term of contention is historian. When considering male history writers there is virtually no quibble in the traditional scholarship regarding the status of pre-professional male historians. From Henry Adams to Charles A. Beard traditional scholarship finds no substantial break, each were real historians separated by time, theory and style but not historical credibility. In terms of American Indian history the works of Francis Parkman, Josiah Royce, Justin Winsor, George Bancroft, Hubert Howe Bancroft and Henry Adams, while historiographically contextualized and stylistically distinguished as literary, are nevertheless placed in the professional cannon alongside western and Indian historians including Paul Prucha, Thomas Hagan and Richard White. But what distinguished these men as real historians? What made them legitimate across all eras of American scholarship, as opposed to mere historical writers or amateur historians?²²

In part the answer is that they were socially influential men and other socially influential men said they were legitimate historians. Not only in the professional era, but also in the pre-professional era, a small cadre of well-connected men with complex political and economic relations determined who was an historian and what comprised history. For this reason the overtly imperialistic and often racist western scholarship of Theodore Roosevelt – work that would be rejected if submitted to a modern university press – has been traditionally deemed

<http://www.allthingscherokee.com/aboutus.html> (accessed 27 February, 2009).

22 Peter Novick, *That Nobel Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 25, 30, 44-45.

legitimate American history while the much less biased but equally well researched historical scholarship of Sarah Bolton and Mary Lamb is labeled amateur – when acknowledged. In such an environment women seldom held the social and political power to self-anoint themselves or other women as true, legitimate historians of the republic. Peter Novick more succinctly observed, “it is a sociological truism that nothing contributes more to the status of a vocation than the extent to which it is seen as a male calling.”²³

Yet for pre-professional women who pursued autonomous professional careers in historical subjects the path was particularly perilous for reasons other than gender bias alone. Rather than the rigid chauvinism of male scholars and their supporters, the very permeable, interdisciplinary nature of post bellum historical scholarship fostered an identity crisis for women interested in American Indian history. Unlike earlier historical scholarship that relied on uncritical readings of firsthand accounts, hearsay and questionable secondary sources, mid Nineteenth Century scholarship took a decided turn toward scientific accuracy.²⁴

Post bellum women scholars of American Indians who wished to garner credibility were required to base their work on actual observation and scrupulously

23 Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of History, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 13-51. A notable example of one pre-professional scholar anointing a male “historian” is found in Lewis Henry Morgan's biting critique of Hubert Howe Bancroft's version of American Indian social structure and racial evolution. See, Lewis Henry Morgan, “Monatzuma's Dinner” review of *Native Races of the Pacific States*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The North American Review* vol.122 no.251 (April, 1876): 265-308. Novick, *That Nobel Dream*, 367.

24 David A Hounshell, “Edison and the Pure Science Ideal in 19th-Century America” *Science* vol 207 no 4431 (February, 1980): 612-617; Daniel J. Kelves, Jeffery L. Sturchio and P. Thomas Carrol, “The Sciences in America, Circa 1880” *Science* vol 209 no 4452 (July, 1980): 26-32.

recorded notes. Curiously, where the use of questionable old documents and tarnished tales distinguished earlier male scholars as Indian historians, the use of contemporaneous observation placed women scholars into a kind of historical limbo. In reply, women (and men) scholars of American Indians addressed the anthropological and ethnological aspects of their work as “the natural history of Man, especially with reference to America.”²⁵

By conflating anthropology, ethnology, and history post bellum men and women blurred the lines between history and social-ethnic scholarship. Indeed women and men anthropologists/ethnologists such as Erminnie Smith, Zelia Nuttall, Frederick Ward Putnam, John Wesley Powell and Matilda Coxe Stevenson called their work a “new” kind of history or often referred to their studies as “histories.” In contrast Helen Hunt Jackson compiled work that in the traditional sense was literary Indian history – in that she often consulted old documents and secondary sources. Straddling these two historical camps, Alice Fletcher (and other women) considered herself both an ethnologist and historian.²⁶

Theresa Militello in addressing this identity crisis suggests that modern historians and anthropologists should consider the term *avocational prehistorians* in an effort to properly label historical persons from a period in which the terms anthropology and history were still quite fluid. Yet somehow avocational historians

25 Joan Mark, “Francis La Flesche: The American Indian as Anthropologist” *Isis* vol.73 no.4 (December, 1982): 497-510.

26 Joan Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 29-42. Tilly E. Stevenson, *Zuñi and the Zuñians* (N.p., N.d.), 3, 6, 30. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 339.

still seems imprecise, if not stilted. For the purposes of this study when addressing pre-professional (and pre-academic) women whose study of American Indians drew on anthropology, ethnology and history, I have chosen to use the term “scholar.”²⁷

American Indian scholar (as opposed to historian) avoids the gendered and sexually biased presumptions that separated pre-professional historians into the ranks of amateurs and real historians. Likewise, the term scholar acknowledges the widespread multidisciplinary impact of autonomous pre-professional women's American Indian scholarship. Such connections would not be possible to make if post bellum women American Indian scholars were strictly connected to mid Nineteenth-Century male American historians.²⁸

Finally, unless noted otherwise, the terms women and women scholars will refer to European American women – Indian women, African American women and men will be so noted. With the exception of class distinctions and general political designations, such as liberal and conservative, reference to women will concern the broad range of socially and politically conscious European American women who emerged in American society from 1830.

This dissertation comprises three parts and nine chapters. Chapters one and two in part one reexamine old presumptions about the origin of the women's rights movement and its relationship to women's scholarly publications on African and

27 Teresa Militello, “Horatio Nelson Rush and His Contributions to the Development of American Archaeology,” *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* vol.41 no.1 (April, 2009): 1-57.

28 On the gender and the genderization of history see, Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998) chaps., 1-4; Militello, “Horatio Nelson..” 1-57.

African American slaves, freed people and American Indians. Questioning the traditional argument that women learned how to articulate, organize and deploy political movements through their experiences in the abolition movement, chapter one looks at the political ideologies and agendas women *brought* to abolitionism, including their already well-developed public speaking, debate, organizational and publication skills developed in the early years of their work as American Transcendentalists, Evangelical ministers and radical political lecturers.

Building on this argument, chapter one contends the emergent women's rights movement used political metaphors as a way to both shield women activists from public scorn and as a means to advance their own political interests. Women's participation in the abolition and later Indian rights movements were far more opportunistic than previously assumed. European American women's swift post Civil War transition from abolition agitation to Indian assimilation reflected political rather than philanthropic or benevolent considerations.

Within this environment of shifting political metaphors, American Indians slowly assumed a place of importance. First recognized by a handful of women Evangelicals and abolitionists, after the Civil War Plains Indians were steadily embraced as the objects of women's emerging maternal patriotism. Sparked by the wholesale failure of the post bellum radical civil rights movement, maternal patriotism sought to validate women's political aspirations through their social uplift work. Indian assimilation became the quintessential symbol of this endeavor. Special attention is given to the early appropriation of American Indian history by

the women evangelical preachers, Mary Towle and Harriet Livermore.

In part two, chapters three through six examine how the construction of American Indian scholarship became a specialized niche for post bellum women scholars. Merged with the American evolutionary thought of Asa Gray, women scholars sought to unlock the mysteries of the Indian mind, soul, and body. Through their study and mastery of the mysterious Indian races, women scholars used their purported ability to turn Indians into European Americans to cultivate a remarkable degree of political power. Chapters three through six examine the often subtle evolutionary thought of Alice C. Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson and how each drew upon racial evolution theory to create unique and enduring forms of constructed American Indian scholarship.

In part three chapter seven looks at how new data and field research reshaped American Darwinism. Ultimately this new information prompted American evolutionists to separate cultural and social habits from biological precursors – in effect the old idea of mutable racial traits gave way to socially constructed ethnic characteristics. Chapter seven specifically looks at how John Wesley Powell's evolving views on race and human culture eroded the old dominant federal anthropology and ethnology that he helped establish. Ultimately these developments shifted anthropological and ethnological authority from Washington (specifically the Bureau of American Ethnology) to university based professional academic anthropologists. As American anthropology moved from government patronage to an academic profession Alice C. Fletcher and Matilda

Coxe Stevenson found themselves cast into a new scholarly frontier that considered their work antiquated, amateur, sentimental and overly political. What had been a visible, popular government sponsored cadre of autonomous women Indian scholars quickly faded. In their place a new group of professional women Indian historians would soon emerge. Lacking institutional support or government patronage, this new form of Indian scholarship would be directed toward advancing individual professional and institutional goals. For these women, Indian history would become a vehicle for advancing their own scholarly visibility and professional status.

Also in part three chapter eight examines the precarious rise of new women Indian historians. While chapter seven examined Turner's complimentary role in marginalizing Nineteenth Century women's Indian scholarship, chapter eight notes his role in promoting the professional careers of key women historians of American Indians. Turner and a few male cohorts promoted promising women graduate students (most male historians did not) who were steered toward professional archival and museum work as well as faculty jobs at women's colleges and in high schools. In these positions women historians of the frontier and American West came to distinguish themselves as Indian scholars largely because Indian history was one of the few subjects not claimed by male historians. Among the small group of women Indian historians who emerged around the turn of the last century, Turner students Emma Helen Blair and Louise Phelps Kellogg were pioneers of professional Indian history. Blair and Kellogg's Indian scholarship helped elevate

their status and visibility as professional historians who worked outside the academy. Though not a Turner student, contemporaneous historian Annie Heloise Abel advanced Indian history within the academy further securing it as an important subject for women historians. Given their unique status as architects of the new Indian history, the work of Blair, Kellogg and Abel is used to analyze the historical trajectory that led to Angie Debo's emerging interest in the anthropologically and ethnologically informed study of Indians.

Finally culminating part three, chapter nine examines how Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century American struggles with the legacy of assimilation and Indian sovereignty shaped the work of Angie Debo, Anna L. Lewis and Muriel H. Wright. In particular, chapter nine looks at how Debo's continuation of Abel's work on the Five Tribes was shaped by the Oklahoma Choctaw women Indian scholars, Anna Lewis and Muriel Wright. Lewis and Wright's critical influence (along with that of Lewis's brother Grady) pushed Debo beyond the study of past Indian politics (as established by the Turnerian tradition), toward the study of a more comprehensive Indian history. While her early work accepted the basic premise of assimilation, from 1935 Debo's scholarship increasingly foreshadowed later critiques of American internal imperialism.

The tense intellectual interaction between Debo, Lewis and Wright underlines decades of simmering discontent fostered by European American women scholar's role in constructing American Indian history. The contentious interaction between Debo, Lewis and Wright likewise pinpoints a complicated

moment in academic history when European American women's publication on Indians came to be openly challenged by a new generation of professional American Indian women historians. Lewis and Wright's critiques of Debo's work demonstrate that Indian women's emerging historical scholarship was not simply an academic exercise, but also a public assertion of their own Indian identities and political interests. Reminiscent of the long-gestating African American civil rights movement, American Indian women within the academy were finally starting to shape academic Indian history for their *own* scholarly benefit. For late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century European American and Indian women scholars Edward Augustus Freeman's dictum held, present politics are past history.

Chapter One

Women's Rights, American Indians and Capitol Politics

On December 17, 1904, Belva Ann Bennett Lockwood, then in her seventy-fourth year and a noted matriarch of the women's civil rights movement, accomplished lawyer, and two-time presidential candidate stated in testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, "I come from the District of Columbia, where no man has the privilege of voting, and so long as this state of affairs continues I am just as good and have just as many privileges as any man."²⁹

Accompanying Lockwood were Clara Bewick Colby, corresponding secretary of the Federal Women's Equality Association and long-time Indian rights advocate and Dr. Clara W. McNaughton vice-president of the Federal Women's Equality Association.³⁰ A triumvirate of accomplished politically active women, each embodied the reality of Lockwood's subtle observation, namely that post bellum events in the District of Columbia provided Washington women with a unique opportunity to achieve an extraordinary degree of political, economic, and social

²⁹ *Hearing Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the United States Senate, December 17, 1904* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1905), 10.

³⁰ For McNaughton's Federal Women's Equality Association credentials see, Ida Husted Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage* (New York, NY, J. J. Little & Ives Company, 1922), 435. Clara Bewick Colby was intimately connected to post bellum American Indian history. Colby's husband Thomas Bewick directed the burial detail following the battle of Wounded Knee and shortly thereafter he and Clara adopted a young Sioux girl named Zintkala Numi. Zintkala Numi was taken from the battle site by Thomas Bewick. See, John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds. *American National Biography*, vol 5 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 194-196.

power. Set in motion by political indiscretion and corruption, the leveling effect of Congress's universal disenfranchisement of District males in 1873 proved of inestimable value to the second decade of the American women's rights movement.

While early woman's rights advocates and Congressional Radical Republicans formed a weak yet enduring political coalition during the Civil War, a coterie of influential women's rights activists – who either lived in or were intimately associated with the Capitol – coalesced in the late 1860s to form the movement's federal vanguard. In this capacity women such as Victoria Woodhull, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Caroline Dall, Paulina Davis, Sarah Spencer, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Sarah Johnson and Jocelyn Gage promoted a radical civil rights ideology that profoundly influenced the rhetoric, goals and popular image of the national women's movement. Placed on a parallel political and social plane with District men, women gained unprecedented access to Congress and other national seats of power. This amplified influence coupled with universal disenfranchisement poised Washington women to play a leading post bellum role as social activists, reformers and Indian assimilationists.³¹

Proposed by Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania on November 19, 1863, the promise of New Nation idealism was expanded equality and progressive civil rights. Well into their third decade of activism, anti-slavery and

31 This is not to suggest that these women shared the same political agendas or even had the same organizational alliances, rather that they shared and promoted through their own respective mediums a general set of comprehensive social, economic and political reform goals. See, Sally G. McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 2009), chaps., 3-6; Harper., *The History*, passim.

women's rights proponents embraced Lincoln's proposition that "this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."³²

As it had for the freed people, New Nation idealism would come to have a lasting impact on a broad range of American women.³³ Shaping both the message of the federal vanguard and the everyday aspirations of women across the republic, New Nation thought gave cohesiveness to an otherwise complex network of women's rights agendas often demarcated by those who advocated political as opposed to utilitarian reforms. The New Nation era women's rights vanguard united a range of women activists through a new feminized professional model that often transcended political division, economic status and class distinction.

Emerging alongside a small far more visible group of women who gained access to the traditionally male professions (law, medicine, business, politics and academia)

32 Abraham Lincoln, *Speeches and Writings, 1859-1865* (New York, New York: Library of America, 1989), 536. For Lincoln and New Nation thought see, Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992); Gabor Boritt, *The Gettysburg Gospel: the Lincoln Speech that Nobody Knows* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006) and Phillip B. Kunhardt, *A New Birth of Freedom: Lincoln at Gettysburg* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1983). For Lincoln, New Nation thought and its relationship to early transcendentalist/women's rights thinkers see, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, "A Letter to the Editor of The Radical," *The Radical* 2 (August 1867): 745-748. For the enduring importance of Lincoln's articulation of an all-inclusive Republic see, Victoria C. Woodhull, *The Argument for Woman's Electoral Rights Under Amendments XIV and XV of the Constitution of the United States: A Review of My Work at Washington, D. C. in 1870-1871* (London: G. Norman & Son, 1887), 7.

33 John Mark Rhea, "Farewell to My Beloved Ethiopia: Drusilla Dunjee Houston as the Voice of Elite Oklahoma African American Women During the Decline and Fall of "Racial Uplift," 1917-1933," University of Oklahoma master's thesis, 2004. For African American interaction with the New Nation after 1865 see, Nell Irvin Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African-American History and its Meanings, 1619 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 129-195; Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 3, 5-6, 8; Booker T. Washington, *A New Negro for a New Century* (Miami, Florida: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc., 1969), passim; Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers), 2009.

the new categories of feminized professional identity were based on self-conferred non-institutional pedigrees, peer validation and autonomous disciplinary and procedural criteria.³⁴

To this end the Washington based New Woman movement consolidated a preexisting body of ideas about innate competency that advanced women's intrinsic capacity for individuality, self-sufficiency, property rights, political participation, legal equality, intellectual thought and economic opportunity. Inspired by transcendentalist assertions of each soul's inherent egalitarian potential for divine perfection, competency became the guiding ideology of the early American women's rights movement. Side by side, competency and women's professionalization would become hallmarks of the post Civil War New Woman movement.³⁵

As contemporaries of Belva Lockwood, Clara Colby and Clara McNaughton, the western scholars Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, and Helen Hunt Jackson were also beneficiaries of New Nation idealism and women's emerging autonomous professional status in post bellum Washington, D. C.³⁶ Although Jackson only resided in Washington briefly, like Fletcher and

34 One such example was women who published on historical subjects. See, Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), chaps., 1-4.

35 For competency as a political identity see, Elizabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1985), 220-222; For use of the term by Elizabeth Cady Stanton see, Paul Buhle, Mari Jo Buhle and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage: Selections From the Classic Works of Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 277.

36 It is important to note here that Lockwood, Colby and McNaughton made careers for themselves in traditional professions. Fletcher, Stevenson and Jackson carved out their own autonomous professional identities based on meticulously documented standards, practices,

Stevenson she used the city's feminized professional opportunities to nurture political and social connections that culminated in the publication of influential American Indian scholarship.³⁷ By 1904, when Lockwood made her observation about universal District disenfranchisement, Jackson had been dead for almost two decades, while Fletcher and Stevenson struggled to maintain their autonomous professional status in a late Nineteenth Century world that had radically redefined the meaning of professionalization.

Personally spared the heartache of trivialization, Jackson's work on the other hand, like that of Fletcher's and Stevenson's was eventually separated from intellectual and cultural contexts and flung upon the historical dust heap with the work of other Victorian era "scribbling" women. For Fletcher and Stevenson the roller coaster ride from zenith to nadir of the New Woman movement was trying at best. Each made failed attempts to solidify their methods, interpretive systems and scholarship within academic organizations, ventures that took both a financial and emotional toll. As the century that fomented the Civil War burned out and the next blazed forth, Fletcher and Stevenson watched as their own scholarly work and indeed that of other women Indian scholars was either ignored or on rare occasion dismissively cited by later Frontier historians. Today, removed by a century and

interpretations and scholarship. For Fletcher, Stevenson and Jackson professionalization was individualized and largely non-institutional. See, Smith, *The Gender*, 1-102.

37 Although rarely considered scholarship, this study will argue that Jackson's use of archival documents and rigorous legal research distinguished *A Century of Dishonor* as scholarly. Annie Heloise Abel concurred on this point. Annie Heloise Abel, *The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1908), 426.

two decades from the women scholars who fashioned American Indian scholarship, the fragmentation of their history and intellectual legacy need not continue.³⁸

Although venturing onto a scholarly frontier, reconnecting the historical and intellectual threads that bound together the New Nation and the New Woman is essential to understand the social, political, and cultural forces that came to indelibly identify women with the Indian cause and consequently molded Fletcher, Stevenson, and Jackson within the pre-institutional community of Indian scholars. Ubiquitously framed as pioneering anthropologists and Indian Rights activists, each woman's scholarly contribution (along with a host of other contemporaneous women scholars) has been cleaved from its connection to larger cultural patterns. Treated as disconnected biographical curiosities Fletcher, Stevenson, and Jackson's place in historical evaluation has been minimized obscuring their roles in defining and articulating key historical methods, interpretations and scholarship that shaped over a century of popular, academic and political thought about American Indians.

As proponents of women's rights Jackson, Fletcher and Stevenson, born in 1831, 1838 and 1849 respectively, came of age and inclination far too late to participate in the formative years of the movement, yet their professional lives and

38 For example see, Herbert Eugene Bolton to Frederick Webb Hodge, 14 January, 1907. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Letters received 1907, box 119. Notably, Dr. Bolton who was then only a thirty-seven year old history professor at the University of Texas dismissively referred to the venerable sixty-nine year old self-made anthropologist and ethnologist Alice Cunningham Fletcher as "Miss Fletcher." At the time Bolton was working on an anthology for Hodge containing scholarly articles about North American Indians – including several by Fletcher. In the letter to Hodge Bolton cast doubt on the accuracy and over-all scholarly importance of Fletcher's work. Although Fletcher's voluminous body of scholarship appeared in many of the leading anthropological and ethnological publications of her day Bolton informed Hodge, "In a few cases I may find it easier to re-write than to modify [her] articles...."

intellectual contributions were bound together by its historical development. While the women's right's movement was a liberating experience for many late Nineteenth Century women, its inability to cement an expanded range of professional identities within enduring institutions, or to foster equal professional partnerships between men and women, helps to explain why Fletcher, Stevenson and Jackson (unlike George Bancroft, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Francis Parkman, Henry Adams, Justin Winsor, Josiah Royce and Theodore Roosevelt) are remembered today more as discrete anomalies, than as influential members of a politically powerful women's Indian scholarship niche within the early American history community.³⁹

The vocational goals of women's rights leaders and women Indian scholars often overlapped, however there were significant historical differences. The women's rights trajectory plotted by Rebecca J. Mead and Sunu Mary Kodumthara, in which the regional political achievements of western suffragists shaped national success does not apply to the social and political regime developed by women Indian scholars. Women's construction of Indian scholarship remained largely a capitol affair. The difference was one of constituencies, western women could act on their own behalf while American Indians were in practice legal wards of the U. S. Congress, the Interior Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.⁴⁰

Unlike the post bellum women's rights movement, consolidation of women

39 See, N.a., "Bancroft's Banquet," 11 January, 1878 *The Washington Post* pg.4.

40 Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2004), chaps., 1-2. Sunu Mary Kodumthara, "Anti-Suffragists and the Dilemma of the American West," (Ph.D, diss., University of Oklahoma, 2011) chaps., 1-2.

Indian scholar's political power focused on Washington because Indians were federally administered non-citizens. Unlike suffrage which could be decided on the territorial and state level, no state law could trump federal Indian policy. This fundamental difference indicates why women Indian scholars cultivated a close post bellum political relationship with Congress and the Executive branch between 1877-1907.

In measuring the actual power exercised by women Indian scholars it is important to remember that no suffragist or women's rights leader had the power to walk into the Congressional clerk's office take pen in hand and amend bills pending before Congress, but Alice Fletcher did. Nor did any suffragist or women's rights leader control the allotment of personal property and land across approximately one-third of North America; Alice Fletcher did. Matilda Coxe Stevenson as a Bureau of Ethnology agent and Helen Hunt Jackson as a special Indian Commissioner wielded similar influence over the lives and property of Southwestern Indians.

Even among women's rights leaders who were not Indian scholars, Indian affairs played a prominent role in fostering professional credibility and political stature. Belva Lockwood's pioneering access to the Supreme Court was intimately tied to her position as counsel for the Eastern Cherokee and both Lockwood and Clara Bewick Colby took in Indian children. As Margaret Jacobs notes, care for Indian children strengthened women's political credibility as responsible social reformers. The relationship between women's rights, women's social and political

power and women's Indian scholarship raises the question, how did a women's rights vanguard emerge in Washington and subsequently give rise to a lateral political movement that fostered Indian scholarship opportunities for women like Fletcher, Stevenson and Jackson?⁴¹

The Political Power of Metaphors: Transcendentalists, the Little Lost German Boy, Women Evangelists, Slaves and Jewish Indians

Traditional historical scholarship on women's rights emphasized the political push for suffrage, tracing the movement's origin to the well-known 1848 Seneca Falls convention. Over the last three decades a growing cohort of historians have challenged this view with new evidence that questions the originality of the Seneca Falls resolutions and the ideological centrality of suffrage.⁴² This work has

41 For Belva Lockwood See, Jill Norgren, *Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2007), 94, 204-213. Unlike Clara Colby who adopted a young Lakota girl named Zintkala Numi, Lockwood was house mother and guardian of John and Dora Taylor, children of her Eastern Cherokee client, James Taylor. For Clara Bewick Colby see, John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* vol 5 (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 194-196. For the adoption and/or care of Indian children by European American women see, Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, Nebraska,: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), chaps., 2-3.

42 This trajectory was launched by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the late 1800s. See, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Anthony, Susan B. and Gage, Matilda J. eds, *History of Woman Suffrage, 1876-1885* (Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann, 1887), *passim*; Helen Kendrick Johnson, "Woman Suffrage and Education," *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* vol 51 (May-October 1897): 222-231. Elizabeth B. Clark addresses the conflation of the earlier women's rights revolutionary agenda with the later suffrage movement. Elizabeth B. Clark, "Religion, Rights, and Difference in the Early Women's Rights Movement," *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal* vol 3 (1987): 29-57; also see, Nancy A. Hewitt, *No Permanent Wave: Recasting Histories of U. S. Feminism* (New Brunswick, NJ., 2010), 3. While noting the early radicalism of the women's rights movement, many historians have continued to privilege Stanton and Anthony's emphasis on woman suffrage. See, Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), chap. 1-2; Elizabeth Frost and Katherine Cullen-Dupont, *Women's Suffrage in America* (New York: Facts

collectively pushed the historical chronology of the American women's rights movement to the era of the Second Great Awakening and linked its articulation to the women's Transcendentalist movement.⁴³

As a cultural product of the Jacksonian age, Transcendentalism has been interpreted as a reaction to orthodox Calvinism, secularization, the growing conservatism of Unitarian reform and the social chaos created by emerging industrialization.⁴⁴ The central egalitarian belief that all “men and women [a]re

on File, 1992), chap. 1-4; Suzanne M. Marilly, *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), chap 1-2; Ellen Carol DuBois, *Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 30-40; Ellen Carol BuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), chap 1-2.

- 43 The focus here is on the historical trajectory of early Transcendentalist women who formulated an idealized autonomous professional woman and cemented its revolutionary meaning in Reconstruction era Washington politics. “The Rights of Women,” *Daily National Intellegencer* 30 September, 1833; “News”, *Pensacola Gazette* 6 May, 1837; “Miscellaneous, Rights of Women,” *The Liberator* 9 June, 1837; “Equal Rights, Letter IX, Heroism of Women--Women in Authority,” *The Liberator* 26 January, 1838; “Rights of Women,” *New-York Spectator* 14 June, 1838; “Women's Rights,” *The Emancipator* 21 June, 1838. For scholarship that looks at how women's Transcendentalism gave an organized intellectual form to amorphous religious ideas about gender justice see, Phyllis Cole, *Mary Moody Emerson and the Origins of Transcendentalism: A Family History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Cynthia Barton, *Transcendental Wife: The Life of Abigail May Alcott Barton* (Lanham, Maryland,: University Press of America, 1996); Joan Goodwin, *The Remarkable Mrs. Ripley: The Life of Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Bruce Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms* (Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 1999) and Tiffany K. Wayne, *Woman Thinking: Feminism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth Century America* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2005), chap. 1-3. For scholarship suggesting that ideas and political rhetoric about a new expanded role for women in American society was shaped by evangelical Christians, particularly itinerant women preachers of the Second Great Awakening see, Catherine A. Brekus, “Female Preaching in Early Nineteenth-Century America,” *The Center for Christian Ethics at Baylor University*, (2009): 20-29; Eileen Hunt Botting and Sarah L. Houser, “Drawing the Line of Equality: Hannah Mather Crocker on Women's Rights,” *The American Political Science Review* vol 100, no 2 (May 2006): 265-278; Catherine A. Brekus, “Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger: Female Preaching and Biblical Feminism in Early Nineteenth-Century America,” *Church History* vol 65 no 3 (September 1996): 389-404 and Louis Billington, “Female Laborers in the Church: Women Preachers in the Northeastern United States, 1790-1840,” *Journal of American Studies* vol 19 no 3 (December 1985): 369-394.
- 44 Paul F. Boller, *American Transcendentalism, 1830-1860* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), xix, xxi, N.a., “The Unitarian Movement in New England,” *The Dial* vol 1 no 4 (April

fundamentally divine” posited Transcendentalism to champion the early republic's burgeoning preoccupation with social assimilation and democratization.

Paralleling the cultural impact of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis six decades later, Transcendentalism inspired a growing contingent of women's rights advocates and abolitionists to coalesce amorphous Second Awakening Evangelical ideas about equality and intrinsic human rights into an influential social and political ideology.⁴⁵

In organizational decline by the 1860s, the lasting legacy of Transcendentalism was its stealthy ability to infiltrate the ideology of affiliated social and reform efforts where it thrived as an unseen yet powerful intellectual force.⁴⁶ As related in 1860 by Caroline Healey Dall, a noted Transcendentalist, women's rights activist and confidant of Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Matilda Coxe

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- 1841): 409-443; N.a., “A Sign From the West,” *The Dial* vol 1 no 2 (October 1840): 162-163.
- 45 Boller, *American Transcendentalism*, 79-92, 99-138. Caroline H. Dall, *Transcendentalism in New England: A Lecture Delivered Before the Society for Philosophical Equality, Washington, D. C. May 7, 1895* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1897), 24.
- 46 N.a., “Transcendentalism,” *The Dial* vol 2 no 3 (January 1841): 382-386; Anne C. Rose, *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), passim; Philip F. Gura, *American Transcendentalism, A History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2007), chap. 3-7; Clarence L. F. Gohdes, *The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1931), 17-37, 143-151, 210-228; Fred Erisman and Kate Douglas Wiggin, “Transcendentalism for American Youth: The Children's Books of Kate Douglas Wiggin,” *The New England Quarterly* vol 41 no 2 (June 1968): 238-247; J. David Greenstone, “Dorothea Dix and Jane Addams: From Transcendentalism to Pragmatism in American Social Reform,” *The Social Service Review* vol 53 no 4 (December 1979): 527-559; David M. Robinson, “Margaret Fuller and the Transcendental Ethos: Woman in the Nineteenth Century” *PMLA* vol 97 no 1 (January 1982): 83-98; Tess Hoffman, “Miss Fuller Among the Literary Lions: Two Essays Read at 'The Coliseum' in 1838,” *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1988): 37-53; James D. Wallace, “Hawthorne and the Scribbling Women Reconsidered,” *American Literature* vol 62 no 2 (June 1990): 201-222; Phyllis Cole, “Stanton, Fuller and the Grammar of Romanticism,” *The New England Quarterly* vol 73 no 4 (December 2000): 533-559; Dorothy Rogers and Therese B. Dykeman, “Introduction: Women in the American Philosophical Tradition 1800-1930,” *Hypatia* vol 19 no 2 (Spring 2004): viii-xxxiv.

Stevenson and Helen Hunt Jackson:

[W]hen, in 1844 Margaret Fuller gave 'The Great Lawsuit' to the pages of the first 'Dial,' she stated with *transcendent* force the argument which formed the basis of the first 'Woman's Rights Convention' in 1848⁴⁷

Dall stated the case more implicitly in her 1895 history of New England

Transcendentalism, “the characteristics of the Transcendental movement were shown in the temper of its agitation for the rights of women and the enlargement of her duties.”⁴⁸

As with other cultural and social movements, scholarly debate surrounds the origins of American Transcendentalism, yet historical analysis traces its essential social and political reform ideas to a small cadre of New England women fervently dedicated to the emerging politics of human rights.⁴⁹ Prominent among these were Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Margaret Fuller (Ossoli), Pauline Wright Davis, Caroline Healey Dall, Abigail May Alcott, Lydia Maria Child, Mary Moody

47 Caroline Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched; A Volume of Miscellanies* (Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 1860), 249. It should be noted that *The Dial* was the premier Transcendentalist journal of the day. Dall was off by a year with her citation. Margaret Fuller, “The Great Lawsuit,” *The Dial* vol 2 no 1 (July 1843): 1-47.

48 Dall, *Transcendentalism*, 6. For Dall's friendship with Fletcher, Stevenson and Hunt see, Caroline Wells Healey Dall correspondence 1834-1917, Caroline Wells Healey Dall papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Of the three, Dall formed the closest relationship with Fletcher, although her friendship with Jackson and Jackson's father, John Fiske predated her friendship with Fletcher by several decades. Unlike Jackson, Fletcher was an early outspoken proponent of women's rights.

49 Scholars of Transcendentalism have focused on male founders of the movement, however recent studies have argued for a female source. David R. Williams, “The Wilderness Rapture of Mary Moody Emerson: One Calvinist Link to Transcendentalism,” *Studies in American Renaissance* (1986): 1-16; Megan Marshall, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: The First Transcendentalist?” *Massachusetts Historical Review* vol 8 (2006): 1-15; Howard M. Wach, “A Boston Vindication: Margaret Fuller and Caroline Dall Read Mary Wollstonecraft,” *Massachusetts Historical Review* vol 7 (2005): 3-35; Wayne, *Women Thinking*, passim.

Emerson and Sophia Willard Dona Ripley.⁵⁰ Between 1830-1850 these women translated Second Great Awakening idealism into a mainstream Transcendentalist rhetoric that helped foment the national abolitionist and women's rights movements.⁵¹

Advancing the argument that women were inherently competent to exercise full citizenship rights, the early women's right's movement drew heavily on the ideas of Margaret Fuller and Sophia Willard Dona Ripley. In her seminal work on women's rights, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* Fuller argued that the divinity of each soul made human intelligence and ability virtually unlimited.⁵² For an emerging generation of young socially and politically conscious women, Fuller's assertions helped cleave gender from the immutable realm of distinctly male and female souls.⁵³

Where Fuller challenged the immutability of separate spheres, Sophia

50 Wesley T. Mott, *Biographical Dictionary of Transcendentalism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 199-201, 103-107, 60-63, 44, 79-80, 219-220. Cynthia H. Barton, *Transcendental Wife: The Life of Abigail May Alcott* (Lanham, Massachusetts: University Press of America, 1996). For Paulina Wright Davis see, Jenny Weissbourd, "Women's Rights and Women's Health in the Providence Physiological Society, 1850-1851," *Brown Journal of History* (Spring 2008): 7-20; Diane Brown Jones, "Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's Transcendental Manifesto," *Studies in American Renaissance* (1992): 195-207; Joel Myerson, "A Calendar of Transcendental Club Meetings," *American Literature* vol 44 no 2 (May 1972): 197-207. Henry Nash Smith, "The Scribbling Women and the Cosmic Success Story," *Critical Inquiry* vol 1 no 1 (September 1974): 47-70. David M. Robinson, "The New Epoch of Belief: The Radical and Religious Transformation in Nineteenth-Century New England," *The New England Quarterly* vol 79 no 4 (December 2006): 557-577.

51 Charles Capper, "Margaret Fuller as Cultural Reformer: The Conversations in Boston," *American Quarterly* vol 39 no 4 (Winter 1987): 509-528; Joel Myerson, *The New England Transcendentalists and the Dial* (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1980), 121-125, 192-197, 201-203, 206-208.

52 Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties of Woman* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1855). About 1848 Margaret Fuller married Giovanni Angelo Ossoli. See, Mott, *Biographical Dictionary*, 106.

53 Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 8-14.

Willard Dona Ripley questioned their very existence. In her influential 1841 *Dial* article “Woman,” Ripley declared the idea of separate spheres inscrutable and then dismissed the whole notion as contrary to observable human individuality. The same year, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody wove Fuller and Ripley's explications into a unified view of gender. In a widely discussed article, Peabody drew from both authors deciding Ripley's concept of women's individual competency the most sound.⁵⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton would echo Ripley's argument almost two decades later in her famous rebuke of noted Unitarian minister Octavius Brooks Frothingham and again in her 1892 Congressional address, “The Solitude of the Self.”⁵⁵

A host of young socially engaged women were introduced to Fuller, Ripley and Peabody's ideas through their public lectures and private salons. Prominent were Fuller's celebrated *Conversations* and numerous informal, but no less important meetings at Peabody's Boston bookstore.⁵⁶ Such venues brought together a remarkable group of women and their disciples who would later play a leading role in the Washington women's rights vanguard. But before abolition and women's rights could come to the capitol as truly national movements each had to be

54 Joel Myerson, ed., *Transcendentalism: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 286-288.

55 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “The Woman Question,” *The Radical* (September 1867): 18-27; O. B. Frothingham, “Woman in Society,” *The Radical* (June 1867): 598-610. For Frothingham see, Edmund Clarence Stedman, *Octavius Brooks Frothingham and the New Faith* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876). By modern standards Stanton's liberal use of Ripley's 1841 “Woman” article would border on plagiarism. The argument here is that Transcendentalist thought continued to illuminate the women's rights movement long after Transcendentalism subsided as a visible cultural movement.

56 Capper, “Margaret Fuller.” Mott, *Biographical Dictionary.*, 199.

transformed from comparatively regional concerns into national causes.

Although excoriated from the late 1700s by a small but vocal body of early religious and social activists, African American slavery and the subjugation of women were not moral or ethical concerns for most Americans.⁵⁷ While finding allies in some quarters, the poorly organized advocates of each were generally dismissed or worse by an unsympathetic and often hostile public.⁵⁸ In fact well into the 1860s a majority of European Americans accepted the position of African American slaves and women as a part of society's natural order.⁵⁹

57 Carol A. Kolmerten, *The American Life of Ernestine L. Rose* (Syracuse, NY.: Syracuse University Press, 1999), chap. 1-2. Miles Mark Fisher, "Friends of Humanity: A Quaker Anti-Slavery Influence," *Church History* vol 4 no 3 (September 1935): 187-202; Roman J. Zorn, "The New England Anti-Slavery Society: Pioneer Abolition Organization," *The Journal of Negro History* vol 42 no 3 (July 1957): 157-176; Bradley Chapin, "Written Rights: Puritan and Quaker Procedural Guarantees," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol 114 no 3 (July 1990): 323-348; Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), passim; Daniel J. McInerney, "A Faith for Freedom!: The Political Gospel of Abolition," *Journal of the Early Republic* vol 11 no 3 (Autumn, 1991): 371-393; Robert Bruce Slate, "The American Colleges That Led the Abolition Movement," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* no 9 (Autumn 1995): 95-97; Edward Raymond Turner, "The First Abolition Society in the United States," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol 36 no 1 (1912): 92-109; Robert Francis Engs, *The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republicans' First Generation* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 8-28, 29-59; James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana.: Louisiana State University Press, 1994) passim; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), passim; Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), passim.

58 Until the invention of the automatic steam press in 1835 mass publication and advertisement was prohibitively costly for most religious and social groups. As a result evangelical and reform movements were limited to public lecture tours and gospel meetings in which the distinctions between each were blurred. See, Kolmerten, *The American Life*, 2.

59 See, "Rights of Women," *New-York Spectator* 31 July, 1837. Also see coverage of the 1853 New York Women's Rights Convention, *New York Tribune* 8, 9, 10 September, 1853. Also, Engs, *The Birth.*, 8-28, 29-59, 81-102, 103-122; McPherson, *What they fought For*, passim; James M. McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), 13-23, 143-160, 161-183, 184-202; Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1979), passim; James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), chaps. 1-4, 6, 10;

A significant turning point came in 1830 with the publication of numerous newspaper accounts relating the heart-wrenching tale of a young Prussian foundling. According to contemporaneous reports the boy was discovered outside Nuremberg (present day Germany) in 1828. Judged to be about sixteen years of age, a note pinned to the boy's shirt identified him as Kasper Hauser. Repeated attempts at communication failed. Closer examination revealed that Hauser was a virtual invalid. Placed in the care of a local university professor and later in the household of the famous Bavarian Jurist Anselm von Feuerbach, Hauser regained his strength and gradually learned the rudiments of language and social interaction. After a year of often tedious education Hauser finally acquired the skills to relate his fantastic tale. According to Hauser from the age of four he was locked in a small cramped basement cell, nourished only by bread and water provided by a silent black-masked caretaker. Unable to stand or interact with the outside world, the boy grew to adolescence as a physically crippled mental void. Hauser's tale was one of frightening cruelty that haunted the imaginations of Western European and American readers, for it was not the well-known tale of an insane relative secreted away in an attic, rather it was an example of a deliberately wrecked human being.⁶⁰

David B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 23-38, 39-73, 213-254, 255-342; Winthrop D. Jordan, *The Negro Versus Equality, 1762-1826* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), passim; Jordan, *White over Black.*, passim; Zilversmit, *The first Emancipation.*, passim.

60 "Account of the Nuremberg Boy, Caspar Hauser, Who Was Shut Up in a Dungeon From the Fourth to Sixteenth Year of Age," *Literary Port Folio* no 12 March 25, 1830; "Account of Nuremberg Boy," *New-York Spectator* 16 March, 1830. The following is a small sampling of newspaper articles, "The Black Mask," *Farmer's Cabinet* 2 January, 1830; "Account of Nuremberg Boy," *National Gazette* 23 February, 1830; "To the Editor of Le Globe," *Eastern*

For the next two years American interest in the Kaspar Hauser story continued unabated, stoked by numerous articles in weekly newspapers and popular journals. Denounced as soul-murder, Hauser's treatment was variously compared to the plight of slaves, poor children and women.⁶¹ American public interest further intensified when the noted German-American Transcendentalist Francis Lieber published an 1832 English version of Feuerbach's Kaspar Hauser biography. Widely distributed on the East Coast, Lieber's *Caspar Hauser* became a literary sensation among American Transcendentalists and intellectuals. Further sensationalizing the case, Feuerbach's book helped transform Hauser into a new powerful metaphor for socially engaged German and American Transcendentalists.⁶²

Argus 5 March, 1830; n.h., *Spectator* 16 March, 1830; n.h., *National Gazette* 13 April, 1830; n.h. *Connecticut Mirror* 1 May, 1830; "Casper Hauser," *New-Hampshire Patriot* 31 December, 1832; "Casper Hauser," *Vermont Gazette* 8 January, 1833; "Casper Hauser," *Gloucester Telegraph* 19 January, 1833; "Casper Hauser," *Newburyport Herald* 21 January, 1833; "Casper Hauser," *Brattleboro Messenger* 26 January, 1833; "Casper Hauser," 26 *Liberator* January, 1833; "Casper Hauser," *New-Bedford Mercury* 1 February, 1833; "Miscellanies," *American Advocate* 9 February, 1833. Also see, Paul A. MacKenzie, "Kaspar Hauser in America: The Innocent Abroad," *German Life and Letters* vol 49 no 4 (October 1996): 438-458.

61 See footnote 28 and N.a., "Education of the Poor," *American Annals of Education* vol 3 no 11 (November 1833): 501.

62 Undoubtedly part of the scholarly silence surrounding Casper Hauser's effect on American culture is accounted for by the widely varied spelling of his name in the American press. Variations included: Kasper Hauser, Casper Hauser, Casper Houser, Gasper Hoswer, Kaspar Hauser and Caspar Hauser. Until about 1857 Francis Lieber embraced German-American Transcendentalist political idealism. An acquaintance of Ralph Waldo Emerson and other New England Transcendentalists, he was well situated to promote an English translation of Feuerbach's *Kaspar Hauser*. Although living in Philadelphia at the time of publication, Lieber's Boston connections, particularly to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and her bookstore guaranteed wide circulation among northern women Transcendentalists. See, Charles L. Mack and Henry H. Lesesne, *Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind* (Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 34, Francis Lieber and Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Lieber: Reminiscences, Addresses and Essays* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott, 1881), passim; Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600–1900* (Madison, Wis.,: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 127; Roberta J. Park, "The Attitudes of Leading New England Transcendentalists Toward Healthful Exercise,

The fourth chapter of Feuerbach's biography argued that Hauser's case violated existing Prussian law and required a new global commitment to human rights. Specifically Feuerbach called for an international condemnation of soul-murder. Addressing the social and political implications of Hauser's case Feuerbach noted:

no one can help perceiving, that it is the criminal invasion of the life of his soul... a highly criminal invasion of man's most sacred and most peculiar property, – of his freedom and the destiny of his soul⁶³

Feuerbach's conclusions struck a cord with American abolitionists and women's rights proponents who drew a parallel between Hauser's treatment and that of African American slaves and women.⁶⁴ Asserting that evidence of the crime

Active Recreations and Proper Care of the Body: 1830-1860,” *Journal of Sports History* vol 4 no 1 (1977): 34-50. For biographical information on Francis Lieber see, Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1947).

63 Anselm von Feuerbach, *Caspar Hauser an Account of an Individual Kept in a Dungeon, Separated from All Communication with the World, from Early Childhood to About the Age of Seventeen* (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1832), preface, 68-72, 73-76.

64 The political power of the Hauser metaphor lasted for decades. See, Ebenezer Baldwin, *Observations on the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Qualities of Our Colored Population: With Remarks on the Subject of Emancipation and Colonization* (New Haven, Conn.: L. H. Young, 1834), 46; Luther V. Bell, “Boylston Prize Dissertation for 1835,” *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* vol 13 no 15 (November 1835): 229-236; no 16: 247-256; no 17: 261-269; no 18: 280-286; no 19: 298-303; “Slavery and the Territories.--Speech of Mr. Horace Mann,” *The National Era* vol 2 no 99 (September 1848): 152; *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1852), 21; Horace Mann, *Slavery: Letters and Speeches* (Boston: B. B. Mussey & co, 1853), 66-68; Catherine Maria Sedgwick, *Married or Single?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857), 120; Fred. A. Ross, *Slavery Ordained of God* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1857), 138-139; Frances Harriett Green, *Shahmah in the Pursuit of Freedom; or, The Branded Hand* (New York: Thatcher & Hutchinson, 1858), 308; William H. Barnes, *History of the Thirty-Ninth Congress of the United States* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Macauley & Company, 1867), 329; Paulina W. Davis, *A History of the National Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Journymen Printers' Co-operative Association, 1871), 9.

“lies almost entirely concealed within the human soul; where it can be investigated... indicating certain states of the thinking and sentiment mind of the person injured,” Feuerbach's conclusions gave light and life to a developing American abolitionist and women's rights oeuvre.⁶⁵ Further buttressing this trend, the 1835 debut of Henry James Finn's enormously popular play *Caspar Hauser; or the Wild Boy of Bavaria* (which ran three decades) vividly reinforced the Hauser/civil rights metaphor for an emerging class of liberal women's rights proponents.⁶⁶ The specific association of Hauser's case with women's gender politics was further made palpable by Finn's decision to cast young women in the role of Hauser.⁶⁷

Ultimately the Hauser story helped shape the American slave into a powerful metaphor for the social, economic and political condition of American

65 The radical or far more explicit advocacy of a broad range of women's rights emerged in the late 1820s and early 1830s. See, Frances Wright, *Course of Popular Lectures as Delivered by Frances Wright* (New York: The Office of Free Inquiry, 1829) passim; Lydia Maria Child, *The History of the Condition of Woman* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1835) passim; Frances Wright, *A Course of Popular Lectures, Historical and Political* (Philadelphia: By Author, 1836) passim; Fuller Ossoli, *Women*, 90-119.

66 Joseph N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage From 1750-1860* (New York: T. H. Morrell, 1867), 132-133. For performances and cast see, *Baltimore Sun* 30 November, 1837; “Advertisements,” and *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* 30 November, 1837, pg.3. The lasting effect of abolitionist and liberal women's use of the Caspar Hauser metaphor as a rallying cry against mental and physical tyranny would be seen well into the Twentieth Century where it survived within the psychiatric profession. MacKenzie, “Kaspar Hauser in America,” 438-458. Also see fn. 35.

67 A vibrant outspoken liberal women's rights tradition existed alongside more conservative women benevolence and moral/social reform workers. Though liberal women often advanced conservative women's causes, the liberal women's rights tradition was not born of either moral reform or abolition. Historians of women generally do not make this distinction. Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), 6-9; Nancy A. Hewitt, “From Seneca Falls to Suffrage? Reimagining a 'Master' Narrative in U. S. Women's History,” in *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U. S. Feminism*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 15-38.

women. Reflecting the freed Hauser's rejuvenation, abolition was used to promote the same remedy for women – immediate emancipation.⁶⁸ Deftly employed by an emerging cadre of outspoken liberal women activists, the slave metaphor became political code for the contentious issue of women's rights. The invocation of brutalized, chained and cowed slaves became a rallying cry during women's abolition lectures where it was aimed at overturning European American male hegemony.⁶⁹ Such public displays not only flouted traditional gender strictures which forbade female usurpation of male authority, but also came into conflict with new separate spheres sensibilities within the emerging American middle class.⁷⁰

The social and intellectual seeds of this new outspoken class of liberal antebellum women activists germinated within the pioneering challenges to traditional gender and power hierarchies sparked by the evangelical fury of the Second Great Awakening (1790-1845).⁷¹ Drawing on the traditional cooperative

68 Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women & Sisters: The Anti-Slavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989), 1-26.

69 Carolyn Williams, "The Female Antislavery Movement: Fighting against Racial Prejudice and Promoting Women's Rights in Antebellum America," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), 159-177.

70 Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Karen Haltunnen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1790-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), passim. Linda English notes that *separate spheres* is a defunct trope for contemporary historians that nevertheless ostensibly demarcated social behaviors and outlined middle class pedigrees – even if these were simply empty affections. Linda Christine English, "Revealing Accounts: General Stores on the South Central Plains, 1870-1890," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oklahoma, 2005), 100-110, fn.244. Also see, Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982) chaps, 1-2.

71 Elizabeth Battelle Clark, "Religion, Rights and Difference: The Origins of American

gender and labor roles found in American agrarian society, the Second Great Awakening with its emphasis on the personal priesthood and kingship of each believer inflamed the egalitarian zeal of male and female converts.⁷² Convinced that the end times were at hand, a notable contingent of Second Awakening believers accepted the eschatological assertion that God would “pour out” His “spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.” Equating prophesy with preaching many Evangelicals consequently promoted or at least

Feminism, 1848-1869,” *Institute for Legal Studies Working Papers* vol 2 no 2 (February 1987), 1-53; Elizabeth B. Clark, “Religion, Rights, and Difference in the Early Women's Rights Movement,” *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal* vol 3 (1987): 29-57; Elizabeth Battelle Clark, “The Politics of God and the Woman's Vote: Religion in the American Suffrage Movement, 1848-1895,” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1989), passim; Nancy Gale Isenberg, “Co-equality of the Sexes': The Feminist Discourse of the Antebellum Women's Right's Movement in America,” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), passim; Cynthia A. Jürisson, “Federalist, Feminist, Revivalist: Harriet Livermore (1788-1868) and the Limits of Democratization in the Early Republic,” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1994), passim. Timothy Earl Fulop, “Elias Smith and the Quest for Gospel Liberty: Popular Religion and Democratic Radicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century New England,” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992), passim; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), passim.

- 72 Nancy A. Hewitt, “Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Women's Rights in America,” *Feminist Studies* vol 12 no 1 (Spring 1986): 27-49. Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 123. For ways in which women (including Evangelicals) interpreted social and political power in the wake of the American Revolution see, Carol Weisbrod, “Family, Church, and State,” *Institute for Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Legal History Program: Working Papers*, vol 1 no 2 (1986): 3; Elizabeth Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: 1984), 344-345; Nancy Isenberg, “Pillars in the Same Temple and Priests of the Same Worship': Woman's Rights and the Politics of Church and State in Antebellum America,” *The Journal of American History* vol 85 no 1 (June 1998): 98-128; Clark, “Religion, Rights, and Difference,” 31-33. For effects of the Second Great Awakening on American culture and women see, Richard D. Birdsall, “The Second Great Awakening and the New England Social Order,” *Church History* vol 39 No 3 (September 1970): 345-364; Nancy F. Cott, “Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England,” *Feminist Studies* vol 3 no 1/2 (Autumn 1975): 15-29; Donald G. Mathews, “The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis,” *American Quarterly* vol 21 No 1 (Spring 1969): 23-43; Richard D. Shiels, “The Scope of the Second Great Awakening: Andover, Massachusetts, As a Case Study,” *Journal of the Early Republic* vol 5 No 2 (Summer 1985): 223-246.

tolerated the public ministry of women evangelists.⁷³ Largely forgotten today, the vociferous women preachers forged in the passionate spiritual crucible of the Second Awakening ignited the first national women's rights debate.⁷⁴

Nancy Towle (1796-1876) one of the most illustrious of the Second Awakening women preachers asked, “[r]especting the preaching of females, many object... [t]o such I would reply, 'Where did *Mary, Anna, Deborah, Miriam, Esther, &c. &c.* speak, –but in the church'?” Towle added, “May the Lord, raise up a host of *female warriors*,--that shall *provoke* the opposite *party*, from their *indolence*.”⁷⁵ Towle's compatriot Lorenzo Dow, an itinerant Methodist preacher and avid abolitionist encouraged her religious work and sanctioned women's public ministry. Dow noted, “why, a *female*, should not be accountable, to God, for her talents, and ministrations,--as the opposite *gender*,--I know not.”⁷⁶

Echoing Towle and Dow, Harriet Livermore, one of the most popular women preachers of the late 1820s and 1830s, emphasized the equality of men and

73 Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, chaps., 3-6; Louis Billington, “Female Laborers in the Church: Women Preachers in the Northeastern United States, 1790-1840,” *Journal of American Studies* vol 19 no 3 (December 1985): 378-379.

74 This right though cloaked in religious sentiment and considered (at least in the beginning) from within the context of what Nancy Isenberg calls, “ekklesia,” was variously noted as a call for the enlargement of women's gender role and the expansion of her activities in society. Although these women are not known to have advocated the right to vote, the rights they championed were nevertheless new rights and should not be dismissed as distinctly religious or compromised and therefore merely “domestic feminism.” If this interpretation were followed to its end then Elizabeth Cady Stanton and many of the later so-called mature secular women's rights proponents would have to be dismissed for their religious sermons in and out of the pulpit. See, Ann D. Gordon, ed., *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 73-85; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), passim; Isenberg, “Pillars,” 98-102; Clark, “Religion, Rights and Difference,” 33-34.

75 Nancy Towle, *Vicissitudes in the Experience of Nancy Towle in Europe and America* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: James L. Burges, 1833), 8-9.

76 Towle, *Vicissitudes*, introduction, “To the Public.”

women. A skilled sentimental orator, Livermore built on Transcendentalist and Second Awakening egalitarian ideals eventually linking women's rights (to preach and pursue social reform) with political reform and Indian assimilation. For American women Livermore anticipated a pending divine transformation, “[h]ow long, O Lord... ere women shall be clothed with the sun, walk upon the moon, and be crowned with Apostolick [sic] glory? Moreover, Livermore framed her role in this change as pointedly political:

I could almost desire a voice like Orpheus, the eloquence of Pitho, and Herculean strength, to call upon them, persuade and assist them in coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty⁷⁷

The civil rights rhetoric of Livermore's religious message prompted one contemporaneous critic to note, “the objection, after all, is not so much against female preachers, as against the doctrines which some of them may chance to advocate.”⁷⁸

77 Harriet Livermore, *A Narrative of the Religious Experience in Twelve Letters* (Concord, New Hampshire: Jacob B. Moore, 1826), 15-16.

78 C. C. Chase, “Harriett Livermore,” *Contributions of the Old Residents Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.* vol 4 no 1 (August 1888): 16-23; N.a., “Harriett Livermore,” *Little's Living Age* vol 10 (July, August, September 1868): 64; Gail Underwood Parker, *More Than Just Petticoats: Remarkable New Hampshire Women* (n.p.: Morris Book Publishing, 2009), 36-47; N.a., “A Large Audience Listened with a Good Deal of Interest to a Sermon Preached in the Representatives Hall on Tuesday Evening Last, by Miss. Harriet Livermore,” *New-Hampshire Statesman*, 20 June 1825; N.a., “Miss Livermore,” *Daily National Intelligence*, 12 January 1827; “From Our Correspondent,” *New-York Spectator*, 16 January 1827; N.a., “Miss Livermore the Preacher,” *Maryland Gazette*, 18 January, 1827; N.a., “Miss Harriet Livermore is Expected to Preach Next Sabbath at the Capital, at 11 O'clock,” *The Globe* (Washington, DC), 26 May 1832; N.a., “Miss Livermore, the Distinguished Quakeress Preacher, is about Visiting the eastern Continent, Particularly Jerusalem and other Places, which were the Scenes of the Most Important Events of Scripture History,” *Dover Gazette & Strafford Advertiser* (Dover, NH) 5 July 1836; N.a., “Women's Rights,” *The Emancipator* (New York, NY) 21 June 1838; N.a., “Harriet Livermore,” *New-York Spectator* (New York, NY) 24 October 1840.

In addition to Towle and Livermore, over one hundred evangelical women preachers joined male counterparts in proclaiming the Gospel at camp meetings, in private homes, churches and public meeting houses throughout the northeast.⁷⁹ But their zeal did not end there, between 1790-1845 a cohort of women preachers took their unique message to every corner of the Republic (and across the globe) traveling an annual preaching circuit that averaged several thousand grueling miles. Touting the standard Evangelical salvation tome, women preachers also advanced ideas about abolition, free love (consensual marriage), gender role reform and American Indian assimilation.⁸⁰

A smattering of women preachers served as elders, deacons, and pastors, however most women evangelists ministered to widely dispersed church communities.⁸¹ As passionate abolition and women's rights advocates, women

79 The scope of Second Awakening women preacher's ministries, both in terms of the number of women preachers and the geography covered can be inferred from Towle and Livermore's writings. Towle, *Vicissitudes*, 1-100; Livermore, *A Narrative*, 1-17.

80 Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 119-126; Billington, "Female Laborers," 378-379; Almond H. Davis, *The Female Preacher or Memoir of Salome Lincoln* (Boston: A. B. Kidder, 1843), 12-19, 34; Harriet Livermore, *Scriptural Evidence in Favor of Female Testimony in Meetings for Christian Worship* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: n.p., 1843) passim; Deborah Pierce, *A Scriptural Vindication of Female Preaching, Prophesying and Exhortation* (Auburn, New York: N. Roberts E. Burroughs, 1817) passim. Lorenzo Dow, *The Eccentric Preacher: or A Sketch of the Life of the Celebrated Lorenzo Dow* (Lowell, Massachusetts: E. A. Rice & co.: 1841), 182-204.

81 The argument has been made that only ordained male evangelical preachers conducted the ordinances of the church—namely baptism and communion. The evidence is not clear on who was qualified to administer church ordinances. One of the largest organized evangelical sects, the Freewill Baptist General Conference gave women laity full voting privileges in deciding church membership and held that even male deacons were not allowed to baptize or officiate at communion. Regarding evangelical preaching credentials, this would seem a moot point in that baptism and communion were considered symbolic and related to establishing church membership, whereas leading souls to a regenerating acceptance of Christ (being "saved") comprised the only recognized evangelical sacrament (medium by which God dispensed grace). N.a, *Minutes of the General Conference of the Freewill Baptist Connection* (Dover, New Hampshire: Wm., Burr, 1859), 62, 65, 80, 142; Billington, "Female Laborers," 380-381.

preachers had a profound influence on northern Evangelical church communities. The lasting legacy of this impact was a network of Evangelical congregations that shared or at least empathized with abolitionist, women's rights and Indian assimilation sentiments. These congregations would serve as safe-havens for later liberal women speakers on the emerging abolitionist/women's rights lecture circuit. Sadly, as pioneering advocates of Second Awakening gender egalitarianism, the Evangelical churches cultivated by women preachers were not able to stem the movement's later rejection of women preachers.⁸²

The push to end Evangelical women's ministry gained momentum by 1830 as new middle class converts embraced separate spheres ideology. Moving away from their egalitarian roots, middle class Evangelicals shunned the increasingly disturbing excesses of fringe Evangelical sects (such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the Christadelphians) and outspoken women preachers. With the ascension of middle class separate spheres ideology and its insistence on the appearance of female domesticity, fiery women preachers who dared to travel unchaperoned and speak before mixed sex audiences became a religious embarrassment.⁸³

82 Although women preachers and their missionary work/ministry had been largely expunged from the Freewill Baptist historical record by the late 1840s, a later history of male preachers who worked with them gives a fair indication of the extent to which many Second Awakening preachers mixed the politics of abolition with their gospel message. Selah Hibbard Barrett, *Memoirs of Eminent Preachers of the Free Will Baptist Denomination* (Rutland, Ohio: Selah Hibbard Barrett, 1874), 143-145, 188, 285-286. For a direct link between these early Evangelical abolitionist churches and their use by later liberal women abolitionist and women's rights lecturers see, N.a., "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society," *The Liberator*, 28 December, 1838.

83 Brekus, *Female Preaching*, 267-306; Billington, "Female Laborers," 391-394.

By the late 1840s almost all of the Evangelical denominations (with the exception of Seventh Day Adventists and a few others) banished women from public ministry.⁸⁴ Most early Second Awakening women preachers, already aged or retired to married life accustomed themselves to the change and adopted the new proprieties of middle-class Evangelism. Former women preachers transformed themselves into Sunday school teachers, church committee members and directors of church related charitable and missionary organizations. A handful of women preachers continued to preach as independent ministers and embraced careers as published authors, social activists and public lecturers.⁸⁵

From the mid 1830s the increasingly political ministries of these women had an important and largely overlooked influence on the way later liberal women activists approached public careers. This influence helped bridge the egalitarian and social justice idealism of women Evangelical activists with that of liberal women influenced by the Transcendentalist tradition.⁸⁶ Expressed in three key

84 Non-Evangelical women preachers continued ministries within the Congregationalist, Unitarian and Universalist as well as within other Christian movements. See, Brekus, *Stranger & Pilgrims*, 305-346; Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Daughters of Thunder: Black women Preachers and Their Sermons, 1850-1979* (San Francisco, California, : Jossey-Bass, 1998); Chanta M. Haywood, *Prophesying Daughters: Black Women Preachers and the Word, 1823-1913* (Columbia, Missouri, : University of Missouri Press, 2003); Fannie McDowell Hunter, *Women Preachers* (Dallas, Texas, : Berachah Printing Co., 1905), 43-98; Phebe A. Hanaford, *Daughters of America, or Women of the Century* (Boston, Massachusetts: 1883), 415-476.

85 Billington, "Female Laborers," 391-394; Brekus, "Female Preaching," 27-29.

86 It is important to note that while each group often shared Evangelical rhetoric most liberal women (with notable exceptions such as the Quaker lecturer Anna Dickinson) did not actively evangelize. However, it would be a mistake to distinguish these women as secular in that personal faith and a general sense of religious mission permeated their activities. Charles Wilbanks, ed., *Walking By Faith: The Dairy of Angelina Grimké, 1828-1835* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), chaps., 7-10, Beverly Wilson Palmer, ed., *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (Urbana: Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002), passim; Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman of the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994), chaps., 8-9.

areas of economic and social concern women preachers perfected a well publicized formula for self-promotion, public performance and remuneration that foreshadowed the formation of women's autonomous professions; established women's rights as a cultural prerogative; and advocated abolition and the assimilation of Plains Indians. For women preachers the coupling of slaves and Indians with women's rights helped diminish the charge of self-serving egalitarianism.⁸⁷

The ranks of popular women Evangelical preachers included Clarissa Danforth, Salome Lincoln, Almira Bullock, Hannah Fogg, Judith Prescott, Martha Spalding and Susan Humes. Among these Nancy Towle and Harriet Livermore were both representative and exemplary as notable bridges between Evangelical women preachers and liberal women.⁸⁸ Both shared an interest in expanded social roles for women, abolition and evangelizing American Indians, however, Livermore's solitary campaign for the Christianization of western “Jewish” Indians played a central role in turning the evangelical zeal of northern abolitionists toward the West and Plains Indians. In this context Towle and Livermore nourished significant intellectual and cultural trends among liberal American women.⁸⁹

87 Ellen C. Du Bois privileges suffrage within the women's rights movement. By fossilizing suffrage as the central political idea within the women's rights movement this approach removes it from causality and ignores the historical events that ultimately shaped a much later opportunistic strategy—an approach that subsumed a complex set of early women's rights goals within a unified suffrage platform. Ellen C. Du Bois, “The Radicalism of Woman Suffrage: Notes Toward the Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Feminism,” *Feminist Studies* vol 3 no 3 (1975): 63-71. A more historically complex and arguably compelling case is made in Clark, “Religion, Rights, and Difference,” 29-57.

88 Towle, *Vicissitudes*, 21-25.

89 Clark noted the logical fallacy in discounting historical causality in women's history. Clark, “Religion, Rights, and Difference,” 29-57.

Given the scholarly trajectory has steadily moved away from the traditional 1848 Seneca Falls narrative, it is curious that Towle and Livermore scholarship remains comparatively miniscule. More so that the egalitarian gender rights and Indian assimilation championed by each have been largely overlooked.⁹⁰ Recent work argues that in fact Towle and Livermore did not disappear from the American cultural scene and that their ideas continued to exert an influence on American attitudes about women's rights, slavery and Indians into the 1900s.⁹¹

Nancy Towle, Harriett Livermore and the Construction of American Indian

Religious History

Harriet Towle's public ministry began on April 20, 1821. During her eleven year sojourn Towle traveled over 20,000 miles preaching in both northern and southern states as well as in England and Ireland. In addition to solitary ministry at countless gospel meetings, camp revivals and hundreds of Evangelical churches, Towle joined other women preachers to conduct joint revivals.⁹²

Towle's most notable religious crusade spanned 1830-1832 when she traversed the Midwestern and southern states. In the South she forcefully denounced slavery warning southerners, "You are traveling down to hell."⁹³ Towle

90 Du Bois, "The Radicalism of Woman Suffrage," 63-71.

91 Judith Bledsoe Bailey, "Nancy Towle, 'Faithful Child of God', 1796-1876" (M.A. Thesis, The College of William and Mary), 2000. An ambitious undergraduate work that also tackles this subject is, Cindy J. Solomon, "From Pulpits to Polls: How Female Preachers Birthed the Women's Rights Movement," *Undergraduate Research Journal at UCCS*, Volume 2.1 (Spring, 2009): 1-18. The standard remains Clark, "Rights."

92 Towle, *Vicissitudes*, 18, 85; Billington, "Female Laborers," 189; Bailey, "Nancy Towle," chaps., 1-2.

93 Towle, *Vicissitudes*, 286.

also linked Indian and African American civil rights, asking “Will not the tawny Savage race/ And Afric's sable train/ God's word, and righteousness embrace/ Nor wear the slavish chain?”⁹⁴ Towle's life-long plea for Indian evangelization was discussed as late as 1893 in a syndicated newspaper article that compared her religious views with those of Harriet Livermore. Noting that Towle was a lifelong proponent of women's rights the article (almost certainly written by Livermore descendent Franklin Benjamin Sanborn) argued that Towle and Livermore were proponents of a radical civil rights agenda.⁹⁵

After retiring from the ministry in 1832 Towle moved to Hampton, New Hampshire where she wrote a lengthy memoir detailing her ideas about women's

94 Ibid., 256. Presented as a poem to a southern Methodist preacher. A brief survey reveals that *Vicissitudes* has remained in the public domain and of continuing intellectual interest since publication in 1833. See, N.a., *Catalogue of the Private Library of the Late Hon. Albert Gorton Greene* (New York, New York: n.p., 1869), 489. Green was a nationally known Providence Road Island judge and poet. For Greene see, Harry Thurston Peck ed., *The World's Great Master Pieces vol.14* (New York, New York: American Literary Society, 1899), 5333; N.a., *Catalogue of Recently Added Books, Library of Congress, 1873-1875* (Washington, D. C.,: GPO, 1876), 145; N.a., *Catalogue of the Private Library of Samuel Gardner Drake, A. M.* (Boston, Massachusetts: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1876), 515. Drake was a noted American antiquarian and American and Indian historian. For Drake see, John Hannibal Sheppard, *A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake* (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1863); N.a., *Catalogue of the American History Library of Alfred S. Manson* (Boston, Massachusetts: The Libbie Snow Print, 1899), 215. Snow was a Boston school book publisher. For Snow see, *The School Journal* vol.63 (1901): 445. N.a., *Bulletin of Books Added to the Public Library of Detroit* (Detroit, Michigan: O. S. Gulley, Borman & Co, 1899), 174; N.a., *Bulletin of the New York Public Library, vol.13*, (New York, New York: N.p., 1909), 223, and N. a., “Books Wanted—Shepard Book Co., Salt Lake City, Utah” *The Publishers Weekly* vol.79 (1911): 60. Towle's description of her encounter with the early Mormon faithful in Missouri also made *Vicissitudes* a subject of interest for Church of Latter Day Saints writers and historians. See, M. Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism, 1816-1844* (Longwood, Florida: Xulon Press, 2005), 309-310.

95 Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's relation to Nancy Towle and civil rights is noted in, Benjamin Franklin Sanborn, *Sixty Years of Concord, 1855-1915* (Hartford, Connecticut: Transcendental Books, 1976), 12; and in Kenneth Walter Cameron ed., *The Transcendental Eye: Historical Papers Concerning New England and Other Points on a Great Circle* (Hartford, Connecticut: Transcendental Books, 1980), 8, 19-26. In the concluding paragraph of *Vicissitudes* Towle refers to Mary Wollstonecraft's work by title, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, (London, England: J. Johnston, 1796). See, Bailey, “Nancy Towle,” Conclusion.

religious, social, economic and political rights.⁹⁶ Although recent scholarship claims Towle's influence faded by 1830, in fact her memoir, *Vicissitudes* has remained in constant circulation since 1833.⁹⁷ For decades after her death, Towle's publications continued to perfume American society with forceful religiously oriented arguments in favor of abolition, women's rights and expanded Indian missionary work.⁹⁸ In this capacity Towle spanned the historical era that immediately preceded and followed the rise of the American middle class. As a recent Towle scholar noted, "Nancy Towle bridged the ideological gap between the evangelicals and the woman's rights activists."⁹⁹

Harriet Livermore began her public ministry following a conversion experience in 1821 and proved such a popular preacher that she eventually propelled her ministry into the United States Congress. Livermore delivered widely reported sermons on social, civil and Indian rights before the assembled U. S. Congress on four different occasions spanning 1827-1839. Livermore, scion of a noted political family, gained the patronage of John Tyler, Dolly Madison, Andrew Jackson and the qualified admiration of John Quincy Adams. Like Towle, Livermore's ministry excoriated slavery, championed expanded roles for women

96 Towle's works are listed and discussed in Bailey, "Nancy Towle," passim.

97 See fn 66.

98 The extent of Evangelical women's publication reached well beyond Towle and Livermore. Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers & Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 255-264. It is noteworthy that the Freewill Baptist Convention did not address slavery until 1835. See, N.a, *Minutes of the General Conference of the Freewill Baptist Connection* (Dover, New Hampshire: Wm., Burr, 1859), 141. This chronology argues against the contention that the women's rights movement coalesced from the experiences of women abolitionists.

99 Bailey, Introduction.

and promoted Indian evangelization. However, where Tole's concern for saving Indian souls reflected established sentiment, the scope of Livermore's concern was epic. From 1831 Livermore preached that American Indians were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and were destined to recolonize Palestine.

Scholars have speculated that Livermore became acquainted with the Jewish/Indian theory through contact with Joseph Wolff, a popular Jewish convert, charismatic preacher and Evangelical compatriot. Given that Wolff categorically rejected the Jewish/Indian postulate during his 1838 American tour, he seems an unlikely prospect.¹⁰⁰ Another stronger candidate was Livermore acquaintance Ga-la-gi-noh, the Cherokee god-son and religious disciple of Continental Congress president Elias Boudinot. The elder Boudinot was an outspoken life-long proponent of the Jewish/Indian theory. To this end Boudinot published an elaborate theological work in 1816 that argued American Indians were descendents of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel and were destined to play a central role in millennial eschatology.¹⁰¹

As Boudinot's religious protege, Ga-la-gi-noh adopted his god-father's Jewish/Indian theology himself becoming a vociferous proponent of the Jewish/Indian theory. Evidence indicates that Ga-la-gi-noh (who assumed his god-

100 Joseph Wolff, *Travels and Adventures of Rev. Joseph Wolff* (London, England: Saunders, Ofley and Co. 1861), 512, 518. In 1831 Livermore tied her version of the Jewish/Indian theory to Wolff's millennial ideology. See, Harriet Livermore, *Millennial Tidings* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Harriet Livermore, 1831), 58.

101 Edward Everett Dale, "Letters of the Two Boudinots," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 6 (September 1928), 333-334. Livermore referenced a later meeting in 1834, but given Ga-la-gi-noh's sojourns to Washington during the Cherokee removal crisis it is likely that the two met around 1830 during his eastern lecture tour. Harriet Livermore, *The Harp of Israel, to Meet the Loud Echo in the Wilds of America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. Rakestraw, 1835), 1-12.

father's name in 1819) and Livermore subsequently discussed the Jewish/Indian theory at an 1830 meeting.¹⁰² Captivated, Livermore was most intrigued with how the elder Boudinot situated Jewish/Indians within Christian millennialism. According to Boudinot's explication fulfillment of biblical prophecy required wholesale Indian conversion to Christianity and mass migration to Palestine. Once removed to the Holy Land, Christian Indians would then capture the temple mound, rebuild the ancient Jewish temple and initiate Christ's earthly thousand year reign.¹⁰³

From late 1830 Livermore immersed herself in the extant literature on Indian origins mastering both secular and religious arguments favoring the Jewish/Indian theory.¹⁰⁴ By 1831 Livermore's public testimony became a powerful mainstream Evangelical counter-balance to Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints founder Joseph Smith's unorthodox formulation of the Jewish/Indian theory. Where Smith claimed a divine revelation for his Jewish/Indian assertions,

102 Livermore, *Harp*, 1-12, 169-180. Elias Boudinot, *Star in the West, A Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* (Trenton, New Jersey: D. Fenton, S. Hutchinson, and J. Dunham, 1816). As early as 1819 Ga-la-gi-noh styled himself "Elias Boudinot." See, "Extracts of a Letter of the Hon. Elias Boudinot, L. I. D. President of the American Bible Society," *Concord Observer* (New Hampshire) 26 April, 1819, p.4. By 1823 Ga-la-gi-noh publicly advanced the argument that American Indians were descended from ancient Jewish migrants. See, "Letter from an Indian," *New-Hampshire Repository* 31 March, 1823, p.49. Two years before meeting Livermore, Ga-la-gi-noh was well acquainted with the ideas of Joseph Wolff. See, "A Christian Jew," *Cherokee Phoenix* 10 April, 1828; "Latest From Mr. Wolef," *Cherokee Phoenix*, 4 June, 1828.

103 Elias Boudinot (Ga-la-gi-noh) became the editor of the first Cherokee newspaper, *Cherokee Phoenix* in 1826. A survey of *The Phoenix* during the young Boudinot's tenure reveals his deep fascination with Jewish and Muslim theology, Middle Eastern history and Christian millennialism. *Cherokee Phoenix*, 1826-1832, passim.

104 Livermore encountered the *Book of Mormon* in 1830, but was not convinced of its validity. By her own account, she only accepted the Jewish/Indian theory as articulated by Elias Boudinot. Hoxie, "Harriet Livermore," 44; Harriet Livermore, *The Harp of Israel, to Meet the Loud Echo in the Wilds of America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. Rakestraw, 1835), 1-12, 169-180.

Livermore's formulation was grounded in the contemporaneous scientific findings of philology, anthropology and ethnology.¹⁰⁵

Inspired by the millennialism of Joseph Wolff who predicted that Christ would return in 1847, Livermore began a frantic public campaign to Christianize American Indians and pack them off to Palestine.¹⁰⁶ Tapping the mid-nineteenth century American millennial fascination, in 1832 Livermore delivered a passionate sermon before the U.S. Congress pleading the urgent need for Indian conversion and migration. In attendance was President Andrew Jackson who saw in Livermore's scheme a corollary to his own Indian removal effort. Jackson agreed to bankroll Livermore's western evangelistic venture. In addition to helping Livermore plan her route, Jackson also directed General William Clark in St. Louis to extend his help.¹⁰⁷

105 Through textual analysis the author has discovered that Livermore used two matching sections from Smith and Priest's studies included in the *Harp of Israel's* afterward. Notably, Livermore utilized a philological list compiled from the works of Boudinot, Adir and Johnson that purported to show a relationship between Indian and Hebrew words. See, Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews* (Poultney, Vermont: Smith and Shute, 1823), 86-90; Josiah Priest, *Wonders of Nature and Providence Displayed* (Albany, New York: H. and H. Rosford, 1825), 299-302. For a discussion of the Jewish/Indian theory's prominence in Nineteenth-Century America see, Curtis Dahl, "Mound-Builders, Mormons, and William Cullen Bryant," *The New England Quarterly* vol 34 no 2 (June 1961):187-188 fn10; Barbara Alice Mann, *Native Americans Archaeologists, & the Mounds* (New York, New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 9-20. By the late 1840s the Jewish/Indian theory fell out of archeological and popular favor. See, Terry A. Barnhart, *Ephraim George Squier and the Development of American Anthropology* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), chaps. 1-3; Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound-Builders* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), chaps., 1-2, 10; Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America* (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1968), chaps. 1-3.

106 For Joseph Wolff and his millennial views see, Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara* (Harrison and Co., 1845); Joseph Wolff, *Travels and Adventures of Rev. Joseph Wolff* (London, England: Saunders, Otley and Co., 1861); *Observer and Telegraph* (Hudson, Ohio) 30 September, 1830. For how Wolff's ideas influenced Harriet Livermore's millennial theology see, Harriet Livermore, *Millennial Tidings vol.1-4* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Harriet Livermore, 1831).

107 "Miss Harriet Livermore," *Brother Jonathan* vol 2 no 14 (July 1842): 381. For the era's

Livermore's western venture placed her among the Osage encamped outside Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. As a missionary Livermore became known among the Indians as “*wahconda's* [sic] *wakko*” (God's woman), however as a zealous millennialist who advanced an improbable Indian colonization scheme she was known to the U. S. Indian agents as a meddling devil. Relations between Livermore and the agents became so strained that in a spiteful attempt to drive her away they pilfered her meager belongings.¹⁰⁸ Accepting the doom of her western mission, Livermore returned to the East Coast for a whirlwind speaking tour touting the need for Indian evangelization. With funds solicited from devoted supporters Livermore immigrated to Jerusalem in 1833 with the intention of establishing a colony in the Holy Land for American Indian converts.¹⁰⁹ Palestinian officials likewise proved hostile. By 1837 a penniless Livermore abandoned her dilapidated and uninhabited Palestinian Indian colony and returned to North

millennial craze see, Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present* (New York, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 1-148; Hilton Obenzinger, “Holy Land Narrative and American Covenant: Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk and the Palestine Mission,” *Religion & Literature* vol 35 no 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 2003): 241-267; Robert K. Whalen, “Christians Love the Jews! The Development of American Philo-Semitism, 1790-1860,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* vol 6 no 2 (Summer 1996): 225-259; and George Elliot's popular “Zionist” period novel, *Daniel Deronda* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1984), chaps. 52-70.

108 “Miss Livermore's Second Letter,” *Brother Johnathan* vol 2 no 15 (August 1842): 409; Hoxie, 44. For the term *wahconda's* [sic] *wakko* see, Harriet Livermore, *The Counsel of God* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1844), 184. For a scholarly explication of Osage cosmology and spirituality see, A. Bailey, ed., *The Osage and the Invisible World: From The Works of Francis La Flesche* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), passim. The story of Livermore's robbery at Ft. Leavenworth is related in, Charles Francis Adams ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* vol 10 (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1876), 6-8.

109 Clara Endicot Sears, *Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), *Introduction*.

America.¹¹⁰ Livermore's childhood friend, Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier arranged lectures in Pennsylvania and Washington, D. C. to help her meet existing debts and fund future evangelical work.¹¹¹

Between 1837 and 1849 Livermore returned to Palestine two more times. During her travels Livermore lectured on behalf of American Indian conversion and colonization on both sides of the Atlantic.¹¹² In 1849, following Livermore's return to the U. S., she published *Addresses to the Dispersed of Judah*, a work that zealously promoted Indian/Jewish Zionism. Intellectually a work that straddled the 1846 formation of the American Missionary Association, *Addresses* sheds light on the Second Awakening millennial oeuvre and the Jewish/Indian theory's important role in casting evangelical affections westward.¹¹³

Equally important, Livermore's work reflected an ideological shift among American antiquarians and anthropologists who from the late 1840s distanced themselves from the Jewish/Indian and related ocean migration theories. Giving

110 "Miss Livermore's Second Letter," *Brother Jonathan*.

111 Both Pennsylvania and Washington would become hotbeds for Indian benevolence work among liberal and Evangelical women by the late 1860s. See, "The Original Indian Association," *Christian Union* 6 October, 1887, p.346.

112 These were clearly distinguished as lecture tours, not preaching tours. Although the lectures were riddled with Livermore's take on the Jewish/Indian theory and millennialism, they were delivered to public as opposed to strictly religious audiences. Livermore's lectures were paid affairs. For one lecture in Pennsylvania Livermore earned \$150. The scope of her lecture tours encompassed both the urban North and southern population centers. Rebecca Ingersoll Davis, *Gleanings From Merrimac Valley* (Portland, Maine: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1881), 326-327; "Brooklyn, L. I., July 27th, 1842," *Brother Jonathan* vol 2 no 16 (1842): 436-437; "Harriet Livermore, Diseases," *Boston Weekly Magazine* vol 3 no 4 (October 1840): 29-30; "Harriet Livermore," *Southern Literary Messenger* vol 6 no 9 (September 1840):675-676.

113 As an interdenominational organization attracting the support of both Evangelical and non-Evangelical abolitionists, the AMA foreshadowed the 1878-1879 interdenominational Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association. See, Augustus Field Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (Boston, Massachusetts; The Pilgrim Press, 1909), chaps., 1-2; "The Original Indian Association," p.346.

ground and demonstrating political savvy, Livermore's 1849 publication equivocated on the matter casting the Jewish/Indian theory as a possibility rather than fact. In cultural terms Livermore's national engagement with the subject helped cement the dual agenda of civilizing and saving western Indians into the Evangelical and northern liberal ethos. Over the next four decades this agenda permuted into civilizing Indians in order to save them from extinction. Through it all Indian assimilation advocates never lost Livermore's driving sense of millennial urgency.¹¹⁴

In the late 1860s Livermore retired from preaching, lecturing and publication. Her sixteenth and final book, *Thoughts on Important Subjects* was published in 1864.¹¹⁵ Four years later Livermore died in a Philadelphia alms house. During her almost five decades of public activity Livermore's work fanned the flames of the era's millennialist interest in American Indians and helped keep the cause of their Christianization alive well into the Twentieth Century.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately, disdain for the religious nature of Livermore's activities has contributed to her historical obscurity. In spite of the fact that Livermore's publications continued to solicit interest some three decades after her death, scholars dismiss her as a woman “forgotten by the American public, even by the

114 Harriet Livermore, *Addresses to the Dispersed of Judah* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: L. R. Bailey, 1849).

115 A complete list of Livermore's publications can be found in, Brekus, *Strangers*, 426-427.

116 Contemporaneous Evangelical literature was rife with the Jewish/Indian association, much of it gleaned from Elias Boudinot's 1816 publication. Given the widespread acceptance (or at least consideration) of the Jewish/Indian theory, Livermore's campaign was far from eccentric or outside the mainstream of mid Nineteenth-Century Evangelical thought. See, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, *Traits of the Aborigines of America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: University Press, 1822), 17-18.

women who followed her into the pulpit.”¹¹⁷ Livermore was not roundly loved, she had a quick often violent temper and her zealotry was stringent if not at times cruel, but to be unloved is not the same as to be forgotten. Livermore's often caustic personality was not missed, but her religious zeal and egalitarian idealism proved transcendent. In this context Livermore and Towle each played important roles in shaping two of the most persistent features of post bellum United States Indian policy: Indian Christianization and assimilation.¹¹⁸

On an individual level Livermore's lectures on behalf of wholesale Indian conversion and colonization truly transformed the personal into the political and helped situate late 1830s U. S. American Indian policy within the emerging realm

117 Brekus, *Strangers*, 18-19. Nancy Towle was well into her seventies and in 1869 suffered a broken thigh, moreover most of the women who Livermore preached with in the 1830s were either dead or infirm. Claiming Livermore was forgotten or shunned is hardly a fair assessment. See, “Accidents,” *New Hampshire Patriot*, 14 July 1869, p.3. Brekus ties Livermore's final days in an alms house to social and cultural invisibility. In fact, Livermore was supported in old age by family until she could no longer live on her own. Moreover, Livermore's financial difficulties were not unique for an elderly unmarried woman of her era. The alms house in question, Brockley, also served as the Philadelphia General Hospital and offered both a convalescent ward and a ward for the aged. Livermore's term there was comparable to contemporary nursing home care. See, Davis, *Gleanings.*, 33; N.a., “Harriet Livermore,” *Contributions of the Old Resident's Historical Association, Lowell, Massachusetts* vol 4 (August 1888): 30; Martin George Brunbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (Mount Morris, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), 189; James A. Poupard, *A History of Microbiology in Philadelphia, 1880 to 2010: Including a Detailed History of the Eastern Pennsylvania Branch of the American Society for Microbiology from 1920 to 2010* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Xlibris, 2010), 41-42; Robert A. Smith, *Smith's Handbook and Guide in Philadelphia: Containing a general view of the city; its government, public buildings, educational, literary, ecclesiastical, scientific, and benevolent institutions; places of public amusements, railroads, and routes from, and in the city; hotels, public parks and map* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: G. Delp, 1869), 33-34; Charles Karsner Mills, *The Philadelphia Alms House and the Philadelphia Hospital, from 1854-1908* (n. l. n.p., 1908), 1-3. Livermore insisted on a pauper's burial. Her dear friend, Mrs. Worrall claimed Livermore's body and had it buried in her own family plot without a headstone – as Livermore had wished. See Davis, *Gleanings.*, 33.

118 Early in life Livermore was diss-fellowshipped by the Quakers for striking a fellow believer during a religious argument. Livermore's tempestuous nature was legendary. See, N.a., “Harriet Livermore,” 18-20.

of Progressive Era social reform interests. Among the improvement efforts embraced by Livermore and many of her cohorts, Indian acculturation and removal remains the U. S. government's most intrusive and costly imperial venture. While the content of Indian acculturation would evolve over the next four decades, Livermore's own Indian appropriation nurtured cultural trends that would definitively tie post bellum women's rights proponents to the politics of Indian scholarship. Moreover, Livermore's success with Indian history publications paved the way for other marginalized women to gain unprecedented political influence through their own Indian scholarship.¹¹⁹

In addition to Towle and Livermore a host of liberal women outside the Evangelical fold sparked parallel venues for women's public activism beginning in the 1830s. These women composed a cadre of Quakers, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Spiritualists, Socialists, Atheists and Secularists. As Towle and Livermore's generation of women preachers faded into the new Evangelical domestic silence of the mid Nineteenth-Century, this new cadre of liberal women public speakers continued to build on the old Evangelical and Transcendentalist civil rights cause. Stripped of stifling Second Awakening patriarchal religious language and translated into the comparatively soothing mainstream rhetoric of Transcendentalist ethics, the rustic egalitarianism of Second Awakening Evangelical women was transfigured into the

119 Feminist scholars argue the personal is the political. See, Nancy Isenberg, "The Personal is Political: Gender, Feminism, and the Politics of Discourse Theory," *American Quarterly* vol 44 no 3 (September 1992): 449-458.

words and actions of a new generation of liberal women activists. Reminiscent of Livermore, these women set their feet on an historical path to Washington where they sought to hinge their own brand of abolition, women's rights and Indian acculturation to national action and political power.

Vocal Liberal Women Activists, Silent Conservative Benevolence Workers and the Fateful Anti-Removal and Anti-Slavery Petition Campaigns

Although the particular work of each often differed, liberal women activists advocated a general liberation ideology that reflected Transcendentalist women's assertion of an inherent right to individuality, competency and full social and political participation. Notable early liberal women activists and public speakers included Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910), Ernestine Potowski Rose (1810-1892), Angelina Grimké (1805-1879), Sarah Grimké (1792-1873), Clarina Howard Nichols (1810-1885), Maria W. Miller Stewart (1803-1879), Paulina Kellogg Wright Davis (1813-1876), Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793-1880), Abby Kelly Foster (1811-1887), and Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880).¹²⁰ Against this rising tide of

¹²⁰ Lydia Maria Child was an early leader of Transcendentalist women's thought. In 1836 Child published the first Transcendentalist novel/play titled "Philothea." Elizabeth Ann Bartlett, *Liberty, Equality, Sorority: The Origins and Interpretation of American Feminist Thought, Frances Wright, Sarah Grimké and Margaret Fuller* (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1994), 38-52; Carol A. Kolmerton, *The American Life of Ernestine L. Rose* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 28, 207, 218, 253, 42-43, 60, 62, 71, 72, 80, 84, 99, 154-155, 234; Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994), 123, 216-217; Beverly Wilson Palmer ed., *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press 2002), 417. Nancy Hewitt argues that post bellum women activists were divided between "benevolent," "perfectionists" and "ultraist" camps, however her schema still falls within a general division between silent conservative and outspoken liberal women. Where Hewitt and Lori Ginnzberg focus on social and economic forces driving various class divisions this dissertation focuses on divisions that shaped conservative and liberal women's political interests in slavery and Indians. See, Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984),

outspoken liberal women activists a reserved but influential confederation of conservative middle and upper class women benevolence workers emerged to challenge liberal women's social agendas and promiscuous presence in the public realm.¹²¹ Cheered by an allied body of like-minded men and women who adhered to separate spheres ideology, conservative women such as Catherine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney fostered a national debate that pitted their feminine modesty and equally modest reform initiatives against what they characterized as a strong-minded women's radical social revolution dedicated to abolition, miscegenation, free love, and civil strife.¹²²

Shunning public venues, Catherine Beecher used the printed word to rebuke outspoken liberal women and rally allies to her political cause. Beecher noted, “[a] woman may seek the aid of co-operation and combination among her own sex, to assist her in her appropriate offices of piety, charity, maternal and domestic duty,” but cautioned conservative women against action that, “throws a woman into the attitude of a combatant.” In particular Beecher warned women against public speaking, “because it draws them forth from their appropriate retirement, to expose themselves to the ungoverned violence of mobs, and the sneers and ridicule of

17-23, chaps., 1-4; and Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990) 1-10 and chaps. 1-3, 5.

121 While promiscuous generally meant mixed sex, more colorful and obvious interpretations were implied. Lerner, *Scholarship in Women's History*, 28, 59-60; Catherine E. Beecher, *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 98-105.

122 Karcher, *The First Woman*, 320-355; David Goodman Croly, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races Applied to the White and Negro* (New York, New York: H. Dexter, Hamilton & Co., 1864), 16-65; “Letter from Mr. Tappan,” *The Liberator* 14 September, 1833, p.147; “Refuge of Oppression,” *The Liberator* 20 July, 1835, p.121.

public places... to cheer up and carry forward the measures of strife.”¹²³

Angelina Grimké succinctly replied to Beecher's self-righteous quietism with a fiery monition of her own that galvanized liberal women activists, “While I live, and slavery lives, I must testify against it. If I should hold my peace, 'the stone would cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber would answer it.’”¹²⁴

Both conservative and liberal women agreed on some aspects of American social reform, however the possibility for cooperation ended with their respective public agendas. Regardless of overlapping moral convictions, the methodological divide separating antebellum conservative and liberal women corralled their work into irreconcilable camps.¹²⁵

Catherine Beecher's conservative class of women benevolence workers were distinguished from liberal women's rights and abolition advocates by their adherence to a silencing public decorum dictated by separate spheres ideology. In theory middle class women were relegated to the quiet role of domestic consumer, comforting wife and altruistic mother. As self-styled house matrons and champions of their own meekness, the public silence claimed by conservative women served more as a middle and upper-class pedigree than as a mark of refined womanhood.

123 Catherine E. Beecher, *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 102-103.

124 Larry Ceplair, *The Public and Private Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimké: Selected Writings, 1835-1839* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 338.

125 Lori Ginzburg looks at women's benevolent activities through a wide social and class lens demonstrating a broad range of women's social and political agendas. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence.*, 1-10 and chaps. 1-3, 5; Alisse Portnoy, *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates* (Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 2005), chap. 1-3; Helen R. Deese ed., *Daughter of Boston: The Extraordinary Diary of a Nineteenth-Century Woman Caroline Healey Dall* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005), 93, 106-107, 240-241, 244.

The constraints of this silent social affectation shackled the public voices of conservative women and relegated their political activism to male proxies and publication.¹²⁶ Beecher and her compatriot's defining public silence is born out in a study by Alisse Portnoy which suggests that all antebellum conservative women were ultimately defined by their refusal or at least grave reluctance to speak before public and mixed sex audiences.¹²⁷

For each group the stakes were high, indeed their disagreement over women's proper social and political roles drove a raging ideological war that came to define the causes to which each were most closely aligned. The breach that developed between these women explains two important long-term developments within the liberal women's camp. Namely, why liberal women activists originally turned their Indian assimilation interests toward the American West, and how their early concern for civilizing and Christianizing western Indians eventually blossomed into a definitive post bellum political movement.

Two key factors drove Indian assimilation to the background of liberal women's national agenda – at least until after the Civil War. The first was the ongoing cultural dispute concerning women's proper political and social role in the

126 Even John Quincy Adams made a distinction between the radical rights endorsed by liberal women and conservative women's petitioning. Though Adams supported liberal women's Anti-Slavery petition work, he did not endorse their larger women's rights agenda. Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 64-74.

127 Alisse Theodore Portnoy, "Female Petitioners can be Lawfully Heard': Negotiating Female Decorum, United States Politics, and Political Agency, 1829-1831," *Journal of the Early Republic* vol 23 no 4 (Winter 2003):573-610. Conservative women at least initially claimed the right to petition based on an older tradition. Richard C. Rohrs, "Public Attention for... Essentially Private Matters': Women Seeking Assistance from President James K. Polk," *Journal of the Early Republic* vol 24 no 1 (Spring 2004): 107-123.

republic. The second concerned the unattractiveness of the Indian as a metaphor for liberal women and their reform goals. Nowhere were these distinctions more clear than in the parallel Anti-Removal and Anti-Slavery campaigns of 1829-1838.

The conservative women's Indian Anti-Removal campaign was effectively an extension of the 1818 Anti-Removal campaign. A reaction to President James Monroe's interest in removing Southern Indians West of the Mississippi, the 1818 campaign conjoined Quakers and the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in a counter ploy. The 1818 Anti-Removal campaign promoted a nationalized assimilation program intended to help southern Indians retain their traditional homelands.¹²⁸ Anti-Removal efforts lead to passage of the 1819 Indian Civilization Fund Act, which empowered the president to “employ capable people” (Quaker and ABCFM missionaries) to implement Indian acculturation. The Act also provided for an annual \$10,000 stipend rarely appropriated by Congress. As a centralized approach to Indian policy, the Civilization Fund was the first attempt at an organized federal Indian assimilation program.¹²⁹

Making use of the opportunity, Quakers and the ABCFM raised funds for

128 “By Authority, James Monroe,” *City of Washington Gazette* 30, December, 1817, p.2; “Memorial of the Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends, in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Praying the Adoption of Measures for Civilization and Improvement of the Indians,” *Senate Document* No.47, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, December 23, 1818, 1-3. For the ABCFM see, Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and The Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1869* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asian Research Center Harvard University, 1969), passim.

129 *An Act Making Provision for the Civilization of the Indian Tribes Adjoining the Frontier Settlements*, *U. S. Statutes at Large* 3 (1819): 516-517. John A. Andrew, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), 95-100.

Indian missions and propelled a throng of proselytizers southward to assimilate the so-called savage Indians.¹³⁰ Quakers raised well over \$30,000 for the effort with the ABCFM coming a close second at \$20,000. Lagging in funds and fearing Quaker domination of the venture, the ABCFM shrewdly authorized women missionaries for the first time in its history. The ABCFM's tactic in this matter further facilitated public identification of women with Indian politics and social intervention.¹³¹

A well documented course of events reveals that these assimilation efforts came into irreconcilable conflict with the land interests of Southern states by the late 1820s and facilitated Congressional Indian removal debates between 1826-1830. Anticipating the legislative success of Pro-Removal forces, the ABCFM under direction of general secretary Jeremiah Evarts launched a national campaign to once again thwart Indian removal.¹³² But unlike 1818-1819, political conditions were quite different and while religious organizations had expended tens of thousands of dollars on Indian missionary work, the Southern states (particularly Georgia), with enthusiastic Presidential support, were determined to proceed with removal. It was a trying time for American assimilationists whose very fortunes and national influence were on the line.¹³³

130 Andrew, 96.

131 "A Chronology of Major Events in the History of Friends and Native Americans: Accompanied by a Brief Bibliography," *Friends Committee on National Legislation* (2007): 2; Andrew, 97.

132 Andrew, 133-199.

133 For the Anti-Removal campaign see, Andrew, chaps., 6-8; Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History* vol 86 no 1 (June 1999): 15-40. For the Indian Removal debate (1826-1830) see: "Letter from the Secretary of War, to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Accompanied by a Bill for the Preservation and Civilization of the Indian Tribes

Reflecting the ABCFM's fear of impending failure, especially the loss of capital raised and expended by conservative women, Evarts enlisted the help of conservative benevolence champion Catherine Beecher who in concert with her ally Lydia Sigourney fashioned a national women's Anti-Removal petition campaign. From the beginning this campaign would be socially and politically demure.¹³⁴

When Beecher and Sigourney agreed to inaugurate a women's Anti-Removal campaign they were so afraid of male criticism that with Evarts complicity they limited their efforts to an anonymous petition drive.¹³⁵ Popularly

Within the United States,” *House Document No. 102*, 19th Congress, 1st Session, February 3, 1826, 1-22; “Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting, in Obedience to a Resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 20th Dec. Last, Information in Relation to the Disposition of the Several Tribes of Indians, to Emigrate West of the Mississippi,” *House Document No. 28*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, January 2, 1827, 1-13; “Emigration of the Indians West of the Mississippi,” *Indian Affairs No. 245*, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, January 3, 1827, 1-4; “Indians Removing Westward,” *House Report No. 56*, 20th Congress, 1st Session, January 7, 1828, 1-4; “Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting the Information Required by a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 22nd Ultimo, in Relation to the Tribes and Parts of Tribes of Indians that have Removed to the West of the Mississippi River, their Location, &c.,” *House Document No. 233*, 20th Congress, 1st Session, March 29, 1828, 1-6; “n.t.,” *Senate Document No. 31*, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, January 8, 1829, 1; “Remove Indians Westward, with Bill no. 449,” *House Report No. 87*, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, February 18, 1829, 1-48; “Removal of Indians,” *House Report No. 227*, 21st Congress, 1st Session, February 24, 1830.

134 Since conservative benevolent women avoided public speaking, the women's Anti-Removal campaign relied on a network of male speakers and activists. Although liberal women activists relied on male cohorts they increasingly moved away from male collusion while conservative women moved closer. See, Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, & Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 24-25; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1973), 98-99; Hershberger, 25. For Lydia Sigourney's conservatism and relation to Beecher see, Hershberger, 17, fn5; L. H. Sigourney, *Letters to Young Ladies* (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837); and Sigourney, *Traits of the Aborigines of America*, passim. The Beecher-Sigourney petition drive is privileged here because through it opponents directly linked the conservative women's Anti-Removal cause to women's rights activists and abolitionists. For overviews of the larger campaign see, Andrew, passim; Portnoy, 573-610; and Hershberger, 15-40.

135 Beecher also campaigned for the cause through anonymous editorials. See, “To the Editor of the Phoenix,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, 12 February, 1831.

deemed *The Ladies' Circular*, the petition solicited the “benevolent women of the United States” and urged them to use “prayers and exertions to avert the calamity of removal.” Promoted through Christian journals and women's benevolent societies, Beecher and Signourney's effort was eventually assumed by the Ladies Association for Supplicating Justice and Mercy Toward the Indians.¹³⁶ In calling women to benevolent political action *The ladies' Circular* urged supporters to exercise caution in their public activities, “[l]et every woman... exert that influence in society that falls within her lawful province... in behalf of this people that are ready to perish.”¹³⁷

Eventually garnering 1,500 signatures, the petition's rhetoric reflected standard ABCFM policy that denounced forced removal as counterproductive.¹³⁸ On a deeper level the women petitioners resented that their personal and financial efforts to acculturate the Indians would be erased with Indian removal West of the Mississippi – and purportedly back into uninhibited “savagery.” Ramped into high gear between 1830-1831, attracting even the attention of emerging abolitionist leaders who drew parallels between government Indian policy and slavery, the Anti-Removal campaign suffered a fatal blow with Jeremiah Evarts sudden death in

136 Hershberger, 27.

137 N. a., “Circular Addressed to the Benevolent Ladies of the United States,” *Christian Advocate and Journal* (December 1829): 65-66.

138 The petitions themselves reveal that no movement can be reduced to absolutes, among the women who signed the famous Steubenville Anti-Removal petition was outspoken women's rights supporter Sarah Spencer. See, “Ohio, Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, Ohio, Against the Forcible Removal of the Indians Without the Limits of the United States,” *House Report No. 209*, 21st Congress, 1st Session, February 15, 1830.

1831.¹³⁹ Evart's passing silenced the Beecher-Sigourney effort. Not only did Beecher lose her patron, she also lost her public voice.¹⁴⁰

In contrast, the liberal women's abolition campaign was a broad based effort encompassing a wide range of liberal women that lasted well into the Civil War.¹⁴¹ Notably, the intensity of liberal women's abolition zeal propelled its advocates well beyond forms of influence that most conservative women deemed within their "lawful province." The work of women in several states, liberal women's abolition campaign framed its fight against slavery in apocalyptic imagery that rejected all gendered attempts to impose silence or restraint. As one woman contributor to the abolitionist journal *The Liberator* noted, "I am not bound to conciliate the affections of any man... [m]ay those who go forth to fight our battles, instead of being intimidated by the number of our enemies, consider that there is no restraint with God."¹⁴²

Key national women's abolition organizations were established in Rhode

139 Linda Kerber, "The Abolitionist Perception of the Indian," *The Journal of American History* vol 62 no 2 (September 1975): 271-295; Gerard N. Magliocca, "The Cherokee Removal and the Fourteenth Amendment," *Duke Law Journal* vol 53 no 3 (December 2003): 879-919. "The late Jeremiah Evarts Esq." *Cherokee Phoenix* 28 May, 1831; "We Insert Today Some Accounts of this Great and Good Man," *Cherokee Phoenix* 2 July, 1831; "The Late Mr. Evarts," *Cherokee Phoenix* 2 July, 1831. The Ladies Association for Supplicating Justice and Mercy Toward the Indians (LASJMTI) disappeared from the historical record after 1830. The author believes the last known public mention of the LASJMTI was, "Congressional Senate," *Hudson (Ohio) Western Intelligencer*, 12 March, 1830, p.3.

140 Portnoy, 95-96, Hershberger, 26-28, Andrew, 251-262.

141 The abolitionist movement was more complex than the division addressed in this study. For a broad view of the various conservative, moderate, and radical abolitionist factions see, Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), passim. For women and abolition see, Jean Fagan Yellin and Van Horne, John C., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994).

142 N.a., "Mandate!" *The Liberator*, (Boston, MA) December 19, 1835.

Island (1832), Massachusetts (1833), Pennsylvania (1833), and New York (1835). Of these the Philadelphia Women's Anti-Slavery Society exercised considerable influence as host of both the second and final national women's anti-slavery conventions in 1838 and 1839 respectively. Philadelphia women would prove crucial to the success of the women's anti-slavery movement for it was among these women that ties were forged across traditional boundaries uniting the interests of Evangelical and liberal women.¹⁴³ This important organizational pattern would most notably repeat among Pennsylvania women in 1854, 1859, 1868, 1878 and 1882.¹⁴⁴

Early on women in the American abolitionist movement realized the impact of imagery, specifically that of the “speechless agony of the fettered slave.”¹⁴⁵ Borrowed from British abolitionists the chained slave image became a powerful emblem for American liberal women activist. Angelina Grimké noted “Until the pictures of the slave's sufferings were drawn and held up to public gaze, no northerner had any idea of the cruelty of the system.” At the first women's anti-slavery convention in 1837 a resolution noted, “we regard anti-slavery prints as

143 Yellin, Van Horne, *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, xv-xvii, passim; Ira V. Brown, “Am I Not a Woman and a Sister? The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, 1837–1839,” *Pennsylvania History* vol 50 (January 1983): 1–19; Dorothy Sterling, *Turning the World Upside Down: The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women* (New York, New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1987), *introduction*, passim.

144 In Philadelphia the interdenominational/nondenominational Progressive Friends sect was established in 1854, the interdenominational American Indian Aid Association was founded in 1859, the evangelical (Episcopal) Indian Hopes Association in 1868, the interdenominational Indian Treaty and Promise Keeping Association in 1878 and the non-sectarian National Women's Indian Association in 1881-1882.

145 Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989), 25.

powerful auxiliaries.” Noted women's rights advocate Lydia Maria Child made the tie explicit in 1838, “Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.” The chained slave would prove such a powerful metaphor for their own political goals that women's rights proponents would continue to employ the imagery for almost a decade after the Civil War. Indeed as with their contemporaries Nancy Towel and Harriett Livermore, liberal women were associated with a political agenda that encompassed both African Americans and European American women.¹⁴⁶

Yet as attractive as the slave metaphor proved for liberal women, the vanishing Indian was equally unattractive. Though Child and a handful of liberal women publicly supported the Anti-Removal campaign, antebellum women's rights advocates did not adopt American Indian imagery for their movement. Widely seen as a free, but backward people unable to meet their own needs or make useful contributions to the Nation, Indians were generally considered an impotent dwindling race. Thus while roundly pitied, the “cowed Indian” dependent on European American male magnanimity proved a repulsive image for liberal women.¹⁴⁷

146 Yellin, *Women & Sisters.*, 3, 5, 21, chaps., 1-4.

147 American Indians were routinely depicted as a dwindling, dying race on its way to extinction. In contrast, African Americans were generally seen as a vital, prolific race. Neither the so-called disappearing Indian nor the multiplying African American endeared either group to a majority of Americans. However, of the two African Americans – at least for liberal women and abolitionists – were seen as a race with a future. See, Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 45-68; Alisse Portnoy, *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 87-159. Portnoy groups conservative and liberal women based solely on their gender giving little attention to class and intellectual distinctions. Conservative and liberal women, though political opponents are made agents of a larger sisterhood. The evidence does not support an overarching gender approach to women and their activities in the Anti-Removal and Anti-

Abolitionist's conventions, meetings and lectures drew intense often heated public scrutiny, however the prime focus of their activities was the Anti-Slavery petition drive spanning 1830-1848, in which liberal women played a leading role.¹⁴⁸ Regardless of their locale, American women's Anti-Slavery groups and related organizations shared a common goal until 1848, namely securing federal legislation to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Heralded in Congress by John Quincy Adams, the Anti-Slavery petition campaign was crafted according to contemporaneous understanding of constitutional law, which held that Congress alone was vested with clear legal authority to abolish slavery in the federal district. It would be three more decades before the matter was resolved nationally through civil war and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.¹⁴⁹

Both abolitionist and Pro-slavery forces came to believe that success in the District of Columbia campaign would have national ramifications, providing in

Slavery campaigns.

148 N.a., "Rights of Women," *New-Hampshire Statesman and State Journal*, 28 July, 1838; N.a., "Political Support of Slavery," *The Anti-Slavery Quarterly Magazine* vol 8 (July 1837): 412-415; N.a., "Miss Grimke," *The Liberator* 9 March, 1838. Portnoy, *Their Right*, chap., 5; Yellin, 29-77. John Quincy Adams, *Speech of John Quincy Adams upon the Right of People to Petition* (New York, New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969) 1-121; Joseph Wheelan, *Mr. Adams Last Crusade: John Quincy Adams's Extraordinary Post-Presidential Life in Congress* (New York, New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 97-152; Angelina Emily Grimké, *Letters to Catherine E. Beecher* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), passim; Larry Ceplair, ed., *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimké: Selected Writings, 1835-1839* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), chaps., 3-5; Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman of the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994), 151-195.

149 Wheelan, *Mr. Adams*, chaps., 9-12. Mary Mitchell, "I Held George Washington's Horse': Compensated Emancipation in the District of Columbia," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* vol 63/65 (1963/1965): 221-229; N.a., "The Following Notice of Mr. John Q. Adams' Remarks upon the Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia which have Poured into Congress," *United States Telegraph* (Washington, D. C.) 18 January, 1836, pg.138; N.a., "Abolition in the District of Columbia," *The Globe* (Washington, D. C.) 3 May, 1836.

effect a blueprint for universal African American abolition and a path toward African American male suffrage. For abolitionists the prospect encouraged heroic determination, while for pro-slavery forces the spectator of freed federal district slaves provoked fanatical obstructionism. As the abolitionist's Congressional ally, John Adams proposed a politically savvy federal district compensated emancipation bill in 1838. In the face of intense pro-slavery opposition Adams quickly retreated on the matter. A decade later Adams' bill was proposed and almost as quickly withdrawn by Representative Abraham Lincoln. In the end the Anti-Slavery campaign was effectively unhinged from the D. C. abolition cause with the death of its principle congressional advocate, John Adams in 1848.¹⁵⁰

To the consternation of conservative women leaders of the Anti-Removal petition campaign, by 1831 the Indian cause, abolition and women's rights were popularly identified with liberal women. Specifically, the Indian campaign and the campaign to end slavery in the federal district were widely considered the work of meddling northern women and their "Sunday school" cohorts.¹⁵¹ Public and political anxieties were pointedly expressed by future president John Tyler:

150 Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), 46; Wheelan, 225-244, 247-252.

151 Portnoy, "Female Petitioners," 573-610; Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women," 15-40. Ann Royall, "Anti-Slavery Convention," *Paul Pry* 31 October, 1835, pg.2.; Ann Royall, "Lo! The Poor Indians," *Paul Pry* 9 September, 1836, pg., 2; Ann Royall, "Church and State and the Western States," *The Huntress* 2 December, 1836, pg.,2; Ann Royall, "Speech of Mr. Bynum of North Carolina," *The Huntress* 11 March, 1837, pg.,1; Ann Royall, "The Globe and Church and State," *The Huntress* 6 may, 1837, pg., 2; Ann Royall, "The Abolitionists," *The Huntress* 28 April, 1838, pg., 2; Ann Royall, "Abolitionists 'Worlds Convention and Baltimore Sun," *The Huntress* 12 September, 1840, pg., 2; Ann Royall, "John Quincy Adams," *The Huntress* 15 October, 1842, pg.,1.

Woman is to be made the instrument of destroying our political paradise, the Union of these states; she is to be made the presiding genius over the councils of insurrection and discord, she is to be converted into a fiend, to rejoice over the conflagration of our dwellings and the murder of our people¹⁵²

In fact, political fear regarding the momentum of women's abolition activities provoked legislative opponents to impose a gag on further Congressional Anti-Slavery debate.¹⁵³ By 1835 women's Anti-Slavery petitioning had become so politically provocative that conservative women denounced all female political activity at the national level and cast a weary eye toward further action on behalf of American Indian causes.¹⁵⁴

Such ideological and gendered anxieties most notably played out in the slavery debates that rocked the early interdenominational tendencies of the ABCFM and Baptist (non-Calvinist) denominational communion. Within the ABCFM, abolitionist oriented Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists joined with abolitionist Evangelicals to denounce the organization's equivocal stance on the use of slave labor by southern Indians and in the southern missions.¹⁵⁵ Against this

152 Yellin, *Women & Sisters.*, 3.

153 Wheelan, *Mr. Adams.*, 107-130, 145-146, 160, 256.

154 Catherine E. Beecher, *An Essay on Slavery and Abolition, with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1970). Historians have questioned Beecher's change of heart after leading the women's Anti-Removal petition campaign, however Beecher's new position did not reflect a sudden and inexplicable disgust with woman petitioning. Beecher's new stance was a reaction to the widespread perception that all women petitioners shared the same political goals and ideological allegiances.

155 N.a., n.t., *The American Slave Almanac* vol 1 no 3, (1839): 20-21, 26-27, 29; N.a., n.t., *The American Slave Almanac* vol 1 no 4 (1840): 7. Although a later publication, the citations purport to show the historical toleration or indifference toward slavery shown by Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

criticism ABCFM leadership steadfastly argued that slave labor was indispensable to southern missions and essential to Indian agriculture. In the face of ABCFM recalcitrance abolitionist members angrily came to interpret the organization's southern Indian assimilation work as pro-slavery.

The result of this heated internal debate eventually led to formation of the rival American Missionary Association (AMA) in 1846. Dedicated to abolition, the AMA refused to associate with slave-holders and to this end rejected missionary and assimilation work among the southern tribes. Turning its interests toward the non-slave holding western tribes, the AMA for a time channeled the flimsy northern (and women's) interest in American Indian assimilation westward.¹⁵⁶ Paltry Indian interests aside, by 1861 the AMA began to emphasize African American civil rights and by 1865 exclusively turned its attention to that goal. From 1869 the AMA attracted meager donations and little public interest, while President Ulysses S. Grant's Indian Peace Policy and the quasi-official Board of Indian Commissioners took over official efforts to Christianize and civilize western Indians.¹⁵⁷ From 1874

156 "We Give the Constitution of the 'American Missionary Association' Recently Adopted in Albany for the Information of Such as may be Interested in It," *Ohio Observer* 18 November, 1846; "American Missionary Association," *The Emancipator* 7 June, 1848; "American Missionary Association," *Emancipator and Free Soil Press* 20 September, 1848; "American Missionary Association," *The Weekly Herald* 13 May, 1854; "The New York Post Says at a Meeting of the American Missionary Association, Rev. J. P. Barnwell Reported a Horrible State of Things Among the Ojibway Tribe of Indians," *The Daily Scioto Gazette* (Chillicothe, Ohio) 12 October, 1854; Lewis Tappan, *History of the American Missionary Association: Its Constitution and Principles* (New York, New York: n.p., 1855), 67-96.

157 Frances Paul Prucha, *The Great Father* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 152-179; Joan Waugh, *U. S. Grant: American Hero, American Myth* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2009), 134-135; Tash Smith, "Grant's Peace Policy: Federal Indian Policy and the American Churches, 1869-1882" (master's thesis, North Dakota State University, 2004) passim. For a personal narrative relating a Quaker missionary's perspective on Grant's Peace Policy see, Lawrie Tatum, *Our red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John C. Winston & Co., 1899), chaps., 1-6.

the AMA found itself mired in debilitating controversy and never recovered its former influence.¹⁵⁸

The Baptist in turn were fractured by the machinations of an aggressive Kentucky missionary and political operative named Issac McCoy. An early opportunistic advocate of Indian Removal, McCoy pressed the emerging northern Baptist conventions to offer their support. Several Baptist state conventions, under McCoy's influence sent memorials to Congress in favor of removal, but all remained deeply divided on its morality. The same was true of the Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions (BGC FM). Though pressured into accepting removal as a potential boon for well placed Baptist missionaries, the BGC FM board retained grave moral doubts. Northern Baptist opinion remained so divided that Baptist leader Francis Wayland corresponded on the subject with the Baptist Anti-Removal camp asking for moral guidance.

As early as 1842 McCoy fostered ties with southern pro-slavery pro-removal Baptists and established the pro-removal American Indian Mission

158 Robert T. Lewit, "Indian Missions and Antislavery Sentiment: A Conflict of Evangelical and Humanitarian Ideals," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 50 no 1 (June 1963): 39-55; N.a., "Appeal of the American Missionary Association," *Vermont Chronicle* 13 August, 1861; "Since the Abolition of Slavery in Our Country, the American Missionary Association, Originally Operating Largely in Foreign Fields, has Naturally Turned Its Attention to the Wide Field for Missionary and Educational Efforts in the Southern States," *Lowell Citizen News* (Lowell, Massachusetts) 29 October, 1866; N.a., "American Missionary Association Its Present Need," *Vermont Chronicle* 30 September, 1865; N.a., "The American Missionary Association, Largely Devoting Its Efforts to the Education and Enlightenment of the Freedmen, is, Since the Abolishment of Slavery, the Most needful Missionary Organization in Our Country," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* (Lowell, Massachusetts) 24 May, 1869; N.a., "Secretary Stieby of the American Missionary Association Will Not Stand Silently By and have the Tribune Say That the Friends of the Black Man are Discouraged at His Slow Progress in Getting an Education and Otherwise Elevate Himself; That His Teachers Complain that Having Brought Him to a Certain Point They Can Neither Coax Nor Drive Him Further," *The Congregationalist* 20 August, 1874, pg., 4.

Association (AIMA).¹⁵⁹ In addition to provoking the wrath of northern abolitionists AIMA and McCoy's subsequent political activities fostered immense enmity among northern Baptists who feared being broadly connected with the Indian Removal agenda. To this end northern Anti-Removal Baptists threw their support behind the AMA mission to the Plains Indians. The westward interdenominational gaze of northern Baptists would eventually help foster the Philadelphia based Indian Treaty Keeping and Protection Association (ITKPA) in 1878. The ITKPA was the forerunner of the 1882 Washington based Women's National Indian Association (WNIA).¹⁶⁰

Foreshadowing the ITKPA and the national women's Indian assimilation movement, was the American Indian Aid Association (AIAA) founded in 1859. Born of an impassioned campaign by Quaker activist and Oregon Indian War veteran John Beeson, the AIAA with Philadelphia, New York and Washington branches was the first truly national Indian assimilation organization.¹⁶¹

159 Tappan, *History*, 1-96. Issac McCoy, *History of the Baptist Indian Missions: Embracing Remarks on the Former and Present Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes; Their Settlement within the Indian Territory, and Their Future Prospects* (Washington, District of Columbia: William M. Morrison, 1840), "Memorial of the Board of Managers of the American Indian Association, January 13, 1846," *House Document* 73, 29th Congress, 1st Session, 1846: 1-6. John A. Andrew III, *From revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), 123, 150, 154, 156-158, 177-178, 206-208, 212-213, 238-239, 242-245. A careful read of the following sources reveals a historic flow of money and support from the Northern/abolitionist Baptists to the AMA. N.a., n.t., *American Missionary* vol 14 no 6 (June 1870): 122-132; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Facts* (New York, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1869), 67.

160 Amelia S. Quinton, "The Original Indian Aid Organization," *Christian Union* 6 October, 1887, pg., 346.

161 Although the AIAA was the nation's most noted antebellum Indian assimilation organization, it was also quite weak. John Beeson, *A Plea for the Indians, with facts and Features of the Late War in Oregon* (New York, New York: Pudney & Russell, 1857), 106-133 and passim. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*

Ideologically allied with the Progressive Friend's (reform Quakers) and embracing the abolitionist prohibition against assimilation work among the southern tribes, the AIAA structure was egalitarian, non-denominational and non-sectarian. Largely espousing a set of ideas later enshrined in President Grant's 1869 Peace Policy, the AIAA called for American Indian removal to protected reservations, autonomous reservation governments, allotment of individual Indian farms, promotion of agriculture and animal husbandry, and European American style education.¹⁶² To monitor the proposed autonomous Indian governments the AIAA advocated oversight by European American male *and* female missionaries, arguing that men were best suited for administration while women were better equipped to impart the

(Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 468-469, 499; Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 34-38; Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 9-12, 112-134, 208-210. For the AIAA founding see, "Integral Reform Association," *New York Daily Tribune* 30 January, 1857, pg.7; "Valedictory Missionary Meeting," *New York Daily Tribune* 6 March, 1857, pg.7; "Thirty Fifth Congress," *Daily National Intelligencer* 21 May, 1858; "Memorial in Behalf of the People of Oregon and Washington Territories," *The Oregon Statesman* 3 August, 1858; "Meeting in Behalf of the American Indian," *New York Times* 9 November, 1858, pg.5; N.a.; *American Indian Aid Association* (N.P.: 1859) File 1013.18, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma; "To Help the Indian is the Quickest Way to Free the Negro," *The Liberator* 22 July, 1859, pg., 116; "The Indians," *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* 14 November, 1860, pg., 2; "Condition of the California Indians," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California) 1 July, 1865, pg., 3.

162 In 1858 Tappan Townsend, the noted New England Radical Republican and Underground Railroad leader, as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York city American Indian Aid Association produced a petition to Congress based on the idealism and political goals of John Beeson. Many of the petition's objectives were incorporated into Grant's 1869 Peace Policy. See, N.a., *Petition to Congress for the Preservation and Elevation of American Indians* (N.p.,: 1858). John Beeson's interdenominational, pro-woman's rights, egalitarian, peace idealism was absorbed by a variety of Indian assimilation minded social reformers. See, "Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends," *The Liberator* 17 June, 1859, pg., 96; "Important Meeting of Friends of the Indian Tribes," *The Liberator* 28 December, 1860, pg., 208. In addition Beeson's idealism was spread through the pages of *Calumet*, the official organ of the AIAA. See, "Exchange Gleanings," *Mystic Pioneer* (Mystic, Connecticut) 17 December, 1859, pg., 153.

finer points of civilization.¹⁶³

Although the AIAA sponsored several petition drives on behalf of western Indians and proposed a national Indian summit, its assimilation efforts proved mostly ineffectual at the national level.¹⁶⁴ The AIAA did however make a lasting impression on Quaker and Evangelical women advocates of Indian assimilation and their allied organizations. Foremost among these, the Pennsylvania based Universal Peace Union of which Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Amelia Quinton and Mary Bonney were associated, shared the goals and idealism of the AIAA.¹⁶⁵ Thus, while the AMA and the AIAA existed on the periphery of women's antebellum civil rights activity, their Indian assimilation work and egalitarian idealism exerted a persistent ideological influence on the social reform interests of women's rights advocates and the institutional structures they would create after 1865.¹⁶⁶

163 Beeson, *A Plea*, 126-127; "The Red Men," *New York Herald* 11 November, 1874, pg., 3; *Memorial of John Beeson*, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, 1874, S. Doc. 94, serial 1584, 4; "Lo! The Poor Indian," *The Inter Ocean* 5 September, 1879, pg., 8.

164 Doug Foster, "Imperfect Justice: The Modoc War Crimes Trial of 1873," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* vol 100 no 3 (fall 1999): 246-287.

165 "Universal Peace Union," *New York Times* 11 May, 1875; N.a., "Pennsylvania Peace Society," *Friends Intelligencer* vol 42 no 44 (December, 1885): 702. The PPS was a state auxiliary of the UPU. Both were founded in 1866.

166 Quaker organizations were notable conduits linking liberal women and early Indian assimilationists. See, N.a., *Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends*, (N.I., N.p.,: 1854). The Friends also promoted John Beeson's publications and the AIAA as a worthy pursuit for fellow Quakers. See, N.a., *Friend's Intelligencer*, vol 16 (March, 1859): 8-12; N.a., "The Indian," *Friend's Intelligencer*, vol 16 (April, 1859): 87-89. Lucretia Mott's relationship with the AIAA and John Beeson's Temperance activities provided another avenue for interaction between Indian assimilationists and liberal women. See, "Indian Aid Association," *The Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts) 15 April, 1859, pg.60; "Indians and Intoxicating Drinks," *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois) 23 September, 1879, pg.3. For John Beeson's interaction with the women's rights movement see, "The Woman Suffrage Society," *New York Times* 8 March, 1878, pg.2.

Chapter Two

The Washington Vanguard and Indian Scholarship

Between the founding of the American Indian Aid Association (1859) and the creation of the Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association (1878), no national Indian political association attracted significant attention from women's rights proponents. Between 1859-1878 women's rights supporters were overwhelmingly concerned with abolition and promoting their own civil rights. Even the Washington women's rights vanguard that coalesced between 1868-1872 with its narrow women's rights focus, still clung to the tried and true political imagery of abolition.

Although the Washington vanguard would play a central role in prosecuting African American civil rights and Black male suffrage, it would be through their own political misfortune that American Indians rapidly supplanted European American women's historic political ties to abolition imagery. A brief examination of the rise and fall of the Washington vanguard illuminates why women's rights proponents moved so quickly from the political rhetoric of abolition to American Indian assimilation politics. Specifically, new political opportunities as Indian scholars were created by the lateral diffusion of the Washington vanguard for otherwise politically marginalized women like Alice Fletcher, Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Helen Hunt Jackson.

Rise and Fall of the Washington Women's Rights Vanguard

The *organized* American women's rights movement that blossomed in 1848 eventually took form in 1869 as the *institutionalized* New York based National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the Boston based American Woman's Suffrage Association (AWSA). The NWSA and to a lesser degree the AWSA each inherited the federal district focus of the Anti-Slavery petition campaign and the faint western Indian interests of northern abolitionists.¹⁶⁷ Generating interest among NWSA and AWSA members, the post bellum Renaissance of American West expansion promised new opportunities for women's rights and the suffrage cause.¹⁶⁸ Although Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton widely promoted the 1867 Kansas suffrage campaign and the AWSA indicated interest in expanding the western suffrage cause, the majority of women's rights advocates continued to

¹⁶⁷ Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism & Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 15-52. For *organized* as opposed to later *institutionalized* women's right see, Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994) chaps., 1-4; Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989) passim; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Salem, April 19th and 20th, 1850* (Cleveland, Ohio: Smead and Cowles Press, 1850), 1-48; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 23rd and 24th, 1850* (Boston, Massachusetts: Prentiss and Sawyer, 1851), 1-29; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Akron, Ohio, May 28 and 29, 1851* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Ben Franklin, 1851), 1-50; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 15th and 16th, 1851* (New York, New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1852), 1-43; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at West Chester, PA. June 2nd and 3rd, 1852* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Merrihew and Thompson, 1852), 1-40; N.a., *The Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Syracuse, September 8th, 9th & 10th, 1852* (Syracuse, New York: J. E. Masters, 1852), 1-64.

¹⁶⁸ Ulysses S. Grant's Indian Peace Policy called for moving American Indians toward U. S. citizenship and acculturation on protected reservations. The Indian Appropriations Acts of 1870-1871 formally ended the treaty making process and disavowed Indian sovereignty. Robert Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-1882* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1983) chaps, 1-3. See fn., 133 and 138.

focus their attention on the nation's capital.¹⁶⁹ To this end a core group of women's rights advocates anticipated Washington as the future seat of a comprehensive women's revolution.¹⁷⁰

Stemming from the Anti-Slavery campaign, liberal women's association with Washington took concrete form in the early 1860s – through the campaign to enfranchise African American males in the District of Columbia, and government Civil War and Reconstruction expansion.¹⁷¹ From 1862 on federal demand for secretarial and clerical work also swelled the ranks of female federal employees, while vocational opportunities related to war and Reconstruction attracted a new generation of young professional women.¹⁷² A fluid label before the late 1880s, women's Reconstruction era professions encompassed both the traditional – law, medicine, business and clergy – as well as the autonomous professions such as public lecturing, publication, education and journalism.¹⁷³ The United States census of 1870 recognized thirty-one professions including, “actors, architects, artists, auctioneers, barbers, bootblacks, government clerks, dentists, teachers and

169 DuBois, 77-104.

170 Women's higher education significantly contributed to their post bellum entry into the traditional professions and the formulation of autonomous professions which also attracted women to Washington. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, New York: The Science Press, 1929), chaps., 5-9; Elizabeth Seymour Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in America, 1865-1920* (New York, New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), chaps., 4-5, 9.

171 Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Capital City 1879-1950* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1963), 65-68, 96-97, 168-169.

172 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 19-34, 460-499; “Women as Office Seekers,” *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 31 May, 1871, pg.7.

173 See fn. 90. Gloria Melnick Moldow, “The Gilded Age, Promise and Disillusionment: Women Doctors and the Emergence of the Professional Middle Class Washington, D. C., 1870-1900,” (Ph.D. Diss., The University of Maryland, 1980), chaps., 1-5, 8.

white washers.” Of the 2,684,793 professionals counted, 1,066,672 were women. Among those recognized as professional women the census noted 115 authors and lecturers, 67 clergy, 943 government clerks, 601 general government employees, 35 journalists, 5 lawyers, 4 sculptors, 84,047 teachers and 392 white washers.¹⁷⁴ Reflecting increased vocational opportunities in the federal district, by 1873 there were 7,300 more women than men living and working in the capital. The conspicuous presence of so many socially and politically active women earned Washington the nickname “a special city of women.”¹⁷⁵

Post bellum Washington was a city in which women were coming into their own and forming a unique political and social community. Noted by historians Elizabeth Clark and Gloria Moldrow, liberal women's aspirations in Washington were expressed through professional organizations and political associations. In turn the leadership of these groups functioned as a national women's rights vanguard.¹⁷⁶ Even contemporaneous scholars, like the mercurial Henry Adams commented on the Washington women's rights vanguard. Adam's 1880 publication *Democracy: An American Novel* spitefully cast vanguard figures such as Victoria C.

174 N.a., “Curiosities of the Census—What Our People are Doing,” *The Republic* vol 1 no 4 (June 1873): 204-206.

175 Gloria Moldrow, “All Qualified Persons: Washington Women, A Century Ago,” in *Women in the District of Columbia: A Contribution to Their History* N.a., (District of Columbia, D. C. International Women's Year Coordinating Committee, 1977): 19-26. Professional opportunities in 1870 were largely only open to white women at this time. Of the women in the District in 1870 a number were African American freed women who came to Washington in search of employment and a better life. See, Green, *Washington*, 89.

176 See, Clark, “Rights,” and Moldrow, “The Gilded Age,” chaps., 1-5, 8. Reflecting the growing postwar population of women medical doctors and women patients in Washington, the capital also hosted the federal district “women's hospital.” see, N.a., “Columbia Hospital for Women,” *The Republic* vol 1 (March-December 1873): 32-33.

Woodhull, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Sarah Johnson, Sarah J. Spencer, Sarah E. Webster, Mary Walker and Isabella Beecher Hooker as vain, shrill and queerly unusual women warped by their unnatural masculine lust for political power. Adams pondered, “supposing your experiment fails... suppose society destroys itself with universal suffrage, corruption, and communism [?]”¹⁷⁷

While traditional professional women occupied important positions in both the NWSA and AWSA, autonomous professional women, notably lecturers and authors, filled almost all the leadership roles.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, major Washington vanguard figures such Clara Bewick Colby, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Victoria Woodhull, Lucretia Coffin Mott, Anna Dickinson, Angelina Grimké, Sarah Grimké, Helen Jackson Gouger, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Paulina Kellogg Wright, Ernestine Potowski Rose, Abigail Scott Duniway and Julia Ward Howe were professional

177 Henry Adams, *Democracy: An American Novel* (New York, New York: The New American Library, 1961), 49-51, 59, passim. For Victoria Woodhull, Adams unleashed his infamous venom, “For years all Washington had agreed that Victoria was little better than one of the wicked.” Adams was vehemently opposed to women's rights and woman suffrage in particular. See, David Partenheimer, “Memoranda and Documents, Henry Adams's 'Primitive Rights of Women': An Offense Against Church, the Patriarchal State, Progressive Evolution, and the Women's Liberation Movement,” *The New England Quarterly* vol 71 no 4 (December 1998): 635-642.

178 For women's traditional professions and their Washington connections see, Cathy Lucgetti, *Medicine Women: The Story of Early-American Women Doctors* (New York, New York: Crown Publishers, 1998); Gloria Moldow, *Women Doctors in Gilded-Age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Mary Roth Walsh, “Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply”: *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Professions, 1835-1975* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1977); Karen Berger Morello, *The Invisible Bar: The Woman Lawyer in America, 1638 to the Present* (New York, New York: Random House, 1986); Virginia G. Drachman, *Women Lawyers and the Origins of Professional Identity in America: The letters of the Equity Club, 1887-1890* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1993); Virginia G. Drachman, *Sisters in Law: Women Lawyers in Modern American History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998); Jill Norgren, *Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2007), chaps., 1-8.

lecturers and authors.¹⁷⁹ Used as a platform for their revolutionary goals and a provocative showcase for their new social status, public lecturing and publication remained important women's autonomous professions well into the 1890s.¹⁸⁰

Buoyed by the radical Republican/abolitionist political alliance that helped pass the 1867 Wade Act which conferred the franchise on D. C. African American males, a Washington women's rights vanguard coalesced between 1868-1872. A community of like-minded liberal women, the vanguard was dedicated to revolutionary social and political change.¹⁸¹ To this end vanguard members such as Woodhull, Hooker, Walker, Anthony, Stanton and Spencer among others worked to steer the African American civil rights momentum to their own political advantage.¹⁸²

Inspired by a December 14th, 1870 Senate investigation into the citizenship status of American Indians based on terms of the 14th amendment, Woodhull and fellow vanguard members made their move. Announcing to Congress that the 14th and 15th amendments already granted suffrage to women, Woodhull and her

179 Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925, A Bio-Critical Source Book* (Westport, Connecticut: 1993), 49-62, 76-87, 89-98, 123-142, 156-167, 206-215, 216-228, 267-278, 279-293, 307-320, 350-368, 393-408, 434-447; Hanaford, *Daughters*, 305-355.

180 Lisa Tetrault, "The Incorporation of American Feminism: Suffragists and the Lyceum," *Journal of American History* vol 26 no 4 (2010): 977, 1027-1056. Hanaford, *Daughters*, 305-331.

181 Moldow, "The Gilded Age.," 217-249. *The Communist Manifesto's* North American premier was on December 30, 1871 in a newspaper published by Victoria C. Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin. Edward J. Renehan jr., *Commodore: The Life of Cornelius Vanderbilt* (New York, New York: Basic Books, 2007), 283. For radical thought in the vanguard (including both NWSA and ASWA vanguard sympathizers) see, N.a., "The Revolution Will Discuss," *The Revolution* 30, April, 1868, pg., 272; N.a., "New York Woman Suffrage Association," *Woman's Journal* 11 January, 1873, pg., 16; N.a., "Miss Anthony's Defense," *Woman's Journal* 15 February, 1873, pg., 51; N.a., "The Washington Convention," *Woman's Journal*, 31, January, 1874.

182 Norgren, *Lockwood, chaps.*, 10-11, pgs., 155-168; Hanaford, *Daughters*, 353-357.

compatriots proceeded to test their contention at the polls. Arrested with ballots in hand and tried in court, vanguard women appealed their case to U. S. district court which ruled in no uncertain terms that suffrage was presently reserved for male citizens. On appeal the question of woman suffrage was decided in the negative by the High Court.¹⁸³

During the grueling court battles spanning 1871-1874, vanguard women defiantly turned their attention to the 1872 presidential election, District of Columbia politics and the western suffrage campaign. Vanguard women clearly intended to change American society and politics on several levels. Deprived of initiating direct revolutionary change through the formation of a liberal woman's voting block, the Washington vanguard hoped to foster reform on the national level by radicalizing presidential politics, on the provincial level by agitating for D. C. universal suffrage, and out West by encouraging women to take an active political role in the western conquest.¹⁸⁴

The Washington vanguard's presidential ambitions became a reality in 1870 when Victoria C. Woodhull announced her candidacy for the 1872 presidential

183 N.a., "Effect of Fourteenth Amendment upon Indian Tribes," *Senate Report* 268, Congressional Session 41 (1870-1871): 1-11. Termed the New Departure this approach held that the right to vote was an inherent right of citizenship. See, Nancy A. Hewitt, "From Seneca Falls to Suffrage? Re-imagining a 'Master' Narrative in U. S. Women's History," in Nancy A. Hewitt ed., *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U. S. Feminism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 26-27; J. O. Clephane, *Suffrage Conferred by the Fourteenth Amendment. Woman's Suffrage in the District of Columbia, in General Term, October, 1871* (Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Detweiler, 1871); For Victoria Woodhull's involvement see, *House Report* 22, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, 1871: 1-17; *Senate Miscellaneous Document* 16, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, 1871: 1-2.

184 Western women already advocated many of the Washington vanguard's revolutionary goals. See, Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 2004), 17-52.

election.¹⁸⁵ Fashioning an ambitious yet improbable campaign that espoused a curious mixture of socialist and Marxist ideals, Woodhull was unanimously slated as the New York based Equal Rights Party (ERP) presidential candidate. From the beginning Woodhull's long-shot venture was doomed when the ERP also made it a racial referendum by drafting Frederick Douglas as her vice-presidential running mate.¹⁸⁶

During the final stretch of the 1872 campaign, Woodhull's increasingly radical social and political proposals came to threaten the moral and patriotic credibility of the larger women's rights movement. Further damaged by Douglas' public rebuke, Woodhull's solitary campaign became little more than a national farce. As Woodhull's shrinking credibility threatened their own long-term political goals most of the vanguard and her women supporters jumped ship. By election day most women's rights advocates saw Woodhull's candidacy as a reckless

185 The Washington vanguard and women in general were so thoroughly identified with Washington City that during the 1871 carnival celebrating Washington's postwar renovation and renewal, the flagship parade float depicted Victoria Woodhull taking the oath of office as the first woman president. John M. Gordon, *An Account of the First Carnival in the City of Washington with several Letters to Various Parties* (n.p., n.p., 1871) 42-45; "The Washington Carnival Second Day of the Fete racing on the Avenue Tournament Merry Masquerade," *The Sun* (Washington) 22 February, 1871, pg.1.

186 "The Coming Woman," *New York Herald*, 2 April, 1870, pg., 8. Madeleine B. Stern, ed., *The Victoria Woodhull Reader* (Weston, Massachusetts: M & S Press, 1974), part b and c, 5-10. Stern's publication is an anthology of original Woodhull works that are not numbered in sequential order or given chapter designations. Victoria C. Woodhull, "The New Rebellion. The Great Secession Speech;" "A New Political Party and a New Political Platform;" "A Lecture on Constitutional Equality;" in Paulina W. Davis, *A History of the National Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Jourymen Printers' Co-operative Association, 1871). 112-119, 40e-40j, 1-28. Woodhull's works appear as appendixes in the back of Davis' history and date to the early phase of Woodhull's presidential campaign. Branded "A Shameless prostitute and a Negro," the Woodhull/Douglas ticket became fodder for American racism North and South. Notably, Douglas never accepted the ERA vice-presidential nomination. See, Amanda Frisken, *Victoria Woodhull's Sexual Revolution: Political Theater and the Popular Press in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 55-84.

diversion from practical women's rights goals. Most notable among these was Susan B. Anthony who in defiance of District of Columbia law cast her 1872 ballot for Ulysses S. Grant. Fissures were appearing in the vanguard.¹⁸⁷

Woodhull's campaign proved a dismal electoral failure, however she inspired Washington women and others across the nation to redouble their efforts for women's rights and the franchise. Forgotten as a pioneering American Marxist theorist, Woodhull retains the distinction of being the first woman to run for the presidency. Political ambitions aside, Woodhull's lasting legacy was in igniting the Washington vanguard's interest in federal district politics, particularly the suffrage and statehood campaigns.¹⁸⁸

Sparked by the Congressional actions of 1866-1867, the vanguard's campaign for D. C. universal suffrage was intimately connected to emerging federal district politics, notably the campaign for African American male suffrage (Wade bill) and the gestating movement for federal district statehood. During Senate debate on the Wade bill in 1865, Senator Edgar Cowan offered a sarcastic amendment striking the word male. Cowan argued if D. C. Negro suffrage passed he could “offer no reason why a white woman shall not vote.”¹⁸⁹ Creating a media

187 Victoria C. Woodhull, *A speech on the Impending Revolution, Delivered in Music Hall, Boston, Thursday, Feb. 1, 1872, and the Academy of Music, New York, Feb. 20, 1872* (New York, New York: Woodhull, Claflin & Co., 1872). For voting in the 1872 election Anthony was arrested, jailed and tried in the District Court of the United States in the Northern District of New York. Lynn Sheer, intro., *The Trial of Susan B. Anthony* (New York, New York: Humanity Books, 2003), passim, 84.

188 Historians have raised questions regarding Woodhull's distinction as the first woman presidential candidate, however these concerns have been definitively addressed. See, Susan Kullmann, “Legal Contender: Victoria C. Woodhull, First Woman to Run for President,” *The Woman's Quarterly* (Fall 1988): 16-17.

189 Green, *The Secret City*, 77.

firestorm lasting through three days of Senate debate, Cowen inadvertently awakened women suffrage proponents to the prospect of universal enfranchisement in D. C. Ultimately Cowan's ploy was derailed by Senator Charles Sumner. The Wade bill became law in early 1867.¹⁹⁰

Inspired by the Wade Act, vanguard and women's rights activists across the nation agitated for woman suffrage in the federal district, New York, Kansas, and across the American West. With renewed optimism, Anthony, Stanton and other vanguard members took suffrage westward where they joined other liberal women in championing universal franchise and a greater role for women in the western conquest. Building on the political momentum created by federal district African American male suffrage, the Washington vanguard looked to the Wade Act as the quintessential blueprint for universal (woman) suffrage in D. C.¹⁹¹

Embraced by Representative Benjamin Franklin Butler, the D. C. universal franchise campaign became the Washington vanguard's signature political cause.

190 *An Act to Regulate the Franchise in the District of Columbia*, Public Law 14, 39th Congress, 2nd Session. (8 January 1867), 375. "District of Columbia Suffrage Bill," *The Wisconsin State Register*, 22 December, 1866; "The District of Columbia Suffrage Bill, The Debate in the House," *Boston Daily Advertiser* 20 January, 1866. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anthony, Susan Brownell, Gage, Matilda Joslyn and Harper, Ida Husted, *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York, New York: E. O. Jenkins, 1881), 108-151; Carrie Chapman Catt and Shuler, Nettie Rogers, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1926), 32-57.

191 See, Mead, *How the West was Won*, chaps., 2-5. N.a., "Woman's Rights and Negro Suffrage," *Augusta Chronicle* (Georgia) 15 September, 1866, pg., 1. "The Question of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia has apparently taken the shape of a trial of the general question on a small scale," *Boston Daily Advertiser* 15 January, 1866; "Negro Suffrage to be Extended to All the States—The Issue Made Up—Voice of Republican Presses," *Daily National Intelligencer* 23 January, 1866. L. T. Merrill, "Benjamin F. Butler in Washington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* vol 39 (1938): 71-100. It is an historical imponderable to wonder how much better African Americans and women might have fared following Lincoln's assassination if Butler had accepted his offer for the vice-presidential slot in 1864. "Butler on Woman Suffrage," *The Cleveland Morning Daily Herald*, 29 January, 1872.

Over the next six years the campaign would enmesh the vanguard and women's rights leaders in Washington city politics and the D. C. territorial effort. Moreover, universal suffrage linked the political fortunes of D.C. African Americans and liberal women.¹⁹² For the Washington vanguard this association proved beneficial, it made Radical Republican taciturnity on the woman issue difficult to defend. However, this fortuitous association took an unfortunate turn during the meteoric rise and fall of Columbia Territory.¹⁹³

In the midst of the universal suffrage campaign, D. C. property owners, politicians, Washington power brokers and their Congressional allies, frustrated with inept and often corrupt Congressional administration and decades of federal mismanagement proposed refashioning the district as a territory. With Washington city's embarrassingly antiquated, war-ravaged infrastructure, high property taxes and anachronistic municipal politics in mind, reformers drafted a bill to authorize territorial status. On 27 January, 1871 the Territory of Columbia succeeded the District of Columbia. Almost from the beginning Columbia Territory portended doom for African American male suffrage—yet the Washington vanguard continued to agitate as if universal suffrage were just around the corner.¹⁹⁴

192 "Opinion," *The Critic*, (Washington, D. C.), 6 January, 1869, pg.2; "The City," *The Critic*, 17 January, 1870, pg.3; "Universal Suffrage Association," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 19 January, 1870, pg.1; "Woman Suffrage," *New York Herald-Tribune*, 20 January, 1870; N.h., *New York Herald Tribune*, 24 January, 1870, pg.4; "The Women Argue Their Case," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 24 January, 1870, pg.3.

193 "Woman Suffrage. The Convention Today," *The Daily Critic* 15 January, 1874; "Our Washington Letter," *The Troy Weekly Times* (New York) 31 January, 1874, pg.,1; also see fn., 124, 161. N.a., "The Future Government of this District," *The Daily Critic* 18 November, 1874, pg.,2; "The Government of the District of Columbia," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* 23 November, 1874, pg.,4.

194 Thomas R. Johnson, "Reconstruction Politics in Washington: 'An Experimental Garden for

In reality the new territorial government accelerated the demise of universal male suffrage. Rather than reforming the federal district, territorial rule continued the notorious political machine that melded freedmen's poverty and desperation into a voting block easily manipulated by European American politicians. The reconstructed district government, intended to streamline and economize badly needed municipal improvements, instead opened Columbia to a wider assortment of dubious contractors, uninhibited graft and the outright incompetence of Ulysses S. Grant's political appointments. Increasingly higher property taxes and massive ill-planned, mismanaged improvement projects prompted two congressional inquiries in 1872. Although territorial officials were largely acquitted by Republican comrades, the inquests raised lingering doubts about the desirability of Columbia's universal male franchise. African American male voters whose very livelihood depended on ballot box support for notorious territorial construction projects were damned if they did and impoverished if they did not.¹⁹⁵

In 1873 African American male voters and virtually the entire territorial

Radical Plants," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* vol 50 (1980): 180-190; "The District of Columbia to Have a Territorial Government," *Newark Advocate* (Ohio) 27 January, 1871. Public Law 419, 41st Congress, 3rd session. (21 February 1871), 419-429. D. C. was by no means a wasteland in 1871. The territorial movement was sparked by high taxes, an improved but far from sufficient public infrastructure and the concerted effort of westerner agitators to move the U. S. capitol west of the Mississippi. N.a., "Inflation," *The Republic* vol.3 no.4 (April 1874): 12-15; Norton. P. Chipman, "The Appendix," *The Republic* vol.2 no.4 (April, 1874): 1-21; N.a., "The District of Columbia," *The Republic* vol. 2 no.1 (January, 1874): 12-15; and James H. Whyte, "The District of Columbia Territorial government, 1871-1874," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* vol.51/52 (1951/1952): 87-102. L. U. Reavis, *A Pamphlet for the People: Containing Facts and Arguments in Favor of the Removal of the National Capital to the Mississippi Valley* (St. Louis, Missouri: Missouri Democrat Book and Job Printing House, 1870). Green, *Secret City*, 91-118.
195 Green, *Secret.*, chaps., 5-6, *House Report 7*, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, 1872: 1-10.

administration were the subject of a third and fatal round of congressional review. Already exceeding a statutory debt limit of ten million dollars—by approximately ten million dollars—territorial property taxes had increased by approximately one hundred percent. Additionally, officials had printed dubious territorial bonds in a desperate bid to cover the enormous debt of a corrupt inefficient public works program. Having driven hundreds of Washingtonians to sell their holdings, the territorial government became an almost universally hated symbol of graft, corruption and failed African American male suffrage. Worsened by the depression of 1873-1879, the financial meltdown of Columbia Territory and the embarrassing media circus surrounding its political ring pushed jubilant Congressional segregationists and humiliated champions of African American civil rights into a rash political solution that liquidated the nation's first post bellum universal male suffrage experiment.¹⁹⁶

On June 30, 1874 in a rare show of political unity, southern Conservatives joined Radical Republicans in stripping Columbia of territorial status and the franchise. In its place Congress vested District authority in a joint committee that

196 For the 1877-1879 depression see, John M. Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble : The Northern Pacific Railroad, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), chaps., 1-3; *House Report 627*, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, 1874: 1-11; *Senate Report 479*, 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1874: 1-5; N.a., "Good Day's Work in the House—Passage of the Bill Overthrowing the Ring Government in the District," *New York Herald Tribune* 18 June 1874, pg.,1; N.a., "The District of Columbia, The Proposed Government," *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* 14 December, 1874; John H. Crane, *The Washington Ring* (Washington, District of Columbia: n.p., 1872); John H. Crane, *More About the Washington Tammany* (Washington, District of Columbia: n.p., 1873). While dismissed by opponents as a disgruntled grafter and racist, Crane was an abolitionist who reiterated the minority finding in the Congressional reports. Both of Crane's publications here cited were donated to Harvard College Library by Charles Sumner in 1872 and 1873 respectively.

implemented its will through three appointed commissioners. Practically speaking the Congressional District joint committee became Washington's new municipal government. For most European American males the end of territorial rule, high property taxes and the federal assumption of Columbia debt seemed a fair trade for losing the franchise. For African American men the end of universal male suffrage signaled a stunning reversal of political rights that would play out again and again across the nation. To women in Columbia who never had the right to vote, disenfranchisement would prove a fortuitous political boon. For the time being the Washington vanguard and women's rights proponents found themselves unhinged from the revolutionary emancipation they had anticipated and the slave/freed person metaphor that had so powerfully served their struggle for over four decades.¹⁹⁷

The Lateral Diffusion of the Washington Vanguard and the Birth of Women's American Indian Etho-political Scholarship

In the wake of the New Government Act for the Territory of Columbia the Washington vanguard was strangely quiet. With the exception of a few petitions continuing to ask for D. C. woman suffrage (a very unlikely proposition given the status of male voters) and a brief sixteenth amendment push (woman suffrage

197 Green, *Secret City*, chaps., 5-6. N.a., "Failure of Negro Suffrage in the District of Columbia," *New York Herald* 28 November, 1874, pg.,4; N.a., "The Washington Ring," *Pomeroy's Democrat* 19 December, 1874, pg.,2; N.a., "Going Back on the Negro, Universal Suffrage Repudiated by Grant and His Friends [New York Sun]," *Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 22 December, 1874, pg., 3.

amendment) the vanguard and women's rights leaders made no public comment on the new situation in D. C.¹⁹⁸ At the helm, Victoria Woodhull already diminished by her own actions faded into the background after her failed presidential bid, no longer exercising a significant role in organizational or institutionalized women's rights.¹⁹⁹

During this uncertain period for liberal women's political fortunes, a small contingent of conservative women made their final public stand. Claiming the mantles of Catherine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney, Eleanor Boyle Ewing Sherman (Gen. William T. Sherman's wife) and Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren (Admiral John A. Dahlgren's wife), penned spirited suffrage rebuffs that were read – by males – before Congress and widely published. As conservative middle-class Catholics who came of age in the mid Nineteenth-Century, Sherman and Dahlgren adhered to an increasingly antiquated and impractical silent decorum providing a notable contrast to an emerging generation of outspoken conservative women who pressed their interests publicly.²⁰⁰

198 “The Woman's Congress at Chicago,” *New York Times* 16 October, 1874, pg.,1; “Woman Suffrage Debate in the Senate,” *Morning Oregonian* 4 June, 1874, pg., 4; Frances Miller, *Argument Before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives Upon the Petition of 600 Citizens Asking for the Enfranchisement of the Women of the District of Columbia, Jan. 21, 1874* (Washington, District of Columbia: Gibson Brothers, 1874); N. a., *Arguments in Behalf of a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1878). The women's rights Sixteenth Amendment campaign was stymied by the introduction of a rival Sixteenth Amendment asking for desegregated schools. N.a., “Constitutional Amendment,” *The Christian Recorder* 31 August, 1876.

199 Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, “Victoria Woodhull, Anthony Comstock, and the Conflict Over Sex in the United States in the 1870s,” *The Journal of American History* vol 87 no 2 (September 2000): 403-434.

200 Madeleine Dahlgren's conservative ideas regarding woman's proper silent political and social role were spelled out in an etiquette manual. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, *Etiquette of Social Life in Washington* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Inquire Printing and Publishing Company, 1873). Dahlgren's Anti-Suffrage, Anti-women's rights position was argued in, Madeleine Vinton

Straddling an anachronistic domesticity and a sea change in public attitudes about women speaking in public, young conservative women increasingly defined their middle and upper class status in terms of community social benevolence and local organizational work. The result was that new conservative women (those who felt women should act for the benefit of their own homes and communities) moderate women (those who limited their support for women's rights to local application) and liberal women (those who argued that women should engage a wide range of public pursuits and have the right to vote) not only began to talk to each other, they also found common interests that transcended individual politics and fostered the formation of truly diverse women's networks.²⁰¹

Dahlgren, *Thoughts on Female Suffrage and in Vindication of Woman's True Rights* (Washington, District of Columbia: Blanchard & Mohun, 1871). Dahlgren carried on a prickly newspaper fight with noted Washington vanguard women's rights and suffrage leader Isabella Beecher Hooker. Madeleine Dahlgren, "A Mild Rebuke," *The Washington Post* 14 January, 1878, pg.,4; Isabella Beecher Hooker, "The Woman Question, Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker to Mrs. Dahlgren," *The Washington Post* 17 January, 1878, pg.,2; Madeleine Dahlgren, "Mrs. Dahlgren to Mrs. Hooker," *The Washington Post* 19 January, 1878, pg.,2. For Sherman see, Rosemary Skinner Keller and Ruether, Rosemary Radford., eds., *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006). For sixteenth amendment see, N.a., *Arguments in Behalf of a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, Prohibiting the Several States from Disfranchising United States Citizens on Account of Sex* [Majority Report] (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1878), 1- 45. On pages 43-45 Dahlgren submitted an argument against a 16th amendment that was read before the committee. See also, *Senate Report* 523 [part 1], 45th Congress, 3rd Session, 1878: 1-2; *Senate Report* 523 [part 2], 45th Congress, 3rd Session, 1878: 1-9.

201 For the politics of essence verses construct see, Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, New York: Routledge, 1990), chaps., 1-2; Denise Riley, "Am I That Name": *Feminism and the Category of "Woman" in History* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 1-126; Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Woman's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993), chaps., 4-5. Liberal, moderate, and conservative are each gleaned from several sources. See, Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), chaps., 1-4; Nancy Hewitt, "From Seneca Falls to Suffrage," and Lara Vapnek, "Staking Claims to Independence: Jennie Collins, Aurora Phelps, and the Boston Working Women's League, 1865-1877," in *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U. S. Feminism* ed. Nancy Hewitt (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010): 15-38, 305-328; Emily Apt Geer, "Lucy W. Hayes and the New Women of the 1880s," *Hayes Historical Journal* vol 3 no 1-2

Reflecting women's new post 1874 political cooperation the Washington vanguard also transformed from a radical cadre of liberal women into a politically diverse community of women dedicated to woman suffrage and women's social and economic empowerment. Revolutionary ideology gave way to more modest political ideas and goals. Embracing mainstream political sensibilities, the Washington vanguard disseminated laterally into a broad community of social reform minded women.²⁰²

In the wake of the 1874-1877 political disappointments, Washington women's rights advocates advanced their own purity, morality and womanly benevolence as a justification for their political goals. To this end women's rights proponents refashioned themselves as the principled maternal alternatives to male political corruption and ineptitude. Specifically, women held that as White American mothers raising White American children in White American homes they were best positioned to address new social problems arising from immigration, rural to urban migration, industrialization and the so-called Indian problem. Succinctly, they argued White American women knew how to make non-American Whites and Indians into American Whites. As the newly established peers of their newly disfranchised brethren, Washington women were positioned as never before to create new political constituencies, brandish new forms of political influence and

(Spring-Fall 1980): 18-26; Emily Apt Geer, "Lucy W. Hayes and the Woman's Home Mission Society," *Hayes Historical Journal* vol 4 no 4 (Fall 1984): 5-14; Annette Niemtow, "Marriage and the New Woman in the Portrait of a Lady," *American Literature* vol 47 no 3 (November 1975): 377-395.

202 Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York, New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), chaps., 5-6.

prompt Congress to act on a variety of reform goals. By placing radical social and economic change on the back burner women's rights proponents found that Congress remained open to moderate social intervention and reforms deemed in the national interest. Although women's rights politics would quickly prove far more complex, for the time being maternal patriotism bestowed new forms of political influence on often marginalized women.

Literally thrown into the halls of Congress, D. C. government became accessible to those constituencies capable of successfully petitioning Congress and mobilizing public sentiment behind their causes. Unlike District males who were politically fractured after 1874, organized women and women's rights leaders quickly turned the new political reality to their advantage. Through mobilization of existing local and national social and political networks, and the creation of new political advocacy groups Washington women and their cohorts used access to the D. C. Joint Congressional Committee to foster powerful political relationships, gain access to a wide range of Congressional committees, and foster utilitarian relationships across the legislative spectrum. Recalling Belva Lockwood's 1904 insight into Washington women's post 1874 political stature, a host of women came to substantially benefit from D. C. universal male disfranchisement. Among these, no other group of women's rights proponents would come to exercise the extraordinary degree of political power acquired by women Indian scholars between 1878-1900.²⁰³

203 Examples of this include Sara Spencer's successful lobby work on behalf of a controversial

The Washington/Pennsylvania Connection and Women's American Indian

Scholarship

Between 1874-1877 the women's rights movement turned its eyes toward the Trans-Mississippi West and began a new phase in American politics. Universally branded suffragists, northern and Midwestern women's rights proponents deepened their connections to western women and created political networks that linked women from Washington and across the nation with women in the West. By the end of southern Reconstruction the American West came to play a central role in Washington women's social and political outlook as they increasingly evoked maternal patriotism to justify their new found Indian assimilation interests and the westward march of European American Christian civilization.

Almost five decades in the making – spanning Transcendentalist women's deployment of the Caspar Hauser and slave metaphor, evangelical women's interest in the pre-millennial fate of Jewish Indians, abolitionist women's support for the AMA and women's work on behalf of the AIAA – the women's Indian assimilation cause first took form in Pennsylvania among the old battle-hardened Evangelical and Quaker abolitionists. As Amelia Quinton, one of the founding members of the ITKPA and WNIA noted:

school for “wayward” girls in Washington and the suffrage and sixteenth amendment drives. See, Sara J. Spencer, *Argument Before the Committee on the District of Columbia of the United States Senate, Friday, January 26, 1876, upon the Pending Senate Bill for the Purchase of a Site and the Construction of Buildings for a Girl's Reform School, in the Capital of the United States by Mrs. Sara J. Spencer* (Washington, District of Columbia: R. Beresford, 1876), 1-15.

Each of these different kinds of work had appealed to and influenced certain circles; as the small minority of the great universal church represented in denominational missionary societies; the interior department and functionaries of government; and the small philanthropic public, then, though zealous for the colored race, barely beginning to waken to a sense of Indian wrongs²⁰⁴

More than simply a retooled metaphor, American Indian assimilation displaced abolition and the push for African American civil rights to become the new political commodity of socially conscious European American women.²⁰⁵

The first truly national women's Indian assimilation group to emerge in the post bellum era was the Philadelphia based Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association (ITKPA). Founded in 1878, the ITKPA was deeply influenced by the Protestant Tractarian movement, the ecumenical evangelical movement, the peace movement and the Philadelphia intellectual constellation that revolved around John Beeson, Lucretia Mott, Henry B. Whipple and William and Mary Ross Welsh. The ITPKA owed its thought and structure to the Progressive Friends, the Universal Peace Union, the AIAA and the Pennsylvania based Indian's Hope Association (IHA).²⁰⁶

204 Quinton, "The Original Indian Aid Organization," passim. Although Quinton and Mary Bonney founded the ITPKA and later WNIA in Philadelphia, both organizations were intimately connected to Washington women who helped circulate and present ITPKA petitions to Congress and helped establish a permanent Washington office. The focus, vitality and political power of the ITPKA and WNIA depended on Washington, D.C.

205 Delores Janiewski, "Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the 'Woman Question,' and 'Indian Reform,'" in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* eds. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 325-340; Glenda Riley, *Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the frontier, 1815-1915* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 1-10.

206 Other Indian assimilation groups existed, but they were not exclusively women's organizations

Two organizations in particular shaped AIAA and IHA ideology, namely the Progressive Friends (PF) founded in 1854 and the Universal Peace Union (UPU) founded in 1866. Apart from the PF's egalitarianism it also embraced the post bellum ecumenicism gestating among northern evangelicals. Far from a non-denominational movement, this new inter-denominational cooperation stressed the unity of evangelical Christian belief, Christian pacifism and the political strength of coordinated evangelical social work. Retaining strong denominational affiliations, inter-denominational evangelicals crossed sectarian lines to work in the emerging social outreach and welfare programs of various denominations.

For its part, the UPU played a significant, yet unexplored role in dislodging assimilationists from Grant's Peace Policy. As strict pacifists, UPU members launched a national campaign to reduce, if not eliminate the United States military. Never a serious possibility, the UPU's efforts nevertheless helped highlight two fatal flaws in Grant's plan. First it depended on a massive U. S. military presence to protect Indian sovereignty and reservation lands. Second, the United States military did not have the funding or manpower to effectively enforce the plan.

While odious to many Beeson style ideologues, the alarming observations that emerged regarding the military's limited western reach pointed assimilationists down the allotment path. Allotment seemed both a practical and economic solution to the dilemma. Far from a planned outcome, the anti-military efforts of UPU

or national in scope and function. One such group was Emma C. Sickles' New York based Ladies National Indian League. N.a., "The Welfare of the Indians," *New York Times* 20 March, 1878, pg.2; Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the Indian* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1971), 160-161, 208.

assimilationists such as Jonathan Whipple, Joseph A. Dugdale, Belva Lockwood, Lucretia Mott, and Ernestine Rose were an essential link in the chain of historical events that finally culminated in the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887.²⁰⁷

In addition to PF and UPU influence, the Indian's Hope Association (IHA) shaped the ITPKA's formation as an exclusively Christian women's organization.²⁰⁸ The IHA, founded in 1868 by Mary Ross and William Welsh grew out of an earlier Philadelphia Episcopal women's missionary organization quaintly labeled the Mother's Meeting (MM). Linked to the Tractarian revival of evangelical Episcopalian women's social activism, the MM sounded a clarion call to other Christian women on Philadelphia's historic Chestnut street.²⁰⁹ Together with help from other Episcopal women's social outreach work, the IHA's efforts were

207 N.a., "The Peace People;" N.a., "Lucretia Mott," N.a., "Our Members Among the Indians," *The Voice of Peace* vol 1 no 1 (April, 1874): 11-12. And *The Voice of Peace* (1874-1876): passim. N.a., "Whipple Family History: People Who have Exerted a Great Moral Power," *The Day* (New London, Connecticut) 2 March, 1892, pg.,8.

208 For the post bellum Evangelical interdenominational movement see, Henry Tullidge, *The Evangelical Church: A Series of Discourses by the Ministers of the Different Religious Denominations Illustrating the Spiritual Unity of the Church of Christ* (New York, New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1879), xi-xlvi, passim; Thomas Whittaker, ed., *Protestant Episcopal Almanac and Church Directory* (New York, New York: T. Whittaker, 1876), passim; Charles Lewis Slattery, *Felix Reville Brunot, 1820-1898* (New York, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 126-136.

209 Home to several Episcopal churches, the First Baptist Church and the influential Chestnut Street Female Seminary, Chestnut Street effectively circumscribed Philadelphia intellectual life and social activism. William Welsh jr. "A Sketch of the Life of William Welsh," *Papers Read Before the Historical Society of Frankford* vol 1 no 6 (1908): 11-12; Miss Elenore R. Wright, "A Sketch of the Life of Mrs. William Welsh," *Papers Read Before the History Society of Frankford* vol 1 no 6 (1908): 18-26. Helen M. Wanken, "'Woman's Sphere' and Indian Reform: The Women's National Indian association, 1879-1901," (Ph.D., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1981), 7. William Welsh, *Women Helpers in the Church: Their Sayings and Doings* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1872). Wright, "A Sketch," 18. For the Tractarian movement see, Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York, New York: Henry G. Allen & Company, 1898), 452; Anne Beale, "Our Tractarian Movement," in *The Girl's Outdoor Book*, ed. Charles Peters (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1889), 497-505.

supported by contributions from approximately 10,000 Pennsylvania households.²¹⁰

Devoted to the improvement of Indian women, the IHA raised thousands of dollars for women missionaries and the construction of reservation “churches, hospitals and schools.” Politically, IHA women exerted sectional influence through the work of auxiliaries and branches in Episcopal parishes across Pennsylvania and in surrounding states.²¹¹

Based on their pervasive northeastern reach, the IHA remained a strong regional women's Indian assimilation organization until William Welsh's death in 1878.²¹² Thereafter Welsh family interest in Indian assimilation was increasingly co-opted as a *cause célèbre* by William Welsh's artist-socialite nephew Herbert.²¹³ While the IHA blazed a trail for women Indian assimilationists, its primary function as an Episcopalian mission to Indian women limited its national appeal.²¹⁴ Moreover, after William's death and under Mary Welsh's lackluster leadership (she

210 Wright, “A Sketch,” 19.

211 Wright, 11-12. Welsh jr., “A Sketch,” 18-20.

212 Welsh jr., “A Sketch,” 12. “William Welsh Sudden Death Yesterday,” *The North American* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 12 February, 1878. Reflecting this influence Mary C. Morgan, the New York representative of the IHA wrote Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes to protest the 1870 Piegan Massacre. See, Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the Indian* (Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri Press, 1971), 172.

213 William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), chaps., 1-3. Shelly Candidus, “Herbert Welsh; Walking Crusader,” *Soo Nipi Magazine*, (Summer 2004): 18-23. “Personal,” *New York Herald Tribune* 11 June, 1879, pg., 4; “The S. P. C. C.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 17 January, 1882, pg.,8; N.a., “Germantown's Workingman's Club Celebration of the Fifth Anniversary,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 11 May, 1882, pg.,2; “A Plea for the Indians,” *New York Herald Tribune* 13 November, 1882, pg.,5. Although Herbert Welsh would devote the rest of his life to Indian assimilation, as the privileged child of John Welsh, (William Welsh's wealthy brother and ambassador to Britain) Herbert lead a life of leisure as an artist, playboy (with a life-long penchant for teenaged girls) and social activist (interestingly as a child welfare advocate) before adopting his dead uncle and aged aunt's Indian assimilation cause in 1882.

214 “William Welsh,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 12 February, 1878, pg.,4.

was 64 in 1878), IHA membership declined and the organization stagnated.

Although the IHA continued to function beyond 1878, it was effectively superseded by the Philadelphia based Special Committee (SC) of the Baptist Woman's Home Missionary Committee (BWHMC).²¹⁵

Chaired by Mary Lucinda Bonney, a Baptist social activist and headmistresses of Chestnut Street Female Seminary (CSFS), the BWHMC functioned as Philadelphia's evangelical Baptist equivalent of the IHA. Sharing IHA interest in “improving the condition of Indian women,” the BWHMC also remained abreast of current Indian legal and social issues. Of particular interest was Missouri Senator George Graham Vest's call for opening Oklahoma Indian lands to European American settlement. Conferring with fellow Baptist social worker and CSFS teacher Amelia Quinton in 1879, both Bonney and Quinton agreed to head a Special Committee (SC) within the BWHMC to protest Vest's proposal. Philadelphia and Washington offices were soon established as joint SC headquarters for a national petition drive demanding U. S. fidelity to Indian treaties.²¹⁶

As old abolitionists, Bonney, an Episcopal convert and avid women's rights proponent and Quinton, a zealous educator and social activist who had worked in New York “almshouses, infirmaries, prisons and in the women's reformatory,” were marginalized women who hitched their political futures to the promotion of a

215 “The Indian Hope Association,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 30 November, 1880, pg., 3. Also see, Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 134-138.

216 Prucha, *American Indian Policy.*, 134-138.

scholarly solution for the national Indian “problem.”²¹⁷ As novices Bonney and Quinton's first petition reflected the long held treaty-keeping and reservation policies of the AIAA and IHA and shared IHA concern for the social condition of Indian women. However, unlike their contemporaries, Bonney and Quinton based their political demands on treaty terms, subsequent U. S. statutes and historical evidence.²¹⁸

As educators who stressed math and science, Bonney and Quinton were trained in the methods and evidential practices of academic work. Moreover Quinton, as the wife of a prominent Philadelphia history professor was versed in the emerging professional standards of American history. Analysis of evidence and documentation of historical detail would come to characterize the methods and practices of the SC and its successors – the CIC and ITKPA.

Quinton's research into the history of Indian treaties for the explanatory pamphlets and tracts that accompanied the first petition was particularly important in determining the political path taken by SC, CIC and ITKPA women. Unlike contemporaneous assimilationists who relied on antiquated moral and sentimental rhetoric to address reservation politics and specific Indian improvement cases,

217 The Episcopalian bishop Henry B. Whipple also influenced Quinton and Bonny's assimilation beliefs. Whipple favored the allotment/reservation/salvation approach. This argument held the only way to save Indians from extinction was by confining them to allotted reservation homesteads where they would undergo cultural tutelage, become farmers and eventually become U. S. citizens. See, Henry B. Whipple, *Taopi and His friends, or the Indians Wrongs and Rights* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfugen, 1869), 73-87, passim, Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 55; Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement For Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 198-199.

218 Wanken, 21-32. fns., 185-189.

Quinton and Bonney advanced a national solution supported by evidence derived from the study of United States/Indian treaties. Such careful study of historical documents would also definitively mark Helen Hunt Jackson and Alice Fletcher's Indian publication following their 1879-1881 alliance with Bonney and Quinton.²¹⁹

Penned by Quinton and circulated nationally with the help of Bonney and BWHMC women, the first petition garnered 13,000 signatures and was presented to President Rutherford B. Hayes and Congress in February 1880. That fall Bonney and Quinton severed ties with the BWHCM and formed (with two other women) the independent inter-denominational Central Indian Committee (CIC). Funded by Bonney, the CIC substantially expanded operations in Philadelphia and Washington.

Inspired by national interest in a series of well publicized 1880 articles outlining historical instances of U. S. Indian treaty abrogation and mistreatment authored by CIC member Helen Hunt Jackson, Bonney and Quinton decided to launch a second petition campaign. The second petition, in addition to repeating the first's plea for treaty fidelity also raised the issue of voluntary citizenship for American Indians. Like the first, the second petition, though boasting 50,000

²¹⁹ Welsh and other assimilationists proposed national action on Indian “uplift,” however in practice they largely focused on specific cases involving tribal and reservation politics and disputes between reservation Indians and the Department of the Interior. The ITKPA and later WNIA specifically focused on national assimilation and allotment. Herbert Welsh's arguments in contrast to those of the ITKPA and WNIA tended to be loquacious and cloying rather than evidence driven. Herbert Welsh, *Four Weeks Among Some of the Sioux Tribes of Dakota and Nebraska* (German Town, Pennsylvania: Horace F. McCann Stream-Power Printer, 1882), 1-31; Herbert Welsh, *The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887), 1-62; Herbert Welsh, *A Brief Statement of the Objects, Achievements and Needs of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1887), 1-43.

signatures attracted little attention in Congress.²²⁰

In 1881 the CIC became a truly national organization with national reach. Rechristening themselves the Indian Treaty-Keeping and Protective Association (ITKPA), Bonney, Quinton and the CIC membership drafted an organizational constitution and expanded the new ITKPA to twenty states. Quinton and Bonney also formulated a new committee structure that transformed the ITKPA into a national multi-denominational organization.

Reflecting the women's rights sentiments of the AIAA and the women-only membership of the IHA, SC and CIC, the ITKPA remained a women's organization. However, while Quinton and Bonney supported women's rights and suffrage, Quinton insisted that the ITKPA steer clear of fractious suffrage politics and focus on the assimilation cause. In this manner, the ITPKA fostered an accommodating political environment for conservative, moderate and liberal women and their respective organizational talents. The ITKPA's neutral politics in turn made possible the contributions of such politically diverse women as the liberal suffragist, Alice Fletcher and the conservative poet, author and social activist, Helen Hunt Jackson. Rather than casting their lot with suffrage, ITKPA women bet their political futures on promoting the new Indian citizenship and allotment cause.²²¹

²²⁰ Jackson's own articles were modeled on existing and widely published work by Quinton.

Jackson was a popular poet and author which no doubt impressed Bonney and Quinton.

Wanken, 17-22, 23-25. "Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson," *Boston Daily Advertiser* 6 February, 1880. pg., 2.

²²¹ Wanken, 28-29. While individual land allotments were granted before they were advocated by the ITPKA, specifically the Colorado allotments, the idea was already in development among

Paralleling fellow assimilationist's concern that Grant's Peace Plan was untenable, Bonney and Quinton concluded by late 1881 that the only way to save American Indians from the exterminating havoc of western settlement would be in subjecting them to the same property laws and rights as European Americans. This new position became the basis for Quinton's third petition to Congress. Although, allotment and related assimilation ideas were not new, the ITKPA petition was the first formulation of a new comprehensive national Indian policy based on universal allotment. The ITKPA's new policy effectively launched the organization as a powerful player in the national arena of Indian assimilation politics.²²²

As a political organization the ITKPA proved quite effective, not for its stunning legislative successes, but rather for its keen strategic instincts and shrewd tactical moves. Cumulatively, ITKPA political power ultimately stemmed from the organization's ability to present well-argued positions supported by the best evidence of the day. Key to this was Quinton's realization that the sentimentalist appeals of the past were no longer effective in Congress. Quinton's first inkling that the old tactics were in peril stemmed from Congressional reaction to the third petition.²²³

Introduced February 21, 1882 by ITKPA Senate sponsor, Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts the petition asked for fidelity to Indian treaties, universal

SC and CIC leaders. D. H. Ross, "Awakened Interest in the Indian Question," *Cherokee Advocate* 17, March 1882, pg.1; Amelia Quinton, "They are for Justice, a Splendid Letter from a Woman," *Cherokee Advocate* 19, May 1882, pg.2

222 Wanken, 32.

223 Ibid., 31-34.

education for Indian children, improvement of Indian women's social condition, title to 160 acres for each reservation Indian and Indian U. S. citizenship. The responses from Senators Preston B. Plumb of Kansas and Henry M. Teller of Colorado – both accomplished lawyers – were strategic attacks on the ITKPA's new agenda. Plumb linked sentiment for Indians to inexperience and contended that recent tensions with western Indians actually stemmed from “strict observance” of U. S. / Indian treaties. Dismissing ITKPA concern for Indian women, Plumb confidently asserted:

You cannot get an Indian any more than a Mormon woman to advocate change of the relations that exist now between the Indian woman and the male members of the tribes²²⁴

Senator Teller noted, that Senator Dawes was “full of pathos and full of enthusiasm, but utterly lacking in common sense,” and more pointedly to Quinton and Bonney seated in the Senate gallery reiterated Plumb's assertions regarding ITKPA naivete and inexperience. In agreement with Plumb, Teller informed petition supporters that a “little time spent on the frontier would convince them... it is not so easy to educate an Indian.” More so, Teller reiterated Plumb's views on treaty fidelity arguing that western Indian misfortune did not, “come entirely from a failure... of the government to maintain its treaties....” or from “an improper treatment by the people of that section.”²²⁵

²²⁴ *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st session, 1882, 13, pt. 83: 1326-1330.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

Reflecting Quinton's own political savvy, she resisted a direct political confrontation with the senators and redoubled her efforts to ground ITKPA politics in scholarly work. With an eye toward pressing Washington women into action Quinton emphasized the need, “for publishing the facts regarding both Indian capacities and the long oppressions...”²²⁶

In reply the ITKPA again refashioned itself, refining its image and goals. To avoid the sentimentalist tag raised by Plumb and Teller, the ITKPA changed its name to the “Women's National Indian Association” (WNIA). In response to Plumb and Teller's contentions regarding Indian assimilation and treaty relations Quinton encouraged comprehensive research that would address Indian capacity for assimilation and examine each tribes' treaty history and legal standing with the United States. To this end Quinton cultivated a host of women volunteers, most notably Alice Fletcher and Helen Hunt Jackson.²²⁷

Having joined the CIC-ITKPA in 1879 and 1881 respectively Jackson and Fletcher's Indian scholarship proved invaluable to the WNIA.²²⁸ Although Matilda Coxe Stevenson was not associated with Fletcher at the time and did not work with Jackson, ethnological work with her husband James reinforced ITKPA-WNIA political interests. James Stevenson's conclusions before the Senate Ponca Investigating Committee in 1880 regarding the duo's ethnological work while on the Warren Expedition testify to this. James asserted, “all Northwestern tribes...

²²⁶ Quinton, “The Original Indian Association.”

²²⁷ Quinton, “The Original Indian Association.”

²²⁸ Ibid.

are predisposed to civilization, and can be readily brought to a fair state of culture....” James added that “in time [they will] attain useful and respectable citizenship²²⁹

Ultimately the WNIA had three defining characteristics that helped shape women's post bellum American Indian and American West scholarship: It brought together a wide range of new conservative, moderate and liberal women (like Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson), it fostered comprehensive Indian treaty analysis as well as anthropological and ethnological study of American Indians by women, and it nourished the careers of autonomous professional women interested in American Indian scholarship. In this respect Jackson, Fletcher and Stevenson benefited immensely from the WNIA's call for scholarship on American Indian cultures, histories and artifacts. Specifically, the WNIA congealed the emerging women's Indian scholarship niche.²³⁰

229 “XLVIth Congress—IId Session” *New York Herald-Tribune* 6 May, 1880 pg.,2.

230 While historians (with the notable exception of William T. Hagan) credit the all-male Indian Rights Association with bringing to fruition the general allotment plan, the infamous distinction is not warranted by the evidence. Clearly the ITKPA/WNIA promoted a national assimilation policy – a full year before the IRA. Unlike the IRA 's focus on federal mismanagement of Indian reservation affairs and local studies of reservation poverty, politics and society, the ITKPA/WNIA pursued a comprehensive land in severalty Act and compulsory assimilation. Historically the IRA was derivative and mimicked the ITKPA/WNIA and its accomplishments. In fact, the IRA's derivation is so clear that historian Ralph Henry Gabriel contended Herbert Welsh decided to form the IRA after reading ITKPA/WNIA member Helen Hunt Jackson's 1881 publication, *A Century of Dishonor*. Ralph Henry Gabriel ed., *The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1929), 271. Perpetrated by the unexamined hubris of Herbert Welsh, scholarly elevation of the IRA helps explain the historical invisibility of women's leading role in shaping the defining characteristics of American Indian ethno-political scholarship. See, Fritz, 199, 211-217; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, vol II* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), chaps., 24-39.

**Science and Women's Rights: Alice Cunningham Fletcher as Scholarly
Activist and Early Scientist**

Alice Cunningham Fletcher was born March 15, 1838 in Havana, Cuba to a New York lawyer named Thomas G. Fletcher and his wife, Lucia Adeline Jenks Fletcher. Wracked with tuberculosis, Thomas had moved the family to Cuba hoping for recovery. A Dartmouth graduate, Thomas Fletcher was a lawyer by profession. Lucia Fletcher was described as an intelligent, well-educated woman deeply concerned with the intellectual growth of her children.²³¹

Unimproved after several months, Thomas and family returned to New York in late 1838. A year later Thomas died. Following her husband's death Lucia moved the family to Brooklyn, New York. Records show that in 1848 Lucia enrolled Alice, then eight in one of the most prestigious New York institutions of the day, the Brooklyn Female Academy (BFA).²³²

The BFA was nationally known for its rigorous academic routine and emphasis on the sciences. Alice studied agriculture, music, geography, history, natural history, natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy. Between 1850-1872 little is known about Alice Fletcher's life. Fletcher did note in later years that her academic focus was on history and literature. It is also known that in the 1870s Alice developed an interest in women's rights and worked as a governess for a local wealthy family. Economic hardship brought on by the death of her employer and

231 Joan Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 3-4.

232 Mark, *A Stranger.*, 4-8.

the financial crisis of the 1870s prompted Fletcher to take up public lecture for self-support.²³³

Drawing on her background in the anthropology and history Fletcher crafted a wildly popular series of lectures titled “Ancient Americans.” The lectures proved so popular that Fletcher gained Minnesota Academy of Sciences sponsorship. Focusing on ancient American Indians and the mound builders, Fletcher's public talks reflected both an emerging post bellum interest in Indian history and autonomous professional women's increasing presence in American society.

During this difficult period Fletcher also cultivated important social and political relationships, most notably in the New York Sorosis club out of which grew the Association for the Advancement of Women (AAW). Modeled on the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the AAW which Fletcher helped found in 1873 proved a valuable vocational and scholarly resource. Through the AAW Fletcher befriended fellow member Mary Putnam, cousin of Frederick Ward Putnam and Maria Mitchell the famous astronomer and promoter of women in the sciences. Friendship with Mary Putnam provided Fletcher the opportunity to cultivate vocational prospects with Mary's cousin, Frederick. Frederick was director of the Peabody Museum of American Ethnology and Anthropology and a noted advocate of women's higher education.²³⁴

With Maria Mitchel's help, Fletcher secured the rank of AAW secretary and

²³³ Ibid., 8-42.

²³⁴ Ute Gacs, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre, and Weinberg, Ruth, eds., *Women Anthropologists: Selected Bibliographies* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 995-96.

became one of Mitchel's favored candidates for scientific promotion. Mitchel's contention that "science needs women," no doubt galvanized Fletcher's early interest in anthropology and ethnology. Fletcher's interest in the human sciences would directly lead to her tutelage under noted pre-professional anthropologist Frederick Ward Putnam. Putnam, as permanent secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and an associate of the Harvard University School for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, was perfectly situated for the promotion of women anthropologists. To this end Putnam first secured a position for Fletcher on an 1878 shell mound excavation sponsored by the Peabody museum and thereafter secured her membership in both the Archaeological Institute of America and the AAAS. Fletcher's 1879 AAAS membership was preceded by Erminnie Smith who joined in 1876 and was followed by Zelia Nutall in 1886 and Matilda Coxe Stevenson in 1892.²³⁵

As an AAAS member Fletcher joined section H (anthropology) and presented papers on anthropological and ethnological subjects. By 1879 Fletcher began anthropological training at the Peabody Museum under Putnam's direction. Fletcher's study with Putnam continued until the fall of 1881. The record shows that long before Fletcher undertook ethnological fieldwork in the fall of 1881 she was enmeshed in Washington women's rights politics and the gestating world of

²³⁵ Fletcher's biography missed her election to the AAAS and AIA in 1879 and her 1878 shell mound excavations in Maine, Massachusetts and Florida. Historians of anthropology separate this work from her later ethnological scholarship. The distinction is not one that Fletcher or her associates made. David Browman and Stephen Williams, *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 222-223; Gacs, *Women Anthropologists.*, 95-96.

American Indian scholarship. By the time Fletcher began fieldwork in October of 1881, she was well versed in the latest ethnological and anthropological scholarship. While securing her political and professional status as an Indian expert, Fletcher would present herself as a naive assimilationist and scientist in training until 1882.²³⁶

**Mrs. Jackson and the Ghost of Edward B. Hunt's Brain: Unlikely Woman
Indian Scholar and Cautious American Darwinist**

Helen Maria Fisk (Hunt-Jackson) was born October 15, 1830 to Deborah Vinal Fiske and Nathan Welby Fiske. Nathan Fiske was a Congregationalist minister and professor of languages and rhetoric at Amherst College. Deborah Fiske was self-educated, a connoisseur of literature and a feeble consumptive. Under doctor's orders to maintain "perfect quietness and entire rest from talking, walking, working, and everything," Deborah often sent her younger children to stay with relatives, or in Helen's case to boarding school. The effect on Helen would be indelible, for she became acutely convinced that life was unusually precarious and the maladies that threatened it were unleashed by overexertion.²³⁷

Despite her mother's lingering sickness, Helen was raised a strict Calvinist.

²³⁶ Mark, *A Stranger*, 42-79.

²³⁷ Michael T. Marsden, "A Dedication to the Memory of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1830-1885" *Arizona and the West* vol 21 no 2 (Summer 1979): 109-112. Kate Phillips, *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 1-39. The point is clear when one considers that almost four decades later Helen Hunt Jackson continued to be quite troubled about health and overexertion. See, Helen Hunt Jackson, *Bits of Talk About Home Matters* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1879), passim.

Schooled in the middle-class separate spheres affectations of the age, Helen's intellectual and academic curiosities were nevertheless encouraged by both parents. Deborah Fiske died in 1844. With her father's death from Dysentery in 1847 Helen was orphaned. The seventeen year-old Helen was placed in the care of a Boston lawyer by her aged maternal grandfather. Under the lawyer's care Helen continued her education in the most prestigious private schools of the day. By her late teens Helen Fisk was well grounded in a classical liberal education.²³⁸

During an 1851 New York visit Helen met Edward Bissell Hunt, brother of New York governor Washington Hunt. Edward, then “a lieutenant in the Army Corps of Engineers” was also a well-respected scientist, civil engineer and fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). When Edward and Helen met he was in New York to present a paper at the AAAS on the nature of gaseous pressure. Smitten, the two were married six months later. In addition to her more mundane domestic pursuits, Helen Hunt began an arduous course of scientific study utilizing her husband’s vast library.²³⁹

Helen Hunt's amateur scientific studies were curtailed with the birth of her first child Murray in 1852. Murray died of a brain tumor in 1854. After a period of mourning and with great anticipation Helen and Edward's second child Warren was born in 1855 and for almost a decade all seemed well.

238 Mary A. Livermore, “Helen Hunt Jackson” *The Perry Magazine* vol 3 no 1 (September 1900): 67-70. Phillips, 14-15.

239 F. A. P. Barnard, “Memoir of Edward B. Hunt, 1822-1863” in n.a., *Biographical Memoirs; National Academy of Sciences* vol 3 (Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Ditweiler, 1895), 33.

On October 2, 1863 Edward Hunt died in the Brooklyn Naval Hospital. The tragic events leading to his death occurred following the test of a prototype submarine torpedo for the U. S. Navy. Against his assistant's advice Edward climbed down a rickety ladder into the unlit underwater launching chamber following a flawed launch. Improperly vented the chamber had filled with poisonous fumes which prompted Edward to make a hasty retreat. Ten feet into his ascent Edward was overcome by the toxic air and fell to the floor violently hitting his head. Rescued several minutes later and rushed to hospital, it was found that Edward had suffered a "concussion of the brain." Shortly after Edward became comatose and died two days later.²⁴⁰

Within a year Helen Hunt suffered another debilitating blow. Her remaining child Warren Hunt contracted Diphtheria in 1865. As he lay slowly and helplessly suffocating, Helen extracted a promise that once on the other side he would send her a sign. Following Warren's death Helen remained barricaded in her room for several months awaiting word that never came. In a cathartic moment Helen finally accepted her child's passing and emerged from her mourning chamber convinced that human personality could not survive the grave. The experience further shaped Helen Hunt's conviction that rapid change discombobulated the brain resulting in either insanity or death.²⁴¹

Warren's passing, together with that of Edward and Murray left Helen with

²⁴⁰ Barnard, "Memoir," 35-38.

²⁴¹ Jennie E. Keysor, "Helen Hunt Jackson, 1831-1885" *Popular Educator* vol 16 no 2 (October 1898): 60-61; Sarah Knowles Bolton, *Lives of Girls Who Became Famous* (New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1886), 18-31.

the unshakable conviction that all matters effecting the brain must be approached judiciously. For Helen sudden change could literally kill. In the years following the death of her family Helen's literary production became increasingly concerned with brain health. Ultimately this concern shaped Helen's dogged support for the ITKPA-WNIA's slow approach to Indian assimilation. Helen Hunt feared that too quick a change would drive American Indians to insanity and death.²⁴²

In 1873 the widowed Helen Hunt suffering from bronchitis traveled to Colorado Springs, Colorado seeking a cure. While recovering Helen met William Sharpless Jackson, a local Banker, Railroad investor and Quaker. The two married in 1875 and made their home in Colorado Springs. Four years later Helen Jackson returned to the East Coast to attend birthday festivities for her old friend Oliver Wendell Holmes. During her stay Jackson occasioned to hear a public lecture by Standing Bear and Susette and Francis La Flesche who were in Boston protesting Ponca removal from Nebraska. Inspired by a cause that fit into her conservative middle-class maternal sentiments, Jackson embraced the Ponca cause and Indian treaty fidelity. Before returning to Colorado Springs Jackson affirmed her new social consciousness by joining the all-woman Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association (ITKPA) in 1879.²⁴³

242 The extent of Helen Hunt Jackson's interest in brain health can be seen in subsequent publications which address her fear that sudden change or overexertion would lead to illness, insanity and/or death. See, Helen Hunt Jackson, *Hettie's Strange Bits* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1877), 182, 192, 251, 275, 279; Helen Hunt Jackson, *Bits of Talk About Home Matters* (Boston, Massachusetts: Robert's Brothers, 1879), 10, 43, 51-54, 57, 75, 173, 186-187, 209, 223, 239; Helen Hunt Jackson, *Zeph: A Posthumous Story* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1885), 112, 181, 191, 228.

243 Marsden, "A Dedication," 110, Bolton, *Lives of Girls.*, 18-31.

Taking up her famous pen (she was already a well-known author and poet) Helen Hunt Jackson authored numerous letters to newspaper editors attacking Ponca removal and Interior Secretary Carl Schulz's handling of the matter. While garnering public attention her squabble with Schulz did not advance the Ponca issue. Heeding the ITKPA call for comprehensive scholarship on Indian legal and treaty histories, Jackson began research that would culminate in publication of the most noted scholarship of her career, *A Century of Dishonor*.²⁴⁴

Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Hidden-Hand Ethnological Scholarship and American Indian Material Culture Collection

Matilda Coxe Evans was born on May 12, 1849 in San Augustine, Texas to Alexander H. Evans and Maria Matilda (Coxe) Evans. Former residents of Washington, D. C., Alexander and Maria Evans retained deep ties to the city through friends, relatives, business and political connections. A practicing lawyer and journalist, Alexander supported his family through publishing contracts with the state of Texas.²⁴⁵

In 1853 Maria Evans returned to Washington with the children. Alexander visited frequently and eventually returned to practice law in the capitol. Matilda Coxe Stevenson recounted that in Washington she developed her first interest in

244 Valerie Sherer Mathes, ed., *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885* (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 1-43, 51, 57, 60, 73-77, 81, 86, 88, 90, 99, 114-115. Thomas Henry Tibbles, *Buckskin and Blanket Days* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 8, 216.

245 W. H. Holmes, "In Memoriam: Matilda Coxe Stevenson," *American Anthropologist* vol 18 (1916): 552-559.

science during visits to the Smithsonian with her father. Following the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 Alexander moved his family to Philadelphia where Maria had relatives. There Alexander practiced law and young Matilda attended classes at one of the most prestigious Philadelphia girls' academies – Mrs. Anable's English, French, and German School.²⁴⁶

In 1868, eager to reignite his former law practice Alexander returned the family to Washington, where he became a noted patent attorney. Matilda, building on her early scientific interests began chemical and mineralogical studies with a family friend, William M. Mew. Sometime between 1869 and 1871 Matilda met an officer named James Stevenson who was stationed with the Ferdinand Hayden Geological Survey. Matilda was enchanted by the striking lad and more so Matilda's politically conscious family were captivated by Stevenson's recent successful push for the 1871 Yellowstone Park Act. On April 18, 1872 Miss Matilda Coxe Evans became Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson.²⁴⁷

Over the next half-decade Matilda Coxe Stevenson would foster social and political ties with her husbands closest Congressional allies, including Henry L. Dawes and Henry Teller. By 1878 Matilda accompanied James on his western work for the Hayden survey. Matilda functioned as James' ghost writer organizing field research, official reports and authoring articles in his name. James Stevenson despised writing.²⁴⁸

246 Holmes, "In Memoriam," 552-559.

247 Darlis A. Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 10-28.

248 Holmes, 552-559, Neil Merton Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History*

James Stevenson was appointed John Wesley Powell's executive officer at the newly created Bureau of Ethnology (BE) in 1879 and began a career that definitively shaped Matilda's American Indian scholarship. As a member of the Hayden expedition James' work was well-known to Powell. Both men shared a strong interest in Southwest American Indian culture. Influenced by the racial evolution ideas of Henry Lewis Morgan and Daniel Brinton both men believed that Southwest Indian culture was on the verge of passing away. Basing their assumptions on the number of abandoned Cliff Dwellings noted by recent explorers, Powell and Stevenson feared that serious anthropologists and ethnologists would soon find few remnants of Indian material culture.²⁴⁹

Under Powell's employment, James Stevenson was sent on annual Southwest excursions to collect Indian material culture for the Smithsonian. Anthropological value and the quantity acquired was left to Stevenson's discretion. As she had on the Hayden survey Matilda accompanied James on each venture serving as secretary, ghost writer and ethnologist in training. Although both James and Matilda were schooled or at least versed in several scientific fields, both had extremely limited experience as ethnologists.²⁵⁰

As novices in Southwest anthropological fieldwork, the Stevenson's relied on a small circle of capable researchers, collectors and translators. Although the

(Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 58.

249 Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 92, 105-115; Judd, 57-58; Miller, 30-32.

250 Judd, 57-58.

team showed deference to James, none seemed to care for his haughty, presumptuous partner Matilda. One such example of Mrs. Stevenson's pretension was her self-serving use of the Zuni language. During a dinner conversation with the noted linguist John P. Harrington, Matilda proclaimed the Zuni Indians called her “*po-pog-ha-ii*,” which she proudly rendered “mother.” Taken aback by her self-satisfied ignorance, Harrington excused himself in an effort to regain composure. According to Harrington, the word's actual meaning was more closely “old fat woman with the big flat anus.” Harrington's account speaks to the value of James and Matilda's perennial (until 1886) expedition translator Frank Cushing and his knowledge of the Zuni language. It is not known how Cushing rendered “*po-pog-ha-ii*.”²⁵¹

In the field both James and Matilda proved narrow-minded and authoritarian. James Stevenson as a colonel in the United States Army and Ferdinand Hayden's former executive officer occasionally consulted, but did not take directions from far more learned colleagues. Matilda, as James' unofficial secretary, though lacking ethnological and anthropological field experience or official BE sanction quickly found her husband's penchant for lording over others to her liking. While deference to James' leadership was required by the BE, deference to Matilda's orders was demanded by James which contributed to

251 Jesse Logan Nusbaum and Rosemary Nusbaum, *Tierra Dulce: Reminiscences From Jesse Nusbaum Papers* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Sunstore Press, 1980), 52. Judd, *The Bureau.*, 57-63. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, either unaware of the actual meaning of *po-pog-ha-ii*, or unwilling to accept the less flattering translation continued to represent her true Zuni epitaph as “mother” until the day she died. Holmes' 1916 eulogy makes note of the fictitious term. Holmes, 552-559.

unnecessary friction in the field. Years later, BE employees who had served on the 1879-1888 expeditions as well as later BE colleagues would remember Matilda as a “dominating individual” who dispensed with social decorum and simply “commanded others to do her bidding.” One critic noted, “She was able to appropriate to herself more personal service than all the rest of the bureau combined.” The same critics deemed the equally ambitious and driven Alice Fletcher “the gracious lady of the B. A. E.”²⁵²

During their first Southwestern excursion in 1879, the Stevenson's developed a pattern of behavior that would characterize subsequent trips and Matilda's later ethnological fieldwork. In addition to relying on the intimidating help of U. S. military personnel put at their disposal, the Stevenson's segregated themselves in rented rooms and European style residences in Santa Fe, only visiting collection sites or mingling with Indians when forced by circumstance. Moreover, the Stevenson's hired well appointed carriages for their transportation when possible and arrived on location as if dressed for a Sunday outing. The Stevenson's interaction with Southwest American Indians was stilted, manipulative, presumptive and often unethical. In one instance the Stevenson's engaged in outright thievery pilfering important religious artifacts from a five hundred year old church at Zuni Pueblo. Neither James or Matilda saw Southwest American Indians as equals and consequently displayed little concern for Indian feelings or cultural traditions when appropriating material culture for the B.E. and their own personal

252 Judd., 54, 56-57.

use.²⁵³

In the field the Stevenson's used barter and cash purchases to collect material. While barter certainly was not a new concept to American Indians, the Stevenson's were at the vanguard of an emerging currency driven market dealing in southwestern Indian goods. Matilda Coxe Stevenson's later ethnological and anthropological work would reflect the culturally insensitive barter and purchase methods she developed during her almost decade-long annual collection trips with James. Although heralded in compensatory European American women's history as “an anthropological and ethnological pioneer,” Matilda Coxe Stevenson's field work raises grave questions about how historians and anthropologists have told the story of Indian scholarship. Not only does the evidence reveal a disturbing cultural imperialism on the part of James and Matilda Stevenson, it also demonstrates that Matilda Coxe Stevenson manipulated the private and institutional collection of Southwestern American Indian material culture for her own political gain. While disinterested in Indian people as human beings, Matilda Coxe Stevenson helped fashion Southwestern Indian material culture into powerful political commodities.

253 Fowler, 105-115; Holmes, 552-559; James Stevenson to James Pilling, 22 September, 1880 National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Matilda Coxe Stevenson Papers, James Stevenson, August 1879 – August 1880, Box 86. Tilley E. Stevenson, *Zūni and Zūnians* (N.p., 1881), preface, 2-6, 9-11. For the Stevenson's robbery of the church at Zuni Pueblo see this study chapter 2, fn.198. Matilda Coxe Stevenson's biographer downplays Frank Hamilton Cushing's intense dislike for Matilda as a kind of chauvinistic jealousy or professional animosity. It might be noted that Matilda found Cushing's efforts to empathize with (if not embrace) Zuni culture distasteful. Moreover, although eccentric, within the BE Cushing was hailed as a scholarly genius and noted authority on Zuni culture. Matilda cruelly, caustically and ignorantly dismissed him in public as “the biggest fool and charlatan I ever knew.” The cumulative evidence does not show Matilda to be have been a diplomatic or even likeable person. Miller, *Matilda.*, 40-44.

A New Scholarship for a New Era

By 1881, Alice Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson were firmly established on autonomous career paths as American Indian scholars. While only Fletcher and Stevenson would live past 1885, each woman significantly shaped the nature and content of American Indian scholarship. Jackson pioneered Indian treaty and legal history in 1881 with *A Century of Dishonor* – a scholarly trajectory that came to maturity with Alice Fletcher's *Indian Education and Civilization Report* in 1888. Fletcher, in turn pioneered ethno-political American Indian scholarship, presenting Indians as both scientific subjects and political commodities. Matilda Coxe Stevenson in turn set the standard for an anthropological scholarship providing context and market value for Southwest American Indian material culture. Between 1881 and 1893 these women fashioned the key characteristics of pre Frontier Thesis American Indian scholarship.

Chapter Three

American Darwinism and Women

The historical trajectory that attracted women's rights proponents and socially conscious women to the Indian assimilation cause included a distinctively political flare reflecting new tactics that emerged following the dissolution of the slave (and later freed people) metaphor and the subsequent disintegration of the radical equal rights campaign. Like Transcendentalism four decades earlier, the serendipitous benefit of the new post 1877 women's rights strategy was its unexpected and normalizing conflation with a wide range of women's social reform causes. Among these no other effort as readily embodied the new patriotic maternalism of women's rights proponents as did the campaign for American Indian assimilation.²⁵⁴

Emerging from the lateral dissemination of the old women's rights vanguard, at the intellectual core of this emerging Washington based movement were a hand-full of women scholars either linked to or influenced by the prototypical scientific and academic Indian scholarship of Amelia Quinton, Mary Bonney and the Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association (ITKPA).²⁵⁵

254 For women's political commodification of American Indians see, Delores Janiewski, "Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the 'Woman Question,' and 'Indian Reform,'" in eds. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack, *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 325-340.

255 N.a., "Scientific Washington," *Science* vol 23 no 581 (March 1894): 158-159; J. Kirkpatrick Flack, "Scientific Societies in Gilded Age Washington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* vol 49 (1973/1974): 430-442; N.a., "National Public Museum," *New York Times*, 19 February, 1882, pg.5; N.a., "A Great Museum," *New York Times*, 24 October, 1886, pg.12; N.a.,

Unfortunately, the political winds that would eventually sweep Washington women's scholarly interests westward would also come to tarnish their intellectual legacies.²⁵⁶ As Julie Des Jardins notes, it was precisely the sticky political veneer of such “progressive” women's scholarly work that helped to compartmentalize and obscure their pioneering work within the pre-professional American history community.²⁵⁷

The early American history scene was far from apolitical. Among its iconic founding members, Henry Adams, George Bancroft, Josiah Royce, Francis Parkman, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Justin Winsor and Theodore Roosevelt embraced versions of a popular political agenda that interpreted westward expansion as both inevitable and beneficent. While individual motives differed, the male early American history community – like its female cohorts – generally favored westward expansion. However, in contrast to emerging women scholars, male historians were notably indifferent to the Indian societies and cultures uprooted by European American expansion. Adams, Parkman, the Bancrofts, Winsor and Royce did incorporate Indian ethnological writings into their works, but as a whole the

“How Great Schools Came,” *New York Times* 1 September, 1890, pg.2. Historians have not given sufficient weight to the fact that many early women assimilationists were well versed in the academic arts and scientific analysis before they engaged in field work. See, N. a., *Biographical Memoirs* (Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Detweiler, 1895), 29-41.

256 American Darwinist women biologists, botanists and naturalists also made the trek westward. See, Marcia Myers Bonta, *American Women Afield: Writings by Pioneering Women Naturalists* (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1995), 9-16, 17-32, 33-44, 45-54, 84-94, 95-105.

257 Des Jardins, *Women*, 3-18, 40-46. The point is also suggested in Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 37-69, 113-116, 164, 185-212. Also see, Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), chaps., 4-6.

general scope of pre-professional male American history was far more concerned with chronicling Indian “pacification” than with promoting Indian assimilation.²⁵⁸

In contrast Alice Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson were deeply concerned with Indian ethnography. Each woman played a key role in assessing, prioritizing, standardizing and implementing a core group of analytical tools for the study of American Indians. Gleaned from the old Developmentalist arsenal these scientific instruments included updated versions of philology, linguistics, ethnology, phrenology, folk-lore studies, mythological study and pre-professional anthropology.²⁵⁹

258 Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America During the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson Vol 2* (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889), 83-84.; Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippencott & Co, 1879), 5, 45, 126, 167-169, 303, 644-652. Ronald E. Martin, *The language of Difference: American Writers and Anthropologists Reconfigure the Primitive, 1878-1940* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 66-90. George Bancroft, *History of the Colonization of the United States of America* (New York, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 98-112; Frances Parkman, *The Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1872), 134, 138, 192, 236, 290; Hubert Howe Bancroft ed., *Native Races of the Pacific States* (San Francisco, California, 1882), 1-81. Lewis H. Morgan, “Montezuma’s Dinner,” *The North American Review* vol 122 issue 251 (April 1876): 265-308. Josiah Royce, *California From the Conquest of 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study in American Character* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888), 3-18, 40-46. Justin Winsor, *The Colonies and the Republic West of the Alleghenies, 1763-1798* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1897), 27-31, 94-95, 383, 489, 522. Justin Winsor ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America, Aboriginal America, vol 1* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889), 369-411, 413-415, 421-428. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West vol 1-5* (New York, New York: P. F. Collier, 1889). Des Jardins, *Women*, 13-51.

259 John M. Weeks, *The Library of Danial G. Brinton* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology, 2003), 90-99. Also see, Lee D. Baker, “Danial G. Brinton's Success on the Road to Obscurity,” *Cultural Anthropology* vol 15 no 3 (August 2000): 394-423. Marcia L. Thomas, *John Wesley Powell: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2004). It is important to note that Powell was an early proponent of Morgan's racial (social) evolution ideas. See, Daniel Noah Moses, *The promise of Progress: The Life and Work of Lewis Henry Morgan* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 221,240; N.a., “Indian Life Extracts from the Unpublished Manuscripts of Major Powell, The Geographical Features of the Desolate Colorado River Region – Tribal organization and Land Tenure,” *The Inter Ocean*, 25 June, 1874, pg.6. For Holmes see, Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York, New York: Oxford Press, 2001),

The Improbable Triumph of Monogenesis Anthropology: American Darwinism, Women Scholars and the New History of American Man

Although Alice C. Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson are often depicted as Indian “rights” proponents, their venture into the complicated world of assimilation scholarship ran counter to the modern understanding of Indian sovereignty and cultural integrity – not that they failed to foster relationships with individual American Indians or became enchanted with Indian life. As European American women their cultural and scientific assumptions were shaped by over three centuries of European and American fascination with the trans-Allegheny West and its peoples. This attraction paradoxically envisioned the American Occident as both a hallowed place of rare and powerful beauty and a virtually unlimited source of land and raw materials. The European American view of the American Indian, while far from balanced, followed a parallel narrative that blended depictions of enchantingly exotic noble Indians with troubling tales of intellectual turbidity, indelible depravity, unredeemed savagery and unpredictable brutality.²⁶⁰

205, 323, 328, 333, 423, 564-565; William H. Holmes, “Darwinism and National Life,” *Nature* vol 1 no 7 (December 1869): 183-184; William H. Holmes, “Prehistoric Textile Fabrics of the United States,” in John Wesley Powell, *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1881-1882 (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1884), lxii-lxiv.

260 Critiques of scholarship on long-enduring racial attitudes and cultural beliefs often do not give sufficient weight to historical continuity. See, Gordon Wood, *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History* (Penguin Press, 2008), chaps., 5, 21; also see Gordon Wood, review of *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*, by Bernard Sheehan, *William and Mary Quarterly* vol 30 no 4 (October 1973): 658-661 and William T. Hagan, review of *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*, by

Such conflicting thoughts were embedded in Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson's view of the American Indian. During an 1881 western excursion to the Sioux Reservation, Dakota Territory, Fletcher noted her perceptions of both Indian exotica and Indian "barbarism":

Sunday, September 18, 1881, Passed Indian on the way - was told he was an old man. He was gay. A small red and black shawl, plaid, wound like a turban around his head. A wood colored checked shirt, buckskin leggings, a shawl wound in some curious way so as to form breeches. His skin is reddish brown, hair straight and black, nose large and spread shaped ... stained and seems experienced, but I am inclined to think that expression must be sought for in different lines than in the white face....

September 21, 1881, The Sioux drove them out and great battles took place in the valleys - Wajapa remembers living here and going off on the trail over the distant hills on the buffalo hunts. The trail can now be seen. James and John Springer remember one of these great battles. Their father, mother and family were all killed. The little boys hid under a raw buffalo skin. The Sioux trampled over them, but the children never stirred and so were undiscovered. One of Susette's uncles was killed.

September 30, 1881, Wajapa was delighted to use the Opera-glass, he said, "This will be good when we get far away from houses and then when any one is

Bernard Sheehan, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol 5 no 4 (Spring 1975): 756-758. Classic examples of European American attitudes about Indians and the West are, George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians vol 1-3* (London, England: George Catlin at the Egyptian Hall Piccadilly, 1841); Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West* (Hartford, Connecticut: A. D. Worthington, 1882) and Henry Davenport Northrop, *Indian Horrors or, Massacres by the Red Men* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: W. B. Benford, 1891). See also, W. C. Vanderwerth, *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), and Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickle Novels vol 1-3* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

coming we can see who they are, whether friend or enemy!" A delicious bit of barbarous remains....²⁶¹

Helen Hunt Jackson in contrast recorded her perceptions of American Indian culture as a mixture of exotica and martyrdom. While on her spring 1880 European tour – to recuperate from the travails of writing *A century of Discontent* – Jackson visited the Copenhagen, Denmark Museum of Ethnology and noted:

[I]n this museum I found a most important place assigned to the North American Indian... Here were portraits of all the most distinguished of our Indian chiefs; a whole corridor filled with glass cases full of their robes, implements, weapons, decorations; several life-size figures in full war-dress... they were far more wonderful, being wrought by an uncivilized race, living in wilderness, with only rude paints, porcupine quills, and glass beads to work with. My eyes filled with tears, I confess, to find at last in little Denmark one spot in the world where there will be kept a complete pictorial record of the race of men that we have done our best to wipe out from the face of the earth²⁶²

Matilda Coxe Stevenson, while showing a keen interest in the exotica of American Indian material culture also displayed a life-long anxiety about American Indians.²⁶³ One such example was her culturally insensitive 1886 intrusion into a

261 National Anthropological Archives Smithsonian Institution, "Camping With the Sioux, Fieldwork Diary of Alice Cunningham Fletcher," National Anthropological Archives. <http://www.nmnh.si.edu/naa/fletcher/fletcher.htm> (accessed February 27, 2009). For convenience, the pages of this this unnumbered diary are referenced by month and day.

262 Helen Hunt Jackson, *Glimpses of Three Coasts* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1886), 355; Kate Phillips, *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 230.

263 Darlis Miller's biography of Matilda Coxe Stevenson seems to dismiss this cultural insensitivity and troubling racism as more reflective of Nineteenth-Century American culture than of Stevenson's mindset. In the biography Stevenson's contributions to anthropology and science – as an accomplished woman – seem to outweigh her racial attitudes. However, the evidence demonstrates that Matilda and James Stevenson's treatment of American Indians while in the

restricted Moqui Pueblo ceremonial structure. Related to *The Illustrated Police News*, Stevenson and her husband James depicted the Moqui as secretive, menacing, barbaric and murderous. The couple noted, “[t]he people have a strong aversion to contact with the whites.” Commenting on the discovery of their presence – the party was composed of the Stevensons, four Moqui accomplices and four Navajoes – the Stevenson’s related, “[t]he neighboring housetops and the plaza were thronged by excited barbarians, who chattered in loud voices and made threatening gestures. More ominously the intruders noted, “[o]ne burly savage upon a roof just above dangled a lariat suggestively noosed at the end, and loudly demanded that the whites... be summarily dealt with.” Matilda boasted that she heroically “created an opportune diversion by shaking her fist in the face of a hunchbacked savage... addressing to him... several brief but vigorous remarks in English and Spanish.” Making use of the confusion, “the strangers... backed down the ladder... with the whole howling pack—men and women, children and dogs—

field was beyond appalling – indeed even in their own time their actions were criminal ranging from assault to trespassing and theft – and all with the government’s blessing. While Matilda Coxe Stevenson’s life was far too complex to sum as simply applied racism, her willingness rob cultural relics and build professional accomplishments on the backs of American Indian women, men and children should not be commemorated as an idealized accomplishment for women. See, Darlis Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007). An excellent example of how generalization and the banality of racism approach serves to whitewash truly disturbing historical acts of racism by idealized compensatory figures is, Leonard Lieberman, “Gender and the Deconstruction of the Race Concept,” *American Anthropologist* vol 99 no 3 (September 1997): 545-558. Of note is Lieberman’s contention that “Clearly women scholars were viewed with ambivalence and intolerance and not given the recognition due them. Exemplary of this pattern is Matilda Coxe Stevenson, the first woman to work in the Southwest ... her work was an attempt to change the idea that Indians were bereft of religion.” How this kind of historical whitewashing can blind historians is suggested in Douglas A. Black, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans From the Civil War to World War II* (New York, New York: Anchor Books, 2009).

at their heels.” Once mounted on their ponies the party quickly “rode down to camp.”²⁶⁴

Championing the assimilation of aboriginal American races, each woman nevertheless lamented her role in dismantling ancient Indian societies and cultures. Unfortunately, their guiding political goals were grounded in the harried rush to save “extinguishing” Indians, consequently genuine cultural appreciation languished – largely relegated to the collection and preservation of Indian material culture. Certainly expressing nostalgia for “the voices that greeted the sunrise of the race,” in a far more disturbing sense Indian cultural artifacts were also used as evidence of both Indian productive skills and a standard against which to measure their racial evolution.²⁶⁵

Dating to Thomas Jefferson's administration, this view of Indians and the American West was grounded in the historical legacy of a uniquely American Developmentalist ideology that came to apportion ethnic, social and cultural distinction along a complex teleological trajectory of racial development. The heated antebellum debates over African slavery helped to further solidify American cultural attitudes about racial distinctiveness. By 1860 American intellectual and scientific thought, largely swayed by the dominant polygenesis American School of Anthropology (ASA), had absorbed distinct ideas about intrinsic race characteristics that would permeate subsequent American evolutionary theory for

264 N.a., *The Illustrated Police News* 6 March, 1886.

265 For prevalence of an extinction narrative and its effect on American assimilationists see, Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 68-93. Natalie Curtis Burlin, *The Indians' Book: Songs and Legends of the American Indians* (New York, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), xxix.

decades.²⁶⁶

The central ideology of the ASA held that each ethnic group comprised a distinct race (species) separated from all other human races by nature, habit and inclination. ASA theorists ranked human races in five distinct hierarchical groups that indicated both cultural sophistication and levels of racial superiority. From highest to lowest these were: Indo-European, American, Mongolian, Oceanic and African.²⁶⁷ Additionally, each distinct race was linked to a specific geological location and consequently to a distinct set of flora and fauna. According to ASA thought, only the European and North American geological zones shared virtually identical flora, fauna and landscapes.²⁶⁸

266 John Mark Rhea, "Frontiers of the Mind: American Culture, Darwinism and Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis," in eds. Mark Richard Wheeler and William Anthony Nericcio, *150 Years of Evolution: Darwin's Impact on Contemporary Thought and Culture* (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 2011), 180-186. While this study maintains that the American antebellum monogenesis/polygenesis debate propelled specific ideas about race and evolution into American Darwinism, the effect of this American debate and the ASA certainly helped shape European anthropological and ethnological theory. See, W. Michael Byrd and Linda A. Clayton, *An American Health Dilemma: A Modern History of African Americans and the Problem of Race, Beginnings to 1900* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2000), 249; Jason Pierce, "Making the White Man's West: Whiteness and the Creation of the American West" (Ph. D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2008), 39-40. While an informative work, Pierce broadly depicts European American intellectual thought and western settlement as a "White" venture finding an unbroken link between the "progressivist" racism of early racial evolutionists (American Darwinists) and the ideology expressed in Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis. Chapter three of this study addresses why this contention is not correct. Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Cultures* (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 2001), 90-98.

267 Josiah Nott and George R. Gliddon, **Map to Accompany Prof. Agassiz's "Sketch."** [map] Scale not given. In: Josiah Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: Or, Ethnological Researches, Based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1854. Unnumbered page, appearing between lxxviii and 49.

268 Nott and Gliddon, *Types.*, 62-79, 272-292; Josiah Nott and George Gliddon, **Tableau to Accompany Prof. Agassiz's "Sketch."** [map] Scale not given. In: Josiah Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: Or, Ethnological Researches, Based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lippincott, Grambo &

The ASA's definitive work was Josiah Nott and George Gliddon's infamous 1856 work, *Types of Mankind*. Through the wildly popular *Types*, immanent biologist Louise Agassiz lent the ASA an air of scientific respectability through an introductory essay augmented by a striking color map. Depicting eight geological/racial zones, Agassiz's map situated the genesis of human races within distinct global regions. From Antarctica to Polynesia each human race was linked not only to specific regions, but also to a triad of defining biological, cultural and social race characteristics that circumscribed the individual fates and fortunes of each group. Notably, by placing American Indians within the Northern European geographic belt, the ASA fostered an enduring interest in the developmental relationship between Indo-Europeans and [aboriginal] Americans. This relationship was further cast into American scientific culture when Agassiz's 1856 race map became a standard template of Post Civil War world cartography and remained so for the next century.²⁶⁹

Company, 1854. Unnumbered page.

269 J. A. Campbell and D. N. Livingstone, "Neo-Lamarckism and the Development of Geography in the United States and Great Britain," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* vol 8 no 3 (1983): 267-294, John Crawford, "On the Connection Between Ethnology and Physical Geography," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* vol 2 (1863): 4-23. For contemporaneous examples and the historical influence of ASA racial theory on American cartography/physical geography and American Darwinism see, *Senate Mis. Doc.*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, 1860: 249-270; *Senate Mis. Doc.* 36th Congress, 2nd Session, 1861: 38-42, 284-343; William Swinton, *A Complete Course in Geography: Physical, Industrial, and Political with a Special Course for each State* (New York, New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company, 1875), 8-20; William Swinton, *Outlines of the World's History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern with Special Relation to the History of Civilization and the Progress of Mankind* (New York, New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company, 1876), passim; Oscar Peschel, *The Races of Man and Their Geographical Distribution* (London, England: Henry S. King & Company, 1876), passim; Alfred Russel Wallace, review of *Races of Man*, by Oscar Pechel, *Nature* (December 1876): 174-176; D. G. Brinton, ed., *The Iconographic Encyclopedia: Anthropology and Ethnology* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Iconographic Publishing Company, 1886), passim; John Clark Ridpath, *Great Races of Mankind: An Account of the Ethnic Origin, Primitive*

The ASA thrived as the dominant school of American pre-professional anthropology from 1849-1859, thereafter it began a precipitous decline following Asa Gray's 1860 introduction of Darwinism.²⁷⁰ Accentuating Darwin's own ambivalence regarding the universal application of Natural Selection and reflecting his occasional resort to Lamarckian Acquired Characteristics, Gray formulated a uniquely American brand of Darwinism that merged old Developmentalist ideas with the teleological progressivist inclinations of Lewis Henry Morgan and Herbert Spencer.²⁷¹ Rejecting the Biblical creation story, Gray's formulation of Darwinism

Estate, Early Migrations, Social Evolution, and Present Conditions and Promise of the Principle Families of Men Together with a Preliminary Inquiry on the Time, Place and Manner of the Beginning (New York, New York: The Jones Brothers Publishing Company, 1893), passim; John Clark Ridpath, *The Man in History: An Oration for the Colombian Year* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bowen-Merril Company, 1893), 271-316. Rand – McNally, *The Rand – McNally Grammar School Geography*. (Chicago, Illinois: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894), 1-50. M. F. Maury. *Manual of Geography: A Treatise in Mathematical, Physical, and Political Geography* (New York, New York: University Publishing Company, 1895), 1-23. For examples of how Agassiz's 1856 race/geography map effected cartography and physical geography in the age of Darwin see, Adam Black, Charles Black. ***Ethnological Chart of the World Shewing the Distribution and Varieties of the Human Race*** [map]. Scale not given. In: Adam Black, Charles Black. *Black's General Atlas of the World*. Edinburgh, Scotland: A & C Black, 1870. page 4; A. Guyot. ***Johnson's World, Showing the Distribution of the Principle Races of Man*** [map]. Scale not given. In: A. J. Johnson. *A. J. Johnson's Globular World*. n.p., n.p., 1870. page 8. Interestingly, in A. J. Johnson's color scheme pink corresponded to the “white or normal race” while light yellow corresponded to the “American race.”

270 Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), 14-16.

271 Peter J. Bowler will argue in a forthcoming publication that a strong tradition of evolutionary theory preceded Darwin. Consequently, while Darwin served as a catalyst for a solidifying evolutionary oeuvre, even without his input some form of scientific evolutionary theory would have emerged. The important point here is that a visible evolutionary tradition with its own characteristics already existed in western, and in particular American intellectual and scientific culture. Peter Bowler to John Mark Rhea, 25 June, 2011. For American Developmentalist thought and how it shaped American Darwinism see Rhea, “Frontiers of the Mind,” 163-203. Also see, Bentley Glass, Owsei Temkin, and Straus, William L. jr., ed. *Forerunners of Darwin: 1745-1859* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), passim; Francisco J. Ayala, “Teleological Explanations in Evolutionary Biology,” *Philosophy of Science* vol 37 no 1 (March 1970):1-15; Peter J. Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), chaps., 1, 2, 7; Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1983), chaps., 1-6; Peter J. Bowler, *Theories of Human Evolution: A century of Debate, 1844-*

nevertheless validated the monogenesis view of human unity and accommodated the progressivist concept of teleological human perfection.²⁷²

While American Darwinism proved a triumph for monogenesis human unity, four decades of polygenesis dominance had warped the scientific and scholarly community's sense of human origins. From 1860 American Darwinism reflected racial formulations popularized by the ASA, including racial distinction and geological zones of racial evolution. Thus, while American Darwinists embraced the unity of human origins, their tendency to accept racial distinctions as evolutionary categories fueled a new emerging American paternalism.²⁷³ Codified

1944 (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), passim; Peter J. Bowler, *Life's Splendid Drama: Evolutionary Biology and the Reconstruction of Life's Ancestry, 1860-1940* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 6-83, 313-435. Later scholars have conflated two very different interpretations of Natural Selection, and survival of the fittest, from two very different eras. Spencer's belief in a Lamarckian/Darwinian racial (as opposed to simply social) evolution was analyzed by Josiah Royce in his investigation of Spencer's evolutionary theory. Josiah Royce, *Herbert Spencer: An Estimate and Review* (New York, New York: Fox, Duffield & Company, 1904), 65-67. In addition see Herbert Spencer, *The Factors of Organic Evolution* (New York, New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1887), v, vi, 2-5. On contemporaneous understanding of Spencer's racial evolution thought see, N. a., "Influence of Climate on Races of Men," *San Francisco Bulletin* 24 June, 1874, pg.2. William F. Fine, *Progressive Evolution and American Sociology, 1890-1920* (n.p.: UMI Research Press, 1976), 23-29, 163-207; Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Thought* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1979), chaps., 1-7; Bowler, *Evolution*, 285-306; Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism: The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1987), 13-47. Valerie A. Haines, "Is Spencer's Theory an Evolutionary Theory?" *The American Journal of Sociology* vol 93 no 5 (March 1988): 1200-1223; Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: The Heredity-Environment Controversy, 1900-1941* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 34-39; Baker, *From Savage to Negro*, chaps., 1-3; Michael Ruse, "Adaptive Landscapes and Dynamic Equilibrium: The Spencerian Contribution to Twentieth-Century American Evolutionary Biology," in Abigail Lustig, Robert J. Richards and Ruse, Michael ed. *Darwinian Heresies* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 131-150. For contemporaneous comments on Herbert Spencer as a teleological evolutionist see, N.a., "Herbert Spencer's Principles of Sociology," *New York Times* 13 August, 1877; N.a., "Herbert Spencer's 'First Principles' and 'Illustrations of Progress,'" *American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register* vol 16 no3 (October, 1864): 426-440; Leonard Bacon, "Herbert Spencer and Evolution," *The Independent* vol 32 no 1645 (June, 1880): 1.

272 Gray, *Darwiniana.*, 11-50, 75-112, 113-145.

273 The acceptance of race as an evolutionary category prior to 1900 is discussed by Hamilton

in the progressivist writings of Morgan, the racial evolution ideology of American Darwinists held that both environmental and mental conditioning effected the transformation of human races.²⁷⁴ Racial conditioning (or Acquired Characteristics) in turn could be charted as the ascent from savagery, to barbarism and finally civilization.²⁷⁵ Following Morgan's trajectory, American Darwinists affirmed Gray's contention that “natural selection, with artificial to help it, will produce better animals and better men... and fit them better 'to the conditions of existence.’”²⁷⁶

Cravens as part of a process in which American Darwinism moved from interpreting evolution as a group process – social, cultural and biological – to an individual (genetic) process. Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: The Heredity-Environment Controversy, 1900-1941* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 3-11, 89-121; Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), 26-53; Lee D. Baker, *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2010), 66-116.

274 Robert E. Bieder, “The Representation of Indian Bodies in Nineteenth-Century American Anthropology,” *American Indian Quarterly* vol 20 no 2 (Spring 1996): 165-179. Here Bieder makes special note of the biological component of Morgan's racial evolutionary ideology. Bieder specifically argues against the now prevalent scholarly interpretation of Morgan as a mere social evolutionist.

275 This is noted in the Neo-Lamarckian flavor of American Darwinism, in particular the American Darwinist penchant for having interpreted Darwinist concepts according to Lamarckian evolutionary thought. Peter J. Bowler and others confirm this point, arguing that pre-synthesis Darwinian thought was highly permeable and accommodated a surprising degree of progressivist Lamarckian evolutionary thought. In fact, American Darwinism until the Darwinian synthesis was interwoven with Lamarckian and Neo-Lamarckian concepts. The Lamarckian flavor of American Darwinism provided an intellectual foundation for racial evolutionists who insisted that environment and education could provoke racial change in the so-called lower, but promising races. D. G. Elliot, “The Inheritance of Acquired Characters,” *The AUK* vol 9 no 1 (January 1892): 77-104; George W. Stocking, “Lamarckianism in American Social Science,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol 23 no 2 (April-June 1962): 239-256; Edward J. Pfeifer, “The Genesis of American Neo-Lamarckism,” *Isis* Vol 56 No 2 (Summer 1965): 156-167; Peter J. Bowler, “The Changing Meaning of 'Evolution,’” *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol 36 no 1 (January-March 1975): 95-114; George M. Cook, “Neo-Lamarckian Experimentalism in America: Origins and Consequences,” *The Quarterly Review of Biology* vol 74 no 4 (December 1999): 417-437. Michael Heads, “Darwin's Changing Views on Evolution: From Centres of Origin and Teleology to Vicariance and Incomplete Lineage Sorting,” *Journal of Biogeography* vol 36 (2009): 1018-1026; Cravens., *Triumph.*, 35-39.

276 Asa Gray, *Darwiniana.*, 75.

But for American Darwinists the devil was in the details and there they sharply departed from later Darwinian orthodoxy. For post bellum American Darwinists the absence of a provable mechanism for biological inheritance blurred the lines between behavior and instinct and between environmental conditioning and biological mutation.²⁷⁷ In an age ignorant of genetic processes, American Darwinists consistently identified an individual's biological, sociological and cultural characteristics with his or her ethnic heritage. Individual qualities were regarded as reflections of group characteristics, consequently individuals were ultimately deemed pliable only on the group level. With both moral and ethical certitude American Darwinists asserted that while a person might rise above individual limitations, they could not individually rise above their racial characteristics.²⁷⁸

The blending of racial and evolutionary theory was nowhere more evident than in the American Darwinist scholarship of John Wesley Powell and Daniel G. Brinton. Powell, a devoted disciple of Morgan who later headed the Bureau of Ethnology and mentored Alice Fletcher and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, noted in 1879, "that races grow... is a very late discovery, and yet all of us do not grasp so great a thought."²⁷⁹ At the upper reaches of this growth Powell saw the

277 Bannister, *Social Darwinism*., 26-29.

278 Douglas Lorimer, "Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900," *Victorian Studies* vol 31 no 3 (Spring 1988): 405-430. Cravens, *Triumph*., 3-11, 89-121.

279 John Wesley Powell, *Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians* (Rockville, Maryland: Wildside Press 2007), 9. Also see, John S. Haller *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1971), xii-xiv. Powell as a protégé of Lewis Henry Morgan is noted in, John Wesley Powell, "Sketch of Lewis Henry Morgan," *Popular Science Monthly* vol 18 (November, 1880): 114-121; also Powell's acceptance of Morgan's universal racial evolution scheme is well

development of a marvelous, beneficial and transcendent force, a power beyond the raw operation of nature, a magical thing called civilization. Declaring civilized man's realm beyond the confines of Natural Selection and the agonizingly impersonal processes of evolution Powell noted:

In civilization man does not compete with plants and as a rule nor with beasts.... Every man's good is bound up with every other man's good; his evil with every other man's evil. Selfishness is transferred into love. Human progress is and always has been in opposition to, and in spite of, the laws of nature²⁸⁰

Powell's professional rival, Daniel G. Brinton most notably championed a much less optimistic version of racial evolution. Echoing Powell's sentiment that Africans were hopelessly behind on the path to racial improvement, Brinton unlike Powell found rapid American Indian civilization a dubious proposition. Nevertheless, Brinton admitted the possibility of evolutionary change in so much that “[l]anguage, pursuits, habits, geographical position, and those subtle mental traits... make up the characteristics of races and nations” and were therefore presumably plastic. Citing early German explorer and naturalist Carl Frederick Philip von Martius, Brinton grouped all American Indians as a single race, implying the possibility of continent-wide assimilation:

We cannot overlook the unity of the physical type throughout the continent. The American race is

articulated in, J. W. Powell, “From Barbarism to Civilization,” *American Anthropologist* vol 1 no 2 (April 1888): 97-123. For Lewis Henry Morgan and his range of influence see, Elisabeth Tooker, “Lewis H. Morgan and His Contemporaries,” *American Anthropologist* vol 94 no 2 (June 1992): 357-375.

280 N.a., “Scope of Human Evolution, Lecture by Major J. W. Powell at the Brooklyn Institute,” *New York Times* 4 January, 1889, pg.2.

physically more homogenous than any other on the globe. There is no mistaking a group of American Indians, whether they come from Chili or from Canada, from the shores of Hudson bay or the banks of the Amazon. And this superficial resemblance is a correct indication of what a close anatomical study confirms²⁸¹

Other racial evolution proponents such as Nathaniel Southgate Shaler and Frederick Ward Putnam also played important roles in shaping how Alice Fletcher and Matilda Stevenson formulated their scholarship, however they were primarily involved in the autonomous professional aspects of their lives.²⁸² Powell and Morgan on the other hand indelibly stamped the intellectual content of each woman's scholarship. Conversely, Brinton and Morgan profoundly shaped Helen Hunt Jackson's evolutionary thought, particularly her slow approach to Indian assimilation.²⁸³

Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson, each gleaned a different focus from contemporaneous racial evolution ideology. Fletcher embraced the push for rapid dissolution of Indian tribal identity and communal land use, placing her in the red hot crucible of Washington politics. Jackson in turn sought to place public opinion within the slow assimilation goals of the ITKPA camp through a passionate yet

281 Daniel G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World: A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: David McKay, 1868), 18, 52-53.

282 Baker, *From Savage*, 44-53. By 1885 John Wesley Powell confidently asserted to a *Washington Post* reporter's charge that, "no one can secure a prominent post in that bureau [BE] who is not an acknowledged disciple of Darwin," that "It is true that the scientific men in the bureau under my charge are evolutionists – that is they accept some form of evolution." N.a., "Major Powell's Bureau: Is the Belief in Evolution the Basis for Employing Scientists?" *The Washington Post* 12 April, 1885, pg.,2.

283 Martin, *The Languages of Difference.*, 36-42.

scholarly presentation of American Indian treaty and legal relations with the United States. In contrast Stevenson, reflecting Brinton's skepticism, paid lip service to the possibility of racial evolution while crafting a professional career and public persona based on collecting, bartering, controlling and preserving American Indian material cultural.²⁸⁴

Alluding to Morgan's well publicized stages of universal racial progression, Alice Fletcher opined:

Scholars are recognizing that the aboriginal conditions on this continent throw light on the slow development of human society and its institutions; and the time seems not distant when students of man's culture will turn hither for evidence needed to fill gaps... for, it has been well said, America is the "fossil bed" where are preserved stages of progress unrecorded in written history²⁸⁵

Following in Fletcher's stead the socially conservative Jackson stated in 1875, "Bigger if not better creatures have come and gone ahead of us, and bigger and better may be yet to come, who will study our inexplicable skeletons with as scientific and quenchless an interest as we study fossils today."²⁸⁶ More specifically, in 1883 Jackson revealed the depth of her slow racial evolution sentiments in a biting critique of rapid Spanish Indian assimilation efforts among the Mission Indians of California. Jackson complained, "[t]he Spanish government was impatient to see carried out... the pueblo feature of its colonization plan."

284 Ibid., preface, 53.

285 Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song, from North America* (Boston, Massachusetts: Small Maynard & Co., 1900), 120.

286 Helen Hunt Jackson, "Fretting," *New York Independent* May 6, 1875.

Noting that the Spanish colonial authorities were afflicted with “a singular lack of realization of the time needed to make citizens of savages,” Jackson complained that after only ten years, “the Indian communities attached to the missions were... formed into pueblos... [and] the missions secularized.” Jackson lamented, “[i]t is strange how... civilized peoples forget that it has always taken centuries to graft on or evolve out of savagery anything like civilization.”²⁸⁷

Stevenson, mirroring Brinton's reluctant support for the possibility of noticeable Indian racial evolution briefly noted government assimilation efforts, choosing to focus on the collection of material culture from the “remnants of a dwindling race” – a venture deemed far more practical and one on which her livelihood depended. Regarding meager assimilation interests, Stevenson related in a lengthy monograph culminating research begun in 1879, “If that which is here presented serves as a basis for future investigation, and aids the Government in a better understanding of North American Indians, the author will have succeeded in her purpose.” At no other time in published comments would Stevenson take a more direct or political stand regarding assimilation.²⁸⁸ Taken as a whole Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson's evolutionary views were in accord with the era's American Darwinist trend that united both the emerging anthropological/ethnological methodologies and assimilationist politics of the new American West and American

287 Helen Hunt Jackson, *Father Junipero and the Mission Indian of California* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown & Company, 1902), 66.

288 Matilda Coxe Stevenson, “The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Societies, and Ceremonies,” in ed. John Wesley Powell, *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1904), 13-578.

Indian scholars.

At the helm of this new movement, a select group of men and women distanced themselves from the existing morass of antiquated antebellum scientific speculation and launched an ambitious effort to fashion a new pure American science based on modern, peer reviewed scrupulously documented investigative and methodological practices.²⁸⁹ Alerted to underutilized and under-evaluated American West geological, mineral, fossil, botanical, biological and ethnological material by a variety of eclectic pre-professional sources including Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Emmanuel Domenech's massive *Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America* and Edward Drinker Cope's periodical *The Naturalist* – and the records of the Great U. S. Exploring Expedition of 1838, early Army Ethnographic observations in the West and the scholarship of the U. S. Geological Surveys – American Darwinists cast their eyes and scholarly ambitions westward.²⁹⁰ Enabled by a plethora of western political, economic, and infrastructure innovations a motley crew of American Darwinists carried their

289 Daniel J. Kevles, Jeffrey L. Sturchio and Carroll, P. Thomas, “The Sciences in America, Circa 1880,” *Science* Vol 209 No 4452 (July 1980): 26-32, David A. Hounshell, “Edison and the Pure Science Ideal in 19th-Century America,” *Science*, Vol 207 No 4431 (February 1980): 612-617.

290 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per Act of Congress of march 3rd, 1847 vol 1-6* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lippencott, Grambo & Company, 1851-1857); Abbé Em. Domenech, *Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America vol 1-2* (London, England: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860); Theodore Gill, “Edward Drinker Cope, Naturalist-A Chapter in the History of Science,” *The American Naturalist* Vol 31 No 370 (October 1897): 831-863; Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 71-91.

cultural agendas and analytical equipment westward in unprecedented numbers. As their interests turned West, so did the course of American Darwinism and indeed the general thrust of American science.²⁹¹

Among the horde of new western explorers, the work and worries of Edward Drinker Cope and Othniel Charles Marsh would loom large and set the stage for the development of a distinctively American anthropology and ethnology. Famous, or perhaps infamous for their destructive fossil war, Cope and Marsh's work peopled the ancient American West (and the public's imagination) with bizarre, fantastic and truly terrifying creatures the likes of which would inspire a generation of American horror and science fiction writers.²⁹² But of all the saw-toothed sharp-clawed *Triceratops prorsus*[es], (upright flesh eating dinosaurs) and

291 Mining, geological, chemical, agricultural, biological, zoological and anthropological sciences rushed into the post bellum West. Much of this expansion was made possible by the network of rail lines and associated infrastructure stemming from the transcontinental railroad completed in 1869. In fact, the transcontinental railroad's path through Sioux lands made Alice Fletcher's 1881 sojourn to the Sioux reservation possible and would figure prominently in later allotment disputes. Edward J. Renehan jr., *The Transcontinental Railroad: The Gateway to the West* (New York, New York: Chelsea House, 2007), 59-80. Richard White argues the Transcontinental Railroads were built long before they were actually needed. See, Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York, New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), 460-466. It can be argued that modern American anthropology emerged in the West as a scientific response to the so-called Indian problem. Fowler, *A Laboratory*, 81.

292 The Cope – Marsh fossil feud made an enduring impression on American Darwinism. Their intellectual contributions and feud are extensively covered in Alfred S. Romer, "Cope Versus Marsh," *Systematic Zoology* Vol 13 No 4 (December 1964): 201-207; Peter J. Bowler, "Edward Drinker Cope and the Changing Structure of Evolutionary Theory," *Isis* Vol 68 No 2 (June 1977): 249-265; Walter H. Wheeler, "The Uintatheres and the Cope-Marsh War," *Science* Vol 131, No 3408 (April 1960): 1171-1176; Jane P. Davidson "Send the Fossils to Me in Philadelphia: Support for Early Kansas Paleontology by United States Geological Survey of the Territories," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* Vol 110 No 3/4 (Fall 2007): 243-254; Mark Jaffe, *The Gilded Dinosaur: The Fossil War Between E. D. Cope and O. C. Marsh and the Rise of American Science* (New York, New York: Crown Publishers, 2000); and David Rains Wallace, *The Bone Hunter's Revenge: Dinosaurs, Greed, and the Greatest Scientific Feud of the Gilded Age* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1999). Allen A. Debus, *Dinosaurs in Fantastic Fiction: A Thematic Survey* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2004), chaps., 2-7.

the carnivorous *Archaeopteryx lithographica*[es] (flying lizards), no find inflamed American Darwinist's interest more than the discovery of prehistoric mammal fossils.²⁹³ Among these Cope's camels (*Procamelus leptognathus*) and Marsh's horses (*Hyracotherium*) revolutionized Darwinism by providing definite evidence of species mutation and garnered a revered place for American paleontology.²⁹⁴ Cope and Marsh's fossil discoveries literally transformed American Darwinism, pushing beyond the rarefied imagery of the English savant to tangible ancient skeletal reconstructions dug from western clay and displayed in northern museums. For American Darwinists, Cope and Marsh's work validated both the truth of evolution and the reality of its operation in the American West.

Yet, as intriguing as non-hominid mammal fossils were, the most startling find proved to be Cope's *Anaptomorphus copei*, heralded as the illusive “missing link” bridging the chasm between humans and lower primates. Discovered in the Valley of the Big Horn River, Wyoming Territory in 1881, Cope immediately sent word of his find to the national media:

This skull is remarkably similar... to the human skull. The brain space is remarkably large.... The characteristics of the formation of the human skull are clearly defined—so clearly as to be remarkable. The teeth are almost the same as human teeth, while the jaw has many strong points of similarity. I consider this skull as the earliest indication of the existence of

293 Wallace, *The Bone Hunter's*, 20, 273. Although the *Archaeopteryx lithographica* was discovered in Germany it proved an immense inspiration for American Darwinists and prompted Cope and Marsh to search for a complete line of evolutionary change – charting the evolution of one species into another – in the fossil fields of the American West.

294 For how contemporaries understood the importance of Marsh's horse fossil discoveries see, N.a., “Darwinism,” *Worcester Daily Spy* 25 April, 1882, pg.4.

man²⁹⁵

Cope's legitimate if not overblown analysis of the fossil specimen along with the implication that human beings might have originated or separately evolved in the New World, followed closely on the heels of a monumental hoax – a purported fossilized human giant that perhaps more than any event in American scientific history awakened popular and intellectual culture to Darwin's 1871 proposition that humans evolved from lower primates. Fabricated, concealed and later “discovered” in 1877 on a hillside outside Pueblo, Colorado, the so-called Colorado Giant was nationally billed as definitive proof of human evolution.²⁹⁶ Later investigation revealed the Giant to be a manufactured clay, sand and organic contrivance hobbled together by Willam Conant (an associate of P. T. Barnum) and George Hull, originators of the 1869 Cardiff Giant hoax – but not before the hulking statue with its long braided Indian style hair, pointed cat-like ears and monkey's tail made a tour across the Midwest in route to a New York exhibition sponsored by P. T. Barnum.²⁹⁷ Although proven a scientific fraud, the Colorado Giant and its contemporaneous link to a spate of so-called wild-man sightings made it a popular advertisement for American Darwinism and North American human

295 N.a., “Missing Link Found, The Skull of an Extinct Monkey with Remarkable Similarity to that of Man,” *New York Times* 24 December, 1881, pg.1. Also see, Edward Drinker Cope, “The Occurrence of Man in the Upper Miocene of Nebraska,” in ed. Frances Ward Putnam, *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science* (Salem, Massachusetts: The Salem Press, 1885), 593. Cope's *Anatomorphus* skull would continue to play an important role in American Darwinist evolutionary theory long after its discovery. See, A. A. W. Hubrecht, *The Descent of the Primates* (New York, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), 18-25.

296 Scott Tribble, *A Colossal Hoax: The Giant from Cardiff that Fooled America* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), chaps., 10-13.

297 Tribble, *A Colossal*, 210-214, 219-235.

evolution. In the end adding but a vulgar shine to the racial evolution theories of Gray, Morgan, Powell and Brinton, the Colorado Giant helped wed popular American culture to the possibility of exceptional human evolution in the American West.²⁹⁸

The post bellum American West scientific mania and its concordant mission to discover and document human evolution spawned two rival scientific methodologies, namely paleontology and anthropology. The history of American paleontology has been well researched and is beyond the scope of this study. Anthropology, however was at the center of a feverish desire to unlock the secret past of human races, particularly that of the American Indian.²⁹⁹ The earliest crumbs of modern American anthropology first emerged in the infamous burned over district of upstate New York – home of Joseph Smith's revelation and Hull's Cardiff Giant. Proposed by a small loosely associated consortium of scientifically minded thinkers intellectually allied with Lewis Henry Morgan, post Civil War anthropology was characterized by the search for North American parallels to the Northern European paleolithic template.³⁰⁰

298 N. a., "What is it?" *New York Times* 26 April, 1871 pg.,4; N.a., "A Petrified Colorado Giant," *New York Times* 17 October 1881, pg.,3; N.a., "Portrait of the Colorado Stone Giant," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 27 September 1877; N.a., "Full Exposé of the Colorado Stone Giant Humbug," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* 29 January 1878.

299 Fowler, 15-30; Curtis M. Hinsley, "Drab Doves Take Flight: The Dilemmas of Early Americanist Archaeology in Philadelphia, 1889-1900," in eds., Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2003): 2-20; David J. Meltzer, *First Peoples in a New World* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2009), 64-94.

300 Morgan disputed Bancroft's use of terminology, but neither disavowed the idea of racial evolution, so in this respect a wide range of American pre-professional historians and scholars accepted a general outline of teleological evolutionary anthropology that followed Morgan's basic structure. As such post bellum American anthropology and its advocates, both historians

The first feeble evidence of an American Paleolithic emerged from the amateur archaeology of Charles C. Abbott in the early 1870s.³⁰¹ Over the next two decades Abbott collected hundreds of stone objects from his farm in the Delaware Valley and interpreted them as evidence of a prehistoric, pre-American Indian human presence in North America.³⁰² Initially supported by Frederick Ward Putnam – secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, secretary of the Peabody Academy of Science and curator of the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Abbott's analysis, for a time received polite anthropological attention.³⁰³ However, questions regarding Abbott's methods and analysis were raised by a number of prominent pre-professional anthropologists associated with Powell and the Bureau of Ethnology (BAE).³⁰⁴

Although the American Paleolithic controversy would simmer along until 1890 when it was effectively undone by BAE ethnologist William H. Holmes, it

and scholars, affirmed the general idea of continuing teleological human evolution. Bancroft., *Native Races*, 1-81. Morgan, "Montezuma's Dinner," 265-308.

301 Charles Conrad Abbott and Henry Carvill Lewis, *Primitive Industry, or Illustrations of the Handiwork in Stone, Bone and Clay of the Native Races of the North Atlantic Seaboard of America* (Salem, Massachusetts: The Salem Press, 1881), passim. David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 167-172, 190-192, 195, 197-202, 205, 225.

302 David J. Meltzer, "In the Heat of Controversy: C. C. Abbott, the American Paleolithic, and the University Museum, 1889-1893," in ed. Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 48-54. For the American Paleolithic controversy see, George Robert Rapp and Christopher L. Hill, *Geoarchaeology: The earth-Science Approach to Archaeological Interpretation* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006), 5-9.

303 In a bid to flatter his patron Abbott composed a sketch of Putnam in 1886 for *Popular Science Monthly*. Charles C. Abbott, "Sketch of Frederick Ward Putnam," *Popular Science Monthly* vol 29 (May-October 1886): 693-697, Meltzer, "In the Heat," 54-63.

304 Meltzer, 64-80. Given that most readers are familiar with the Bureau of Ethnology's post 1893 moniker, The American Bureau of Ethnology, the abbreviation has been rendered BAE.

proved a disturbing specter for the American Indian anthropological narrative fashioned by Morgan, Powell, Brinton and Holmes. Contesting the BAE assertion that American Indian history stretched back in an unbroken line to the ancient Behring Straits migration and casting aspersions on the BAE's recent work discrediting the Mound Builder's theory, American Paleolithic proponents threatened the entrenched Indian history narrative on which BAE's reputation and funding rested.³⁰⁵

More ominously, the American Paleolithic faction and its amateur champion Abbott conspired to dislodge Powell and the BAE's authority over American Anthropology and concentrate it among a handful of university museums. Adding to Powell's troubles was the fact that early American Paleolithic supporters such as JW McGee and Putnam were also respected anthropologists/ethnologists associated with the BAE and were positioned if they so chose to whittle away the hard-won credibility and political influence garnered by Powell and his BAE staff.³⁰⁶ It was in this climate that Powell and his closest associates codified a definitive set of ethnological practices intended to discredit Abbott and the American paleolithic,

305 John Wesley Powell had been a vociferous critic of an American Paleolithic since 1869. See, Neil M. Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 5. Richard J. Dent, *Chesapeake Prehistory: Old Traditions, New Directions* (New York, New York: Plenum Press, 1995), 32-35. For the Mound Builder controversy see, Barbara Alice Mann, *Native Americans, Archaeologists, & the Mounds* (New York, New York: Peter Lang, 2003), chaps. 2-3. Mann's work should be approached with caution, her conclusions are unconventional and do not reflect the views of most anthropologists. Ward Churchill's introduction also casts a disquieting shadow over the work. That said, Mann's review of the Mound Builders controversy is thorough.

306 Meltzer, 65-84; Regina Darnell, "Toward Consensus on the Scope of Anthropology," in ed. Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 23-24; Baker, *From Savage to Negro*, 41-42; Baker, *Anthropology*, 11.

preserve BAE credibility, build the scientific and scholarly reputations of BAE anthropologists and regain control of American Indian history.³⁰⁷

The path to fashioning a unified national anthropological/ethnological code proved anything but easy for Powell and the BAE.³⁰⁸ As BAE chief Powell was immediately confronted with a long-established Nineteenth Century conflation in which the terms anthropology and ethnology were used interchangeably, effectively blurring the operational distinctions between what was often amateur field work (ethnology) and peer reviewed scholarly analysis (anthropology).³⁰⁹ Moreover, the BAE's parent institution, the Smithsonian from its founding in 1846 identified both anthropology and ethnology as the study of “the natural history of man” and “the past history of man.”³¹⁰ The popularization of anthropology/ethnology as a new kind of history was further advanced when Henry Adams, widely acknowledged as a dean of American historians, prompted Lewis Henry Morgan to encourage Powell

307 Ibid., 61, 73. Darnell does not discuss Powell's 1880 formulation of anthropology and ethnology for BE personnel. Given Powell's official 1880 division of anthropology into a general study of human beings and ethnology as its various branches (as opposed to ethnography as the study of races), Darnell's time line seems a decade off. See, Judd, *The Bureau*, 3; Darnell, 29-35.

308 Darnell provides a good narrative of the continuing debate over anthropology/ethnology and the meaning of each in American culture from 1881 to the early Twentieth-Century. Darnell, 29-35.

309 Rapp, Hill., *Geoarchaeology*, 8. Over the next three decades (from 1879-1900) Powell and other anthropologically minded scholars from both sides of the Atlantic would continue to identify anthropology and ethnology as a new kind of history and new form of historical methodology. Powell would go so far as to identify the development of anthropology and ethnology as among the signs of highest racial evolution. J. W. Powell, “Human Evolution. Annual Address of the President, J. W. Powell, Delivered November 6, 1883,” *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington* vol 2 (February-May 1882-1883): 176-208; J. W. Powell, review of *Evolution of To-day*, by H. W. Conn, *Science* vol 58 no 189 (September, 1886): 264-265; J. S. Stuart-Glennie, “The Desirability of Treating History as a Science of Origins,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* vol 5 (1891): 229-240.

310 Frederica de Laguna, A. Irving Hollowell, *American Anthropology, 1888-1920: Papers from the American Anthropologist* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 25.

in his efforts to advance a non-paleolithic history of the North American Indian.³¹¹

Ultimately, faced with the daunting task of defining the terminology, scholarly status and scope of the bureau's activities, Powell would for a time wrench anthropology from amateurs like Charles Abbott (and many in the American Paleolithic crowd), establish a single national American Indian historical narrative and help standardize American ethnological work.³¹²

Following a delineation that formally established the BAE's role in American Indian scholarship (and was reinforced until his retirement in 1902), Powell stated in an 1879 letter to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, "It is the purpose of the Bureau of Ethnology, to organize anthropologic research in America."³¹³ In the same missive Powell, citing Congressional authority established the terminology, scholarly status and scope of the BAE, defining anthropology as the general study of human beings (races) and ethnology as its various branches.

Powell's new schema broadly encompassed, "Somatology, Philology, Mythology and Sociology. Attention was also given the study of "Habits and Customs, Technology, Archeology... especially in California, Arizona, New

311 Thomas Carl Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States* (New York, New York: Berg, 2001), 31.

312 Teresa Militello addresses the ease with which early pre-professional American anthropologists and ethnologists labeled themselves "historians," or "new historians." Militello suggests that modern historians and anthropologists should consider the term "avocational prehistorians" in an effort to properly label historical persons from a period in which the terms anthropology and history were still quite permeable. See, Teresa Militello, "Horatio Nelson Rush and His Contributions to the Development of American Archaeology," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* vol 41 no 1 (April 2009): 1-57.

313 Judd, *The Bureau*, 34.

Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and part of Wyoming.” Curiously Powell gave equal emphasis to the study of “History of Indian Affairs including treaties, cession of lands by Indians; removals; progress in industrial arts; distributions of lands among them; schooling.”³¹⁴

Powell's definition of ethnological practices gave an obvious nod toward the political agenda of the Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association/Women's National Indian Association (ITKPA/WNIA), Helen Hunt Jackson and the women's Indian assimilation movement with his inclusion of the need for a scholarly history of treaties, cession of lands, removals, progress in industrial arts, land distribution, allotment and education. Moreover, Powell gave weight to the various kinds of ethnological fieldwork that interested Alice Fletcher and James and Matilda Stevenson. Yet, while valuing the study of Indian political histories, social and cultural observation and material culture collection, over the next two decades Powell's personal efforts and institutional interests would focus on demonstrating linguistic and cultural parallels between various American Indian groups and other so-called barbaric peoples.³¹⁵

The root of Powell's philological interests dated to the early days of racial

314 Judd, 3-4. Rapp, Hill, *Geoarchaeology*, 8. Most likely Powell based his classification on an 1850 proposal by his professional rival Daniel G. Brinton. See, Daniel G. Brinton, *The Anthropological Sciences: Proposed Classification and International Nomenclature* (N.I., n.p.:1850), 1-5.

315 N.a., “Bureau of Ethnology,” *New York Times* 23, April, 1882, pg.,7; John Wesley Powell, *U. S. Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region* (Washington, District of Columbia, GPO, 1877), passim; John Wesley Powell, *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages with Words, Phrases and Sentences to be Collected* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1880), passim; John Wesley Powell, *On Primitive Institutions* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Dando Printing and Publishing, 1896), passim; John Crawford, “On Language as a Test of the Races of Man,” *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* vol 3 (1865): 1-9.

evolution. A wide range of European and American proponents argued that language effected brain evolution and definitively marked racial position in the evolutionary hierarchy. The higher and more refined a language then the higher and more civilized its speakers – with Europeans, particularly the English and Germans predictably placed at the pinnacle. The curious result of this line of thought was that a wide range of American racial evolutionists came to believe that simply teaching supposed lower races to speak English would provoke an evolutionary response measurable in new brain growth.³¹⁶ To this end Powell and Fletcher both supported boarding school efforts to root out native languages and advance English as the language of choice among Indians. It is notable that at the 1890 Lake Mohonk Conference, Princeton University president James M'Cosh embraced the English language, not only as the principle medium for Indian assimilation, but also their racial evolution into European Americans. M'Cosh

316 The linguist/philological connection with racial evolution proposed a complex interaction between language and biological change. Early racial evolutionist argued that language – like phenotypical characteristics – were reflections of race and in fact shaped human brain evolution. Neither Alice Fletcher or Matilda Coxe Stevenson used a systematic linguistic study in their work. The linguistic/philological interest among racial and later cultural evolutionists seems to have been an interest of Powell and other male anthropologists. The notable exception was Erminnie A. Smith, a protege of Frederic Ward Putnam and Powell. For the role of language in racial evolutionary theory see, Robert J. Richards, “The Linguistic Creation of Man: Charles Darwin, August Schleicher, Ernst Haeckel, and the Missing Link in Nineteenth-Century Evolutionary Theory,” in ed. Matthias Dörres, *Experimenting in Tongues: Studies in Science and Language* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 21-48; Lisa Taub, “Evolutionary Ideas and 'Empirical' Methods: The Analogy Between Language and Species in Works by Lyell and Schleicher,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* vol 26 no 2 (June 1993): 171-193; Horatio Hale, “Language as a Test of Mental Capacity,” *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* vol 21 (1892): 413-455; Daniel G. Brinton, *The Language of Palaeolithic Man* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Press of MacCalla, 1888), 1-26; N.a., “The Origin and Development of Language,” *Science* vol 12 no 295 (September 1888): 145-146; Daniel G. Brinton, *On Polysynthesis and Incorporation; as Characteristics of American Languages* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Press of MacCalla, 1885), 1-35.

argued “English language... should be required of every pupil.” M'Cosh added that “[t]heir own tongues tend to narrow the intellect, and are not fitted to impart and express the ideas which expand the mind and excite higher aspirations.” English language pedagogy, according to M'Cosh would contribute to “a process of evolution... continued for several ages.” Most startling M'Cosh asserted “[t]his will lead to the enlargement of the [Indian] brain as an organ of the mind.”³¹⁷

Unable to attend the conference, Fletcher sent a letter concurring with President M'Cosh's assessment noting that the American Indian's “progress has been slow because of isolation of language and the habits formed by old reservation lines and precedents, which not only affect his habits, but his modes of thought.”³¹⁸ Powell and Fletcher would eventually turn from racial evolution theory, however they maintained faith in the transformational power of language, in Powell's case to document and study cultural change and in Fletcher's to assimilate American

317 N.a., *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the friends of the Indian* (Boston, Massachusetts: Frank Wood, 1890), 16. For James M'Cosh see, N.a., “James M'Cosh,” *The Interior* vol 25 no 1278 (November 1894): 1496. M'Cosh's sentiments on the connection between language and brain growth among American Indians was given a wider audience when his 1890 Lake Mohonk speech was published verbatim in the 1891 Interior Department Report to Congress. See, N.a., *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Second Session of the Fifty-First Congress, 1890-1891* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1891), 844.

318 *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting.*, 152. Although a full literary analysis is beyond the scope of this study it is interesting to note that Alessandro, Ramona's tragic full-blood American Indian husband, in Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona*, has notable trouble with his brain. After eloping with Romana, Alessandro is bedeviled by linguistic and cultural differences when forced to interact with a non-Indian Imperialistic American world. On nine different occasions this linguistic and cultural conflict makes Alessandro's brain swirl or become disabled, eventually leading to the unfortunate events surrounding his death. While Jackson did not directly address the language/brain evolution theory, she did believe that the uneducated and unassimilated Indian brain could be easily discombobulated by civilization. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona: A Story* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1884), 99, 130, 157, 195, 225, 254, 398, 422, 426.

Indians.

Powell's linguistic, philological and mythological focus was in keeping with the American Darwinist's universal template for racial evolution, however as scholarship his work was densely written, not based on original research and intellectually abstract – not the kind of material that wielded public attention or moved political wills.³¹⁹ Not that Powell could afford to ignore the politics of American Indian scholarship. To gain the upper hand in the battle over American Indian history Powell and the BAE had to sufficiently sway the politics of American Indian ethnology. To this end Powell and his associates launched a concerted effort to enlist “[a] large number of persons including missionaries and teachers among the Indians, Indian agents, Army Officers, scholars connected with colleges of the United States and others.”³²⁰

Given that a host of interested parties allied with the BAE claimed American Indians as important political commodities following the collapse of southern Reconstruction in 1877, Powell's efforts created a unique platform for the political agendas and scholarly aspirations of an emerging cadre of autonomous professional ethnologists. Among these Powell's acceptance and promotion of a small group of women anthropologists/ethnologists unwittingly placed an official BAE stamp on their American Indian politics and scholarship.³²¹ Where Powell

319 John Wesley Powell, *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages with Words, Phrases and Sentences to be Collected* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1880); John Wesley Powell, *Philology, or The Science of Activities Designed for Expression* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1903).

320 Judd, *The Bureau*, 4.

321 This was in direct contrast to Edward Drinker Cope who had a very low opinion of women

provided abstract, if not lofty ethnological and philological arguments in favor of Indian assimilation, women associated with the BAE and the federal assimilation effort – particularly Alice Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson – moved away from philology and instead variously grounded their assimilation politics in direct cultural observation, the collection of Indian material culture and historical analysis of federal law and policies related to American Indians. Together, from 1880 the scholarly shifts initiated by Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson would come to definitively shape the construction of American Indian history for the next five decades.

outside the home, but mirrored the efforts of an important Powell ally and former American Paleolithic supporter, Frederick Ward Putnam. Putnam promoted the autonomous professional ethnological careers of both Alice Fletcher and Sara Yorke Stevenson. E. D. Cope, “The Relation of Sexes to Government,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* 8 November, 1888, pg., 4; Elin C. Danien and Eleanor M. King, “Unsung Visionary: Sara Yorke Stevenson and the Development of Archaeology in Philadelphia,” in ed. Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 40.

Chapter Four

Alice Fletcher and the Scholarship of American Indian Politics

One of the notable features of Fletcher, Jackson and Stevenson's American Indian scholarship was its focus on the exceptional qualities of American Indians. Shunning the sweeping global philological and mythological studies of Morgan, Powell and Brinton, the notable triumvirate concentrated on American Indian culture and legal history. Although Stevenson did not actively campaign for Indian assimilation, Fletcher and Jackson's Indian scholarship established the three essential characteristics of women's assimilation work. These were the scientific observation of Indian social and cultural life, publication of field research and the political application of Indian scholarship.³²²

Discovering "Her Majesty's" Ethnological Empire

The story of how Alice Fletcher created an ethnological empire and commodified American Indians is not easily told. It is a troubling tale marked by moral contradictions and heartbreaking ethical failures. By all accounts Fletcher was a pleasant, mild mannered, jovial woman noted for debilitating bouts with arthritis and a striking resemblance to queen Victoria. As a friend and colleague Fletcher was widely known to be kind, thoughtful and loyal. As a scholar she co-

³²² The term women's assimilation distinguishes the vocal, activist wing of Indian assimilationists characterized by the WNIA and women's rights leaders from the more conservative and restrained efforts of the IRA and male advocates such as Powell, Holmes and McGee. According to William T. Hagan, the IRA was an organization that primarily investigated inter-tribal disputes, Indian Bureau corruption and issues concerning U. S. treaty obligations to American Indians. While the IRA launched several costly campaigns it actually achieved little in the political realm. See, William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), chaps., 1-4, pg. 47.

authored several important works on Indian culture and a ground-breaking study of the Omaha tribe that remains a respected standard among historians and anthropologists. As an assimilationist she was widely heralded by European Americans and a devoted cadre of American Indians as a benevolent and well-intentioned advocate. Yet paradoxically, she also holds the infamous distinction of having done more to destroy American Indian culture than any single figure in North American history.³²³

In many ways Fletcher's own political and scholarly interests determined this course of events, having crafted her unique form of ethnological work from three closely related activities shaped by the Indian Treaty Keeping and Protective Association's (ITKPA/WNIA) emphasis on documenting U. S./Indian legal and treaty relations, the BAE's racial evolution agenda and related BAE ethnological guidelines. These were: embedded social and cultural observation, land allotment in severalty, and compulsory Indian education. Unfortunately for both Fletcher and her victims, this radically uncompromising route to ethnological notoriety was

323 Joan Mark, *Four Anthropologists: An American Science in its Early Years* (New York, New York: Science History Publications, 1980), 62. Mark is more generous in her assessment of Fletcher, going so far as to assert that Fletcher acquired her assimilation views from Joseph La Flesche, a mixed-blood Omaha who favored allotment as the only sure means for Indians to retain their land. Fletcher's prior association (dating from at least 1881) with the ITKPA and her 1881 Omaha field notebook demonstrate otherwise. See fn. 72. Mark J. Awakuni-Swetland argues that by 1872 "the decimation of bison herds and other fur-bearing game," forced many Omaha to consider the European agricultural/economic system promoted by the Presbyterian missionaries and Quaker Indian agent. See, Mark J. Swetland, "Make-Believe-White-Men' and the Omaha Land Allotments of 1871-1900," *Great Plains Research* vol 4 (August 1994): 201-236. Notably, E. Jane Gay, Fletcher's intimate female companion, camp cook and photographer referred to the allotment process as the march of "civilization against barbarism ... the throes of evolution." see, E. Jane Gay, *With the Nez Percés: Alice Fletcher in the Field, 1889-1892* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 87.

blindly built on the pain and suffering of fellow human beings. Fletcher would not comprehend the degree of misery she caused until almost a full decade after her first allotment venture in 1883. A close investigation of Fletcher's emerging scholarship while camping among the Dakota and Yankton Sioux and Omaha in 1881-1882 reveals the political trajectory that would indelibly shape her career.³²⁴

Alice Fletcher's first tentative steps toward establishing her credentials as an Indian scholar, assimilationist leader, and federally sanctioned ethnologist were taken during her 1881 Nebraska and South Dakota tour. Inspired by an 1879 encounter with Standing Bear, Susette La Flesche and Francis La Flesche, (Ponca and Omaha Indians) who were on an Eastern speaking tour protesting Ponca removal and federal land policies effecting the Omaha, Fletcher decided to augment her budding ethnological credentials with an informal scientific expedition to the Dakota, Yankton and Omaha reservations. Fletcher's trip was first vetted among fellow assimilationists at the third meeting of the newly minted WNIA on 20 January, 1881. Five months later Susette La Flesche-Tibbles, Fletcher's future traveling companion and translator addressed the WNIA on the issue of Ponca removal.³²⁵

324 American Indian peoples were not cultural voids redeemed and filled by European American education. So-called Indian education was a concerted federal and Christian evangelical effort aimed at the destruction of Indian languages, traditional forms of Indian logic, Indian social organization, Indian religion and in general Indian culture. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 147-210; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kansas: University press of Kansas, 1995), 97-206.

325 N. A., *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association 1883* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Grant & Faires, 1883), 8. Fletcher's association with the WNIA prior to her 1881 Omaha trip has been omitted in other Fletcher scholarship. This finding

Fletcher's early relationship with the WNIA and Susette La Flesche helped shape the treaty and legal history focus of her September/December Omaha trip. Moreover, the interaction with WNIA women known to Fletcher through joint membership in the Association for the Advancement of Women (AAW) helped further her organizational influence and political ambitions. These women included Matailda Coxe Stevenson, Mary F. Eastman, Sara J. Spencer, Rachel Bodley, Carrie Popilton and ITKPA/WNIA president Amelia Quinton. Quinton joined the AAW in 1881. The membership of influential women's rights advocates in the ostensibly neutral WNIA indicates that Fletcher skillfully fostered broad support among women's rights advocates and women assimilationists before embarking on her 1881 venture – and was fully aware of its political implications. Fletcher did not venture West and happen to find American Indian political commodities, she journeyed there to create them.³²⁶

In mid September 1881 Fletcher was introduced to Dakota, Lakota, Yankton, Omaha and Ponca tribal members by Thomas Henry Tibbles, a mercurial journalist who had taken up the Ponca and Omaha cause, Susette La Flesche-Tibbles, daughter of former Omaha chief Joseph La Flesche, and Ezra Freemont, an Omaha associate of Joseph La Flesche.³²⁷ Meticulously chronicling her

reinforces the argument that Fletcher was deeply influenced by the WNIA call for Indian treaty and legal documentation while on the trip and adds a further layer of complicity between the Omaha and Fletcher.

326 N. A., *Annual Report of the Association for the Advancement of Women* (Dedham, Massachusetts: W. L. Wardle, 1880), 6, 7, 12. Notably, Mrs. Edward Drinker Cope joined the WNIA in 1883.

327 Delores Janiewski, "Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the 'Woman Question,' and 'Indian Reform.'" in ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack, *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 325-326. Janiewski

observations in a diary and field notebook (activity that would eventually ignite conflict between the budding ethnologist and self-proclaimed Indian expert Thomas Tibbles) Fletcher took steps to insure that her new western scientific efforts would not be dismissed as mere travel writing or sentimental musings.³²⁸ Two months before her trip, Fletcher implored John Wesley Powell of the Bureau of Ethnology (BAE) to “send [her] a copy of the instructions issued by the Smithsonian Inst. for the study of Indian Peoples.” Having met Powell the previous year (1880) in Boston, Fletcher noted, “you will hardly recollect me... I told you that I hoped to undertake this work and you generously offered to aid me.”³²⁹

Pitching her project as a unique study of Indian women and their habits, Fletcher noted, “I trust that being a woman I may be able to observe & record facts & conditions that are unknown or obscure owing to the separation of the male & female life.” Although a calculated rhetoric that Fletcher would later deploy when

focuses on Fletcher's deployment of feminist rhetoric, especially her penchant for linking the woman question to the study of Indian women. Unfortunately this approach assumes that Fletcher's work was *actually* focused on Indian women. Fletcher's allotment notebooks demonstrate otherwise, in particular the 1881 Omaha allotment field notebook. Janiewski, however does address Fletcher's political commodification of Indian women in, Delores E. Janiewski, “Gendered Colonialism: The 'Woman Question' in Settler Society,” in ed. Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhuri and McAuley, Beth, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), 57-76.

328 The National Anthropological Archives mislabeled Fletcher's 1881 field notebook as her “1881 Omaha Allotment Notebook.” The notebook is clearly dated 1881 and the information contained ends in 1881. Fletcher did not allot the Omaha until 1883, consequently the 1881 field notebook is actually a fairly detailed historical sketch of Omaha/Ponca culture, land division on the Omaha reservation and Omaha land use between 1854 – 1881. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881 Omaha Allotment Field Notebook, Box 3*. Although unnumbered, the author has assigned page numbers in sequential order for convenient reference. Beginning with the first page immediately following the cover, Fletcher's 1881 Omaha field notebook is numbered pages 1-391.

329 Alice Fletcher to John Wesley Powell, August 11, 1881. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Series 1, Box 69, Correspondence 1879-1887*.

seeking funds or support from the BAE and her East Coast network of women's rights proponents, her Indian scholarship did not focus on Indian women. To reinforce the sincerity of her strong ethnological interests Fletcher also enclosed a pamphlet for Powell outlining her 1879 lecture series on ancient American peoples. Fletcher concluded with a deliberate missive, "I shall be at the Scientific Ass. on Monday and Tuesday & hope to [meet] you personally."³³⁰

Almost three months into the trip Fletcher had not received a reply from Powell, who was no doubt concerned that her request for ethnological aid might eventually include a request for funds – a suspicion that would prove correct. Clearly disappointed, Fletcher chided Powell, "Sir: It was quite a disappointment not to receive the promised letter indicating points you would think it well for me to particularly observe in Indian home life." No doubt expecting Powell to follow Putnam's correspondence approach to ethnological instruction, Fletcher found Powell's inattention exasperating, if not dismissive.³³¹ Casually noting letters of recommendation from Colonel Garrick Mallery, Frederic Ward Putnam and Lucian Car, Fletcher felt confident in explicitly pressing her earlier financial hint, "Will you please give me any assistance that you can in this work. It is quite expensive and if in any way I can earn my traveling expenses I shall be glad." Powell did not assist so Fletcher freely melded her political interests with her emerging ethnological field methods.³³²

³³⁰ Alice Fletcher to John Wesley Powell, August 11, 1881.

³³¹ Mark, *Stranger*, 34-36.

³³² Colonel Garrick Mallery received BE support for research and publication of several works on American Indian language. See, Robert Fletcher, *Brief Memories of Colonel Garrick Mallery*

Between September 17 and October 30 1881, the Tibbles-Fletcher party visited the Omaha Reservation, Winnebago Reserve, Santee Sioux Mission complex and Rosebud Agency traversing several hundred miles in cold, rainy weather. Frayed camping equipment and well-worn wagons added further discomfort.³³³ But the equipment and transportation were not the only things falling apart on the trip. Relations between Fletcher and the self-appointed Indian expert Thomas Tibbles were deteriorating.³³⁴ By the time they reached the Winnebago reserve and the Santee Sioux Agency, Tibbles, a peevish and occasionally vulgar man had provoked unpleasant exchanges with Fletcher. Tibbles sarcastically called Fletcher, “Highflyer.” Tibbles took perverse joy in belittling Fletcher with this nickname.³³⁵ As relations worsened between the two,

(Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Detweiler, 1895), 6-7. Lucian Carr was Frederick Ward Putnam's assistant director at the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology and author of a noted craniological study of East Coast American Indians. Lucien Carr, *Notes on the Crania of New England Indians* (Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Society of Natural History, 1880), frontis. Alice Fletcher to John Wesley Powell, November, 16, 1881. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Series 1, Box 69, Correspondence 1879-1887.*

333 Mark, *A Stranger.*, 49, 53, Fletcher, *Camping with the Sioux*, September 18, 25, October 4, 15.

334 By the time Thomas H. Tibbles agreed to a western trip with Fletcher he had already written a book on the U. S. violation of Ponca treaty land rights and another on corruption in the Indian Bureau. Both works revealed strong empathy with the position taken by those men who would form the predominately male Indian Rights Association in 1882. Thomas H. Tibbles, *The Ponca Chiefs: An Indian's Attempt to Appeal From the Tomahawk to the Courts* (Boston, Massachusetts: Lockwood, Brooks and Company, 1879). Thomas H. Tibbles, *Hidden Power: A Secret History of the Indian Ring, Its Operations, Intrigues and Machinations* (New York, New York: G. W. Carleton & Company, 1881).

335 Before embarking for the Winnebago reserve and Santee Sioux Agency Tibbles had an argument with Fletcher over what luggage she would take on the trip. Accustomed to traveling with her writing equipment, Tibbles complaints were directed not only at Fletcher's autonomy but also her intellectual work. Thomas H. Tibbles, *Buckskin and Blanket Days* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 238-239. Highflyer was Tibbles tacky translation of the Omaha name “Ma-she-ha-the,” (Sweep-of-an-eagle's-wing) which Wajapa bestowed on Fletcher. Wajapa was a member of the Omaha eagle clan. Tibbles, *Buckskin.*, 239, 241, 256, 257, 261, 267, 269, 278, 279, 289.

Tibbles abruptly ended Sussett La Flesche's unofficial role as Fletcher's translator. Driven by petty jealousy, Tibbles' act effectively derailed Fletcher's ethnological inquiry among the Dakota and Yankton. In response, Fletcher contemplated parting company. According to Fletcher's new design she would return to the Omaha reservation with Ezra Freemont as her guide – not that their relationship was ideal.³³⁶

A member of the Omaha Citizen's Party village (*Win-dja-ge*), Freemont began to accommodate European American culture in the early 1870s working as an agency policeman and carpenter. Since at least 1871 Freemont had presented himself as Ezra Freemont. In 1881 the forty year old Freemont, rechristened Wa-jae-pa by Fletcher, claimed one hundred and sixty acres, of which approximately 50 were in production (including hay). Fletcher's records show that in the spring of that year Wa-jae-pa planted twenty-five acres in wheat, fifteen in corn, and a nine acre garden boasting potatoes, onions, cabbage, tomatoes, beans, squash, beets, cucumbers and muskmelon. In addition, Wa-jae-pa and his wife owned three cows, two pigs, twenty-two chickens, four turkeys and two ducks – Wa jae-pa and his wife took great pride in their personal property. Although an advocate of assimilation, Wa-jae-pa took great pride in the fact that his Ponca father had served as a band leader and his grandfather as a chief.³³⁷

336 Fletcher's relationship with Thomas Tibbles had deteriorated to the point that she was even ridiculed for the food she ate. By the end of October Fletcher indicated that she and Tibbles had yet another squabble. Although clearly upset by the unpleasant exchanges with Tibbles, Fletcher was not in a position to push matters and reported that she had “patched” things with Mr. T. Fletcher, *Camping with the Sioux*, October 23, 24, 26.

337 Fletcher, *1881 Omaha Allotment Field Notebook*, 92-98.

In 1881 the forty-three year old Alice Fletcher was of modest means, unemployed, unmarried, childless, largely property-less and homeless. In Wa-jae-pa's eyes Fletcher seemed a person of low status both by European American and Omaha standards. Fletcher's tenuous position, reinforced by Tibbles' jealous sarcasm and her own assertive personality eventually proved too much for Wa-jae-pa to cheerfully accommodate. By mid September Fletcher began to note Wa-jae-pa's increasing "moodiness."³³⁸

A cathartic climax came one stormy night in mid September when the arthritic (and occasionally crippled) Fletcher insisted that Wa-jae-pa place a waterproof canvas beneath the Indian style tent poles. Through long experience Plains Indians had discovered a simple way to vent smoke and prevent rain from dripping to the floor and making a sodden mess. This was accomplished by using one's finger to trace a channel line on the wet tent poles down from the smoke opening toward the fire below where the water would drip off and evaporate. Wa-jae-pa, well aware that Fletcher's plan would guide streams of water to the floor considered her venture foolish and voiced his opposition. Fletcher in a thoughtless fit of anger snapped, "You speak to us as if we were children."³³⁹

Having reached his breaking point, Wa-jae-pa spent the next two hours standing outside sulking in the pouring rain while a chastened Fletcher prepared for a miserable night's sleep on the soon muddied tent floor. Later that night Wa-jae-pa

338 Mark, *Stranger*, chaps. 1-2,

339 Tibbles, *Buckskin.*, 256, Fletcher, *Camping with the Sioux*, October 24.

slipped into the tent, wrapped himself in a buffalo robe and fell asleep. The next day Fletcher, in danger of losing her prospective new guide (and translator) engaged Wa-jae-pa in “games, cracking jokes and having a thoroughgoing jolly time.”³⁴⁰

Mending fences with Wa-jae-pa, Fletcher made arrangements with the Indian agent at Ft. Randle and soon parted company with the Tibbles. Before leaving the fort however, Fletcher took some time to cultivate important social and political connections. Fletcher also read Lieutenant Thomas M. Woodruff's essay, “Our Indian Question.” Addressing many of Fletcher's concerns since embarking on the journey, Woodruff's ideas struck a chord and helped coalesce a host of political ideas that would guide Fletcher's American Indian scholarship for the next three decades.³⁴¹

Overwhelmed and occasionally frightened by close contact with the “heathen” and “different race” she encountered during the sojourn, Fletcher found Woodruff's essay particularly illuminating.³⁴² An ardent assimilationist, Woodruff proposed separating “Indian” work into three categories. The first involved “wild” nomadic Indians who were to be placed under military oversight and forced into cattle ranching. Then the “idle and dependent agency Indians” were to be forced into private farming. Finally, “civilized Indians” under government tutelage, were to be given U. S. citizenship, land in severalty and placed under local and state law.

340 Tibbles, *Buckskin.*, 257-258.

341 Fletcher, *Camping*, October 27-30. Mark, *Stranger.*, 62-64.

342 Fletcher, *Camping*, September, 5, 9.

For Fletcher, Woodruff made attractive distinctions that clearly removed her political and scholarly path from that of the “wild” and “agency” Indians (Dakota, Lakota and Yankton) and steered her toward the more “civilized” (Omaha and Ponca) Indians such as Susette and Wa-jae-pa.³⁴³

Paralleling the ITKPA/WNIA's political agenda, Woodruff's essay (along with three others also appearing in the 1881 *Journal of the Military Service of the United States*) emphasized flexibility in Indian treaty relations, an accelerated push toward allotment and compulsory Indian education. As one of three award winning essays in a national competition considering “Our Indian Question,” Woodruff's article demonstrated the ITKPA/WNIA's documentary approach to Indian assimilation scholarship promised broad appeal. Given Fletcher's praise for Woodruff's work it is not surprising that a blueprint for Indian ethno-political scholarship was already forming in her mind.³⁴⁴

At the end of October Fletcher and Wa-jae-pa, finally freed of Thomas Tibbles's spiteful interference, made their way back to the Omaha reservation. There Fletcher found the Omaha well into the third decade of reservation life divided into an uneasy confederation of three villages. *Bi-ku-de*, the agency village was dominated by traditionalist ranchers who resisted assimilation. *Jan-(th)ca'-te*, was a moderate village whose members harvested nearby trees for lumber and

343 Fletcher, *Camping*, October, 27.

344 Thomas M. Woodruff, “On Our Indian Question,” *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* vol 2 no 5-8 (1881): 293-303. Also see, John Gibbon, “On Our Indian Question,” C. E. S. Wood, “On Our Indian Question,” E. Butler, “On Our Indian Question,” *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* vol 2 no 5-8 (1881): 101-122, 123-182, 183-277.

kindling. *Win-dja'ge*, the progressive Presbyterian mission village embraced land allotment and agriculture.³⁴⁵

At *Win-dja'ge*, Fletcher found perfect ethno-political subjects – Joseph La Flesche, Wa-jae-pa and the resident Citizen Party members. With many of the villagers already living in wood frame or log homes situated on farms allotted in 1871, the *Win-dja'-ge* Omaha seemed ideal candidates for Fletcher to study and push toward assimilation. Derisively called the “Make-Believe-White-Men village” by other Omaha, *Win-dja'-ge* became the focus of Fletcher's interests for the remainder of her 1881 tour.³⁴⁶

In her pioneering biography of Alice Fletcher, Joan Mark addressed Fletcher's ethnological and political interaction with the Omaha by consulting Fletcher's well-known 1881 “Camping with the Sioux” manuscripts, personal correspondence and Fletcher and Francis La Flesche's 1911 publication, *The Omaha Tribe*.³⁴⁷ Other scholars such as Omaha historian Mark J. Awakuni-Swetland followed suit using related material for informative analysis of Omaha political, social, and cultural agency, but no scholarship exists linking the intellectual, scholarly and political nexus shared by Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and other American assimilationists influenced by the ITKPA/WNIA. It was precisely this union of politics and scholarship that made Fletcher and Jackson's

345 Swetland, “Make-Believe White-Men,” 204-205.

346 Swetland, “Make-Believe White-Men,” 205. Fletcher, *1881 Omaha Allotment Field Notebook*, (OFAN) 1.

347 Joan Mark, *Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1911).

work so provocative and consequently of public note. Other detailed Indian ethnological work and scholarship, such as that by BAE linguist James Owen Dorsey, never garnered a comparable degree of public interest. Analysis of Fletcher's long ignored 1881 "Omaha Allotment Field Notebook" (OAFN) helps fill the historical gap between Fletcher and Jackson's political motivation and illuminates a previously hidden scholarly blueprint common to each woman and their associates.³⁴⁸

Composed during the last two months of her western tour, the November-December 1881 OAFN chronicles information on the *Win-Dja'-ge* village, including data on maternal and paternal lines of descent, children, tribal background (Omaha and Ponca), social and cultural history, the history of Omaha allotment since 1854 and Omaha pleas for valid land titles. Comprising three hundred and ninety-one unnumbered, faded, difficult to read (often little more than hurried scribble work) pages, the document chronicles a unique moment in Omaha and Plains Indian allotment history. Specifically, the OAFN records Fletcher's research into Omaha treaty history, Indian social order (the mastery of which would prove essential to her efforts in breaking down traditional tribal land use) and the evolution of her political determination to press Congress for a federal allotment

348 J. W. Powell, "James Owen Dorsey," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1896), 53-54. James Owen Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1885). Dorsey and Fletcher remained friends and over the years. Dorsey encouraged Fletcher to take an interest in linguistics and philology, but Fletcher never complied. J. Owen Dorsey to Alice Fletcher December, 1882. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence 1881-1882, Box 1.*

law guaranteeing Omaha land titles and the permanent destruction of traditional Omaha culture and family ties.

The Omaha reservation in present-day Nebraska was created by treaty between the Omaha tribe and United States government in 1854, among various protections and guarantees the federal government also provided for allotment in severalty. Article six of the treaty stated, “The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole or such portion of the land hereby reserved... to be surveyed into lots.”³⁴⁹ Aside from the voluntarily fenced farms associated with *Win-dja'-ge* village and limited plot cultivation at the remaining villages, no reservation land was surveyed and allotted by the federal government in the decade following the 1854 treaty.³⁵⁰

As part of negotiations for the cession of Omaha land to the Winnebago in 1865, a tribal delegation, dominated by *Win-dja'ge* leaders and progressive chiefs called for a general survey and individual allotment of Omaha lands. Following concerted efforts by *Win-dja'-ge* leaders and the Omaha agent, survey work was finally completed in 1867. At that time the Omaha agent tried to compel all Omaha to take land in severalty through commodity restrictions. Allotment was completed by Indian agent Edward Painter in 1872 according to the 1865 treaty terms with approximately two-hundred Omaha (a minority) taking land. Alice Fletcher's re-apportionment of the earlier 1871-1872 allotments and final compulsory allotment

349 Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties vol 2* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1903), 453-456. Swetland, “Make-Believe.,” 207-209.

350 Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 453-456.

would cause enduring enmity among the Omaha. In particular, many Omaha were dissatisfied with the soil quality and location of their new land allotments.³⁵¹

The twin blast of Washington's fury between 1870-1871 proved a watershed moment in federal Indian relations, especially for the Omaha. The 1870 Cherokee Tobacco case established Congress's right to administer Indian lands and alter or abrogate treaties with Indian peoples. Legislation spurred by the High Court's decision (1871) ended Executive and Senate power to negotiate and recognize treaties with sovereign Indian peoples. With dissolution of the Senate-Executive treaty funding process, by 1871 the Omaha (and all American Indians) were at the unmitigated mercy of the full Congress and those who could bend its ear.³⁵²

In addition, federally funded buffalo kills were decimating traditional Plains Indian economies. With the declining bison herd violent competition for the few remaining buffalo increased, often forcing Omaha hunting parties into armed conflict. Unable to pursue the buffalo and subsist on small game, all segments of Omaha society were pushed toward allotment in severalty and European style agriculture. According to agent Painter, the Omaha stopped conducting their annual buffalo hunt sometime between 1873-1876 which significantly contributed to the adoption of European American style agriculture. Yet for all the effort spent

351 Kappler, *Indian Affairs.*, 668-669; Alice Cunningham Fletcher, *Historical Sketch of the Omaha Tribe in Nebraska* (Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Detweiler, 1885), 6-7.

Swetland, "Make-Believe.," 209-210.

352 Jay P. Kinney, *A Continent Lost, a Civilization Won: Indian Land Tenure in America* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 137-160. The House of Representatives in a bid to end Indian treaty expenditures over which they had no control, managed to pass legislation to that end.

on destroying buffalo herds, funds to capitalize Indian farming ventures were not forthcoming. Thoughtless Congressional penny-pinching would stymie Omaha agricultural prosperity for decades.³⁵³

A bittersweet economic reprieve came in 1874 when the Omaha's former beneficiaries, the Winnebago successfully lobbied Congress for an additional twelve-thousand acre land grant from the Omaha reservation. In return Congress doled \$82,000 out to the Omaha through the reservation agent. A small amount was spent on agency infrastructure such as a new infirmary, but most of the money was never seen by the Omaha. Payments aside, the 1874 Act brought to light a far more disturbing fact – the documents given to Omaha allottees between 1867-1871 were worthless Department of the Interior land certificates. No Omaha held legal title to their land allotment.³⁵⁴

Omaha living on land ceded to the Winnebago had no recourse but to rely on the generosity of the Omaha agent and tribe. Omaha from the ceded land were homeless. Moreover, the concurrent forced removal of the Omaha's sister tribe the Ponca to Indian Territory further aroused Omaha anxiety. As if matters could not get worse, 1878-1879 Missouri River flooding destroyed all the *Win-dja'-ge* village crops and forced removal of their saw and grist mills to higher ground at agency headquarters.³⁵⁵

A final blow to the Omaha came in 1879, when the Omaha and Winnebago

353 Fletcher, *Historical Sketch*, 8-9; Steven Rinella, *American Buffalo: In Search of an Icon* (New York, New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2008), 81-86.

354 Fletcher, *Historical Sketch*, 7-8. Swetland, "Make-Believe.," 213.

355 Kappler, *Indian Affairs.*, 2:270-276. Fletcher, *Historical Sketch.*, 10

agencies were combined and the new agent moved his operations and funding to the Winnebago reservation. By 1881 the Omaha were in dire circumstances, with no capital for agricultural work, worthless land certificates, limited access to the government agent and fear of forced removal to Indian Territory – progressive Omahas felt the dissolution of their reservation immanent. This tragic string of events made *Wa-jae-pa's* venture on the 1881 Tibbles-Fletcher tour all the more striking.³⁵⁶ Depicted in Fletcher's diary as deferential and plodding on the trip, it is clear *Wa-jae-pa* was not the simple minded savage described by Fletcher. *Wa-jae-pa's* moodiness while on the fateful camping trip no doubt reflected both the grave situation back home and his own efforts to sort out who would be a loyal and effective European American advocate for the Omaha.³⁵⁷

Given the scope of Omaha troubles in 1881, Fletcher's legendary presentation of herself as the Omaha savior is questionable. An undated article in the *Sioux City Journal* circa 1881 bears witness to the desperation Fletcher and *Wa-jae-pa* encountered on arrival at the Omaha reservation in early November. The article noted Indian agent George W. Wilkinson “had found living with his charges... a Boston lady 'nearly starved.’”³⁵⁸ Fletcher did not relate this information in her accounts nor by what means Wilkinson relieved her unfortunate

356 Fletcher, *Historical Sketch*, 10; Swetland, “Make-Believe,” 213.

357 Fletcher, *Historical Sketch*, 8 *Wa-jae-pa's* close association with Joseph La Flesche the nominal leader of progressive Omahas, along with his tenure on the trail with Susette and Francis La Flesche (Joseph's daughter and son) strongly indicate that the 1881 Fletcher-Tibbles trip was cultivated by the Omahas, rather than the sole result of Fletcher's interests.

358 Mark, *Stranger*, 64-65. George W. Wilkinson was appointed the new Omaha-Winnebago agent on October 17, 1881. His tenure began the following month. Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Nebraska* (Chicago, Illinois: Western Historical Co., 1882), chap.1.

circumstance. By November 12 Fletcher had sufficiently recovered to solicit War Department aid in securing education for “the children of Sitting Bull's band in Bishop Ware's Mission schools.” Civilized pedagogy was witnessed by Fletcher at the Santee Manual Training School – arithmetic, multiplication, subtraction, poetry recitation, English – and it made a clear impression. A cause dear to racial evolutionist's heart, Indian education was believed to exercise the brain stimulating actual growth and lucid, complex “civilized” thought. Fletcher would retain a burning interest in Indian education and its evolutionary benefits for almost three decades.³⁵⁹

No daily record exists of Fletcher's November-February stay at the Omaha reservation, but her 1881 Omaha allotment field note book (OAFN) gives a clear impression of the ethnological and political issues that occupied her mind. A ragged note pasted inside the front cover listed seven questions that shaped her work: “Who were the originators of the Citizen's Party? How organized? What started it? When did they ask for titles? Who did they ask? Do they ever meet? What do they plan?” The remainder of the note gave a rough list of Omaha Citizen's party members considered the most progressive residents of Win-dja'-ge. Win-dja'-ge villagers were already establishing a pecking order for their interactions with Fletcher. From the beginning it was clear that Indian commodification would be a two way street, a venture in which Fletcher's goals would be skillfully molded to those of the Citizen's party and the Win-dja'-ge

³⁵⁹ Fletcher, “Camping,” September 25-26.

community.³⁶⁰

The first thirty pages of the OAFN record a series of Omaha stories demonstrating close kinship bonds, extraordinary loyalty to “White” men and a fierce devotion to European American culture. Two of the records are dramatically striking, revealing the politics behind what the Omaha wished to convey and what Fletcher wished to hear. In a vignette titled “Dora's father” Fletcher hastily noted:

Dora... worked at mission. Dora's father was taking a woman [and] her children home a blizzard came up – children & woman suffering... dug a hole took off his clothes made them comfortable... went away for help. After severe struggles located a lodge – his feet [and] hands frozen solid. The women and children escaped [death]³⁶¹

In the second story the Omaha speaker related:

An Omaha Indian was fighting during the war [,] was with an officer. Officer wounded – Indian caught the officer laid him beside a dead horse flayed the skin laid it over the officer and then defended the officer single handed – after wards carried him miles to a fort to safety. Much afterward Indian came to the fort – officer saw him & thanked [?] him³⁶²

Each story indicted the speaker was aware his or her words would be repeated to a much wider audience. Given that Fletcher was associated with Thomas Tibbles and that BAE ethnologist Thomas Dorsey had worked among the Omaha for two years before her arrival, it would be hard to imagine the Omaha would think otherwise.

Fearing that a failure to secure land titles might lead to loss of their land and

360 For a complete list of Win-dja'ge residents (1855) see, Swetland, “Make-Believe,” 212.

361 Fletcher, OFAN, 8.

362 Fletcher, OFAN, 8.

removal to Indian Territory, the material provided to Fletcher by the Citizen's Party was clearly composed for East Coast if not Congressional ears. To this end Citizen's Party representatives took great pains to communicate their loyalty to the United States and desire for valid land titles.

The narrative structure of OAFN revealed both the Win-dja'-ge political structure and the immediate concerns of the Citizen's Party. The nominal Citizen's Party leader was Sussett and Francis La Flesche's father, former Omaha Chief Joseph La Flesche. The “civilized” qualities of Joseph La Flesche's French father and Ponca/Omaha mother were emphasized in his OAFN narrative. An unidentified speaker related:

Susette's grandmother [chief Joseph's mother] took her husband on her back & carried him several miles to where he could have white surgeon care & get well. Husband wounded by a Sioux³⁶³

Notations that followed indicated a close relationship between the Omaha and Ponca tribes. Other short ethnographic stories related Omaha marriage traditions and sexual mores.

On page thirty-four Fletcher began a task that would fill the remaining three hundred and fifty-seven notebook sheets. Tersely she noted, “Louis Saunsoci no. 254 N. E. ¼ of Section 25 of township 25 north of 9- 160 acres Interpreter 1843 to 1878 – sight lost since interpreter.” Saunsoci would prove to be one of four other mixed blood Omaha to provide Fletcher with information. Of the remaining fifty-

363 Fletcher, OAFN, 10.

three Omaha interviewed, ten were original members of the Win-dja'-ge village noted in an 1855 census, ten were relatives of original Win-dja'-ge villagers and seven comprised the tribal police force. In all forty-six of the men recorded in OAFN were full-blood Omaha/Ponca, four were half French, one was a fourth French, one White and one undisclosed. The small number of subjects recorded in OAFN reflected the 1881-1882 Omaha crop failures which resulted in a desperate tribal small game hunt. Several hundred Omaha families left the reservation that winter leaving a small contingent to guard homes and equipment.³⁶⁴

Motives for providing Fletcher with ethnographic information varied between the full-blood native speakers and mixed blood English speakers. Mixed bloods were much less concerned about U. S. citizenship and acculturation, succinctly focusing on land titles. In contrast Full bloods were anxious about their future prospects. Full bloods spoke at length and quite eloquently about their love of democracy, law and United States citizenship – and of course land titles. Louis Saunsoci, listed as half French simply stated, “I want a title to my farm.” William Provost, also half French stated tersely, “I want to get a title to my lands.”

In contrast, To-oh-ka-hah/Arthur Ramsey, a full blood made an elaborate statement about his efforts to accommodate European American culture noting, “I belong to the citizen's party... I was one of its originators.” Ramsey continued, “[w]e want to become citizens... [w]e wish to have laws like the white men, to

364 OFAN, 34; Swetland, “Make-Believe,” 212; *Senate Misc. Doc. 31*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1882:1-14; Alice Fletcher to Hon. John Morgan, 31 December, 1881 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*.

have courts to appeal to, and to have good titles to our lands.” Referencing hard times Ramsey added a coy plea for help, “[t]his year we have made nothing, our crops were so poor, but it is God's will.”³⁶⁵

Wa-jae-pa, Fletcher's “moody” guide recounted his efforts to accommodate European American culture, “[b]efore I began to farm I was just a wild Indian, doing as I pleased, going round the country looking for death.” Yet for Wa-jae-pa all was not well, he noted, “[w]e have no government on the reserve... [w]e have trouble all the time, which we would not have if we had government and law... [w]e want these.” More importantly Wa-jae-pa worried about his ability and that of his fellow villagers to retain their land. Wa-jae-pa noted, “[t]here are persons living on the reserve who have certificates of allotment; they believe that the land is theirs, and that they can always keep it... I know differently.” Referring to the earlier allotment credentials from 1871-1872, Wa-jae-pa emphatically stated, “I know that the certificates are not good... I want a title to my land, then the land will be mine.” Issuing a warning to Fletcher and her superiors, Wa-jae-pa added, “[w]e are going to ask for our titles... [a]s long as the government does not give them, we will ask until the government gets tired. Making his intentions clear Wa-jae-pa concluded, “[w]e won't stop asking till we get our titles.”³⁶⁶

365 The quotations are given in full in block quote to demonstrate the clear distinction between full blood and mixed blood Omaha concerns. “Memorial of the Omaha Tribe of Indians for a Grant of Land in Severalty,” *Senate Misc. Doc.* 31, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1882:3-4. This and the following two quotes (fn. 114, 115) originate in Fletcher's OAFN exactly as they appear in the Senate petition. Virtually the same material originally appeared in OFAN, but the Senate document is a more accessible source.

366 “Memorial of the Omaha Tribe,” 3.

Another full blood, Joseph Merrick mirrored Wa-jae-pa's concerns lamenting, "I went on my farm with my certificate... [and] soon lost faith in it for the people told me it was good for nothing." Appealing to a power higher than Fletcher Merrick pleaded, "I hope God will help us get [real] titles." Elaborating his concerns Merrick added, "I belong to the party that wishes to become like white people... and to be citizens."³⁶⁷

Full blood Omaha/Ponca participants repeatedly addressed two concerns. First, they did not want to be forced off their reservation land to Indian Territory. This made the issue of legal land titles salient. Second, they argued that if they did not have rights as citizens under United States law the fruits of their labor would be stolen without recourse by European Americans. For Fletcher's subjects assimilation was not the problem, but rather the solution. Little did they know assimilation would come on Fletcher's terms rather than their own.

What is most striking about Fletcher's OAFN blueprint is its smooth union of the personal and the political, the historical and the legal. Fletcher's elaboration of Indian culture and her machinations for assimilation were not diffused into the sweeping imaginative arcs of Brinton and Powell's philological studies of universal race patterns, but rather remained grounded in meticulously recorded scientific data. In carefully detailed notations Fletcher monotonously chronicled maternal and paternal lines of descent, blood quantum, tribal affiliation, reservation residence, treaty participation, land use, allotments, agricultural production and

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 4.

domestic and farm inventories for the households of fifty-three Omaha men.³⁶⁸

Fletcher's detailed Indian ethnological work was unique for the period, revealing both progressive and moderate Omaha anxieties about the security of their 1871 allotments. More so, the OFAN revealed Fletcher's intention to politicize the very heart and soul of Omaha tribal life by restructuring existing land use and the manner in which Omaha families lived, loved and learned. Little did the Omaha realize in the winter of 1881 that “the woman who came from the east,” would compel them to take English names, assign unalterable tribal affiliation, resurvey and forcibly allot reservation land, whisk their children and young married couples away to boarding schools and decimate their culture. But then Fletcher never shared the OFAN with her Omaha subjects.³⁶⁹

While the progressive and moderate Omaha hoped Fletcher would prove a loyal ally and that their stories would guarantee peace and security, they were unaware she was already setting plans in motion that would change their lives forever. In fact, on Fletcher's first day at the Omaha reservation she had penned a dramatic and revealing appeal to an eastern acquaintance. Addressed to “My dear Mrs. Clapp,” a Washington socialite, staunch New York abolitionist and wife of former Government Printing Office chief Almon M. Clapp, the letter demonstrated Fletcher's connection to a broad range of socially and politically active women in the capitol.³⁷⁰

368 OFAN, 34-391. These names are also listed in the 1882 petition Fletcher presented to Congress.

See, *Senate Misc. Doc. 31*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1882:1-14.

369 *Senate Misc. Doc. 26*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1888: 1-6.

370 N.a., “Hon. A. M. Clapp's Speech,” *New York Times* 9 July, 1877, pg.2; N.a., “Hon. A. M.

Fletcher's missive boldly promoted the Indian metaphor newly popular among women's rights advocates, offering her Omaha subjects as the movement's penultimate political commodities. Fletcher couched her interests in women's rights rhetoric, "Here I am far away in miles and farther still in circumstances... [m]y study of the life, conditions and mode of thought of Indian women is full of interest and instruction." Fletcher quickly moved on to her true political agenda, "Particularly I wonder whether I am learning more about our own race than the Indians." Reiterating the difficulties of her venture she offered, "It was needful that I should do this in order to accomplish my scientific work." Veiled pleas for monetary support, were also accompanied by a request that Mrs. Clapp have Fletcher's letter "read in the churches – or read & published in a paper." Fletcher piously added, "only let it do the work if so God wills." Like her Omaha subjects, Fletcher was composing stories to be retold back East for her own political and pecuniary gain. In closing Fletcher asked Mrs. Clapp to "Give my love to Mr. Clapp and all our friends."³⁷¹

By the end of December, Fletcher demonstrated the full range of her political repertoire with a pleading epistle to an unlikely ally. Dated December 31, 1881, Fletcher's letter to the staunch Alabama segregationist and state's rights

Clapp's Golden Wedding," *The Washington Post* 20 April, 1882, pg.1.

371 Alice Fletcher to Mrs. Clapp, 1 December, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*. Dolores Janiewski specifically notes how Fletcher's rhetoric changed in relation to her audience. While Janiewski does not address the pecuniary motives in this tact, she does note that when addressing women's rights proponents Fletcher quite disingenuously represented her work as the singular study of Indian women. Dolores Janiewski, "Giving Women a Future," 326-332. OAFN, passim.

proponent, Senator John Tyler Morgan was void of the cloying narrative typical of her letters to women friends and acquaintances. Matter of fact, Fletcher informed Senator Morgan “Today I mail a package registered to your address... It is the petition of 53 Omaha Indians asking that titles be given them to the land on which they have worked and practically homesteaded.”³⁷²

Justifying her work to a southern traditionalist she offered:

Scientific study connected with the home life of the Indians brought me here... I had to live among the people... the living cry of those with whom I found myself so claimed my ear and heart – that I feel I must do something to help.³⁷³

Excusing her informality by claiming she “never drew up or designed a petition” and was “not versed in official language,” Fletcher embraced the new politicized Indian metaphor pleading that Senator Morgan should present the petition to Congress. Fletcher continued, “[j]ustice passes beyond the fateful line which

372 Alice Fletcher to John Morgan, 31 December, 1881 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*. John Tyler Morgan was an Alabama Confederate veteran, staunch segregationist, bigot and state's rights proponent. Frederick E Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 72, 160. Joan Mark misidentified Senator Morgan as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Senator Morgan never served as CIA. Mark, *Stranger.*, 70, 365, fn19. N.a., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, (Washington, District of Columbia: U. S. Department of the Interior: GPO, 2008), 1-2. Understanding that Fletcher was cultivating a powerful political cabal on the Senate Indian Affairs Committee significantly changes the history of her work on this count. As revealed in a later letter (12 January, 1882) from John Tyler Morgan to Fletcher, even southern conservatives who despised the notion of African American racial uplift adored women's new Indian cause. Ainsworth R. Spotford, ed., *An American Almanac and Treasury of Facts, Statistical, Financial and Political for the Year 1882* (New York, New York: The American News Company, 1882), 145; John W. Leonard, *Who's Who in America, 1899-1900* (Chicago, Illinois: A. N. Marquis & Company, 1899), 506.

373 Given Fletcher's association with the WNIA in January of 1881 at a time when the organization was drafting a second petition this contention was patently untrue. N. a., *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Dedham, Massachusetts: W. L. Wardle, 1883), 8.

isolates this reserve from the blessings of civilization and with the early morn of the new year winds its way across the continent to the Senate chamber....” There Fletcher hoped “the Father of all mankind be with you as you voice this cry.”³⁷⁴ Although Fletcher presented the petition as her own idea it was far from original. The OAFN clearly demonstrates that the petition's assimilation arguments reflected the WNIA's agenda. In turn the petition emphasis on valid land titles was molded by Omaha Citizen's Party leaders, demonstrating the construction of Indian scholarship and Indian agency were sometimes linked.³⁷⁵

On January 11, 1882 Senator Morgan, as a ranking member of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee presented the *Memorial of the Members of the Omaha Tribe of Indians for A Grant of Land in Severality*. Over the next month it languished in Congress, meanwhile Fletcher continued to cultivate political allies. A February 4, 1882 letter to Senator Henry L. Dawes, chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee and a February 8, 1882 letter to Interior Secretary Samuel J. Kirkwood included core ideas, phrases and terms from Fletcher's letter to Morgan indicating a concerted political agenda. The end of February saw Fletcher's departure for Washington, where she engaged in a whirlwind campaign to secure legislation for legally binding Omaha allotment.³⁷⁶

374 Alice Fletcher to John Morgan, 31 December, 1881 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*.

375 For the petition debates among Citizen party Omaha see, Alice Fletcher, OAFN, 362, 364-368, 370. For the first draft of the petition see Alice Fletcher, OAFN, 100.

376 Mark indicates that the petition was conceived and drafted by Fletcher. The OAFN shows that the content of the petition was shaped by the Citizen's Party Omaha and that Fletcher was solicited to act as a mediator. Fletcher's role was to record and apparently, later take credit for the document. Mark, *Stranger*, 70. Alice Fletcher to Henry L. Dawes, 4 February, 1882, in Valerie Sherer Mathes and Richard Lowitt, eds., “I Plead For Them’: An 1882 Letter From

Fletcher's activities between her 1882 arrival in Washington and passage of the Omaha Allotment Act (OAA) six months later bear witness to both the lateral influence of the Washington women's rights movement after 1877 and Fletcher's ability to meld the machinery of government to her own political desires. The passage of OAA in early August 1882 proved a coup for Fletcher and the post 1877 women's rights movement, demonstrating the new found political muscle of maternal patriotism. Moreover, considering the Omaha Allotment Act's central role as inspiration and model for the 1887 General Allotment Act, the notable absence of Herbert Welsh and the Indian Rights Association from the legislative process sheds light on the distinction between IRA and ITKPA/WNIA priorities.

Although Fletcher would claim years later “I heard nothing of that little petition in which the Omahas asked to have their houses secured to them” and likewise that she received no help in furthering the 1882 Omaha Allotment Act, neither was true. On February 4, 1882 Fletcher received a reply to her December 31, 1881 letter to Morgan. The Senator noted he was sending her a copy of the petition as published in the Congressional Record with marginal “remarks of Mr. [Senator] Dawes... which are appreciative, and very favorable.” Morgan added “He [Dawes] is the chairman of the committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate.”

Alice Fletcher to Senator Henry L. Dawes,” *Nebraska History* 84 (2003): 36-41. Alice Fletcher to Henry L. Dawes, 4 February, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*. Alice Fletcher to S. J. Kirkwood, 8 February, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*. David J. Wishart makes the same claim as Mark, adding that the fifty-three Win-dja'-ge petitioners represented a small minority of the tribe. David J. Wishart, *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 235.

Morgan concluded:

I know no higher public duty of men and women than to aid these people to see the 'light that shineth in the darkness'... I have a settled conviction that a large proportion of the Indians, (far greater than that of the [N]egroes...) are endowed with high capacity for the understanding and performance of the best labors of our advanced civilization... Yours to command, Jno. T. Morgan ³⁷⁷

Between February 4-8, 1882 Fletcher penned replies to Morgan and Dawes pleading for Omaha allotment, contending that the Omaha wanted legally binding titles and had no other advocate. Fletcher's general thrust indicated that sale of Omaha land (which was generally supported as a means to raise money by the entire tribe) without provision of valid land titles would lead to the reservation's wholesale liquidation and transform the Omaha into a band of homeless paupers.³⁷⁸

Upon arrival in Washington Fletcher immediately began assembling a political coalition composed of Congressional wives and leading members of the AAW and WNIA – formerly ITKPA. Letters from the wives of key Senate Indian Affairs committee members demonstrate that Fletcher was not only discussing Omaha allotment privately but using the OFAN to craft public lectures for organizational rallies. Washington socialites and WNIA leaders Sarah Crapo and

³⁷⁷ Mark, *Stranger*, 75; N.a., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (New York, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 178. Alice Fletcher to John Morgan, 12 January, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*.

³⁷⁸ Alice Fletcher to John Morgan, 4 February, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*. Alice Fletcher to Henry L. Dawes, 4-8 February, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Outgoing Correspondence, Box 2*.

Laura Saunderland arranged for Fletcher to lobby leading AAW and WNIA women on the issue and solicit funds.³⁷⁹

By April 1882 a cohort of Washington women cultivated since early 1881 had mobilized behind Fletcher's cause led by Senator Dawes' wife Electra Sanderson Dawes. On April 24, 1882 Electra Dawes invited Fletcher on a joint mission to solicit support from Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Interior Secretary Henry M. Teller.³⁸⁰ Within a month Fletcher received another invitation via the prestigious Mount Vernon Seminary for Women (Washington, D. C.) to meet with “Mr. and Mrs T-----r” (likely the Tellers) and discuss “Indian affairs.”³⁸¹ On May 16, 1882 Anna Laurens Dawes (Senator Dawes' daughter) forwarded a letter from Dr. Emily Talbot of Boston inviting Fletcher to speak before the American Social Science Association on the matter of Indian “schools, land, homes, anything which will tend to advance their civilization.” Anna Dawes noted in her cover letter, “She [Emily Talbot] recently wrote asking father if it would be desirable to have a paper read before the coming meeting of the Social Sciences Ass -, on Indian education.” Anna concluded, “You will be pleased to hear that Mrs. Teller thinks you are charming & have most sensible ideas. Let us hope she thinks all Indians are like you!”³⁸²

379 Laura Sunderland to Alice Fletcher, 31 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.*
Sarah Crapo to Alice Fletcher, 1 June, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.*

380 Electra S. Dawes to Alice Fletcher, 24 April, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.*

381 M. S. [?] to Alice Fletcher, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.*

382 Emily Talbot to Anna Dawes, 13 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian*

March brought unforeseen blessings for Fletcher and her ethno-political goals – unfortunately at the expense of Amelia Quinton and the WNIA. In March of 1881 *Cherokee Advocate* editor, Daniel H. Ross launched a biting critique of Amelia Quinton and the WNIA and its drive for universal Indian assimilation and allotment. Ross accused the WNIA of launching a political “movement” that had acquired such a profound hold “upon the public mind,” that “it will never 'down'... until it has encompassed the Indians with all necessary safe guards, or smothered them to death in the exuberance of its misdirected friendship.” Arguing that the WNIA actually lacked first-hand knowledge of Indian cultures, Ross warned that in their “zeal to be 'up and doing' there is some danger, indeed great danger of our friends doing some of us harm instead of good.” Ross explained, “it is a mistaken idea to suppose that United States citizenship and the holding of land in severalty is the only panacea for all the ills to which we [Indians] are exposed.” Reiterating his position Ross stated, “making lands a chattel has never been popular among the Indians... [t]o these dear friends we would simply say handle us gently.” Ross cautioned WNIA activists, “[w]hen disorganized and homeless, as some of the tribes are in some of the Territories, give them... permanent homes as far removed as possible from the cupidity of your own people.”³⁸³

Quinton made a feeble reply, but the decisive blow had been delivered –

Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1. Anna Laurens Dawes to Alice Fletcher, 16 May, 1882 National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.
383 D. H. Ross, “Awakened Interest in the Indian Question,” *Cherokee Advocate* 17, March 1882, pg.1.

Ross demanded that instead of agitating, the “ladies” should spend time investigating. Quinton argued that there were no more unencumbered western lands to guarantee Indian “remoteness” making voluntary Indian land allotment (for northwestern Indians as opposed to those in Indian Territory) necessary. Her contention however rang hollow, given that she also argued land in severality was inevitable.³⁸⁴

Ultimately Quinton was not able to answer Ross's key criticism – that East Coast women who had never lived among western Indians lacked the knowledge to craft policies for wholesale Indian social and cultural change. Quinton and the WNIA's diminished luster thrust Fletcher, one of the few European American woman scholars who could claim direct experience with western tribes, to the forefront of assimilation politics. In 1881 Fletcher truly became the queen of American assimilation.

Reflecting her elevated status among Washington assimilationists, the month of May brought Fletcher a flood of contributions and lecture engagements. Two such events were sponsored by Senator Joseph R. Hawley, long-time American Indian assimilationist and his wife, Harriet Hawley, vice president of the Washington WNIA. This flurry of interest predictably included publication offers for the narrative of Fletcher's 1881 Omaha expedition. Fletcher's crowning moment of public and political approbation came when she used the OAFN to craft

³⁸⁴ Amelia Quinton, “They are for Justice, a Splendid Letter from a Woman,” *Cherokee Advocate* 19, May 1882, pg.2

a lengthy address before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee favoring Omaha allotment.³⁸⁵

Fletcher's political moves in Washington were augmented by a vast information network encompassing the Omaha-Winnebago reservation, allies in Indian education, missionaries in Nebraska and supporters at the Indian Industrial and Normal boarding schools. Among these, George W. Wilkinson, A. L. Riggs, Richard Henry Pratt, C. L. Hall, Alice M. Robertson and M. C. Wade kept Fletcher informed of Omaha and European American sentiments in the field. This information proved invaluable to Fletcher given that the developing Omaha legislation required tribal consent.³⁸⁶

385 Sarah Crapo to Alice Fletcher, 15 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. Mr. & Mrs. Jos. R. Hawley to Alice Fletcher, May [?], 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. Harriet W. Hawley to Alice Fletcher, 15 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. D. Lathrop to Alice Fletcher, 16 March, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*.

386 W. G. Wilkinson to Alice Fletcher, 25 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*; R. H. Pratt to Alice Fletcher, 25 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*; Alice M. Robertson to Alice Fletcher, 30 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*; C. L. Hall to Alice Fletcher, 30 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. W. C. Wade to Alice Fletcher, 13 October, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*; Joseph La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 22 October, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*; Rosalie La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 24 October, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. While beyond the scope of this study Fletcher's controversial forced Indian boarding school activities also provided her with a modest but steady income. See, W. Roger Buffalohead and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "A Nucleus of Civilization': American Indian Families at Hampton Institute in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of American Indian Education* vol 35 no 3 (May 1996): 59-94; Jacobs, *White Mother*, 132-197, 207, 293-335; Hoxie, *A Final Promise.*, 189-210; Mark, *Stranger.*, 126-128; Adams, *Education for Extinction.*, 109, 205, 294, 302.

Ultimately Fletcher placed her distinctive mark on the Omaha Allotment Act of 1882. Joan Mark argues (based on her interpretation of claims Fletcher made in a 1907 address) that Fletcher rigged the legislation through a stealthily inserted amendment that required all the Omaha to be allotted *before* any reservation land could be sold. The evidence does not support this interpretation given the 1882 Act does not make that provision, nor does Fletcher's 1907 speech make this particular claim. In fact, what alarmed Fletcher was the absence of allotment language in the proposed Omaha allotment bills. Fletcher's concern was intensified by Interior Secretary Teller's blunt assertion, "If the Indians have received patents... they are the owners in severalty of their respective allotments and it is immaterial whether it be called a fee title or by some other name."³⁸⁷

Secretary Teller and Senator Dawes' tendency toward retaining the reservation system and allowing the Omaha tribe to lease, rent or sale unassigned reservation land further stymied Fletcher's intentions. Such gradualist plans did not interest Fletcher whose goal was to move those Omaha she deemed civilized to allotment, cajole the remaining Omaha into allotment and extend Nebraska state law over the Omaha reservation. Although favoring allotment and eventual sale of surplus land, Fletcher feared that pending legislation that only provided for a hasty

³⁸⁷ Mark, *Stranger*, 75; Henry M. Teller to Alice Fletcher, 19 May, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (New York, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 178-179. Given that the final Omaha Allotment Act of 1882 provided for the eventual allotment of minors and even Omaha children not yet born, Mark's contention would make sale of the approximately 50,000 acres – which was the chief concern of the bill – impossible.

sale of 50,000 reservation acres to anxious European American settlers would short-change the Omaha of much needed investment capital and choice farm land.³⁸⁸

What bothered Fletcher most was that the pending legislation under Secretary Teller's influence, *only* provided for the sale of Omaha reservation land – not allotment or extension of state law. Largely reflecting the input of western politicians hoping to open the Omaha reservation to European American settlement and Omaha farmers desperate for operational funds, the gestating bill would have slated the Omaha reservation for non-Indian settlement. Fletcher's contribution was to get hold of the bill in the Congressional clerk's office and insert language calling for immediate allotment. Fletcher refashioned a simple land-sale bill into the nation's first Act for mandated allotment in severalty. The groundwork Fletcher laid, carefully cultivating key support of Washington politicians and women's organizations enabled her amendments to proceed through Congress unchanged.³⁸⁹

After nine months of Fletcher's campaigning, *An Act for the Sale of Part of the Reservation of the Omaha Tribe of Indians in the State of Nebraska and for Other Purposes* was signed into law by President Chester Arthur on 7 August

388 Mark, Stranger., 73-78, 116-118. The slow approach – gradually dissolving the reservation system over the course of several decades reflected the WNIA position. In this respect, at least until 1887 Senator Dawes and Secretary Teller were more in line with Helen Hunt Jackson's sentiments than with Fletcher. See, *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association*, 8-10.

389 N.a., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the American Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (New York, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 178-179. Teller to Fletcher, 19, May 1882. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1.*

1882.³⁹⁰ Senator Dawes sent a note to Fletcher, “the bill in regard to the Omaha Indians ha[s] become law... I congratulate you.” Seven months later on 16 March 1883 – the same month that fellow WNIA member Helen Hunt Jackson was tapped as a special BIA agent to investigate the California Mission Indians – President Arthur appointed Alice Fletcher as U. S. special allotment agent to the Omaha. Fletcher had used her scholarship to transform herself into a political operative and federal agent.³⁹¹

The Omaha Allotment began in March of 1883 and ended in June of 1884. In the course of her work Fletcher allotted 75,931 acres to 1,194 Omahas. Fifty thousand allotted acres were sold to European Americans and 55, 450 were held in reserve for future Omaha generations. Fletcher also entered into a program with the WNIA to loan housebuilding and farm improvement funds to allotted Omaha. The arrangement was strictly reserved for Omahas who held title to their land. Married Omahas received preferential treatment. Although the Omahas faced an uphill battle, their wealthy East Coast WNIA creditors carefully tracked loan repayments.³⁹²

390 Helen M. Wanken, “‘Woman's Sphere' and Indian Reform: The Women's National Indian Association, 1879-1901” (Ph.D. Diss., Marquette University, 1981), 25-39.

391 Kappler, *Indian Affairs.*, 212-214. 22 Stat., L., 341; Charles F. Aldrich to Alice Fletcher, 5 August, 1882 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-1882 Box 1*. Charles F. Aldrich was Senator Dawes' secretary and the congratulations from Dawes was forwarded in a note Aldrich sent to Fletcher. Hiram Price to Alice Fletcher Alice Fletcher, 20 April, 1883 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher papers, Omaha Allotment Incoming Correspondence, 1883-1884 Box 3*. For Helen Hunt Jackson see, Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), xv.

392 In a retrospective of her work Fletcher only briefly noted her years allotting in the field. She placed a far greater value on her OAFN, ethnological publications, the 1882 and 1887 Congressional allotment Acts and her 1888 *Indian Education and Civilization Report*. See,

Without Bureau of Indian Affairs and Interior Department permission, Fletcher also launched a cattle ranching venture on 18,000 acres (of the 55,450 held in reserve) in cooperation with Ed Farley (Joseph La Flesche's daughter Rosalie's husband). The operation came into question when the U. S. Attorney General ruled that under the 1882 Allotment Act allotted Omaha could not lease their land for grazing. Brought to a head by her old nemesis Thomas Tibbles (and his wife Sussett La Flesche-Tibbles), Fletcher's involvement with the Farley cattle venture would prove a political mistake that temporarily discredited her among Washington benefactors.³⁹³

With the completion of her allotment work in 1884 Fletcher again scrambled for cash – as an allotment agent Fletcher was paid at a bonded per diem of five dollars plus expenses. Through Putnam, Fletcher's financial needs were

Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples (New York, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1907), 178-179; Neil M. Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 53; Wanken, "Woman's Sphere.," 153-181.

³⁹³ Already in 1884, just two years after the 1882 Omaha Allotment Act was passed questions emerged about Omaha use of the 50,000 acres slated for sale to European Americans and the right of Omaha to lease their allotments. BIA Commissioner Price quashed such questions and stipulated that Omaha could not lease their lands or become U. S. citizens without special Congressional legislation. Nevertheless, Ed Farley (a European American and husband of Rosalie La Flesche) was allowed to lease and farm acreage on the reserved land and break land for allotted Indians. In this respect, break was a transparent euphemism designed to evade the prohibition against leasing and farming allotted land. Leasing land and the issue of citizenship would divide the Omaha for many years. Hiram Price to Alice Fletcher, 21 February, 1884. *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Box 69.* Statement of Edwood [sic] Farley, 12 July, 1884; George F. Hull and Ed Farley contract, 2 June, 1884; Alice Fletcher [on behalf of Omaha petitioners] to Hiram Price, 1887; D. L. Hawkins to Henry L. Dawes, 2 May, 1887; Alice Fletcher [on behalf of Omaha petitioners] to the Congress of the United States, 17 December, 1887; Shon gai ska, Sinde ha ha, and Louis Saunsoci to Hiram Price, 10 January, 1888, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Correspondence: Omaha Indians and U. S. Government, 1884-1887, Box 3.*

eventually met by a Peabody Museum associateship. The award reflected Putnam's growing confidence in her ethnological abilities and his gratitude for the rare and beautiful Omaha cultural items Fletcher donated to the institution. Among these were two ceremonial pipes, a sacred tent and a number of eagle thighbone whistles.³⁹⁴

The position at the Peabody Museum added to Fletcher's scholarly heft prompting new publication. Among these were works on Omaha culture, Indian education, Winnebago culture, Sioux culture, Omaha history, allotment, Indian physiognomy and an 1885 tribute to the late Helen Hunt Jackson – in all twenty-six monographs and articles published between 1882-1887. Notably, in 1885 along with Erminnie Smith, Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Zelia Nuttall, Fletcher helped found the Women's Anthropological Society of America (WASA) The WASA was a noble but ultimately weak effort to further cement women scholar's anthropological credibility in a scientific institution.³⁹⁵

A seldom credited collaborator in Fletcher's scholarship was Francis La Flesche, son of Joseph La Flesche who met Fletcher during her 1881 sojourn. That year Francis was sent to Washington to serve as an interpreter for the Senate Indian

394 Frederick Ward Putnam's promotion of women in the sciences is well documented. See, David L. Browman, "Frederick Ward Putnam: Contributions to the Development of Archeological Institutions and Encouragement of Women Practitioners" in eds., David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *New Perspectives in the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 209-241. Alice Fletcher to Frederick Ward Putnam, 7 June, 1884, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, 1884, Box 2*. Alice Fletcher to Caroline Dall, 7, July, 1884, *Massachusetts Historical Society, Caroline Wells Healey Dall Collection, Dall 323 Reel 13, Box 9, File 1-c*.

395 A complete list of Fletcher's publication can be found in Mark, *Stranger.*, 399-404. Joan Cindy Amatniek, "The Women's Anthropological Society of America: A Dual Role – Scientific Society and Woman's Club" (M.A. Thesis, Harvard University, 1979), 5-32.

Affairs Committee and later that year served as a clerk in the BIA. Francis La Flesche for many years acted as the Washington eyes and ears of the Win-Dja'-ge village.³⁹⁶

Although a twenty-four year old adult, Francis was still a ward of the United States, unable to stay in Washington without a guardian. In 1882, Fletcher became Francis' official overseer in return for his cultural knowledge. Until 1887, when a provision in the General Allotment Act conferred U. S. citizenship on the Omaha, Francis allowed Fletcher to place him in her charge hoping that through his influence the Omaha and other American Indian traditional cultures would be more accurately recorded for posterity. Fletcher never directly acknowledged his sacrifice (she thought that he was the beneficiary of her good graces) yet Francis remained her companion until her death in 1923. In accordance with Fletcher's wishes he burned the bulk of her papers.³⁹⁷

With Francis's hidden-hand help, Fletcher's articulation of Omaha, Osage, Pawnee, Dakota, Yankton, Ponca and Winnebago cultures established her as one of the most accomplished American Indian scholars of the era. In turn, Fletcher's scholarly status helped her secure a position at the 1885-1886 New Orleans World's International and Centennial Cotton Exposition as BIA representative. She curated a display of BIA publications and photographs on Indian assimilation work.

Fletcher's knowledge of western American Indian education and civilization so

³⁹⁶ Judd, *The American Bureau of Ethnology.*, 53.

³⁹⁷ Mark, *Stranger.*, 346. Judd, *The Bureau.*, 52-53. In 1923 Judd served as a pallbearer at Fletcher's funeral with such notables as William H. Holmes, J. W. Fewkes, J. N. B. Hewitt, Ales Hrdlicka, and Walter Hough. Mark., 346.

impressed fellow participant Gen. John Eaton, the U. S. Commissioner of Education that he proposed she write a report on the subject for the Bureau that would become an influential ethno-political work of the Twentieth-Century.³⁹⁸

The report, funded and published by the Senate no doubt at Indian Affairs Committee behest, was actually far more complex than present scholarship details. An expansion of S. N. Clark's 1877 historical census of the American Indian population titled, *Are the Indians Dying Out? Preliminary Observations Relating to Indian Civilization and Education*, Fletcher's work greatly exceeded Clark's simple thirty-five page enumeration of historical U. S. Indian populations, Indian schools and Indian missions. Commissioned 8 February 1885, Fletcher's "Report on Indian Education and Civilization" (RIEC) encompassed 388 pages and closely followed the OAFN and Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* model. Unlike the OAFN, the RIEC did not rely on American Indian testimony, rather Fletcher was given unprecedented access to BIA and Bureau of Education archival material. Originally planned as a massive "history of each existing tribe" financial considerations constrained Fletcher to a minutely detailed cultural, educational, treaty, legal and land history of all the tribes slated for allotment in the Dawes-Coke bill and the later Dawes General Allotment Act.³⁹⁹

398 Mark, 109-115. Fletcher's report garnered such wide respect in American legal circles that it was quoted by the imminent Harvard University American Constitutional law scholar and Weld Professorship chair James Bradley Thayer as a definitive treatise on American Indian legal and treaty precedent three years after its publication. James Bradley Thayer, "A People Without Law" *The Atlantic Monthly* vol 68 (1891): 676-687.

399 S. N. Clark, *Are the Indians Dying Out? Preliminary Observations Relating to Indian Civilization and Education* in E. A. Hyat, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1877), 485-520; *U. S. Statutes at Large* 24 (1886): 388-391. Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs:*

Completed in 1887 and published in 1888, Fletcher's scholarly triumph emerged just as she was thrown into one of the worst trials of her career. Reviled by Thomas and Sussette Tibbles who were loudly complaining to the BIA and the Senate Indian Affairs committee about Fletcher's administration of Omaha allotment and her involvement in the Omaha cattle ranching venture, the Interior Department opened an official investigation. While far from silencing her support for pending allotment legislation, the investigation did limit her public influence among the organized assimilationists. At Mr. and Mrs. Tibbles' request the Indian Rights Association (IRA) began its own inquiry into Fletcher's allotment work, leasing practices and her involvement in the cattle venture. The lengths to which the IRA's J. E. Rhodes and C. C. Painter went to foster Omaha dissent against allotment and Fletcher's ranching venture decidedly turned her against the IRA and its leadership. Although denied by Fletcher, her personal correspondence with Joseph La Flesche indicates that she indeed had a stake in Ed Farley's cattle enterprise.⁴⁰⁰ The immediate result of the Interior department's inquiry and IRA accusations was that Fletcher spent her time, political capital and financial resources to defend herself. Although Fletcher significantly shaped the final

Native Americans & Whites in the Progressive Era (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 2005), 9-13.

⁴⁰⁰ Mark, Stranger., 129-133. See, Joseph La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 13 March, 1886; Lucy La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 14 March, 1886; Rosalie La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 16 March, 1886, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Microfilm, 4558 Box 2 Correspondence*. D. L. Hawkins to Henry L. Dawes, 2 May, 1887, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Correspondence: Omaha Indians and U. S. Government, 1884-1887, Box 3*; Alice Fletcher to J. E. Rhodes, 7 April, 1887, *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Correspondence 1879-1887, Box 69*.

version of the 1887 Dawes Act by successfully insisting on compulsory allotted land, the WNIA and IRA played a far more visible and self-congratulatory roll in promoting the bill. It is interesting to note, that while Win-dja'-ge villagers who supported general allotment largely remained loyal to Fletcher, during the BIA's investigation they hedged their political bets through donations to the WNIA. Records show that in 1887, Wa-jae-pa, Sin-da-ha-ha, Tae-ou-ka-ha, Noah La Flesche and Ma-wa-dane contributed seventy-two dollars to the WNIA Indian Home Building and Emergency Fund. By the end of 1887 Fletcher had successfully defended herself against all charges and quickly regained her political and scholarly stature.⁴⁰¹

Following passage of the Dawes Act, Fletcher was again appointed a BIA allotment agent. Between 1887 and 1892 Fletcher allotted land, sometimes diplomatically, often through coercion and occasionally by force to the Winnebago and Nez Percés. During her work – and that of other BIA allotment agents – Fletcher's 1888 *Indian Education and Civilization Report* proved a valuable tool in applying the legal and severalty stipulations of the Dawes Act. Consistent with Fletcher's assimilation ideology the report, much like her later publications, reflected racial evolution beliefs. In this respect the report served as the

401 N.a., *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Grant & Fairies, 1885), 54; N.a., *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Royal printing, 1886), 28-29, 34; N.a., *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Royal Printing, 1887); 8, 27; N.a., *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. A. Wilbour, 1888), 54, Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association.*, 65, 131.

penultimate American Darwinist ethno-policial handbook for American Indian commodification. In the end Fletcher's personal allotment work cost the Omaha, Winnebago and Nez Perces dearly both in terms of cultural loss and 602,0515 acres of reservation land.⁴⁰² As a direct result of Fletcher's successful push for mandatory general allotment, American Indians lost 90 million of approximately 150 million acres held in 1887. Ninety thousand land-less Indians were also effectively made into vagrants. While Fletcher was demonstrably a gracious, kind and well-intended person and no doubt sincere in her social reform efforts, the results of her assimilation and allotment work cast a disquieting pall over her Indian "rights" legacy. More so, though not her sole motivation, the self interests and political needs met by Fletcher's published work adds to our understanding of how (and why) she constructed Indian scholarship.⁴⁰³

402 Mark, *Stranger.*, 105-122; Gay, *With the Nez Perces*, passim; Alvin M. Josephy jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1965), 634-644; Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2002), 27, 32, 60-89, 116, 144-149; Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization Report* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1888), 1-11, 22, 48, 63, 70, 78, 80, 84, 111, 167-168, 171, 549, 658, 683. The influence of Fletcher's report which was referenced by Senator Henry Teller of Colorado during Senate debate is seen in, Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the Indians: Writings by the 'Friends of the Indian, 1880-1900* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1973), 63. Fletcher's singular role in bring mandatory general allotment has been well documented. Mark, *Stranger.*, 114-122. Mark, *Stranger.*, 200.

403 David S. Case and David Avraham Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws* (Fairbanks, Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 2002), 104-105; Mark, *Strangers.*, 201.

Chapter Five

Helen Hunt Jackson and the History of Indian Treaties

Four years before Helen Hunt Jackson's death from cancer in 1885, Thomas Henry Tibbles, who was then principle editorial writer for the *Omaha Herald* christened “Helen Hunt, the Colorado historian of the good Indians.” He described her as “fair, fat and forty.”⁴⁰⁴ As Alice Fletcher discovered in 1881, Tibbles' wit was admittedly irreverent if not cruel, however his presentation of Jackson as an historian of American Indians was not frivolous. After meeting “Helen Hunt” during his Boston tour with Standing Bear and Susette and Francis La Flesche and learning of her efforts to publicize U. S. – Indian treaty relations, Tibbles gave his Ponca/Indian records to Jackson and encouraged her to write a broad historical exposé. Jackson's classification and study of Tibbles' records contributed significantly to her 1881 publication, *A Century of Dishonor*.⁴⁰⁵

For a time Jackson would hold the singular distinction of being the most noted American historian of Indian treaties. Both Tibbles and the WNIA widely praised Jackson's historical scholarship and touted her achievement in chronicling treaty history.⁴⁰⁶ Jackson summarized her work as, “a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises.” She further added, “[t]he history of the border

404 “Helen Hunt,” *Omaha Herald* 17 July, 1881. At this time Thomas Tibbles was the principle editorial writer for the *Omaha Herald*. While his assessment of Jackson's girth was tasteless it nevertheless indicated playful familiarity. Tibbles obviously respected Jackson or he would not have shared his Indian research with her and encouraged the writing of *A Century of Dishonor*.

405 Tibbles, *Buckskin and Blanket Days*, 8, 216. Helen Hunt Jackson to Thomas Henry Tibbles, March 4, 1880 in Valerie Sherer Mathes ed., *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 114-115.

406 N.a., *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association.*, 8.

white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, [and] robbery.”⁴⁰⁷

However, for over a century the structural connection between Jackson's key American Indian scholarship, *A Century of Dishonor* and the WNIA's political interest in U. S./Indian treaty history has been obscured by the critique of a respected but chauvinistic male historian whose own scholarship is noted for its strident advocacy of American imperialism.⁴⁰⁸ In Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, the future president savaged Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*, claiming:

As a history it would be beneath criticism, were it not that the high character of the author... ha[s] given it a fictitious value and made it much quoted by the large mass of amiable but maudlin fanatics⁴⁰⁹

Although Roosevelt halfheartedly noted that Jackson had “the most praiseworthy purpose – to prevent our continuing any more injustice to the Indian,” the effect of his critique was to dismiss the political implications of her important scholarship on U. S./Indian treaties. More so, while Roosevelt's comments were certainly unfair, in a much more damning way they struck at the heart of Jackson and the WNIA's

407 Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 337. In an introductory “Author's Note” Jackson referred to her book as a sketch – rather than a history. Clearly, by the work's conclusion Jackson considered her book a history of U. S. Indian treaties and legal interactions as well as settler expansion into American Indian lands.

408 The point being that subsequent historical citation, even when laudatory of Jackson's scholarship framed her contributions in contrast to Roosevelt's assessment – not in terms of her role in shaping and being shaped by the WNIA's political interest in U. S./Indian treaty history. Jackson, *A Century*, xiv, xv.

409 Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West vol 1-5* (New York, New York: P. F. Collier, 1889), 334.

political interest in Indian treaty and legal history. By sentimentalizing *A Century of Dishonor*, Roosevelt discredited Jackson's intellectual contribution to the evolving structure of WNIA Indian scholarship.⁴¹⁰

The historical record does not illuminate personal conversations or philosophical exchanges between Amelia Quinton, Mary Bonney and Helen Hunt Jackson, but the latter's explication of the ITKPA/WNIA's slow assimilation policy as stated in Quinton's letter to John Ross is clearly evident in her seminal history, *A Century of Dishonor*. Dating to 1879, the intriguing circle of characters surrounding Jackson as *A Century* was gestating reinforced her American Indian sentiments and helped definitively mold her life-long devotion to slow assimilation. In addition to Quinton and Bonney, Henry and Susette Tibble helped shape Jackson's slow assimilation view by advancing treaty fidelity and American Indian citizenship as preliminary reforms in the face of radical allotment schemes.⁴¹¹

410 Ibid.

411 Amelia Quinton, "They are for Justice, a Splendid Letter from a Woman," *Cherokee Advocate* 19, May 1882, pg.2. Siobhan Senier explicates a polarity in Jackson's thought, pulling her in two different directions, one toward allotment and one toward Indian communality. Senier's own evidence refutes this, notably the citations from Jackson and Abbott's report on the California Mission Indians. By taking into account Jackson's views on brain health and slow assimilation the unnecessarily complicated polarity argument and its contradictory evidence can be avoided. More troubling is Senier's attempt to frame "The Dawes Act discourse" and "communal resistance discourse" in morally tinged gendered terms that sympathetically links the so-called resistance actions of European American women to those of American Indian women. This approach disingenuously absolves European American women of culpability for their part in Indian assimilation and ignores European American women's role in the political and cultural commodification of American Indians. The evidence does not demonstrate that among European Americans Indian assimilation and resistance can be divided into distinctly gendered camps with clear moral demarcations. The very "Dawes Act discourse" Senier implicates as "masculine" was not the intellectual creation of Henry Dawes and male cohorts on the Senate Indian Affairs committee, but rather as demonstrated by Joan Mark and this study was an inter-gendered political discourse fostered by European American women assimilationists including Helen Hunt Jackson. Siobhan Senier, *Voices of American Indian Assimilation and Resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca and Victoria Howard*

While Henry and Susette Tibbles's support for Indian citizenship is usually disconnected from their support for treaty fidelity, in fact each were complimentary aspects of a comprehensive slow assimilation agenda. The Tibbles's argued that citizenship and fidelity to treaty stipulations would give American Indians both the freedom (from government oversight), property rights and legal protection to pursue their own path to civilization. In this context, the Tibbles's approach to Indian assimilation paralleled that of the 1830-1831 Anti-Removal campaign, in that they argued frequent abrogation of existing treaties, particularly the late Nineteenth Century spate of forced Indian removals and relocation disrupted existing gains in Indian civilization, put Indians at the mercy of European American settlers and stymied future assimilation.⁴¹²

Following Jackson's slow assimilationist views, *A Century of Dishonor* outlines the legal and treaty history of the Delaware, Cheyenne, Nez Perces, Sioux, Ponca, Winnebago and Cherokee, arguing that constant treaty-breaking, disruptions (removal and resettlement) and European American intrusion disrupted Indian efforts to civilize. Embracing the assimilationist agenda of H. B. Whipple and Julius H. Seelye, Jackson cautioned, “[t]o administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike, would be as

(Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma, 2001), 29-72.

412 Susette La Flesche-Tibbles, “Perils and Promises of Indian Citizenship,” in ed., Joseph Cook and Hazlitt Alva Cuppy, *Our Day: A Record and Review of Current Reform vol 5* (Boston, Massachusetts: Our day Publishing, 1890), 460-471; Thomas Tibbles, *The Ponca Chiefs: An Indian's Appeal from the Tomahawk to the Courts* (Boston, Massachusetts: Lockwood, Brooks & Co., 1879), Chaps., 1-3, 6, 8; William Justin Harsha, *Plowed Under: The Story of an Indian Chief* (New York, New York: Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, 1881), 16.

grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine... [i]t would kill more than it would cure.” A brief examination of Jackson's first and second chapters – concerning land rights and the Delaware – illustrates this point.⁴¹³

Mirroring the structure echoed in Fletcher's OFAN and RIEC, Jackson's introductory chapter presented a sophisticated analysis of American Indian land rights, shrewdly distinguishing between right of ownership – as held by the United States, and right of occupation – claimed by Jackson as an Indian treaty right. Jackson's position on Indian land was remarkably progressive, foreshadowing Twentieth Century historians such as Anthony Pagden. Building on the right of occupation argument Jackson's chapter on the Delaware traced their legal and treaty interaction with Europeans from Hendrik Hudson's 1609 first contact to 1880. Recounting colonial and U. S. treaties, the chapter's pivotal point centered on the 1795 Treaty of Greenville which encompassed eleven tribes including the Delaware.⁴¹⁴

The treaty stipulation that most concerned Jackson, was article five guaranteeing, “the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands are quietly to enjoy them – hunting, planting, and dwelling thereupon so long as they please without any molestation from the United States.” Jackson noted by 1818 the Delawares were pressured into surrendering treaty land and were removed West of the

413 Jackson, *A Century*, xix-xxiv, 1-5, 340. As noted in chapter one, Jackson's sentiment here also reflected her fear that rapid change endangered brain health.

414 Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995). Felix S. Cohen and Rennard Strickland, *Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Michie, 1982), chaps., 1-3, passim; Jackson, *A Century*, 32-46.

Mississippi, the new land being guaranteed by a supplementary treaty provision in 1829. By 1854 the Delawares, by terms of yet another compulsory treaty, were again compelled to relinquish land to the U. S. Their remaining lands in present day Kansas were to be surveyed for allotment.⁴¹⁵

Jackson dryly commented that the Delaware, after sending one hundred and seventy men to fight for the Union in 1862, five years later were compelled by that same government to give up their 1854 reservation rights and move to Indian Territory. Although the Delaware had proven themselves excellent ranchers and farmers, owning 5,000 head of cattle and having raised 72,0000 bushels of grain, and 13,0000 bushels of potatoes; harassment, cattle theft and violence by White settlers eventually forced the tribe to leave Kansas around 1867. Having noted the Delaware's repeated attempts to assimilate Jackson concluded, "such uprooting, such perplexity, such loss, such confusion and uncertainty, inflicted once on any community of white people anywhere in our land, would be considered quite enough to... blight its prospects for years."⁴¹⁶

Unfortunately for Jackson her slow assimilation argument would become lost in the passion of her politics. Following *A Century of Dishonor's* publication, Jackson had bound red leather editions embossed with "Look upon your hands! They are stained with the blood of your relations," placed on the desk of each member of the forty-seventh Congress. Jackson also sent an autographed copy to

415 Jackson, 46-56.

416 Jackson, *A Century*, 47-65.

President Chester A. Arthur. Shrewdly cultivated, the political and scholarly prestige Jackson amassed among influential Washington women and male politicians in 1881 would serve her well. Jackson's book proved popular contributing to a Congressional investigation of the Ponca removal controversy. Ultimately – though obscuring her seminal role in formulating WNIA Indian treaty scholarship – Theodore Roosevelt's biting critique proved to be Jackson's best publicity, keeping the book alive in scholarly debate long after its popularity had faded. Following *A Century of Dishonor's* publication and inspired by Congressional debate on the fate of the California Mission Indians, Jackson decided to expand her Indian reform interests by retracing steps from an earlier California trip during which she had visited the Mission Indians.⁴¹⁷

In the fall of 1881 Jackson formulated plans with *Century* magazine's Richard Watson Gilder to write several articles on California and the Mission Indians. After a brief visit to New York, Jackson traveled by train to Los Angeles arriving in December of 1881. Over the next few months Jackson would make a whirlwind tour of the Luiseño, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Ipai and Saboba Indian villages. Jackson's sojourn in southern California proved decisive in shaping her views about the dire need for an involved, but cautious federal assimilation, land management

⁴¹⁷ The evidence does not show that Jackson and Fletcher corresponded, but given media coverage of Fletcher's Omaha allotment campaign it would be a reasonable assumption to think Jackson was aware of her efforts. More over, given Jackson's contacts in Washington it would be reasonable to assume she was aware of the California Mission Indian bill working its way through Congress in 1879. Gladys R. Bueler, *Colorado's Colorful Characters* (Boulder, Colorado: Smoking Stack Press, 1981), 96. Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1990), 38, 43. Frederick W. Turner, III, "The Century After 'A Century of Dishonor: American Conscience and Consciousness," *The Massachusetts Review* vol 16 no 4 (Autumn, 1975): 715-731.

and allotment program for California Indians.⁴¹⁸

Jackson's visit to Saboba village proved quite disturbing because it paralleled removal of the Ponca and other Plains Indians. Following additional investigation Jackson uncovered the complicated history of Spanish/Mexican land grants and subsequent faulty, if not fraudulent surveys that had swindled the Saboba Indians out of their historic claims. Jackson's research among the Saboba Indians prompted further inquiries into the general status of California Mission Indians. Damon Akins argues that the actions of eastern reformers like Jackson, rather than alleviating Mission Indian misery tied them to federally administered land allotments that stymied their pursuit of United States citizenship and cultural sovereignty.⁴¹⁹

While Jackson would address the plight of California Indians in terms of land allotment and federal oversight, many California Indians hoped to secure United States citizenship as well as land titles that honored traditional rights imparted under Spanish and Mexican rule. Unfortunately, California Mission Indians found that their previous land grants and claims were not honored by European Americans. As with Plains Indians the issues confronting California Mission Indians involved European American encroachment, the status of their land claims and their status as residents of the United States. Given the problems facing Saboba Village and other Mission Indians Jackson concluded

418 Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson*, 38-40.

419 Damon B. Akins, "Lines on the Land: The San Louis Rey River Reservations and the Origins of the Mission Indian Federation, 1850-1934" (Ph. D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 2009), 1-77.

contemporaneous BIA policies failed to protect Indian land interests. Jackson also believed that existing federal Indian policy had not effectively placed Mission Indians on the path to assimilation. The 1881 California tour convinced Jackson that California Indians would perish without a substantial overhaul of federal Indian policy.⁴²⁰

In a 11 June 1881 letter to Interior Secretary Henry Teller, Jackson outlined the situation and insisted that without government intervention Indians at Saboba would “be driven off their lands.” Jackson contended – echoing Alice Fletcher's concurrent campaign on behalf of the Omaha – the Saboba Indians “want a title given to them individually. They do not want a land title in common with their tribe.” Concluding the letter, Jackson offered “I suppose it would be entirely out of the question and preposterous... for the Interior department to send a woman along with a commission of investigation, and let the woman write the report!” Jackson's question was both a request and a threat. As with Fletcher's Omaha petition and subsequent appointment as an allotment agent, Jackson's bid was part of a carefully executed political campaign.⁴²¹

Having built a political coalition including Senators, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, and President Chester A. Arthur, in the summer of 1882 Jackson received notice of her appointment as a special Indian agent to the California Mission Indians. According to official instruction Jackson was charged

420 Mathes, *The Indian Reform Letters*, 206-207. Akins, “Lines on the Land,” 1-77.

421 Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson*, 48-49.

with locating possible public domain reservation sites for permanent settlement, to provide detailed descriptions of Mission Indian land holdings and claims and report recommendations. Jackson was also given permission to work with an acquaintance, Abbott Kinney and hire a translator. In mid February of 1882 Jackson arrived in Los Angeles and with Kinney visited each Mission Indian village and encampment over the next several months. Jackson and Kinney were appalled by the grinding poverty of Mission Indians and the outrageous manner in which non-Indian settlers had swindled or appropriated their land.⁴²²

At tour's end Jackson returned to her Colorado Springs, Colorado home where she began work on the official report. Completed in early July 1883, the *Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California* made eleven key recommendations. Fifty-six pages long, the report called for, “resurveying and marking existing reservations; removal of all white settlers from reservations; removal of the Indians or the upholding and defending of their claims.” Echoing the 1881 Omaha Allotment Act, Jackson and Kinney also called for, “the patenting [in severalty], with a twenty-five year trust period, of both old and new reservations to Indian residents,” as well as boarding schools and appropriations for food and medical care. To regulate the assimilation and allotment work Jackson and Kinney called for “two inspections a year for each

422 Valerie Sherer Mathes' excellent biographical works on Helen Hunt Jackson meticulously document this material and make additional biographical research redundant. This paragraph relies heavily on Mathes' biographical information and due to the specific nature of the information closely parallels it. Mathes, *The Indian Reform Letters.*, 204-215, Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson*, 48-75.

village and settlement [and] special attorneys [hired] for cases relating to mission Indians.” Specifically, Jackson and Kinney advocated “purchasing two tracts of land [for Indians on]... the Pauma Ranch... and the Santa Ysabel ranch” and incorporation “of the San Carlos and other Indian groups north of the mission agency boundary under jurisdiction of the mission agency.”⁴²³

In the Mission Indian Report Jackson and Kinney gave their sanction to Alice Fletcher's allotment scheme as set forth in the 1882 Omaha Act. In agreement with Fletcher's sentiments the authors recommended, “that all these Indian's reservations... be patented to the several bands occupying them [and] the United States to hold the patent in trust for the period of twenty-five years... as has been done for the Omaha Indians.”⁴²⁴

Jackson and Kinney also embraced the same coercive provision found in the 1882 Omaha Act stating, “[t]he best time of allotting these Indians' lands to them in severalty must be left to the decision of the government... agents and commissioners being instructed to keep the advantages of this system constantly before the Indian's minds.”⁴²⁵ Reflecting Jackson's slow assimilation ideology, the report concluded, “some of them are fit for it now, and earnestly desire it, but the majority are not ready for it. The communal system... satisfies them.”⁴²⁶

423 Mathes., *Helen Hunt*, 69-73. Jackson's engagement with newspapers and related accounts have been left out of this narrative which focuses exclusively on her Mission Indian Report.

424 Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbott Kinney, *Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1883), 9.

425 Jackson, Kinney, *Report on the Condition*, 9.

426 Jackson, Kinney, *Report on the Condition*, 9. The matter of slow assimilation was further reiterated in a letter to Indian Commissioner Hiram Price. Helen Hunt Jackson to Hiram Price 5 May, 1883 in Valerie Sherer Mathes, ed., *The Indian Reform Letters*, 262-264.

In the aftermath of the report, Jackson launched a concerted effort to marshal a bill through Congress enshrining the study's main findings. Once the report was submitted to Indian Commissioner Price, Jackson revealed her political agenda. In a 6 November 1883 letter to Price, Jackson noted she planned to send copies of the report to major newspapers and political contacts in what proved to be an unsuccessful bid to pass the Mission Indian bill. Jackson, who continued to campaign for the bill would not live to see its passage in 1891.⁴²⁷

The personal calamities surrounding Helen Hunt Jackson's first three decades of life provoked a life-long fear of physical over-exertion, especially of the brain. A number of Jackson's publications explored the dire consequences of physical and mental exhaustion. In the domestic realm, five of Jackson's major works written between 1876 and 1885 addressed mental deterioration caused by fatigue and sudden change. *Mercy Philbrick's Choice*, *Hetty's Strange History*, *Bits of Travel at Home*, *Bits of Talk About Home Matters*, and *Zeph* each linked over-exertion to mental decay, especially in women and children.⁴²⁸

Jackson's fears about fatigue and brain degeneration profoundly shaped her views on assimilation as attested in her obscure historical biography, *Father Junipero Serra and the Mission Indians Of California*. The Serra biography reveals

⁴²⁷ Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson*, 72-75.

⁴²⁸ Helen Hunt Jackson, *Mercy Philbrick's Choice* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1876), 33, 99, 129, 134, 205, 215, 248; Jackson, *Hetty's Strange History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1877), 182, 192, 251, 275, 279; Jackson, *Bits of Travel at Home* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1878), 30, 266, 417; Jackson, *Bits of Talk About Home Matters* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1879), 10, 43, 51, 53-54, 57, 75, 173, 186-187, 209, 223, 237, 239; Jackson, *Zeph: A Posthumous Story* (Boston, Massachusetts: Roberts Brothers, 1885), 112, 181, 191, 228.

that Jackson admired the slow but determined assimilation program of early Spanish Catholic missions which she pegged as the mechanism of Spanish imperial expansion fifteen years before historian Herbert Eugene Bolton's "The Spanish Mission as a Frontier Institution."⁴²⁹ Idealizing early Spanish efforts to ease West Coast American Indians into a European style agricultural economy the Serra biography also painted a romantic image of Spanish and American Indian collectivism.⁴³⁰

Jackson's ideal version of Spanish colonialism depicted the Catholic Church as an ancient benevolent organ of civilization with the patience to allow a centuries-long assimilation. However, Spanish secular authorities eventually became "impatient to see carried out, and to reap the benefit of, the [mission] pueblo feature of its colonization plan," and had "set ten years," as sufficient time to assimilate the Indians and secularize the mission pueblos. Jackson lamented, "It is strange how sure civilized peoples are, when planning and legislating for savages, to forget that it has always taken centuries to graft on or evolve out of savagery anything like civilization." Sounding a clarion call to American assimilationists, Jackson warned that the greed of restless settlers destroyed Spanish California, Mexican California and delivered the region and its Indians to the United States. American greed, she warned might yet deliver California to new

429 Helen Hunt Jackson, *Father Junipero and the Mission Indians of California* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1902), 9, 10-13, 20-25, 33-34, 66-69; Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Spanish Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review* vol 23 no 1 (October, 1917): 42-680.

430 Jackson, *Father Junipero*, chaps., 1-2.

owners.⁴³¹

Together, these sources shed light on Jackson's assimilationist ideology and her fear that Indians were being forced to embrace European American culture too swiftly. At the conclusion of Jackson's campaign for the California Mission Indians bill (between 1883-1884) she began work on what would be her final publication. Wanting to write a book that would do for the Indian what Harriet Beecher Stowes' *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had done for the slave, Jackson looked to a murder she investigated while among the Cahuilla Indians of southern California for inspiration. The murder case involved two Cahuilla Indians and a White man – Ramona Lubo, her husband Juan Diego and Sam Temple the European American teamster who killed Juan. Built around a fictionalized account of the case, Jackson's novel compared the course of Spanish and Mexican to European American Indian assimilation.⁴³²

Ramona is set in the aftermath of the Mexican-American War during the early statehood period. The novel's main character Ramona was a mixed-blood Mission Indian (European American/Indian). After the death of Romana's foster mother Senora Ortegna, Ramona was raised by the Senora Ortegna's sister, wealthy Spanish/Mexican sheep rancher Senora Moreno. Moreno raised Ramona as her

431 Jackson, *Father Junipero Serra.*, 66-69.

432 Kate Phillips, *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 240-264. Phil Brigandi and John W. Robinson, "The Killing of Juan Diego: From Murder to Mythology," *Journal of the San Diego Historical Society* vol 40 no 1-2 (Winter 1994): 1-24. Carlyle Channing Davis and William A. Alderson, *The True Story of 'Ramona': Its facts, Fictions, Inspiration and Purpose* (New York, New York: Dodge Publishing, 1914), chaps., 1-4.

daughter and the sister of her son Felipe. Although Senora Moreno despised Indians and her new American overlords, she raised Ramona as a member of her own family. During the annual sheep shearing conducted by a band of hired local Indians Ramona fell in love with Alessandro, the leader's son.

Against Senora Moreno's wishes Ramona and Alessandro eloped. Thus began their long journey across southern California in search of a permanent home. Driven by American settlers from a series of homesteads, the couple moved with their young daughter to a cabin in the San Bernardino Mountains. Unable to bear the disappointments of European American assimilation, Alessandro slowly lost his mind. Blaming himself for believing a traditional Indian could quickly assimilate, Alessandro was dealt a final blow when his daughter "Eyes of the Sky" suddenly died – the local European American doctor could not be compelled to treat her.

Ramona soon bore another child, but Alessandro continued his descent into madness. Grippled by sorrow and delirium Alessandro walked to a nearby town and mindlessly appropriated a settler's horse which he rode home. Tracking Alessandro to his mountain cabin, the American settler angrily shot him in front of Ramona and the new baby. Following a rigged trial that set the settler free, Ramona returned to live with Senora Moreno and her step brother Felipe. In a bid to escape American prejudice the three moved to Mexico. Once south of the border Felipe reveals his love for Ramona and the two soon marry. Felipe and Ramona have many children, but of their daughters, Jackson noted, "the most beautiful of them all, and it was said the most beloved... was the eldest one: the one who bore the mother's name..."

Ramona, daughter of Alessandro the Indian.”⁴³³

In *Ramona* Jackson's fear of quick assimilation and its dire effect on American Indians was clear. Ramona was raised from childhood by European Americans (though Spanish) and readily assimilated. In contrast, Alessandro, a full-blood adult Indian could not transition to civilized life. Alessandro's fate was like the dire misery noted in *A Century of Dishonor*, he was unable to bear the mental strain of sudden assimilation. The final chapter of *Ramona* served as a biting critique of American Indian policy in California. Only by moving to Mexico's more congenial and accepting Catholic culture did Senor Moreno, Felipe Moreno, Ramona Moreno and their children find peace.⁴³⁴

Ramona inspired a unique travel culture in southern California, although it would never inspire the American public's passion for slow or any other form of Indian assimilation. Ramona Lubo, one of many Cahuilla Indians purported to have been the basis for Jackson's character gained a notable following among East and West coast Indian basket collectors, weavers and women assimilationists. Her “Ramona's Star” basket pattern which depicted the heavenly abode of her departed husband, Juan Diego came to symbolize the brutality of American westward

433 Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1931), passim.

434 Martin Padgett argues that Jackson's *Ramona* was actually a complex critique of the Spanish Indian assimilation system and rejects interpretations of *Ramona* that advance the idea of an idealistic American colony. While Jackson certainly objected to aspects of the Spanish assimilation program, her biography of Father Junipero Serra clearly demonstrated admiration for the early Spanish Catholic slow approach. Those aspects of Spanish and Mexican assimilation criticized by Jackson concerned attempts to speed up or disavow slow assimilation. Martin Padgett, “Travel Writing, Sentimental Romance, and Indian Rights Advocacy: The Politics of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*,” *Journal of the Southwest* vol 42 no 4 (Winter 2000): 833-876.

expansion. Jackson would live only one more year following publication of *Ramona* in 1884. On 12 August 1885 in a morphine induced delirium, Helen Hunt Jackson succumbed to cancer of the stomach.⁴³⁵

Jackson's formulation of a scholarly history of Indian treaties in *A Century of Dishonor* was path breaking. That her role in the application of the WNIA's U. S./Indian treaty concerns to Indian scholarship was obscured by Theodore Roosevelt's critique of her work is regrettable. Often dismissed as the product of a "maudlin sentimentalist," Jackson's Indian work has only recently sparked renewed scholarly interest. Similarly, no scholarly attention has been given to Jackson's evolutionary interests and how they shaped her assimilation views. More so, no work has considered how her fear of the ill-effects of swift social/cultural change molded her slow assimilation ideology. Ironically, Jackson's sentimental support for slow Indian assimilation reflected contemporaneous American Darwinists' thought more accurately than her scientifically objective women cohorts. Although Jackson did not live long enough to see its full effect, her role in the construction of Indian scholarship bestowed a measured degree of political influence.⁴³⁶

435 George Wharton James, *Through Ramona's Country* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1909), 167-172; Phillips., 273; Dydia Delyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 31-64, passim.

436 Mathis, xiv.

Chapter Six

Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Indian Material Culture Commodification

Curiously, Heleln Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* bolstered a gestating American Indian material culture market. *Ramona* is rightly remembered in contemporary scholarship as a literary/political novel, but its publication in 1884 also played to an emerging European American audience obsessed with Indian material culture. Pitting Powell's ethnologists against European anthropologists and private collectors, Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) employees competed in a frantic effort to collect prized specimens of Indian pottery, sculpted objects, painted art, bead work, woven work and basketry.⁴³⁷

The market interests and consumer demand for Indian material culture was equally staggering. *A Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools* noted “the president of the Santa Fe Railroad [said] sales of Indian goods at stations along his lines have increased 1,000 percent in the last ten years... similar statements have been made by officers of the Southern Pacific Railroad.” The *Report* continued listing annual profits claimed by Indian curio dealers: Mohonk Lodge, (Oklahoma) \$5,213; Benham Trading Company, (New Mexico), \$140,000; Frank Covert, (New York), \$10,000; Flambeau Lumber Company (Wisconsin), \$2,000, John Lorenzo Hubbell (Arizona), \$29,000 in blankets and baskets and \$7,000 silverware and Mrs.

⁴³⁷ Darlis Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering Anthropologist* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 31-33.

Frank. N. Doubleday (New York), \$18,000.⁴³⁸

Mrs. Doubleday's trade work illustrates the political importance attached to Indian material culture by women's rights proponents. As a member of the assimilationist Sequoia League, along with Estelle Reel, Phoebe Hearst, Alice Fletcher, John Wesley Powell, Frederick Ward Putnam and C. Hart Merriam, Doubleday promoted the production and marketing of Indian material culture through a wide range of women's organizations. Echoing the president of the New York chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Doubleday noted, "We women have been glorifying our own ancestresses, which is well, but it seems to me that possibly we might serve our day and generation in as patriotic a way as they served theirs if we could help Indian industries." Doubleday noted that one hundred thousand Sunshine Society women, as well as church fairs and affiliated women's clubs were actively collecting and selling Indian material culture. Proudly, Doubleday announced Estelle Reel, Superintendent of the U. S. Indian schools would introduce the production of Indian basketry in all government Indian education institutions.⁴³⁹

438 Estelle Reel, *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools* (Washington, District of Columbia GPO, 1904), 22-24. Since this treatment is concerned with the role Stevenson played in commercializing American Indian material culture and the politically conscious women associated with that venture, the emerging Indian curio market has not been addressed. For the early 1900s Indian curio market see, Stephen Fried, *Appetite for America: Fed Harvey and the Business of Civilizing America – One meal at a Time* (New York, New York: Bantam, 2010), chap., 22; Martha Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock ed. *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (Phoenix, Arizona: The Heard Museum, 1996), passim.

439 N.a., *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference 1901* (New York, Lake Mohonk: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1902), 27-29; Elizabeth Hutchinson notes that women were the primary collectors of Indian basketry and reads them into an American imperialist narrative. Although Hutchinson does not link the maternal patriotism politics of socially conscious women to Indian material culture production and

Among the various Indian arts, basketry and woven blankets proved most popular, both for convenience (as opposed to fragile pottery) and as material culture forms that European American women crafters could mimic. Ostensibly, Indian produced basket and blanket collections were displayed to house guests as objects of beauty and interest. In reality Indian material culture objects allowed their hosts to more easily interject assimilation politics into the occasion. More so, by learning to weaving their own Indian blankets, baskets, magazine racks and related home objects European American women tangibly promoted themselves as dedicated Indian activists.⁴⁴⁰

One such example was Amelia Quinton's Ramona's Star basket procured during her 1891 visit to the Cahuilla Indians in California. A prized possession woven by the purported heroine of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, the Ramona's Star basket became an important prop during Quinton's frequent WNIA fundraisers.

marketing or detail the link to Matilda Coxe Stevenson, she does note that O. T. Mason's publication on Indian basketry served as an interpretive guide for women basket collectors. Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2009), 33-36. K. Tsianina Lomawaima suggests a close connection between European American women's rights supporters and women's promotion of Indian industry. See, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* vol 35 no 3 (May 1996): 5-32; also see, Erika Marie Bsumek's study of how European Americans interpreted and "commodified" Navajo material culture purchased in the southwest and through Indian arts traders: Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868-1940* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2012).

440 The expense of collecting Indian baskets distinguished independent women from working class and women of modest means. See, N.a., "Suggestions for Christmas," *Home & Garden* vol13 no1 (January-June 1908): 12-13. For upper and middle class politically conscious European American women's collection of Indian basketry, blankets and wicker handicrafts see, George Wharton James, *How to Make Indian and Other Baskets* (New York, New York: Frank M. Covert, 1903), 6, 9, 15, 16, 22, 26, 34, 35-36, 94, 96, 122, 123-124, 128; George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago, Illinois: A. C. McClurg, 1914), vii-viii, 8-20, 202-208.

Quinton made reference to the basket as part of a dramatic story relating how Ramona Lubo's husband, Juan Deigo was murdered by greedy European American settlers.

The political value that women assimilationists eventually attached to Quinton's Ramona's Star basket was attested by the fact that hundreds of duplicates were produced and marketed in addition to numerous Ramon's Star patterns peddled through basketry publications. In this manner collection of antique and contemporary Indian woven goods and the production of European American women's Indian woven goods became part of a stealthy women's political narrative that proved extremely effective in promoting the political interests of women assimilationists.⁴⁴¹

Among Indian woven goods collection, analysis and instruction, that of Estelle Reel, George Wharton James and Otis Tufton Mason proved most popular although a number of basketry schools existed across the nation. Whether on the East or West coast, the political narrative of European American basketry closely paralleled. Matilda Coxe Stevenson's friend and fellow collector George Wharton James somewhat romantically noted, “[f]ine baskets to the older Indian women, were poems, their paintings, their sculpture, their cathedrals, their music.” James

441 For the Ramona story and how it became associated with Ramona Lubo see, George Wharton James, *Through Ramona's Country* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1909), 167-172. For Quinton and the “Ramona Star” basket see, Amelia Quinton, “Through Southern California: Letter Number Seven,” *Indian's Friend* vol 7 (October 1891): 5. For “Ramona Star” baskets and pattern see, *The Basket* vol 2 no 1 (January 1904): 207-212 and passim. For a fuller treatment of Amelia Quinton's activities in southern California see, Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi, “The Mischief Record of 'La Gobernadora': Amelia Stone Quinton, Charles Fletcher Lummis, and the Warren Ranch Indian Removal,” *The Journal of San Diego History* vol 57 nos 1&2 (Winter/Spring 2011): 69-96.

added, “the civilized world is just learning the first lessons of the aboriginal melodies and harmonies in these wickerwork masterpieces.”⁴⁴² Reflecting James's sentiment, an unnamed author at the Los Angeles Navajo School of Indian Basketry stated, “[b]askets are the Indian woman's poems, the shaping of them her sculpture... [t]hey wove into them the story of their life and love... [h]ence we feel that Indian basketry will gain appreciation” Possibly with prospective pupils in mind the author added, “a basket made after our instructions is a real Indian basket, except for the fact that white fingers instead of brown ones fashioned it.”⁴⁴³

Less sentimental than James or the Navajo School of Indian basketry, Otis Tufton Mason's definitive BAE publication on Indian woven items written examined the popularity of Indian material culture and the political status it bestowed on European American collectors. Mason noted, “[p]eople of wealth vie with one another in owning them [baskets]... [i]t almost amounts to a disease, which might be called, “canastromania” Having identified basket collection as a sign of social and economic prestige, Mason further identified it as a worthy intellectual pursuit stating, “[t]he genuine enthusiasm kindled in the search, the pride of success in the acquisition, the care bestowed upon them, witness that the basket is a worthy object of study.”⁴⁴⁴

442 George Wharton James, *Indian Basketry* (New York, New York: Henry Malkan, 1901), 16. For James' friendship with Stevenson see, George Wharton James, *Our American Wonderlands* (Chicago, Illinois: A. C. McClurg, 1915), 142.

443 N.a., *Indian Basket Weaving: Navajo School of Indian Basketry* (Los Angeles, California: Weldon & Spreng Co. 1903), 7.

444 Otis T. Mason, “Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art Without Machinery,” in N.a., *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1902* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1904), 187-188.

Mason's work also provided a comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on American Indian material culture. Among works on Indian basketry and pottery a clear line of descent passed back to James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson's comprehensive 1879-1881 *Illustrated Catalog of Collections*. The Stevenson publication was the earliest scholarly compendium of Indian material culture.⁴⁴⁵

As noted in chapter one, the Stevenson's 1879 journey West marked the beginning of the BAE's (and the U. S. government's) official venture into Indian arts collection. As a partner in her husband's ethnological work between 1879-1888, Matilda Coxe Stevenson participated in the government's frantic push to collect the most coveted specimens of American Indian material culture. Augmenting her role in establishing the scholarship of Indian material culture, Matilda Coxe Stevenson's American Indian scholarship also produced a small body of ethnological publications.⁴⁴⁶

James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson's venture as government ethnologists and collectors has been well documented by a number of sources. Most recent, Darlis Miller's comprehensive Stevenson biography addresses both her work with James and her own career following his death in 1888. In scholarly treatments of Stevenson, both as pioneering ethnologist and compensatory historical figure little attention has been given to the ethical and political dimensions of her Indian

⁴⁴⁵ Mason, 548.

⁴⁴⁶ Darils Miller provides a list of known Stevenson publications, only two of which date from her work with James and are dated 1881 and 1888 respectively. Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, 287-288.

material culture work and its relation to the commodification of American Indians.⁴⁴⁷

Matilda Coxe Stevenson's venture into the complex world of Indian arts collection is conventionally dated to 1879 and situated in New Mexico. Yet preparation began months before in New York where James and Matilda Stevenson carefully selected a range of cheap manufactured goods – such as calico cloth, lamps, candles, soap, tobacco, sleigh bells, coffee and sugar – to use along with a small amount of silver coin as barter for Indian material culture. Of special value were imitation coral beads sent ahead to Zuni Pueblo. The arrival of the Stevenson's and their trade goods in 1879 (and annually thereafter until 1887) coincided with a critical change in Pueblo Indian culture, not only signaling the coming of a modern industrial railroad economy, but also the emergence of a currency driven economic system in which Indians primarily used money to purchase manufactured goods.⁴⁴⁸

The 1878 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad's arrival in New Mexico sped the territory's path to new industrial products and a wage economy. Within two years the Southern Pacific railroad connected New Mexico territory to a second transcontinental route greatly contributing to the emerging southwestern tourist trade. Railroads also provided new economic opportunities for Pueblo Indians who

447 Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, passim.

448 James Stevenson to James Pilling, 6 August, 1880; James Stevenson to James Pilling, 18 September, 1880; James Stevenson to James Pilling, 27 October, 1880; James Stevenson to James Pilling, 8 August, 1884 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Series 1 Correspondence, James Stevenson Letters Received, 1879-1887, Box 86*. Miller, 30-38.

entered agreements with traders who paid modest but dependable prices for basketry, blankets, pottery and silverware. Although in transition, when James and Matilda Stevenson ventured to New Mexico in 1879 they entered a region emerging from the old barter and trade system of the Santa Fe Trail days.⁴⁴⁹

Changing economics compelled the Stevenson's to work the prevailing New Mexico political system to their advantage. Administered through special Executive powers granted by the revised Northwest Ordinance of 1789, New Mexico territorial officials and the territorial federal military were directed to assist the Stevenson expedition.⁴⁵⁰ Before the expedition James Stevenson had solicited letters of introduction and special orders from President Rutherford B. Hayes directing local authorities to provide the Stevenson party with military escorts and equipment as available. When the Stevenson's arrived with soldiers and military wagons in tow the Pueblo Indians understood that a failure to trade with them would complicate political matters with their new American overlords.⁴⁵¹

Both James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson chronicled the development of

449 David F. Myrick, *New Mexico's Railroads: A Historical Survey* (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum 1970), chaps., 1-2.

450 The original Northwest Ordinance of 1787 placed new territories under Congressional jurisdiction. The Ordinance was amended in 1789 removing Congressional jurisdiction and giving the President, with Senate advice and consent the right to administer territories and appoint territorial officials. The revised Ordinance effectively made the President the chief executive officer of U. S. territories. In this capacity as commander-in-chief the President directed New Mexico officials and the federal military to assist the Stevenson expedition. See, *US Statutes at Large* 1 (1789-1799): 50-53. For Military assistance on the Stevenson's New Mexico BAE collecting trips see, Stevenson, *Zūni and Zūnians* (N.p., 1881), preface.

451 James Stevenson to James Pilling, 22 September, 1880 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Series 1 Correspondence, James Stevenson Letters Received, 1879-1887, Box 86; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Letters of Introduction for Mrs. Stevenson and/or Husband, 1879-1902, Matilda Coxe Stevenson Papers, Box 2.*

their trade and collecting experiences in 1880 noting that Pueblo Indians wished to trade their collectables for silver. As the expanding consumer economy introduced Pueblo Indians to currency use and the convenience of manufactured goods, tensions with the Stevenson's grew. James and Matilda wanted to continue their frugal, exploitative barter arrangement, but the Pueblo Indians were no longer willing to accept flimsy sleigh bells and fake corral beads in return for their handmade goods. In the face of Indian resistance the Stevenson's resorted to strong-arm tactics.⁴⁵²

With the exchange of cheap fabrics, soap, candles, tin utensils and imitation coral beads for exquisite Indian pottery, blankets and baskets the Stevensons believed they were helping Pueblo Indians rise out of barbarism. Actually, Indian trade with European Americans for manufactured goods began with the first colonial contact. Barter was the usual form of Indian and European American

452 Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, 41-70. Miller reinterprets these events in the Stevenson's (particularly Matilda's) favor – or at the very least deflates their importance. One such example is Miller's reinterpretation of the infamous midnight plunder of the old Catholic church at Zuni Pueblo. According to her interpretation one of the Stevenson's traveling companions, Taylor Ealy absolved their act with a journal entry stating, “We got the consent of the Casique to give up the images.” It is very important to note Ealy did not say to “get the images,” or that they were freely “given.” Nor is it clear in what manner or context the “Casique's” “consent” was obtained. A Casique was not the village chief nor did he speak for the Pueblo, he was a religious figure with clearly defined powers, which generally did not include giving away religious artifacts. Moreover, Taylor Ealy was a xenophobic bigoted Presbyterian zealot intent on rooting out Zuni Catholic culture and assimilating the Pueblo Indians at any cost. Ealy's imprecise little scribbles hardly absolve the Stevensons. Miller also implies the church was dilapidated, crumbling and virtually abandoned by the Zuni and that the statues and artifacts plundered were more or less unwanted. Matilda Coxe Stevenson's own testimony on the matter demonstrates the church was “remarkably preserved,” and more so, that the artifacts and statues absconded were in pristine condition. Matilda Coxe Stevenson's only remark on the act of thievery was that the artifacts and statues were “removed.” Miller, 44; Norman J. Bender, ed., *Missionaries, Outlaws and Indians: Taylor F. Ealy at Lincoln and Zuni, 1878-1881* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 65-100, Tilley E. Stevenson, *Zuni and Zunians* (N.p., 1881), 9-11.

exchange and certainly not a new experience for the Pueblo Indians – but such was the Stevenson's little fantasy. Mostly the barter system was opportunistic in that it allowed the Stevenson's to stretch their meager government funds. James and Matilda were the penultimate exponents of cultural hegemony on the cheap.⁴⁵³

Matilda Coxe Stevenson's role in women's assimilation politics was facilitated by the informal nature of early government Indian arts collection which merged public and private interests. In an 1884 letter sent from Zuni Pueblo to the noted women's rights leader Caroline Healey Dall, Stevenson confided “I shall have some good specimens for you which I intend to see are not taken from me.” Matilda Coxe Stevenson's earlier letters to Dall noted her efforts to secure Indian blankets, baskets and pottery for women friends and her own private use.⁴⁵⁴

Photographic evidence from the Stevenson's Washington home circa 1879-1888 clearly demonstrates that not all the material they collected with government funds made it to the BAE. In addition to high quality Indian blankets like those Stevenson noted in her 1884 letter to Dall, the Stevenson home displayed valuable

453 James Stevenson to James Pilling, 21 November, 1879 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Series 1 Correspondence, James Stevenson Letters Received, 1879-1887, Box 86; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Box 86.*

454 Matilda Coxe Stevenson to Caroline Healey Dall, 14 September, 1884 *Massachusetts Historical Society, Caroline Healey Dall Collection*, Dall 323, Reel 13, Box 9, File 5; Matilda Coxe Stevenson to Caroline Healey Dall, July 9 (n.y) *Massachusetts Historical Society, Caroline Healey Dall collection*, Dall 323, Reel 11, Box 8, File 3; Matilda Coxe Stevenson to Caroline Healey Dall, 19 September, 1883 *Massachusetts Historical Society, Caroline Healey Dall Collection*, Dall 323, Reel 12, Box 8, File 22. Sherri Smith-Ferri reviewed the complex market that developed around Pomo Indian basketry. Sherri Smith-Ferri, “The Development of the Commercial market for Pomo Indian Basketry,” *Expedition* vol 40 no 1 (1998): 15-22. For another view of women's Indian basket collection and marketing see, Joan M. Jensen, *One Foot on the Rockies: Women and Creativity in the Modern American West* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 37-44, 59-70.

Pueblo Indian pottery and baskets. While not likely a secret and certainly standard practice for ethnologists of the day, Matilda Coxe Stevenson's blurring of the lines between public and private collecting reveals the means by which she placated her male superiors (public) and female supporters (private). In this context the differing political agendas of Matilda Coxe Stevenson's public and private supporters also helped determine the quality and quantity of Indian material culture given to each. Evidence indicates Dall received a few choice baskets, pottery and Indian blankets, however the amount paled in comparison to what Powell received at the BAE.⁴⁵⁵

Within a few years James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson's Indian material culture collection would cease. Several factors contributed to this end, including difficulty in finding genuine Indian goods and a marked increase in prices asked by Indian craftspeople. Additionally, the 1885 national ascendancy of fiscally conservative Democrats in the House of Representatives and their war on John Wesley Powell's Geological Survey prompted economic restraint at the BAE. James Stevenson's bout with Rocky Mountain fever and subsequent death in 1888 finally ended this phase in Matilda's Indian material culture collection. From 1888 Matilda Coxe Stevenson increasingly focused on anthropological publication.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ For photographs of the Stevenson Indian collection see, Miller, 146-147. In 1879 alone the Stevenson's shipped 10,512 lbs of Indian material culture to the BAE. James Stevenson to John Wesley Powell, 17 December, 1879 *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Series 1 Correspondence, James Stevenson Letters Received, 1879-1887, Box 86*. Matilda Coxe Stevenson disingenuously indicated that all of their collecting was exclusively for the BAE. Stevenson, *Zūni and Zūnians*, preface, 2-6.

⁴⁵⁶ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 60-61; W. H. Holmes, "In Memoriam:

Matilda Coxe Stevenson's shift toward Indian scholarship coincided with her desire to establish a women's anthropological society in Washington, D. C. This proved necessary given the nation's sole Anthropological Society, the Anthropological Society of Washington (ASW) barred women members. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Alice Fletcher, Erminnie Smith, Zelia Nuttall and Anita Newcomb McGee – all experienced ethnologists and anthropologists – were not satisfied with their status as independent scholars and collaborated to establish a professional women's Anthropological society.⁴⁵⁷

The brain-child of Matilda Coxe Stevenson, the Women's Anthropological Society of America (WASA) was formed on 8 June 1885 “to open to women new fields for systematic investigation... [and] to invite their cooperation in the development of the science of anthropology.” On 28 November 1885 the WASA adopted a constitution and began holding regular sessions at Columbia University. Elected president of the WASA, Matilda Coxe Stevenson gave her inaugural address, “The Religious Life of the Zuni Child,” in 1886. She was accompanied by the Zuni Ihamana We'wha who arrived in Washington with the Stevenson's some months prior to Matilda's WASA address. We'wha – a political commodification much like Alice Fletcher's Omaha companion Francis La Flesche – bolstered

Matilda Coxe Stevenson *American Anthropologist* vol 18 (1916): 552-559. Adding to this fiscal concern were the Allison commission hearings which forced Powell to defend his Geological Survey expenditures. See, John W. Powell, *On the Organization of Scientific Work of the Central Government* vol 1 and 2 (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1886). Between 1881 and 1885 Matilda Coxe Stevenson produced her first major ethnological works. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, *The Zuni and Zunians* (N.p., 1881), 1-30; Matilda Coxe Stevenson, *The Religious Life of the Zuni Child* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO 1885), 1-17.
457 N.a., *Organization and Historical Sketch of the Women's Anthropological Society of America* (Washington, District of Columbia: Judd & Detweiler, 1889), 16-17.

Matilda Coxe Stevenson's position as an American Indian scholar both in Washington and among the WASA membership. We'wha and Stevenson spoke extensively on issues pertinent to Zuni women. Much time would pass before Stevenson realized We'wha was a Zuni man who lived as a woman. After We'wha's sex became clear Stevenson found her much less interesting.⁴⁵⁸

One aspect of the WASA is particularly relevant to this study. Joan Cindy Amatriek contends the WASA blended Stevenson, Fletcher, Smith, Nuttall and McGee's anthropological concerns with those of “women interested primarily in women's and society's problems,” essentially creating a “reform—and—anthropology” movement. The WASA's roster listed prominent leaders of Washington women's organizations such as Mary Parke Foster of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Thus WASA was a notable example of women's lateral political and social diffusion in Washington following the political reversal of 1877.⁴⁵⁹

As a platform for maternal patriotism, the WASA regularly sponsored lectures on American Indian scholarship, Indian family structure and Indian social evolution. In this respect the WASA, while seldom delving into the complexities of racial evolution, nevertheless addressed the key concerns of contemporaneous American Darwinists. As an organization WASA was created to anchor women's American Indian scholarship in an institutional structure, yet by the end of its first

458 N.a., *Organization and Historical Sketch*, 16-19, Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 21, 32-36. Ihamana is the Zuni term for the ritualized social and gender role adopted by some Zuni homosexual men.
459 Miller, 71-88; Amatriek, “The Women's Anthropological Society” passim.

decade (1895) both the organization and the scholarship it promoted were in jeopardy. In 1891 the Anthropological Society of Washington admitted its first female member and in 1899 WASA and the ASW merged. WASA's 1893 presence at the Chicago World Colombian Exposition proved to be its institutional zenith.⁴⁶⁰

With an eye toward the Women's Congress of the Chicago Columbian World's Exposition, Stevenson prepared two publications for presentation. The first, "The Zuni Scalp Ceremonial" (1893) was intended to build her scholarly credentials among politically important women at the Chicago convocation and spark interest in what was to be her ethnological masterpiece, "The Zuni Indians: their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies" (1904). Just when Stevenson's political sun reached its zenith an unforeseen development emerged that would forever change her stature as a scholar of southwestern American Indians and their material culture.⁴⁶¹

The brainchild of an English businessman named Fred Harvey, the Harvey House railway restaurants and guest houses revolutionized the way Americans experienced the southwest. Indeed the Harvey House can be credited with single-handedly creating the southwestern tourist trade and with it the vulgarization of Indian material culture. Between 1890-1920 the market in Indian goods became so saturated with cheap curios and crude brick-a-brack peddled by the Harvey Houses

⁴⁶⁰ Miller, 87-88, Amatniek, 6-46.

⁴⁶¹ Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Scalp Ceremonial" in *The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901-1902* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1904), 3-608; Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Scalp Ceremonial" in Mary Kavanaugh Oldham ed. *The Congress of Women, Held in the Women's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U. S. A. 1893* (Chicago, Illinois: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 484-487.

that serious collection of genuine Indian arts lost its former luster. By the early 1890s the serious collection of Indian material culture that once signaled a political interest in Indian uplift, had largely given way to the marketing of commercialized mementos collected by tourists. The new mass-produced curios were purchased by rail travelers as evidence of their historic witness to the passing of the American Indian.⁴⁶²

By the time Stevenson delivered her 1893 “The Zuni Scalp Ritual” before the assembled throngs of politically notable women in the massive Women's Congress building, the age of European American women's Indian arts collection was fading. Prominent women assimilationist such as Amelia Quinton were already beginning to donate their Indian collections (in Quinton's case her Ramona's Star basket) to museums. Privileged women assimilationists had a new interest – the promotion of Indian commercial industries. By the mid 1890s politically conscious women assimilationists were turning their attention to the production and marketing of Indian made products – in this case mass produced European American style consumer goods made by Indian women. Women's assimilation efforts had moved from organized appeals for federal aid to ever expanding lateral networks of women's clubs and organizations determined to show the political worth of European American women through the creation,

462 Richard Melzer, *Fred Harvey Houses of the Southwest* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 25-116; Lesley Poling Kems, *The Harvey House Girls: Women Who Opened the West* (New York, New York: Marlowe & Company, 1989), 11-28, 29-47, 89-150; Esther L. Muga, “Fred Harvey and Other Curio Dealers,” *The Santa Fe Magazine* vol 9 (December 1914): 69; Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, District of Columbia, 1996), 77-215.

management and promotion of Indian industries. New women assimilationists with their focus on Indian industrial training did not need the expertise of women Indian scholars to achieve their political ends.⁴⁶³

By all accounts Stevenson's 1893 paper was well received, but the audience was hardly composed of her peers. Stevenson's paper would not garner attention from professional anthropologists in Chicago nor earn publication in a professional forum. Publication would not be Stevenson's path to professional security. Forced in her declining years to concentrate on anthropological field work by circumstances beyond her control, Stevenson helped foster a new cultural association that linked women anthropologists with the southwest. This decisive cultural break ultimately contributed to her invisibility as an early scholar of the American Indian and her singular distinction as a pioneering anthropologist.

The political sentiments of European American women's American Indian scholarship placed their intellectual and cultural legacies in jeopardy. While male American Indian scholars were not strangers to politicized ethnography, their imperialistic venture into ethno-political scholarship was not hinged to the women's rights movement and a related political commodification of American Indians.

463 Lucy Fowler Williams and others, eds., *Native American Voices on Identity, Art, and Culture: Objects of Everlasting Esteem* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, 2005), 92-93; A. K. Bidwell, "The Mechoopdas, or Rancho Chico Indians," *Overland Monthly* vol 27 (January-June 1896): 204-210; N. a., *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference, 1901* (Lake Mohonk, New York: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1902), 60-66. Another component of socially and politically conscious women's maternal patriotism was their effort to place (or more aptly abduct) Indian children into European American homes. See, Margaret D. Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism: White Women and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia 1880-1940," *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol 36 no 4 (Winter 2005): 453-476.

Firmly in control of the nation's scientific institutions, men like John Wesley Powell could navigate shifts in the national intellectual and cultural climate through institutional and policy revision.

Unlike Powell and his male cohorts, Alice Fletcher, Helen Hunt Jackson and Matilda Coxe Stevenson – lacking institutional control and independent financial support – were not able to redefine their scholarly status within the context of shifting cultural tides. As the assimilationist movement began to show signs of fatigue, women's Indian scholarship began a slow descent into fragmentation and obscurity. Separated from its cultural, political, intellectual and historical contexts women's post bellum American Indian scholarship survived in the historical background as anachronistic ethnological studies and more recently as the compensatory work of individual pioneering women anthropologists and ethnologists.

In the end Fletcher and Stevenson's final efforts to retain their fading legacies and scholarly status proved futile – the winds of change that would definitively cleave anthropology, ethnology and the social sciences from American West history were already blowing. While slowly slipping into the twilight women Indian scholars looked to the Chicago Columbian Exposition as a new venue for their life work. But their time had passed, even then the professionalization of anthropology and history and the looming discovery of modern genetics would soon threaten their brand of independent ethno-political scholarship. The passing of women's Indian scholarship signaled the birth of a new scientific racial theory, a

new western narrative and new kinds of American history.

Chapter Seven

Professionalization and the Twilight of Women's American Indian Scholarship

Alice Fletcher and Matilda Coxe Stevenson's experiences at the 1893 Chicago Columbian World's Exposition portended changes to come in the American historical profession. While Stevenson's presentation was relegated to a non-academic audience at the Women's Congress, Fletcher's anthropological and ethnological peers allowed a male colleague to steal her research and pass it off as his own. Fletcher and Stevenson's papers culminated years of research, yet neither were offered publication in a professional journal.

Where the pre-professional era had facilitated women's American Indian scholarship and through it allowed a handful of women to exercise a significant amount of political power, professionalization would mark the erosion of their political and scholarly status. More damning, professional anthropologists, professional historians and scientists called into question the racial theories that underpinned women's Indian scholarship. In destabilizing racial evolution anthropologists, historians and scientists also helped alter the historical narrative of the American West.

This reconfiguration would remake the western conquest into a tale of inevitable and beneficial European American progress. The earlier work of women Indian scholars would not find a niche within this new history. Western frontier settlement would become the specialty of male historians. Largely ignored by male

colleagues, Indian history would be taken up by an emerging cadre of marginalized professional women historians. Retooled as a non-partisan study of Indian treaties and legal relations with the United States, the new Indian political history would become identified with women historians.

As autonomous professional women scholars had three decades before, professional women historians commodified American Indian history. In an opportunistic move that increased their own professional stature, women historians (Americanists) took up Indian political history because it was the only subject not claimed by male (Americanist) colleagues. Much of this new Indian history would be authored by women historians employed outside the academy. Until the mid Twentieth-Century Indian history would be largely associated with the Women's Colleges, State Historical Societies, Museums and Historical Archives where the majority of women historians were employed. Even as women made significant strides in American society, higher education and professional vocations, gender continued to demarcate the historical narrative.⁴⁶⁴

The Professionalization of Anthropology

The professionalization of anthropology was intimately linked to the decline of American Darwinism. Woven into the intellectual, political and legal structure of John Wesley Powell's Bureau of Ethnology, American Darwinism and the ethnological scholarship it spawned was so influential that it shaped the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) mission, American Indian law and federal Indian

⁴⁶⁴ Mark, *A Stranger*, 223-245; Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, 88-77, 101-102.

administration. Yet for all its power American Darwinism had an Achilles heel – it was predicated on the precarious notion of teleological racial evolution.

The first spark of several that would eventually consume American Darwinism was not cast by the emerging consortium of late Nineteenth-Century genetic theorists nor the later American Eugenics movement.⁴⁶⁵ While August Weismann, Hugo de Vries and Francis Galton were pioneers of the genetic turn the first blow against American Darwinism came from John Wesley Powell. Based on mounting evidence that ethnic identity (race) was the result of biological rather than environmental factors, it was Powell who in 1889 moved to separate BAE evolutionary theory from American Darwinism. Powell gave the outline of this new approach in his final American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) presidential address.⁴⁶⁶

465 While beyond the scope of this dissertation, the American Eugenics movement was instrumental in advancing the idea of racial genetics. According to this movement, race was strictly determined by genetic lineage not acquired characteristics. See, Susan Currell, *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 269-307; Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 27-115. Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York, New York: Knopf, 1985), 64.

466 John Wesley Powell, "Evolution of Music from Dance to Symphony," *Science* vol 14 no 349 (October 1889): 244-249, fn.1. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 124-126. By 1889 August Weismann developed a series of damning arguments against acquired characteristics. August Weismann, *Essays Upon heredity and Kindred Biological Problems* (Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1889), 387-418. By 1895 Powell's interest had turned to the evolution of the American physiographic regions. Powell's publication on the subject that year was almost completely devoid of humans, much less an elaboration of races and racial evolution. The sole exceptions were a short comparative discussion on the relative merits of European American versus Indian forestry and factual differences between Indian and European American agricultural and environmental management. See, John W. Powell, *The Physiographic Regions of the United States* (New York, New York: American Book Company, 1895), 70-72, 84-85.

Politically ingenious, Powell's speech signaled an intellectual shift without binding his colleagues to a radical redefinition of anthropology/ethnology. Although reaction was muted, the speech proved a stunning intellectual turn that foreshadowed Franz Boas articulation of cultural relativism. Rejecting established anthropological formulations that linked organic and cultural evolution, Powell stated, "The laws of biotic evolution do not apply to mankind... [c]ulture is human evolution – not the development of man as an animal, but the evolution of the human attributes of man."⁴⁶⁷ Abstract and lacking specific evidence the speech initially did little to change the course of American anthropological scholarship. But it did set the stage for an institutional overhaul at the BAE that altered the way government anthropologists/ethnologists wrote about American Indians and other human subjects.⁴⁶⁸

A year later Powell explicitly made his case for the study of human cultures and offered a precise explanation for his reformulation of anthropology. Culling racial categories and racial characteristics Powell announced, "[t]here are no ethnic groups of mankind which can be satisfactorily demarcated... the world has been covered with a network of streams of blood which science cannot unravel."⁴⁶⁹

Redefining human phylogenesis as a cultural phenomenon, Powell modified

467 Powell, "Evolution of Music," 244.

468 Baker, *From Savage to Negro.*, 100. The early conflation of biological, cultural and social organization under the rubric of race obscures Powell's later shift from racial evolution toward the idea of cultural evolution. Much of this confusion arises from equation of ideas expressed in Powell's later publications (1889-1902) with his earlier work. One such example is, Regna Darnell, *And Along Came Boas: Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), 87-93.

469 J. W. Powell, "The Humanities," *The Forum* vol 10 (1890): 410-422.

Morgan's evolutionary schema (savagery, barbarism, civilization) by removing the biotic element. As such Powell tied what was definitively human to the scientific effort to define humans, “[t]he process of human evolution being not biotic, but cultural, the study of mankind gives rise to a new realm of science, which is denominated 'anthropology.’” Most radical of all, Powell suggested that anthropology itself, “might... be called the science of culture, and perhaps still better the science of the humanities.”⁴⁷⁰

Moving away from the old conflation that linked anthropology with racial study (ethnology), Powell advanced the Humanities as a new paradigm for anthropological research. Powell defined the Humanities as the study of technology, psychology, sociology and philosophy.⁴⁷¹ The shift in Powell's view represented far more than a shift in semantics. By disavowing distinct human races and in their place finding a maze of social, contextual and cultural differences, Powell placed the Indian assimilation narrative on the path toward cultural relativism. Rather than an evolutionary hierarchy topped by Northern Europeans, Powell's new formulation ranked ethnic groups categorically. Human groups were to be distinguished by the observation and study of their respective humanities.⁴⁷²

Unhinged from American Darwinism each human culture was set to become an individual area of study. The scholarship of American Indian cultures, already specialized by Fletcher, Stevenson and others, nevertheless remained contentious

470 Ibid., 411.

471 Powell, “The Humanities,” 422.

472 Ibid.

given that federal Indian policy continued to shape BAE Indian research. Moreover, BAE Indian scholars intellectually shackled by their own roles in promoting Indian assimilation proved recalcitrant. BAE Indian scholarship, even as new currents in American anthropology began a slow turn from racial evolution, did not reject Indian assimilation.⁴⁷³

Where anthropologists at museums and academic institutions proved far more adaptable to cultural relativism, the Interior Department, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the BAE – steeped in Indian assimilation policy and the concurrent interests of entrenched assimilationist bureaucrats – found it extremely difficult to change course. As the Interior Department, BIA and especially BAE were increasingly scrutinized by a new generation of anthropologists who questioned the value of Indian ethno-political scholarship, few critics realized the extent to which Interior, BIA and BAE were ossified by federal statutes, legal precedents and institutional habits. It was there, between the government ethnologists and the new academic anthropologists that fractures first appeared in the early interdisciplinary scholarship of the post bellum American historical sciences.⁴⁷⁴

473 John S. Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 100.

474 John Mark Rhea, "Frontiers of the Mind: American Culture, Darwinism and Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis," in *150 Years of Evolution, Darwin's Impact on Contemporary Thought and Culture*, ed. Mark Richard Wheeler and William Anthony Nericcio (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 2011), 181, 184-186. Racial evolution at the BIA and among American scholars proved remarkably long-lived. In 1907 the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis E. Leupp stated, "Results attained at present indicate that it [present policy] is correct; that pursued through a few generations acquired habits will become fixed and be transmitted by heredity, thus establishing characteristics which distinguish the sturdy white citizen ... [the policy] will, in a generation or more, regenerate the [Indian] race." Charles M. Buchanan to Estelle Reel, June 1907 in K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal*

Powell's 1889-1890 push to redefine anthropology/ethnology came at the dawn of profound cultural and structural changes within the American social sciences (humanities). Unfortunately just as Powell began a desperate bid to preserve the BAE's preeminent position in American anthropology, the historical sciences were in the process of fragmenting into discrete professional disciplines. Ultimately, professionalization would situate anthropology/ethnology specialists within academic institutions where they would be pitted against historians in institutional battles over relevancy and funding. The move toward professionalized anthropology served to erode the status of autonomous professional American Indian scholars (male and female) and undermined the BAE's preeminent role in American anthropology.

The historical roots of professionalized American anthropology can be traced to Frederick Ward Putnam's work at the Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology (PMAAE). Established in 1866 through a generous endowment solicited by Othniel C. Marsh from his uncle George Peabody, the PMAAE was devoted solely to the study of human beings. PMAAE's first two directors were the anatomist Jeffries Wyman and American Darwinism founder Asa Gray. In 1875 Putnam succeeded his mentor Gray to become PMAAE director. As PMAAE curator Putnam developed a system of anthropological/ethnological interpretation that grouped human races by "historic context and geographic areas" rather than the cultural categories promoted by

of American Indian Education vol 35 no 3 (May 1996): 5-32.

Powell and the BAE. Putnam's opposition to Powell's approach would continue for the next two two decades until the two came into irreconcilable conflict at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition.⁴⁷⁵

From 1875 Putnam took definite steps to elevate PAAME's position as a leading center for American anthropology. Putnam's own status was elevated in 1885 when he was appointed professor of anthropology. Not formally affiliated with Harvard and consequently lacking a faculty position, Professor Putnam nevertheless formulated a course of anthropological study. Putnam's first four students included Alice Fletcher. Fletcher would distinguish herself as a noted anthropologist and exerted a lasting influence on Putnam and American anthropology. Notable was Putnam's 1886 adaptation of Fletcher's anthropological lectures for presentation at local venues and museum fund raisers.⁴⁷⁶

475 David L. Browman, "The Peabody Museum, Frederick W. Putnam, and the Rise of U. S. Anthropology, 1866-1903," *American Anthropologist* vol 104 no 2 (June 2002): 508-519; David L. Browman, "Frederick Ward Putnam: Contributions to the Development of Archaeological Institutions and Encouragement of Women Practitioners," in David L. Browman and Stephan Williams eds., *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 208-215; Joan Mark, *Four Anthropologists: An American Science in its Early Years* (New York: Science History Publications, 1980), 19; Panchanan Mitra, *A History of American Anthropology* (Calcutta, India: University of Calcutta, 1933), 122-124, 130-135. No form of American social science practiced through a museum, governmental agency or organization prior to the academic professionalization of the humanities met the criteria of a profession. Loose application of the term professional by compensatory historians of women has muddled the actual status of post bellum women scholars of American Indians. See, Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 47-48.

476 Browman, "The Peabody Museum," 510-511. A comparison of subjects covered by Fletcher in her 1879-1881 lecture series with those presented by Putnam from 1886, not only reveals his debt to her as a pioneering anthropological lecturer, but also the extent to which Fletcher influenced Putnam's formulation of a comprehensive anthropological time line. See, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, "Lectures on Ancient America," *National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Alice Fletcher Papers, Lectures, Box 9, 10 and 11*; Browman, "Putnam," 218; Joan Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) 31-35, Browman, "The

In 1886 Putnam also petitioned Harvard University to establish a graduate program in anthropology. After four years of Putnam's rigorous campaigning, Harvard established the Department of American Archaeology and Ethnology (DAAE) which offered the nation's first advanced degree in anthropology. As chair of the department Putnam developed a three year program that required work in “the laboratory, museum, lectures, field-work... exploration and in the third year some special research.”⁴⁷⁷

While the DAAE was adverse to Powell and the BAE's cultural categories, Putnam and Powell remained cordial, no doubt mediated by Fletcher's influence. That changed when Putnam accepted a position in 1891 as director of section M (archaeology and ethnology) for the upcoming Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. As section M chair Putnam proposed a display of distinct cultures set apart from the modern hubris of the fair. Smithsonian and BAE personnel insisted on installations along the fair's central strip designed to showcase cultural evolution and American Indian assimilation. Putnam insisted that ethnic groups should be displayed as distinct cultures with their own unique histories. The BE preferred a display that showcased their work with American Indians and suggested an

Peabody,” 510.

⁴⁷⁷ Browman, “The Peabody,” 510-511, Browman, “Frederick Ward Putnam,” 217-224.

Remarkably little scholarship has been devoted to Putnam's role in fostering a professional academic American anthropology. Several works note his informal or amateur stage, but few discuss his role in creating the Harvard Anthropology department. By 1890, Otis T. Mason was so sure of the complete distinction between the professional methods of historians and archaeologists (including anthropologists) that he announced to the American Historical Association that little more than a complimentary “border land” existed between each. Otis T. Mason, “The Border Land Between the Historian and Archaeologist,” in N.a., *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1890* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1891), 113.

interwoven process of cultural evolution. When it became apparent that the Smithsonian/BAE scheme would prevail Putnam resigned.⁴⁷⁸

Following his departure from Chicago Putnam was appointed director of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York. The AMNH appointment allowed Putnam to secure a job for his protege Franz Boas which also included a concurrent position at Columbia University. While at the AMNH Putnam promoted the careers of budding male anthropologists who would play significant roles in the development of academic anthropology. These men included Aleš Hrdlička, Marshal Saville and Alfred L. Kroeber.⁴⁷⁹

Influenced by the success of the Harvard and Columbia anthropology graduate programs, Putnam's former student Phoebe A. Hearst facilitated discussions with University of California President Benjamin Ide Wheeler in 1900 regarding an anthropology program at Berkeley. An exploratory committee was formed in 1901 comprised of Putnam, Wheeler and Putnam's former students Franz Boas, Hearst, Fletcher and Zelia Nuttall. Eventually Alfred Kroeber and Pliny E. Goddard were hired as instructors with Putnam stepping in as full-time director of both the Harvard and Berkeley programs until illness forced his resignation in 1909.⁴⁸⁰

Soon the universities at Chicago and Pennsylvania followed suit and established degree programs in anthropology. By 1912 the Harvard, Columbia,

478 Thomas Carl Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States* (New York, New York: Berg, 2001), 42-43; Browman, "The Peabody," 513-514.

479 Browman, "The Peabody," 514.

480 Browman, "The Peabody," 514.

Berkeley, Chicago and Pennsylvania programs had awarded a total of twenty anthropology doctorates to male students and by 1928 had awarded the Ph.D to fifty-three men and nine women. This was impressive growth but fell short of the number of doctorates produced by university history programs.⁴⁸¹ As an academic profession anthropology did not attract the students it had under BAE leadership.⁴⁸²

Ironically, although the Smithsonian and BAE dominated anthropology at Chicago in 1893 and marginalized Putnam, within eight years Powell would be on his death bed and the BAE placed under direction of the head curator of the anthropological division of the U. S. National Museum. In the end, Putnam had the last laugh. But in the altercation with Powell that helped foster academic anthropology, Putnam inadvertently displaced the early women students he had so carefully cultivated.⁴⁸³

Although Frederick Ward Putnam is often heralded for promoting women students, a notable shift in sex ratios among anthropologists occurred as the discipline moved from the control of government agencies, quasi-private museums and autonomous organizations to academic institutions. Since the mid-twentieth

481 By 1915 forty-eight women had earned history doctorates. See, Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of History, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 30-38.

482 Patterson, 50-51. George Grant MacCurdy, "Anthropology at the Chicago Meeting," *Science* vol 27 no 689 (March 1908): 401-405. Regina Darnell presents another view of Boas role in professionalizing anthropology, but underplays Putnam's primary role in the movement. See, Regina Darnell, *And Along Came Boas: Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), 99-168.

483 Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 2007), 26-51; Franz Boas, "The Bureau of American Ethnology," *Science* vol 16 no 412 (November 1902): 828-831.

century American historians have focused on women's post bellum entry into higher education as indicative of a general rise in women's academic status. A survey of women anthropologists spanning professionalization brings this assumption into question as it reveals a precipitous decline in new women anthropologist between 1890 and 1935.⁴⁸⁴

The growth in pre-professional women anthropologists between 1870 and 1890 was the result of Putnam's personal efforts as permanent secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and as curator of the Peabody Museum. As AAAS secretary Putnam encouraged women to join section H, the AAAS's anthropological division and as Peabody director he mentored a number of promising female anthropology students. By 1890 Putnam's female proteges included Frances E. Babbit, Fanny D. Bergen, Virginia K. Bowers, Alice C. Fletcher, Fanny Hitchcock, Anita Newcomb McGee (J. W. McGee's wife and noted scientist in her own right), Jeannette Robinson Murphy, Zelia Nuttall, Erminnie Smith, Jennie Smith, Sara Y. Stevenson, Cordelia A. Studley and Laura O. Talbot.⁴⁸⁵

During the six years spanning 1884-1890 Putnam cultivated more women anthropologists than were later produced by Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley, Chicago and Pennsylvania during the five decades spanning 1891-1930. When considered

484 Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986), chaps., 1-4; Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth Century American South* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama, 1999), chaps., 1-5.
485 Browman, "Frederick Ward Putnam," 222-224.

in terms of actual doctorates awarded, the decline in women anthropologist's professional status after 1890 becomes clear. Between 1891-1930 academic anthropology programs accepted one hundred and twenty-four doctoral students, of these only eighteen were women. A doctorate in anthropology was not awarded to a woman until 1913 – twenty-two years after the first doctorate in anthropology was conferred on to a male student. Harvard did not produce a woman doctor of anthropology until 1944 – fifty years after it first awarded the degree to a male student. Of eighteen women doctoral students accepted into programs between 1891-1930 eleven received their doctorates.⁴⁸⁶

As anthropology transferred to the university setting the status of women Indian scholars also suffered. Navigating a flexible interdisciplinary scholarship before 1890 had allowed these women to legitimate claims in both anthropology and history. In the Twentieth Century women Indian scholars became increasingly isolated from both disciplines. While professional anthropologists were often distant they did not readily reject women scholars' ethnological work. In contrast professional historians proved unwilling or at least extremely reluctant to accept the work of women scholars outside of the academy (and lacking academic credentials) as legitimate.⁴⁸⁷

486 Jay H. Bernstein, "First Recipients of Anthropology Doctorates in the United States, 1891-1930," *American Anthropologist* vol 104 no 2 (June 2002): 551-564. Notably Harvard, Johns Hopkins and Clark were barred to women students in 1890. See, Margaret W. Rossiter, "Doctorates for Women, 1868-1907," *History of Education Quarterly* vol 22 no 2 (Summer 1982): 159-183. By 1905 twenty-two women had been awarded history doctorates. Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise*, 30-38.

487 Maria Lepowsky, "Charlotte Gower and the Subterranean History of Anthropology," in Richard Handler ed., *Excluded Ancestors, Inventible Traditions: Essays Toward a More Inclusive History of Anthropology* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 164-165.

Dominated by male historians who embraced Manifest Destiny and American Indian irrelevancy, history's interdisciplinary nature had been in question since Helen Hunt Jackson's divisive 1881 publication. Not that racial evolution was yet taboo among the historical set, but as a matter of professional objectivity historians were largely unwilling to accept the ethno-political baggage of women's American Indian scholarship. Between 1881 and 1893 historians retreated from racial evolution while elaborating an imperialistic (if not xenophobic) view of European American westward expansion. In the process historians such as Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Jackson Turner shunned the anthropological/ethnological work of women American Indian scholars as overly sentimental and antiquated. Out of step with the new triumphalist narrative of Anglo-Saxon western conquest, women's earlier scholarship was ignored by the emerging profession.

The Professionalization of History

The origins of professional American history can be traced to the generation of privileged American students who pursued higher education and terminal degrees at German Universities between 1880-1890. By 1889 “more than one hundred and fifty American students [we]re pursuing their post-graduate studies in German universities.” It was in Germany that a generation of young American history

See, Ethel Nurge, “A Renewed Interest in History Among Some American Anthropologists” *Anthropos* vol 62 (1967): 487-496; Francis Jennings, “A Growing Partnership: Historians, Anthropologists, and American Indian History” *The History Teacher* vol 14 no 1 (November, 1980): 87-104; Ian McKay, “Historians, Anthropology, and the Concept of Culture” *Labour* vol 819 (Autumn, 1981): 185-241.

students, such as Justin Winsor, Herbert Levi Osgood, Frederic A. Bancroft, Edward A. Ross, Albert Bushnell Hart, James Harvey Robinson, William E. Dodd and Herbert Baxter Adams learned and adopted the German approach to academic history.⁴⁸⁸

The German model employed by Hart at Harvard, Robinson at Columbia and Adams at Johns Hopkins focused on creating what James Franklin Jameson called “a community of investigators” who were “concerned with pursuing their own research while training the next generation; elevat[ing] the professional historian to expert status; control[ing] a complex set of investigative methods and... root[ing] out all superfluous speculation and political agendas.” This approach allowed historians like Adams and his cohort to promote university history departments as the final impartial court of review for historical truth. Unlike their “literary” predecessors and women Indian scholars, Adams and his colleagues considered themselves to be disciplined objective history experts whose scholarship was free of mere opinion, contemporary politics or ideological intent.⁴⁸⁹

Professional objectivity in turn relied on documentary proof. To this end the early American history profession was deeply committed to archival research and documentary verification. Influenced by such German notables as Leopold von

488 N.a., “German Universities,” *The Atlantic Monthly* vol 7 no 41 (March, 1861): 258-272; N.a., “Why Our Science Students Go to Germany” *The Atlantic Monthly* vol 63 (April, 1889): 463-466; Herbert Baxter Adams, “Leopold von Ranke” in Herbert Baxter Adams ed., *Papers of the American Historical Association* vol 3 (New York, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 101-133, Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 21-48.

489 John Franklin Jameson, *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 274-275; Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 25, 47-49; Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 102-156.

Ranke, American historians were not given to the literary flourishes and theoretical speculations of pre-professional historians. Professional historians ideally based every assertion on carefully examined archival sources. In this sense the new profession aspired to be a science, yet then as now it struggled to resolve the objectivity problem – the analysis of evidence is intrinsically subjective.⁴⁹⁰

While historians of the American historical profession have focused on the objective scientific (*wissenschaftliche*) aspects inherited from the German model, few have explored the profession's equally influential adaptation of humanities disciplines. For German historians there were few contradictions between objective scientific study and humanities scholarship. German colonization was buried irretrievably in the distant past and no written record of displaced aboriginal European peoples existed. German historians interpreted the European conquest as like displacing like, or the mingling of similar peoples. In this context German historians formulated a national history that stressed ethnic unity and cultural homogeneity.⁴⁹¹

Application of the German historical template proved problematic and politically dangerous for American historians. Unlike ancient Europe, the well-known history of North America chronicled the cultures and activities of diverse aboriginal peoples, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/Latina Americans, slavery, Indian Removal and a corollary body of U. S./Indian law and politics. In

490 Adams, "Leopold von Ranke," 104-105; Smith, 133-146; Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 40-54.

491 Smith, *The Gender*, 133-146; Novick, 40-54.

short, the history of European Americans in North America chronicled the conquest of diverse peoples and the effort to establish cultural hegemony.⁴⁹²

At the heart of this conundrum was the contentious issue of American diversity. To favorably situate European Americans within the history of an ethnically diverse society pre-professional historians of the United States had embraced ethnology and anthropology. Patrician scholars justified the conquest of Native America, however they depicted European American conquerors as culture bringers who heralded an age of racial improvement for cooperative aboriginal peoples. For such historians Indians and inter-ethnic relations were integral parts of American history.

The patrician scholar Frances Parkman gave Indians an important, though negative role in American history, while the popular historian Hubert Howe Bancroft portrayed European American westward expansion as a civilizing act that included Indian racial uplift. Commingling American Darwinist politics with federal assimilation policies, the ethno-political legacy of this scholarship wove American Indian and European American history into a single narrative. It was this multiracial trajectory that later professional American historians found unacceptable.⁴⁹³

492 For examples of historians who generated conflict with their attempt to reconcile American diversity with the German template see, Josiah Royce, *California: A Study of American Character* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886), passim and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races vol 1-5* (San Francisco, California: The History Company, 1882-1886), passim, Herbert Baxter Adams, *Methods of Historical Study vol 2* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Murphy & Co., 1884), 64-78.

493 Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Germanic Origins of New England Towns* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1882). For a more comprehensive treatment of this trend see, Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Oxford, England: Oxford

Confronted with the question of how to present North American history as an exceptionally European American venture, professional historians took two fateful steps. First, they systematically trivialized almost a century of Indian ethnological and anthropological scholarship, and second they obscured the complex interactions that linked the colonizers and the colonized. Resisting professional confrontation, professional historians quietly separated their new historical narrative from the racial uplift agenda of ethno-political scholarship. Rather than openly reject American Darwinism (and racial evolution), American historians simply ignored its broad application and focused on the history of Anglo-Saxons in North America. American historians solved the German template dilemma by ignoring the multiracial realities of American history.⁴⁹⁴

To this end professional American historians shunned the oral records and secondhand accounts of Indian lives and cultures found in the works of pre-professional historians like Frances Parkman, Hubert Howe Bancroft and Josiah Royce to embrace a re-manufactured story of North American Anglo-Saxon progress. Reflecting changing political and cultural interests, professional historians came to focus exclusively on European American history. From 1890 professional historians generally proved hostile to histories that ranged far beyond American Anglo-Saxon social and cultural development.⁴⁹⁵

University Press, 1997), 85-122.

494 Albert Bushnell Hart succinctly outlined this approach. Granville Stanley Hall ed., *Methods of Teaching History* (Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath & Co.: 1898, 3. Also see, Adams, *Methods of Historical Study*, 1-23; and Novick, 24-25.

495 Adams, *Methods of Historical Study*, 1-23, 64-78.

While far from the ethnocentric formulation of American exceptionalism that would consume the historical profession after 1893, this new European American focus nevertheless sharpened the hatchet that in less than a decade would cleave American Darwinism and the last vestiges of ethnology and anthropology from professional American history. Another scholarly stone that sharpened this hatchet was the newly formed American Historical Association (AHA). Founded in 1884 and chartered by Congress in 1889, the AHA provided a national platform for professional historians and served as an important intellectual forum for the formulation of historical theory. Equally important, the 1889 Congressional charter required the Smithsonian to publish free of charge a yearly report on AHA activities. The resulting *Papers* and *Annual Report* diffused AHA scholarship across the nation.⁴⁹⁶

In his review of the American history profession Peter Novick downplayed the AHA's professional influence and specifically AHA founder Herbert Baxter Adams's professional credentials. A participant in the professionalization process and founding member of the AHA, John Franklin Jameson described Adams's contributions to the profession as promotion of, “the seminary method, co-operation, and the organization of research.” Jameson described the AHA's role as “promoting acquaintance, exchanging ideas, widening horizons, and pushing

496 J. Franklin Jameson, “The American Historical Association” *The American Historical Review* vol 15 no 1 (October, 1909): 1-20. Arthur S. Link, “The American Historical Association, 1884-1984, Retrospect and Prospect” *The American Historical Review* vol 90 no 1 (February, 1985): 7.

investigation into new fields.”⁴⁹⁷

Among the AHA's professional contributions Jameson listed the creation of state and local historical societies and archives which before 1884 “were unknown” and the promotion of university history departments. Jameson specifically lauded the AHA's role in championing full-time history professors – of which there were only fifteen in 1884. Not an organization exclusively composed of professionals, (academic historians with doctorates) the AHA was indispensable in making American history professional.⁴⁹⁸

Documents, Archives, Historical Societies, Museums, Women's Colleges, Public Schools and a Utilitarian Niche for Professional Women Historians

Over the last three decades scholarship on the history of the American historical profession has advanced two plausible, but flawed theories regarding the early experiences of professional women historians. The corollary arguments hold that either male founders of the profession refused to admit women, or conversely they refused or failed to promote the employment of women historians in the profession. These assertions conclude that most women historians were largely shut out of the profession and forced to take outside jobs in government and public

⁴⁹⁷ It is important to note here that Novick cites Jameson's diary regarding Adams unscholarly and tiresome seminars. However, Jameson's youthful musings in 1882 were the usual complaints of a frustrated seminarian familiar to every graduate student and faculty member. Jameson's mature reflections on Adams in the 1909 article clearly reveal that his professional estimation of Adams's scholarly merits exceeded his 1882 frustrations. Jameson, “The American Historical Association,” 2, 5.

⁴⁹⁸ Jameson, “The American Historical Association,” 2-3.

archives, historical societies, women's colleges and high schools. Neither approach explains why a small group of professional male historians cultivated women graduate students and promoted their subsequent employment as professional historians outside comprehensive universities.⁴⁹⁹

The answer is intimately wedded to the practical and opportunistic needs of academic historians. Albert L. Hurtado notes in his recent biography of American borderlands historian Herbert E. Bolton, that male historians' willingness to accept women students reflected a host of concerns headed by admission targets and departmental funding. In Turner's case his motives were more personal – the promotion of women students met his own research and academic needs. Notably, like women graduated by several of Turner's former male students – including Herbert E. Bolton and Edward Everett Dale – some of Turner's women students acquired the doctorate. While a comparatively large number of women were eventually awarded the MA and Ph.D. in history, few found faculty employment at co-ed universities raising the question: Why were the majority of early women historians employed outside the academy?⁵⁰⁰

A reexamination of the evidence, specifically data compiled by Jacquelin Goggin, reveals that women graduate students were trained by professional male historians who did not believe that women should hold faculty positions at co-ed

499 The most notable version is Angie Debo's assertion that the history profession was “barred to women.” John Mark Rhea, “Creating a Place for Herself in History: Anna Lewis' Journey from Tuskahoma to the University of Oklahoma, 1903-1930” *Great Plains Journal* vol 45 (2009): 26-51.

500 Albert L. Hurtado, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2012), chap., 10.

universities. In this male historians reflected contemporaneous ideas about women's employment in the “public sphere.” With few exceptions, male historians intended for their women graduates to take up archival work at new national, state and local historical societies and document repositories. As the new profession produced a glut of history MA's and doctorates and archival and library positions filled, women historians were increasingly directed toward women's colleges, public high schools and secondary schools. Turner, in particular believed that women historian's most valuable contribution was at the secondary and high school levels where they helped promote American identity and American culture.⁵⁰¹

Ultimately, what gave credence to the idea that women were barred from the history profession was the testimony of women graduate students who unsuccessfully pushed for post graduate employment in university history departments – only a handful would find tenured faculty positions. That many of the first women historians linked professional status to co-ed faculty positions has served to obscure the large number of women graduates produced by the early history profession, and more importantly their work as professional historians

501 Some women history graduates gravitated toward women's colleges and the public school system from the beginning. Many of the first women graduate history students had previous teaching experience at women's colleges and in the public school system. The point here is that a general trend did not occur until later. Novick, 366-367; Jacqueline Goggin, “Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession: Women Historians and the American Historical Association, 1890-1940” *The American Historical Review* vol 97 no 3 (June, 1992): 769-802; Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and the Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), chaps., 3-5; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 178-198; Glenda Riley, “Frederick Jackson Turner Overlooked the Ladies” in ed., Richard W. Eutlain, *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?* (Boston, Massachusetts: Bedford/St. Martins, 1999), 59-71; Shirley A. Leckie, *Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 3-10.

outside the academy. This clarification should not obviate the fact that promoting women historians served utilitarian purposes, chief of which included the cultivation of competent public school history teachers, researchers, archivists and document curators.⁵⁰²

The acceptance of women students also reflected a dramatic increase in women applicants. Considering that the 1884 AHA constitution did not specifically bar women members and the AAAS anthropology section (H) accepted women, historians have deduced that the historical professions (anthropology and history) were equally attractive to women students. Related is the assumption that women's admission to the historical professions increased proportionally with the general influx of post-bellum women graduate students. A comparison of data on women anthropology and history graduate students proves this assumption incorrect and reveals a unique gendered vocational development in the history profession.⁵⁰³

When anthropology began to professionalize in 1890 there were approximately fifty pre-professional women anthropologist/American Indian scholars. From the beginning of professionalization until 1935 academic anthropology only produced 18 women doctorates. When history began to professionalize in 1884 there were only a half dozen notable women historians

502 While Goggin does not make this point it is indicated by the evidence. Goggin, 772-775. The progressive moniker has been applied to early professional male historians in this context and advanced in several sources. See Link, "The American Historical Association," 1-17; Allen G. Bogue, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 55-56, 123, 235-237.

503 Link, 5. Link goes on to note that women were not fairly represented in the AHA leadership. See, Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 77-78, 108-118.

headed by Martha Lamb and Sara Bolton. Between 1890 – when the first formal academic history programs were established – and 1935 the history profession produced 334 women Ph. D's.⁵⁰⁴

Given their general acceptance in higher education, it is improbable that women flocked to history graduate programs indiscriminately. Part of what made history more attractive to women was employment opportunities in public history. Where anthropology placed field research and related archival and museum work under academic (departmental) control, historical archive and museum work remained largely autonomous. The evidence strongly suggests that few women were attracted to anthropology graduate programs because post-doctorate employment was limited to academic appointments decidedly favorable to men. In contrast the history profession offered women an alternative should work in academia prove out of reach, namely employment at public archives and historical societies.⁵⁰⁵

504 Bernstein, "First Recipients," 551-564; Margaret W. Rossiter, "Doctorates for Women, 1868-1907," *History of Education Quarterly* vol 22 no 2 (Summer 1982): 159-183; Goggin, "Challenging Sexual Discrimination," 769-802.

505 David L. Browman, "Origins of Stratigraphic Excavations in North America: The Peabody Museum Method and the Chicago Method" in David L. Browman and Stephen Williams eds., *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 242-264; Browman, "The Peabody Museum," 513-516; Darnell, *And Along Came Boas*, chaps., 6-9. Even the fieldwork of professional anthropologists depended on a university position in an anthropology department. See, James E. Snead, "Science, Commerce, and Control: Patronage and the Development of Anthropological Archaeology in the Americas" *American Anthropologist* vol 101 no 2 (1999): 256-271. Alice Fletcher made a desperate bid to create a private anthropological institution along the lines of the American history societies and in the process created a lasting and definitive rift between the old pre-professional anthropologists and the professional academic anthropologists. See, N.a., "School of American Archeology" *Science* vol 34 no 874 (September, 1911): 401; Alessandra Lorini, "Alice Fletcher and the Search for Women's Public Recognition in Professionalizing American Anthropology," *Cromohs* vol 8 (2003): 1-25; and Mark, 319-324. For professional American history see, Novick, 47-60; Scott, 103-212. Frederick Jackson Turner was fanatical

Reconsidering the AHA's position in professionalizing American history it seems clear that the history profession's founders envisioned a profession roughly parsed between academic and public vocations – a division that lent itself to a sexual division of labor. In the annals of professionalized American humanities the history profession stands alone in developing a structural division that fostered a sexual division of labor. This dual vocational structure reflected the gender biases of its day, however there were notable exceptions. A relatively large number of male historians worked in public history and taught at women's colleges and high schools. Likewise, a handful of women historians – such as Annie Heloise Abel – held faculty positions at comprehensive universities.⁵⁰⁶

Documents, Public History and Women Historians

The AHA grew out of an 1883 paper read by Herbert Baxter Adams before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Titled “New Methods of Study in History” Adams' paper outlined his vision for a national “organization of research” to be called the “American Historical Association.” The AHA coalesced in the fall of 1884 with the creation of a constitution defining the organization's guiding principle as “the promotion of historical studies.” Although the AHA

in his promotion of history in the elementary and secondary schools, which almost exclusively hired women teachers. See, Geraldine Joncich Clifford and James W. Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 129-130.
506 Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Status of Women in the Historical Profession* (n.l., American Historical Association, 2005), 15-16; Lisa Jardine, “Women in the Humanities: The Illusion of Inclusion,” *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* vol 6 no 1 (1993): 9-19. Novick, 133-167, Goggin, 771-792.

expressed concern for manuscript collection and archive promotion, this did not become a formal policy until its fourth annual meeting under president Justin Winsor. Winsor's presidential address, "Manuscript Sources of American History: the Conspicuous Collection Extant," codified the long-standing interest as an AHA policy.⁵⁰⁷

Spurred to further action by Cornell history professor, Moses Coit Tyler's 1889 paper, "The Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in This Country," the archive promotion policy was directly absorbed into the organizational structure of the AHA. Responding with shock to the widespread loss of American primary sources, the AHA appointed a special committee to consider assistance to "the National Government in collecting, preserving and calendaring American historical manuscripts." As a direct result of this committee's work the AHA received a Congressional charter that specifically charged the AHA with "promotion of historical studies... [and] the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts."⁵⁰⁸

The AHA charter also prompted a concerted effort to establish state and local archives and modern historical societies staffed by trained historians. Specifically, attention was called "to the superior opportunities which college

507 Jameson, *John Franklin Jameson*, 5-10.

508 Herbert Baxter Adams, *American Historical Association: Officers, Act of Incorporation, Constitution, List of Members, Historical Societies in the United States* (N.p., American Historical Association, 1894) frontis. Jameson, 12. For Tyler see, Moses Coit Tyler, "The Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in This Country" in Herbert Baxter Adams, ed., *Papers of the American Historical Association* (New York, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887), 20-22; and Jameson, 12. For the congressional charter see, Jameson, 13.

libraries and historical societies afforded for... preservation by permanent institutions and in fire-proof repositories.” AHA members were urged to use their influence to persuade owners of historical manuscripts “to provide for their security and usefulness through such means.” Pursue they did, in fact the AHA was so successful in promoting state and local historical societies that by 1894 there were 358 spanning every state in the union.⁵⁰⁹

State and local historical societies maintained close working relationships with university history departments, specifically professors who made use of their collections, advised future collection work and recommended promising graduate students for employment. However, historical societies remained separate in funding, administration and hiring decisions. Directorships and administrative positions usually went to males, particularly at the larger more affluent societies. Most of the curatorial, archival, library and secretarial positions went to professionally trained women historians. A notable example was Frederick Jackson Turner's star female student Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg who began her career as Rubin Gold Thwaites's chief assistant at the Wisconsin State Historical Society.⁵¹⁰

A detailed review of the 334 women who received advanced history degrees between 1890-1935 is beyond the scope of this study, yet a survey of the evidence indicates that women Ph.D. and MA graduates were guided to employment in

⁵⁰⁹ Adams, *Papers.*, 42-55.

⁵¹⁰ Bogue, 123, 235-237; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968), 194-195. Although a subject of the next chapter, it is important to note that Kellogg would later become the first woman president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

history archives, museums, public education and women's colleges. This pattern is revealed through a brief review of women graduate students produced by two of Frederick Jackson Turner's noted male proteges, Herbert Eugene Bolton (University of Texas and University of California) and Edward Everett Dale (University of Oklahoma). Between 1900 and 1935 Bolton chaired the MA committees of 188 women and the doctoral committees of 5 women. In terms of gender ratios Bolton actually produced 100 male MA's and 66 male Ph.D.'s. Over the course of his career Bolton guided many more women to MA's and doctorates than Edward Everret Dale, however all of the women graduated by Bolton went on to work in historical societies, public education and women's and religious colleges. Edward Everett Dale, was the Ph.D. chair for both Anna Lewis and Angie Debo in 1930 and 1933 respectively. Lewis held positions at public high schools and eventually served as the Oklahoma Women's College history department chair until her retirement in 1956. Dr. Debo had an unsuccessful stint at the West Texas State Teachers College and a brief job curatorial job at the Panhandle-Plains museum. Later, after years of unemployment Debo held several comparatively brief positions at Oklahoma State University.⁵¹¹

The history profession did not design a sexual division of labor at its inception, however the evolution of the profession did result in academic and public history jobs that lent themselves to the sexual division of labor. Such is the

511 John Francis Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Historian and the Man* (Tuscon, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1978), 283-289; Rhea, "Creating a Place for Herself," 26-50; Shirley A. Leckie, *Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 43-59.

evidence for how historically minded women scholars were diminished in the anthropological profession and cultivated in the history profession. Yet to be examined is the contributory role Frederick Jackson Turner played in reshaping the American history narrative and in orienting his women graduate students toward American Indian scholarship.

And Along Came Turner: The Decline of American Darwinism and the Birth of American Exceptionalism

Frederick Jackson Turner is often cast as a theoretical historian, however he was also a practical if not opportunistic scholar. Trained in an age of rising American nationalism and westward expansion, as a young historian Turner rightly sensed public interest in a new national narrative. With this in mind Turner concluded that “American history needs a connected and unified account of the progress of civilization across the continent.” Turner's eventual formulation, “[t]he existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development,” would captivate American historians for much of the Twentieth Century. Using his professional status to brand the notion of “free land” as an unencumbered frontier quietly awaiting settlement by a “fit people,” Turner helped fashion an historical fib. With theoretical finesse rather than evidence, Turner neatly disposed of American Indian history and with it the troubling legacy of racial evolution and ethno-political scholarship. Turner's West was to be a virgin landscape uncomplicated by the facts

of its own multicultural history. Turner's American West would not be shackled with “romantic treatments” of “[t]he conflicts of the pioneers with the Indians,” rather his “connected and unified account of the progress of civilization across the continent” would replace ethnic diversity with “fit people” and the legacy of conquest with the westward expansion of Anglo-Saxon settlement.⁵¹²

Turner's articulation of “free and open land” reveals his vision of a starkly de-racialized western landscape. In its velvet treatment of conquest Turner's formulation gave European American expansion a new decorum. Yet Turner's thesis was not so foreign as to be unrecognizable within the history profession or American culture. The thesis was roundly praised by such notables as Francis A. Walker, Brooks Adams and John Fiske. Most gratifying for Turner, Theodore Roosevelt complimented, “you have struck some first class ideas, and have put into definite shape a good deal of thought which has been floating around rather loosely.” But the question remains, what experiences shaped Turner's professional disdain for the general idea of an all-encompassing North American racial evolution (American Darwinism) and contemporaneous American Indian scholarship?⁵¹³

512 Turner, review of, *The Winning of the West*, 72; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2010), 293; Turner, review of, *The Winning of the West*, 71.

513 Bogue, 113.

*The French, the Fatherland, and the Indians: Turner and the Disturbing Specter of
the "Other" in American History*

In their excellent treatments of Turner's thought Wilbur R. Jacobs, Ray Allen Billington, and Allen G. Bogue assumed that the Frontier Thesis was a particular product of American evolutionary thought or the Teutonic Germ theory. This study questions the narrowness of this line of interpretation, arguing that while it is tempting to interpret all complex formulations of American social and cultural processes since 1860 as evolutionary or more specifically Darwinian, it is necessary to distinguish the dominant evolutionary thought of Turner's day from mere parallels. Rather than advancing an all-encompassing racial evolutionary thought, the Frontier Thesis engendered disdain for the prevailing ethno/political scholarship of American Darwinism and its racial evolution theory.⁵¹⁴

Turner's first encounters with American ethnic and cultural diversity can be traced to his childhood experiences in Portage, Wisconsin. Years later Turner related to the amateur historian Constance Lindsey Skinner:

There were still Indian (Winnebago) tepees where I

514 Jacobs, *The Historical World*; Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*; Bogue, *Strange Roads Going Down*. For the argument linking Turner's thesis to a broad and ill-defined evolutionary theory see, Ray Allen Billington, *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971), 85-117. For the argument linking Turner's thesis to the German Germ Theory see, Gilman M. Ostrander, "Turner and the Germ Theory," *Agricultural History* vol 32 no 4 (October 1958): 258-261. Billington argued that Turner rejected the German Germ Theory. The evidence shows that Turner, like many of his colleagues modified it – "[o]ur early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment" – to exclude all but the Anglo-Saxon version of German peoples – emphasizing the specific importance of place (North America) in the development of German/Anglo-Saxon germs into American identity and culture. Turner did not reject the underlying premise of the German germ theory, namely the racist idea of Northern European superiority. See, Turner, *The frontier*, 3.

hunted and fished, and Indians came in to the stores to buy paints and trinkets and sell furs. Their Indian ponies and dogs were familiar street scenes. The town was a mixture of raftsmen from the “pineries” of [the] Irish[,]... Pomeranian [Slavic] immigrants (we stoned each other), in old country garbs, driving their cows to the town “commons”; of Scotch[,]... of Welsh; with Germans; of Yankees; of southerners; a few negroes; many Norwegians and Swiss, some Englishmen, and one or two Indians⁵¹⁵

It would be too simplistic to argue that Turner's later racial attitudes were formed at such an early age. Turner did not immediately come to a consciously articulated disdain for ethnic diversity, rather the development of his views was measured and ultimately congealed during undergraduate study at the University of Wisconsin.⁵¹⁶

Under the pedagogical influence of William F. Allen, Turner's first impulse was toward American Darwinism. In an 1883 notebook compiled during his last undergraduate year at Madison Turner lauded evolutionary theory, “[w]hat Newton did for the mind of man... only in greater degree have Darwin & Spencer done for our own – [t]hey have given us a new world.” Ominously, Turner added, “[b]y far the greatest problem bequeathed this age is the social problem.” Just twenty-two at the time, Turner's ideas about American society would become notably conservative and racially exclusive within a half decade.⁵¹⁷

In 1884 Turner graduated from the University of Wisconsin with a Bachelor of Science degree and briefly worked as a reporter for the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee,

515 Frederick Jackson Turner to Constance Lindsey Skinner, 15 March 1922 in Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 61.

516 Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, 17-35.

517 *Ibid.*, 9-10.

Wisconsin) and *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). Turner's stint as a journalist took him outside the provincialism of Portage and Madison and gave him opportunity to travel within the state. It was at this time that Turner's love for the outdoors deepened into a life-long habit of trekking into the countryside for mental and physical respite. Notably, at this time Turner's nostalgia about his childhood in frontier Wisconsin also deepened.

As a newspaper reporter Turner also met Ruben Gold Thwaites of the *Wisconsin State Journal* who would go on to serve as director of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Later both men would serve as officers of the AHA and in 1910 Turner would become AHA president. It would be Thwaites who helped solidify Turner's ideas about the dangerous culturally corrosive influence of Indians and immigrants.⁵¹⁸

Turner's journalistic endeavors abruptly ended when called to Madison by his old mentor Allen. Allen wanted Turner to take his class load for the last weeks of the spring 1885 semester. By 1886 Turner was teaching a full-time Rhetoric class at Madison and had decided to begin the second phase of his academic career – the Master's Thesis. During work on the MA thesis Turner's experiences with ethnic groups had a perverse effect on his emerging ideas about American identity.⁵¹⁹

Most notable was an 1887 trip to Boston, where Turner agreeably found

⁵¹⁸ Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 29-30.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

“speakers were very finished, and used strong terse Anglo-Saxon,” but objected to “the sights, sounds, and smells of Jewry.” Later that year Turner articulated an emerging idea that linked American identity and historical scholarship. Contrasting the American West with Eastern social and cultural volatility Turner mused:

I am placed in a new society which is just beginning to realize that it has made a place for itself by mastering the wilderness and peopling the prairie, and is now ready to take its great course in universal history. It is something of a compensation to be among the advance guard of new social ideas and among a people whose destiny is all unknown. The west looks to the future, the east toward the past⁵²⁰

In 1887 Allen gave his consent to Turner's proposed thesis topic – the Wisconsin fur trade. As Turner struggled to complete the thesis a battle waged in his mind. Turner's travels between 1884-1887 and his occasional trips back East revealed a demographic trend that he found deeply troubling. Turner revealed his concerns in a July, 1888 letter to Allen:

I find that this country is becoming Germanized, and have asked Mr. Pease, and the German minister to work up the process. They (the Germans) are dispossessing whole townships of Americans and introducing the customs and farming methods of the fatherland⁵²¹

Five months later Turner more earnestly and methodically laid out his fears

520 Ibid., 34-35.

521 Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 31. Bogue also noted Turner's encounters with new ethnic groups. Bogue, 44-45. Billington treats Turner's observations as part of a larger interest in social evolution. While this is not an altogether objectionable approach, the problem is in defining just what Turner meant by social and evolution as no modern application encapsulates his very narrow Anglo-Saxon interests and his revulsion for racial evolution. Billington, 47-48. Mr. Pease and the German minister (Lutheran) were locals with access to German immigration statistics.

about German immigration to Allen. Citing the disruptive influence of unassimilated Germans, Turner proposed new legislation and education methods designed to foster acculturation. Turner's letter addressed Allen's "*most important*" work on "the dispossession of one nationality by another" while recounting his own experience of frontier Wisconsin's slow evolution from fractured ethnically diverse enclaves into a distinctively Anglo-Saxon American culture. Turner identified "the state's [new] policy of attracting immigration" by way of "land grants to rail roads" and "the quick and ruinously cheap sale of its educational lands" as particularly destructive to American identity.⁵²² Alarmed, Turner cautioned Allen, "[t]his is an early illustration of what you speak of – the danger of immigration to our public school system."⁵²³

For Turner the threat went beyond social differences, Turner saw increased immigration as an assault on American "free institutions" forged by the frontier Anglo-Saxon folk. Turner found new German immigrants particularly troubling:

[T]he Germans who hold so-called "free thought" ideas, and anarchistic ideas – and there are many along the Lake Shore, I'm told – need a revival of real religion and a vigorous administration of the common schools – The value of our studies is not merely historical. If properly worked up they will be a basis for State legislation – And that is the right kind of historical work⁵²⁴

522 Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 130-131; Billington, 49. Ruben Gold Thwaites read Turner's master's thesis before the Wisconsin State Historical Society and supervised its publication cementing a long and fruitful public/private professional relationship with Turner. See, N.a., "State Historical Society," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1 November, 1889, pg.2.

523 Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 131.

524 Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 132.

Turner's vision of American history as a unique tool for preserving American culture would be fully elaborated in his essay, "The Significance of History."⁵²⁵

Turner's fear of the "other" played a crucial role in shaping two of his most influential theoretical positions, 1) that Americanization was intimately tied to free and open land, and 2) Americanization had to be preserved through education and legislation. Americanization proved key to Turner's history of the Wisconsin fur trade and also shaped his doctoral work. To this end Turner planned to pursue his doctorate at Johns Hopkins under John Franklin Jameson, however Jameson left shortly before Turner's arrival to take a position at Brown University.⁵²⁶

In Jameson's stead Turner chose as his mentor Herbert Baxter Adams, the noted German Germ theory proponent. Adams's views on the matter quickly came to disturb the less than pro-German Turner. Moreover, by the time Turner began dissertation work under Adams, Turner's youthful passion for American Darwinism had considerably cooled. Turner believed Americanization was under siege and he specifically blamed the unrestricted immigration of "lower" ethnic groups. Having witnessed what he felt to be the de-Americanizing effects of German immigration and the culturally corrosive communities of unassimilated East Coast Jews, Turner's contempt for Adams's Germ theory simmered just below the surface. Germans and their germs had nothing to offer America in Turner's view.⁵²⁷

525 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of History," in John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner*. (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 11-30.

526 Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, 58-60.

527 John Franklin Jameson to John Jameson, 5 January, 1889 in David S. Brown, "The Historical Landscapes of Frederick Jackson Turner and Henry Adams" in ed. Gabriel R. Ricci, *Cultural Landscapes: Religion & Public Life* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2006),

At the core of the Adams-Turner tension was a fundamental disagreement over racial evolution and its place in analyzing American history. Particularly disturbing was Adams's historical application of inherited racial characteristics. Adams's insistence that American identity and culture were exclusively inherited from European (specifically German) seeds deeply disturbed Turner.⁵²⁸

His concerns aside Turner decided to complete his doctorate with Adams. But on the European origins of American identity Turner remained unmoved:

H. B. Adams told the seminary... that American institutional history had been well done. That we would better turn next to European institutions. The Frontier [thesis] was pretty much a *reaction* from that due to my indignation⁵²⁹

40.

528 Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61; Billington, 65-70. Allan G. Bogue contends that Turner “did not pass judgment on such processes as being good or bad.” The evidence from Jacobs and the evidence cited by Bogue demonstrate otherwise. While it cannot be denied that a number of cultural forces shaped Turner's thought, it is also clear from his unguarded private correspondence that he not only felt the new German and European immigrant groups were eroding American culture, but also asserted that steps should be taken through education and legislation to reverse what he clearly defined as a de-Americanizing process. Turner's enduring concern about Germanizing elements in American culture came to full light in a 7 January, 1917 letter to Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper. Turner relayed unusual misgivings regarding an upcoming meeting with his former student Balthasar Meyer, chairman of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Committee. It might be noted that Myer was found to be sufficiently American to serve as ICC chair until his retirement in 1939. Nevertheless, Turner making an ugly ethnic judgment regarding Meyer's racial background noted, “I hope he will not allow his German name and German fatherhood to get us into controversy for I like him.” It is not clear why scholars have downplayed Turner's racial (ethnic) prejudices as mere eccentricities consistent with the age or quaint little aberrations of his personality. If Turner had not formulated a key treatise that influenced the way American Indian and minority history was written (and perhaps continues to be written) his prejudices would be no more important than those of any other person from the past. Turner was not just any person though and as such his own racial and ethnic biases must be considered in proportion to his historical influence. In this context Turner's zeal for history education (in public schools and university) as a means to promote and protect American identity was a product of his own complex xenophobia. Bogue, 55; Ray Allen Billington, ed., *“Dear Lady”*: *The Letters of Frederick Jackson Turner and Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1970), 227-229.

529 Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 11. Turner would obscure the racial evolution aspect in both his 1891 essay, “The Significance of History” and in later works. By 1922 Turner would claim that

More precisely, rather than his famous 1893 essay the reaction was Turner's dissertation, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution."

Turner's doctoral dissertation has been characterized as a paean to Adams and the Teutonic Germ theory. This would be plausible, if one were to ignore Turner's conclusion and neglect the arguments he used to shaped it. Turner's eighty-five page study sharpened his conviction that colonial French and English emphasis on natural resource exploration prevented the development of strong institutional structures and cultural ties. Weak institutions and a precarious hold on land claims in turn fostered colonial rebellion and sovereignty. Turner's conclusion was diplomatic but damning for Germ theorists, "[t]he history of commerce is the history of the intercommunication of peoples." Socio-economic forces, not European germs drove cultural evolution.⁵³⁰

Turner's dissertation dissected the German Germ theory and found the

his thesis was solely a reaction to "eastern neglect" of western history and a "western antiquarian spirit." It seems that Turner did not want to dredge up the whole German Germ – racial evolution conflict. Jacobs, 57.

530 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution" *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol 11-12 (November-December, 1891): 547-615. Jacobs, *The Historical World*, 11. David Harry Miller and William W. Savage take a different view of Turner and the German Germ theory. The main difference is that Miller and Savage treat the German Germ theory as a whole not distinguishing the German/European from the Anglo-Saxon variation. Turner did not accept the German/European form of the theory, he did accept a very generalized and often amorphous version of the Anglo-Saxon formulation. See, Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution*, eds., David Harry Miller and William W. Savage (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), xvi-xxi.

European germs to have been quite flimsy. Reflecting ideas gleaned from his interaction with Ruben Gold Thwaites, as well as Thwaites's critical analysis of French and Indian relations, Turner found the fur trade ultimately destructive to the European North American presence. In terms of European and Indian interaction, Turner's work outlined a moribund economic system that was exploitative and mutually corrosive.⁵³¹

Additionally, Turner argued that the French and English penchant for fostering Indian sovereignty retarded productive and strategic development of natural resources and agricultural land. Failing to establish significant agriculture and industry, the French in particular were unable to sufficiently populate and hold their American colonial interests. By delineating Indians and Europeans as spent players in American history, Turner in part struck a stealthy blow against American Darwinists who looked to Europe for an explanation of American institutions and identity. Turner's dissatisfaction was not a mean spirited critique, but was nevertheless a measured rebuke of Adams and the underlying assumptions of racial

531 Turner, *The Character and Influence*, 77-85. Thwaites was working on Wisconsin Indian history when Turner was conducting dissertation research at the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Thwaites and Turner both saw French and English interaction with Indians, particularly inter-racial relations as having weakened the French and English and contributed to the defeat of their colonization efforts. Ruben Gold Thwaites, "The Black Hawk War" *Magazine of the Western History* vol 5 no 2 (December, 1886): 181-195. Ruben Gold Thwaites, "Wisconsin: The Americanization of a French Settlement" in ed., Ruben Gold Thwaites, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1902), passim. Thwaites and Turner's ideas about American Indians were consistent with views expressed in the Wisconsin press. See, N.a., "Wisconsin's Wild Men," *Wisconsin State Journal* February 5, 1878, pg.5; N.a., "Our Troublesome Wards," *Wisconsin State Journal* August 22, 1882, pg.1; N.a., "Immorality Among Indians," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1 September, 1886, pg.1.

evolution theory.⁵³²

By the 1893 academic year University of Wisconsin regents approved the creation of doctoral programs. That year Turner accepted his first doctoral student, Emory R. Johnson who studied U. S. riparian law. Following graduation Johnson received a professorship at the University of Pennsylvania. Turner's second student, Kate Asaphine Everest earned her Ph.D. in 1893 – the first history doctorate awarded a woman. Previously Everest taught at Wisconsin academies, the La Crosse high school and at Lawrence University – a small private liberal arts institute.⁵³³

Everest's tenure with Turner was notable because unlike Johnson, Turner used her to unearth tedious German immigration data. Everest in turn used this research to write a highly specific data filled dissertation on Wisconsin German immigration. Trained by Turner to be a secretary, archivist and statistician – not a university history professor – Everest spent her first post graduate year as Head of the Kingsley House Social Settlement in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It does not appear that Everest published her scholarship, nor is the record after 1895 clear regarding her vocation. Dr. Everest does not appear to have ever held a job in academia.⁵³⁴

532 Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, 87; Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 52. For a parallel reading of Turner's thoughts on Indians and immigrants see, John Mack Faragher, ed. *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" and Other Essays* (New York New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 1-5.

533 Billington, 96-97; Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The University of Wisconsin: Its History and Its Alumni* (Madison, Wisconsin: J. N. Purcell, 1900), 729; N.a., *Annual Report of the Kingsley House Association* (Pittsburgh, University: Wm G. Johnston, 1894), 15.

534 Thwaites, *The University of Wisconsin*, 729. The tedious if not pedantic nature of the Wisconsin German immigration research and analysis Turner prescribed for Everest is indicated by her

Dr. Everest's doctoral work did not garner a position in academia, however it seems to have contributed to her employment in the social reform field. To Dr. Everest's credit, Turner did find her research and dissertation helpful in formulating his Frontier Thesis. In particular Everest's research on the effects of post 1865 Wisconsin German immigration helped Turner refine his American exceptionalism views. These would be explicated in Turner's 1892 essay, "Problems in American History." The first page and a half of the essay were devoted to the history profession's dearth of document collection and related archival work. Reflecting the views of his fellows AHA colleagues Turner felt a dire need to encourage history departments to train graduate students for the collection and preservation of documents.⁵³⁵

Turner's "Problems in American History" advanced the idea that the American frontier was "sparsely occupied" by "primitive peoples." Juxtaposed against this smattering of "primitive" folk Turner situated Anglo-Saxons who

publication titles while under his direction, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," "Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin," "Geographic Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin." Thwaites, 729. While in a larger sense these titles were in keeping with the late Nineteenth Century "Positivist" focus on a "total history," they were also specific if not particularly narrow when compared to the work of Everest's graduate colleague, Emory R. Johnson. How much of this reflected Everest's research preferences is not known. See, F. G. Oosterhoff, *Ideas Have a History: Perspectives on the Western Search for Truth* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2001), 161-167. For Emory R. Johnson's graduate work with Turner see, Fulmer Mood, "The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker" *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* vol 36 (December 1943): 283-352.

535 Twelve years later Turner presented the same essay at the 1904 St. Louis Universal Exposition and it is this version here referenced. It is notable that twelve years later Turner still felt it imperative that a class of professional historians be directed toward document collection and preservation. Frederick Jackson Turner, "Problems in American History," in ed., Howard J. Rogers, *Congress of Arts and Sciences Universal Exposition, St. Louis 1904* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904), 183-194.

“evolve[d] new ideas of life and new ethnic and social types.” Turner asserted professional American historians:

[H]ave to deal with the formation and expansion of the American people, the composition of the population, their institutions, their economic life, and their fundamental assumptions – what we may call the American spirit – and the relation of these to the different periods and conditions of American history⁵³⁶

Concerning the historical position of American Indians Turner proved more elusive. Far from simply ignoring Indians, Turner considered the whole epoch of European and American Indian interaction and conflict ill-relevant to contemporaneous American history. Although his dissertation had found an historical role for American Indians, his essay demoted them to “primitive peoples” who “sparsely” “occupied” the continent. Turner concluded that as European Americans expanded beyond the “first spheres of settlement” they were forced to “deal again with the primitive peoples at their borders.” In Turner's American history frontier Indians initially served as European guides and trade partners who were then quietly pushed to the frontier perimeter. On the fringes of European expansion Indians supposedly faded away.⁵³⁷

Turner was not a simpleton, he knew that in the broad sweep of American history this articulation was disingenuous. American Indians had not “sparsely” occupied the continent. Turner knew Indians were not neatly separated from the

⁵³⁶ Turner, “Problems in America History,” 186.

⁵³⁷ Turner, “Problems,” 183-185. Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 451-454.

European American westward conquest. Nevertheless, this was precisely how Turner resolved the historical issue of the Indian – as an important but spent player in Frontier development.⁵³⁸

For Turner Indians were like the first section of a three stage rocket, burnt out, dropped off and floating around the periphery of American history, no longer a viable part of its current trajectory. While esteemed as valuable references for future imperial ventures, American Indians were deemed historical curiosities ranked alongside other losers in the continental conquest. Indian history was important only as an early demonstrable stage in the evolution of Anglo-Saxon American culture and identity. When the watchword of the day was American westward progress, Turner's articulation of Indian history struck a chord with the European American public and his academic cohorts.⁵³⁹

Turner's Indian characterization validated an existing popular narrative that would for a time unite the interests of a small group of male and female western historians. Indeed, in the dusty documents that articulated United States Indian

538 Turner, "Problems," 185. Bogue, 47. Turner's dissertation and early interest in Indian trade and political history attest to this as well as his interest in Thwaites, Blair and Kellogg's work on French-Indian trade and intercourse. See, Jacobs, 54, 245. In 1889 Turner even donated a thirteen foot by three foot birch-bark Chippewa canoe to the museum of the Wisconsin State Historical society. See, N.a., "Birch-Bark Canoes" *Wisconsin State Journal* 27 September, 1889, pg.8.

539 Scholars often overlook the centrality of stages to Turner's Frontier Thesis and tend to over-generalize, consequently they minimize the fact that Turner paid special attention to Indian political and social history in the first nineteen pages of the 1893 essay. To determine where historical actors fit into his interpretation it is necessary to situate them in the appropriate stage. One cannot for instance argue that the central player in Turner's essay was the farmer as opposed to the cattle rancher or fur trader. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 33-34; Turner, "Problems," 184-185.

treaties and legal relations Turner saw guidance for those who struggled to “reconsider questions of the rights of man and traditional American ideals of liberty and democracy, in view of the task of government of other races politically inexperienced and underdeveloped.” Suggesting that Indian political and legal history could illuminate the conquest of a new overseas frontier, Turner inadvertently launched a new scholarly niche for two groups on the periphery of his historical vision – Indians and women historians.⁵⁴⁰

Following publication of “Problems” Turner received an offer from a surprising source. Herbert Baxter Adams contacted Turner gushing with praise for his treatment of American institutional history in the “Problems” essay. Adams was so impressed that he invited Turner to present a paper expanding on his ideas at the 1893 AHA conference to be held at the Chicago World's Colombian Exposition. Turner eventually accepted.⁵⁴¹

Between Adams invitation on 24 November of 1892 (twenty days after the publication of “Problems”) and Turner's presentation of the paper on the evening of 12 July 1893 the nagging problem of immigrants, Indians and Americanization would have to be resolved. Turner saw the occasion as an opportunity to advance

⁵⁴⁰ See Turner, “The Significance,” 39-43. Turner's interest in American westward expansion beyond the California coast (at least before WWI) has been noted by a number of historians. Turner's particular thoughts on the new possessions came in his 1910 essay “Social Forces in American History.” See, Frederick Jackson Turner, “Social Forces in American History,” in John Mack Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 122-123; David Wrobel situates Turner within an American academic and cultural oeuvre driven by an unfounded fear that the western frontier had closed. See, David M. Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety From the Old West to the New Deal* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1993), chp., 5.

⁵⁴¹ Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 90-92, 106-107.

his own career and finally mark out a field of specialty. This trajectory had already been suggested in the 1892 “Problems” essay, “[t]he time would seem to have come when the historians should bestow some of their attention upon... that area between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains.” However, for the AHA his formulation would have to be more precise, more careful and more focused than the “Problems” essay – Turner believed his future as a distinguished historian depended on it.⁵⁴²

On a hot summer evening in July of 1893 Turner presented his paper before a joint AHA – World's Congress of Historians and Historical Students meeting at the Chicago Exposition. Notable was Turner's rejection of Adams's Teutonic germ theory and racial evolution. Turner recalled Adams's words in seminar, “[a]ll peoples show development; the germ theory of politics has been sufficiently emphasized... [b]ut in the case of the United States we have a different phenomena.” To make sure he got the point across, Turner recapitulated, “[t]oo exclusive attention has been paid... to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors... nationalism and the evolution of American political institutions were dependent on the advance of the frontier.”⁵⁴³

After dispensing with German germs Turner moved to Indians. Though some scholars have asserted that Turner's 1893 essay ignored Indians, it is notable that in the first nineteen pages of the thirty-eight page essay he referenced Indians fifty-two times. The fact that Turner interpreted frontier advance as the passing of

542 Turner, “Problems,” 193.

543 Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 124, Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier,” 2-3, 24.

one cultural and national type to another required that he address American Indian history. Drawing from his dissertation, Turner argued American Indian hunting and trade routes became the arteries down which Europeans moved and adapted to the frontier. Turner presented the process of cultural conquest as both parasitic and exploitative. Indians were depicted as colonial conspirators ultimately driven to the sides of European expansion. Turner absolved American progress by erasing the brutality of its successive cycles of conflict, dispossession and conquest.⁵⁴⁴

The Frontier Thesis approach to American Indians signaled a sea change in how American history would be studied and told. Turner described “the frontier [a]s the outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilization,” where “primitive Indian life” compelled the federal government to engage “the determination of peace and war with the Indians, the regulation of Indian trade, the purchase of Indian lands, and the creation of new settlements as a security against the Indians.” With a couple paragraphs Turner reduced the whole of North American Indian history to a few political interactions with European Americans.⁵⁴⁵

By redefining the position of Indians in American history and disavowing the underlying presumptions of assimilation, Turner advanced a new approach to American racial politics. Reflecting the essay's theme of national ethnic and cultural unity Turner stated, “[i]f one would understand why we are today one

544 Turner, “The Character,” 77-85; Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier,” 2-19.

545 Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier,” 3, 11, 15.

nation, rather than a collection of isolated states, he must study this economic and social consolidation of the country[.]” Making clear that it was not the proper subject for an historian, Turner added, “[i]n this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist.”⁵⁴⁶

The Frontier Thesis definitively asserted that American progress did not include the American Indian. According to Turner the American “record of social evolution... begins with the Indian and the hunter,” and ended with “the manufacturing organization with city and factory systems.” Turner's progress circumscribed a narrative of parallel decline and marginalization for the American Indian – the passing of a former peoples whose relation to American history was delineated by trade agreements, land treaties and removal. Here another line of Indian historical construction was to emerge for women marginalized in the new history profession. Indian political history, disdained by male historians first became an interest of Turner's women students who made it their own scholarly domain.⁵⁴⁷

Having set in motion the historical inscription of American Indians as treaty makers and wards of a spreading imperial power, Turner's Frontier Thesis gained increased relevance in the years following the Spanish-American War. Posited by historians such as Brooks Adams and John Fiske and political figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, William McKinley and Elihu Root

⁵⁴⁶ Turner, “The Significance,” 15.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 11, 15.

as a model for enlightened democratic imperialism, this new approach to Indian history would also garner attention from male expansionists in the U. S. Insular Department and in the U. S. Territorial Government of the Philippines.⁵⁴⁸

By the early 1890s, impatient with the pace of Indian assimilation, male expansionists declared Indians sufficiently acculturated and the West definitively settled to justify termination of federal guardianship. Ironically, the social and cultural havoc wrought by assimilation would be cited as proof that Indians were ready to fend for themselves. By the end of the Spanish American War male expansionists would declare Indian assimilation complete and propose a similar venture for the new U. S. Pacific possessions. To this end male expansionists would look to Indian treaties and legal history for guidance. Expansionists' efforts on both fronts would have a devastating effect on the status of pre-professional

548 William Appleman Williams, "Brooks Adams and American Expansionism," *New England Quarterly* vol 25 (1952): 217-232; William Appleman Williams, "The Frontier Thesis and American Foreign Policy," *Pacific Historical Review* vol 24 no 4 (November 1955): 379-395; Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), 63-101; Lloyd E. Ambrosius, "Turner's Frontier Thesis and the Modern American Empire: A Review Essay," *Civil War History* vol 17 no 4 (December 1971): 332-339; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Natural Frontiers, Great World Frontiers, and the Shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner," *International History Review* vol 7 no 2 (May 1985): 261-270; Martin Ridge, "The Significance of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* vol 41 no 1 (Winter 1991): 2-13. The point argued here is not that Turner and cited historical figures were part of a totalizing imperialistic political movement – they were not – but rather that Turner's ideas about American expansion took on a life of their own within the larger much more complex American expansionist narrative. While certainly not representing the full scope of scholarship written by Turner and his students the work of Turner's women students between 1893 and 1910 interacted with and reflected aspects of this larger and often contradictory narrative about American destiny. Turner remained skeptical of a benevolent American expansion and outside of Emma Helen Blair's comparatively brief involvement with the Philippines publication most of Turner's female students focused on Indian political history. Historical voices that compared Indian assimilation to American Pacific expansion spoke from within a diverse national narrative, they did not comprise the narrative.

women Indian scholars.⁵⁴⁹

The decade following the Spanish American War was riven with social and political conflicts. Few were as colorful as the battle between male expansionists and maternal patriots. Competing for attention from the same constituencies, each posited themselves as saviors of the nation and protectors of American culture. Expansionists pressed their interests through foreign policy, while maternal patriots advanced their cause through Indian assimilation politics.⁵⁵⁰

In this respect maternal patriots staked out a distinct role in the arena of Indian assimilation. Although other Indian “rights” groups existed, with the exception of Herbert Welsh's Indian Rights Association no other group had the national organization or influence to claim equal status with the Women's National Indian Association. When Herbert Welsh's claims are put to the test the evidence shows a marginal IRA role in marshaling allotment legislation through Congress. Welsh's pretensions to the contrary, the WNIA remained the premier Indian assimilation movement well into the 1890s.⁵⁵¹

549 Turner, “Social Forces,” 122-139; Frederick Jackson Turner, “The West and American Ideas,” and “Middle Western Pioneer Democracy,” in ed. John Mach Faragher, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 145-148, 176-180.

550 The idea of paternal patriotism/expansionism ran through Gilded Age literature. See, A. P. Marble, “The Ethical Element in Patriotism,” in n.a., *National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Pioneer Press, 1895), 142-146; George Putnam Smith, “Triumph of Nationalism,” *New York Times* 9 November 1900, pg. 6; Theda Gildemeister, “The Teaching of Patriotism,” in n.a., *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1920), 438-441.

551 William T. Hagan's definitive work on Welsh and the IRA demonstrates that Welsh's political claims were largely the hyperbole of a self-important narcissistic man. Unfortunately, much of the scholarship elevating Welsh to a prominent position in the push for federal assimilation legislation (allotment) simply takes his own overblown statements (drawn from IRA publications and pamphlets) at face value. Welsh knew and corresponded with many politicians, but knowing is not the same as being respected. The often repeated, but unfounded

Tension's came to a head when the era's most prominent expansionist, Theodore Roosevelt – then a member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission – gave a presentation before the 1892 Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the American Indian. Just back from a tour of the Nebraska reservations, Roosevelt called into question federal Indian wardship and the slow pace of allotment. Concluding with a biting critique of Omaha reservation alcoholism, social disorder and limited agricultural success Roosevelt yielded the floor to Alice Fletcher who was on leave from her allotment duties in Idaho.⁵⁵²

Fletcher, who believed she had seen the genesis of Omaha social and economic independence in 1890 was taken aback by Roosevelt's assessment. Ever adaptable and politically savvy, Fletcher directed her response to dissolution of the reservation system and Indian citizenship. Roosevelt, not inclined to demure refrained from further comment on the Omaha and picked up Fletcher's new lead. Proposing a radical change in federal/Indian relations, Roosevelt argued, “[w]e have got to make them citizens... [w]e have got to make them understand that they have to sink or swim on their own merits.” Fletcher's concurrence proved a watershed moment for the women's assimilation movement and women's American Indian scholarship.⁵⁵³

assertion that Welsh and the IRA were the primary forces moving the 1887 legislation through Congress is one of the most persistent historical myths of our time. The evidence indicates that Dawes was significantly influenced by Fletcher and the WNIA and that he merely corresponded and discussed allotment with Welsh – and often the two were at odds. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association*, 65-66, 101-103.

552 Martha D. Adams, ed., *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the American Indian* (Lake Mohonk, New York: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1892), 80-88.

553 E. Jane Gay, *With the Nez Perces: Alice Fletcher in the Field, 1889-1892* (Lincoln, Nebraska:

The events surrounding Fletcher's 1892 Lake Mohonk trek and her subsequent appearance at the 1893 Chicago World's Colombian Exposition (CWCE) illuminate the extent to which women's Indian scholarship was being displaced across the professional spectrum. For Fletcher 1892 proved a dismal year. In April of 1892 Fletcher learned Frederick Ward Putnam passed her over for Dr. Franz Boas as chief assistant at the CWCE. Fletcher had infinitely more experience for the position.⁵⁵⁴

Moreover, as the Winnebago agent struggling through a difficult assignment with a tribe not disposed toward allotment, Fletcher found her work far less glamorous than it had been a decade before. After Roosevelt's biting critique at Lake Mohonk and the disappointing news from Putnam, Fletcher returned to Idaho and oversaw the sale of 500,000 surplus acres in the Nez Perces reservation. Fletcher then returned to Washington and climbed into her sickbed where she remained for several weeks in a deep depression.⁵⁵⁵

Fletcher eventually recovered by turning her attention to three papers she intended to present at the CWCE. Adopting a new sensitivity to professionalism Fletcher dropped assimilation rhetoric to focus on Omaha religious and social music. Two months before Turner read his famous essay Fletcher presented her work at the CWCE anthropology conference. To Fletcher's dismay, a derivative (if not plagiarized) paper presented by former colleague Professor John Fillmore

University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 81; Adams, *Proceedings*, 80-88; Mark, *A Stranger*, 95.
554 Mark, *A Stranger*, 211.
555 Gay, *With the Nez Perces*, xxxiv-xxxv, 164-167; Mark, 213-215.

eclipsed her own. In an area where Fletcher hoped to gain professional credibility she had been outmaneuvered by a lazy thinker and a new professionalized system rigged against her. Again, Fletcher returned to Washington and took to her sickbed.⁵⁵⁶

Matilda Coxe Stevenson who was also at the CWCE, presented a well received paper at the woman's congress on Zuni ceremonial life. Stevenson's presentation was later published by her employer, the American Bureau of Ethnology. Unlike papers read by male colleagues neither Fletcher nor Stevenson's work garnered academic attention, nor were they published in professional academic journals. Although Fletcher and Stevenson had high hopes for their Chicago scholarship, neither were able to overcome the new professional chasm that divided women Indian scholars from professional historians and anthropologists.⁵⁵⁷

Over the next two decades Stevenson would damage her pocketbook, reputation and scholarly standing with a series of frivolous libel lawsuits. In the end an almost bankrupted Stevenson retired to obscure specialized anthropological work in the southwest. After 1892 Fletcher restricted her relationship with the Lake Mohonk conference. Eschewing assimilation, Fletcher took up the Indian citizenship cause and turned her scholarly attention to the study and preservation of American Indian music and culture. Fletcher's interest in Indian citizenship

⁵⁵⁶ Mark, 223-240.

⁵⁵⁷ Mark, 233-245; Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, 101-102.

signaled a change in the old assimilation politics reflecting her own disappointment with the course of Indian acculturation.⁵⁵⁸

After her exchange with Roosevelt at the Lake Mohonk Conference Fletcher had returned to the Omaha reservation in 1899 and found Omaha society in turmoil. This time Fletcher no longer saw the Omaha with the eyes of a young idealistic assimilationist, but with the wizened gaze of a sixty-one year old woman of diminished legacy. Fletcher found the Omaha social and cultural disorder she helped to create heart-breaking. Though Fletcher would never publicly admit her lifework had been fundamentally flawed, she did note, “no people can be helped if they are absolutely uprooted.” Based on what she saw at the Omaha reservation Fletcher began a push to preserve what she deemed best in Indian culture. Fletcher's new agenda would ultimately be taken up by the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) and promulgated well into the 1920s as a reformed assimilation goal. The new agenda was not to create Indian Americans, but rather to cultivate American Indians.⁵⁵⁹

The modified assimilation campaign would not prove the most popular European American approach to Indians at the dawn of the Twentieth Century. Where Fletcher's new approach reflected lessons learned and a sense of remorse, the recent 1898 war between the United States and Spain pushed impatient

558 Miller, *Matilda Coxe Stevenson*, 183-184, 191, 193-195, 196-230; Mark, *A Stranger*, 267-268.

559 Fayette Avery McKenzie, “The Assimilation of the American Indian,” *American Journal of Sociology* vol 19 no 6 (May, 1914): 761-772; Christa Sieglinde Sholtz, *Negotiating Claims: The Emergence of Indian's Land Claim Negotiation Policies in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2006), 5, 24-26, 164.

advocates of expansionism into a hasty and ill-informed campaign to wrap up Indian assimilation and apply its lessons to subjects in the newly acquired U. S. dominions. For expansionists, the American frontier had progressed beyond the nation's borders into the Pacific islands.⁵⁶⁰

Reflecting Roosevelt's impatience with the pace of Indian assimilation a new generation of expansionists felt it time to bring the long saga of Indian assimilation to a close. Looking to the new U. S. Pacific possessions, they saw the European American conquest and assimilation work in the American West as a template for American colonization in the Philippines. As Roosevelt noted in an 1899 speech not long after he was elected governor of New York:

Every argument that can be made for the Philippines could be made for the Apaches, every word that can be said of Aguinaldo could be said for Sitting Bull. As peace and order and prosperity followed our expansion over the lands of the Indians, so they will follow us in the Philippines. If we had refused to expand over the West, do you think that the West would have been peaceful now?⁵⁶¹

560 American racial evolutionists did not include African Americans in their grand plans for North American racial change. In this matter the scholarship confuses mere philanthropic pleas for African American "racial uplift" with Indian assimilation work. The former's aims could not escape the enduring specter of racial prejudice and embedded indelible segregation – the latter aimed for complete assimilation. Whatever the relation of race to American expansion it was not the exploited, mocked, feared, lynched, beaten, abused, incarcerated, segregated and disenfranchised African American to which imperialists looked for lessons in assimilating newly acquired Pacific Island peoples, but rather Indian assimilation work depicted by boarding school propaganda, philanthropic lecturers, missionary publications and women's Indian scholarship. Even in 1898 the horrible position of African Americans was understood as a national blight, not a beacon and certainly not exemplary. Carl Shurz, *American Imperialism* (n.p.: 1899), 4; Eric T. L. Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism & U. S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 1-15.

561 Walter L. Williams, "United States Indian Policy and the Debate Over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism" *The Journal of American History* vol 66 no 4 (March, 1980), 815-817. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Copperheads of 1900," in Theodore Roosevelt *The Works: Campaigns and Controversies vol 14* (New York, New York: Charles

The stage was set for a new body of American Indian history constructed by an emerging generation of professional women historians.

Scribner's Sons, 1925), 338.

Chapter Eight

The Pacific Frontier: Women Historians and A New Kind of Indian History

Over three decades ago Walter L. Williams argued that American Indian assimilation shaped United States foreign policy in the Philippines. Williams' argument linked Theodore Roosevelt, Brooks Adams, William McKinley and other expansionists to the contention that American Pacific colonial policy should mirror western settlement and Indian assimilation. Notably, Williams suggested that Roosevelt and Brooks' articulation of Pacific expansion as a natural extension of the American frontier played a central role in lending academic credence and national popularity to Frederick Jackson Turner's ideas about American Exceptionalism. While Williams' scholarship demonstrated an expansionist interest in exporting Indian assimilation techniques to the Philippines, it did not reveal that this approach failed. It must be remembered that President Theodore Roosevelt ended the Philippine occupation – in part because “assimilation” was not working.⁵⁶²

562 Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism,” *Journal of American History* vol 66 no 4 (March, 1980): 810-831. A similar argument is made by literary/cultural theorist Richard Slotkin. See, Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York, New York: Antheneum, 1985) and Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (New York, New York: Harper Perennial, 1993). Others have disagreed with the Indian assimilation/Philippine premise, see Stephen Wertheim, “Reluctant Liberator: Theodore Roosevelt's Philosophy of Self-Government and Preparation for Philippine Independence,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* vol 39 no 3 (September 2009): 494-518. For Roosevelt and the end of the Philippine occupation see, Gregg Jones, *Honor in Dust: Theodore Roosevelt, War in the Philippines, and the Rise and Fall of America's Imperial Dream* (New York, New York: New American Library, 2012), chaps., 24-25.

While the post 1898 expansionists drew parallels between early Philippine colonial history and American Indian political history, in reality each were quite different. Championed by a small cadre of American politicians, a handful of expansionist scholars purported to address an issue of importance in national foreign policy. By presenting an ostensibly unbiased account of the treaties, laws, legislation and judicial precedents relating to the history of Filipinos and Indians, these scholars contended that national leaders could draw accurate information for gauging the benefits of assimilation policies in the Pacific Islands – Filipino and Indian political history seemed a promising area of study.⁵⁶³

Fostered by the post Spanish-American war Congressional debate over Pacific colonization, this new historical narrative provided one woman historian with an opportunity to acquire professional distinction. As an author of new nationally important scholarship, this woman engaged in work that earned the respect of her academic peers without challenging the history profession's sexual division of labor. The experiences of Emma Helen Blair – one of Turner's first women graduate students – adds to our understanding of why the link between expansionists and a few early professional historians was both tenuous and short-lived. More importantly, Blair's troubled encounter with expansionist scholarship helps explain her definitive turn toward Indian political history.

⁵⁶³ Emma Helen Blair, James A. Robertson and Edward Gaylord Bourne, *The Philippines, 1493-1803* vol 1 (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903), 1-3. Also see, Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1984), chps., 1-4; Lawrence S. Kaplan, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Imperialism," *Social Science* vol 27 (January 1952): 12-16.

Emma Helen Blair and Assimilation Politics in the Pacific Realm

Emma Helen Blair's brief work as an "expansionist" historian and her later career as a scholar of Indian politics was made possible in large part by Frederick Jackson Turner's willingness to accept women graduate students – something his academic colleagues were generally unwilling to do. In fact, Turner awarded the first history doctorate earned by a woman to Kate Asaphine Everest-Levi in 1893. Of the seven history doctorates bestowed on women between 1893-1900, at least two were earned under Turner's direction. While Turner believed the work of women historians (M.A. and Ph.D.) at the secondary and high school levels essential to promoting American identity, he thwarted their bids for faculty appointments at comprehensive universities. Nevertheless, Turner often penned glowing recommendations for women graduates seeking employment at professional archives, museums, libraries, women's colleges and high schools. A notable example was Turner's loyal support for Emma Helen Blair, one of his least known pupils.⁵⁶⁴

Unlike Turner's better-known women students, Dr. Kate Everest and Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, biographical information for Emma Helen Blair is sparse. A little-known figure in Wisconsin and American historiography, details on Blair's early life are sketchy and barely illuminate her graduate work with Turner.

⁵⁶⁴ Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 55-56, 235-237. Mimi Coughlin, "Women and History: Outside the Academy," *The History Teacher* vol 40 no 4 (August 2007): 471-479; Goggin, "Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession," 769-802; Riley, "Frederick Jackson Turner Overlooked the Ladies," 216-230. Riley argues that Turner overlooked women as a subject in his scholarship, more so than as colleagues.

Obituaries indicate that Blair graduated from Ripon Women's College (Madison, Wisconsin) in 1872 and afterward worked in public education, as an editor and as registrar of the Milwaukee Associated Charities. At the age of forty-one Blair enrolled in the University of Wisconsin. As an undergraduate Blair studied sociology, economics and history from 1892 to 1894. In 1893 Blair was accepted by the history graduate program under Turner's guidance. For reasons unknown, Blair's bid for a graduate degree proved unsuccessful. Records do not reveal Blair's academic standing, only that she failed to acquire the M.A.⁵⁶⁵

From 1894 until her death from cancer in 1911 Blair worked under the direction of Turner's close associate Ruben Gold Thwaites at the Wisconsin State Historical Society (WSHS). The circumstances of her employment are unknown, however it seems reasonable to assume that Turner helped Blair secure the WSHS position, given his close friendship with Thwaites and later claim to have shaped Blair's scholarship. At the WSHS Blair worked as a librarian and curator cataloging state newspapers. Between 1896-1901 Blair helped translate and edit Thwaites's monumental *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. As Thwaites's assistant editor Blair gained insight into how historical manuscripts were selected, translated and readied for publication. More importantly, Blair learned how to apply Turner's colonial and Indian developmental stages to American history. Reflecting ideas developed with Turner and elaborated in Turner's dissertation,

565 N.a., "Emma Helen Blair" *Madison Democrat* 26 September, 1911; N.a., "Emma Helen Blair" *Wisconsin State Journal* 25 September, 1911.

Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations* depicted the colonial French as fur traders plagued by Indian entanglements and an inherently weak institutional system that helped pave the way for Anglo-Saxon conquest.⁵⁶⁶

Blair's work so impressed Thwaites that he asked her to edit and annotate two additional manuscripts, *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America by Father Lewis Hennepin* and *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*. As with *The Jesuit Relations*, the new works elaborated the Turner frontier model. *A New Discovery of a Large Country* was based on translated documents from the colonial French fur trade, while *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* glorified Anglo-Saxon individualism and occidental expansion. Notably, Thwaites's preface for the Lewis and Clark volume read:

To Theodore Roosevelt... Upon the Hundredth Anniversary of the Departure of the Trans-Mississippi Expedition of Lewis and Clark, this first publication of the Original Records of their 'Winning of the West' is most respectfully dedicated⁵⁶⁷

While working on *The Jesuit Relations*, Blair began a curious professional relationship with western history publisher Arthur Henry Clark and historian James

566 Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Imperial Press, 1896), vii-xiii, 1-45; Gloria Cano, "Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898: Scholarship or Imperialist Propaganda?" *Philippine Studies* vol 56 no 1 (2008): 10-11; Theodore Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publisher of the West: A Review of Sixty Years of Service, 1902-1962" *Arizona and the West* vol 5 no 1 (Spring, 1963): 67-68.

567 Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America by Father Lewis Hennepin* (Chicago, Illinois: A. C. McClurg, 1903), ix-xiv; Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1904), preface; N.a., "Emma Helen Blair" *Madison Democrat* 26 September, 1911; N.a., "Emma Helen Blair" *Wisconsin State Journal* 25 September, 1911.

Alexander Robertson. Publications by this scholarly triumvirate would weave together American pacific colonization, Indian assimilation and the academic work of respected American historians, notably Frederick Jackson Turner, Henry B. Lathrop, Edward Gaylord Bourne and Herbert Eugene Bolton. Inspired by the raging national interest in America's Pacific dominions, Blair noted in a 1902 letter to Edward E. Ayer – a wealthy Newberry Library patron and Indian and American West collector – “I have just made arrangements with a publisher for the issue of a series (covering more than fifty volumes) to comprise documents relating to the early history of those islands.” Ayer, an influential Chicago businessman would prove an important ally in Blair's bid to publish with the Chicago based Arthur H. Clark company.⁵⁶⁸

Blair's letter to Ayer sheds light on her emerging relationship with the newly established Arthur H. Clark publishing house and the manner in which Philippine colonial history became linked to American West scholarship and WSHS frontier historians. Clark, a British citizen, began his American publishing career following a chance meeting with General Alexander C. McClurg. Impressed with his enthusiasm for the vocation, McClurg offered Clark a job with his Chicago based publishing house.

Clark booked passage to America in 1889 and worked the next three years at McClurg publications. During an 1892 European holiday Clark decided to open

⁵⁶⁸ Emma Helen Blair to Edward E. Ayer 1902 in Gloria Cano, “Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898: Scholarship or Imperialist Propaganda?” *Philippine Studies* vol 56 no 1 (2008): 3-46; Frank C. Lockwood, *The Life of Edward E. Ayer* (Chicago, Illinois: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1929), chaps., 1-4.

his own bookstore in Chicago. By late 1893 Clark's new venture was on the verge of bankruptcy. Clark closed shop and was hired by rival bookseller, the Burrows Brothers Company in Cleveland, Ohio. At Burrows Brothers, Clark who had shrewdly negotiated a position that made him part owner and board member, became close friends with one of the firm's principle customers, Ruben Gold Thwaites.⁵⁶⁹

Through Thwaites Clark developed an interest in Mississippi Valley history, particularly Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Jesuit influence in the region. Seizing the chance to further his own publication interests, Thwaites proposed a multi-volume translation of French, Latin and Italian sources concerning Jesuit activities in the Mississippi valley. Following an intense lobbying campaign by Thwaites and Clark, Burrows Brothers agreed to fund translation and publication. Work began in 1896 and lasted until 1901. Over the course of the next four years Clark worked on the project with fellow Burrows Brothers employee James Alexander Robertson, Thwaites and Blair, with Thwaites, Blair and Robertson serving as translators.

While working on the Jesuit project Blair developed a close professional friendship with Robertson that would continue for several years. Their friendship deepened between 1900-1901 when Robertson, still a Burrows Brothers employee joined Blair at the WSHS full-time to complete a two volume index for the project. The result of their collaboration was the well received seventy-one volume *The*

⁵⁶⁹ Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company," 63-78.

*Jesuit relations and Allied Documents.*⁵⁷⁰

Although *The Jesuit Relations* proved a financial success for Burrows Brothers, Clark left the firm in 1901 over a contractual dispute. With his recent publication success in mind, Clark founded his own publishing firm devoted to frontier and American West topics. Capitalized by H. A. Sherman (Sherman Williams Company), Frederick C. Howe, Willis Vickery and Newton D. Baker (later U. S. Secretary of War) the Arthur H. Clark publishing house opened in 1902.⁵⁷¹

Clark's first publishing project was proposed by Archer Butler Hulbert, a nominal Turner doctoral student more interested in securing a teaching position than finishing his doctoral degree. Based on Turner's contention that early Indian, French and Spanish trade routes blazed the trail for Anglo-Saxon colonization, Hulbert's sixteen volume *Historic Highways of America, or The History of America as Portrayed in its Highways of War, Commerce, and Social Expansion* was published by Clark over the next three years. Clark's second publication was a compilation of lectures by the noted American historian John Bach McMaster titled, *The Acquisition of Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America.*⁵⁷²

570 Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company," 63-78; A. Curtis Wilgus, "The Life of James Alexander Robertson," in James Alexander Robertson, Alva Curtis Wilgus, *Hispanic American Essays: A Memorial to James Alexander Robertson* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 3-4.

571 Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company," 67-68.

572 Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company," 68, Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 298-299. Hulbert proved a disappointment to Turner and never completed his doctorate although he received honorary degrees from Marietta College (Ohio) and Middlebury College (Vermont). A Hulbert eulogist noted, "The critics of Turner who have held that he suffered from literary constipation, would

Between 1902 and 1903 Blair's friendship with Thwaites, Clark, Ayer and Robertson would prove invaluable to her publication career. Noting the success of Thwaites's Burrows Brothers publication and hoping to cash in on a burgeoning national interest in the Philippines, Blair and Robertson approached Clark with a proposition. Knowing that Ayer had called for the collection of Spanish colonial documents following the Spanish-American war in 1898, and cognizant of Thwaites's own interest in Spanish American colonial documents, the duo proposed a multi-volume publication of Spanish North American and Spanish Pacific colonial documents. Blair and Robertson suggested the project be directed by eminent historian Edward Gaylord Bourne further making the proposal an easy sell to Clark.⁵⁷³

For Clark, the venture was not altruistic or purely an intellectual interest, rival publishing firms Macmillan and G. P. Putnam were already exploiting public interest in the new Pacific dominions and government officials were soliciting historical insight into the long saga of Spanish Pacific colonization. Lacking American experts specifically trained in Spanish colonial history and sources, Clark

undoubtedly diagnose Hulbert's ailment as literary diarrhea. Although Turner was the originator of the concept of the significance of the frontier, Hulbert was the interpreter and popularizer of the concept." Harvey L. Carter, "A Dedication to the Memory of Archer Butler Hulbert 1873-1933," *Arizona and the West* vol 8 no 1 (Spring, 1966): 1-6. Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968), 248-249; Archer Butler Hulbert, *Historic highways of America, or The History of America as Portrayed in its Highways of War, Commerce, and Social Expansion* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1902-1905); John Bach McMaster, *The acquisition of Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903). McMaster, would later accept Herbert Eugene Bolton as a doctoral student and chaired Bolton's dissertation. See, John Francis Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Historian and the Man* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1978), 22. 573 Cano, "Blair and Robertson's," 4-6.

relied on the services of Spanish American historians – namely Edward Gaylord Bourne, Henry B. Lathrop and Herbert Eugene Bolton. Bourne would write the series introduction and select documents for translation, while Lathrop's and Bolton's work was limited to a few translations.⁵⁷⁴

Titled *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, Bourne's introduction set the tone for the first year's work, declaring the Indian assimilation project completed he proclaimed the “negro” and the “Malay” (Filipinos) as the nation's two remaining race problems. But foremost, Bourne contextualized the study as demonstrating the role Spain played in North American Anglo-Saxon colonization. Tracing Spanish colonial influence from 1493 to the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, Bourne's document selection structured the first five volumes around Turner's Frontier Thesis. Frederick Jackson Turner's early influence was reflected in the editorial acknowledgments where Blair and Robertson thanked him for his assistance.⁵⁷⁵

Completed in early 1903 the first five volumes depicted Spain as a generally beneficial and civilizing influence in the Americas. Although generally well received, the incensed U. S. Governor of the Philippines, William Howard Taft (1901-1903) vehemently disagreed with the *Philippine Islands'* assessment of Spanish colonialism. For Taft and his chief adviser James A. Leroy, the Protestant Anglo-Saxon lads who landed at Jamestown and whose descendents later marched

574 Cano, “Blair and Robertson's,” 5-7; John M. Gates, “The Official Historian and the Well-Placed Critic: James A. LeRoy's Assessment of John R. M. Taylor's 'The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States'” *The Public Historian* vol 7 no 3 (Summer, 1985): 57-58.

575 Emma Helen Blair, James A. Robertson, Edward Gaylord Bourne, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803 vol 1-5* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903), preface, historical introduction. Cano, 6-8.

into Manilla, Havana and San Juan did not succeed a civilized Spanish empire, rather they drove out a barbaric superstitious Catholic Old World regime steeped in medieval ignorance and tyranny. The contention was made public in Leroy's critiques of Edward Gaylord Bourne's contributions to the Clark series published in the 1903 *Nation* and in the 1904 *American Historical Review*.⁵⁷⁶

Comprising the sole published response to Blair, Robertson and Bourne's work, Leroy's unsigned 1903 *Nation* review savaged *The Philippines*. As a self-taught Philippines "expert" who served as Dean C. Worcester's secretary in the Second Philippine Commission and later as chief assistant to Governor Taft, LeRoy argued that Bourne had been duped by the lies of Spanish friars who depicted Spanish occupation as benevolent, Christianizing and civilized. LeRoy contended that Bourne and the editorial staff had not used more objective sources that would have revealed the inept, tyrannical, barbaric, superstitious and theocratic nature of Spanish colonialism in the Pacific. Predicting greatness for the series if his suggestions were given due weight, LeRoy pronounced the first five volumes important translations of Spanish colonial era Catholic propaganda.⁵⁷⁷

Blair responded to LeRoy's review with a pointed refutation, noting that Bourne was a respected scholar of the North American Spanish colonial era. Blair

⁵⁷⁶ N.a., review of *The Philippines*, by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Nation* vol 76 no 1974 (April, 1903): 359-360; James A. LeRoy review of *The Philippines, 1493-1803*, by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The American Historical Review* vol 9 no 1 (October, 1903): 149-154; James A. LeRoy, review of *The Philippines*, by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The American Historical Review* vol 10 no 1 (October-July, 1903-1904): 168-170.

⁵⁷⁷ N.a., review of *The Philippines*, by Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Nation* vol 76 no 1974 (April, 1903): 359-360.

stressed that *The Philippines* editorial board did not have a translation agenda regarding the Spanish “friars.” Moreover, regarding what LeRoy characterized as the need for “a broadening of scope,” Blair noted that Robertson was then currently in Seville, Spain conducting research at the Archivio de India and planned to survey Spanish colonial era documents in Madrid, Simancas, Rome, Paris, London, Manilla and Mexico.⁵⁷⁸

In August of 1903 likely under government pressure, Clark abruptly made James LeRoy the new director of the *Philippines* series. The appointment was curious given that Leroy had no previous experience in historical scholarship or publication. A year later LeRoy was also appointed chief to director of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) General Clarence Edwards who was under direction of president William H. Taft's War Department. The BIA was empowered to administer Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Taft and LeRoy finally wielded sufficient power to shape Philippine scholarship. Citing his authority as a BIA official, LeRoy quickly pushed Bourne to the editorial periphery and proceeded to fashion the remaining *Philippines* volumes into a running critique of Spanish colonialism.⁵⁷⁹

In LeRoy's hands the new series narrative depicted colonial Spanish depravity and a superior pre-colonial “Malay” (Filipino) culture. Executing a politically motivated revision of the project, LeRoy turned the series focus to the

578 Review of *The Philippines*, *The Nation* (1903): 359-360; Emma Helen Blair, “Correspondence: The Philippine Island Series,” *The Nation* vol 76, no 1977 (May, 1903): 414-415.

579 Gates, “The Official Historian and the Well-Placed Critic,” 57-67; Cano, 8-9.

whole of Spanish Pacific colonization. LeRoy's ultimate goal was to demonize Spanish colonialism while portraying American expansion as both a liberating and civilizing force.⁵⁸⁰

For his part Bourne was unimpressed with Leroy's credentials. Bourne advocated a colonial corps trained in at least two years of “Geology, Ethnology, History, Economics, Law, Languages, Religions and Folk psychology” – LeRoy was master of none. As a forty-three year old doctor of history and Yale professor Bourne found the opinionated twenty-eight year old self-taught career bureaucrat intolerable. Animosity surfaced following LeRoy's 1904 *AHR* critique of Bourne's Philippine scholarship. Having imprudently and ignorantly chided Bourne for using supposedly incomplete documentation and arriving at false conclusions about Spanish colonial expenditures in the Philippines, LeRoy handed Bourne the perfect opportunity for public vindication. In his *AHR* reply Bourne indisputably demonstrated that it was LeRoy who had been misled by questionable sources. The humiliation however did not stop Leroy from presenting himself at the 1905 Lake Mohonk Friends of the American Indian and Other Dependent Peoples conference as an expert on Philippine colonization. Although politicized by two warring camps, Philippine colonization was still intimately linked to American Indian assimilation.⁵⁸¹

580 Cano, “Blair and Robertson's,” 9-18.

581 LeRoy, review of *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, *American Historical Review*, 168-170; Edward Gaylord Bourne, “The Philippine 'Situado' From The Treasury of New Spain,” *American Historical Review* vol 10 no 2 (October/July-1903/1904): 459-461; Cano, 9. At the 1905 Lake Mohonk conference LeRoy laudably argued the chief hardship facing Filipinos was American race prejudice. See, N.a., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Lake Mohonk*

Having been stung by a politically connected amateur boor, Bourne turned away from the Clark project. Bourne worked instead on his *Spain in America* which would eventually appear as volume three of Albert Bushnell Hart's massive series, *The American Nation: A History*. In the introduction Bourne refuted LeRoy's scholarship embracing Spanish history in America "from the birth of Christopher Columbus to the beginning of the continuous activity in colonization by the English." Bourne's three hundred and fifty page volume occupied much of his time until its publication in 1904.⁵⁸²

Although Turner had advised Blair and Robertson on the Philippines project he did not comment on the turn of events with LeRoy nor did he make further suggestions for the volume. Like Bourne, much of Turner's time after 1903 was devoted to his own pending volume for the Hart series titled, *The Rise of the New West*. Marshaling material from his numerous magazine and journal articles Turner's volume reiterated the East to West trajectory of his Frontier Thesis. *The Rise of the New West* further boosted Turner's academic notoriety and career interests.⁵⁸³

Unlike Bourne and Turner who were able to professionally distance

Friends of the American Indian and Other Dependent Peoples (Lake Mohonk, New York: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1905), 99- 104.

582 Edward Gaylord Bourne, "Spain in America," in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. 3, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904), 1-350.

583 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Rise of the New West," in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. 14, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1906), 57, 68-69. Ruben Gold Thwaites, "France in America," in *The American Nation: A History*, vol. 7, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1905). For Turner's use of previously published articles see, Turner, "The Rise of the New West," 6, 65, 69, 114, 134, 200, 201.

themselves from *The Philippines* project, Blair and Robertson were obligated to complete their work. For his part, James A. Robertson – who went on to an otherwise distinguished academic career in Spanish American history – apparently accepted the plunge into government propaganda with few questions. Blair adapted, but never forgave LeRoy for commandeering the original project. Forced upon her as contrived scholarship, LeRoy's oversight distressed Blair. Although it is not entirely clear what Turner and Thwaites thought of LeRoy (if they gave him much thought at all), they strongly encouraged Blair to consider publication on American Indian history once *The Philippines* project ended in 1909. As luck would have it LeRoy's influence over American historical scholarship and Blair also ended in 1909 – with his death from tuberculosis.⁵⁸⁴

Following Thwaites's and Turner's advice Blair turned to Indian political history in 1909. The resulting scholarship comprised a two volume publication titled, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and region of the Great Lakes*. Although Arthur Clark deemed *The Philippines* a failure – he lost \$20,000 on the venture – with Thwaites's encouragement he agreed to publish Blair's work. Blair's *Indian Tribes* wholeheartedly embraced Turner's vision of American Indian history.⁵⁸⁵

584 Cano, “Blair and Robertson's,” 11-17. Jacobs, 59. Robertson would later serve as chief of the Philippine library, a position recommended by LeRoy and affirmed by President Taft. For LeRoy's death see, Harry Coleman, “James Alfred LeRoy,” in *The Americans in the Philippines*, James A. LeRoy (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), *xiii-xxviii*.

585 Cano, 34. Clark's support is verified by the fact that he published the series. See, Emma Helen Blair, *Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes vol 1-2* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), publication credits.

Dedicated to “Frederick Jackson Turner, who has led the van of research in the history of the great Middle West, and has done most to make known its importance in the development of the American nation,” *Indian Tribes* was largely an annotated translation of early French and American colonial documents. In elaborating Indian complicity in European colonization, Blair affirmed the stages of Americanization proposed by Turner. Moreover, by selecting documents that examined the “Indian character and the policy of the whites toward the dispossessed Indian tribes” Blair helped Arthur H. Clark refocus American imperial and colonial history back into the Mississippi Valley.

Far from solitary scholarship (other equally assertive Frontier Thesis scholarship was in publication), Blair's work signaled a renewed emphasis on Mississippi Valley scholarship among Turner's closest allies and marked the Frontier Thesis's continuing influence at the nation's premier frontier archive – the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Notably, Blair's treatment of Indian history was limited to European and Indian political interaction rather than ethnology. Blair's Indian history did not advance the earlier ethno-political view of women Indian scholars. That said, *Indian Tribes* was well received and critically acclaimed. In spite of this success, professional interest in Indian history lagged. The future of Blair's own Indian scholarship came to an end with her death in 1911. If not for the efforts of Blair's friend and WSHS colleague Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, the revival of American Indian scholarship might have languished or taken a decidedly different turn.

**Louise Phelps Kellogg and the Role of Archivists and Authors in the New
American History Profession**

Louise Phelps Kellogg was Frederick Jackson Turner's second female doctoral student. Kellogg was a Wisconsin native who entered the Madison graduate history program in 1895. But for her sex Kellogg might have been a Turner protege. In fact Kellogg was among a small cadre of students who enrolled in Turner's original *History of the West* class – the first of its kind taught at an American university. Just six months her senior, Turner initially found Kellogg an ill-prepared student, but came to respect her diligence, analytical skills and originality. Under Turner's direction Kellogg studied early American frontier history, an interest demonstrated by her dissertation, “The Formation of the State of West Virginia.”⁵⁸⁶

As a woman noticeably hard of hearing, Kellogg was not an ideal candidate for academia, yet her skill as a researcher, scholar and teacher earned high praise from Turner. Indeed, after Kellogg won a fellowship from the Women's Education Association of Boston, Turner helped her secure a one year assistant ship in ancient and medieval history. Accolades or not, Kellogg was slated like most of her fellow women historians for a position in non-academic history.⁵⁸⁷

586 The first being Kate A. Everest in 1893. Bogue, *Strange Roads*, 66-65, Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner*, 96-97, 135. David Kinnett, “Miss Kellogg's Quiet Passion” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* vol 62 no 4 (Summer, 1979): 266-299.

587 Ruben Gold Thwaites, *The University of Wisconsin: Its History and its Alumni* (Madison, Wisconsin: J. N. Purcell, 1900), 345; Curtis P. Nettles, Gilbert H. Doane and Edward P. Alexander, “Louise Phelps Kellogg, 1862-1942” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* vol 26 no 1 (September, 1942): 6-7; Smith, *The Gender of History*, 185-207. A word of caution must be given regarding Smith's study. By roving across the globe and addressing international dimensions of American history generalizations are made that do not specifically apply to the

While not widely known to women historians, they were often characterized by male colleagues as disturbingly willful or distastefully unusual. Symptomatic of this prejudice, women historians were scrutinized for real, imaginary or nonsensical defects that purportedly made them unfit for academic careers. Reflecting a general cultural attitude, this complicated institutional chauvinism consigned the vast majority of women historians to careers as public historians in historical archives, museums, women's colleges and high schools. Women historians like Kellogg who used publication to reach beyond the professional anonymity of non-academic history vocations came to occupy a kind of scholarly limbo, recognized but without stature in the academy.⁵⁸⁸

Even if their work justified academic accolades – if not employment – a woman historian's purported defects often helped absolve the culpability of those who relegated them to non-academic careers. Kellogg's hearing impairment allowed Turner to mark her as a promising but flawed prospect. Upon graduation Kellogg was directed toward archival work at the highly esteemed Wisconsin State Historical Society – Turner having worked behind the scenes to this end.⁵⁸⁹

While an accomplished archivist, Kellogg was not a maverick, in fact on a

American history profession or the unique sexual division of labor it spawned. Smith makes sweeping statements about male American West historians such as Turner that are debatable if not factually incorrect. Smith's general arguments do not explain the fact that between 1890-1935 professional male historians trained 343 women graduate students – astounding when compared to the number of women admitted to other graduate programs during the same period.

⁵⁸⁸ Smith, *The Gender*, 185-207.

⁵⁸⁹ Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: the University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 35; Goggin, “Challenging Sexual Discrimination,” 772-776.

personal level she proved suggestible and easily manipulated.⁵⁹⁰ In practical terms Kellogg's pliable nature played to Turner's and Thwaites's advantage. Where Blair had proven an independent thinker and willful historian, Kellogg established herself as a loyal scholar who at the behest of Turner and Thwaites put aside her interest in colonial French history to focus on Indian political history.⁵⁹¹

As the only full-time professional Indian historian in the nation, Kellogg's work played a key role in developing the WSHS's reputation for frontier scholarship. Having served as Turner's assistant since 1897, Kellogg was also well versed in general frontier history and as such proved an invaluable editorial assistant for Thwaites. During Kellogg's tenure which lasted until her death in 1940, she had either “written, edited, indexed or proofread” each of the several hundred publications undertaken by WSHS.⁵⁹²

Kellogg's path to a publication career began early at the society. During her first year at WSHS Kellogg worked with Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson and helped edit Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations* and the Lewis and Clark journals, but produced little of her own scholarship. Kellogg's first notable publication was her prize winning dissertation printed by the AHA in 1904. In it Kellogg cited Turner's Frontier Thesis arguing that decrepit English colonial

590 Kinnett, “Miss Kellogg's,” 269.

591 Kinnett, 276-292; In 1900 while editing Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, Blair wrote an open letter to Alice Fletcher regarding the 1724-1725 visit of an Osage delegation to France. While not indicative of a devotion to ethno-political scholarship it does at least suggest familiarity. N.a., “Notes and News” *American Anthropologist* vol 2 no 4 (October-December, 1900): 780. Frederick Jackson Turner, *Ruben Gold Thwaites: A Memorial Address* (Chicago, Illinois: Lakeside Press, 1914), 21-28.

592 Kinnett, “Miss Kellogg's,” 221-273, 279.

institutions spurred American rebellion, revolution and the development of American exceptionalism.⁵⁹³

While in Thwaites's employment Kellogg found little time for her own work, publishing only a few short monographs and papers under her own name. Thwaites carefully controlled Kellogg's scholarship and frowned on individual publication. During this period Kellogg's work with Thwaites shaped her Indian history interests in the context of North American French and Spanish colonial politics. Kellogg's first major work after Thwaites's death, her 1913 *Early Narrative of the Northwest, 1634-1699* argued that French complicity with American Indians weakened their colonial effort, while seclusion along the Atlantic vitalized the English. By 1914 Kellogg took definite steps to secure her own status as an historian and to establish Indian scholarship as an independent branch of frontier history. The result of her new approach was a short but significant 1917 article titled, "Indian Diplomacy During the Revolution in the West" and an acclaimed two volume set, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779* and *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781*.⁵⁹⁴

A detailed treatment of Kellogg's extensive scholarship is beyond the scope of this study, however it is important to note that her work expanded Blair's

593 Kinnett, 276-279; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Formation of the State of Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1897), 1-5.

594 Kinnett, 277. N.a., "Migrations of Wisconsin Indians, Member of State Historical Staff Tells of Early Scenes" *Baraboo Daily News* (Wisconsin) 20 April, 1912; N.a., "Extract from an Old Letter, Visit to a Winnebago Indian Village on the Baraboo River in 1833" *Baraboo Daily News* (Wisconsin) 13 May, 1912; Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Indian Diplomacy During the Revolution in the West* (Springfield, Illinois: Journal print Co., 1920).

scholarly legacy into the mid Twentieth Century. Kellogg's vast scholarship firmly placed American Indian history in a gendered scholarly niche. By carefully defining an academic American Indian political history, Kellogg demonstrated that Indian scholarship could be addressed by women historians without evoking the discredited excesses of ethno-political scholarship.

A few male frontier historians dabbled in colonial American Indian history – such as James Alton James who authored “Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West” – but their interests were faint and publication sparse. Kellogg on the other hand epitomized scholarly productivity, so much so that her voluminous work on Indian politics in a very real sense became her history. Championing Indian political history, Kellogg not only reaffirmed the traditional connection between European American women and American Indian scholarship, but in the absence of male historians' interest in the topic she pioneered the writing of Indian political history. In this regard Kellogg was an important chronicler of an otherwise neglected area of study and her work blazed a trail for other marginalized women historians who helped make Indian history a specialized field within the historical profession.⁵⁹⁵

That said, Kellogg's scholarship did not prompt widespread interest among American historians. Indian history was still considered a fringe subject that did not warrant specialized study. Kellogg found a place for Indians and women

⁵⁹⁵ James Alton James, “Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West” *Wisconsin State Historical Society* (1909): 125-142.

historians in frontier history, however she had not demonstrated a unique or singular importance for the new scholarship. The question remained, were Indians more than tangential to frontier history? The unequivocal answer would come from a woman historian who successfully bridged the regional chasm dividing male American historians of her day.⁵⁹⁶

Annie Heloise Abel and the Specialization of Indian Political History

Louise Phelps Kellogg's efforts to define Indian history as a specialized interest were realized through the scholarship of Annie Heloise Abel. Born in 1873, Abel was a native of Sussex, England who at age eleven immigrated with her older sisters to Salina, Kansas. Within a year the girls were joined by their father and mother who started a small farming venture. The year of Abel's arrival (1884) found Kansas booming. The new state's progress was conspicuous in its profusion of well-funded public schools.⁵⁹⁷

Abel attended Salina high school graduating in 1893. For the next two years Abel taught in the Kansas public school system. In 1895 Abel was accepted at the University of Kansas (KU). A state resident, Abel's undergraduate classes were free of charge. A studious ambitious student, Abel received a B. A. with honors in 1898. Following KU graduation Abel taught for a year at the Thomas

⁵⁹⁶ Kinnett, "Miss Kellogg's," 279-299. Kellogg's efforts at academic employment have not been addressed in detail, nor her publication history. A bibliography of Kellogg's published works does not appear to exist.

⁵⁹⁷ James S. Anderson, "Annie Heloise Abel (1873-1947), an Historian's History" (Ph. D. diss., Flinders University of South Australia, 2006), 1-7, 8-21. Anderson's dissertation is the only extant full-length biography of Abel.

county high school afterward taking a job at KU as a manuscript reader for the English department. The job required Abel and a cohort to grade student essays for each of the university disciplines. Within a year Able tired of marking “about 45,000 pages of manuscript” and resigned her position. Soon after, Abel was accepted by the KU graduate history program where she studied “Anglo-Saxon, Middle English and American History.”⁵⁹⁸

Abel's M. A. chair was the eminent historian Frank Haywood Hodder, who devoted his scholarly attention to state formation on the American frontier. A tedious but respected historian of Kansas, by the time he became Abel's thesis chair he was embroiled in a state-wide controversy surrounding his interpretation of the Kansas slavery debate. Accusing Hodder of slandering anti-slavery partisans amateur historian John Speer of the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) contended Hodder's work downplayed the moral and ethical arguments of Kansas abolitionists. Under attack by the politically connected Speer, Hodder soon found his KU position in jeopardy. The bloody battles of bleeding Kansas were not yet ready for the objective scrutiny of professional historians.⁵⁹⁹

Clearly shaken, Hodder consulted KU colleagues. Their unanimous recommendation was that he drop the matter and focus on American history. In

⁵⁹⁸ Anderson, 22-24.

⁵⁹⁹ Anderson, 26; James C. Malin, “Frank Heywood Hodder, 1860-1935” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* vol 5 no 2 (May, 1936): 115-121; John Speer, “Accuracy in History” in George W. Martin ed., *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, Kansas: W. Y. Morgan, 1900), 60-69. The history of the Kansas slavery debate remained a hot button issue into the early Twentieth Century. See, Randall B. Woods, “Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The 'Color Line' in Kansas, 1878-1900,” *Western Historical Quarterly* vol 14 no 2 (April, 1983): 181-198.

agreement Hodder publicly retreated from Kansas history and the slavery issue. Reflecting this reversal, Hodder also maneuvered his graduate students away from subjects touching on Kansas and the slavery debate – though not specifically from Kansas history. For Abel this unfortunate chain of events would definitively shape her own work.⁶⁰⁰

The origin of Abel's interest in American Indian history began in England. As a British citizen who became a naturalized American, Abel interpreted American Manifest Destiny as a natural extension of British colonialism. Abel's early tendency to equate an idealized British imperial benevolence with an idealized American Manifest Destiny reflected a popular British late Nineteenth Century mindset that shaped her early intellectual development. As a graduate student at KU Abel interpreted abolition and American Indian policy as legacies of British imperial benevolence. Abel was keen on examining this connection through the lens of Kansas history.⁶⁰¹

600 Malin, "Frank Haywood Hodder," 115-116; Anderson, 26; Suzanne Julin, "Annie Heloise Abel" in Shirley A. Leckie and Nancy J. Parezo eds., *Their Own Frontier: Women Intellectuals Re-Visioning the American West* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 47-48.

601 Abel's sentiments on a corollary between British and American imperialism were elaborated in later writings, most notably her collaboration with colleague and noted American historian of the British Empire Frank J. Klingberg. See, Annie Heloise Abel and Frank J. Klingberg, *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Lancaster Press, 1927), v-vi, 1-51. The Abel-Klingberg collaboration was dedicated to Frank Haywood Hodder. Abel and Klingberg also collaborated on research concerning letters in British archives written by the Tappan brothers to British abolitionists. Carter G. Woodson published extracts from these letters and a volume of the same. See, Jacqueline Anne Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 77. For the extent to which Abel's interest in a North American British colonial heritage mirrored the prevalent Imperialist or Anglo-Saxonist school of her dissertation mentor, Edward Gaylord Bourne see, Anderson, 62-67. For British Nineteenth-Century popular and political juxtaposition of British imperialism and American Manifest Destiny see, William M. Tuttle, jr., "Forerunners of Frederick Jackson Turner: Nineteenth-Century British Conservatives and the Frontier Thesis" *Agricultural History* vol 141 no 3 (July, 1967): 219-227. For an overview of

The aspiring historian quickly found that present history proved to be past politics. Given her M. A. chair's recent difficulties arising from slavery and abolition scholarship, Abel's interest in exploring a corollary between British colonialism and American westward expansion greatly alarmed Hodder. Realizing the subject could not be addressed without delving into slavery, abolition and the Civil War Hodder encouraged Abel to focus instead on Indian politics at the state level. A subject largely deemed exterior to “White” history, Hodder believed that his KSHS protagonists would find Indian politics of little concern. After some deliberation Abel decided to write her thesis on, “Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title.”⁶⁰²

Abel's thesis proved to effectively circumvent the concerns Speer and his KSHS compatriots raised about Hodder's Kansas slavery study. As important, in the opening paragraph Abel fashioned an argument she would use to navigate the perils of northern and southern regional sentiment throughout her career as an Indian historian. Taking up Turner's focus on the national significance of westward expansion Abel shrewdly dismissed slavery arguing, “[t]hose of us who are accustomed to regard the tariff, the national bank and negro slavery as the all-important issues... forget how intimately the aborigines were concerned in that estrangement of the North and South....” Replacing slavery as the pivotal dispute in American history Abel asserted, “the ‘Great American Desert’... was destined to

the humanitarian view of British imperialism see, Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York, New York: Basic Books, 2002).

602 Julin, “Annie Heloise Abel,” 47.

be the testing-ground... of the two principle theories connected with the sectional conflict—squatter sovereignty and Indian colonization⁶⁰³

Abel's argument effectively killed two birds with one stone. First it established a politically safe narrative for addressing those areas in which she felt U. S. national ethics were damaged by abrogation of the British colonial humanitarian legacy. Second, it allowed Abel to draw southern history into the westward sweep of the Frontier Thesis without a damning indictment of southern slave mongering. With this two pronged attack Abel made the North and South equally complicit in Indian Removal and the appropriation of Indian title. By disavowing the centrality of slavery Abel fabricated an historical contrivance that diplomatically reunited the North and South in a grand westward sweep. Abel would spend the remainder of her career as an Indian scholar burying the true cause of the Civil War under Indian treaties, Indian Removal, Indian wars and Indian reservations.⁶⁰⁴

After defense of her master's thesis 6 June 1900, Hodder successfully encouraged Abel to pursue a doctorate at Cornell University (Ithaca, New York). There Abel studied American history with Moses Coit Tyler a venerable founding father of the AHA. Unfortunately, Tyler died within months of Abel's arrival. Unimpressed with the remaining faculty and plagued by financial difficulties Abel

603 Annie Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title" (master's thesis, The University of Kansas, 1900), 1.

604 Ibid, 1-4, 10, 15-16, 38 and editorial note, 1. Abel was invited to read her thesis before a meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1902 and published by the same. Shortly thereafter it was submitted to the Yale University Bulkley award committee.

returned to Lawrence, Kansas in 1901. To make ends meet and pay for doctoral tuition at Kansas University, Abel taught history and politics at a local high school from 1901-1903. Abel's luck changed in early 1903 when she and KU colleague Frank J. Klingberg were awarded Bulkley (Yale University) scholarships in American History.⁶⁰⁵

With scholarship in hand, Abel was admitted to the Yale history doctoral program in 1903 (as was Klingberg) where she studied under Edward Gaylord Bourne. Having just distanced himself from the Arthur H. Clark *Philippines* project, Bourne encouraged Abel to expand her M. A. thesis into a broad dissertation topic that looked at Indian Removal as a national event. Abel settled on, "The History of the Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi." For Bourne, Abel's scholarship helped further redirect his interests toward the Mississippi Valley, while for Abel it circumvented the long-simmering North-South dispute among American historians. Nowhere was this tension more evident than among AHA members.⁶⁰⁶

Abel joined the AHA in 1903 but proved too shy to engage the politics of regional history within the organization. Perhaps for an aspiring western historian this was best, the AHA's internal power struggles would cause enduring fissures in

605 Anson Phelps Stoke, *Yale University Endowments: A Description of Various Gifts and Bequests Establishing Permanent University Funds* (New Haven, Connecticut: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Company, 1917), 79, University of California Academic Senate, "Frank J. Klingberg," 3-7. Anderson, 271, Abel, "Indian Reservations," editorial note 1. There is some discrepancy between the Anderson and Abel sources, but much of the confusion stems from the latter's editorial equation of the bachelor's degree earned in 1898 with the master's degree earned in 1900. The Kansas State Historical Society editor mistakenly referenced Abel's MA thesis as an article.

606 Julin, "Annie Heloise Abel," 48-49.

the history profession. While the 1915 revolt against founding members Herbert Baxter Adams, John Franklin Jameson and Frederick Jackson Turner is well known, few are aware of the earlier role dissatisfied southern historians played in helping western historians split from the AHA. The result of this discontent was the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (MVHA). Though generally a favorable development for Abel – given the MVHA's willingness to publish women's Indian scholarship – southern sensitivities within the early organization forced her to carefully navigate the issue of slavery.⁶⁰⁷

American West historian Ray Allen Billington argued in, “Tempest in Clio's Teapot: The American Historical Association Rebellion of 1915” that the infamous flap was the result of a misdirected reform effort fomented by amateur American slavery historian Frederic Bancroft. To achieve his goal Bancroft spitefully pitted western and southern historians like Clarence W. Alvord and Dunbar Rowland against his entrenched AHA “Eastern Establishment” foes. Bancroft and Dunbar created an uproar, however the events of 1915 were hardly the origin of southern and western regional discontent within the AHA. Such tensions dated to the early 1890s and by 1907-1908 had wedded the ambitions of western historians with the frustrations of southern historians annoyed by the AHA's tendency to link southern history with the specter of slavery. Unlike the rebellion of 1915, the events of 1907-1908 culminated in a separate historical association devoted to Mississippi

607 Anderson, “Annie Heloise Abel,” 118, 271; Aeschbacher, “The Mississippi Valley Historical Association,” 339-353.

Valley history and aptly named the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (MVHA).⁶⁰⁸

A brief analysis of those men who helped found the MVHA and their long-simmering regional resentments reveals why Bancroft so easily caused a stir in 1915 and why frontier/West historians before Annie Heloise Abel shunned the South's role in westward expansion.⁶⁰⁹ Traditional scholarship traces the origin of the MVHA to Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society. In October of 1907 Paine sent invitations to directors of historical societies within “those states embraced by the Louisiana Purchase,” calling for a meeting to create “a permanent organization for the advancement of historical research, and the collection and conservation of historical materials in these western states.” At the ensuing October 17-18 meeting in Lincoln, Nebraska representatives from Montana, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Ohio penned a provisional constitution and passed a motion to hold a joint meeting with the AHA in December.⁶¹⁰

While the Lincoln conference was attended by western interests – including Arthur H. Clark, it was the joint December meeting with the American Historical

608 Ray Allen Billington, “Tempest in Clio's Teapot: The American Historical Association Rebellion of 1915” *The American Historical Review* vol 78 no 2 (April, 1973): 348-369. Notably, West coast historians organized a Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA in 1904 largely due to the difficulty and cost of traveling across country to attend AHA meetings primarily held on the East coast. See, Frank Harmon Garver, “Forty Years of Pacific Coast Branch History,” *Pacific Historical Review* vol 16 no 3 (August 1947): 237-267.

609 Billington, 349.

610 Solon J. Buck, “Clarence Walworth Alvord, Historian,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 15 no 3 (December, 1928): 314-317; Aeschbacher, “The Mississippi Valley,” 339-342.

Association that proved most important. During that conference an enduring West-South alliance was formed and southerners gained influence over the early MVHA. Foremost in this grand union were Illinois State Historical Library (ISHS) director Clarence W. Alvord, Alabama State Archive and History Department (ASAHD) director Thomas M. Owen and Mississippi State Archive and History Department (MSAHD) director Dunbar Rowland. A notable triumvirate, each would play a crucial role in linking Mississippi Valley southern and western interests.⁶¹¹

Born three years after the Civil War Clarence W. Alvord spent his youth in Massachusetts. Later Alvord attended Williams College (Massachusetts) and Friedrich Wilhelm University (Berlin, Germany) where he graduated with a degree in history. At age 28 Alvord moved to Illinois where he accepted a position at the University of Chicago teaching English and French North American colonial history. Alvord's interests in the colonial period contributed to his discovery of the famous Cahokia Manuscripts which chronicled the Virginia period of Illinois history. Shortly after this significant find Alvord was offered a more lucrative position at the Illinois State Historical Library.⁶¹²

As a researcher and editor at ISHL Alvord published the massive *The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* which also satisfied the requirements for a doctorate from the University of Illinois. Through his ISHL position Alvord launched a life-long study of British colonialism in America. This work would inform every aspect

611 Grivas, "The Arthur H. Clark Company," 71.

612 Buck, "Clarence Walworth Alvord," 309.

of Alvord's historical thought and encourage a comprehensive view of American history. Alvord's broad historical vision served him well as director of an historical library that was a research hub for northern, northwestern and southern scholars. In turn Alvord's vast intellectual curiosity fostered a magnanimity in his dealings with regional historians that was repaid in kind. Not surprisingly Alvord was elected the MVHA's first vice president, a position designed to mediate differences within the organization. At the 1908 MVHA inaugural meeting in Minnetonka, Minnesota, Alvord demonstrated his ability to negotiate regional sensitivities with Turnerian diplomacy, "the planting of Boonsboro in Kentucky or of Marietta in Ohio is of equal importance to the landing of the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth."⁶¹³

In the audience were two of the most defiant Redeemer historians and Ku Klux Klan sympathizers of the period, the newly elected MVHA president and head of the Alabama Son's of the Confederacy, Thomas McAdory Owens and Mississippi Redeemer propagandist, Dunbar Rowland. Remarkably during the six months that separated the December 1907 joint AHA exploratory conference from the inaugural MVHA meeting in June of 1908, a small group of southern historians had ingratiated themselves into what was to become the nation's foremost proponent of Turner's Frontier Thesis. The determination with which Owen and Rowland latched onto the MVHA and assumed leadership roles was driven by their dissatisfaction with the AHA's approach to southern history.⁶¹⁴

613 Buck, 309-320; James L. Sellers, "Before We Were Members—The MVHA," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 40 no 1 (June, 1953): 3, 10.

614 For the political and historical scope of southern Redeemer thought see, C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 177-1913* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press,

The MVHA's first president, Thomas M. Owen was the founding father of Redeemer history and helped bring a distinctively southern sensitivity to the new association. Born 15 December, 1866 in Jonesboro, Alabama, Owen came of age in the cradle of the old Confederacy. A graduate of Alabama University he entered law and politics, quickly rising to leadership of the Jefferson county Democratic party. As party chairman Owen came to appreciate the political power of history, particularly the idyllic, fabricated Redeemer viewpoint. To the detriment of his legal practice, Owen merged political ambitions with private historical research. It was in this dual position as a rising political force and Redeemer historian that Owen met and married Marie Bankhead, daughter of the infamous former Alabama State Warden, Ku Klux Klan sympathizer and U. S. Congressman, John H. Bankhead.⁶¹⁵

Through the influence of his father-in-law, Owen enjoyed patronage in Washington that enabled him to continue historical research at the National Archives. In Washington Owen continued to promote Redeemer history and in

1971), 1-23, 321-349; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (Oxford, England: The Oxford University Press, 1955), chaps., 1-2. Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History: Dunbar Rowland and the Beginning of the State Archives of Mississippi, 1902-1936," *The American Archivist* vol 69 no 1 (Spring-Summer, 2006): 83-91. Owen and Rowland were well-placed members of the AHA. See, N.a., *Officers, Committees, Act of Incorporation, Constitution, List of Members* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1911), 87, 99.

⁶¹⁵ For MVHA's early Turnerian disposition and its enduring interest in the history of American culture, see, Theodore C. Blegen, "Our Widening Province," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 31 no 1 (June, 1944): 3-6, 13; Buck, 6. For Owen see, Thomas H. Owen and Marie Bankhead Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, Illinois: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), preface, vii-xiii. For John H. Bankhead see, W. David Lewis, *Sloss Furnaces and the Rise of the Birmingham District: An Industrial Epic* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1994), 153-154; Woodward, *Origin*, 213.

1896 was instrumental in founding the Southern History Association (SHA). Taking advantage of a southern upswing in Confederate nostalgia (which he helped cultivate) Owen returned to Alabama in 1897 and drafted legislation for an Alabama State Archives and History Department (ASAHD). With the support of Congressman Bankhead and Redeemer politicians the legislation passed 27 February, 1901. Alabama became the first state in the Union to create a department level state historical society.⁶¹⁶

Not surprisingly the ASAHD board named Owen director in March. From this position Owen developed what would become known as the Alabama Plan (AP) – the cultural and political forerunner of the infamous Mississippi Plan (MP). Although many scholars present the MP as a political venture designed to disfranchise African American voters, it was actually grounded in a contrived historical viewpoint honed by Owen.⁶¹⁷

Owen's AP consisted of two goals. The first involved a region-wide campaign to collect and preserve documents germane to the Redeemer view of southern history. The second concerned the creation of regional southern state archive and historical departments devoted to the collection of Confederate documents. Ultimately, Owen united with “the same kinds of men across the South, [and] one significant purpose of their labor was the creation of a monument to the Lost Cause of the Confederacy.” Through Owen many of these men also

⁶¹⁶ Owen, vii-xiii; Galloway, 86.

⁶¹⁷ Owen, vii-xiii; Galloway, 86.

became members of the MVHA.⁶¹⁸

Owen found his first disciple in Franklin L. Riley, a Mississippi historian who had studied institutional history under Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins and later became the University of Mississippi's first professor of history in 1897. Riley took up Owen's Alabama Plan in 1902 and guided a parallel Mississippi Plan through the state legislature. That year the Mississippi State Archive and History Department came into existence.⁶¹⁹

Owen's second convert would be fellow SHA and MVHA member, Dunbar Rowland. Although Riley founded the MSAHD, the politically connected Rowland soon became MSAHD director. The son of a wealthy Yazoo Delta (Mississippi) physician and scion of a prestigious planter lineage, Rowland, like his Alabama colleague Owen, was deeply invested in the Redeemer narrative. Rowland also depended on the political graces of a powerful Mississippi Ku Klux Klan

618 Galloway, "Archive's Power and History," 82. Existing scholarship tends to downplay or ignore the Ku Klux Klan sympathies and Redeemer agendas of Owen and Rowland. While Owen and Rowland were savvy enough to navigate non-southern and unsympathetic conclaves of professional historians, their own interests and scholarship clearly demonstrate a strong pro-Redeemer bias. More so, scholarship also treats as an imponderable the concurrent paucity of southern documents and archival material concerning plantation and slavery history. The implication being that simply because Owen and Rowland noted a particular paucity of such information they were likewise interested in actually acquiring it. An examination of their scholarship and activities demonstrates they were at worst obstructionists and at least indifferent to unflattering southern history. The fact that neither Owen or Rowland had trouble locating and archiving reams of Confederate Government and Confederate War documents, as well as early southern historical documents (non-slavery) sheds light on their interests and agenda. Like James A. LeRoy, the point in question is not the quality or accuracy of their archival work, but rather the extent to which each man and their related cohorts engaged in blatant historical propaganda. This in turn raises serious questions about the slavery and plantation documentation that was eventually collected beginning in the mid 1900s. See, John David Smith, *Slavery, Race, and American History: Historical Conflict, Trends, and Method, 1866-1953* (New York, New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1999), chaps., 13-14.

619 Galloway, 84-86.

sympathizer, Senator Edward C. Walthall. Like the KKK and Redeemer cohort surrounding Owen, a powerful group of southern men supported Rowland's scholarship. Given the anti-tax, anti-government policies of the Alabama and Mississippi Redeemer regimes, it is clear that their uncharacteristic generosity in establishing state funded history departments was more in the interest of Lost Cause propaganda than public altruism. In any event, the odious scholarship that won Owen and Rowland their state positions, also informed their MVHA activities.⁶²⁰

As guardians of southern history Owen and Rowland would carry on a multi-decade grudge against the AHA (until their deaths) and its purportedly slim attention to “accurate” southern history. Owen and Rowland's contentions aside, southern history was copiously covered by AHA historians. The dean of southern institutional history, Herbert Baxter Adams and *American Historical Review* editor, John Franklin Jameson actually published hundreds of articles on southern history between 1895-1928. Given that Adams's approach was not dripping with Redeemer nostalgia and Jameson focused on addressing “the history of southern slavery as a whole,” the problem for Owen and Rowland was not quantity but rather content.

620 Stephen Edward Cresswell, *Rednecks, Redeemers and Race: Mississippi After Reconstruction, 1877-1917* (Tupelo, Mississippi: The University Press of Mississippi, 2006), 92; Woodward, *Origin*, 213. Ibid, 86-89. Dunbar Rowland, “The Rise and Fall of Negro Rule in Mississippi,” *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* vol 2 (1899): 189-200; Rowland, “Plantation Life in Mississippi Before the War,” *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* vol 3 (1900): 85-98; Rowland, “Political and Parliamentary Orators and Oratory in Mississippi,” *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* vol 4 (1901): 357-400. Thomas McAdory Owen and Marie Bankhead Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, Illinois: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 1182.

An examination of MVHA records reveals that while Owen, Rowland and their southern cohort did not insist on an overt Redeemer narrative in the organization, they did create an intellectual environment that discouraged slavery scholarship. No early MVHA scholarship was devoted to the westward expansion of southern slavery. A smattering of MVHA annual meeting papers from 1908-1913 touched on issues related to slavery but were apologetic in nature. Representative was E. M. Violette's "The Black Code in Missouri" which argued, "it was only when the free negro became troublesome that the Black Codes became more severe." As an aspiring western historian Annie Heloise Abel's career prospects rested on her ability to navigate the regional sensitivities of such MVHA members. In this respect the Redeemer pall cast over the organization and the general Turnerian indifference to slave and Indian history threatened her own scholarly and academic interests.⁶²¹

While Abel would become a celebrated member of the AHA, the organization's *American Historical Review* notoriously discriminated against women scholars whose interests fell outside the Northeast. More damning, *AHR* editor John Franklin Jameson disliked Abel's writing and was particularly unimpressed with her scholarship. In contrast the MVHA's *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (*MVHR*) under Clarence W. Alvord's editorship was well-known for publishing the work of women historians. While Abel's dissertation won the

621 Benjamin F. Shabaugh, *The Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society* vol 1-15 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1909-1913), passim. E. M. Violette, "The Black Code in Missouri," in ed., Benjamin F. Shabaugh, *The Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society* vol 6 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1913): 287-316.

AHA Justin Winsor award and was published in the 1906 *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (against Jameson's wishes) many of her published articles would appear in the *MVHR*. Publication in the *MVHR* demonstrated Abel's ability to navigate the organization's southern and western sentiments.⁶²²

Gone With The Wind: Ethnology, Slaves and Colonial Humanitarianism

The intellectual environment that shaped Abel during her Yale doctoral work reflected a professional trend toward comity – decorous peer review and solidarity in public. This sentiment also characterized the profession's approach to North-South regionalism. While, a less flattering but largely diplomatic southern history was promulgated by Adams and Jameson through the *AHR*, AHA member William Archibald Dunning of Columbia University successfully promulgated misleading scholarship on imaginary Reconstruction outrages and so-called Negro rule. Dunning avoided outright insult to his northern peers by making African Americans responsible for both the Civil War and its aftermath. Adams, Jameson and Dunning aside, most AHA members were unwilling to fuel any kind of professional dissension. The practical effect was that American history remained captive to a North-South narrative defined by unwritten but well-known

⁶²² Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise*, 97; John Franklin Jameson, Mary Rothberg, Jacqueline Goggin and others, *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 74-75. It is important to remember that while members of the MVHA most western historians also retained membership in the AHA. A notable example was Frederick Jackson Turner. Annie Heloise Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," N.a., *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1908), 233-450.

parameters. Colleagues expected fellow American historians to avoid inflammatory rhetoric or polemical scholarship that might foster such animosity. Ultimately, keeping regional interests amicably bound within a professional code of conduct gave form to what Peter Novick called the professional regime of “*credat emptor*” – or very nicely disputed history.⁶²³

As Hodder discovered in his own experience with the slavery debate, inflaming regional discontent could harm one's career. When Abel proposed her dissertation subject to Bourne and Adams in 1903 the professional stakes could not have been higher and for their part neither would follow a graduate student down a rabbit hole. Having already linked British colonialism and United States Indian policy, Abel's deepening interest in American slavery pointed her on a dangerous professional path. Fortunately Abel's studies with Bourne and Adams helped her develop a smart dissertation strategy that avoided regional pitfalls.⁶²⁴

Abel's class notes during this period shed light on how Bourne and Adams shaped her early ideas about a North American British colonial heritage into a refined critique of American philanthropic and humanitarian failures. As scholars Bourne and Adams had developed national reputations for their respective Americanist and European scholarship. With Adams Abel focused on the American

⁶²³ Peter Novick, *That Nobel Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 57-60, 200-202. For Turner's position in soothing sectional tensions see, Ray Allen Billington, *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971), 6, 29, 235-236; Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 245-247.

⁶²⁴ Anderson, “Annie Heloise Abel,” 62-67.

application of English constitutional history and law, while Bourne pointed her attention to British colonial policy in the early republic.⁶²⁵

Abel's outline for Adams' "British Constitution" seminar reveals the extent to which he deepened her admiration for British colonialism. Abel underscored Adams' contention that "[C]onstitutional governments are derived from England wherever they are found... [E]nglish institutions have made a conquest of the whole world." Abel also took Adams' "Magna Carta and English History to the Tudors" seminar. In her "Magna Carta" class notes Abel exclaimed, "This is an outline of what we most need in History... [i]t introduces the elements of our own race and institutions."⁶²⁶

With Bourne, Abel studied South American constitutions and colonial American charters. Additionally, Abel took Bourne's "American History from Madison to Lincoln" seminar which focused on the constitutional crisis surrounding the Louisiana Purchase. The seminar discussion was built around Max Farrand's 1904 *AHR* article, "Compromises of the Constitution." Farrand argued that scholars had incorrectly privileged the Constitutional Convention slavery debate, when in fact the admission of western states proved far more pressing.⁶²⁷

Citing a private discussion with Frederick Jackson Turner, Farrand argued that the old eastern states (North and South) feared the prospect of new western states more than the extension of slavery. Consequently, the new Constitution gave

625 Anderson, 65-66.

626 Ibid.

627 Anderson, 66; Max Farrand, "Compromises of the Constitution," *American Historical Review* vol 9 (April 1904): 479-489.

Congress virtually unrestricted jurisdiction over new U. S. acquisitions and territories. For Abel the implication was profound, Farrand clarified a matter suggested by her M. A. thesis – Congress had Constitutional authority to administer the Louisiana Purchase including the power to create Indian reservations, an Indian territory and an all-Indian state.⁶²⁸ Abel gave this idea mature form in her dissertation. Enlarging the M. A. thesis she argued that Indian removal policy and plans for an Indian state West of the Mississippi originated with Thomas Jefferson. It seems likely that Abel's dissertation was also shaped by Nathaniel T. Bacon's 1901 *Yale Review* article, “Some Insular Questions” which touched on Jefferson's support for a general slave and Indian colonization plan out West.⁶²⁹

Drafted between 1903 and 1905, Abel's “The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River” was based on the assertion that, “[r]emoval... was... absolutely original with Jefferson....”⁶³⁰ The dissertation traced Jefferson's early attempts at removal through to the Indian diaspora initiated by John Quincy Adams. Abel's argument built on the premise that American Indian policy from Jefferson to Jackson followed the humanitarian principles of British colonialism – namely moving subject peoples toward either assimilation or sovereign status.⁶³¹

An innovative argument for the time, Abel based her contention on

628 Farrand, 483-484.

629 It is worth noting that Edward Gaylord Bourne was a principle editor of the *Yale Review* and the Farrand article used in his Madison-Jefferson seminar cited material used in the Bacon article.

Nathaniel T. Bacon, “Some Insular Questions,” *Yale Review* vol 10 no 1 (May 1901): 159-178.

630 Annie Heloise Abel, “The History of Events,” 233-413, 244.

631 Abel, “The History,” passim.

Jefferson's proposed 1803 constitutional amendment. The amendment would have provided a legal framework for acquiring the Louisiana Territory and setting it aside for Indian colonization. Though a brilliant work of historical analysis, the tactical triumph of Abel's dissertation was in its regional reconciliation. Ascribing northern and southern removal to distinct chapters, Abel described the process as a truly national effort consistent with Jefferson's intentions. At the head of the federal removal effort Abel discovered two southerners, President James Monroe and vice President John C. Calhoun. Abel lauded Monroe and Calhoun's humanitarian and philanthropic motives. In Abel's hands, the southern role in Indian Removal became one of balancing the demands of an expanding and ambitious European American population with the moral obligation to protect, civilize and Christianize the Indians.⁶³²

Specifically examining Georgia's role Abel argued that prior to Indian Removal Georgia had not benefited from large Indian cessions, consequently its non-Indian farming and mining populace had no hope of acquiring additional land. Reversing the traditional critique of Georgian land greed, Abel held that much of Georgia's removal mania resulted from unfavorable Indian treaties. As such Abel argued Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase with an eye toward alleviating burgeoning strife in Georgia.

Abel ultimately deemed Indian Removal an institutional and moral failure because, “[t]he Indian state, which Calhoun had hinted at and Barbour had planned,

⁶³² Abel, “The History,” 296-321.

was never created....” Abel noted, “[t]he best criticism that can be passed upon Indian removal is that it was a plan too hastily and too partially carried into execution for its real and underlying merits ever to be realized....” Abel concluded the result of this swift and incomplete venture was that, “before the primary removals had all taken place, the secondary had begun, and the land that was to belong to the Indian in perpetuity was in the white man's market.”⁶³³

By linking western settlement to Indian Removal rather than the contentious issue of slavery, Abel found a safe way to discuss the abrogation of America's colonial humanitarian heritage and the westward movement of American history without provoking sectional controversy. Abel broke through the regional history ceiling in large part by outwitting all-to-delicate southern historical sensibilities. It was a short triumph.⁶³⁴

Where Abel's work might otherwise have taken its place on a dusty shelf alongside the scholarship of her contemporaries, the novelty of her argument, the influence of her committee members and their AHA leadership positions guaranteed that her dissertation would reach a wider audience. In a gesture meant to honor the dying Bourne, the aged Adams as well as Abel, in 1905 the AHA Justin Winsor Prize committee selected her dissertation and published it in the AHA annual records –but not without dissension. An unfavorable “anonymous” critique (Jameson) appended the publication. Mirroring private remarks made to Andrew

633 Ibid., 412.

634 Abel, 332-343.

C. McLaughlin, Jameson sniffed that Abel's dissertation had been written with “not much literary skill nor with great insight into the political affairs of men.” More specifically Jameson contended that Indian Removal schemes predated Jefferson and Indian sovereignty effectively ended with Grant's Peace Policy.⁶³⁵

The record does not reveal Abel's response to Jameson's remarks, but with the admission of Oklahoma as a state she found occasion to revise her dissertation thesis. In a paper read before the 1907 AHA annual meeting she asserted “[t]he recent admission to statehood of Oklahoma, with its mixture of red, black, and white inhabitants, marks the definitive abandonment of an idea that had previously been advocated at intervals for more than a hundred years.” Notably, Abel backed away from her contention that Jefferson originated Indian Removal. Abel concluded, “After 1878 there was practically no thought whatsoever of allowing the aborigines a separate existence as an integral part of the Union, and the spasmodic efforts of a hundred years had failed.” Abel had responded to Jameson.⁶³⁶

The logical progression of Abel's scholarship as noted in her dissertation would have been a history of the removed tribes since 1866. Abel's 1907 AHA paper had already prepped the intellectual ground and drawn on preliminary research. This trajectory would have required extensive use of sociological,

⁶³⁵ Anderson, 97-98. Anderson does not identify the author of the criticism, but given that Jameson was the editor of AHA publications and that the phrase used in the criticism exactly mirrored his documented private comments to Andrew C. McLaughlin it is clear that Jameson was the anonymous critic. Jameson, *John Franklin Jameson and the Development*, 74-75.

⁶³⁶ Annie H. Abel, “Proposals for an Indian State, 1778-1878,” N.a., *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* vol 1 1907 (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1909), 87-104.

anthropological and ethnological material. However, in the interval between the presentation of Abel's 1907 AHA paper and its publication in 1909 two events would undercut her planned Indian scholarship.

In February of 1908 Abel's mentor and professional guide, Edward Gaylord Bourne died. This void was filled by Bourne's close colleague George Burton Adams, Abel's well-liked graduate European studies professor and doctoral committee member. Already an advocate, Adams became her new professional mentor.⁶³⁷

Adams's election to the AHA presidency in December of 1908 seemed a professional boon for Abel, but his inaugural address cast a life-long shadow over the further development of her Indian scholarship. Titled, "History and the Philosophy of History," Adams's address solidified a set of previously amorphous historical guidelines notably favored by Frederick Jackson Turner and western historians. Regarding the late Nineteenth Century assent of social sciences within the academy Adams proclaimed, "there arose a variety of new interests, new groups of scholars formed themselves... all concerned with the same facts of the past which it is our business to study." Adams complained that the "new sciences" were so "severely critical" of professional historians that "our right to the field is now called in question, our methods, our results and our ideas are assailed...."⁶³⁸

Adams then proceeded to delineate the offenders: political science,

637 James Ford Rhodes, *Historical Essays* (New York, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909), 191-200.

638 George Burton Adams, "History and the Philosophy of History," *The American Historical Review* vol 14 no 2 (January, 1909): 221-236.

“geographers” (Evolution theorists), economic theorists, sociologists and folk-psychologists. These five, all within the purview of anthropology and ethnology were denounced as a fifth column chipping away at the validity of historical scholarship.⁶³⁹ Adams then warned, “in my opinion this allied attack upon our field of history by the five divisions... is not an affair of the moment...” Against this assault Adams called on professional historians to remember, “[a]ll science which is true science must rest upon the proved and correlated fact... [i]t can have no other foundation than this.” Dismissing the work of those who would displace professional historians, Adams added, “generalization from hasty observation, from half-understood facts, is useless [as history] and often worse than useless.”⁶⁴⁰

Eschewing contemporaneous interdisciplinary practices, Adams resolutely affirmed the study of documents noting, “[t]he field of the historian is, and must long remain, the discovery and recording of what actually happened.” While other historians were free to disregard Adams's sentiments and indeed the matter was far more contentious within the profession, Abel's career prospects were closely tied to her mentor's good graces. As such Abel's hope to, “be able to continue the present work along the line of the effect of the actual removals,” effectively came to a close. The trek down that path would have to wait for another historian.⁶⁴¹

Over the next two decades Abel's American Indian scholarship unfortunately parroted the racial sentiments of the time. Based in part on research

639 Adams, 224-227.

640 Ibid., 228-229, 235-236.

641 Adams, 236; Abel, *The History.*, 237.

conducted while a historian for the United States Office of Indian Affairs (she was hired part-time in 1913) in 1915 Abel published, *The Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*. A response to Woodrow Wilson's re-segregated Washington, Abel brazenly mollified the southern segregationist sentiments of the new administration. The deftness with which Abel warped Indian history in order to placate the new southern regime offers a disturbing insight into the political plasticity of Indian scholarship.⁶⁴²

The Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist was clearly aimed at a segregationist audience with the intent of leveling northern condemnation of the Confederacy and its racial policies. She noted, “[t]he Confederacy was offering... [the Five Tribes] political integrity and political equality and was establishing over... [their] country, not simply an empty wardship, but a bonafide protectorate....” Abel continued, “[t]hey were slave holding tribes... supposed... to have no interest whatsoever in a sectional conflict that involved the very existence of the 'peculiar institution'....” In ascribing blame for Confederate sympathies within the Five Tribes, Abel asserted, “the federal government left them to themselves at the critical moment... and then was indignant that they betrayed a sectional affiliation....”⁶⁴³

642 Annie Heloise Abel, *The Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur C. Clark Company, 1915). Kathleen Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation,” *The Journal of Negro History* vol 44 no 2 (April, 1959): 158-173; Morton Sosna, “The South in the Saddle: Racial Politics During the Wilson Years,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* vol 51 no 1 (Autumn, 1970): 30-49; Kenneth O'Reilly, “The Jim Crow Policies of Woodrow Wilson,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* no 17 (Autumn, 1997): 117-119.

643 Abel, *The Indian as Slaveholder*, 14.

Betraying the political environment of the day and Abel's awareness of Wilson era federal racial policy, she included an unusual and largely disingenuous disclaimer, “[t]he author deems it of no slight advantage... that her educational training so largely American as it is, has been gained without regard to a particular locality.” Abel further noted that she “belongs to no section of the Union, has lived, for longer or shorter periods in all sections, and has developed no local bias.” Abel emphasized that it was her “sincere wish that no charge of prejudice can, in ever so small a degree, be sustained by the evidence, presented here or elsewhere....” A Kansan who acquired the B. A. and M. A. at Kansas University, Abel's assertion that she retained no regional bias was untrue, but given that she was desperate to keep her part-time job at the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), the declaration did not have to be true, only politically effective.⁶⁴⁴

In 1915 Abel also published documents she discovered in the OIA archive as *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*. This publication was informative, not so much for what it revealed about Calhoun, but rather for Abel's lengthy introduction outlining OIA politics and funding. While politically cautious, a read between the lines reveals that Abel's sudden burst of publication between 1913-1915 was in a bid to retain funding for her OIA position and clearly aimed at southern Democrats who served on the respective Congressional Indian Affairs Committees. For an historian who began her career studying Indians in the context of British colonial policy, Abel no longer saw Indian history as a regional bridge,

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 14-15.

but rather as a lifeline for a precarious position in public history.⁶⁴⁵

Between 1915-1916 Abel would take a more secure position as an assistant professor at Smith College (women's college in Northampton, Massachusetts) and by 1916 became a full professor. At Smith, Abel began publishing annotated volumes of original documents discovered during her tenure at OIA that would mark the remainder of her career. Additionally in 1919 Abel published a companion volume to her *The American Indian as Slaveholder* that addressed the contentious issue of Indian service in World War I. *The American Indian as Slaveholder* had become a series.⁶⁴⁶

Titled *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, volume two reflected the assimilation ideology of Abel's former OIA boss, Cato Sells. A Wilson Democratic political appointee Sells empathized with the Indian "Americanization" program of Rodman Wannmaker and Joseph Dixon. Like Dixon, Sells fervently believed that Indian service in World War I would lead to full assimilation. Concurrence with Sells proved a professional boon for Abel.⁶⁴⁷

The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War placed Indians into the

645 Annie Heloise Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1915), x-xi.

646 Anderson, 271-272, Harry Kelsey, "Annie Heloise Abel-Henderson, 1873-1947," *Arizona and the West* vol 15 no 1 (Spring, 1973), 2-3.

647 For Rodman Wanamaker, Joseph Dixon and the Americanization plan see, Richard Lindstrom, "Not from the Land Side, but from the Flag Side': Native American Responses to the Wanamaker Expedition," *Journal of Social History* vol 30 no 1 (Autumn, 1996): 209-227; Russel Lawrence Barsh, "War and the Reconfiguring of American Indian Society," *Journal of American Studies*, vol 35 (2001): 3, 371-410. For Cato Sells and the campaign to allow Indian service in WWI see, Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Dough boy: The National Debate Over Integrating Indians into the Military," *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol 17 no 4 (October, 1986): 417-432; Russel Lawrence Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," *Ethnohistory* vol 38 no 3 (Summer, 1991): 276-303.

most quintessentially nostalgic American role of the Wilson era – as Civil War combatants. Adding historical weight to Sells' Indian military service claim, Abel's scholarship helped quash antiquated arguments that characterized Indian men as lazy, ignorant, shiftless, disloyal and treacherous savages. In Abel's second volume Confederate Indians were depicted as honorable, loyal principled Americans who sacrificed their fortunes and their lives for their freedom. Indeed Abel's depiction of Cherokee Confederate General Stand Watie was strikingly similar to contemporaneous valorizations of Robert E. Lee.⁶⁴⁸ Abel's conclusion definitively cast Confederate Indian soldiers as loyal to the very end noting, “[t]he Indian had made an alliance with the southern Confederacy in vain.”⁶⁴⁹

Abel's Removal series would be completed in 1925 with the publication of *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* – the third and final volume tracing Removal to 1866. Abel argued American Indians who participated in the Civil War – both as Unionist and Secessionist – were victims of failed Confederate aspirations and Union incompetence. Abel concluded that the renegotiated treaties of 1866 were far more severe than Union demands placed on former Confederate states seeking readmission to the Union. Reflecting the then dominant thesis in Reconstruction scholarship, Abel transformed the Five Tribes into quintessential Reconstruction victims. Abel's scholarship left the removed Indians as little more

648 David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2001), 359-361; Abel Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1919), 113-198, 210-272, 300-328.

649 For redemption of the Confederacy and elevation of the Rebel soldier see, Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 1-25, chaps., 7-10. Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 334-335.

than broken wards of a fickle federal overlord. This image would not be corrected for almost two decades.⁶⁵⁰

Thus a scholarly career that began with an inquest into the relationship between American Indian Removal and British colonial policy, ended with Abel's portrayal of Indians as the ultimate Civil War casualties. The scholarly ease with which Abel moved the slave holders of the Five Tribes from removed slave mongers, to valiant secessionists and American military heroes, and finally to pitiful victims of northern Reconstruction reflected both the rapidity with which the national Civil War narrative changed and the degree to which Abel's own professional viability was bound to that change.

The remainder of Abel's professional career steered away from Indian scholarship toward document publication. Following the trail blazed by Thwaites, Blair and Kellogg, Abel concluded her academic enterprise with the publication of colonial era documents such as, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839* and *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*. However, even in this Abel would prove a link to the next generation of women American Indian scholars. For a season Abel's revival of colonial era document publication would inspire two Oklahoma women scholars of American Indians named Anna L. Lewis and Muriel H. Wright. Both women were ultimately frustrated in their historical pursuits. The fulfillment of Abel's scholarship would have to wait for another

⁶⁵⁰ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 74-77; Eric Foner and Joshua Brown, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation and Reconstruction* (New York, New York: Vintage, 2006), xxii-xxviii. Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1925), passim.

Oklahoma woman historian. Almost three decades after *The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation* was published, Angie Debo took up Abel's proposal for a post 1866 study of Removed Indians.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁵¹ Annie Heloise Abel, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Bison Books, 1997); Annie Heloise Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

Chapter Nine

Deja Vu: Oklahoma Women and the New Ethno-Political Indian History

As an historian (like all historians) Anna L. Lewis had her flaws. Lewis' published scholarship, largely composed of questionable translations of antique documents was often dry and tedious, reflecting the style and scholarship of Emma Helen Blair and Louise Phelps Kellogg. More troubling, Lewis' documentation was imprecise at times obscuring the boundaries between her own scholarship and that of a quoted source. Yet the scholarly impact of her life and experiences exceeded her own academic accomplishments. As the first doctor of history awarded by the University of Oklahoma and the first American Indian to earn a Ph.D. at OU, a second generation Removal Choctaw and an outspoken advocate of Indian history, Lewis had a unique bearing on the new ethno-political history that would be penned by Angie Debo. Lewis' remarkable story encapsulates the very issues of personal and group sovereignty that vitalized Debo's scholarship and pushed it beyond the imperialist assumptions of her contemporaries.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵² While Lewis was the first American Indian to earn a Ph.D. at the University of Oklahoma (and the first graduate student to earn a history doctorate from OU) she was not the first Oklahoma Indian woman to earn a history doctorate. That honor went to Rachel Caroline Eaton, a Cherokee who earned a doctorate in history from the University of Chicago in 1921. See, Muriel H. Wright, "Rachel Caroline Eaton," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 16 no 4 (December, 1938): 509; Devon A. Mihesuah, "Rachel Caroline Eaton," in Gretchen M. Bataille and Laurie Lisa, eds., *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2001), 101.

Down in the Old Nation

Anna Lezola Lewis was born 25 October 1885, near the town of Cameron in the Choctaw Nation to Elizabeth Ann Moore Lewis, a full blood Choctaw and William Ainsworth Lewis, an enterprising European American rancher.⁶⁵³ A poor land-less southern refugee from post-Reconstruction Georgia, William Lewis migrated to the Choctaw Nation in 1872 and settled in the vicinity of Kully Chaha. By Choctaw law as a European American William Lewis could not remain in the Nation or claim land without acquiring Choctaw citizenship – either by tribal adoption or through marriage to a Choctaw citizen. In 1877 William Lewis solved this dilemma when he married Elizabeth Ann Moore, the great-granddaughter of legendary traditionalist Choctaw chief Nita-oshe. Between 1877 and 1899 Elizabeth Lewis gave birth to ten children, seven of whom survived infancy.⁶⁵⁴ Through marriage to Elizabeth, William Lewis gained citizenship in the Choctaw Nation and use of the tribe's collectively held land. By way of his access to Choctaw grazing pastures, William Lewis quickly built a highly profitable range cattle business and eventually used his growing wealth to venture into banking. By

653 Much of the material on Anna L. Lewis came from an earlier published article by the author. The author would like to thank Dr. Lynn Musslewhite and the publication committee of the *Great Plains Journal* for their gracious permission to reuse this material. John Mark Rhea, "Creating a Place for Herself in History: Anna Lewis' Journey from Tuskahoma to the University of Oklahoma, 1903-1930," *Great Plains Journal* vol 45 (2009): 26-51.

654 Winnidell Gravitt Wilson, "Anna Lezola Lewis, Phd. 1885-1961," (n.p., n.d), *Anna Lewis Collection, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma*. The Anna Lewis Collection is housed at the USAO Nash Library. This is a short unpublished biography of Anna Lewis authored by her niece, Mrs. Wilson. Recently deceased, Mrs. Wilson devoted much of her time and energy to preserving and promoting Dr. Lewis' unique contributions to Oklahoma women's history, the history profession, and her legacy at the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma.

1883 William and Elizabeth were of sufficient means to hire European American missionaries as governesses for their younger children.⁶⁵⁵

During these early years, Anna Lewis was kept close to Choctaw culture and history. Through the influence of her mother and maternal relatives Anna was given instruction in traditional Choctaw lore by tribal elders. From an early age Anna was trained as a Choctaw “wise person” and entrusted with tribal history. Early instruction in Choctaw culture, language and history would deeply influence Lewis as an educator and professional historian.

To this end years later as chair of the Oklahoma Women's College history department Lewis established a small campus museum with an impressive array of pan-Indian artifacts including a spinning wheel from the home of John Ross, a Comanche feathered war bonnet, a Comanche “beaded feather-tipped ceremonial wand that belonged to Tauwr,” a pipe from the prehistoric mounds near Newkirk, Oklahoma and a Comanche beaded neck pouch containing a “mescal bean” and belt. Lewis also published articles on Choctaw culture that emphasized traditional land claims. In public lectures Lewis explored various Indian origin stories and the history of Indian Removal. A pervasive theme in Lewis' scholarship was Indian sovereignty and minority rights. She argued, “[p]eoples all over the world cannot be free, free to carry out their ideas of civilization, free to do the things they enjoy unless they are economically independent.”⁶⁵⁶

655 Wilson, “Anna Lezola Lewis,” *Anna Lewis Collection*.

656 “Indian Relics and Early Pictures Contained in the College Museum,” Undated newspaper clipping; Anna Lewis, “Lecture on Creek Indians;” Anna Lewis, “Native Americans Places in History,” *Anna Lewis Collection, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha*,

Educated in Subscription Schools where the assimilationist pedagogy of northern women missionaries included cruel racial taunts, Lewis developed a life-long aversion for institutional and racial bigotry. As a young student caught in the midst of tribal debates concerning practical versus classical curricula, Lewis weighed the issues and developed a strongly favorable opinion of classical studies. Both experiences led the future educator to conclude that all children deserve a compassionate, unbiased and competent liberal education.⁶⁵⁷

These sentiments, reinforced by the Choctaw Nation's moral and financial support for young tribal members seeking higher education, galvanized Lewis' intention to attend college and pursue an academic career. At age fifteen Lewis enrolled in the Tuskahoma Female Academy (TFA), a local Presbyterian boarding school for college bound Choctaw women. Following TFA graduation in the spring of 1903, Lewis enrolled in the Mary Connor Junior College (MCJC). Both geographically and culturally desirable, the college appeared to satisfy Lewis' educational and professional requirements.⁶⁵⁸ However for reasons unknown, Lewis

Oklahoma. Anna Lewis, "Nunih Waiya," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 16 no 2 (June, 1938): 214-220.

657 This is reflected in several of Lewis' surviving history lectures from her days at the Oklahoma Women's College at Chickasha. See, "The Historic Struggle for Equality Between the Sexes," "Women's Role in Democracy," Democracy and Education," "Women's Achievements and Responsibilities." *Anna Lewis Collection, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma*. According to Wilson, "The New England teachers were cold and haughty to the little girls and kept telling them to get white." Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*. Beginning in 1890 and lasting well into 1917, Choctaw Nation education debates in the national legislature pitted the agricultural-mechanical (vocational school) approach against classical (liberal) studies curricula and preparation for professional careers. See Eloise Spear, "Choctaw Indian Education with Special Reference to Choctaw County, Oklahoma" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1977), 183-184.

658 The Tuskahoma Female Academy was an all female boarding school for young Choctaw women operated by the Presbyterian Church. Deep ties existed between the Presbyterian Church and the Choctaw Nation stemming from early church missionary and educational work.

stayed at the MCJC for less than a year.⁶⁵⁹

Upon her return to the Choctaw Nation in 1904, Lewis enrolled in a summer Normal School near Hartshorne, Choctaw Nation. That fall Lewis, aged nineteen received her teaching certificate. Residing in her father's home near Cameron, Lewis applied for jobs in local public schools picking up positions in Bokchito and Durant, Choctaw Nation. With her sister Winnidell away at boarding school and her aging father unable to care for the house, Lewis also assumed domestic responsibilities and care for her younger siblings. Lewis became deeply attached to her new maternal role, however the arrangement proved short lived.⁶⁶⁰

Early 1905, Lewis' father married, "sight unseen... an old maid from Georgia"

As a young student Anna Lewis developed a strong attachment to the old academy building and the surrounding picturesque countryside. See Wilson and Spear. The record does not reveal if Lewis began in the spring or waited until the fall semester. The Choctaw Nation provided modest financial and moral support for Choctaw higher education, but support was linked to a small number of religious institutions traditionally allied with the Choctaw Nation. It is not clear whether Lewis received financial support from the Choctaw Nation for her studies at the Mary Connor Junior College, however even with out of state costs, tuition at Mary Connor Junior college would have been more economical than at either Oklahoma territorial university. See Wilson and Spear.

659 John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 64; Spear, "Choctaw Indian Education," 154-155. The county seat of Lamar, Paris (Texas), was founded in 1845 by entrepreneurial ex-Confederate southerners who built the town into a notable agricultural and commercial hub. Lamar County Emigration Society, *Why Home-Seekers and Investors Should Come to Lamar County and Paris, Texas*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Company, 1888-89); Seymour V. Connor, ed. *Dear America: Some Letters of Orange Cicero and Mary America (Aikin) Connor* (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1971,) 14-21, 90-93, 117-125; Alexander White Neville, *The History of Lamar County* (Paris, Texas: North Texas Publishing Co., 1937), 1-95; Connor, *Dear America, passim*; Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

660 Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*; Winnie Lewis Gravitt, "Anna Lewis: A Great Woman of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 40 (Winter 1962-63). Well served by passenger trains, both towns would have been within minutes of Cameron. See Morris, "Oklahoma Railroads," *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*; Spear, "Choctaw Indian Education." Wilson notes that Lewis' younger sister "Winnie" (who would have been the next oldest after Anna Lewis left for Mary Connor Junior College) boarded at the Tuskahoma Female Academy sometime after Anna's departure. Given Winnidell's absence on her return this would account for Anna's duties as both house matron and teacher. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

named Eula Stroup. The Lewis children considered their step mother "a hard woman to like." Eula displayed neither maternal sentiment nor cultural affinity. More so, for Anna Lewis the new Mrs. William A. Lewis challenged her relationship with the other children, her domestic procedures and ultimately the right to live in her mother's Choctaw Nation home. Faced with the prospect of being ejected from the family residence by an enterprising European American woman, Lewis took two important steps that would dramatically improve her future.⁶⁶¹

As a half-blood citizen of the Choctaw Republic Anna Lewis was entitled to a land allotment in the Nation under terms of recently signed United States legislation designed to decimate Indian communal land ownership and the collectivist heritage of Indian culture. The 1898 Curtis Act which amended the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act mandated individually allotted homesteads for citizens of the Five Tribes. On 22 November, 1905, at 9:00 a.m. "Annie Lewis," then twenty years old, was awarded deed to 240 acres in northwest Bryan County (Choctaw Nation). Lewis' allotment was over one hundred and fifty miles from her family's ranch near Cameron.⁶⁶²

Aimed at the dissolution of traditional cultural ties, Choctaw allotments were awarded without regard to current residence or traditional family plots.

Consequently, like many Choctaw allottees Lewis did not have an attachment to her

661 Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

662 Debo, *The Rise and Fall*, 271-290. E. Hastain, *Choctaw-Chickasaw Deeds and Allotments* (Muskogee, Oklahoma: E. Hastain, 1910), 807. Underscoring Lewis' relative youth and hinting at familiarity, the tribal authorities listed Lewis as "Annie Lewis."

land and did not intend to engage in agricultural production. Instead, she thought of her land as a real estate investment that could be sold as needed. Toward the end of 1906, when events in her father's house did finally force Lewis to monetize her allotment (against her father's wishes), she found it a fortuitous boon.⁶⁶³

According to U. S. statute Choctaw allottees were required to stake a 160 acre homestead on their allotments. The homestead was taxable and inalienable for twenty-one years. The first year one fourth of the remaining 240 acres could be sold, another fourth after three years and the remainder after five years. Lewis apparently profited comfortably from her land (which also held coal deposits) over the years. Throughout the rest of her life allotment sales would help finance higher education, the purchase of two homes and occasional trips – including a summer European tour in 1924.⁶⁶⁴

Lewis' financial resources also allowed her to reconsider undergraduate studies. Setting her sights on an associates degree program, she made arrangements in 1906 to attend a Kentucky junior college closely associated with the Choctaw Nation. Surviving accounts do not reveal the institution's name, however biographical sketches indicate it was the Kentucky College for Women (KCW), also known as Caldwell College. As with the MCJC, KCW was a Protestant Christian institution. Unlike the Texas junior college, KCW was administered by a local Presbyterian

⁶⁶³ Contradictory evidence does not make clear exactly when Lewis sold her allotment, for how much her land was sold or if it was merely rented for coal strip mining. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

⁶⁶⁴ Clara Sue Kidwell, *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855-1970* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 148; Morris, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 71. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

group.⁶⁶⁵

Socially and politically KCW held a progressive southern racial policy inherited from the college's northern anti-slavery founders. KCW founders denounced slavery and contemporaneous Southern racism. KCW's progressive political bent was put into practice by mandatory college and community social uplift projects coordinated with the Young Women's Christian Association. Officially far from radical in outlook, KCW did provide opportunities for greater personal freedom and a comparatively moderate intellectual and political environment.⁶⁶⁶

All that is known about Lewis' academic career in Kentucky is that in 1908 she returned to Oklahoma after two terms of study. Years later, in a biographical sketch Lewis' niece remarked she had returned to Oklahoma because "she was homesick." Most likely Lewis simply finished her junior college work and did not wish to remain in Kentucky. Moreover, events in the newly formed state of Oklahoma

665 Biographical accounts by Winnidell Gravitt Wilson suggest that Lewis attended a women's college in Kentucky. See Wilson, Anna Lewis Collection. *Kentucky College for Women* (n.p., n.d.); *Danville in the Blue Grass* (Danville, Kentucky: Chamber of Commerce, Danville, Kentucky, n.d.); *History of Kentucky College for Women* (n.p., n.d.), Kentucky College for Women, Special Collections, Grace Doherty Library, Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; Alvin Fayette Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1899), 247-249.

666 Michael Dennis, *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 1-42. Robert J. Breckinridge, *An Address Delivered Before the Colonization Society of Kentucky* (n.p., 1831); John C. Young, *Fourth Annual Report of the Kentucky Colonization Society* (n.p., 1833), Centre College Special Collections. *A Year in the Life of Caldwell College* (n.p., 1910), Centre College Special Collections; Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women, 1866-1916: A History of Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America* (New York: National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America, 1916), 3-6, 64-107, 108-167, 233-259, 269-280; Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution: The Young Women's Christian Association* (New York: The Women's Press, 1936), 79-94. The student of history must be careful not to read a civil rights agenda onto southern Progressives. Few advocated egalitarian civil rights and most favored both political exclusion and racial segregation for African Americans.

likely made Lewis feel culturally isolated and politically impotent at a momentous time in Choctaw history.⁶⁶⁷

When Lewis returned to Oklahoma she found that the Twin Territories she left behind – one an actual territory opened to European American settlement and the other Indian territory comprised of sovereign Indian Nations – had been merged into a single state. Lewis found that nowhere in the new order would the sovereign interests of Plains tribes or the Five Indian Nations have representation. Yet in the midst of this terrible injustice, the future historian noted that Oklahoma entered the national federation as a liberal beacon, boasting one of the most Progressive state constitutions in the Union. However, the contradiction between the state's progressive stand on labor and social welfare could not be easily reconciled with its treatment of Indians and women. To address the situation Lewis turned to the only readily available public forum at her disposal – the classroom.⁶⁶⁸

667 Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

668 A common misconception is that Oklahoma or a portion thereof officially existed as Indian Territory before 1907 statehood. Although the western half of what would become Oklahoma was known as Oklahoma Territory and so organized in 1890 by means of the Oklahoma Organic Act, the eastern half containing the Five Nations of the Five Tribes (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole) was not a legally organized territory and indeed never existed as a territory of the United States. Like the California and Texas Republics, the Five Indian Republics passed directly into the union without having first passed through a U.S. territorial period. George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), vii-viii. Muriel Wright's forward discusses "Indian Territory," but does not address important distinctions. James R. Scales and Danny Goble, *Oklahoma Politics: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 3-20; Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Treaties 1778-1883* (Washington, D.C. : 1904; reprint, Mattituck, New York: Amereon House, 1972), 910-914, 918-929, 931-936, 942-946 (page citations are to the reprint edition). Also see Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940). Danny Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma: The Making of a New Kind of State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 43-114, 187-202. Anna Lewis lectures, "Creek Indians;" "Native American's Place in History;" "Oklahoma Women Pioneers;" "Women's Achievements and Responsibilities," *Anna Lewis Collection*.

Returning to the Bokchito school system, Lewis taught Choctaw children who were no doubt entranced by a fellow tribal member who recently returned from academic studies in Kentucky. Given that Lewis also spoke the Choctaw language and incorporated Choctaw culture into her pedagogy, it is not surprising that she was as beloved by her high school pupils as she was by her future college students. Just before the end of 1913 Lewis accepted a teaching position in Durant, Oklahoma some fourteen miles west of Bokchito. Again she found herself teaching a predominantly Choctaw student body. While teaching in Durant Lewis befriended a young woman who would change the course of her academic journey.⁶⁶⁹

The name of the young woman has been lost to posterity. Lewis' niece Winnidell Gravitt Wilson noted the unnamed woman and recorded the momentous event. "A friend wanted to go to the University of California at Berkeley... she asked Anna [Lewis] to go with her." Lewis, "knowing the reputation of that school and thinking this was an opportunity she might not attempt alone," decided to accept the offer. Beyond this account no other record of Lewis' preparations or journey to California are known to exist. Nevertheless, sometime in 1913 Lewis made final arrangements and departed for California.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁹ Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*; Gravitt, "Anna Lewis: A Great Woman," 328.

⁶⁷⁰ Anna Lewis' niece Mrs. Wilson, writing some fifty years after the fact, understandably presents conflicting dates and events that must be put into the correct chronological order. Through inter-textual comparisons and cross-textual analysis most of the contradictions can be corrected. In this instance Ms. Wilson asserted that Lewis only sold her allotments to pay for her time at Berkeley, however given that Lewis did not have the means to pay for her stay in Kentucky this seems highly improbable. The evidence indicates that Lewis sold her allotments, or at least some of her land, before going to Kentucky some six years earlier. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

In 1913 Lewis began the necessary coursework to complete her undergraduate requirements at the University of California (UC). Completed in 1915 Lewis received an Artium Baccalaureatus degree. While an undergraduate Lewis also developed a strong interest in European American interpretations of American West history.⁶⁷¹

In 1915 Lewis was joined by her sister Winnidell at UC. Like Lewis, Winnidell monetized her allotment to fund undergraduate study. At Berkeley, the two sisters shared living expenses and helped each other with course work. Toward the end of 1915, Lewis started the preliminary research for her Master's degree under the direction of Herbert Eugene Bolton. At the time Bolton was trying to complete his *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1543-1706* while putting together a compendium of papers read by various historians at the Panama Pacific International Exposition, as well as juggle classroom responsibilities and advise graduate students.⁶⁷²

Given that Bolton steered four graduate students to Master's degrees and one to a doctorate in 1915, his scholarly output was astounding. Even with this workload, Bolton, as an adviser, mentor and committee chair remained constant, clear, concise, practical, and competent. While it might have served his own purposes and made his proposed twenty-five volume study of the Spanish empire in North

671 The A.B. degree is for majors in classical studies, see *Studies in Classical Philology* 1 [University of Chicago] (1895).

672 E. Hastain, *Choctaw-Chickasaw Deeds*, 818. John Frances Bannon, *Herbert Eugene Bolton: The Historian and the Man, 1870-1953* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1978), 97-98.

America less toilsome, Bolton did not push his graduate students beyond their individual skills and interests. Bolton and Lewis settled on a "History of the Cattle Industry in Oklahoma, 1866-1893," as the subject of her thesis.⁶⁷³

The daughter of a successful Oklahoma cattle rancher who experienced many of the events recounted in her thesis, Lewis chose a study to which she was well suited. Her subject reflected national interest in cowboy culture, while providing Lewis with a professional forum through which to formulate her political views about European American encroachment. Giving a healthy nod to the prevailing popular fascination with cattle trail life, Lewis' thesis argued that European Americans used the ranch cattle industry to systematically encroach on Indian lands and ultimately rob Indian peoples of their once sovereign domains.⁶⁷⁴

Lewis' argument followed Turner's Frontier Thesis, with the exception that she did not remove American Indians after the first stage of colonization. For Lewis Indian history was not a thing of the past. On the matter of European American colonization Lewis tread a careful path, "[t]he westward movement in America was a continuous movement, beginning with the first white settlement and continuing

673 Bannon, Appendix B, 88-89. Anna Lewis, "History of the Cattle Industry in Oklahoma, 1866-1893," (master's thesis, University of California, 1918). Copies of this work have been deposited at the University of Oklahoma Bizzell Library and the Nash Library at the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

674 For examples of popular interest in cowboy culture see Reginald Aldridge, *Life on a Ranch: Ranch Notes in Kansas, Colorado, the Indian Territory and Northern Texas* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884); Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884); Frederic Logan Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York: McMillian, 1910); Baron Walter von Richthofen, *Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1885); and Charles A. Siringo, *A Texas Cowboy; or Fifteen years on the Hurricane Deck of a Spanish Pony* (Chicago: Siringo & Dobson, 1886). In particular see Lewis, "History of the Cattle Industry in Oklahoma," 1-17, 38-55, 84-89. Block quote is Lewis, "History," 1.

until the winning of the last frontier....” On the matter of the European American and Indian frontier encounters Lewis noted, “with each advance new conflicts with the Indians were encountered, and new oppositions had to be overcome....”⁶⁷⁵

The most significant conflict between Indian and European culture, according to Lewis, would play out in Indian Territory. In 1866 a group of desperate Texans impoverished by the Civil War devised a plan to drive an estimated five million feral Longhorn cattle to markets in St. Louis and Sedalia Kansas.⁶⁷⁶ Looking North “[t]he Indian territory proved a tempting field to the Texas cattlemen. Here there was an opportunity which could not remain long unnoticed and unappropriated... the opportunity for grazing their herds was too tempting.” Yet, “[w]hen the cattle from Texas continued to stream across the Indian Territory, the Indians began to resent it.”⁶⁷⁷

By 1880 Texas cattlemen moved a total of 4, 233, 497 Longhorn onto Indian grazing lands for up to a year at a time before proceeding to Kansas and Nebraska rail hubs. Standardizing these routes cattlemen created the Great Western and Chisholm Trails. Grazing and passage were guaranteed by lease agreements with the Indian Nations and Plains Indian representatives. The contentious and exploitative relationship that bound Indians to cattlemen would ultimately prove the last desperate line of defense against American conquest of the Indian

Nations.⁶⁷⁸

675 Lewis, “History,” 18.

676 Lewis, 3-4.

677 Ibid., 12-17.

678 Ibid., 38-55.

Although popular Oklahoma history pitted the Boomers (colonizers) against Indian inhabitants, Lewis contended the most violent exchanges occurred between cattlemen determined to retain open ranges and farmers determined to settle, fence and farm the land. Lewis identified the main Boomer protagonists as David Payne, “a convicted criminal who persist[ed] in repeating his crime” and W. L. Couch. What the followers of Payne and Couch could not accomplish by force they were finally able to achieve through popular agitation. Roused by a massive petition campaign, political negotiations were opened between the United States and the Creek, Seminole and Cherokee Republics for the purchase of surplus Indian Nation land.⁶⁷⁹

In 1883 the Senate Indian Affairs Committee launched an investigation of Indian Territory cattle range leases. The degree of graft, exploitation, coercion and violence perpetrated by the range cattle operatives (most were organized as companies by this time) shocked Congress. With no effective voice to lobby Congress against the wishes of the colonizers, Indians were at the mercy of western Congressmen who favored opening Indian lands. “[A] bill was introduced into the House in 1886 to provide a territorial government for the Indian Territory, and to create a commission to treat with the Indians for the opening of the vacant lands to settlement.” Vigorously opposed by East coast Indian Rights proponents and the cattlemen, the bill failed. The colonizers and their advocates however had already

⁶⁷⁹ Lewis, “History,” 56-83.

found a way to conquer the Indian Republics.⁶⁸⁰

“President Cleveland [acting under Congressional authority], made treaties with the Creeks and Seminoles by which they agreed to convey to the United States complete title to the lands ceded in 1866.” Boomers were “now to realize... [their] long cherished dream of entering the 'Promised Land.'”⁶⁸¹ Lewis concluded, “[t]hus it was in Oklahoma as in other states of the southwest, the cattle men paved the way for settlement.” Completed in 1917, Lewis' thesis would prove a well argued indictment of Indian betrayal at the hands of self-serving European Americans. Lewis' thesis foreshadowed Angie Debo's exposé of European American greed, *And Still the Waters Run*.⁶⁸²

While working on her MA thesis Lewis gained employment at a small regional junior college in Durant, Oklahoma. Finding the career prospects disagreeable in Durant, Lewis reluctantly applied for a teaching position at the new Oklahoma Institute for Females in Chickasha, Oklahoma. Fearing that it was "an institute for wayward girls" that would not offer a better deal, Lewis did not pin high hopes on the Chickasha position. In 1917 the Oklahoma Institute for Females (later that year the name changed to Oklahoma Women's College) made Lewis an offer she could not refuse. Lewis began a life-long career in the history department of the Oklahoma Women's College (OWC) that year. But her position was not secure, and prospects for advancement without a doctorate were slim.⁶⁸³

680 Ibid., 83-85.

681 Ibid., 86-87.

682 Lewis, 89.

683 Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

Although appointed college registrar (in addition to her regular teaching responsibilities), Lewis' position at the college was not safe. Then OWC president G. W. Austin indicated that until Lewis acquired a doctorate her position in the history department was tenuous. Fearing for her future, Lewis looked into pursuing a Ph.D. in Oklahoma. Unfortunately until 1929 no university in the state offered a history degree higher than Master's. Uncertain of when President Austin's deadline would pass, Lewis decided it unwise to compromise her position at OWC by seeking a doctorate out of state.⁶⁸⁴ Sources indicate that Lewis' decision to remain in Oklahoma was based on conversations with Edward Everett Dale, chair of the University of Oklahoma History Department, who told her about his plan to offer a doctor of philosophy in history.⁶⁸⁵

Between 1917 and 1929, Lewis collaborated with her sister Winnidell to bolster her WOC academic credentials by writing a number of articles for the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The material dealt exclusively with Spanish and French colonial documents detailing activities in the Arkansas River Valley. Poorly documented and crudely translated, several of Lewis' submissions required significant editorial revision including additional research and footnotes. Collectively the articles revealed a growing interest on Lewis' part in Arkansas Valley borderlands history.

684 Roy Gittinger, *The University of Oklahoma, 1892-1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), 140. Lewis officially received her Master's degree from Berkeley in 1918. See Gravitt, "Anna Lewis: Great Woman."

685 Edward Everett Dale, hand-written roster of personal friends listing "Lewis, Anna, Okla College for Women Chickasha, Okla." ca. 1917, *University of Oklahoma, Western History Collection, Edward Everett Dale Collection*. It is significant to note that Angie Debo does not appear on Dale's list.

Echoing the work of Emma Helen Blair and Louise Phelps Kellogg – and no doubt modeled on Bolton's approach to Spanish borderland history – Lewis' work had scholarly potential. Modest publication success aside, as an amateur translator of Spanish and French this ambition would prove to be a destructive tangent for Lewis' career. In the short term Lewis' *Chronicles of Oklahoma* articles placated OWC administrators and strengthened her position in the history department.⁶⁸⁶

After an eleven year wait Lewis finally received word in 1929 that the University of Oklahoma would offer the doctoral degree in history. Immediately Lewis notified Dale and applied for the spring course. Not long afterward she received an acceptance letter. Lewis would be the University of Oklahoma's first history doctoral candidate. Unknown to her at the time, Dale would prove as detrimental to her career as Bolton had been beneficial.

Where Bolton nurtured Lewis' innate intellectual talents and built on her scholarly abilities, Dale allowed Lewis to pursue research she did not have the skill or training to engage. A lesser known Turner doctoral student, during his graduate work at Harvard Dale had originally planned to dissertate on “The Five Civilized Tribes and their Removal to Oklahoma.” However, sometime after 1915 Dale's

⁶⁸⁶ Anna Lewis, "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-1719," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 2 (1924): 331-349; "French Interests and Activities in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 2 (1924): 253-268; "Oklahoma as Part of the Spanish Dominion, 1763-1803," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 3 (March, 1925): 45-58; "Du Tisne's Expedition into Oklahoma, 1719," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 3 (December, 1925): 319-323. Lewis' access to publication in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* was facilitated by her friend and fellow Choctaw citizen Muriel Wright who later served as the *Chronicles* editor. Wright's blessing proved necessary for publication or favorable mention in the Oklahoma Historical Society's flagship monthly publication – as Angie Debo would find a few years later. See Shirley A. Leckie, *Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 55-57, and LeRoy H. Fisher, "Muriel H. Wright, Historian of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 52 (Spring 1974): 2-29.

subject changed from Indian Removal to “The Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma.”⁶⁸⁷

Dale's reconsideration was likely influenced by several factors including a chance 1913 meeting with Oklahoma Senator Robert L. Owen and a review of Annie Heloise Abel's work. While it cannot be stated with certainty that the idea for Dale's dissertation came from Lewis' Master's Thesis, it is clear that his scholarship uncannily mirrored her work and mined her sources. Suspicions are further raised by the fact that shortly after Lewis' arrival at the University of Oklahoma, Dale began to foster her interest in Spanish and French Arkansas River Valley history. Unfortunately, as revealed in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* articles, neither Lewis nor her sister had the necessary linguistic expertise to master this material.⁶⁸⁸

Curiously for Dale, himself an able translator of, and conversant in, French and German, Lewis' foreign language deficiency did not seem to be a problem. Whether Dale felt that Lewis, as a promising student of Bolton and college history

687 Anna Lewis to Dr. E. E. Dale, January 11, 1929, *Edward Everett Dale Collection*. Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The West Wind Blows: The Autobiography of Edward Everett Dale* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: The Oklahoma Historical Society, 1984), 126, 264.

688 As Angie Debo would note in *And Still the Waters Run*, Owens was one of the principle Cherokee conspirators in fraudulent Indian land deals. Ever conscious of political ramifications, Dale would not have taken up a subject that might offend Owens. More so, given Abel's publication and Dale's sensitivity to gender roles it seems likely that he would not have written on the subject after finding the scholarship dominated by women historians. Edward Everett Dale, "A History of the Live Stock Industry in Oklahoma," (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1922). Dale's first draft was completed in 1920. *Edward Everett Dale Collection*. Unlike Lewis, Dale interpreted the Oklahoma cattle industry as one of several beneficial evolutionary stages in the march toward civilization. Also see Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry: Ranching on the Great Plains from 1865 to 1925* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), chaps., 1-2.

professor should overcome her linguistic deficiencies (in two languages within a matter of months) in order to stake a position for herself in borderlands scholarship, or he simply wanted to preserve his own scholarly domain is not known.

Unfortunately, Dale's oversight as Lewis' committee chair contributed to an ill-fated trajectory that would bring public embarrassment to the woman who acquired the department's first doctorate in history.⁶⁸⁹

As Angie Debo, a Lewis contemporary at the University of Oklahoma would find out, Dale's skill as an engaging storyteller and popular classroom instructor did not translate to his work as an adviser and mentor. Where Lewis apparently accepted Dale's incompetence graciously, Debo bluntly challenged his often confusing (and at least on one occasion fabricated) critiques and in the end suffered his professional wrath. Neither acquiescence nor confrontation seems to have been able to rescue either woman from Dale's lackluster performance as a doctoral adviser.⁶⁹⁰

Whatever Lewis' perceptions of Dale might have been, she proceeded with her dissertation. To this end she employed Roland Vandergrift, a Berkeley colleague and former Bolton MA student, to copy several documents for her from the Archivo General de las Indias at Seville, Spain. Although a great favor to Lewis, Vandergrift was immersed in his own research and did not make careful or extensive copies of

689 Gibson, *The West*, 142, 153-154, 176-177. Dale also translated and edited a volume of correspondence between Marie Joseph Paul Roche Gilbert du Montier, Marquis de Lafayette, his son and other family members about one Captain Francis Allyn. Edward Everett Dale, *Lafayette Letters* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1925).

690 *Ibid.*, 402-403.

the material Lewis requested. Vandergrift's research and copy work for Lewis amounted to a small group of documents from a single *legajo*, covering the period 1768-1784. An examination of Vandergrift's supplemental notes reveals a confusing documentation system and a hastily scribbled hodge-podge of random information.⁶⁹¹

Compounding Lewis' foreign language liability, the material gathered by Vandergrift was insufficient for a full treatment of the topic and his notes were poor guidance. Lewis' only recourse was to have the material translated and hope to find enough material to fashion a dissertation. Calling on the services of her sister Winnidell – who at that time taught high school Spanish and French in the Muskogee, Oklahoma public school system – Lewis acquired a hasty translation sometime in 1929. Over the next few months Lewis typed a dissertation draft and submitted it to her committee.⁶⁹²

On Thursday, 8 May 1930, Lewis defended her dissertation in the Oklahoma Union Building before committee members Edward Everett Dale, J. L. Waller and Carl Coke Rister. The deliberation was not recorded, but the outcome was definitive: Anna Lewis became Dr. Anna Lewis. As a Choctaw, Lewis was the first

691 Lewis apparently hired Vandergrift on earlier excursions to bring back copies for her *Chronicles of Oklahoma* articles. Lewis, "A History of the Arkansas River Region," preface. Adele Ogden and Engel Sluiter, *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945), 667, in an appendix titled: *A Bibliography of the Historical Writings of the students of Herbert Eugene Bolton*; Lansing B. Bloom, review of *Along the Arkansas*, by Anna Lewis, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 20 no 1 (June 1933): 117. The Bloom article is used here for the name of the Spanish archive and related information. Roy Vandergrift's notes for Anna Lewis on the *legajo* copies made in Saville, Spain, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

692 *Sooner Magazine* vol 2 no 10 (July 1930): 392. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

University of Oklahoma American Indian to be awarded a doctorate.⁶⁹³ Having earned her doctoral degree Lewis assumed greater responsibility in the OCW history department eventually becoming chair.⁶⁹⁴

Between 1930 and 1931, Lewis published a noteworthy contribution to the pedagogy of Oklahoma history. Reflecting her life-long aversion to racial and cultural bigotry, Lewis' *Problems in Oklahoma History: A Workbook for High School Students* coauthored with Howard Taylor, Dean of the OCW Education Department, guided students from Indian sovereignty through European American settlement. Although a modest contribution, the preface noted, "westward movement... developed an inevitable conflict of European culture with that of Native Americans." Lewis and Taylor argued that European settlement in Oklahoma was destructive to the region's Native American populace. The workbook was notable for its then-radical political position. No other Oklahoma historian would take this potentially career destroying approach until Angie Debo published *And Still the Waters Run* in 1940.⁶⁹⁵

693 "Thesis for M.A. and Ph. D. Degrees University of Oklahoma Department of History 1912-1933," Dr. A. K. Christian. *University of Oklahoma, Personal Library of Dr. David Levy, A. K. Christian Collection*. The first Ph.D. was awarded to Mary Jane Brown also of the Oklahoma College for Women. Neither Brown's OCW records or other sources list her as Native American. Gittinger, 140; *University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma, Mary Jane Brown Collection*. The author is indebted to Dr. David Levy for his kindness and scholarly largess. While researching his history of the University of Oklahoma, Dr. Levy graciously shared pertinent information with the author.

694 Cynthia Savage, "Oklahoma College for Women: Oklahoma's Only State Supported Women's School," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 80 no 2 (Summer 2002): 176-178; Wilson, Anna Lewis Collection; Ingrid Shafer, "USAO—The Impossible Dream: A Love Story," *Chickasha Oklahoma 1892-1992: Our First Hundred Years* (Chickasha, Oklahoma: Centennial Committee, 1992): 91-115.

695 Anna Lewis and Howard Taylor, *Problems in Oklahoma History: A Workbook for High School Students* (Oklahoma City: Economy Company, 1931). Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*.

In 1932 the Southwest Press publishing company notified Lewis that they intended to publish her dissertation as a book titled, *Along the Arkansas*. Lewis' reaction is not known, but no doubt the historian felt that all her years of hard work were about to be rewarded.⁶⁹⁶ Sometime in 1932, *Along the Arkansas* went to press. As a newly published author all seemed well for Lewis, but as with Debo, Lewis found her graduate studies with Dale would come back to haunt her. For Lewis the specter came in June 1933. In a devastatingly viscous and academically narrow-minded review of *Along the Arkansas*, Lansing Bartlett Bloom, former New Mexico Commissioner to the Seville Spain Exposition, and indefatigable scholar of documents held by the Archives of the Indies at Seville, proclaimed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, “[t]he book leaves much to be desired in both scholarship and workmanship... [f]rom preface to the brief inadequate index, the text is replete with errors.” Specifically Bloom noted, “[m]any [errors] may be accounted for by careless proofreading, but many others are in Spanish and French names and terms.”⁶⁹⁷

Not that Bloom's reviews were models of civility, however his attack on Lewis seemed particularly severe and likely sexist. In a brief survey, Bloom's reviews of

696 See introduction and publication information, Anna Lewis, *Along the Arkansas*.

697 N.a., "Books Recently Added to Library," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 12, no. 2 (June, 1934): 226. Paul A. F. Walter, "Lansing Bartlett Bloom," *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 no. 2 (April, 1946): 93-94. Lansing B. Bloom, review of *Along the Arkansas*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 20 no 1 (1933): 116-117. While modern historical analysis was at least a decade away, *Along the Arkansas* is notable for its attention to cultural artifacts and its analysis of the way in which material culture shaped European American and Native American relationships along the Arkansas River valley. Without dismissing the validity of Bloom's critique, it is extremely important to note that Lewis' scholarship, while flawed in translation was nevertheless path-breaking in its analytical methodology and historical interpretation. Clearly, while Bloom was busy parsing the trees, he missed the forest.

comparable male publications did not reveal similar examples of harshness. Furthermore, as Bolton's professional rival in Spanish borderland history Bloom certainly would not have been inclined to show sympathy to one of Bolton's students in the face of obvious mistakes.⁶⁹⁸

Lewis' reaction to Bloom's public ridicule is not known. However, she obviously was not inclined to follow his advice and republish the book following extensive revisions. As one of a few noted national experts on the Spanish and French borderlands Blooms review of Lewis' book was definitive – it was a damning critique from which her borderlands scholarship would not recover. *Along the Arkansas* would prove to be Lewis' last scholarship on the Arkansas Valley region. In the next few years Lewis moved away from the academic course she and Dale plotted returning to Indian and Oklahoma history. While Lewis' first attempt at creating a scholarly niche for herself was complicated by her foreign language limitations, she nevertheless managed to reinvent herself over the next decade.⁶⁹⁹

Lewis' academic experience with Dale, while not ideal was not altogether unusual for graduate school. This study emphasizes the struggles surrounding Lewis' dissertation and subsequent publication in an effort to address why her role

698 Lansing B. Bloom, review of *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787, from the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico and New Mexico*, by Alfred B. Thomas, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (September 1932): 277-279; Lansing B. Bloom, review of *Companions on the Trail: A Literary Chronicle*, by Hamlin Garland, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 18, no. 4 (March 1932): 595-596; Lansing B. Bloom, review of *Oklahoma*, by Victor E. Harlow, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 21, no. 4 (March 1935).

699 Bloom, review of *Along the Arkansas*, 117.

in constructing Indian ethno-political scholarship has been overlooked by historians. This should not overshadow the fact that Lewis was the first American Indian to acquire a Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma and that she earned the first doctorate awarded by the University of Oklahoma history department. Apart from her early difficulties with Dale and publication, Lewis went on to a distinguished thirty-nine year career as a history professor and department chair at the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma. In 1956 Lewis retired to her vacation home in the old Choctaw Nation near Clayton, Oklahoma.⁷⁰⁰

Muriel H. Wright, Indians and the Oklahoma Historical Society

Like Anna Lewis, Muriel Hazel Wright was a citizen of the old Choctaw Nation. Muriel Wright was born on a ranch outside Lehigh, Choctaw Nation to Ida Belle Richards Wright and Dr. Eliphalet Nott (E. N.) Wright. Eliphalet Wright was a half-blood Choctaw, son of former chief Allen Wright and served as physician for the Missouri-Pacific Coal Mines and as President of the Choctaw Oil and Refining Company. Ida Belle Wright was a proud European American blue-blood who traced her ancestry to the Mayflower. On her maternal side Ida Belle Wright claimed relation to Captain Samuel Clinton Richards and President Chester A.

⁷⁰⁰ In the early decades of professionalization academic historians often called on their students to conduct research and occasionally appropriated their student's scholarship and related work. See, Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 47-86. Wilson, *Anna Lewis Collection*; Gravitt, "Anna Lewis: A Great Woman;" Newspaper clipping, n.d., n.p., McAlester, Oklahoma, *Anna Lewis Collection*.

Arthur.⁷⁰¹

Unlike Anna Lewis, whose father was a European American who married a Choctaw woman, both Wright's grandfather and father married European American missionary women. Where Lewis closely identified with her mother and the matriarchal line of Choctaw culture, Wright identified with her father and the political and economic aspects of Choctaw national life. Ultimately the subtle difference between how each woman defined her social and tribal roles created tension in their friendship.⁷⁰²

Muriel Wright lived a life of privilege in the Choctaw Nation and benefited substantially from her father's political and economic connections. However, as an adult Wright did not seem to profit from her allotment. During the Great Depression Wright found herself unemployed and often in desperate finances. In large part this was the result of Wright's own taste for political intrigue.

Like her father and mother, Wright was a vocal Republican who delighted in criticizing Oklahoma Democrats. Wright proudly boasted support for Oklahoma's

⁷⁰¹ Laughlin, *Hidden Treasures*, 23-24.

⁷⁰² Muriel H. Wright, "A Brief Review of the Life of Doctor Eliphalet Nott Wright," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 10 no 2 (June, 1932): 267-286. For Wright's European American ancestry and elite status see, Muriel Wright to Mr. Ponce Jemison, 19 November, 1936, *University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma, Muriel H. Wright Collection*; Patricia Loughlin, *Hidden Treasures of the American West: Muriel H. Wright, Angie Debo, and Alice Marriott* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 23-24. The Muriel H. Wright Collection comprises a previously unpublished set of approximately two hundred Wright letters and documents of which the author was given first use. For the value Lewis attached to the role of a matriarchal historian see, Anna Lewis, "Native Americans Place in History," "Oklahoma Women Pioneers," "Role of Historian, History and Education in Preventing War and Racial Hatred," "The Teaching of History," "Historical Struggle for Equality Between the Sexes," "Women's Achievements and Respectability," *Anna Lewis Collection*. Kelly Brown at the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Nash Library has made the collection of Anna Lewis material a primary concern and is one of the foremost authorities on Anna Lewis.

only pre-suffrage Congresswoman, the controversial conservative Republican Alice Robertson. Wright's political bent would have dire consequences for her immediate scholarly plans. In 1936 Wright tried to establish a federal Works Progress Administration Indian History program in Oklahoma. Although a worthy endeavor, Wright's proposal found little support among Oklahoma historians and igniting a furious backlash from anthropologists who feared Wright's work would infringe on their own. Wright found no support among Oklahoma and Washington Democrats – then politically dominant – and ultimately the proposal was rejected.⁷⁰³

The promising young daughter of elite Choctaw and European American parents who failed to achieve the social and economic expectations of her youth, Wright like many in her position replaced actual monetary and social prestige with an exaggerated pedigree. Wrights' vocational difficulties and academic frustrations would bring this fabricated status into question. Personal frustrations in this respect fueled Wright's bitter jealousy of Debo's scholarly recognition. That Debo gained renown as an Indian historian made her fame all the more painful for Wright.⁷⁰⁴

In 1906 Wright enrolled at Wheaton Seminary (Norton, Massachusetts), where she acquired notoriety as a southern belle (her family owned slaves before 1866) and assimilated Choctaw. Unable to pass as a European American and singled out

703 Muriel Wright to Elise D. Hand, 21 January, 1936; Elise D. Hand to Muriel Wright, 19 February, 1936, *Muriel H. Wright Collection*.

704 Muriel Wright to Ponce Jemison, 19 November, 1936; Muriel Wright to W. N. P. Dailey 19 November, 1936; Muriel Wright to Susie Peters, 2 October, 1936; Muriel Wright to Miss Gibbons, 22 August, 1936; Muriel Wright to James Brooks Wright, 22 April, 1936; Muriel Wright to Joe Sprague, 20 January, 1936; Lee L. Harkins to Muriel Wright, nd., *Muriel H. Wright Collection*.

as an Indian, Wright's experiences at Wheaton cultivated her propensity for “playing Indian.”⁷⁰⁵ Two years later (1908) Wright joined her family in Washington, D. C. where her father served as the Choctaw delegate to Congress until 1910. Unlike Lewis, Wright did not return to Oklahoma immediately after the dissolution of the Five Indian Nations. In Washington Wright defined herself as a cultural mediator. One account notes that at a formal ball Wright appeared as “an Indian girl in all the picturesque trappings of her ancestral tribe.” Interestingly, the actual attire was a Cheyenne buckskin dress.⁷⁰⁶

At the conclusion of Eliphalet Wright's term in Washington the family returned to their ranch outside Lehigh, Oklahoma. Responding to the new state's call for teachers Wright studied pedagogy at East Central State College (Ada, Oklahoma) in 1911. After earning her certificate Wright taught in the Wapanuka, Tishomingo, and Thompson public schools between 1912-1915. At the conclusion of the 1915 term Wright applied for graduate studies at Barnard College – then the women's affiliate of Columbia University (New York). Between 1916-1918 Wright studied United States history under David S. Muzzey and Latin American history with William R. Shepherd. At Barnard Wright moved in elite circles, rooming with Lucy Dewey, daughter of John Dewey and kept company with Ellen Borden of the

705 Loughlin, *Hidden Treasures*, 27-29; Muriel Wright to Lee Harkins, 8 April, 1936; Muriel Wright to W. N. P. Dailey, 19 November 1936; Sarah Gertrude Knott to Mr. Logan, 5 October, 1936; Muriel Wright to Sarah Gertrude Knott, 21 April, 1936; Muriel Wright to Peter J. Hudson, 17 September, 1936, *Muriel H. Wright Collection*. For “playing Indian” see, Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1998), 95-153.

706 Leroy H. Fischer, “Muriel H. Wright, Historian of Oklahoma,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 52 (Spring 1974): 5-7. Loughlin, 27-29.

famed dairy product family.⁷⁰⁷

For reasons unknown Wright dropped out of Barnard in 1918 and returned home to Lehigh. From 1918-1924 Wright served as principal of the Hardwood District School not far from her family home. Thereafter Wright served with her father on the Choctaw Committee – a controversial intra-tribal political organization affiliated with the Republican Party. Additionally, between 1934-1944 Wright served on the Choctaw Advisory Committee which was formed to settle outstanding tribal land claims. Wright also began to publish articles on American Indian history and culture, notably of the Five Tribes. Before 1943 Wright “had published eighteen articles and five book reviews” in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*.⁷⁰⁸

Largely based on her publications, personal connections and a newly advantageous political environment, on 1 July 1943 Wright became associate editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. From 1955 until her retirement in 1973 Wright served as Editor. At a time when regional history journals were hardly thriving, as *Chronicles* chief Wright published over one hundred of her own articles. In addition to publishing seven books on Oklahoma, American Indian and Civil War history, Wright also co-authored five books on Oklahoma history. Drawing from her own experiences, family stories and Indian lore Wright's work incorporated a significant amount of family genealogy. As an amateur historian “Wright...

707 Fischer, “Muriel H. Wright,” 6-10. Ellen Borden was “an avid student of Indian history and culture.”

708 Fischer, 11-13.

worked to uphold the prestige and privilege of her family as she documented Choctaw Nation... history,” particularly their seminal role in Choctaw assimilation.⁷⁰⁹

Imperio in Imperium: Angie Debo, Popular Sovereignty and Scholarship of a Lost Nation

Angie Debo, professional historian and noted scholar deemed herself a straightforward and objective student of history. Almost two decades before her death Debo noted, “[w]hen I start on a research project I have no idea how it will turn out... I simply... dig out the truth and record it. To this end Debo insisted, “I am not pro-Indian, or pro-anything, unless it is pro-integrity.” Adding, “sometimes I find all the truth on one side of an issue.” The specific facts of Debo's scholarship might not have been known to her in advance, but each of her nine publications bore the heavy mark of her psychology and intellectual heritage.⁷¹⁰

Debo's life has been well documented, but new evidence demonstrates an ideological tension between Muriel Wright and Anna Lewis that shaped how they critiqued Debo's scholarship. Debo's response would ultimately take shape as her monumental indictment of Oklahoma Indian Removal and assimilation, *And Still the Waters Run*.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁹ Fischer, 12-13, 22-23; Loughlin, 25.

⁷¹⁰ Angie Debo, “To Establish Justice,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol 7 no 4 (October 1976): 405.

⁷¹¹ Suzanne H. Schrems and Cynthia J. Wolff, “Politics and Libel: Angie Debo and the Publication

Angie Debo was born on 30 January 1890 in Beattie, Kansas to Edward and Lina Debo. Edwin and Lina were European American homesteaders. Nine years later the Debo family moved to a new homestead near Marshall, Oklahoma Territory. Debo came of age at a time when the new territory was struggling to build the basic institutions of an emerging state. Although Marshall boasted a small grade school from which Debo graduated in 1903, the Marshall junior high school would not be completed until 1905.⁷¹²

During the intervening two years Debo became fascinated with international affairs through coverage in the local paper. Debo was particularly interested the 1905 Russian workers insurrection know as “Bloody Sunday.” News of the Russian unrest exposed Debo to the looming question of popular sovereignty taking shape on the world stage. The next year as a ninth grader in the new high school Debo participated in a class debate on popular sovereignty. The contest proposed “Resolved: That a nation or nations should interfere with and slow the barbarities that are now being perpetrated in Russia.” Taking the negative, Debo sided with the Russian peasants. Popular sovereignty and human rights would trouble Debo for the rest of her life.⁷¹³

Related concerns would be institutional tyranny and women's rights. Whatever the actualities, Debo would always associate the two. Debo's first experience with

of *And Still the Waters Run*,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol 22 no 2 (May 1991): 184, 203.

712 Schrems and Wolff, “Politics and Libel,” 186, Shirley A. Leckie, *Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 17-18.

713 Leckie, *Angie Debo*, 18-19.

women and institutions arose from her exposure to the fiery temperance leader Carry A. Nation, a recent transplant to Oklahoma Territory. A resident of Guthrie (thirty miles from Marshall) where Nation published a free journal “The Defender,” Nation's temperance and statehood campaign attracted the Debo family. Believing that a new state government would abolish saloons (it did) Nation triumphantly concluded her Oklahoma residency with statehood in 1907. From her observation of Nation's work Debo concluded that public institutions could not be trusted to better society on their own.⁷¹⁴

Wielding far more influence over young Debo would be Catherine Ann Barnard. The first Oklahoma Commissioner of Corrections and Charities, Barnard was elected at a time when Oklahoma women could not cast votes for statewide offices. Barnard took on the task of agitating for a new state law banishing child labor, campaigned for compulsory public education and championed the eight hour workday. Although Barnard's political fortunes would soon falter, to the seventeen year old Debo, Barnard was a hero.⁷¹⁵

Unfortunately for Debo the Marshall high school still lacked accommodations for grades 10-12. Between 1906-1910 Debo taught in neighboring public schools. When Marshall finally added grades 10-12 Debo resumed her studies. As a twenty-

714 Carry Amelia Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (Topeka, Kansas: F. M. Stevens & Sons, 1908), 319-332. Leckie, 20.

715 Leckie, *Angie Debo*, 21-22. Suzanne Jones Crawford and Lynn Musslewhite, *One Woman's Political Journey: Kate Barnard and Social Reform, 1875-1930* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), chaps., 2-4, 7-10, 12. While the authors conclude that Barnard's political agenda did not have a lasting effect, arguably her interest in Indian orphans sparked Debo's own concern. See, Crawford, Musslewhite, 185-186.

one year old tenth grader Debo participated in a final defining engagement with the idea of popular sovereignty. In a class debate Debo argued the case for woman suffrage. Debo contended that “power was derived from the consent of the governed—in other words the people.”⁷¹⁶

As Europe moved toward war in 1913 Debo graduated from Marshall high school at the age of twenty-three. Working again as a local school teacher in a bid to save money for college Debo was stricken with typhoid fever and prevented from that course until 1915. That year Debo enrolled at the University of Oklahoma where she majored in English.⁷¹⁷

Finding the English major designed to prepare her for a life of grading high school essays, in 1917 Debo switched to geology and enrolled in a history course taught by Everett Edward Dale. By her senior year Debo decided to major in history. The course that had the most impact on Debo was Dale's American history class. She found it disturbing. While Dale proved an engaging professor – he saw the march of western civilization as the manifestation of progress – Debo took a decidedly dimmer view. A vocal opponent of the European war and an avowed isolationist, Debo saw U.S. Western expansion as imperialistic usurpation that violated Indian human rights. Debo's 1918 class essays charted her developing concept of internal imperialism. Notable were “Acquisition of Florida,” “Acquisition of Oregon,” “Acquisition of Texas,” and “Acquisition of Territory,

⁷¹⁶ Leckie, 22-23; Schrems, Wolff, “Politics and Libel,” 186.

⁷¹⁷ Leckie, 24-25, 29, Schrems, Wolff, 186.

The Louisiana Purchase.” Following graduation in 1918 Debo taught public school in Enid, Oklahoma and over the next five years saved for graduate school. In 1923 Debo applied to the University of Chicago history program and was readily accepted. Debo chose the Chicago program based on its reputation for international studies and the borderlands scholarship of Herbert Eugene Bolton's protege, J. Fred Rippy. In addition to her MA history work, Debo minored in political science. Popular sovereignty and institutional justice were still on her mind.⁷¹⁸

Styled J. (James) Fred Rippy, Debo's Chicago mentor was a recipient of the 1917-1918 Native Son's of the Golden West research fellowship. A California promotional association, The Native Son's scholarships were established by historian H. Morse Stephens to encourage the study of California history “at its sources in Spain and elsewhere” and were intimately connected with the work of Herbert Eugene Bolton. Under Bolton's guidance the Native Son's scholarship program focused on Mexican/American/Indian borderlands studies. Scholarship recipients were encouraged to work in Spanish and European archives and assisted with translation work. Unfortunately for Rippy who planned research in Spain, the European war made overseas study hazardous. Restricted to the Northern hemisphere, Rippy concentrated on Mexican and American Indian history.⁷¹⁹

718 Leckie, *Angie Debo*, 30-31; *Oklahoma State University Library, Angie Debo Collection, Angie Debo American History Papers 1915-1918*, Box 6 Folder 25-47.

719 Charles E. Chapman, “The Native Son's Fellowships,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol 21 no 4 (April 1918): 398-394. David Bushnell and John H. Coatsworth, “J. Fred Rippy, 1892-1977,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* vol 68 no 1 (February 1988): 103-104.

Rippy's research bore fruit in 1919 when he published, "Mexican Projects of the Confederacy," which explored Southern efforts to forge a supply agreement with Mexico and establish a Confederate colony south of the U. S. border. Three months later Rippy published, "The Indians of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1853." Arguing that a forgotten aspect of the Guadalupe Hildago treaty concerned U. S. restraint of "Indians ranging along the international border" and confiscation of goods brought by Indians from Mexico, the article inspired Debo's work on southern Cherokee refugees.⁷²⁰

As Debo began her studies in Chicago she leaned toward international affairs and treaty relations. Debo particularly found Rippy's interpretation of American imperialism explicated in his popular "The Americas in World Affairs" class attractive. Debo also found the work of Rippy's colleague, Phillip Quincy Wright – who would garner a national reputation among political scientists for his study of war and its aftermath – interesting. It was during Wright's "American Diplomacy" class that Debo began research that culminated in her Master's Thesis: "The Historical Background of the American Policy of Isolationism."

Debo's pro-isolation thesis argued that the insular policy of the United States had fostered democratic development, prosperity, domestic tranquility, and an exceptional culture. These themes would reoccur in Debo's subsequent Indian scholarship. On completion Rippy proved so deeply invested in Debo's work that

720 J. Fred Rippy, "Mexican Projects of the Confederates," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol 22 no 4 (April 1919): 291-317; J. Fred Rippy, "The Indians of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1853" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* vol 2 no 3 (August 1919): 363-396.

he submitted it for publication – as co-author – to the *Smith College Historical Studies* journal in 1924. That spring Debo's thesis appeared as the journal's sole article.⁷²¹

Pressed for cash and buoyed by Rippy's praise, Debo inquired about academic job prospects and was disheartened to find that leading universities did not want women historians in 1925. Debo bristled at what she considered institutional male chauvinism for the rest of her life. Furthermore Debo's reaction reflected her early impressions of institutional corruption, in particular as experienced by Carry Nation and Kate Barnard.⁷²²

Much scholarly attention has been given Debo's efforts to break into a profession “barred against women,” but as discussed in chapter seven the actual barrier was far more subtle – an informal sexual division of labor. Debo's career frustrations were not caused by her inability to enter the history profession, but rather by her desire to contravene the professional bias that relegated women historians to archives, historical societies, museums and women's and teacher's colleges.⁷²³

Debo had already entered the history profession. Like her women colleagues, she was welcomed by male academics who wanted trained historians to curate

721 Angie Debo, “Class notes, Dr. Rippy, The Americas in World Affairs,” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 6 Folder 25-47; Angie Debo, “Class Notes, Dr. Quincy Wright, American Diplomacy 64,” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 6 Folder 48, Box 7 Folder 6. J. Fred Rippy and Angie Debo, “The Historical Background of the American Policy of Isolation,” *Smith College Historical Studies* vol 9 no 3 (April-July 1924): 71-169. Leckie, 32-38.

722 Leckie, 36-38. Although Nation only resided in Oklahoma for a year to the young Debo she appeared as much an authentic Oklahoman as other migrants in the new Territory.

723 Rhea, “Creating a Place for Herself in History,” 27-28.

document repositories and historical collections and spread interest in academic history at the secondary level. To this end Debo would find temporary employment at a Texas teacher's college in 1925 and afterward would hold a museum curatorial position. While the subtleties of the situation escaped Debo, she knew that real professional stature came from a university position at a recognized "male" institution. For Debo's generation of women historians separate was not equal.⁷²⁴

A tremendous amount of scholarship has focused on Debo's efforts to secure a tenured faculty position, but no attention has been given to how Debo's intellectual interaction with Anna Lewis and Muriel Wright effected the direction of her Indian research and publication. Debo's struggle as a woman historian will play a very minor role in this analysis. Her interaction with two Indian women proved far more influential.

Muddied Waters

Following graduation from Chicago the only academic position that Debo could find was as a teacher in a demonstration high school attached to the West Texas State Teacher's College (WTSTC) in Canyon, Texas. Debo worked as an instructor who mainly taught dropouts wishing to earn a high school diploma. Considering Debo's stellar performance at the University of Chicago and her noteworthy work

⁷²⁴ Richard Lowitt, "Dear Miss Debo': The Correspondence of E. E. Dale and Angie Debo," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 77 no 4 (1999): 374-375. Leckie, 38-42. On several occasions the author had opportunity to engage in lengthy and illuminating discussions with Dr. Lowitt regarding Dale, Debo and University of Oklahoma history department politics. The author is grateful to Dr. Lowitt for his kindness and intellectual largess.

with Rippy, WTSTC was a humiliating disappointment. That the WTSTC history department chair, Lester Sheffy had been a graduate assistant under Rippy during Debo's sojourn in Chicago further fueled Debo's discontent.⁷²⁵

In 1929 following an unexpected windfall from a published short story Debo took a leave of absence from WTSTC and enrolled in the University of Oklahoma history doctoral program – the same year Anna Lewis enrolled. Initially welcomed by her old undergraduate mentor Edward Everett Dale, Debo embarked on preliminary coursework which was completed in 1932. Unfortunately Debo had already muddied the waters with Dale by late 1931. While biographers trace this tension to Debo's rejection of Dale's dissertation critique, the actual source was a well intended but presumptuous historiographical analysis.⁷²⁶

Written for a class taught by Dale's colleague, Dr. Ralph H. Records during the 1930-1931 fall term, Debo's paper was titled, “Edward Everett Dale, Historian of Progress.” Superficially, the paper seemed a cloying attempt to curry favor. The first paragraph proclaimed, “it is... fortunate that this startling young commonwealth in the southwest has finally become articulate through the teaching and writing of a typical Oklahoman, Edward Everett Dale, dean of Oklahoma historians, and head of the state university.”⁷²⁷

⁷²⁵ Leckie, 38-44.

⁷²⁶ Leckie makes note of this paper as well, but does not identify its more corrosive effect.

Ultimately, Leckie, drawing on Richard Lowitt's work agrees that the tension between Dale and Debo emerged during her dissertation work and was manifested in Dale's unusual refusal to recommend Debo for gainful employment. See, Lowitt, 376-377, Leckie, 50-51.

⁷²⁷ Angie Debo, “Edward Everett Dale, Historian of Progress” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 6 Folder 48, Box 7 Folder 6.

Dale, however was not a university president nor the dean of Oklahoma historians and the University of Oklahoma was not the only state university. Unfortunately for Debo, though affable Dale often proved quite thin-skinned when criticized. The remainder of Debo's lengthy review took Dale's progressive ideology to task, drawing a sharp and stunningly frank distinction between her own understanding of American expansion and Dale's unshakable faith in the beneficent unfolding of Manifest Destiny.

Framing Dale's graduate scholarship as a contrast between his University of Oklahoma baccalaureate thesis titled "The Location of the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma" and his Harvard Master's Thesis, "The White Settlement of Oklahoma," Debo ruthlessly exposed the racial and imperialistic bias of Dale's thought. Summarizing his scholarly vision, Debo brashly rhapsodized, "[t]he adventure of American conquest across the continent became to this son of the frontier a great heroic epic." Speculating on his personal motives Debo added, "he had the naïve unconscious imperialism of the American pioneer who went out into the wilderness with the innocent determination to own it all...." Though true, Debo unwisely exposed her doctoral committee chair as a scholarly fraud, as a man incapable of contemplating or resolving his own intellectual conflicts.⁷²⁸

This flaw would be poignantly revealed in an account of Dale's work for Lewis Merriam's 1927 Survey of Indian Affairs featured in Merriam's final 1928-1929 report, *The problem of Indian Administration*. Unable to see the devastation

⁷²⁸ Debo, "Edward Everett Dale."

wrought by four decades of assimilation, Dale's account did not offer one sentence of criticism, discomfort or disgust for the visible failures of United States Indian policy. Dale might as well have been describing a leisurely camping trip in the American outback. In summation Dale called for the government to stay on course and pursue more assimilation, not less. Dale's inability to see a connection between the “White Settlement of Oklahoma” and where the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma were located reflected his own unwillingness to engage in scholarly criticism. In published work Dale noted, “I have yet to be convinced, that a grouchy temper is a sure indication of scholarship.”⁷²⁹

However frank her previous assessments, Debo was not finished with Dale. Her paper continued, “[Dale's] viewpoint is limited to the frontier... he knows European history, but only as a series of personal narratives like an historical novel... [d]iplomacy and the world of politics for him do not exist—he can visualize people but not peoples.” Debo further asserted, “Imperialism, if he thinks of it at all, is the march of civilization across the waste plains of the earth...” Summing the scope of his intellect, Debo added, “[i]t is to be greatly feared that Dale has a philosophy of history... [e]ven more appalling is the suspicion that he does not realize the enormity of his heresy against the craft... [h]is philosophy may be summed up in one word Progress. In her conclusion Debo asserted that, “[u]nlike Turner, who can explain the influence of the frontier but is somewhat

729 Debo, Edward Everett Dale;” Arrell Morgan Gibson ed., *The West Wind Blows: The Autobiography of Edward Everett Dale* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1984), 287-336.

vague about the next step, Dale regards the future as the most interesting advance of all..." noting, "[f]or this reason Dale goes blithely on his way in an age of disillusionment"⁷³⁰ Starkly Debo drew a distinction between her own ideology and Dale's. Where Debo saw progress as goodwill and the extension human rights, Dale believed progress was directly measured by conformity to European American culture. Debo had critiqued Dale's idea of progress as a euphemism for actual imperialism.⁷³¹

Dale was aware of the paper, but he never revealed this to Debo. Given the precarious status of the department's doctoral program and Dale's aversion for conflict it is likely he chose to hide his displeasure. Luckily for Debo, as she began to contemplate a career in American Indian scholarship the effect of Merriam's shocking report on academic circles helped to soften the history profession taboo against ethno-political scholarship.⁷³²

Adding to the sea change initiated by Merriam's report, in 1929 the AHA witnessed a stunning reversal of George Burton Adams' 1908 diatribe against interdisciplinary historical scholarship. Newly installed AHA president James Harvey Robinson noted, "[o]ur rather solemn estimate of the orderly proceedings of mankind as recorded in documents was reinforced by a fear of what George Burton Adams called "a new flaring up of interest in the philosophy of history." Robinson continued, "[t]he same writer was also solicitous that history should

⁷³⁰ Debo, "Edward Everett Dale."

⁷³¹ Ibid.

⁷³² Edward Everett Dale, *Tales of the Tepee* (New York, New York: D. C. Heath & Company, 1920), passim.

retain its integrity since it was threatened with assaults from stealthy, youthful social sciences... [t]his fear has I trust vanished....” Assessing the contemporaneous state of the historical profession Robinson somewhat optimistically commented, “[a]s we look back thirty years we find historians perhaps rather pedantic and defensive... [t]hey are humble enough now.” Dismissing Adams's earlier concerns, Robinson asserted that historians now, “seek help from quarters undreamed of when I began to teach... [and] readily admit that anyone can view historically anything he wishes and we bless him for his wisdom if he does....”⁷³³

Galvanized by this new interdisciplinary license, Debo's seminar papers departed from the staid political history of the past. In 1932 Debo penned an essay that radically challenged recent Indian history. “Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation” proved indicative of the direction her dissertation work would follow. Elaborating a theme developed while working with Rippy, the paper argued that forced alliances between the Union, Confederacy and Cherokee Nation shattered Cherokee sovereignty during and after the Civil War. Debo concluded that following the renegotiated treaty of 1866 what little remained of the post bellum Cherokee Nation entered a painful period of nation building that fostered a determination to regain independence. The issue of Five Tribes sovereignty would draw Debo's attention for the next decade.⁷³⁴

Completing course work in 1932 Debo considered a dissertation topic. Inspired

⁷³³ James Harvey Robinson, “Newer Ways of History,” *American Historical Review* vol 35 no 2 (1929): 245-255.

⁷³⁴ Angie Debo, “Southern Refugees of the Choctaw Nation,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol 35 no 4 (April, 1932): 255-266. For Debo's other publication see, Leckie, 46.

by the work of Annie Heloise Abel, Debo decided to address post Removal Indian history. Dale suggested Debo make use of unpublished Choctaw records in the University of Oklahoma's new Phillips Collection. Dale also suggested research at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Archives for which he provided a letter of recommendation. Once there Debo perused the same BIA files that Abel had organized and consulted for her work on slave holding Indians. While at the BIA Debo also conducted research with the Choctaw Tribe principle attorney, Grady Lewis. In conjunction with his work on the pending Leased District case Grady Lewis also researched the legal and treaty history of the Choctaw Republic. Mr. Lewis' unqualified expertise on Choctaw political and legal history profoundly shaped the scope and ideology of Debo's dissertation. Ironically, Grady Lewis' research at the BIA signaled the re-birth of the very Republic Debo would soon proclaim dead.⁷³⁵

As Tribal attorney Grady Lewis helped stage one of the most momentous events in the revival of Oklahoma pan-Indian sovereignty – the 1930 intra-tribal sovereignty and claims conference. Promoted by the Indian Memorial Association (IMA) as part of its bid to save the old Choctaw Tribal Council House and timed to coincide with the one hundredth anniversary of the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, the event slowly transformed into an affirmation of Five Tribes sovereignty. Convoked 22-23 October, 1930 at the Southwest State Teacher's College (SSTC) in

⁷³⁵ Linda Reese, "Dr. Anna Lewis, Historian at the Oklahoma College for Women," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 84 no 4 (Winter 2004-2005): 428-449. Leckie did not mention Lewis or his effect on Debo.

Durant, Oklahoma the event drew Choctaw and Chickasaw participants from across the old Republics, Plains Indians from the old Choctaw-Chickasaw Leased District and tribal members from the other three old Indian Nations.⁷³⁶

Conference goals were two fold, the first concerned a joint effort by the IMA and SSTC to relocate the Choctaw Tribal Council House to the SSTC campus. At its new home the refurbished building would serve as, “the Indian memorial to all Red men of Oklahoma.” The second part of the conference was devoted to consideration of long-standing tribal claims against the United States. Though slated as a culminating event in Indian independence, by stoking interest in Oklahoma Indian history and revisiting the federal government's perfidy in flagrantly violating its treaties and promises with Oklahoma Indians, the conference emboldened a new generation of emerging Indian nationalists. The conference's tone was set by a celebrity guest who did not attend. In a widely circulated rebuff to Chief Dwight's invitation, Cherokee humorist and commentator Will Rogers complained, “[w]e don't need a memorial... [w]e ain't dead yet but just getting started... [w]e could get the whole country back right now if we would just assume a second mortgage.”⁷³⁷

736 N.a., “Old Choctaw Capitol to get New Life,” *Daily Oklahoman* 19 December, 1928, pg. 11; N.a., “Choctaws to Talk Capitol Removal,” *Daily Oklahoman* 23 February, 1929, pg. 19; N.a., “The Old Choctaw Council House,” *Daily Oklahoman* 16 June, 1929, pg. 65; N.a., “Indians Call State Parley, Choctaw Tribesmen Moved to Observe Anniversary of Removal to West,” *Daily Oklahoman* 28 August, 1930, pg.17; N.a., “Choctaw Indians to Hold Meetings, Final Action on Affairs of Tribe Slated,” *Daily Oklahoman* 8 September, 1930, pg.12; N.a., “Choctaw Indians to Meet in Durant, Ben Dwight, New Chief Calls Meeting, Oct. 22,” *Daily Oklahoman* 21 September, 1930, pg.96; N.a., “Indian Delegates to Session Named, Choctaws, Chickasaws Observe Treaty Anniversary,” *Daily Oklahoman* 28 September, 1930, pg.12.

737 N.a., “Indians Need No Memorial Will Believes,” *Daily Oklahoman* 21 October, 1930, pg. 9.

The opening addresses were delivered by Eugene Briggs of SSTC and Grady Lewis' sister Dr. Anna Lewis of the Chickasha Women's College. Dr. Briggs spoke on the pending Council House project and proposed concurrent work on a comprehensive Five Tribes history. Dr. Lewis spoke on the historical and contemporaneous role of women in Indian Tribal life. The featured address was presented in the Choctaw language by Joseph Oklahombi, a World War I code talker. Concluding the morning session, Edward Gardner of Muskogee, Oklahoma spoke on Pushmataha, Father of the Choctaw Republic.⁷³⁸

In the evening session Choctaw Chief Benjamin Dwight initiated a discussion of “wants regarding a settlement of... affairs with the government.” Dwight's actions built on a previous state-wide conference with Choctaws, Chickasaws and other Oklahoma Indian tribes regarding the status of their claims against the United States and ideas for crafting a settlement strategy. After prolonged discussion the evening session produced not only a list of grievances but also forged intra-tribal alliances. Participants agreed to coordinate legal advice, litigation and claims settlement. During the evening session Chief Dwight also revealed plans (in conjunction with the Chickasaw) to seek tribal economic relief through Interior Department/BIA loans. In all Dwight intended to barrow 5.5 million dollars. Dwight's proposal virtually guaranteed Choctaw continuity by binding the tribe and

738 N.a., “Five Tribes Meet Today,” Daily Oklahoman 22 October, 1930, pg. 4. Eugene S. Biggs self-identified as a Cherokee. On 27 October, 1930 Biggs sent a letter to former Oklahoma U. S. Congresswoman Alice Robertson asking assistance in securing funding for a comprehensive history of the Five Tribes. Eugene S. Biggs to Alice Robertson, 27 October, 1930. *Alice M. Robertson Collection, McFarlin Library, the University of Tulsa.*

its leadership to loan payments and litigation extending several decades.⁷³⁹

Conference agreement on widespread Indian poverty and abuse at Interior/BIA hands further reinforced the need for a collective effort to secure immediate economic relief. Intra-tribal discussions concerning legal costs, tribal consensus and collective liability for loan and claims proposals increasingly demonstrated that Oklahoma Indian interests were no longer compatible with the old assimilation/termination goals. Even for nominal assimilation advocates like Dwight, it became clear that tribal welfare could not be separated from some form of tribal sovereignty. The 1930 Five Tribes Conference turned the corner on the old termination politics that had linked claims settlement and federal aid with crippling BIA oversight and the push toward tribal termination. In this emerging era of Oklahoma intra-tribal cooperation – in part driven by economic desperation – claims settlement, sovereignty and federal support were increasingly deemed inalienable Indian rights.⁷⁴⁰

Following the conclusion of the Five Tribes conference Grady Lewis was charged with pressing a final settlement of the old Choctaw Leased District

739 Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, 1916), 1362-1363; N.a., *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States* (Washington, District of Columbia: GPO, 1931), 5367-5371

740 N.a., "Five Tribes Meet Today; Durant Indian Host as U. S. Settlement is Talked; Two Sessions Set," *Daily Oklahoman* 22 October, 1930, pg.4; N.a., "Federal Loan is Tribal Aim, Relief Fund of \$5, 500,000 Sought by Choctaws, Chickasaws," *Daily Oklahoman* 18 December, 1930 pg.11. The Choctaw sovereignty Renaissance was also visible in Dr. Anna Lewis' purchase of the old Tuskahoma Female Seminary land and building remains. While the seminary itself burned at an earlier date, Lewis hired workmen to salvage the stone and form it build her a retirement home. Kelly Brown to author, 10 March, 2009; N.a., "Former Pupil Buys Indian School Site," *Daily Oklahoman* 20 January, 1932 pg.1.

claim.⁷⁴¹ For a tribe hit hard by the Great Depression a Leased District monetary settlement promised quick relief. To prepare for litigation Grady Lewis spent much of 1930-1933 in the BIA archives researching Choctaw legal and treaty rights as well as the historical and political function of the Choctaw Republic. As a result of Grady Lewis' work he became a leading authority on Choctaw history and an expert guide to the BIA archives. Grady Lewis would be the first anti-assimilation Choctaw scholar to master this material.⁷⁴²

From Archive to Dissertation

Although Debo did not acknowledge Grady Lewis in her dissertation or later publication, she did note his influence in a 1932 letter to Dale. Because of Debo's oversight Grady Lewis' role in the revival of Choctaw sovereignty remains unknown and little information on his life or work exists in print. An obscure 1935 newspaper interview reveals the depth of his anti-assimilationist sentiments and dangerous political sentiments for the time.⁷⁴³

In a *Washington Post* article titled, "Communal Life Declared Best for Indian, Choctaw Lawyer here to Back Thomas-Rodgers Bill," Grady Lewis stated Indian "temperament makes it impossible for him to adapt himself to the capitalistic

741 Kidwell, *The Choctaws*, 151-161.

742 Actually, Grady Lewis' research into Choctaw tribal history began in the 1920s. His research spanning 1930-1933 reflected preparation for the Leased District case. W. F. Semple and Winnie Lewis Gravitt, Grady Lewis, Choctaw Attorney," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 33 no 3 (1955): 301-305. Berlin B. Chapman, "The Day in Court for the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes," *Great Plains Journal* vol 2 no 1 (Fall 1962): 1-21.

743 Reese, "Dr. Anna Lewis," 428-449.

system and it is high time the United States government recognize this racial peculiarity.” Lewis continued, “until the twentieth century the five civilized tribes – Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles – were happy and prosperous in the communistic republic[s] they maintained on land given them by the government.” Considering Grady Lewis' “communistic” sympathies, it is reasonable to assume that even the outspoken Miss Debo approached his help with caution. Debo likely thought it wise to hide his connection to her work.⁷⁴⁴

Debo's time with Grady Lewis though forgotten by history, deeply influenced her own views on Indian sovereignty and the historical legitimacy of the Choctaw Republic. Reflecting Grady Lewis' own research, Debo's dissertation would unwittingly place her in the midst of the century-long Choctaw assimilation-sovereignty dispute. Muriel Wright and Anna Lewis would find themselves the respective voice of each faction, Wright offering the pro-assimilation and Lewis the anti-assimilation critique of Debo's scholarship. Offered as an objective history of the Choctaw Republic, Debo's work came to play a central role in validating the emerging Choctaw and Oklahoma Indian sovereignty renaissance.⁷⁴⁵

In addition to her work with Grady Lewis, other research took Debo to the Office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Oklahoma where she met lawyer-historian Grant Foreman and his wife, amateur historian

744 Virginia Lee Warren, “Communal Life Declared Best for Indian, Choctaw Lawyer Here to Back Thomas-Rodgers Bill,” *Washington Post* 25 April, 1935, pg.14.

745 Reese, “Dr. Anna Lewis,” 442. Over the next three decades Grady Lewis would continue to litigate the Leased District claim. In 1951 Lewis won a final settlement. See, Chapman, “The Day in Court,” 1-21.

Caroline Foreman. As a former Dawes Commission fieldworker and local antiquarian Grant Foreman provided Debo with valuable insight into the political and economic machinations of assimilation and allotment. Though Debo would later question Grant Foreman's treatment of Civil War Indian history, the two remained on friendly terms. Early 1932, with research in hand Debo began writing her dissertation.⁷⁴⁶

In late 1932 Debo submitted the first two chapters to Dale. His response initiated the public face of the now notorious scholarly tussle. Dale claimed to have read her chapters with “a great deal of care,” however his critique clearly revealed he hardly bothered to look at her work. Ironically, for a long-winded “raconteur, who recycled his previous experiences into his endeavors as a historian,” Dale complained that the first chapter was too long, relied too heavily on secondary sources and made use of too many “life sketches” and Indian voices (ethnology).⁷⁴⁷ Debo found Dale's response disingenuous. Firing back Debo noted that of the first chapter's one hundred and twenty-eight citations, six were from secondary sources. She contended inclusion of material on “those who figured very prominently in the diplomatic or political life of the tribe” was necessary for clarity, but agreed to remove much of the introductory anthropological and

⁷⁴⁶ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), x; Angie Debo, “Personal Diary January 1941” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 2 Folder 27, Box 5 Folder 5; Angie Debo, “A Dedication to the Memory of Caroline Thomas Foreman, 1872-1967,” *Arizona and the West* vol 16 no 3 (Autumn 1974): 215-218; J. Stanley Clark, “Grant Foreman,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 31 no 3 (Autumn 1953): 226-242; Leckie, 46-47.

⁷⁴⁷ The comment on Dale's windy tales came from Richard Lowitt. Lowitt, “Dear Miss Debo,” 374-378.

ethnological material. Dale did not take kindly to Debo's tone, noting that in the future she should expect his reviews to be brief and uncontested. According to Richard Lowitt, “[Dale] rarely if ever willingly stated or defended in a public setting the courage of his convictions,” as such in refusing to address Debo's legitimate concerns Dale had “literally ... abrogated part of his role as a graduate student mentor.”⁷⁴⁸

In spite of Debo's well developed thought on popular sovereignty, “History of the Choctaw Nation from the End of the Civil War to the Close of the Tribal Period,” carefully navigated assimilationist sentiment and Indian independence. Contending that Choctaws had developed a hybrid civilization that was eventually dismantled by European American land lust Debo noted, “the merging of tribal history into the composite life of the state of Oklahoma may be said to have ended the separate history of this gifted people....”⁷⁴⁹

Having moved beyond the political history of dead Indians, Debo found it impossible to address the national or sovereign history of a living people without mention of their cultural and social history. Accordingly, Debo's first draft contained detailed ethnographic and anthropological information. In response to Dale's antiquated Turnarian distaste for ethnological and anthropological scholarship, Debo shortened this to a few sentences explicating the tribe's purported origin from the brothers Chahtah and Chikasih. Confident in her own objectivity

748 Lowitt, 374-378.

749 Angie Debo, “History of the Choctaw Nation from the End of the Civil War to the Close of the Tribal Period” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1933), preface.

and scrupulous in her research, Debo would correct this deletion in a few short months.⁷⁵⁰

In May of 1933 Debo successfully defended her dissertation and became Dr. Angie Debo. Unfortunately, as an instructor on leave her position at WTSTC was precarious. Following Depression era budget cuts Debo was removed from her position. Following appeal Debo was reassigned to an affiliated facility – the Panhandle-Plains Museum. Simultaneous with her dismissal from WTSTC, Debo received word that the University of Oklahoma Press would publish her dissertation as part of its *Civilization of the American Indian* series.⁷⁵¹

Although Debo and Dale had a tense professional relationship, Dale favorably reviewed her dissertation for publication. Preparing the draft manuscript Debo restored the deleted ethnological and anthropological material expanding it to encompass three additional chapters. Debo again came into conflict with Dale. Reviewing her manuscript for the press Dale suggested – as he had before – that Debo use more primary source material. Debo at first refused given her dire financial situation, but finally agreed to conduct additional research in the University of Oklahoma Phillips Collection.⁷⁵²

In the end Debo persevered and got to keep her ethnological and anthropological chapters. Whether knowingly or unknowing Debo also struck a stinging blow against Dale – the publication failed to acknowledge him. Within the

⁷⁵⁰ Lowitt, “Dear Miss Debo,” 376. Dale’s colleagues, Morris Wardell and Ralph Record shared his Turnerian vision of American history.

⁷⁵¹ Leckie, Angie Debo,” 31-34, Lowitt, 370-378.

⁷⁵² Debo, *The Rise and Fall*, 1-58; Lowitt, 377-388.

context of Debo's struggle to find employment and Dale's disinterest in her predicament, her oversight is revealing. When brought to her attention by the university press Debo quickly wrote Dale, "I seem to have a positive genius for doing things wrong." For his part Dale responded with a cold absolution, "I think you are troubling yourself quite unnecessarily with respect to the acknowledgments which you did not make in your preface."⁷⁵³ For Debo the waters were about to become even more muddied.

The "Dodo" Book

In the summer of 1934 Debo's revised dissertation was published as *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*. Reviews were good and mirrored R. N. Richardson's assessment that Debo had successfully turned the corner on the old ethnological and anthropological taboo in American Indian history. Richardson noted, "[t]here is... a pronounced tendency for students of American history to regard the Indian as something... whose subjugation or destruction opened the way for a superior people." In contrast Richardson posited, "those who contend that [the Indian] has profoundly affected American civilization and made some substantial contributions to it," identifying Debo's scholarship as exemplary of "this point of view...."⁷⁵⁴

Yet for Debo all was not exactly well. Relieved of her position at WTSTC and

⁷⁵³ Lowitt, 387.

⁷⁵⁴ R. N. Richardson, review of *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, by Angie Debo, *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol 38 no 3 (January 1935): 229-230.

servicing as curator of the isolated Panhandle-Plains Museum, she hoped her publication would launch a new career phase. Little did she realize that trouble was brewing among Choctaw assimilationists in Oklahoma. The first hint came in a 1934 book review by her old graduate school colleague and chair of the Oklahoma Women's College history department, Anna Lewis. Given Lewis' own humiliation at the hands of Lansing Bartlett Bloom coupled with knowledge of her brother's role in Debo's scholarship, it seems that Lewis tried to diffuse assimilationist's discontent with diplomatic empathy.⁷⁵⁵

Lewis noted, "Miss Debo has written her history from documents and other printed sources. Had she known more about Choctaws her volume would have been a more comprehensive history of the Choctaw people." Interestingly Lewis' concern was with the quantity of ethnological and anthropological sources. Unfortunately, her review did not provide examples or offer solutions.⁷⁵⁶ Reflecting her own sense of isolation from Choctaw culture at the hands of a cold and culturally insensitive European American stepmother, Lewis concurred with Debo's overall analysis noting, "Miss Debo's observations show a sympathy and a realization of the vital problems of the Choctaw."⁷⁵⁷ In a cruel twist of fate, Lewis found that her review in the *MVHR* was preceded by Lansing Bartlett Bloom's cloying review of Louisa Frances Gillmore's *Traders to the Navajos*.⁷⁵⁸

755 Anna Lewis, review of *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, by Angie Debo, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol 21 no 3 (December 1934): 409-410.

756 Anna Lewis, *The Rise and Fall*, 409-410.

757 Lewis, "The Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma," 1-14.

758 Lewis, review, 410; Lansing Bartlett Bloom review of *Traders to the Navajos: The Story of the Wetherills of Kayanta*, by Louisa Frances Gillmore and Wade Wetherill, *The Mississippi Valley*

Positive reviews aside in 1935 Muriel Wright published a critique of *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* that would haunt the Debo for the rest of her life. A dedicated Choctaw assimilationist, Wright jealously guarded her heritage, particularly the larger than life legacies of her father and grandfather. Debo's book asserted that Chief Allen Wright, Muriel Wright's grandfather had accepted a bribe for his part in the 1866 Choctaw-United States treaty. Wright was outraged. Family lore held that persistent rumors of her grandfather's misdeed were politically motivated by anti-assimilationists. For Wright, Debo's assertion was a personal slight – not only was it unforgivable but also a clear example of Debo's flawed understanding of Choctaw culture.

Wright's 1935 *Chronicles of Oklahoma* book review was one of the most cruel, historically flawed and unprofessional critiques of her career. Obscuring the political turmoil surrounding the minority election of her grandfather Chief Allen Wright, she also misrepresented her father, E. N. Wright's role in the Atoka and Supplemental Agreements and his hell-bent determination to drag the Choctaw Republic down the termination path.

Refuting both Debo and her empathetic acquaintance Lewis, Wright proclaimed *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, “contains much that is interesting and informative, [but] has errors in statement, half-truths and refutations that destroy its value as authentic history of the Choctaws.” Significantly, Wright argued, “[t]he title of the book is a misnomer itself... [t]he Choctaw republic rose but *it did not*

Historical Review vol 21 no 3 (December 1934): 408-409.

fall.” Wright insisted, “[f]rom its inception over a century ago, it was planned as a training ground for the Choctaw people, in preparation for the time when they of their own volition would become citizens of their protector republic, the United States.” Arguing that the Choctaw Nation achieved this goal in 1907 when it was incorporated into the state of Oklahoma, Wright asserted, “[t]hus, the Choctaw nation as a republic did not fall, it attained its objective....”⁷⁵⁹ It is hard to tell what astonished Debo more, Wright's brash disregard for the history of Choctaw Nationalism or the fact that she seemed to passionately believe her own self-serving narrative. Debo had to go no farther than the 1/2 blood Choctaw Lewis to find an Indian who did not agree with the 1/4 blood Choctaw Wright.⁷⁶⁰

More damning was Wright's behind the scenes campaign to besmirch Debo among Choctaw assimilationists and their political allies. In two separate previously unpublished letters written on 22 April 1936 – one to Wright's aunt and another to an unidentified relative “Svnnih” (Sonny) – Wright voiced a well-rehearsed indictment of Debo intended for malicious repetition. In her note to Svnnih, Wright asked, “Did aunt Anna or anyone else write you about Debo's flourishes in the press?” Wright continued informing Svnnih, “She was awarded a prize for her “Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic” at Chattanooga last December... [b]ut the award does not make her book an authentic history... [s]he is “a climber” for position....” Wright added, “I wonder if it will sustain her to the

⁷⁵⁹ Muriel Wright, review of *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, by Angie Debo, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol 13 no 1 (1935): 108-120.

⁷⁶⁰ See Lewis, *The Range Cattle Industry*,” and “review.”

end of a successful career... I doubt it.” Wright concluded, “Aunt Anna calls her volume the 'Dodo Book'... I think that very amusing and quite appropriate.”⁷⁶¹

Wright's letter to Aunt Anna posted the same day also revealed a bitter jealousy of Debo, not only as an historian, but as a successful writer. As a college dropout who aspired to a career in academic history, Wright found Debo's success as a European American historian of the Choctaws unacceptable. Wright's missive noted, “You spoke of the Debo biography appearing in the Sunday paper not long since... [o]f course she has her backers but that does not make her book correct.” Wright noted, “I cannot be worried about her achievement ... [l]et her go, I say.” Emphasizing the point Wright concluded, “[n]o, I do not intend to let the flashes of other writers trouble me... I valued your comment along those lines....”⁷⁶²

Debo's reaction to Wright's gossip campaign is not known. Wright's review was read by Debo who claimed to have put it aside and out of mind, but Debo was not honest in this assertion. Over the next five years Debo researched and wrote a book that defended her Choctaw scholarship by extending its findings to all of the Five Tribes. The publication was *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma* and it proved a devastatingly sharp, clear refutation of Wright's critique. Using both European American and Indian primary sources, Debo struck at both ends of Wright's argument. Where Wright claimed the Choctaw Republic had been fabricated as a tutelage state, Debo proved it (along

761 Muriel Wright to Svnnih, 22 April, 1936, *Muriel H. Wright Collection*. Pronounced Sanny, Svnnih was a pet name that translates into English as Sonny. Mrs. Elenor Caldwell to John M. Rhea, 14, November 2012. Choctaw School of Language, Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma.
762 Muriel Wright to Aunt Anna, 22 April, 1936, *Muriel H. Wright Collection*.

with the four other Indian nations) to have been legally established as a sovereign Nation in perpetuity. Where Wright argued that three generations of select European Americans and elite Indians selflessly worked to acculturate Indians, Debo proved many used the ruse of philanthropic assimilation to defraud and cheat common Indian people out of land, possessions, money, cultural autonomy, tribal identity and independence. For Debo the matter was personal and while she claimed to have embarked on a publication career for financial support, her motives were far more complex.⁷⁶³

The Politics of Angie Debo's New Ethno-political Consciousness

Although Wright's review irritated Debo, in 1935 the AHA awarded her book the John H. Dunning prize. Hailed as “the most important contribution to American historical studies in 1934,” *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* had been officially added to the cannon of professional American history. Most important for the struggling author the Dunning award also served as a springboard for anticipated scholarship.⁷⁶⁴

While occasionally mentioned during Dale's doctoral seminars, a history of the Five Tribes since Removal proved too controversial for his own scholarship. Restrained in part by his aversion for conflict and concern for his own faculty position, the potentially contentious issue of post bellum Five Tribes history

⁷⁶³ Angie Debo, “Personal Diary, January 16, 1941” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 2 folder 27 – Box 5 folder 5.

⁷⁶⁴ Leckie, 60-61, N.a., “Angie Debo,” *AHA Perspectives* (1988): 14.

remained Dale's version of Turner's unwritten big book. Where Turner's magnum opus was not realized during his lifetime, Dale's anticipated book was taken up by Debo.⁷⁶⁵

Using part of the Dunning Award cash prize (\$200) and a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Debo began preliminary work for a book on the termination of Five Tribes sovereignty. Building on dissertation sources, Debo expanded her research to archives in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Muskogee, Oklahoma and Washington, D. C. During the course of her investigation Debo paid especial attention to Wright's contention that the Choctaw Republic – and the other four Indian Nations – were devised as tutelage states. Debo believed this patently untrue and found evidence that several Indian elites abused positions of trust for their own enrichment. Among the long list of crimes committed against Five Tribes citizens, Debo uncovered the names of Oklahoma perpetrators who sullied Dale's notion of civilized frontier progress. One bright spot for Debo was the work of Oklahoma's first Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, Kate Barnard. Late in her career Barnard launched an effort to prevent well-placed European American and elite Indian grafters from defrauding Indian minors and orphans of their allotments. As a result of her attempted exposé Barnard was driven from office and soon fell into obscurity. Within a few years the former Commissioner of Charities died alone and penniless in an Oklahoma City flophouse. Barnard's fate gave Debo

⁷⁶⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, with an introduction by Allan G. Bogue (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2010), vii; Dale, *The West Wind*, 126.

pause. Rather than surrender to fear, Debo proceeded making Kate Barnard's heroic stand a feature of her developing manuscript.⁷⁶⁶

Debo's draft was submitted to Joseph Brandt at the University of Oklahoma Press in fall of 1936. Wright's caustic 1935 review made a lasting impression on Debo and directly shaped *As Long as the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Replying directly to Wright's criticism the introduction stated, “[t]he policy of the United States in liquidating the institutions of the Five Tribes was a gigantic blunder that... destroyed a unique civilization, and degraded thousands of individuals.”⁷⁶⁷

Initially Brandt praised Debo's manuscript noting a positive review from reader D' Arcy McNickle, administrative assistant to John Collier at the BIA. As a BIA employee McNickle felt Debo's book would buoy efforts to extend coverage of the 1935 Indian Reorganization Act to the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole (and other) tribes. However, to avoid a political backlash McNickle suggested much of the Indian testimony and names of the accused be removed. Brandt concurred. Debo was incensed. While she agreed to some minor editing, Debo specifically refused to remove the names of Indian and European American conspirators. Those names would vindicate Debo against Wright's 1935 charges. Debo intended to strike Wright and her cadre with the very words and actions of those for whom Wright claimed to speak.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶⁶ Schrems, Wolff, “Politics and Libel,” 184-200.

⁷⁶⁷ Debo, *And Still*, x, xi; Leckie, 60-70.

⁷⁶⁸ Leckie, 66-76.

Debo's ongoing dispute with the OU press led to a special review by former history professor and University of Oklahoma assistant to the president Morris Wardell. Debo never learned of Wardell's role which is unfortunate because he raised unsavory questions about her character. Secret charges are difficult to address. Like McNickle, Wardell also raised the issue of libel. Fearing the book would offend university friends and anti-intellectual penny-pinchers in the state legislature, the university eventually forced Brandt to break Debo's publication contract. Frustrated with the turn of events, Debo returned her publication contact.⁷⁶⁹

Within two years Brandt found his own position at the University of Oklahoma press untenable. Brandt believed that honest peer review and academic excellence was being subverted by an overbearing and politicized administration. In July of 1938 Brandt left Oklahoma to become director of Princeton University Press. From his new position Brandt wrote Debo asking for another chance to review her manuscript. Following a slight change to avoid duplication of a recent publication title, *And Still the Waters Run* was sent to Brandt. Again reviewers raised libel concerns. Debo, strapped for cash acquiesced on several points, yet insisted on retaining a few key names. This time Brandt championed Debo's position and garnered administration support. The book was published in the fall of 1940 bringing Debo's "Long Night" to a close.⁷⁷⁰

769 Schrems, Wolff, 184-203.

770 Schrems, Wolff, 197-202.

In spite of her difficulties, Debo did not seem to fully appreciate the inflammatory nature of her ethno-political scholarship. A year after publishing *And Still the Waters Run*, Debo contemplated a far more incendiary treatise on the perils of American imperialism. In an unpublished draft titled, “Indian Policy as a Problem in Colonial Administration,” Debo used strikingly modern terminology to describe her evolving view of Indian assimilation. Regarding American imperialism she noted, “our real colonial policy is found in our dealings with the Indians, and that it touches on every aspect of our national lives....” In ascribing motive Debo found, “the age-old economic object, the determination of a strong race to exploit the property of a weaker one.” Sadly, Debo also discovered a disturbing end, “the liquidation of... subject nationalities, leaving a racial minority to be assimilated by the dominant group.”⁷⁷¹

Anticipating research support from Collier, Debo forwarded a copy and prepared a corollary piece titled “Communism in the Indian Service.” Collier was under attack by political opponents who believed the IRA legislation communistic. Debo thought a passionate defense of Collier might help curry favor. Whatever Collier's initial thoughts, his response dated 8 December 1941 – just a day after the attack on Pearl Harbor – reflected the new realities of a nation at war. A veteran of World War I Red Hysteria, Collier had no desire to make waves. While foreseeing

⁷⁷¹ Angie Debo, “Indian Policy as a Problem in Colonial Administration” *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 22 Folder 47-77.

a book length treatment, Collier strongly suggested a broad politically neutral ethnological study rather than “the narrow thesis of imperialism.” Scolding Debo Collier added, “The treatment of our own Government should be set in the context of national development, with more than a bow to the inevitableness of much that happened.” Debo's response if sent, is not recorded. Debo apparently took Collier's harsh criticism to heart and did not pursue her imperialism book. Notably, she also filed away her defense of Collier and the BIA.⁷⁷²

Where Collier found Debo's work too provocative, another old scholar who admired the Oklahoma historian from afar found her work fulfilling. More importantly, this champion embraced Debo's new interpretation of American internal imperialism. Mirroring the argument in Debo's unpublished “Indian Policy as a Problem in Colonial Administration,” Annie Heloise Abel's 1941 review of *And Still the Waters Run* concluded, “the author proceeds to investigate the most colossal of all the subterfuges that have been used... to attain their own selfish and sinister ends under guise of bestowing inestimable benefits upon a weaker people hopelessly at their mercy.”⁷⁷³

Unaware of Collier's response to Debo, Abel added, “The brightest spot of all finds a place in the concluding chapters which concern themselves with the Indian policy of more recent days and notably with the John Collier reforms.” Courageously for

772 John Collier to Angie Debo 8 December, 1941 *Angie Debo Collection*, Box 2 Folder 27, Box 5 Folder 5.

773 Annie Heloise Abel-Henderson review of *And Still the Waters Run*, by Angie Debo, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol 32 no 4 (October 1941): 464-466.

a woman historian who so carefully dodged the ethno-political taboo Abel added, “It is to be hoped that this story of the stupendous wrong done to the Five Civilized Tribes will commend itself to a larger reading public than is usual with books of similar sort.”⁷⁷⁴

Breaking Through

As a scholar Debo dared to reexamine U. S. assimilation policy and offer a biting critique of American imperialism. Before the horrors of Nazi concentration camps and Stalin's gulag were widely publicized helping to make later New Left critiques of American imperialism publicly tolerable, Debo dared to address the exploitation and brutality of U. S. Indian assimilation policy. To the horror of European Americans Debo conclusively demonstrated that westward expansion proceeded with the savage, often deadly colonization of American Indians.

Although Debo in part formulated a new construction of American Indian history to articulate her frustration with institutional tyranny, sexism and imperialism, her scholarship achieved the rare status of transcending her own narrow interests. It is for this reason that *And Still the Waters Run* remains a key text in American Indian scholarship.

Ironically, the sexual division of labor so hated by Debo accounted in large part for her public fame and scholarly renown. Had Debo held a university position it is likely that *And Still the Waters Run* – in its incendiary and most valuable form –

⁷⁷⁴ Abel, review, 466.

would not have been published. While Debo felt it lacked the prestige of tenured academic employment, her work as a public historian and freelance author was in large part responsible for her recognition as one of the nation's foremost Indian scholars.

After 1941 women historians began to make steady gains in the academy. This new development in turn dispersed the unique niche of women American Indian historians that had been perpetuated by professional tradition and social prejudice since the late 1890s. With the unhinging of this cohort also came the end of European American women's dominance over a scholarship that had appropriated Indian identities and cultures for a little over a century. Debo would continue to publish in this vein as would other European American and Indian historians, however 1941 signaled the culminating phase in European American women's hegemony over the construction of Indian history.

Conclusion

Gender Politics and Indian History

The intellectual and scholarly interactions of Angie Debo, Anna Lewis and Muriel Wright signaled the culmination of European American women's hegemony over the construction of American Indian scholarship. Lasting for a little over a century, this historical trajectory first emerged with Transcendentalist and Evangelical European American women who took up American Indians as a marginal social and political interest. For these women the Indian was to be pitied – the occasional object of Evangelical missionaries and modest assimilation efforts.

The antebellum slavery debate would turn women's nascent assimilation concerns from southern slave holding Indians toward western and Plains Indians. However, for such women American Indians were often considered a weak, lazy, ignorant and impotent people destined for extinction – hardly political equals. In contrast, African American slaves became powerful metaphors for the unequal status of women in American society. Through abolition activities women were able to publicly advance their own political goals at a time when women's rights agitation was not welcome in the public sphere. As they demanded immediate emancipation and full civil rights for slaves, they artfully advanced their own. The success of the slave metaphor would marginalize womens' scholarly interest in American Indians until after the Civil War.

Concurrent with the decline of the post bellum radical civil rights

movement, the lateral diffusion of the Washington women's rights movement and the rise of American Darwinism (racial evolution); American Indians quickly became powerful political metaphors for European American women. Women's rights proponents who were not movement leaders were able to increase their own status by taking up the cause of Indian assimilation. While some of these women like Harriet Foote Hawley and her sister Kate Foote Coe once worked for the abolition cause, most like Amelia Quinton, Mary Bonney, Helen Hunt Jackson, Alice Fletcher and Matilda Coxe Stevenson were novices at racial politics.

For women of marginal importance to the women's rights movement, unlocking the evolutionary secrets of the Indian race promised social and political influence at a time when they were barred from the voting booth, most public vocations and political office. While much of this work – such as ITKPA/WNIA pamphlets and publications – was overtly political and did not rise to the standard of scholarship, it did attempt to address some of the historical facts surrounding Indian treaties and federal Indian policy. A few women scholars like Jackson and Fletcher built on WNIA interests to craft an ethno-political Indian scholarship that furthered their stature among Washington politicians and government Indian experts.

With Indian scholarship came real influence. Jackson and Fletcher would use their Indian scholarship to exercise a considerable degree of power over the lives and property of American Indians. Based largely on her fame as the author of *A Century of Discontent*, Jackson was named a special Indian agent empowered to

investigate conditions among the California Mission Indians. Fletcher's *Indian Education and Civilization* report would become an important source of information for the federal allotment effort. Stevenson, in turn would use her Indian scholarship to strengthen her position with the BAE after her husband's death and to advance the commodification of Indian material culture.

However, discovery of secrets was followed by evolutionary prescriptions and the medicine ultimately proved impotent at best and deadly at worst. As European American women's ethno-political understanding of Indians came into question, interest in their scholarship faded. Their work had bestowed a degree of political and personal power, but it was fleeting and all too often came at the detriment of Indians.

This early generation of women scholars was able to fashion an Indian scholarship that drew on anthropology, ethnology and history, however as anthropology and history professionalized women's Indian scholarship was increasingly marginalized. Frederick Jackson Turner, Frontier/West historians and other members of the profession in turn shunned the ethnological and American Darwinism (racial evolution) sentiments that under-girded the kind of Indian studies penned by women scholars. The history profession's distaste for American Darwinism and ethnological study was further buttressed by the discovery of genetics in 1900 and the rise of the American Eugenics movement. Displaced by academic professionals and new scientific discoveries, the work of early women Indian scholars passed into the twilight. Deemed peripheral to American history by

Turner and the new Frontier/West historians, Indians would play a tangential role in emerging frontier scholarship. Male historians were not interested in comprehensive American Indian history.

The division of anthropology and history into distinct professions during the latter half of the Twentieth Century also saw a marked increase in women historians. Reflecting attitudes prevalent in contemporaneous American society few faculty positions at comprehensive universities would be awarded to these women. Practicality and prejudice combined to direct many women historians toward employment in museums, archives, historical societies, women's colleges and high schools. By the early 1900s several of these women would take up Indian scholarship in a bid to garner professional notice. American Indian history would offer women historians a way to acquire professional credentials while rebelling against the academic assumptions and gender prejudices of the historical profession. With the demise of the national assimilation movement and early ethno-political scholarship, this new construction of Indian scholarship would be used to further the professional and institutional aspirations of women scholars. Women historian's efforts to navigate professional and institutional politics replaced the autonomous women Indian scholar's quest for national prestige and political influence.

Although encouraged by Frederick Jackson Turner and Ruben Gold Thwaites, women's venture into Indian history proved tricky. Ethno-political scholarship was discredited in the academy and anthropology and ethnology were

virtually taboo in the historical profession. Women historians avoided these scholarly sanctions by confining their work to primary document publication and non-partisan political histories of Indian treaties and related U. S. Indian statutes. Two of Turner's former students, Emma Helen Blair and Louise Phelps Kellogg would publish a wide array of documents and scholarship pertaining to early Indian treaties and U. S. relations. Annie Heloise Abel, the only historian of the three to have held a faculty position, would push this scholarship deep into the American West and to the doorstep of contemporaneous American Indian history. Although the historical profession had become more tolerant of ethnological and anthropological material, professional politics kept Abel from breaching the old taboo and addressing modern Indian history. Contemporaneous Indian scholarship would be taken up at the University of Oklahoma.

Fighting for her own professional credibility and rebelling against institutional gender bias, Angie Debo authored a study of the Choctaw republic. Debo's effort embraced anthropology and ethnology and raised the ire of two Choctaw Oklahoma women, Anna Lewis, a professional historian and Muriel Wright, an amateur historian. Both women felt Debo had misrepresented Choctaw culture. Wright specifically argued that the Choctaw republic had been founded as a tutelage state. Debo ultimately responded to this criticism with *And Still the Waters Run*, which contended that all of the Five Indian republics were established by treaty to exist in perpetuity. But by engaging modern Indian history Debo inadvertently engaged modern Indian historians.

The exchange with Lewis and Wright made Debo a better Indian historian – it sharpened and expanded her scholarship – however it also brought into question European American women's hegemony over Indian history. Debo's experience with Lewis and Wright demonstrated that European American women historians could no longer dominate the scholarship of American Indians for their own personal and political agendas. Too many diverse voices were emerging in the history profession and as with Anna Lewis and Muriel Wright, American Indians were examining the history of Indian scholarship and asking uncomfortable questions about the legacy of assimilation.

Though epic in its influence *And Still the Waters Run* proved to be the last great work produced by a gendered European American historical trajectory whose origins dated to the 1830s and tenaciously survived the ethnological and anthropological purge of the new American history profession. With the social turn new ideas about who could write minority history began to emerge and women's new political agendas would be cast in increasingly predictable molds. Where Blair, Kellogg, Abel and Debo deployed American Indian history in part to advance their personal and professional aspirations, a new generation of women historians would similarly take up the scholarship of gender and women's history in part to advance national women's rights. Over time women historians would be confronted with the increasingly insistent professional presumption that their work must illuminate some aspect of socially constructed gender, sexuality and the historical patterns of women's lives. When women wished to work outside these

analytical modes their scholarship would find itself most receptive when beamed through the lens of gender studies and women's history.

During this period of scholarly transition (1950-1980) a handful of American Indian women began work that would link Indian history with a new anthropological and ethnological sensitivity to Indian cultures and traditions. But just as Ella Cara Deloria, Beatrice Medicine, Ruth Muskrat Bronson and other American Indian women historians were venturing into a more culturally rich kind of Indian scholarship they were challenged. What had seemed a fringe interest for male historians since the development of the profession became quite attractive to male Americanists marginalized within the exponentially expanding cohort of new history doctors and an uncertain academic job market.

Highlighted by the Frontier Thesis's diminished post WWII status and a concurrent rise in non-elite scholarly interests sparked by the social turn, minority history increasingly came to the scholarly foreground. For a new generation of predominantly European American male historians like Harold Hickerson, Francis Paul Prucha, Arrell Morgan Gibson, Robert F. Berkhofer and William Thomas Hagan a new form of constructed political and ethno-political Indian history became a conduit to professional distinction. Once again Indian history created a professional niche for European American historians.

Representatives of this approach expanded to include Indian historians and women historians, however the field continued to sidestep much of the complex political and gendered sensitivities of constructed Indian history. Historians of

American Indians struggled through a scholarly minefield rigged with the explosive politics (past and present) of constructed Indian history, ossified professional gender roles and the politics of Indian identity and cultural understanding. Moreover, women historians were often corralled by the profession's penchant for cloaking their scholarship in the now predictable tropes of sexuality and gender. Typecasting aside, women historians of American Indians still play a prominent role in the field. European American, African American, Asian American, Latino and American Indian women and men historians now contribute to a far more diverse body of Indian scholarship.

In the final analysis, what makes the history of women's Indian scholarship so compelling is the social and political influence it bestowed at a time when women were generally barred from the voting booth, the professions, political office and academia. Even after women gained the right to vote and greater access to the professions and the academy, a new generation of marginalized women historians fashioned a constructed Indian history which they used to advanced their professional status. For European American women who penned Indian scholarship the personal was truly the political.

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