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"The Educated Indian:" Native Perspectives on Knowledge and Resistance in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

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**“The Educated Indian:” Native Perspectives on Knowledge and Resistance in
the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies

By
Madison Kahn

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

May 2019

“You shall always remain in [the land] where your [creator] is.”

-Fidelia Fielding (Mohegan)

This project has been written over the span of one year in multiple places on the land currently known to most as the United States. However, these lands are, in fact, the unceded homelands of:

- The Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians (currently Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York):
- The Quinnipiac People (currently Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut)
- The Tongva People (currently Los Angeles, California)

“You are a man who has ‘pierced the enemy’s lines.’ You have torn yourself from one environment and made yourself the master of another. In this you have done more for your people than any other Indian who ever lived. Had you remained with your people, and of your people alone, you might have been a Red Jacket, a Brant or a Tecumseh, but by going out and away from them you added to the honor that you already had and won equal, if not greater, honors among the white people. You proved what an Indian of capacity could be in the white man’s world. The heroes you name did not. We have no way of measuring their capacity in our own standards [...] But we know what you have said as well we know what you have done, and that measured by our own ideals.”

“That may be true,” answered the General to the sculptor, “But why should you test the capacity of the red man’s mind in measures that may have an improper scale? Do you measure cloth with a balance or by the gallon?”

-A conversation between James E. Kelly and General Ely S. Parker¹

¹ William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 195.

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Introduction

In 1910, a man joined the queue of those waiting to receive their diplomas from Yale University. He was poised and dignified, “with broad shoulders and twinkling brown eyes.”² He may have been standing with friends from the Elihu Club, a prestigious debate club that publicly argued over important issues pertaining to current events, or perhaps he stood with some of his peers from the YMCA.³ Unless they knew him, no one who looked at Henry Roe Cloud would suspect the prejudices and tribulations he had overcome to stand up on that stage; those watching may not have even realize the man before them was a Native American from the Ho-Chunk (also known as the Winnebago) tribe.⁴ This critical moment marked Roe Cloud as the first known Native American to graduate from Yale University.⁵

Towards the end of the twentieth century, a seemingly very different moment of recognizing knowledge took place in Uncasville, Connecticut, less than an hour away from Yale. In August, the annual Wigwam festival was taking place at the Mohegan Reservation.⁶ In recent years, the Wigwam festival has consisted mainly of Native crafts, foods, and dance competitions.⁷ However, during the 1992 festivities, a very important ceremony took place. The Mohegan Tribe conveyed three official medicine titles. Two of these were granted posthumously on Courtland Fowler and Emma Baker. The third, however, was conveyed onto Gladys

² Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (n.p.: Duke UP, 2009), 3-4.

³ Joel Pfister, *The Yale*, 59.; "Winnebago Indian Most Prominent of Graduates of Yale," Call Number: MS 774, Box 72, Roe family papers, Stevenson library, Yale University, New Haven.

⁴ This project will refer to Roe Cloud’s Native Community as Ho-Chunk, since that is the term the tribe prefers today. However, some sources will refer to Roe Cloud as Winnebago.

⁵ Joel Pfister, *The Yale*, 2, 4.

⁶ Melissa Jayne Fawcett, *Medicine Trail: The Life and Lessons of Gladys Tantaquidgeon*. 132.

⁷ "Free family friendly fun and entertainment for all this Weekend!," Facebook, August 14, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/670735376320195/photos/a.670749446318788/1924144144312639/?type=3&theater>.

Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) who was at the time ninety-three years old.⁸ Even at her age, Tantaquidgeon was still active in the local Mohegan community as she had always been throughout her life as well as deeply invested in Mohegan traditions, spirituality, and medicine practices.

At first glance, these two events—Roe Cloud’s graduation and Tantaquidgeon’s installment as medicine woman—appear not to have a lot in common. First, they bookend the twentieth century, as Roe Cloud graduated Yale in 1910 and Tantaquidgeon received the medicine woman title in 1992. Second, Roe Cloud’s graduation took place on settler colonist space while Tantaquidgeon’s installment occurred on sovereign, Native ground. Third, the audience at these two events were vastly different. The Yale community present for the graduation ceremony was most likely affluent as well as mostly white. There certainly was not a large Native presence, as Roe Cloud was the first known Native American to receive a Yale degree. In Tantaquidgeon’s case, the audience was not only most likely majority Native American but also a direct reflection of her traditional Mohegan community, as the festival took place on the reservation where she lived. The purpose of these audiences is also important. A ceremony was only a part of the Wigwam festival while graduation was the main event at Yale. It is also crucial to mention that Roe Cloud was a man attending a male-dominated institution and Tantaquidgeon received a title that can be bestowed on any gender.⁹

Both these events displayed a symbolic transfer of knowledge onto a Native individual. While the contents of the knowledge applied is different, both Tantaquidgeon and Roe Cloud participated in symbolic gestures of gaining knowledge. Roe Cloud walked away from that

⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 133.

⁹ Harvard Crimson, "Yale Will Admit Women in 1969; May Have Coeducational Housing," The Harvard Crimson, last modified November 15, 1968, accessed April 18, 2019, <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1968/11/15/yale-will-admit-women-in-1969/>.

graduation ceremony with a degree, while Tantaquidgeon earned a title that can likewise be used to announce prestige. The use of the word “knowledge” instead of “education” here is deliberate, as the Anglo-American connotations of “education” are not the same as the connotations for the word “knowledge.” Knowledge can be earned through education but also through life experiences, people, religion, spirituality, and more. Knowledge, therefore, is a more inclusive term than education that still emphasizes the learning process. The actual ceremony and performance of conferring a degree is symbolic of an approved Anglo-American transfer of knowledge; the receipt of the title of “Medicine Woman” is an event of equal importance in terms of the community performance of knowledge transmission, acquisition, and responsibility. Prized Anglo-American knowledge during the twentieth century consisted of highly structured schooling at higher education institutions that taught an Anglo-centered canon. Native knowledge systems did not fall under this umbrella and therefore did not fit into settler colonist ideas of approved knowledge systems. Further, there is a large community component to these two symbolic gestures as those present participated as an audience. Community recognition legitimized these two titles. The commonalities in these two moments of symbolic transfers of knowledge speak to a larger comparison of knowledge systems in Native and settler colonist communities in the United States across time and space.

This project used specific case studies of four Native individuals from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate how Indigenous people experienced the intersection of Native and settler colonial knowledge practices. It also examined how Native and settler colonist spaces of learning informed these experiences. Further, this project explored how Native individuals utilized Native knowledge, such as medicine practices, religion, histories, and cultural practices, in settler colonist spaces as well as settler colonial knowledge, including

religion, histories, legal practices, and educative structures, in Native spaces. These individuals worked to prioritize Native voices and adapt communities to face the larger world that was both outside of and encroaching on their sovereign spaces. Given the challenges of finding sources in the voices of Native subjects, I focused on Native Americans who interfaced with mainstream (non-Native) American higher education. A lot of research is devoted to the Residential boarding school system, particularly the schools founded after the Civil War, but Native individuals who experienced non-Native higher education has not been given enough attention.¹⁰

The four individuals I examined are as follows: Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk), Ely S. Parker (Seneca), and Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux). I first chose individuals that matched my time frame, from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Second, I focused on those primarily active on the east coast of the United States. There are some exceptions to this, as Roe Cloud and Deloria both traveled and lived in other parts of the country, but the majority of their educational experiences occurred on the east coast. Third, I looked at individuals that held roles in Native and American government, as these positions proved very telling in terms of individual policies, values, and beliefs. Tantaquidgeon and Parker both held important governmental roles in their respective Native communities. Roe Cloud and Deloria both held critical positions in the Christian church, Roe Cloud as a Presbyterian Minister and Deloria as an Episcopal Minister. Tantaquidgeon also received the title of Medicine Woman

¹⁰ On early nineteenth century Native American education, see Christina Snyder, *Great Crossings*; Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family*; and John Demos, *The Heathen School*. The majority of scholarship focuses on later era schools, such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. For classic and recent examples, see Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Zitkala-Sa, *American Indian Stories*; Lomawaima, Child, Archuleta, *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences*; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; and Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate Indians*. Important as well in the history of Native American education is Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* as well as Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary*.

for the Mohegan Tribe, a crucial cultural and spiritual position. All four worked for the federal government of the United States at some point during their lives, although their positions and experiences were vastly different. Finally, Tantaquidgeon deserves to be noted as the only woman present in this project. During this time period, many settler colonist higher educational structures were exclusionary towards women. Tantaquidgeon meets the criteria of the other three individuals in the project, but gender also played a large role in her narrative as she navigated both Native and settler colonist ideals of womanhood and femininity.

These Native individuals give insight into unique educational experiences, transiting in their lifetimes through turning points of U.S. educational policy directed at sovereign Native communities. By attending elite Anglo-American universities and participating in federal Indian policies, the actors considered here interfaced with settler colonist knowledge structures; their continued acknowledgment of and connection to their home communities—Mohegan, Ho-Chunk, Seneca, and Yankton Dakota—maintained their place and relationship in Native knowledge practices. Although their individual experiences diverged significantly, I argued that each of these individuals found ways to combine these radically different and, at times, oppositional learning systems in order to bring Native knowledge practices into settler colonist spaces and settler colonist practices into Native spaces for the purpose of advancing themselves and their communities.

Rather than choose simple assimilation or risk an outright rejection of settler colonial norms that would jeopardize the continued sovereignty and independence of their home communities, each of these individuals explored avenues to preserve, advance, and adapt Native knowledge ways for the changing American social and political landscape. Some of these strategies focused on helping an single individual survive settler colonial spaces and achieve

success according to these terms in order to be better positioned to advocate on behalf of others. In some senses, these individuals formed a Native version of W.E.B. DuBois' "talented tenth" argument.¹¹ Other individuals entered privileged spaces of settler colonial education only to reject working in these spaces, returning instead to homelands to innovate new preservation mechanisms for Indigenous culture.

The individuals studied here do not reflect the majority of the (residential or local boarding school) education experienced by Native children and adolescents in the post-Civil War, pre-Indian Citizenship Act era (1865-1924). Historians have produced many different perspectives on the experiences of Native individuals in a settler colonial educational system. Some of the earliest Anglophone encounters date back to the eighteenth century, with Eleazar Wheelock's school, which became Dartmouth University.¹² In the early republic, Indians found themselves the target of both federal and cultural assimilation projects. As John Demos, Dawn Peterson, and Christina Snyder have shown, these projects aimed to take Native children from their families and "civilize" them, creating a new generation of Native Americans that had no connections to their Indigenous communities or culture.¹³ Boarding schools like the Cornwall School and the Choctaw Academy focused on elite, predominantly southeastern Native boys in order to coopt them into a capitalist hierarchy. The majority of scholarship focuses on this

¹¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in *The American Negro: His History and Literature*, ed. Ulysses Lee (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

¹² Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* (Labanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press., 2010).

¹³ John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 2014).; Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).; Christina Snyder, *Great Crossings: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in the Age of Jackson* (n.p.: Oxford University Press, 2019).

residential boarding school system, most famously at Carlisle, as is seen in the Bancroft-winning work of Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race* and Jacqueline Fear Segal, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*.¹⁴ These works prioritization of Native voices has been a crucial point to open discussions regarding the differences in Native and settler colonist education. My work builds on this to make the point that there are other stories to be considered that enrich these existing narratives.

Chapter one explores how these Native Americans both used settler colonist structures to their own advantage and managed to find ways in which these structures could serve as a platform to amplify the work of Indigenous communities in knowledge preservation. Tantaquidgeon, Deloria, and Roe Cloud had to interact with the politics of respectability while simultaneously navigating their indigenous identity being thrust into the public sphere. Chapter Two considers how Tantaquidgeon, Parker, and Deloria adapted settler colonist knowledge structures in their own sovereign, Native spaces to further protect, restore, and legitimize their communities. These individuals navigated the tension between two very different knowledge systems, and created unique objects of Native knowledge that utilize both settler colonist and Native methods of preservation. In Chapter Three, I turn to the question of how all four of these individuals grappled with “double consciousness,” as they navigated their conflicting identities in different spaces. This chapter focuses on how the theoretical implications of a dual identity play out for Native peoples in terms of sovereignty, policy, and spatiality.

Gladys Tantaquidgeon

¹⁴ Susan D. Rose and Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).; 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: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

Gladys Iola Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) was born in 1899 on Mohegan Hill.

Tantaquidgeon's early education included tribal spirituality and herbalism. She had little experience with Eurocentric schools before entering the University of Pennsylvania in 1919 where she studied Anthropology. She combined her passion for medicine and healing with anthropology; her research focused on herbal medicine traditions and practices of east coast tribes, including the Delaware, Nanticoke, Cayuga, and Wampanoag. From this research, she published the book, *A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practices and Folk Beliefs* in 1942.¹⁵ She, along with her brother Harry Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) and their father, John Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), founded the Tantaquidgeon Indian Museum in 1931.¹⁶ Tantaquidgeon received two honorary doctorates: one from the University of Connecticut and one from Yale University.¹⁷ From 1934-1947, Tantaquidgeon worked with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She was recruited by John Collier and assigned to work the Yankton Sioux reservation in South Dakota. Tantaquidgeon started working to promote Indigenous art through the new federal Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1938. In the 1940s, she obtained a job as a librarian in a Niantic Women's Prison.¹⁸ Tantaquidgeon kept careful documentation of her family and other Mohegan milestones, including births, graduations, deaths, and marriages; these records strengthened the Mohegan case for Federal Recognition, which they achieved in 1994.¹⁹

Throughout her life, the Tantaquidgeon Museum remained important to her: "a walk through the

¹⁵ Mohegan Tribe, "Medicine Woman Gladys Tantaquidgeon," Mohegan Tribe, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://www.mohegan.nsn.us/explore/heritage/memoriam/medicine-woman-gladys-tantaquidgeon-memorial>.

¹⁶ "Tantaquidgeon Museum," Mohegan Tribe, last modified 2017, accessed November 12, 2018, <https://www.mohegan.nsn.us/explore/heritage/important-sites/tantaquidgeon-museum>.

¹⁷ Christine DeLucia, "Fugitive Collections in New England Indian Country: Indigenous Material Culture and Early American History Making at Ezra Stiles's Yale Museum," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (January 2018): 149, JSTOR.

¹⁸ Mohegan Tribe, "Medicine Woman," Mohegan Tribe.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Tantaquidgeon Museum is a consolidated walk along Gladys's life trail."²⁰ Tantaquidgeon was elected medicine woman in 1992 and was included in the Connecticut Women's Hall of fame in 1994, the same year the Mohegan Tribe received federal recognition.²¹ Gladys Iola Tantaquidgeon died in 2005, but her museum remains open to this day.²²

Henry Roe Cloud

Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk) was born in 1886 in Winnebago, Nebraska.²³ Roe Cloud, at the advice of his Presbyterian Minister, began attending a Santee Mission School in northeastern Nebraska, the same school attended by Charles (Santee Dakota) decades earlier. From the Mission school, Roe Cloud moved on to Mt. Hermon and later to Yale University in 1906.²⁴ During his freshman year, he met Walter Clark and Mary Wickham Roe and became incredibly close with them, viewing them as his adopted parents.²⁵ Yale was not the last of Roe Cloud's experiences with higher education. He briefly studied at Oberlin Seminary College before transferring to the well-known Auburn Theological Seminary. He received a Bachelor of Divinity Degree from Auburn and then a Masters in Anthropology from Yale. His Anthropology degree made him the first known Native American to receive an advanced degree from Yale. Roe Cloud was an instrumental voice in the crafting of the Merriam Report, which voiced outrage about the lack of education of Native Americans.²⁶ In 1932, Roe Cloud received an honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Emporia College as well as the third annual Indian

²⁰ Melissa Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 137.

²¹ *Ibid.* xiii.

²² Mohegan Tribe, "Medicine Woman," Mohegan Tribe.

²³ Bruce P. Stark and Diane Ducharme, eds., *Guide to the Roe Family Papers*, 6, last modified August 1985, accessed November 14, 2018, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/mssa.ms.0774>.

²⁴ Joel Pfister, *The Yale*, 32.

²⁵ Stark and Ducharme, *Guide to the Roe Family*, 6.

²⁶ Pfister, *The Yale*, 2.

Achievement Medal.²⁷ Roe Cloud is also seen as instrumental, perhaps even more so than the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the formation of the “Indian New Deal” under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.²⁸ Roe Cloud attempted to carve out an Indigenous “Talented Tenth.”²⁹ Du Bois’ framework of the “Talented Tenth” as well as “double consciousness” helps underscore how race and class impacted Roe Cloud’s success, especially as he gained increasing notoriety in white spaces.

Ely S. Parker

Ely S. Parker (Seneca) was born in 1828 on the Tonawanda Reservation in New York. He was named Ha-sa-no-an-da which means “Leading Name.”³⁰ His early childhood was influenced by traditional Seneca cultural beliefs, folk tales, and family histories.³¹ His search for Anglo-American education systems is noteworthy, as it stemmed from a moment of anger and prejudice. As Parker was walking in Ontario, some English officers started making jokes at his expense and the young Seneca was furious he did not know enough of the English language to respond. At that moment, Parker decided he needed to learn English.³² He walked all the way back to the Tonawanda Reservation in New York, “and then he went to school.”³³ Parker entered Yates Academy in New York in 1842 and was the only Indigenous student there.³⁴ In 1844, Parker met Lewis Henry Morgan in an Albany bookstore. This meeting began a lifelong

²⁷ Pfister, *The Yale*, 3.

²⁸ Ibid. 4.

²⁹ Ibid. 3; W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Talented Tenth.”

³⁰ William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 14.

³¹ Ibid. 16.

³² Ibid. 17.

³³ Arthur Caswell Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker: Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary* (n.p.: Buffalo Historical Society, 1919), 5.

³⁴ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 18.

friendship and led to the creation of modern-day ethnography.³⁵ Morgan's ethnographic work, *League of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois*, was not without its problems, but it made one of the first attempts to prioritize Native voices and traditions as opposed to looking exclusively through a settler colonist lens at Native societies.³⁶

All throughout Parker's childhood, the Tonawanda Reservation was under threat. This deeply influenced Parker's connection to his home, spatiality, and the United States' legal system. As a smart, capable young man who knew English, Parker became the community's best hope to save their land.³⁷ Parker became an official sachem of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy in 1851.³⁸ His career as a lawyer was cut short by his inability to take the bar exam, as he was not technically counted as a United States citizen.³⁹ With Morgan's help, Parker attended a course on engineering at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy and then began working on the Erie Canal.⁴⁰ Parker entered the Civil War as a division engineer, but in 1864, future president Ulysses S. Grant promoted Parker to the role of his military secretary with the rank of lieutenant colonel.⁴¹ Parker is best known for transcribing General Lee's terms of surrender in 1865.⁴² After Grant became President, he appointed Parker as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, making Parker the first Native American to hold the position.⁴³ Parker simultaneously held governmental

³⁵ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 1.

³⁶ Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, 1904, accessed March 24, 2019, <https://archive.org/details/hodenosaunee00morgrich/page/n10>.

³⁷ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 10-11.

³⁸ Ibid. 48-49.

³⁹ Ibid. 41.

⁴⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 79.

⁴¹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 86, 101.

⁴² Ibid. 111.

⁴³ Ibid. 137.

positions in two separate, sovereign nations: The Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the United States. Ely Parker died on August, 30th, 1895.⁴⁴

Vine "Pete" Deloria Sr.

The Deloria family has been a critical force in Native American and Indigenous Studies for generations, contributing to academia, tribal councils, and United States government policy. One member of the family, however, would have been happy to have been an athletic coach.⁴⁵ Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux) was born in 1901 at Wakpala on South Dakota's Standing Rock Reservation.⁴⁶ Deloria became a star athlete and Episcopal minister. He graduated with the highest ranking of Cadet major from Kearney Military Academy, a non-Indian episcopal boarding school, after thriving under the school's militaristic structure. In 1922, he received an athletic scholarship from St. Stephen's College for football.⁴⁷ St. Stephen's had been founded in 1860 and was later renamed Bard College, the name it retains today, in 1934.⁴⁸ Deloria became both the star and captain of the St. Stephen's team.⁴⁹ While most of the research in this project will connect knowledge to historical, political, academic, or religious pursuits, Vine Deloria Sr. offers a unique perspective on the power of athletics.

Deloria is of particular interest to this project because he attended Bard College, the original homeland of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians and the place where the majority of this project was written. Throughout the 2018-2019 academic year, there has been a new effort to bring his memory and legacy back into the collective Bard consciousness. In the

⁴⁴ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 192

⁴⁵ Philip J. Deloria, "Vine V. Deloria Sr. (Dakota)," in *The New Warriors: Native American Leaders since 1900*, ed. David Edmunds, R. (n.p.: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 83.

⁴⁶ Deloria, "Vine V. Deloria," 80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 83.

⁴⁸ Reamer Kline, *Education for the Common Good: A History of Bard College the First 100 Years, 1860-1960* (Annandale-on-Hudson, NY: Bard College, 1982), 154, 157.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 79.

Stevenson Library archives, there is a small manila folder containing articles, pictures, and letters pertaining to Vine “Pete” Deloria. In a 1951 Alumni News article, Richard O. Gruver describes Deloria as a legend: “I have had Bardians and sports followers ask me about him repeatedly, and about the days where St. Stephen’s, with an enrollment of about 135, had 110 men tossing footballs on Zabriskie Field, and when the team traded mayhem with some of the best college squads of the time.”⁵⁰ Gruver, a longtime friend of Deloria’s, talked about his days at St. Stephen’s with a reverence. He claimed other people shared this feeling of awe and respect for “Pete” Deloria. He was the best of the 110 men who spent their time at St. Stephen’s constantly on the field. Much later, in 2015, there are no signs of Deloria’s presence on the campus. This could be in part because Bard no longer has a football team. The school’s athletics program maintains a National Collegiate Athletic Association Division III status, and one can easily go four years without hearing any great athletes mentioned, let alone the once infamous “Pete” Deloria.⁵¹ It is unclear when this shift occurred in Bard’s memory, when Deloria’s athletic legacy at the college became confined to one small folder in the library archives.

Returning to the seemingly separate images of Tantaquidgeon’s installment of medicine woman and Roe Cloud’s graduation from Yale, it is clear these events are linked not only by their recipients shared Indigenous identity but also in how transfers of knowledge in settler colonist and Native communities benefit function. Ely Parker, Henry Roe Cloud, Vine Deloria Sr., and Gladys Tantaquidgeon gives us four different perspectives on the complicated question of Native knowledge production and maintenance. Each of these individuals explored in a direct way, through writing, museum foundation, mission lobbying, and lecturing, how to restore

⁵⁰ Richard O. Gruver, "'Pete' Deloria: Prince of His People," in "Alumni News," ed. Clifford W. Burgess, special issue, *The Bard College Newsletter* 5, no. 1 (October 1951): 11.

⁵¹ Bard College, "About Bard Athletics and Recreation," Bard Athletics, accessed March 26, 2019, https://bardathletics.com/sports/2010/11/4/GEN_1104105243.aspx.

Native voices not only to the process of education but also to center continuing education efforts at the heart of their respective communities. Ultimately, these individuals who traversed white and Indigenous spaces either rejected or utilized respectability politics. However, in Native spaces, each individual participated, to varying degrees, in employing settler colonist knowledge structures and preserving traditional Native systems. Moreover, it was finding this balance that allowed these Native individuals to adapt themselves and their communities to the changing world around them.

1

Navigating Indigenous Identity in Settler Colonist Spaces of Learning

Lift Yourself Up By Your Moccasin Strings

In big bold letters across the front page of a 1944 issue of *The Sunday Oregonian*, Margret Thompson declares Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk) a man of importance: “From Wigwam to Mr. Bigwig,” the headline reads above a full page feature. Underneath “Mr. Bigwig” lies an even larger claim: “Dr. Henry Roe Cloud Lifted Himself By Moccasin Strings to Acquire Education and Become Spokesman for All Indians.” To the right of these sweeping statements is a black and white photograph of Henry Roe Cloud standing with three Native Americans. All four men are wearing traditional Native attire; Roe Cloud is clad in an ornately beaded vest and his usual glasses. The other three men all sport elaborate headdresses with beads and feathers along with necklaces and shirts with an equal amount of intricate design. There is another, very different picture of Roe Cloud in the center of the article. He appears younger and sits beside his wife and daughter in a light colored suit and glasses. The difference is so great the article assumes the reader might not be able to identify Roe Cloud in the picture with other Native men and therefore describes him as “bareheaded.” To the side of an advertisement at the bottom of the page, there is a picture of Marjorie Roe Cloud Hughes wearing a Cheyenne ceremonial robe and holding a Sioux pouch embroidered with quills that were made to hold peace pipes.⁵²

⁵² Margaret Thompson, "From Wigwam to Mr. Bigwig," *The Oregonian*.

The contents of the article argues in support of its larger claims, giving Roe Cloud the title of “Bigwig” and “spokesperson.” It begins by describing the American folklore of the “poor boy to president narrative” and argues that Roe Cloud fits into this category of rising out of humble beginnings to huge success. Then, the article describes his demeanor. His position as a Presbyterian minister is emphasized along with an impressive lists of societies and fraternities. The article goes on to describe the miraculous events that led Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago boy born in a Wigwam, to attend Yale University. He is called an “Indian Chief” multiple times, and his work to support and fund Native American education is marked a “crusade.” His ability to understand and work with “the Indians” is praised and revered. Lastly, his family life is given a large section, as “Mrs. Roe Cloud” works for various women’s clubs and educational organizations. The article ends with a shifted focus onto Roe Cloud’s children, and talks about their future success.⁵³ The importance of the language used in this article cannot be overstated. It depicted not only how the media saw Henry Roe Cloud but also how the media viewed mainstream American society as well. Therefore, the use of certain terms and ideas in the article are telling of the settler colonist spaces where Roe Cloud operated.

The subtitle of the article pronounced that a Native American, Henry Roe Cloud, “Lifted Himself by Moccasin Strings to Acquire Education.”⁵⁴ This is a modified version of the popular phrase that exists within the American dream framework that one should “pull themselves up by their bootstraps.” This and other similar phrases reference the false notion of American meritocracy.⁵⁵ The article began by admitting to this public fascination with these narratives:

⁵³ Thompson, “From Wigwam.”

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Similar phrases include “if you just work hard enough you can pull yourself up by your bootstraps”; “it’s just a matter of motivation and talent and grit”; “America is the land of opportunity where everyone who works hard has an equal chance to succeed”; “from rags to riches”; “the sky is the limit”; “we are masters of our own fate.” Melinda D. Anderson, “Why the Myth of Meritocracy Hurts

“The most popular theme in American folklore is “poor-boy-to-president.” [...] The more humble his beginnings the more complete is our satisfaction in his success. Few success stories surpass that of Dr. Henry Roe Cloud.”⁵⁶ First, this rhetoric claimed an “American” identity for Roe Cloud. While this article was written exactly twenty years after Native Americans gained citizenship in the United States, albeit without their direct consent to the process, it is still critical to note the importance of the shifting narrative around Indigeneity and citizenship. The article accepts Roe Cloud into this “American folklore” tradition that relied so heavily on the concept of the “American Dream.”

The ideologies behind the mythos of the “American Dream” can be traced back to the moments when British settler colonists began to arrive onto the land of Native Americans in the early seventeenth century. Many settler colonists were fleeing from the fallout of a conflict that had shook the Catholic countries of Europe to their core: The Protestant Reformation. The first of these new intruders to build a permanent settlement—there were many temporary visits often overlooked before this time—were the English Puritans who created Plymouth Colony in 1620.⁵⁷ While the narrative put forth today argues for their building on “free and available” land, they were, in fact, trespassing on the Wampanoag’s ancestral homelands.⁵⁸ The Puritans were not the first settler colonists to arrive on the North American continent; in 1607, the village of

Kids of Color," *The Atlantic*, July 27, 2017, Education, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/07/internalizing-the-myth-of-meritocracy/535035/>; G. William Domhoff, "Who Rules America?: Power and Politics," in *The Inequality Reader: Contemporary and Foundational Readings in Race, Class, and Gender*, ed. David B. Grusky and Szonja Szelényi (n.p.: Routledge, 2011).

⁵⁶ Thompson, "From Wigwam."

⁵⁷ Stephen J. McNamee and Robert K. Miller, Jr., "The American Dream: Origins and Prospects," in *The Meritocracy Myth* (n.p.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, n.d.), 4.

⁵⁸ Joan Tavares Avant, introduction to *Dawnland Voices: An Anthology of Indigenous Writing from New England* (n.p.: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 430, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1d9njj2.205>.

Jamestown was built, in spite of the Powhatan Confederacy's claim to the territory they knew as Tsenacomacah (densely populated land, in the Algonquian regional dialect).⁵⁹

Even earlier than 1607, there were numerous interactions between Europeans and Native Americans: "American history was therefore international before it was national. [...] Queen Elizabeth wore American Pearls and a fine beaver hat as emblems of her greatness, just as Powhatan and Miantonomi sported badges of rank made by Venetian beads."⁶⁰ However, the settler colonists, starting with the Puritans, who came from persecuted religious sects, brought ideals of individualism that would become embedded in mainstream Anglo-American culture. The Protestant idea of "an individual rather than communal relationship with God" over time morphed into a more secular take on individualism as a means of self-improvement.⁶¹ The ideas of meritocracy, strong work ethic, and self-reliance took over this religious connotation of individualism as early as the 1830s with the rise in popularity of books telling sensational tales of "rags to riches."⁶² However, a large population was systematically excluded from this narrative in its beginnings as well as today. These excluded populations included free and enslaved African Americans, women, and Indigenous peoples.⁶³

The *Oregonian* marked the Wigwam as the start of Roe Cloud's journey, but predicated notoriety on its abandonment. The Wigwam referred to a traditional Ho-Chunk living space and carried connotations of family, home, and safety. Wigwams consisted of different sheets of wood

⁵⁹ Ethan A. Schmidt, "Being All Friends and Forever Powhatans: The Early Anglo-Powhatan Relationship at Jamestown," in *The Divided Dominion: Social Conflict and Indian Hatred in Early Virginia* (n.p.: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 20, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt130hkpp>.

⁶⁰ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "International at the Creation: Early Modern American History," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (n.p.: University of California Press, n.d.), 106.; Miantonomi was a Chief of the Narragansett People in the seventeenth century. See: Robert Boodey Caverly, "Battle of the Bush: The Narragansetts and Mohegans," in *Miantonimo (N. E.): An Historical Drama, Years 1637 and 1649* (Boston, 1884), 61, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.1002151987;view=1up;seq=11.61>.

⁶¹ McNamee and Miller, "The American," 6.

⁶² *Ibid.* 5-6.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 8.

as well as different forms of matting such as cattails carefully positioned in order to make a sturdy, dome-like structure. Around the 1900s, some Wigwams also employed canvas to act as roofs and doors.⁶⁴ In the article's framework, a large portion, if not all, of Roe Cloud's Native identity must be shed for this transformation to take place. With this supposed relinquishing of Indigeneity, Roe Cloud can assume "American" ideals and his success can be associated with the American Dream. Moreover, his ethnicity made the transformation doubly exciting to mainstream American readers, as it appeared to prove the logic of the American Dream and meritocracy. The article said as much as "the more humble his beginnings, the more complete is our satisfaction in his success."⁶⁵ If someone as low status, in mainstream America's logic, at birth as Roe Cloud could rise to success, then it appeared that anyone can meet the criteria of the American dream if they simply worked hard enough, no matter what obstacles they faced.

Even the use of "from" in the title, "From Wigwam to Mr. Bigwig," represented a casting aside of Native culture as well as equates Native culture to the lives of poor people in America. The historical connotation of "lift yourself up by your bootstraps" specifically in this case applied to Roe Cloud's Indigenous identity more than his class status. Roe Cloud's humble beginnings did not have to do with economic resources; instead, they related to the traditional Ho-Chunk community where he started his life. For non-Ho-Chunk observers, poverty and native identity were one and the same. The vices accompanying poverty, including alcoholism, neglectful parents, and loose morals were stereotypes regularly deployed against Native communities. The implicit statement of Roe Cloud "lifting himself up" is a negative judgement on the entire Ho-Chunk community. Therefore, this article implied that Native Americans should

⁶⁴ Mountain Wolf Woman, *Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*, ed. Nancy Oestreich Lurie (n.p.: University of Michigan Press, 1961), Preface.

⁶⁵ Thompson, "From Wigwam."

all have the desire to achieve the “American Dream” by turning their backs on their Native lifeways. However, *The Oregonian* does not entirely buy Roe Cloud’s life path as an entirely positive turn of events. The term “bigwig” is frequently used in a derogatory manner to mark someone of importance.⁶⁶ In Roe Cloud’s rise to renown, he became known as pompous and a nuisance. While he has escaped the “wigwam,” he could not simply be an engaged member of American society. Instead, he remained a “bigwig,” a grudgingly acknowledged member of mainstream America, albeit still undeserving and pretentious. It is paradoxical that Roe Cloud simultaneously existed in a space as a model of American ideals and a “bigwig.” These paradoxes of identity will be examined later in chapter three which focuses on the theories of dual identity.

This history of exclusion marked Roe Cloud’s inclusion into the “American Dream” narrative as a shift in how Indigenous Peoples were viewed. Roe Cloud could achieve success but only if that success followed the mainstream model set forth by settler colonist society. The article assumed Roe Cloud’s complete assimilation into American culture as well as his desire to leave behind his Indigeneity. In other words, the article understood success through the framework of white Americans and their vision of success and assimilation. The education Roe Cloud acquired as a result of this process acted as proof in the author’s eyes of his assimilation into white society. He received an Anglo-American education and excelled academically and socially at one of the hardest schools in the country. The subheading does not take into account the lessons Roe Cloud learned from the Ho-Chunk community in the early years of his life. Moreover, the contrasting of “Wigwam” and “Bigwig” in the title of the article explicitly pointed to his indigenous upbringing as lacking educational qualities.

⁶⁶ "Bigwig," in *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed April 12, 2019, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/18902?redirectedFrom=bigwig#eid>.

The *Oregonian* article also highlighted a nonexistent power Roe Cloud had over other Native Americans. The caption underneath the title read: “Dr. Henry Roe Cloud Lifted Himself By Moccasin Strings to Acquire Education and Become Spokesman for All Indians.” The first part of the caption fell into this American dream framework. However, in marking Roe Cloud as the “spokesperson for all Indians,” the article denied tribal differences and turned him into a token for all Indigenous Peoples. Although the term “tokenism” was not in contemporary use until the 1940s, the concept itself, “the practice or policy of making merely a token effort or granting only minimal concessions,” was in practice in the praise being directed at Roe Cloud and other Native individuals or communities.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Roe Cloud was a designated “Spokesperson” not just for his own beliefs or even for the Ho-Chunk tribe, but “for All Indians.” This way of thinking painted Roe Cloud as a “token” Indian who should have possess the knowledge to speak on issues related to tribes from Alaska to California to New York exclusively on the basis of having embraced Anglo-American performative culture. Beyond the racist elements of tokenism, this title was impossible to fulfill, as it did not take tribal sovereignty and individuality into account. One person could never fulfill this title, as different Native communities carried different fundamental beliefs as well as governmental systems. There were breakdowns of power within tribes as well, and these shifted over time with reactions to historical, environmental, and cultural changes.

The title of the article, “From Wigwam to Bigwig,” was a play on words from a speech Roe Cloud wrote titled: “From Wigwam to Pulpit.”⁶⁸ Roe Cloud’s speech utilized his childhood experiences as a vehicle for understanding his success as well as his religious awakening. In the next section, the events of his childhood will be examined further. However, Roe Cloud’s own

⁶⁷ “Tokenism,” in *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed March 23, 2019, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/202951?redirectedFrom=tokenism>.

⁶⁸ Henry Roe Cloud, “From Wigwam,” 5.

use of the word “Wigwam” as his starting place shifts the previous argument on how others interjected Roe Cloud into the American Dream. While the *Oregonian* article used the Wigwam to compare Roe Cloud’s childhood status to his current socioeconomic placement, Roe Cloud’s speech utilized his childhood home as a symbol of his life before he became a Christian. There is a connection here between mainstream religion and mainstream American thinking, aptly shown by the *Oregonian*’s replacement of “Pulpit” with “Mr. Bigwig.” However, the fact that the title first came from Roe Cloud proves that he is an active agent in building his own identity. He used the connotations of the “Wigwam” to make himself appear even more impressive as he stood in front of the “Pulpit.” In using Roe Cloud’s words, the *Oregonian* shifted his terms to add a negative connotation to his success.

Henry Roe Cloud did not see himself, or at least did not want to portray himself, as an important person during his time at Yale. While he did have large ideas about how Christianity specifically could be used to help Native Peoples, confided in his letters to Mary Roe, his friends at Yale quoted him saying “Wait until I’ve done something worthwhile, then I’ll give you my personal history.”⁶⁹ This quote spoke to Roe Cloud’s humility and ambition as he believed all he accomplished up until his time at Yale was not noteworthy, a very different take than the *Oregonian* article.

Overall, this article was representative of the prejudices Roe Cloud faced while an active member of white society. His education, activism, and religious work were never viewed as entirely his own; he was always viewed either through the “Spokesman” or “American Dream” narrative. Roe Cloud must have understood the position he occupied in the eyes of white Americans for he trod these lines expertly. While in his speech “From Wigwam to Pulpit,” Roe

⁶⁹ Henry Roe Cloud to Mary Wickham Roe, n.d., Call Number: MS 774, Box 67., Roe Family Papers, Stevenson Library, Yale University, New Haven.; "Winnebago Indian Most Prominent of Graduates of Yale."

Cloud used the American Dream structure, he also chose at crucial moments to separate himself from these ideals. In an article about his life, Roe Cloud both utilized and rejected certain facets of this “American Dream” narrative:

On the New Jersey farm I used to tack card after card with the Greek conjugations I wrote on them on the hump of the plow before me as I followed a mule team all day long. [...] The farmer, charging that I was not plowing as large a section as I might, knocked off the cards from the plow. The fact that I did not know the why or end in view of many studies I had to take made the work of study a drudgery often times. But to-day I am thankful for all the discouragements that came my way.

The beginning of this description appears to follow the American Dream structure. The image of a man earning his wages while simultaneously finding ways to learn his Greek conjugations speaks to the “pull yourself up by your bootstraps” narrative. However, Roe Cloud did not glamorize the situation. Work got in the way of his studies and vice versa after the farmer realized Roe Cloud’s strategy. Therefore, Roe Cloud’s education did not allow him to balance work and studying in a reasonable fashion. He also does not sensationalize his learning process. While he saw the use of all his work in the present, at the time a lot appeared to be “a drudgery.” The tone of Roe Cloud’s narrative is overall less sensationalized than the *Sunday Oregonian* article, but Roe Cloud still does not reject the narrative entirely.

Roe Cloud more explicitly rejects the token “spokesman for all Indians” narrative present in the article subtitle and content. In an article titled “Economic Background for Self-Support in Indian Missions,” Henry Roe Cloud spoke to a Christian, white audience. The article was written for the Board of National Missions Presbyterian Church, and its introduction stressed Roe Cloud’s intelligence, Native identity, and Christian beliefs. In the article, Roe Cloud first explained the current state of Indigenous political and economic resources present through the

United States government. One of the critical laws mentioned was the Allotment Act.⁷⁰ The Allotment Act or Dawes Act granted one hundred and sixty acres to each Native American head of family and 80 acres to individuals over eighteen years old as well as orphans under the age of eighteen. The law also reduced the total amount of land granted proportional to blood quantum percentage. In other words, the “less Indian” one’s blood, the less land received. Indigenous People did not get a say in whether they received the land or not, and if they refused to pick their land for four years, the government assigned it to them. The blood quantum rule was also utilized as a tactic to deny land to many Native Americans and did not correlate with how Native communities identified their own members. Furthermore, the Allotment Act broke down Indigenous sovereignty rights as it forced “European values of individualism and private initiative on Indian people, who traditionally lived under a communal system.”⁷¹ However, before Roe Cloud began examining the law which he viewed as a positive step for Native Americans, he first explained that he “represents no one by myself.”⁷² This preface was an attempt to separate himself from this title of “spokesperson” and relieve himself of the burden of speaking for not only his own tribe but also for all other Native communities as well. Roe Cloud may have viewed the law as positive, especially before he realized what its enforcement would entail. If he had been personally against the law, it would have been very difficult to sell this idea to a white audience, as the values the law imposed on Native Americans were the very values white America cherished.⁷³ That said, Roe Cloud still used the position he was expected to take in unexpected ways in order to undermine the assumptions being placed upon him and to create

⁷⁰ Henry Roe Cloud, "Economic Background for Self-Support in Indian Missions," Board of National Missions: Presbyterian Church, 3-4.

⁷¹ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (n.p.: UP of Oklahoma, 2004), 81.

⁷² Roe Cloud, "Economic Background," 5.

⁷³ Wendy Wall, "Gender and the 'Citizen Indian,'" in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*, ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage (n.p.: UP of Oklahoma, 1997), 202.

space that would allow Native Americans a place in determining their own future. In the conclusion of the article, Roe Cloud advised that the next step be “the formation of the new Indian Council under Synod in the Dakotas.”⁷⁴ In this way, Roe Cloud attempted to use his platform to give other Native Americans in the Dakotas more of a voice in the policies that would affect them. Granted, this was a small step, but Roe Cloud still spent time creating pathways for new Native leaders to emerge.

While it is unclear how Roe Cloud’s audience at the time received his message, the writers of the “Economic Background for Self-Support in Indian Missions” article still “tokenized” Roe Cloud and viewed his perspective as all-encompassing of Native opinions. The piece has a short introduction written by the editors that was not a part of Roe Cloud’s speech, and in this preface, an unknown author wrote that Roe Cloud had “all the authority of experience on matters pertaining to the Indians as they are affected by the policy of the United States Government and the missionary program.”⁷⁵ While Roe Cloud did have a lot of experience thinking about Native policy through his missionary work and education at Yale, his experience was a far cry from the typical lives of Native Americans during this time. His graduation from Yale is the most tangible evidence of this, because most Native Americans at the time did not experience this world of higher education. In order to give other Native Americans more of a voice, Roe Cloud specifically centered his concerns on the Dakotas in this article and the tribes affected there, a fact ignored in the introduction written by the Board of National Missions Presbyterian Church. Moreover, despite Roe Cloud stressing the specificity of the narrative and his own individuality, the white publishers of this article chose to extend its subject to “the Indians” as if all tribes can be quantified as one. Roe Cloud’s strategies for writing and speaking

⁷⁴ Roe Cloud, "Economic Background," 10.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 10.

toward an “American” audience is reflected in much of his work. The rest of this chapter will look at strategies by Roe Cloud first and foremost, and to a lesser extent those of Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux) and Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), in navigating the transitions from sovereign, tribal space into mainstream settler colonist society.

The Role of Religion and Early Education

When Roe Cloud was seven, he was conscripted by Native American police and began attending a non-reservation school at Genoa, Nebraska.⁷⁶ He experienced intense homesickness and the loss of his Ho-Chunk language, which he later regained after returning home to the Nebraska Winnebago Reservation for a period of time.⁷⁷ Roe Cloud portrayed the second boarding school he attended, the Santee Mission School in northeastern Nebraska, as the place where “the biggest event of my life took place.”⁷⁸ At thirteen, the same year his mother passed away, Roe Cloud was introduced to the Christian religion by the pastor at the church the Santee Mission school students attended.

He joined the Santee Mission School band, and on Sundays would “march down the road to a white building with a cross on it.”⁷⁹ The building, of course, was a church, but as a child, Roe Cloud did not know or use that name for it. He described his first experience with God very vividly in his essay, “From Wigwam to Pulpit: A Red Man’s Story of His Progress from Darkness to Light.” The narrative utilized his childhood experiences to help his majority white audience understand his perspective:

One dark night, long after midnight, I was awakened by an office of the school telling me to go down stairs to see a man. When I went down I was greeted by the same man who

⁷⁶ Pfister, *The Yale*, 31.

⁷⁷ Henry Roe Cloud, “From Wigwam,” 5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 6.

conducted our meetings at the white house [...]. We sat out upon the grass and he told me, for the first time, about Jesus Christ. He presented Him as a living friend. I determined to be His friend that night. Friendship-making is a meaningful and a very formal act among Indians.⁸⁰

In this portion of the essay, Roe Cloud attempted to parse out how he saw Christianity through a Native lens. The introduction of Christ as a living friend displays a clear picture not only of how Christianity was explained to Roe Cloud but also potentially how it could be explained to other Native Americans. The structure of this essay also sheds light on the mindset of Ho-Chunk children raised in traditional religious and spiritual beliefs; this conception of Christ as a “living friend” was understood by Roe Cloud because of his specifically Ho-Chunk understandings of “friendship making.” In fact, his Native identity strengthened his connection to Christ, because he viewed his promise of friendship as both “meaningful” and “formal.” Therefore, his Native spirituality proved to be in some ways helpful to his understanding of Christian beliefs. Further, in “Wigwam to Pulpit,” Roe Cloud mobilized his childhood experiences for the purpose of his missionary and educational work for other Indigenous People.

When Roe Cloud was only thirteen years old, his mother passed away, making him an orphan. His father had passed away a year earlier in 1896.⁸¹ The young boy was enrolled in the Moody school at Mount Herman in Massachusetts shortly thereafter.⁸² Roe Cloud’s “friendship” with Christ continued and helped him in this period of great loneliness, after the deaths of both his parents. Roe Cloud described the feeling of reading about Christ as one of “gathering strength” and “deep joy.”⁸³ Christianity played a critical role in helping Roe Cloud understand and mourn the death of his parents. It also gave him a new sense of purpose. Roe Cloud “had a

⁸⁰ Ibid. 6.

⁸¹ "Winnebago Indian Most Prominent of Graduates of Yale."

⁸² "Yale's First Indian Graduate," Call Number: MS 774, Box 72, Roe family papers, Stevenson library, Yale University, New Haven.

⁸³ Roe Cloud, "From Wigwam." 8.

pragmatic view of his situation and that of the Ho-Chunk, one that kindled his interest in using the motivational power of Christianity for Indians.”⁸⁴ Christianity, for Roe Cloud, functioned as a bridge between white and Native civilizations. In an article in *The Christian Intelligencer*, Roe Cloud painted a picture of a Christianized, Native American Reservation: “Perhaps there is no place in all Christian America where there is more joy now than on the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska. This joy is so great because it has emerged from the darkness of superstition and vice.”⁸⁵ This important point started the article and was meant to evoke surprise and curiosity among its readers. “Darkness,” “superstition,” and “vice” were common associations with Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, this Missionary rhetoric relied on Christianity as a cause of happiness and fulfillment. Roe Cloud painted this picture before delving into the cause of this shift in order to illustrate the new, Christian way of. The Ho-Chunk served as a case study for how Roe Cloud believed Christianization could hypothetically benefit all Native Americans across the country. Roe Cloud quoted a missionary who believed that “If you convert those Winnebagos to Christianity it means that the religion of Jesus Christ can save any Indian tribe.”⁸⁶ Here, the second, more subtle implications of Christian Indians come into play: civilization. If Ho-Chunk religion and spirituality came from “darkness of superstition and vice,” than converting Ho-Chunks “saves” them not only in the Christian sense but also in terms of their own “dark” or “savage” nature. It is notable, however, that this vision for Christian salvation took place on sovereign Ho-Chunk space as opposed to conditions of separation with their homelands. While for Roe Cloud, Christianity functioned as a bridge, it did not necessarily imply

⁸⁴ Pfister, *The Yale*, 30.

⁸⁵ Henry Roe Cloud, "The Winnebago Medicine Lodge," *The Christian Intelligencer*, December 22, 1909.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

a bridge for all Ho-Chunk Christians, as each individual can maintain both their Christian and Nebraska Winnebago identity at the same time.

The Body as a Vehicle for Knowledge

Thus far, this chapter has situated Roe Cloud's experiences in settler colonist spaces of knowledge through the lens of childhood, religion, and the "American Dream" narrative. Roe Cloud employed his understandings of settler colonist society to challenge perceptions and grant Native peoples agency. Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux) also used both the field of education and Christianity to create a respectable position from which to engage in advocacy. While Roe Cloud had the heft of an Ivy League name, Deloria had the athletic prowess that was so valued in the Theodore Roosevelt-era, where a strenuous or vigorous life was a key marker of bourgeois and elite American masculinity. Therefore, the body can be looked at through this lens of knowledge, skill, and resilience. Before analyzing Deloria's experience as an athlete at a settler colonist institution, it is first important to understand the role athletics played at most settler colonist run Native American schools.

This history of athletics and schooling is crucial as it describes how mainstream America viewed Native American bodies and strength. Many Native American boarding schools prioritized athletics over other disciplines.⁸⁷ The most well-known athlete to come out of this system was a student at Carlisle University; he was viewed as a "success story" of the abusive and traumatizing boarding school system. In 1912, Wa-Tho-Huk, "Bright Path," or Jim Thorpe became the only person to win gold medals in both the decathlon and the pentathlon at the Olympics. However, Wa-Tho-Huk was a part of a larger group of Native athletes that became known for their superior athletic skills: "When you talk about what happened with sports and

⁸⁷ Jon Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian*, 193.

especially with Jim Thorpe you're talking about a very magical thing. How a group of small, very quick, very agile football players could beat Ivy League teams, and Thorpe is the embodiment of that."⁸⁸ Today, many of these athletes are forgotten by the settler colonist educational structures where they first rose to fame. Vine Deloria Sr. embodies this phenomenon as Bard College's greatest athlete as well as its forgotten hero. Deloria first arrived at Bard in 1922, when he received an athletic scholarship for football.⁸⁹ Then known as St. Stephen's, the school had been founded in 1860 and was later renamed Bard College (the name it retains today) in 1934.⁹⁰ Deloria became both the star and captain of the St. Stephen's team.⁹¹ Vine Deloria Sr. offers a unique perspective on how the Bard community responded to his athletic ability.

For Deloria, athletics provided a path to academic knowledge as well as an opportunity to hone his abilities further on the football field. Without the football scholarship offered by St. Stevens, Deloria most likely would not have attended the college. He claimed to "not [be] like either of my ancestors; one of the spirit, the other of the mind [...] I am of the body."⁹² It is easier to see how learning can affect the mind and spirit, but the body retains learning as well. Muscle memory allows the body to learn through practice; the more Deloria played football, the smarter his body became. This way of viewing knowledge challenged the importance set on the courses and research facilities provided by academic institutions. Ultimately, Deloria's experiences at St. Stephen's marked his body as a place of learning and knowledge.

The Bard football field became Deloria's classroom to learn and teach new skills. He spent countless hours practicing, competing, and very often, winning. During Deloria's time at

⁸⁸ Gayle Ross, narr., *Our Spirits Don't Speak English*, directed by Chip Richie, Rich Heape Comoany, 2008.

⁸⁹ Deloria, "Vine V. Deloria," 83.

⁹⁰ Kline, *Education for the Common*, 154, 157.

⁹¹ Ibid. 79.

⁹² Philip Joseph Deloria, "'I Am of the Body': Thoughts on My Grandfather, Culture, and Sports." *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 95, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 321-38. 336.

Bard, 110 out of 135 students played football, but no one came close to “Pete,” a nickname of Deloria’s. In an article reminiscing about his time at Bard with Deloria, Richard O. Gruver said his friend “handled a football like a grapefruit and line bucked like a steer; the man who captured the fancy of sports writers in the Glamorous Twenties.”⁹³ Gruver viewed Deloria with a reverence that is echoed throughout sources noting his athletic abilities. In frustration, the New York University Coach, Tom Thorp, referred to Deloria as “That damn Indian.”⁹⁴ This offhand comment showed how Deloria’s ethnicity and athletic ability appeared linked to settler colonists. The second metaphor in Gruver’s quote comparing Deloria to a “steer” could also relate to Deloria’s ethnicity as well in a subconscious association between Native Americans and animals. What is indisputable is that Deloria was a marvel to reporters, classmates, and rivals partly due not only to his athletic prowess but also his identity as a Native American man.

While Vine Deloria Sr. drifted out of Bard’s memory, he remained alive in the Sioux community and in Deloria’s family. Philip Deloria wrote a piece in 1996 for the *South Atlantic Quarterly* on his Grandfather and claimed that in “Bard’s College’s official history, [Vine Deloria Sr.] is listed as ‘St. Stephen’s greatest athletic hero.’”⁹⁵ He does seem to be St. Stephen’s hero, but he did not become Bard’s. Somewhere in the temporal and cultural shifts the college, this man was forgotten and abandoned as a person worth remembering. For Philip Deloria, his Grandfather is still worth remembering not only as a part of his family but also as one of the great college athletic heroes of the early twentieth century. Deloria fading out of Bard’s memory depicts the school’s inability to grapple with Native voices such as Deloria’s after they are no longer directly involved with or serving settler colonist institutions.

⁹³ Gruver, “‘Pete’ Deloria,” 12.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 12.

⁹⁵ Deloria, “I Am of the Body,” 326.

Christianity, Spirituality, and “Good Medicine”

While religion is a crucial element of knowledge, Native American religion and spirituality specifically deserve their own section. These concepts also often intertwine with traditional culture and medicine practices. Therefore, religion and spirituality can be viewed as critical aspects of education in multiple areas of life. Roe Cloud learned many cultural and spiritual lessons from his Grandmother through stories told around fires as well as when he was facing big life decisions.⁹⁶ In an article in the *Christian Intelligencer*, Roe Cloud denounced certain aspects of Ho-Chunk tradition that he learned in his childhood. He strongly criticized the Medicine Lodge as a place and method of healing: “No justice has been done to Medicine Lodge by this bare outline, but it is given to show what unspeakable heathenism and crime it fosters. Medicine Lodge to the Indian people themselves has become a synonym for death.”⁹⁷ Roe Cloud’s argument does not hold up when examining other Native American accounts from the same period. Mountain Wolf Woman (Ho-Chunk) lived from 1884-1960 and used Native medicine practices.⁹⁸ In her autobiography, she describes her Grandfather feeling “sorry for my medicines. I am thinking, it is going to be the end of these medicines. [...] My son does not care for Indian medicines. [...] It is good. You will prescribe Indian medicines.”⁹⁹ Roe Cloud admitted his denouement of Native religious and spiritual traditions relating to the Medicine Lodge did not extend to all Native medicine. He believed there is a “secret knowledge of this Indian medicine.”¹⁰⁰ In this quote, Roe Cloud attempted to separate medicinal knowledge from spiritual knowledge. However, many Native People such as Mountain Wolf Woman and her grandfather

⁹⁶ Roe Cloud, "From Wigwam." 3, 11-12.

⁹⁷ Henry Roe Cloud, "The Winnebago Medicine Lodge."

⁹⁸ "Mountain Wolf Woman," Wisconsin Women Making History, accessed March 23, 2019, <http://womeninwisconsin.org/mountain-wolf-woman/>.

⁹⁹ Mountain Wolf Woman, *Mountain Wolf*, 63.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Roe Cloud, "The Winnebago Medicine Lodge."

would have rejected this separation as impossible as spiritual and medicinal knowledge were intertwined. Mountain Wolf Woman's grandfather felt sorry for the medicines, as if these remedies had spirits of their own. When describing giving his knowledge to Mountain Wolf Woman, he said that "the power will be all yours. You are not yet holy, but these medicines are holy [...] These medicines are going to talk to you."¹⁰¹ A part of working with Native medicines was the spirituality of the process. Without this understanding, the medicine would not necessarily work. Roe Cloud's attempt to separate medicinal and spiritual knowledge may have appeal to a Christian audience, but it did not hold up with all Ho-Chunk feelings during this time.

On the other hand, Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) wished to protect Native traditions and medicine practices instead of denouncing them. Like Roe Cloud, much of Tantaquidgeon's early education came from her elders. However, there was a specific gendered slant to this education, as "the older Mohegan women took up much of Gladys's time educating her in traditional tribal ways, she found balance in the entertaining stories of the men."¹⁰² Ho-Chunk society is also traditionally patrilineal, which affects how knowledge is gendered and thus transmitted across generations.¹⁰³ Mohegan society is traditionally matrilineal, so Tantaquidgeon had greater access to medicinal traditions than Roe Cloud.¹⁰⁴

Much of Tantaquidgeon's education from men came from her father, John Tantaquidgeon, who passed his skills in basket making onto his children.¹⁰⁵ From the elder women, Gladys Tantaquidgeon learned medicine practices, but her surrounding Indigenous community imparted the values of humility, resilience, and sovereignty: "Tribal elders, like

¹⁰¹ Mountain Wolf Woman, *Mountain Wolf*, 63.

¹⁰² Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 16.

¹⁰³ Milwaukee Public Museum, "Ho-chunk Culture," Indian Country Wisconsin, accessed April 14, 2019, <http://www.mpm.edu/content/wirp/ICW-52.html>.

¹⁰⁴ Peter L. Bayers, "'We unman ourselves': Colonial and Mohegan Manhood in the Writings of Samson Occom," *Melus* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 182, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24569896>.

¹⁰⁵ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 10.

Medicine Woman Emma Baker and Faith Keeper Fidelia Fielding, gave her knowledge of the ways of the spirit that are not of this world. [...] The way of the hill folk brought joy, stability, and good medicine to Gladys's youth."¹⁰⁶ These lessons became a critical part of Tantaquidgeon's worldview. Her relative and the current Mohegan Medicine Woman and Tribal Historian, Melissa Fawcett (Mohegan) (also known as Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel), wrote in her biography of Tantaquidgeon that "through understanding the power of the mortars, pestles, and corn needed to create it, she [Tantaquidgeon] realized her true place in the universe."¹⁰⁷ Tantaquidgeon's community also played a large part in her understanding of her own life and its purpose. It was not just the elders but "all the Indians of the hill" that contributed to Tantaquidgeon's early education. Tantaquidgeon took these lessons that she learned as a child and carried them through her life. Chapter two will examine her relationship specifically to anthropology as well as her relationship with other Native Peoples, while this section will contrast her and Roe Cloud's commitment to Mohegan and Ho-Chunk medicine practices.

For Roe Cloud, Christianity conflicted with the values and practices of Ho-Chunk medicine, whereas Tantaquidgeon remained intent on keeping Mohegan traditions alive. The temporal context between these two people is important to understanding their spheres of influence. While Roe Cloud graduated from Yale in 1910, Tantaquidgeon started studying at Penn University almost a decade later in 1919.¹⁰⁸ Tantaquidgeon's course of study also brought her in close contact to other Algonquian tribes as she studied traditional medicine practices of the

¹⁰⁶ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 11.

¹⁰⁷ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 48.; Mohegan Tribe, "Our Current Medicine Woman: Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel, Medicine Woman and Tribal Historian," Mohegan Tribe, last modified 2017, <https://www.mohegan.nsn.us/explore/heritage/our-ceremonial-leaders/our-current-medicine-woman>.

¹⁰⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 70.; Pfister, *The Yale*, 2.

Delaware, Nanticoke, and Canadian Delaware as well as her own tribe, the Mohegans.¹⁰⁹ During his time at Yale, Roe Cloud became even closer to Christianity as he became an active member of Yale's YMCA club and a leading figure in Bible work.¹¹⁰ During his first term at Yale, Roe Cloud met Mary Wickham Roe; the Roe family would become critical in helping Roe Cloud form his educational identity as well as navigate his way around white society.¹¹¹ Beyond this possibility, the Roes contributed to Roe Cloud's path of missionary work and thoughts on the intersection of Indigeneity and Christianity:

The Roes did more than give the Yalie cultural access to a white Protestant reform elite and a status system. Their relationship schooled him in the sentimental and psychological workings of white-middle-and-upper-class Protestant selfhood, affection, and control. His bicultural understanding of this organization of selfhood and emotional attachment, so distinct from his Winnebago experience, was an understanding that would better equip him to reform the reformers and convert the converters.¹¹²

This access to social power gave Roe Cloud critical insight into how he could use Christianity in order to gain white sympathy and capital in order to help other aspects of Native life. Roe Cloud's commitment to Christianity, therefore, came not only from a place of personal spirituality but also served as a bridge between white and Native society that he could utilize in order to advance his people's social, political, and economic status.

Gladys Tantaquidgeon operated in a very different mindset. She remained close to Mohegan religion, spirituality, and medicine her entire life. She found great fulfillment in promoting Native lifeways, as evident from her work at the Tantaquidgeon Museum which will be discussed further in chapter two. Tantaquidgeon also attempted at points in her life to work within settler colonist government structures. Her position as a Lakota community worker the

¹⁰⁹ Gladys Tantaquidgeon, *Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians* (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1977).

¹¹⁰ "Winnebago Indian Most Prominent of Graduates of Yale."

¹¹¹ Pfister, *The Yale*, 12.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 84.

Bureau of Indian Affairs led her to the conclusion that she “needed to do more” in order to help Native Peoples. Believing the United States government could aid in this effort, she took a position at the Federal Indian Arts and Crafts Board.¹¹³ The scope of Tantaquidgeon’s work in this position strengthened the idea of medicine as multidisciplinary:

“Gladys endorsed bolstering Native economies by restoring and selling Indian art. That effort included the rejuvenation of ceremonies related to that art. Gladys had witnessed the powerful effects of reviving the Mohegan Wigwam and preserving the Cayuga Midwinter Longhouse. Through the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, she began a decade’s advocacy for the sun dance, rain dance, traditional healing feasts, and the art forms related to such ceremonies. She had seen that the diminution of traditional Indian rituals and artwork created sickness and bad medicine among Indian people. The restoration of native art would be a giant step toward healing a broken circle.”¹¹⁴

Defining these art practices, traditions, and ceremonies as “healing” and “medicinal” spoke to medicine as a much broader and more encompassing topic than Roe Cloud described in his condemnation of the Ho-Chunk Medicine Lodge. Therefore, even as Tantaquidgeon worked inside these settler colonist structures, her aim was not assimilation: it was to gain more resources for her people to succeed through traditional medicine practices.

This multidisciplinary medicine practice took a broader approach to medicine than settler colonist methods. Tantaquidgeon witnessed the power of this kind of medicine during the revival of the Mohegan Wigwam, and took these practices with her during the rest of her life. “Healing,” for Tantaquidgeon existed in a grander scheme and involved traditional art and dance, as well as medicinal herbs. Along with “good medicine,” there could be “bad medicine.” A lack of healing practices led to “bad medicine.” In other words, the multidisciplinary approach was not optional. Medicine needed to include events such as the “sun dance, rain dance, traditional healing feasts, and the art forms related to such ceremonies” for it to be “good” and successful. Medicine that did not use these forms of healing was unsuccessful in the complete healing of a person.

¹¹³ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 117.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 117.

The “restoration of Native art,” therefore, was critical to Tantaquidgeon as a healing process for the Mohegan nation. In 1992, The Mohegan Tribe formally “bestowed the official medicine title on Gladys [...] These installations took place in August at the annual Wigwam festival.”¹¹⁵ Her relative, Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel, remarked that although Gladys Tantaquidgeon never felt she deserved the title of medicine woman, it was precisely this humility that made her “perfect for the job. The formal restoration of that ancient title face confidence to the tribal community and prompted a flood of good spirits.”¹¹⁶ Due to these posthumous titles bestowed at the same ceremony, there was a potential lapse in a living occupant of the medicine position until Tantaquidgeon took it up in 1992.¹¹⁷ Tantaquidgeon, throughout her life, attempted to revive “good medicine” for the Mohegan Nation. She not only created a museum that prioritized Mohegan voices and sacred objects but also worked constantly to bring back Native traditions that risked being lost. Her work on the Federal Arts and Crafts Board, at the Ninactic Women’s Prison, and bringing back traditional dances and accompanying ceremonies proved that she understood the large undertaking of a medicine woman.

These three individuals, Roe Cloud, Tantaquidgeon, and Deloria, all utilized and rejected different facets of settler colonist knowledge. Tantaquidgeon and Roe Cloud took an opposite approach in promoting the future of traditional medicine for their communities. However, the context in Roe Cloud and Tantaquidgeon operated explained much about their decisions. White society was not welcoming of traditional Native medicine, and Roe Cloud chose to align himself with Christian Missionary work. Tantaquidgeon, on the other hand, renounced these settler colonist policies and left the federal government to spend the rest of her life working for the museum and Mohegan health. Deloria and Roe Cloud both display the difficulties of working

¹¹⁵ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 133-134.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 134.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 133.

within a settler colonist framework. Despite his accomplishments, Deloria was erased from Bard's memory. Roe Cloud found himself the "spokesperson" for an unfathomably large group of communities, all with different customs and traditions. Overall, each of these individuals chose to prioritize certain aspects of their identities in settler colonist and Native spaces, leading them to traverse or reject the concept of respectability politics.

2

Objects of Native Knowledge

The Realm of the Personal

For Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), the preservation of her people's culture as well as other Native voices she encountered throughout her life took the form of a museum. The museum began as her father's dream but quickly turned into a family endeavor. Harold and John Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan) began building in 1930 and finished only a year later.¹¹⁸ When speaking about its construction, Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel (Mohegan) said that John Tantaquidgeon "built the stone structure when he was blind in one eye and on crutches in the heart of the great depression."¹¹⁹ Despite his health struggles, John Tantaquidgeon remained determined to create a space designed to "preserve" his maple ladles and oak splint baskets as well as the objects made by other Native peoples. This dream turned into reality as family and Mohegan community members alike worked over the years to ensure the museum's success. As the oldest Native American owned museum in the United States, the Tantaquidgeon Museum set a precedent of new Native knowledge keeping techniques that utilized as well as adapted settler colonist methods of historical preservation.¹²⁰ The Tantaquidgeon Museum departed from settler

¹¹⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 90.

¹¹⁹ Connecticut Public, "Celebrate the PBS Series Native America with New Video Shorts from CPTV," Connecticut Public Television, last modified 2019, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://cptv.org/native-america-video-shorts/?jwsourc=cl&fbclid=IwAR3tAGhaevTJcM44Lubd0NxxwJXrJFufWshiSMsFQ7itq4xxZfVIdA9J8cDU>.

¹²⁰ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 90.; Other Indigenous or Native American owned museums include the Navajo Nation Museum, the Cherokee National Historical Society, Inc., the Mashpee Wampanoag Indian Museum, the Seneca-Iroquois National Museum, the Alutiiq Museum & Archaeological Repository, and many more. George H.J. Abrams, *Tribal Museums in America*, accessed March 24, 2019, <http://www.nathpo.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Tribal-Museums-in-America.pdf>.

colonist meanings and purposes of museums. These differences are present in three main aspects of the museum: methods for collecting significant objects, the intent and placement of the museum, and the museum's protection of space and knowledge.

American Museums may be considered in some respects "settler colonist" ventures. Historically, museums have exploited and stolen artifacts from Indigenous Peoples worldwide. In November, 2017, Yale University returned certain sacred cultural artifacts to the Mohegan Tribe in compliance with the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This exchange was documented on the Mohegan Tribe's Facebook page and shared by the Tantaquidgeon Museum. The post from the Mohegan tribe highlighted the belief "that every artifact holds within it the spirit of its maker."¹²¹ The collection of artifacts for display from the Mohegan Tribe carried a particular spiritual and historical weight that differ from the artifacts found in settler colonist museums. All museums could make an argument of preservation, but the Tantaquidgeon Museum plays a significant role in repatriation.¹²² In this context, repatriation refers to the return of Indigenous ancestral remains, sacred objects, and objects of cultural significance to the tribe from which it belongs. In the United States today, repatriation efforts are largely overseen by a law called the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).¹²³ NAGPRA was only passed in the 1990s; Gladys

¹²¹ "Today we celebrated The Mohegan Tribe's and Yale University's centuries' long relationship with an agreement to return very significant, sacred, cultural objects to our people. [...]," Facebook, November 17, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/themohegantribe/posts/1803610889935013?__tn__=C-R.

¹²² "Today we celebrated," Facebook.

¹²³ Scarlet Wootton, "Tribal Leaders Attend Historic National Repatriation Summit, Oklahoma City, June 8-9, 2000," *American Indian Law Review* 25, no. 1 (2000/2001): 153, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20070655>.

Tantaquidgeon initiated multiple repatriation efforts before the United States government clearly acknowledged the importance of this work.¹²⁴

One such example of Tantaquidgeon's efforts to bring home Native items is the Samson Occum (Mohegan) box. When members of the tribe's Cultural Resources Department showed Tantaquidgeon a picture of an elm bark box at the Peabody and Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, Tantaquidgeon remarked it looked similar to "the one in Oneida." In 1775, Samson Occum organized an "exodus" to Upstate New York in order to leave behind the corruptions and influences of settler colonist civilizations. This move was a pan-Indian effort, as members of Pequot, Narragansett, Motauk, Nehantic, and Tunxix tribes also joined the Mohegans on this journey to build a new community.¹²⁵ After Tantaquidgeon learned of the box, a tribal member dreamt about it, and with Tantaquidgeon's help, interpreted the dreams to mean that the box at the Peabody and Essex Museum was indeed of Mohegan origin. While the Mohegan tribe had the proper documentation to send to the Peabody and Essex Museum, they could not have known where to look without this dream as guidance.¹²⁶

The dream as a vessel of knowledge should not be overlooked in this narrative. Without the dream, Tantaquidgeon and the tribal members may not have questioned the box as thoroughly. It originally belonged to the Mohegan Minister Samson Occum who had given it to the founder of the Mohegan Church, his sister, Lucy Occum (Mohegan). While the box was being sent home, it fell into the hands of anthropologists, but there are no current sources on how this happened. Anthropologists then "appropriated" this box by keeping it in a non-Native run

¹²⁴ Wootton, "Tribal Leaders," 153.

¹²⁵ Melissa Jayne Fawcett, *The Lasting of the Mohegans: Part I* (Uncasville: Mohegan Tribe, 1995), 18.

¹²⁶ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 135-136.

museum.¹²⁷ The dream was a catalyst for the research that followed and eventually led to the box being determined of Mohegan origin. As Tantaquidgeon wrote in the section on “Mohegan Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs” in her larger work, *Folk Medicine of the Delaware*, Mohegan people regard “all dreams as significant [...] Through dreams one received advice and guidance from those ‘in the spirit world.’”¹²⁸ Accumulating objects for the museum is a spiritual experience because the objects, in their own rights, contain spirits. However, this spirituality goes both ways; in other words, those in the spirit world are also active in the repatriation process as Mohegan objects retain “the spirit of its maker.” Therefore, to this day the box contains Samuel Occum’s spirit in its ornately carved wood.

Not all the objects in the museum were recovered through the painstaking processes of repatriation. John Tantaquidgeon’s personal contributions to the museum included basketry and woodwork made around 1888; ladles, spoons, and scoops made from maple wood in the 1930s; hickory and white oak axe and hammer handles; and a maple bowl made by John with leaf carvings by Harold.¹²⁹ The museum also contained artifacts collected by Gladys. During her anthropological studies of eastern tribes, Gladys catalogued all the gifts she received. Unlike most anthropologists who would have treated these objects as artifacts, “Gladys greeted them as living treasures.”¹³⁰ Her views aligned with the Mohegan Tribe’s ideas of objects containing the “spirit of their maker.” Cataloguing, collecting, and placing artifacts while acknowledging their “spirit” made the process of Museum artifact accumulation an act of spirituality as well as preservation. Moreover, walking through a museum built on the “lives” of its contents makes the journey for the visitor of the spirit and soul as well as the mind.

¹²⁷ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 135.

¹²⁸ Gladys Tantaquidgeon, *Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians*, 91.

¹²⁹ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 91.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 89.

The methods for collecting objects of significance revolved around Native traditions and spirituality. In Mohegan tradition, the museum contains the spirits of Gladys, John, and Harold Tantaquidgeon along with other creators such as Samuel Occum. This way of looking at objects brings the temporal aspects of the museum in direct contradiction with the historical aspects of other museums. Seeing objects as containing living spirit gives these objects a place in the present as well as the past. Whereas many museums distinguish their artifacts as objects no longer used or needed, that will never be the case with the objects in the Tantaquidgeon Museum. These objects carry just as much meaning and use in the present as they have in the past due to their spirit-containing nature.

There is a contradiction in using the title of “museum” in order to house these repatriated and community based projects and learning efforts. The Tantaquidgeon museum shattered the boundaries and meanings ascribed to settler colonist museums when it combined education and learning with Native spirituality and heritage. This, of course, would have made perfect sense to the Tantaquidgeon’s. In fact, they would have most likely deemed creating an Indigenous run-museum that did not interconnect these aspects of life impossible. However, the Tantaquidgeon Museum still retains the name and connotations of other museums in the United States to this day. It follows certain protocols such as being available to the general public almost year round and never charging admission.¹³¹ The museum is free and open to anyone, Mohegan or not, to visit and explore. Museums have been used to silence Native voices and appropriate Native objects for disingenuous methods of knowledge keeping, but Tantaquidgeon used these settler colonist methods in her formation of the museum. Tantaquidgeon subverted the typical settler

¹³¹ Connecticut Public, "Celebrate the PBS Series Native America with New Video Shorts from CPTV," Connecticut Public Television, last modified 2019, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://cptv.org/native-america-video-shorts/?jwsourc=cl&fbclid=IwAR3tAGhaevTJcM44Lubd0NxxwJXrJFUfWshiSMsFQ7itq4xxZfVIdA9J8cDU>.

colonist methods of museum knowledge keeping, as she created an Indigenous space that changes over time with Mohegan culture. In the twentieth century, the Mohegan community in Uncasville are surrounded on all sides by settler colonist structures and ventures. The creation of an Indigenous run museum challenged the notion that Native Peoples are static and unchanging. It also created a venue for discussion between the Mohegan tribe and members of settler colonist communities.

However, the Mohegan tribe is still very protective of the knowledge the museum holds, as it is impossible to separate studying the Mohegan people from studying the museum. For all research projects concerning the tribe, the protocol consists of tribal community members reaching out to the individuals in order to address specific issues. In order for an individual to receive permission to visit the museum for research purposes, they must first submit a formal application to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval.¹³² The museum has been treated as a “home” not only for the Tantaquidgeons but for tribal members. A visit to the museum would include the museum artifacts as well as the knowledge given by tour guides and staff. While the Tantaquidgeon Museum is set up around this purpose, it maintains a level of trust in its visitors that the intimacy of the museum will be respected. It is harder to maintain this trust with unknown researchers, as the tribe cannot always monitor their actions. The Museum is also explicitly run by the Mohegan People. For all these reasons, researching the museum cannot be separated from researching the Mohegan people. These specific choices to enact further protections on knowledge than most public institutions comes from a past heavy with expropriation and violence. Even in the modern era, settler colonists “failed to recognize New England Indians as modern peoples who looked to the future and instead constructed a pervasive

¹³² "Tantaquidgeon Museum Visit," email correspondence, January 9, 2019.

myth of Indian extinction.”¹³³ The decision to create a museum directly contrasts this narrative of Native Peoples as unchanging and also the settler colonist concept of “modernity” and what needs to be in place for a people to exist in a modern community.

The intent of the museum was to craft a new Native space that would account for the past but also guarantee a space for the Mohegan tribe in the future. John Tantaquidgeon wished to preserve his own traditional Native carvings and baskets as well as those made by other Indigenous peoples. Gladys Tantaquidgeon saw the museum in a similar light, as a place “to house our collection of various artifacts that had been made and used by our people and were scattered about our living quarters here and there so that not only our own people could enjoy them but others as well.”¹³⁴ Tantaquidgeon could not fully appreciate all the objects she has acquired due to the lack of space in the family’s houses and storage. In other words, the museum began as an extension of her home, a place of the private and personal. Tantaquidgeon putting her own personal objects on display is a very significant choice, as no one is obligated to educate others on their own personal lives. Tantaquidgeon still chose to do this work, making the museum a public institution that simultaneously relies on the personal.

The objects in the museum that are not Tantaquidgeon’s still belonged to the Mohegan tribe, so this line of thinking can be extended to the surrounding community as well as the museum. Melissa Fawcett, who knew Gladys Tantaquidgeon intimately in familial and personal settings, remarked that “a walk through the Tantaquidgeon Museum is a consolidated walk along Gladys’s life trail. She calls the entry room home because it contains Algonquian and East Coast artifacts.”¹³⁵ For a museum to be a home marks it as a place of comfort and intimacy. The

¹³³ Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Our of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 145.

¹³⁴ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 90.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 137.

Tantaquidgeon museum was founded on this closeness in relationships with its objects.

Therefore, the Tantaquidgeon family put their intimacy on display for outsiders to examine and learn from.

The museum's location adds a further dimension of intimacy to its purpose. It is located in Uncasville, on the Mohegan Tribe's reservation in Southern Connecticut.¹³⁶ The museum's closeness to the reservation and therefore the living spaces of the Tantaquidgeon family gives it a greater influence in the lives of successive Mohegan generations. Harold Tantaquidgeon built a longhouse and wigwam behind the museum. These two structures can be observed by people visiting the museum to observe and learn, but they also benefit the local population of Mohegans, particularly focusing on younger generations. Harold taught survival training and outdoor skills in these locations to the local youth and scout troops.¹³⁷ Therefore, the museum was utilized once again on a temporal level not only as a place of learning but also as a site of passing on Mohegan skills and connecting to Mohegan traditions. The past and present intermingle as the Tantaquidgeon museum paves a path for future generations. Today, the museum's location allows it to advertise nearby events such as the annual Mohegan Wigwam Festival which takes place less than two miles away.

The Tantaquidgeon Museum is a remarkable structure that contains a vast history and thriving spirituality. The members of the Tantaquidgeon family understood its importance. There is no better example of this deep connection with the space than of Harold Tantaquidgeon's actions when a chimney fire burned the family home in 1935: "he raced to spray the trees between the house and the museum, knowing that the house was replaceable but the treasures in

¹³⁶ "Tantaquidgeon Museum," Mohegan Tribe, last modified 2017, accessed November 12, 2018, <https://www.mohegan.nsn.us/explore/heritage/important-sites/tantaquidgeon-museum>.

¹³⁷ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 139.

the museum were not.”¹³⁸ Gladys Tantaquidgeon called the entry room of the museum her home, but in this quote, Harold marked the museum as even *more* important than a living space.

Moreover, the museum holds a pan-Indian element to it, as it focuses not on one Native community but on the accomplishments and cultural significance of many. Indeed, walk past the entry room into the back and there are dolls, baskets, moccasins, and more from various Sioux communities. While the front of the museum represents Gladys Tantaquidgeon’s connection to East coast and specifically Algonquian communities, the second room displays her solidarity for the Sioux people that she visited.

For Gladys Tantaquidgeon and others in the Mohegan tribe, knowledge is a form of property.¹³⁹ Property can be looked at as the foundation of sovereignty. Since Native Peoples view their knowledge in this light, it gives them more protections of their culture and lifeways. This is clearly represented in the policies around research in the Tantaquidgeon Museum today. However, it also was a crucial part of Tantaquidgeon’s work with other tribes. She understood much better than many anthropologists the value of gaining information through experience. This extended not only to speaking with Native community members but also the sensory experiences from visiting these spaces. This way of thinking about knowledge and learning led Tantaquidgeon to write the book, “Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians.” The book preserved Native methods of healing and medicinal practices, and was put together while she was spending a lot of time working at the museum. Along with her anthropological notes, she also used knowledge passed down to her by Mohegan grandmothers

¹³⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 139.

¹³⁹ Tantaquidgeon, *Folk Medicine*, 67.

and some notes on the practices of other eastern tribes. Together, all this information formed the book published in 1972 when Tantaquidgeon was seventy-three years old.¹⁴⁰

The act of collecting her knowledge both from notes and her own experience created a radical text that aimed not only to preserve the knowledge Tantaquidgeon gained while studying anthropology but also to denote her own life experiences as equally important. Moreover, the text contained the same specifically Indigenous intimacy that can be found inside the stone walls of the Tantaquidgeon Museum. The book is split into two sections: one that delved into the traditional medicinal and cultural practices of the Delaware people and the second on the same subject but of the Mohegan people. In the appendices, there is also a short section on the Nanticoke which Tantaquidgeon includes due to the “close historical affinities of the Nanticoke with the Delaware over a period of time so long that both groups must be considered ultimately to have sprung from a common source.”¹⁴¹ The various sections of the book included thoughts on disease, long lists of medicinal remedies that stem from both actions and herbs, thoughts on witchcraft, plants, weather, dreams, foods, omens, and myths. The inclusion of both the Delaware and the Mohegan traditions, beliefs, and practices in one text makes an excellent opportunity for comparison.

However, the text was created as an act of taking knowledge out of the sphere of the personal and intimate and putting it out into the world for the public’s benefit. There is no doubt that Tantaquidgeon meant for the Mohegan, Delaware, and Nanticoke people to benefit deeply from this compiled knowledge, as it created an index that could be utilized for educational and cultural purposes. Still, she once again used a settler colonist framework to work through these narratives. Both the museum and Tantaquidgeon’s anthropological work aimed not only to

¹⁴⁰ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 133.

¹⁴¹ Tantaquidgeon, *Folk Medicine*, 95.

benefit Native communities but also to educate settler colonists on Indigenous culture. Using a settler colonist framework gave these ventures a sense of legitimacy in the eyes of settler colonists, even as these structures simultaneously attempted to argue for the existence and preservation of Indigenous peoples and culture.

While an anthropologist, Gladys Tantaquidgeon looked at her “informants” through a different lens than her white counterparts. She had the background and experience to relate to Indigenous Peoples in a way that other anthropologists of the time could not. In order to understand her approach, it is useful to consider another very different anthropological example from a century prior. In the 1840s, the field of anthropology had not yet been formally invented. An exchange of knowledge from a Native community to a settler colonist author took place in this period that would be both instrumental in founding the field of ethnography as well as in creating a history the Haudenosaunee can look back on, albeit with some skepticism.

Authors as Informants, Informants as Authors

Lewis Henry Morgan’s text, *The League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, was an outlier of “modern” ethnographies of Native peoples produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as it prioritized and respected Native voices. However, in other ways the text remained in line with perspectives brought to bear by Anglo-Americans. In 1844, Ely S. Parker (Seneca) was visiting Albany during the midst of a difficult fight to retain land rights for the Tonawanda Reservation in Western New York. He was sixteen years old and presumably appeared somewhat out of place in the bookstore where Lewis Henry Morgan approached him.¹⁴² The conversation that followed led Parker to new educational and political opportunities. With the information crucially provided by Parker, Morgan would go on to write *The League of the Ho-*

¹⁴² Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 1.

dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois, the first known non-Seneca anthropological source on the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.¹⁴³ Unlike Gladys Tantaquidgeon, Morgan did not possess a previous knowledge of Indigenous people going into this study of the Tonawanda Seneca community. In fact, he was part of a group called the Gordian Knot that relied on taking apart Haudenosaunee culture and tradition in order to appropriate these practices for a warped “playgroup.”¹⁴⁴ In this space, white men felt comfortable taking on specific aspects of Indigeneity with no acknowledgment of the cultures they were stealing from. The Gordian Knot was not the only group dedicated to this purpose, but it was unique as it went through a change from “romantic notions of vanishing Indians” to “rationalized, objective scientific investigation.” This all came about under the pretense of defining an “American” literary identity, but these shifts correlated with Morgan’s growing relationship with Parker.¹⁴⁵ At first, Morgan might even have seen Parker as a walking embodiment of his own disingenuous version of Iroquoian ideals. However, Morgan recognizing that the Seneca tribe were alive and well in Western New York was still no small matter. He was the first to do so and therefore felt more strongly about the issue than other anthropologists at the time. Morgan’s work is still of crucial importance, as the only anthropological work from that time that remains widely circulated today.

Tantaquidgeon used the word “informants” to describe the Native Peoples who aided her anthropological work. An informant in anthropology is someone who shares knowledge with the researcher, allowing them to gain an inside perspective.¹⁴⁶ In her text, *Mohawk Interruptus*, Audra Simpson pointed out that for Morgan, the Seneca served not only as “informants” but also

¹⁴³ Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 76.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1998), 72-73.

¹⁴⁶ “Informant,” in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press), accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/95565?redirectedFrom=informant#eid>.

as “collaborators” and “friends.”¹⁴⁷ These distinctions may at first appear not to matter, but Morgan’s relationship and previous thinking about the Haudenosaunee people must be taken into account when examining his and Parker’s text as an act of knowledge keeping. Working with a friend instead of an informant could be seen as a more intimate and challenging project for many reasons. First, both people are invested in the project. Second, bias can be harder to avoid due to familiarity in the project. Lastly, the professional relationship could affect the friendship and vice versa. As well as these positions, Parker also took on the role of a teacher, and Morgan, as much as he would like to, could not shed his role as the pupil. This is significant because the two of them did not start their friendship or professional relationship on an equal field.

While Tantaquidgeon could draw on her own life experiences and comparisons in her anthropological work, Morgan’s background knowledge all came from the Gordian Knot. Interestingly, after meeting Parker, Morgan changed the name of the Gordian Knot to the “Grand Order of the Iroquois” and adopted some of the society’s beliefs and principles to reflect his own newfound knowledge of the Seneca he gained from Parker.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, Morgan convinced The Order to pay for Parker’s education at Cayuga Academy. This was not a one sided exchange; Parker agreed to provide Morgan with more information on the Haudenosaunee.¹⁴⁹ So another word that can be added to Simpson’s list of relationships between Morgan and the Haudenosaunee would be colleague or perhaps less favorably, associate, a term which implicitly suggests hierarchy where Parker was working for, rather than with, Morgan.

Parker should be given a larger authorial role for his actions of knowledge production for *The League*. As Simpson points out, “The Iroquois surely had a history before Lewis Henry Morgan. But it is with him that their ethnological life had its start, so their history appears to

¹⁴⁷ Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 79.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 85.

¹⁴⁹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 3.

begin with him. Yet it is to Ely S. Parker that Lewis Henry Morgan owed this ethnographic life.”¹⁵⁰ In some ways, *The League* was similar to Tantaquidgeon’s efforts to record and publish her anthropological notes on the Delaware, Mohegan, and Nanticoke peoples. Parker most likely saw the opportunity to share knowledge of the Haudenosaunee with American society as especially important, as it would give his people more legitimacy and, by extension, political power in the middle of their struggle for land. However, it is harder to tell what value, if any, Parker felt the text would be to his *own* people’s historical and cultural education. As Simpson argues, *The League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* did not create a history out of nothing; this knowledge already existed within the six clans, passed down through generations by methods non-reliant on text exclusively.¹⁵¹ Determining if Parker felt that texts such as *the League* should replace these traditional methods within the tribe of knowledge production and passage is much harder to determine. However, Morgan’s relationship with Parker as well as Morgan’s own appropriative past of Native ideas made the text problematic on some levels.¹⁵²

Morgan understood his relationship with Parker through this colleague lens, but ultimately gave himself the majority of the credit for their mutual labors. He dedicated the book to Ely S. Parker, claiming the “materials of which are the fruit of our joint research.”¹⁵³ The phrase “joint research” here is intriguing, as Parker did not participate in research; he already knew the bulk of the information he relayed to Morgan. While Morgan attempted to give Parker credit through this dedication, he later described Parker’s role as “assistance during the whole

¹⁵⁰ Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 76.

¹⁵¹ Teresa Coronado, review of *Queequeg’s Coffin: Indigenous Literacies and Early American Literature*, by Birgit Brander Rasmussen, *Rocky Mountain Review* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2013), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23609972>.

¹⁵² Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 72-73.

¹⁵³ Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*.

progress of research and for a share of the materials.”¹⁵⁴ Morgan wanted Parker’s role to be acknowledged, but did not give him authorial power over the text. “A share of materials” is a vague term, that could even imply Parker wrote some part of the work. Here, Mohegan views on knowledge can be helpful to understand Parker’s role. As argued previously, knowledge can be understood as an object; Parker giving this knowledge to Morgan equated to passing on a source, equally as concrete as the text Morgan created with the information. Therefore, Parker was not just the passer of knowledge, but the owner of that knowledge, and therefore, the author of it. Inscribing the novel to Parker took away any authorial possibility. Parker could be a helper, an assistant, even a joint-researcher, but the text created out of his objective knowledge would never be viewed as equally his in the same way as Morgan’s.

This makes studying *The League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* as a form of knowledge production by Parker tricky. On the one hand, a portion of the work is Parker’s. On the other, there is no way to tell exactly which portion it is. Therefore, the work must be viewed through a very specific lens: as a text that passed *through* Parker to Morgan. This line of thinking is not intended to doubt the legitimacy of *The League* or deny Morgan’s authorship. Rather, this is to expand on Audra’s Simpson’s argument for Parker’s authorial identity through the works of others.¹⁵⁵ In fact, there are most likely more than two authors, as Parker was not Morgan’s only informant. Anthropology and ethnology were created on the premise that informants could be used to gather knowledge to turn into their own work. However, walking this line of looking at knowledge as a work in itself muddles the definition of anthropology and could lead to a very slippery slope of defining authorship. Gladys Tantaquidgeon gave a solution to this potential problem as she gave her informant an authorial role while still maintaining her role as the

¹⁵⁴ Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*. 11.

¹⁵⁵ Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 80.

physical writer of the text in hand: she “recorded” what her main informant, Wi-tapanóxwe (Delaware), “dictated” to her.¹⁵⁶ It is the first line in her introduction and clearly marks Wi-tapanóxwe’s ownership of the text’s knowledge and Tantaquidgeon’s relationship to that knowledge.

Parker should have an authorial position in new versions of the text distributed today. There should be an added preface about his specific role to the book and consequently his role in founding anthropology and ethnology. His name should be read alongside Morgan’s whenever the book is mentioned. As for Parker’s accomplishments in this form of knowledge production, there is no doubt that *The League* would not exist without him. Therefore, he contributed in an extremely significant way to Native scholars after him. Without *The League*, pieces of history and knowledge could have been lost from future generations, especially members of the clans attempting to connect with their history and culture.

Restorative Memory

On a Monday afternoon on December 3rd, 2018 at Bard College, a group of around thirty students, faculty, and staff gathered by a building named Aspinwall. In front of the building stood a glossy new sign with a gold and red ribbon and wrapping, partially concealing it from view. Myra Young Armstead stood in front of the group along with students from her class, Inclusion at Bard. Along with Myra, these students had been instrumental in putting together the three new signs that now adorned Bard’s central campus. Others crucially involved in the project included Ariana Stokas, the Dean of Inclusive Excellence; Jonathan Becker, the Director for the Center of Civic Engagement, Vice President of Academic Affairs, and a Political Studies

¹⁵⁶ Tantaquidgeon, *Folk Medicine*, 95.

Associate Professor; and Helene Tieger, the Bard Archivist. The signs were made possible by a grant from the Lumina Foundation.

As the commemorative walk and tour of the signs began, the Inclusion at Bard students shared information on John Loyd Aspinwall, the man who gives the oldest building at the college its name; Matthew McDuffie, the first known African American man to graduate from the college; and Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux). Centrally positioned on the path leading away from the library, Deloria's sign overlooks the field behind Kline Commons. A single American football goal post is present on the side closest to Kline, and sometimes a student or two can be seen practicing field goals. However, in 2019 the field is mostly used by students trudging to class. The sign contains a picture of Deloria in his football uniform, a picture of his football team, and a short paragraph on Deloria's life and significance to Bard. When the walk reached Deloria's sign, Students spoke on the often invisible Native American presence on Bard's space. They named Deloria's accomplishments and discussed the Deloria family's legacy. The director of the American Studies program and my senior project advisor, Christian Crouch, spoke up at the end of the talk to remind those present that we were standing on the land of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians before they were relocated to Wisconsin. After the tour, a reception took place in the Bard Campus Center, which included various spoken word, art, and dance performances.¹⁵⁷

In the year I am writing this project on knowledge production and preservation, Bard College has made a large step in remembering not only Deloria but the rich and complex history of the college. This remembrance includes a small but meaningful space that has been carved out for Deloria's presence. Choosing him as a figure represents not only an effort to grapple with

¹⁵⁷ "Commemoration Walk" (lecture, Aspinwall Hall, Bard College, Annandale on Hudson, NY, December 3, 2018).

College history but also a new willingness to acknowledge the role Indigenous People played in the College's past. It opens the door to new conversations about existing in Native space as well as Bard's own existence as a settler colonial structure. In placing these signs around campus, the college also marks what is deemed important to remember. Deloria, Bard's "forgotten hero," is re-emerging as a person for all students to see as a member of their same college community. The class of 2022 will be the first to have felt Deloria's renewed presence for all four years of their college education. It is apt that Deloria overlooks the football field where he once spent the majority of his time. All incoming classes as well as those that tour the college will see that, although the football team is a thing of the past, "Pete" Deloria remains one of Bard's "Greatest athletic heroes."¹⁵⁸

This chapter looked at tangible objects that can represent and pass on knowledge: texts, artifacts, and buildings. Compared to these large projects, a sign can seem small, and in some ways, it is. Many students will most likely walk past the sign without noticing it at all during their time at the college. Only those that stop to read will learn about Deloria's life and legacy. However, a sign can also spark interest. When I learned of Deloria's presence at Bard, I decided to add his voice to this project. While there is less information available on him than Roe Cloud, Tantaquidgeon, and Parker, he has become so present in my space, that I felt it crucial to include him. A sign cannot express the same amount of knowledge as a book or a museum. What it can do is spark conversation that will develop into more meaningful action. In other words, attempts to restore a piece of history that has been lost is an everlasting project. The knowledge processes must continue and evolve with time. An example of this continuation would be Yale's

¹⁵⁸ Deloria, "I Am of the Body," 326.

conferences about Indigeneity in Roe Cloud's name.¹⁵⁹ The process of granting Deloria a place in Bard's collective memory will take time and effort but it needs to come out of a desire not only to restore history but to create new historical analysis and ideas about Deloria and what his time at Bard means for the college and its community.

¹⁵⁹ Yale College, "Henry Roe Cloud Conference," Yale College: Native American Cultural Center, accessed March 24, 2019, <https://nacc.yalecollege.yale.edu/student-groups/anaay/henry-roe-cloud-conference>.

3

The Connections Between Double Consciousness, Education, and Native Sovereignty

A Sense of “Two-ness”

The concept of “double consciousness” was first coined by W.E.B. Du Bois in the early twentieth century in regards to navigating the paradoxes as well as the inclusions and exclusions of his African American and American identities. Gladys Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), Ely S. Parker (Seneca), Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk), and Vine Deloria Sr. (Yankton Sioux) also faced lives with two conflicting identities: Indigenous and American. The first two chapters examined how these individuals managed and developed these identities throughout their lives. Chapter One explored settler colonist learning structures and how Roe Cloud, Deloria, and Tantaquidgeon prioritized and cared for their identities within these structures, often with goals in mind for both themselves and their Native communities. Chapter Two analyzed how Tantaquidgeon, Parker, and Deloria prioritized physical and tangible Native knowledge. All four used a combination of assimilationist and traditionalist practices in order to support Native communities, with varying emphasis. Examining Du Bois’ framework of “double consciousness” can provide a better theoretical understanding of how these Indigenous people navigated issues of sovereignty and space. First, however, it is critical to understand how the concept can and cannot be employed when talking about Native Americans.

It is important to note that Du Bois’ main writings came after Deloria, Tantaquidgeon, Roe Cloud, and Parker were invested in their careers. While they may have become aware of Du

Bois' theories, they were employing his techniques before they had his words to explain them. The concept of double consciousness described a phenomenon felt by those attempting to balance conflicting identities. In his essay, "The Conservation of the Races," W.E.B. Du Bois was concerned with the barriers placed before African Americans, both historically and in his current period. Beyond this, he also meditated on the category of race and how identity functions in a structurally oppressive society: "What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Black and White America."¹⁶⁰ While Du Bois was specifically concerned with African Americans in this passage, his writing carried a sentiment that is universal for those caught between cultures, those who feel torn between two identities, or have had different identities forced on them from outside sources. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Indigenous people were systematically pushed out of their space while assimilation projects, most commonly in the form of Native schools to educate Indian students into Anglo-American norms, became prevalent.¹⁶¹ Of course, this was not the first of these assimilation techniques. Christian missionaries had been attempting to assimilate Native Peoples to a more "American" or "civilized" culture since before the Revolutionary War.¹⁶² However, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, individuals like Tantaquidgeon, Roe Cloud, Deloria, and Parker grappled with the same questions as Du Bois, as their identities faced a constant battle of inclusion and exclusion. Native peoples carried a dual identity, as Du Bois suggested, but their experiences were different from those of African Americans in many ways. Most notably, Indigenous people have sovereign claims to United

¹⁶⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Sociological Souls of Black Folk: Essays*, ed. Robert Wortham (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 115.

¹⁶¹ Gayle Ross, narr., *Our Spirits Don't Speak English*, directed by Chip Richie, Rich Heape Company, 2008.

¹⁶² Jon Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian*, 15.

States land, so their American identity is in direct contradiction to their Native politics and rules of sovereignty.

The concept of “double consciousness,” therefore, can be applied but needs to be expanded to include the notion of Native exclusion on indigenous land. In *Strivings of the Negro People*, Du Bois discussed the otherness felt by African Americans as they struggled to find identity:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.¹⁶³

After this passage, Du Bois went on to describe African Americans’ placelessness, as they were taken to America and thus no longer had a tangible relationship with Africa. This is not the case for Native Peoples—instead of being torn from a place, a place was torn from them through the process of settler colonialism. Native Americans had direct access to see what was taken as well as direct knowledge. These distinctions are crucial in understanding how to connect the concept of double consciousness to Native Americans. This next section will focus on the sense of “two-ness” Du Bois described, of seeing oneself “through the eyes of others” and how this knowledge impacted identity. After that, the chapter will shift to look at how double consciousness impacted the specific sovereign part of Native Identity, the specific ways in which experiencing duality in colonized space affects identity. Ultimately, Du Bois’ main argument still stands: that two identities existing in this tension can never break free into one nor can they melt together into cohesion.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Sociological Souls of Black Folk*, 4.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* xvi.

“Through the Eyes of Others”

Existing as a minority at an Ivy league institution greatly shaped Parker, Tantaquidgeon, Roe Cloud, and Deloria’s understandings of their own indigeneity and self. Despite being recruited to St. Stevens for the college football team, the nearby town of Annandale did not allow Vine Deloria Sr. into their stores due to his race. Deloria clearly remembered relying on his friends for clothing, as he was unable to purchase his own.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, the “two-ness” Deloria experienced related to, on the one hand, his experience as a successful athlete, and, on the other, his identity as a Yankton Sioux Native American. The element of entertainment also came into play, as athletics was a site of spectatorship. As a person of color, Deloria was viewed as less than in Annandale’s space until he entered the field. Then, those in Annandale watching the games cheered him on as “that damn Indian” who surpassed all others. They put Deloria on a pedestal, as many boarding schools did their Native athletes, but this pedestal collapsed when Deloria left the school. When he was no longer serving the institution, he was no longer seen as important to remember. While Deloria found a forced equality of skill on the field, it did not extend any farther than his abilities to win the game.

Roe Cloud and Tantaquidgeon also experienced prejudice while in settler colonist educational settings. Tantaquidgeon had to content with the misinterpretations of Mohegan Peoples popularized by James Fenimore Cooper’s best-selling book, *The Last of the Mohicans*, first published in 1826. Not only did the book have many inaccuracies but it reinforced the narrative of Indians, specially Mohicans (often confused with Mohegan), as a vanishing people. Tantaquidgeon said that due to this narrative, “to have a Mohegan or Mohican show up was

¹⁶⁵ Philip Joseph Deloria, "I Am of the Body": Thoughts on My Grandfather, Culture, and Sports." *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 95, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 321-38. 328.

unheard of.”¹⁶⁶ Tantaquidgeon had to constantly be prepared for this kind of reaction to her presence in an academic setting. Her individual position as a Mohegan woman was countered by the public’s impression of her existence as an impossibility. Tantaquidgeon tried to contend with these definitions, but socially, found it very difficult to do so:

Gladys’s Penobscot friend, Molly Dellis Nelson, also enrolled at the university, affording them both some companionship. Together, they cut their long braids into flapper bobs and wore their traditional Indian belts slung low on their hips in 1920s fashion. In spite of those attempts at mainstream style, Gladys and Molly remained conspicuous curiosities. Outside of the anthropology department, their social associations were limited to the international house. The university administration had segregated these two brown skinned indigenous women with the foreign students. They were treated as aliens in their native land.”¹⁶⁷

Tantaquidgeon and Dellis Nelson partially attempted to blend into the college culture. In cutting their traditional braids and wearing low slung belts, the two women made an effort to show their capabilities to fit into fashionable, modern America as well as mainstream Anglo-American college life. However, they did not set aside the material cultural elements of being Mohegan and Penobscot, as they continued to wear their traditional belt styles. They experienced social discrimination as they were placed in the “international” house with students from outside the United States. This placement was ironic, as Tantaquidgeon and Nelson were the two only students at Pennsylvania they knew of that had sovereign claims to United States land. The international house marked them as outsiders, when in reality, the entire university project was a settler colonist venture in Indigenous space.

Tantaquidgeon’s experience at the University of Pennsylvania can be imagined by Du Bois’ words about how the gaze of oppressors caused a “measuring [of] one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” The placement in the international house depicted the University rejecting Tantaquidgeon’s Indigenous identity, and she must have felt

¹⁶⁶ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 73.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 71.

this rejection acutely. The contempt and irony of placing an Indigenous person in an international house puts pressure on Tantaquidgeon to fit into a certain mold, to measure herself by this forced identity of a visitor at best, an “alien” at worst. Only her anthropological studies of various Native American communities allowed Tantaquidgeon a space to truly explore identity and self, as she was able to visit and give a voice to other Algonkian communities.¹⁶⁸

While Henry Roe Cloud was allowed to join various communities at Yale, and actually became very popular through these social ventures, he still experienced discrimination and a sense of double consciousness. In *The Yale Indian*, Joel Pfister compared Roe Cloud to Du Bois, but they appeared to have more differences than similarities in terms of how they were treated in college life. While Roe Cloud became well known for his speaking in the fancy Elihu club as well as his work through the Yale YMCA, Du Bois was rejected from the student organization he wished to join because of his race.¹⁶⁹ Unable to participate through Harvard University’s social culture, Du Bois found solace in various communities of color in Boston and the surrounding area. Roe Cloud, on the other hand, appeared to be the only Native American in all of New Haven. His papers and letters leave no reference to any other individuals of Native descent. Thus, he was not only separated from communication with the Ho-Chunk tribe, but from Indigenous people more broadly in this pocket of white academia.¹⁷⁰

An example of the Yale ethos can be found in a Newspaper article published on May 17th, 1910 in *The New Haven Union* which depicts cartoon-style drawings of individuals. Some of these drawings include people dressed as clowns, a man in a ballerina costume, and a person in a skeleton costume. A caption above the drawings reads: “some of the sights seen at Omega Lambda Chi night on the Yale Campus yesterday.” On the far right is a picture of a man wearing

¹⁶⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 70.

¹⁶⁹ “Winnebago Indian Most Prominent of Graduates of Yale.”

¹⁷⁰ Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian*. 52-53.

a generic Native Americans Great Plains dress and headdress. There is very little decoration on the shirt, pants, moccasins, and headdress. They appear to be plain white in color. The person is holding a small hatchet in one, raised hand. The shading on their face makes their skin appear very dark, especially in contrast to the absence of shading on all the other figures. On the far right next to the drawing it said “Henry Roe Cloud - Full Blood Indian.”¹⁷¹ The depiction of Roe Cloud neither accurately represented his physical appearance nor traditional Ho-Chunk clothing styles. Roe Cloud had a much paler face than the dark shading that appeared in the article.¹⁷² The choice to shade his face darker already showed a warped view of Native Americans in the white Yale community. Furthermore, the clothing choices were inaccurate. Not only were there no sources of Roe Cloud ever walking around Yale University with a headdress and hatchet, but even if he were to wear traditional Ho-Chunk dress, it would have looked nothing like the picture.¹⁷³ The photo was a very stereotyped picture of a Native American that would have circulated in the nineteenth century, made clear by the lack of details in the dress and the emphasis on dark skin. Further, the idea of the Indian as a “costume” and a “disguise” has been critical in the making of American discourse about Native American dress.¹⁷⁴ These pictures showed that Roe Cloud could never entirely part with his Native identity, and that his individual identity was inseparable from the stereotyped identity of all Native Americans during this time period.

Operating in the nineteenth century as opposed to the twentieth like Roe Cloud and Tantaquidgeon, Ely S. Parker was unable to even pursue his ideal educational career. While the

¹⁷¹ "Some of the Sights Seen at Omega Lambda Chi Night on the Yale Campus Yesterday," *The New Haven Union* (New Haven, CN), May 17, 1910.

¹⁷² Joel Pfister, *The Yale*. Cover.

¹⁷³ "Ho-Chunk: People," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2019), accessed April 16, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ho-Chunk>.

¹⁷⁴ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 8.

1924 Citizenship Act forced Native Americans to become American citizens without their consultation, it did give them benefits of existing in the United States job market. After working hard to keep the Tonawanda community on their land in New York, Parker decided he wished to become a lawyer. This would have been an advantageous position for him, as it would have given him resources and legitimacy that he could have used to help his community. His future career looked even more promising when a young lawyer offered Parker a position to help him with legal work specifically focusing on Native Americans. In this position in Ellicottville, New York, Parker gained crucial skills that would help him later in life with his legal battles for the Tonawanda community. He became familiar with “the practical ways of the lawyer, taking the advice then given to young lawyers to ‘live in your office... answer all letters as soon as they are received... put every law paper in its place... be patient with your foolish clients... read, delve, meditate, study, and make the whole mine of law your own.’”¹⁷⁵ Parker would use this advice then and later, as he applied it to his entire life, not just law.

However, when he attempted to take the Bar exam, he hit an immovable obstacle. In order to become a lawyer under New York State Law, Parker needed to be a naturalized citizen.¹⁷⁶ General citizenship for Native Americans would take place in 1924 under the Native Citizenship Act, but Parker was over half a century too early.¹⁷⁷ The Native education system at the time was not set up for Parker or any other Native American to rise to a prominent position in the United States. Instead, it trained them for this liminal space of existing as neither sovereign or citizen. At the time Parker was applying, he was unable to take the exam, despite not only

¹⁷⁵ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 36.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 41.

¹⁷⁷ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (n.p.: UP of Kansas, 1995), 146.

being born in the United States, but being an Indigenous person to the continent. Dejected, Parker turned from law to engineering as his new career.¹⁷⁸

Sachem, Lieutenant, and Commissioner

Throughout his life, Ely Parker maintained allegiances to both the United States and the Seneca People of the Tonawanda Reservation. This is clearly displayed in the title of his biography, *Warrior in Two Camps*, written by William Armstrong.¹⁷⁹ This paradoxical title is representative of the fine line Parker walked by connecting himself with two different forms of government laying claim to the same land. In a dream, Elizabeth Parker (Seneca), Ely Parker's mother, learned that her son would be "a peacemaker; he will become a white man as well as an Indian, with great learning; he will be a warrior for the pale faces; [...] but he will never desert his Indian people nor 'lay down his arms as a great Iroquois chief.'"¹⁸⁰ Like the Mohegan tribe, the Seneca people traditionally believed dreams held extreme clarity and significance.¹⁸¹ This dream marked Parker's double consciousness as critical not only to his personal identity but to his life's goals. Parker's existence as both Seneca and "white" allowed him to be both a "warrior for the pale faces" and an "Iroquois chief."

Parker's relationship with whiteness allowed him to gain power not only for himself but also for the Seneca people. Furthermore, this tension between his American and Indigenous self gave Parker legitimacy in the world of white America and allowed him a position of prestige from which he could further legitimize the Tonawanda Reservation and empower its people. The first biography written about Parker contains a similar sentiment. Arthur C. Parker (Seneca), Ely

¹⁷⁸ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 41.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 14-15.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 15.

Parker's Grandnephew, began *The Life of Ely S. Parker* by discussing "the measure of the man."¹⁸² Arthur C. Parker traced Ely S. Parker's lineage and considered his services to both the United States and the Seneca people. However, he claimed that "first and last he [Parker] was an Iroquois. In any sense of viewpoint he was an American. There is a sense in which he was the first American of his time and an embodiment of all the heroic ideas that enter into our conception of American manhood."¹⁸³ Arthur C. Parker argued that Ely S. Parker's Native identity stood before all else, even though he simultaneously existed as an American. Legally, this did not prove to be true, and Parker faced this harsh reality when he attempted to become a lawyer without the technicality of American citizenship. However, Parker undoubtedly expressed American values during his lifetime and his military service as well as his relative assimilation into New York high society.¹⁸⁴ Of course, his belonging should have been automatic as a member of the Haudenosaunee who had Indigenous sovereign rights to settler colonist land, but Parker lived in a moment when Native Americans were fighting both through "legalized," American means and through violence to retain their land and culture.

On September 19th, 1851 Ely S. Parker became an official sachem of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy. From that day on, he occupied a place of greatest importance for the Confederacy Clans as one of the one hundred people appointed to the position.¹⁸⁵ With the new position came a new name: "He would no longer be Ha-sa-no-an-da; he would be known as Do-ne-ho-ga-wa, 'Open Door.'"¹⁸⁶ This role put Parker in a more legitimate standing to help the Tonawanda people with their land struggles. The new title also proved useful for navigating his relationship with white society. Although all sachems were given the same position, the

¹⁸² Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, x.

¹⁸³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, x.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. 48-49.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 49.

Governor of New York and others started referring to Parker as “Chief of the Six nations” and other similar titles.¹⁸⁷ While this language displayed clear ignorance on Haudenosaunee systems of government, it did give Parker more power in the eyes of white society. Also, it gave his words more authority, as he was seen as the designated speaker for the Haudenosaunee people. While Roe Cloud attempted to challenge this Native American stereotype, Parker utilized this stereotypical claim to promote his own social standing in the eyes of white society. Parker also operated in the mid 1800s, while Roe Cloud combatted this same misconception over half a decade later. This exaggeration of identity showed how Roe Cloud and Parker both prioritized parts of their identity to appear more palatable to white people or promote their agendas. In terms of “double consciousness,” these two individuals attempted to avoid the tension between their identities by shifting what sides of themselves they made available to their audience.

Besides accepting incorrect language, Parker, like Roe Cloud, actively sought to portray a specific image through public speaking. He emphasized his “American” identity” by appealing to masculine ideals of the time period. His speech after the start of the Civil War is a good example of the kind of rhetoric he used. Parker had been terminated from a governmental engineering position in 1850. One of Parker’s most prized possessions was a medal from his Grandfather, Red Jacket, a powerful Native American leader that had fought for the United States during the Revolutionary War. George Washington had gifted the medal to Parker’s Grandfather, and the medal was officially passed to Parker when he became a Sachem.¹⁸⁸ At the start of this Union-threatening conflict, Parker looked back on “days of the revolution [...] It was regarded by everyone with reverent curiosity, and it awakened every spark of patriotism that

¹⁸⁷ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 51.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 49.

slept in the hearts of the gallant Greys.”¹⁸⁹ This method of public speaking used a literal object to depict the trials of the past. The American Revolution did not seem so far away when a gift from George Washington was presented to a crowded room, all aware the man who wore the emblem was also a rising Native American leader. In being a Sachem and wearing the medal, Parker aligned himself with Red Jacket. This alignment with past war heroes combined with a call to action to protect the union embodied American ideals of masculinity. Indeed, Parker carried the Red Jacket medal with him throughout the war.¹⁹⁰

Parker’s entrance into the war, however, did not hold this same elegant, patriotic picture as the speech. He did not attempt to enter the war immediately, but by the time he arrived back at Tonawanda, unemployed and carrying the knowledge that many of his high society white friends had already signed up, decided to offer his services. After first receiving his father’s permission, Parker headed to Albany in the hopes of receiving a commission. No commission came. Undeterred, Parker sought a petition from the federal government, but again was refused. He appealed to many other officials in Washington. All were met with refusal and comments that he should “go home, cultivate your farm, and we will settle our own troubles among ourselves without any Indian aid.”¹⁹¹ Out of people to ask, Parker returned home but remained determined to enter the war. He submitted a petition for United States citizenship, believing that this kind of status would allow him a sure spot, and this too proved fruitless. Parker was finally beginning to give up when his chance finally appeared.¹⁹² One of his friends recommended Parker for the position of assistant adjutant general under Ulysses S. Grant’s command. Grant, who knew Parker from a previous meeting, chose him, and the Haudenosaunee Sachem became a United

¹⁸⁹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 76.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 112.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 77.

¹⁹² Ibid. 77-78.

States soldier. Sachem's were not allowed to retain their title while participating in war, but the Haudenosaunee came to the conclusion that since this was not a war against another tribe, "Parker could remain a sachem and still accept his commission as a captain of volunteers."¹⁹³

This entrance into the war depicted Parker's distinct choice to claim and prioritize his "American" identity. He was rejected numerous times, and still continued with his pursuit. Even while he was coming to terms with his rejections, Parker still remained in contact with his friends participating in the war. It was through these connection that Parker received the position under Grant's command.¹⁹⁴ Without this great effort, Parker may not have joined the war at all, and his life would have taken a very different turn. His pursuits added to this idea of his "Americanness." His application for American citizenship especially spoke to how firm his desire was to occupy a place in the world of "American" society. At the time, there were no rules set in place for offering individual Native Americans citizenship.¹⁹⁵ If the request had been granted, Parker would have contained a literal duality of citizenship, as a member of the Seneca people and a United States citizen. The denial of this request does not take away from the fact that Parker was willing to officially declare himself "American" for the purposes of the Civil War. Third, it is this kind of determination and patriotism that makes Parker a clear picture of a typical, masculine "American" war hero. He not only rose up and beat all the odds, but he did so with the nationalist intention of serving his country.

Parker served first as an assistant adjutant general and also as a division engineer.¹⁹⁶ When Grant was elected lieutenant general, he had Parker join his forces.¹⁹⁷ In August, 1864,

¹⁹³ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 82-83.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 83.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 77-78.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. 86.

¹⁹⁷ One of the most notable moments for Parker during the Civil War was saving the future President Grant from capture by Confederate soldiers before the battle of Richmond. Grant, Parker, and a

Grant promoted Parker to the role of military secretary with the rank of lieutenant colonel, although the War Department changed this title to private secretary.¹⁹⁸ This position lasted until the end of the war and brought him and Grant closer together.¹⁹⁹ On April 7th, 1865, Grant first wrote to Lee, asking the Confederate general to surrender. The following exchange led to Lee and Grant meeting on Sunday, April 9th to officially discuss terms. Parker had already been a part of the correspondence, writing some of Grant's letters.²⁰⁰ When Lee met Parker, he at first showed signs of indignation, as he believed Parker to be African American. Once Parker clarified, however, Lee appeared at ease and even said: "I am glad to see one real American here." Parker shook Lee's hand and replied, "We are all Americans."²⁰¹ Parker's reply related back to his determination to take up an American identity. By this point, he felt aligned with the American cause and his work in the Civil War helped him gain notoriety. His duality of identity is much more of a potential issue when Lee believes him to be African American. As a Native man, however, Parker does not pose a threat to Lee in this space. Lee's comment can be interpreted as a desire to mark himself, even in surrender, as a Confederate. It also could be a jab meant at the other "Americans" in the room. However, Parker did not take part in any of this possible identity-making by declaring that all of them were Americans. Today, Parker is most well-known for transcribing the terms of surrender for the War.²⁰²

few others were moving headquarters and turned onto a side road to avoid the burning woods and clogged main road. The general became confused to his surroundings, but Parker knew the way back and turned the group around. Years after the war, Parker found out that Confederate soldiers had been watching them and preparing to capture the group. Without Parker's sense of direction, the course of the war would have been altered. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 96.

¹⁹⁸ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 101.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 103.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 108.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 110.

²⁰² Parker transcribed multiple copies of the terms of surrender. There were three yellow, manifold copies of the final draft, and Parker pocketed one to keep as a reminder of the meeting. Parker appeared to have a sentimental side for objects with history attached to him. His Red Jacket medal and the

During his time away from the reservation fighting for the United States, Parker's opinions on Native American policy began to shift. When Abraham Lincoln ran for his second term in 1864, Parker briefly returned home to Tonawanda to vote. To his surprise, he found the issues of the reservation "petty" and unimportant. His experiences working in other parts of New York and time in the Civil War had led him to a much broader view of Indian affairs. The small, localized issues no longer seemed to be what should matter, and Parker was disturbed by them.²⁰³ These changes foreshadowed what would become the main critique of Parker in the years to follow after the war from Indigenous People: that he had forgotten who really mattered and traded in the Native American community for the white man.

In the time period directly following the war, Parker got married to a white woman named Minnie Orton Sackett, and the couple had a daughter.²⁰⁴ When Grant was elected President in 1869, he appointed Parker to Commission of Indian Affairs.²⁰⁵ He was the first Native American to hold the office and, once again, he did not give up his role as Sachem.²⁰⁶ Parker, therefore, simultaneously held government roles in two separate nations. Despite not having United States citizenship, Parker was working in the federal bureaucracy under a President that favored and trusted him. He also was now in a place of great power to help the Haudenosaunee people, as he had control over their policies. Moreover, Parker was "responsible for the government's relations with the almost 300,000 Indians who lived in the United States and its territories in 1869."²⁰⁷

terms of surrender remained important to Parker throughout his life. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 111.

²⁰³ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 104.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. 132.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 134.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 136.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. 137.

Parker did not, however, use his position of power to entirely correct the wrongs he and the Tonawanda people had suffered. He saw himself in his position, not as a Sachem or a Native American, but as a commissioner determined to satisfy public interest.²⁰⁸ This included white America as well as Indigenous people, and often, white America was prioritized. Parker found himself defending the Supreme Court case, *Fellows v. Blacksmith*, that came to the conclusion that treaties between the United States government and Native Peoples “must be obeyed, whether the Indians had assented to them or not.”²⁰⁹ In this moment, Parker made a distinct choice to side with the settler colonist viewpoint of how law functions. He saw his job as an extension of the law, as opposed to a path for justice for Indigenous people. This is not to doubt his intentions and work toward helping Indigenous communities, but his work for the United States government no longer revolved around those communities. Instead, it examined how American government dealt with Native presence. Parker’s work and home life both leaned heavily on settler colonist principles during this time, as his marriage to a white woman upset many Native Americans.²¹⁰ Minnie Sackett Parker did her part as a politician’s wife in Washington, and the two had a lively social life.²¹¹ Parker’s main goal in terms of Native relations was keeping the peace and providing necessary provisions.²¹² While this was much more than some of his co-workers believed should be done, it still was not a large shift in the status quo. Parker’s identity definitely played a role in how his policies were judged, and he most likely felt he needed to be cautious because of this. However, he did not attempt any radical changes and supported laws he believed to be unfair in the past. These decisions show a prioritization of the “American” side of his identity, which using Du Bois’ framework, created clear tensions with his Native identity.

²⁰⁸ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 139.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. 140.

²¹⁰ Ibid. 132-133.

²¹¹ Ibid. 146-147.

²¹² Ibid. 149.

During his time in office, Parker managed to use militaristic force as well as deny family legal help. He felt the military “necessary” and often used force against Native Americans who had taken up arms. He argued that he wished to treat Native Americans with kindness but “was also aware of what he called ‘the difficult task of humanizing and taming the wild Indian.’”²¹³ This stereotypical rhetoric coming from the mouth of a Native American granted settler colonists permission to see Native people through the lens of “savage” and in need of “civilizing.” It is unclear if Parker believed the rhetoric he espoused, but these words did matter. Placing a “wild” face on Native Americans justified military action against them, actions that Parker utilized for his own purposes. It also carried the notion that Native Peoples needed to be “tamed” and that this process was possible. This dichotomy between the “civilized” and “uncivilized” Indian was very common in policies as well as in educational spaces such as Carlisle Industrial School; many boarding schools attempted to eradicate Native culture from young children in order to “civilize” them and then “assimilate” them into working class American society.²¹⁴ Parker here fell into the settler colonist narrative of promoting violence against his own people. He may have felt that these measures were necessary, because he could still do valuable work in other areas, but that did not seem to be the case. His largest concerns were very simple: clothes, food, and resources. While these are crucial to survival, there were deeper reasons the Bureau of Indian Affairs had to meet these needs in the first place that Parker never addressed.

Parker’s view of the government’s role in Native American life changed over time. He quit his position after being essentially forced out due to baseless accusations of misusing government funds and an increase of regulations due to these accusations.²¹⁵ Those putting forth the allegations wanted Parker removed from office for political reasons and may have also had

²¹³ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 142.

²¹⁴ Ross, *Our Spirits*.

²¹⁵ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 151, 160.

racist motives as well.²¹⁶ Parker's biggest accomplishment as commissioner was Grant's Peace Policy, which used less military force than any prior president against Native Peoples. While there had been violence, Parker believed he had stopped a far more intense war from breaking out.²¹⁷ However, he felt bitter about the workings of the United States government, and this is reflected in his later views on Native American education and government policies.²¹⁸

He would have disagreed full heartedly with Roe Cloud's prioritization of religious institutions as places of learning and "civilizing:"

[Parker] was especially opposed to the reformers' favorite plan of breaking up the reservations, allotting the land to individual Indians, and granting them immediate citizenship, a plan he had urged himself when he was commissioner of Indian affairs. He came to believe that it was only the Indians' tribal organizations and religious traditions which could save them from extinction. [...] His own solution to the Indian problem was education: 'secular and industrial schools in abundance,' but education that would allow the Indian to remain on the land, for 'his good life is bound up and interwoven with his land, his women, and his children.'²¹⁹

This change reflected Parker's shifting attitudes of United States government involvement in Native affairs. His new views on policies can be compared with Roe Cloud, who supported both the Allotment Act and the Christian missionary work. During his time in government, Roe Cloud and Parker would have at least agreed on the policies of allotment which made up the contents of the Dawes Act of 1887. However, after his time in government, Parker's priorities for Native American culture shifted back to the sovereign Native nation's political and religious organizations. In other words, Parker came to believe the protection of already existing Native lifeways should be the focus as opposed to imposing settler colonist cultural structures. However, education for Parker was an exception to the absence of settler colonist structures in his new vision. He believed the creation of schools could be useful on reservations as long as

²¹⁶ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 158.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 161.

²¹⁸ Ibid. 162.

²¹⁹ Ibid. 178.

they prepared Native students for life on the reservation after schooling. Parker wanted to see educational projects that celebrated and taught Native culture.

While these shifts came from Parker's reflections after leaving the government, there also could have been another source. Parker left the Tonawanda reservation at the age of ten and never settled there permanently again.²²⁰ After leaving the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Parker moved to 300 Mulberry Street in New York City and remained there for the rest of his life.²²¹ While Parker returned to the reservation on occasion to visit family and friends, he never stayed for long and always returned to his house and the white society where he had spent much of his adulthood. He had a nice position in business, and his wife was not accustomed to reservation life. Perhaps, the criticisms from other Tonawanda people also played a role in his decision not to move back, but it more likely that he simply did not have access to the opportunities he desired from the reservation space.

He did retain his title of Sachem, meaning he never lost sight of the Haudenosaunee political structure. Despite leaving the United States governmental system, he remained a part of the Haudenosaunee government. In looking back on his life, Parker may have wished he had the option to stay closer to the reservation. A secular school system that focused on Native lifeways but at the same time incorporated certain settler colonist aspects of education such as the English language would have given the boy from Tonawanda a response when the English officers had laughed at him. This schooling system also would have created a space for this boy to learn settler colonist practices while still existing in Native space and remaining close to his Indigenous identity. Parker's plan is comparable to Du Bois' later premise of double consciousness, but strays away from Du Bois' plan to create an elite "talented tenth." Instead of

²²⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 73.

²²¹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 166.

creating a small portion of educated Native Individuals ready for the white world, Parker wanted to construct an educational system that benefitted all Native Americans and prepared them for life in both their Native communities and the settler colonist sphere of influence. This kind of educational system would have helped Parker understand the Native and the American facets of his identity without making him choose.

Navigating Sovereignty

The Tonawanda Reservation has been home to the Haudenosaunee for centuries. Seneca People have been recorded living on the banks of the Tonawanda Creek since the 1700s. The Reservation today exists in what is now called Western New York near Erie and Niagara. In 1823, five years before Ely S. Parker was born, some of the Tonawanda lands were sold by the United States government on the unfair basis of an unratified treaty with the Seneca People. In 1838, when Parker was only ten years old, this treaty, The Treaty of Buffalo Creek, was ratified. However, the treaty was not obtained in a legal or ethical manner: “bribery, forgery, and deception were employed.” The Seneca people living in Tonawanda refused to acknowledge the Treaty’s validity almost immediately but, nonetheless, the treaty began a decade long fight for the Tonawanda Seneca’s sovereign rights to their own land. A second treaty signed in 1842 granted land to the Seneca Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations but confirmed the sale of the Tonawanda land. Again, the Tonawanda people argued they had not agreed to the terms.²²² Regardless, the removal date was set for April 1st, 1846.²²³

²²² Wordpress, "History of the Tonawanda Reservation," The Tonawanda Reservation Historical Society, last modified October 22, 2016, accessed April 10, 2019, <https://tonawandareservationhistoricalsociety.wordpress.com/2016/10/22/history-of-the-tonawanda-reservation/>.

²²³ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 11.

Ely S. Parker grew up in Tonawanda, and his skills in the English language and law made him an invaluable resource in the community's fight for their land. The reservation was small, only about twenty square miles. In 1845, only five hundred and five people lived there, most of them Seneca, although there were a few members of other Haudenosaunee Tribes. Already, however, the land was being divided for white, settler colonists. Some of them built and lived in houses and others worked on clearing out the nearby forest to sell timber, firewood, and hemlock bark. In many ways, by the first time Lewis Henry Morgan visited Parker's home, the "Indians' life had become in many respects very similar to their white neighbors."²²⁴ While their buildings and technology may have looked similar to their white neighbors, the Tonawanda Senecas still participated in traditional social and political customs.²²⁵ Parker grew up fearful that his home would be taken away from him. This seemed to be inevitable, when the land was sold to the Ogden Land Company for only a tenth of the two million it was worth.²²⁶ Parker was therefore involved in the land struggle from the very day he was born on Tonawanda. His fateful visit to Albany where he would meet Lewis Henry Morgan was over the issue of the Reservation land. Parker was sixteen at this time, and he was already acting as an interpreter.²²⁷

As Parker began to study law, he became even more involved in helping the Tonawanda reclaim their land. His schooling and later his work was punctuated with frequent trips to the Reservation and Washington DC. The Tonawanda petitioned, met with local and federal politicians, and brought cases to court.²²⁸ While the Tonawanda community's struggle was not as physically violent like many other Native American communities' fights for land rights, Parker and his people were still putting their physical bodies on the line. On January 29th, 1848, a man

²²⁴ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 5.

²²⁵ Ibid. 6.

²²⁶ Ibid. 11.

²²⁷ Ibid. 19-20.

²²⁸ Ibid. 37.

named Ichabod Waldron physically assaulted Parker “with force of arms.” While Waldron was tried in court and fined fifteen dollars for the incident, the situation goes to show the tense atmosphere in Tonawanda.²²⁹ It also complicated the argument of Parker prioritizing the “American” side of his identity while existing in white society. Even after the physical assault, Parker did not lose hope. In fact, the court win against Waldron may have actually increased his hope, as it proved settler colonist courts were at least capable of siding with Native Americans on something. It is noteworthy that the Tonawanda people and Parker attempted to gain sovereignty through settler colonist methods of law and politics. Rather than displaying a sense of trust in the American governmental system, this instead can be viewed as a tactic of desperation. The Tonawanda could not muster a strong enough military force, so they were forced to work within the confines of the very system that ratified the illegitimate treaties and had proved already to be untrustworthy.

A breakthrough in the Tonawanda case came in 1857. Parker left his engineering job in Galena to return to the reservation to meet with the commissioner of Indian Affairs and the secretary of the interior. They came to the conclusion that the people of Tonawanda could buy back their land from the Ogden Land Company if the Tonawanda community gave up land in Kansas; this land had been granted to them by the United States for the purpose of Tonawanda removal from New York. Once this was done, the United States government provided the money to purchase at least part if not all of their existing reservation. While Parker was pleased with this outcome, it still conceded that the Tonawanda community needed to buy back their own Native land.²³⁰ Furthermore, an elected government between all New York Senecas had been established at Tonawanda in 1848, giving it legitimacy in the Native community. While Parker

²²⁹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 37-38.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 64.

continued to work with the Tonawanda on political issues, this was his biggest achievement, as the Tonawanda Reservation remains firmly in place today.²³¹ As the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Parker used the same policies that had been at first used against the Tonawanda People. Most notably, he defended court cases that claimed illegitimate treaties, once ratified, needed to be followed regardless of the validity of their Native signatures.²³² Parker may have felt he did not have the power to change these policies, or that as commissioner, he needed to follow the precedent of law already set in place. Either way, he did not allow for the advancement of other Indigenous land claims on the grounds that the treaties were illegitimate.

Overall, Parker's time in Indian affairs and work for the Tonawanda nation both before and after he became a Haudenosaunee sachem, depicted that for him, "double consciousness" was much more complex than simply deciding between two identities. Returning to the Du Bois quote at the beginning of this chapter, it can now be analyzed in terms of Parker's political choices both as a member of the Tonawanda Seneca and an American: "What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both?"²³³ The answer is both yes and no. Parker's duality of identity could not be shed, no matter how he acted. As the commissioner of Indian Affairs, he was essentially pushed out by others that did not want him in power.²³⁴ At the same time, he utilized the same settler colonist laws to deny other Native Peoples the land rights he fought so hard to achieve for Tonawanda. Starting in 1857, Parker received backlash from other Senecas for his policies and social life existing largely in white society.²³⁵ Throughout his life, Parker attempted to employ a similar strategy to Roe Cloud: to pick and choose how and when to employ what identity. However, this very often was unsuccessful and changed the way people

²³¹ Wordpress, "History of the Tonawanda," The Tonawanda Reservation Historical Society.

²³² Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 140.

²³³ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Sociological Souls of Black Folk*, 115.

²³⁴ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 157-158.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* 61.

viewed Parker. It is possible Roe Cloud was more effective in employing his dual identity, because he operated mainly in the 1900s instead of the 1800s, and Native American policy had shifted more in favor of assimilation. What is clear is that Parker parsed through his Native identity to find what he could and could not salvage if he were to pursue his military, political, and economic ambitions. During his role as commissioner, Parker worked a lot with Native Americans that continued to fight a military battle against the United States. Parker, perhaps drawing on his upbringing on the Tonawanda Reservation, called their lifestyles impossible. He claimed that American society was inevitably going to push into the west and the tribes resisting needed to “fall in with the current of destiny.”²³⁶ Parker, for all his possible faults, succeeded in finding a path of resistance for the Tonawanda people while at the same time trying to make the most of his dual identity despite the current of destiny stacked against him.

Sovereignty Versus Recognition

While Parker struggled for a very physical space, Tantaquidgeon’s struggle for her people’s rights came from a seemingly more abstract place of acknowledgement: federal recognition. This line of work for Tantaquidgeon may seem at odds with her life path. After a brief time in Native American education and United States federal government, she returned to the Uncasville Reservation and spent the rest of her life caring for the Tantaquidgeon museum and on more local projects, such as teaching Native American arts at the nearby state women’s prison in Niantic.²³⁷ She did not attempt to focus on projects outside of her local community. Her Mohegan roots are significant in this effort, as she came from a tradition which had successfully challenged settler colonist powers long before she was even born. In the wake of the Pequot War

²³⁶ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 120.

²³⁷ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 128-129.

in the seventeenth century, the Mohegan people created the fictional position of “guardian” of the Mohegan Nation and put the settler colonist war general, John Mason, into this position. This fictitious title allowed the Mohegan Nation to continue living in peace, while John Mason became their advocate. Furthermore, in the 1720s, the Mohegan nation sent a delegation to London to make a point that if settler colonists were considered subjects of the king by virtue of existing on American soil, they were also his subjects and therefore protected by him. Later in the eighteenth century, Samson Occum fused the Great Awakening with the prophetic tradition of Mohegan shamanism. Tantaquidgeon comes from this lineage of fending off settler colonist imposition.

Federal recognition for Tantaquidgeon can be looked at as simply another of these methods of gaining power and control by achieving a goal that seemed counterintuitive to Native sovereignty. Indeed, the Mohegan people previously chose not to pursue a more direct relationship with the United States federal government due to policies such as the Removal Act of 1830.²³⁸ The Mohegan tribe did not need federal recognition to confirm that they were the sovereign owners of their space; they knew this already as account of existing as Mohegan People. Federal recognition served another purpose for the Mohegan Tribe by the time they decided to pursue the label; they wanted the benefits and legitimacy in the eyes of settler colonists that came with the title of being a Federally Recognized Nation. In other words, federal recognition would allow for the continuation of Native forms of knowledge that kept their very community alive.

Tantaquidgeon was integral to this twenty year process of gaining federal recognition. While she was vice-chair of the Mohegan tribe, she began the application process in 1978. She resigned from the position of vice-chair in 1984 as she was approaching eighty-five years old.

²³⁸ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 143.

However, she did not give up on the application and spent the next decade working with her sister, Ruth Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan). Together, the pair spent much of their time “organizing documents in their home. After reviewing twenty thousand pages of paper work, the federal government formally recognized the Mohegan people on March 7, 1994.”²³⁹ The work the government went through to read and examine these documents cannot compare with the research project Tantaquidgeon undertook to compile, read, analyze, and organize all the documents into an application for the federal government. With that success, the Mohegan People had carved out a clear space of identity for themselves that would be recognized across the United States.

Tantaquidgeon, Roe Cloud, Parker, and Deloria can all be looked at through the lens of “double consciousness.” In the process of learning, navigating multiple identities was a critical skill to acquire, and each of these people used their knowledge to different ends. While Deloria faced oppression in the Annandale community, he relied on white friends to bring him the pieces of white society he did not have access to. Roe Cloud also dealt with a college culture that stereotyped him, despite his success in various Yale social circles. In terms of sovereignty, Tantaquidgeon and Parker both fought for recognition for their people, albeit from very different angles. Parker used the power and legitimacy he gained in white society to make a life for himself outside of the Tonawanda Reservation while Tantaquidgeon decided to focus exclusively on local issues. Even Federal Recognition cannot be seen as an exception to this local focus, as the reason for the title was to protect and preserve her local culture. During the celebrations following the 1994 recognition, Tantaquidgeon told the other Mohegan people present the advice of a Yankton Sioux man had given her in the 1930s: “Remember to take the best of what the

²³⁹ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 143.

white man has to offer... and use it to still be Indian.”²⁴⁰ In all the variation in their lives and the way each employed their dual identities, Tantaquidgeon, Roe Cloud, Deloria, and Parker all lived by this advice. They had different ideas of what the “best” meant and what the “offer” entailed, but none of them ceased to be Indian, in both the theoretical and personal sense of the word.

²⁴⁰ Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 144.

Conclusion

This project cannot be viewed through an apolitical lens as a lack of understanding and respect for Native knowledge continues to this day. During the year I wrote this project, a telling event took place in January, 2019 at the Indigenous People's March in Washington DC. The march coincided with the March for Life, an anti-abortion march. During the day, a video surfaced on Twitter of a standoff between an Omaha Native elder, Nathan Phillips, and a group of high school students from an affluent, Catholic all-boys school in Kentucky. The students had been bussed into Washington DC for the March for Life. It is unclear exactly who began the confrontation; video footage showed a group of Black Hebrew Israelites yelling slurs and obscenities at the students and the students responding in kind. However, in the middle of this tense moment, Nathan Phillips (Omaha) appeared in between the two groups, singing and playing a hand-drum.²⁴¹ The boys from Covington Catholic school met this newcomer with jeers, taunts, and laughter. As Phillips got closer, the students surrounded him, enclosing him in a circle on all sides. Many were wearing "Make America Great Again Hats" and chanting "Build the wall." Some made tomahawk chop gestures, lifted their palms to their mouths in stereotyped Indigenous war calls, danced mockingly to the elder's song, or pretended to sing with him off key. In the middle of it all stood Phillips, face to face with one of the boys, who was standing still and smiling.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Julian Brave NoiseCat, "The US Is Still Not Ready to Look at the Ugly Racism against Native Americans," *The Guardian*, last modified January 23, 2019, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jan/23/native-american-racism-video-covington-school-nick-sandmann>.

²⁴² "Controversy over Students Mocking Native American Strikes National Chord," video file, *The Guardian*, accessed January 23, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jan/23/controversy-students-mock-native-american-strikes-national-chord>.

The video produced a very polarized response. The main student portrayed as “smirking” at the Native elder insisted he was in reality trying to diffuse the situation. His family hired a PR Team. More videos surfaced and the claims of racism and disrespect became only a part of the whirlwind involving the three groups present. The news reports became a flurry of “seemed like” and “appeared to be.” The boy with the “smirk” was at the forefront of the discussion: was his smile symbolic of peace or entitlement?²⁴³ However, whether the boy with the smile was in agreement or disagreement with the others around him matters less when one examines their actions as a collective. A clear lack of Native knowledge begins the encounter, as Nathan Phillips walked over singing. His song was not a random choice; as one Native American journalist puts it, the song is the anthem to the “American Indian movement. We used to gather around the drum to sing it after powwow dance practice every Thursday night at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, California.”²⁴⁴ Therefore, the act of mocking this song, stereotyped Native war sounds, and dancing displayed not only disrespect, but a lack of understanding of Phillips’ intent and Native American culture more generally. Phillips was singing a song of friendship and peace. It contained connotations of the land’s spirituality in the past and present. The actions against the song disrespected not only the singer but also the very fundamental principles of Native spirituality. The chanting of “build the wall” is a further injury, as a wall represents physical barriers between people, in this case between a Native person and the oppressive settler colonist forces that already aim to swallow Indigenous cultures.

This video should have been looked at as a lack of knowledge and an opportunity to inform the public of Native traditions as well as the policies of respect and decolonization. Instead, the media coverage “revealed less about what actually happened at the Lincoln

²⁴³ Brave NoiseCat, "The US Is Still," The Guardian.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

Memorial on Friday and more about who has the power to tell the story and the biases underlying how that story is told. From opposite sides of the socioeconomic-political-cultural-racial divide, reporters and citizen journalists followed the facts in opposite directions.”²⁴⁵ In attempting to reach conclusions about the contradictions in Nathan Phillips and the Covington boy’s claims, the media failed to see and report on the larger structures at work. The Covington students did not understand Philip’s intent to diffuse the situation and create a more peaceful space. Even more importantly, the students did not understand their place as settler colonists, present on Indigenous at a Native American march. In a video taken at the Lincoln Memorial after the confrontation, Nathan Phillips wiped away tears as he said, “this is Indigenous lands.”²⁴⁶ The Covington boys are to blame for the incident, but so is Covington school and the systematic structures that do not invest time or effort into teaching Native knowledge. In a country where the general settler colonist public knows little to none about Native knowledge structures, this line of research is crucial going forward.

In order to ensure events like these do not occur, one step would be creating a deeper accessible knowledge base for students and Native communities. In my project, this applies especially to archival research and structures. In order to access the Roe Cloud Papers, I went on a three day trip from Bard College to Yale University, funded by the Bard Center for the Study of Hate. I spent two long days pouring over papers in a small room and taking pictures to ensure I could find the relevant information when I returned to Bard. While the Roe Cloud Papers have an excellent finding aid, I still could not know exactly what I would uncover until I arrived.²⁴⁷ If the Roe Cloud archives had been digitized, I could have accessed them from any location. This

²⁴⁵ Brave NoiseCat, "The US Is Still," *The Guardian*.

²⁴⁶ "Nathan Phillips Wiping Away Tears in Reaction to the Harassment," video file, Youtube, posted by Video Break, January 19, 2019, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hu576tUZ3f8>.

²⁴⁷ Stark and Ducharme, *Guide to the Roe Family*.

digitizing project would take a large amount of effort, but would make valuable letters, manuscripts, and photographs accessible not only to researchers like myself but more importantly to Native communities all over the United States. These documents could suddenly be included as primary sources in high school American History classes, leading to a deeper, more complex understanding of Native and Indigenous studies and peoples.

The Bard archives on Deloria, likewise, should be digitized to increase accessibility. I was lucky enough that Bard had kept records on Deloria, but as I have shown in this project, records do not equate to remembrance and recognition. It is important to note that this kind of digitization process should follow the protocols for Native American Archival Materials, created in 2006 by “Representatives from fifteen Native American, First Nation, and Aboriginal communities. The group met to identify the best professional practices for culturally responsive care and use of American Indian archival material held by non-tribal organizations.”²⁴⁸ In this document, the treatment of archives pertaining to Native individuals is laid out in clear and thorough language. It includes how to handle sensitive material, repatriation efforts, and building mutually respected relationships.²⁴⁹ A further step that could be taken is a creation of new guidelines specific to digitizing archives: what should and should not be digitized; how Native sovereignty plays into digitization efforts; and in what online spaces should these digitized archives exist. I was unable to analyze the Ely S. Parker Papers, which are housed in the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania due to travel time and expenses. I was also unable to visit the Tantaquidgeon Museum, which deserves a mention here,

²⁴⁸ First Archivist Circle, "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials," Protocols for Native American Archival Materials, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

although it is a community and historical space rather than an archive.²⁵⁰ The limitations of this project are possibilities for further research on this topic.

This project has also by no means exhausted the sources and Native individuals which should fit into this narrative on knowledge-keeping and how educated Native individuals interfaced with settler colonist communities over time. Instead, it should be looked at as a starting place for looking at “education” through this new lens of Native knowledge keeping. The themes uncovered during this project span across longer periods of time than I was able to address. Therefore, further directions in this research should create a longer timeline for how Native religions and spirituality intermingled with Christianity; how athleticism proved a route for knowledge over time; how settler colonist methods aided and hindered Native knowledge preservation; and how the framework of double consciousness can be employed to understand how Native individuals dealt with their multiple identities within educative structures. Studying how gender played into identity, knowledge keeping roles, and interactions with settler colonist educative structures also should be considered in future research. Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Dakota Sioux) and Charles Eastman (Santee Dakota) would also lengthen and add to the current timeline in terms of space and time.

The majority of the individuals I researched are more often than not excluded from settler colonist educative curriculums. Their exclusion points to a larger problem with how the United States teaches and remembers history.²⁵¹ Throughout my research, I found the presence of these individuals very much alive in their respective Native communities. Websites and scholarship from these Native Communities already exist. Therefore, it is a matter of integration and

²⁵⁰ As I argues in Chapter Two, conducting research on the Tantaquidgeon museum cannot be separated from conducting research on the Mohegan community. Therefore, IRB Approval is required in order to participate in research on this sovereign space.

²⁵¹ Susan Sleeper-Smith et al., eds., *Why You Can't Teach United States History without American Indians* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2015).

reimagination on the part of settler colonist schools and structures that needs to take place. This kind of work could be used to teach students that Native American culture was never static, nor was it ever one culture. This project exposed some of the vast cultural, tribal, and individual differences in Native American history, and this history should no longer be ignored.

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