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Conduct Unbecoming A Christian Missionary: Aaron Mcgaffey Beede's Work On North Dakota's Standing Rock Reservation, 1901-1916

Sonja Natalie Hathaway

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CONDUCT UNBECOMING A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY: AARON MCGAFFEY
BEEDE'S WORK ON NORTH DAKOTA'S STANDING ROCK RESERVATION,
1901-1916

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2006
Master of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2010

A Dissertation

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of


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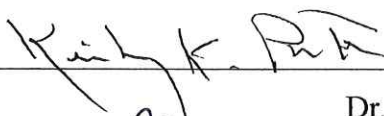
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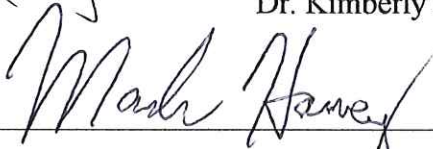
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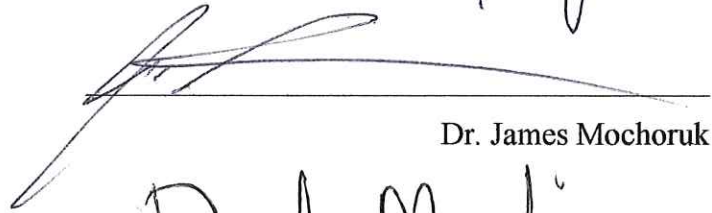
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Sonja Natalie Hathaway
2018

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To all, Thank You.

ABSTRACT

Research for this dissertation focused on a close reading of Aaron McGaffey Beede's journals, letters, and publications. Contemporary sources were used to compare or explain ideas and actions. Rather than an exhaustive treatment of secondary sources, the dissertation uses a broad sampling of topics and sources in an attempt to pull together many of the disparate threads that provide the context for Beede's thoughts and actions.

This dissertation began as a study and explanation of the work and legacy of the Episcopal missionary Aaron McGaffey Beede, particularly his work in preserving Indian customs, traditions, and stories. Understanding Beede and his work proved to be complex, however, in that it brought together many aspects of his time and it required a deep probing into the concepts of identity formation.

In many ways, Beede was similar to other early twentieth-century missionaries in his willingness to stand up for better treatment of Indians and his attempts to convert them to Christianity, as well as his efforts to push "civilization." He did not, however, see his duty in the same way that other missionaries did. Beede blended his Christian faith and religious studies with his training in and study of social sciences. Together, these perspectives formed the lens through which he viewed mission work. This meant that not only did he attempt to instill Christian values in those under his care, but he also sought to assist people in "working out the possibilities of their existence," whether religious or secular.

Though mission work took much of his time and effort, Beede also worked to preserve the history and culture of the Indians with whom he worked. He believed that history and culture helped to form the identity of individuals, and groups both in the past and in the present. Peoples' understanding of who they are also directs their future. Because of this, Beede believed that it was important to record and share Indian history and culture, both to provide a foundation for Indian identity and also as a corrective to the misconceptions that many had of Indians. More than this, he also hoped that finding links between Indian and white cultures could help to create a shared identity and, through this, expand the opportunities available to Indians.

His efforts to increase possibilities for Indians also drew Beede into politics. The starvation he witnessed on Standing Rock Reservation in 1913 led him to call for a reevaluation of federal policy. His central concern was not merely reforming policies and eliminating corruption, but freeing Indians from the restrictions of these policies by securing for them, through full American citizenship, rights and protections. His approach to, and involvement with politics led some, even some in his own church, to ask whether his conduct was unbecoming of a missionary. Eventually, the questions regarding his character and his disillusionment with his church led him to resign his position as a missionary and to seek opportunities to help others through his work in the law.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

I have often asked myself how I can justify the time I have spent researching the life of Aaron McGaffey Beede, a man few people know or care about. Beede has no monuments named for him and the buildings on which he worked no longer exist. A few short biographical pieces have been written on him, but most of them were written during his lifetime or shortly after his death in 1934.¹ The most recent piece was by Curt Ericsmoen, published in *Who's Who of North Dakota History*. These brief accounts treat either Beede's early role in settling Dakota Territory or his work in preserving and recording Indian culture.² A few researchers have attempted to present more detailed

¹ Beede is buried by his wife and daughter in Memorial Cemetery, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

² In my dissertation, I use the terms *Indian* and *Native* rather than *Native American*, as do Stephan L. Pevar and others. "Many Indians use the terms *Indian* and *Native American* interchangeably," Pevar wrote, "but there seems to be a preference for the word *Indian*." Pevar cited well-known author Vine Deloria and many others who used *Indian* rather than *Native American* in the titles of their works and organizations. Stephen L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indian Tribes*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1. Furthermore, Beede used *Indian* and occasionally *Native* in all his writings. Also, although this may seem to be a monolithic use of the term in that I do not often make distinctions among tribal groups, I use *culture* rather than *cultures*. This reflects Beede's preference, rather than a misunderstanding of these terms on my part. Beede discerned distinctions among different tribes and their beliefs and culture, but he often chose to use *Indian culture* as a monolithic term, just as he referred to *White culture*, though he clearly knew that there were many distinctions within both cultures. Moreover, though he often identified individuals as sources of information, he chose to identify them as part of a monolithic culture. Research on why he did this may aid in explaining Beede's perceptions, though I think it likely reflected his focus on the individual, and his attempt to link the individual to something larger- a family, a cultural group, or a society. Given that he was in charge of the Episcopal work on all reservations in North Dakota, he had contact with many different tribes and, on some reservations, he encountered several tribes. Additional research may allow me to distinguish among the tribes that he referred to by identifying the sources of his information.

treatments of Beede or of his work, but, from all accounts, they have abandoned the projects.³

I could justify my work on Beede with a shrug and a simple statement that doctoral students need a unique or original dissertation topic, or that Beede was an interesting figure, or that he worked to preserve Native American culture. All true, but my reasons for writing on Beede are far more complex. Social historians are interested in those who have seemingly been forgotten, those considered mundane, ordinary, or somewhat odd. The individuals do not have to be particularly important, but their lives and efforts must suggest something about the wider history or culture. The individual must be an example of a general trend or group or must offer new or unique possibilities to the researcher. Beede was such a person. He serves as a good lens through which to view complex developments and changes in American society leading up to and following the turn of the nineteenth century. Many divergent topics come together in his life, making him difficult to analyze; yet, he provides a deeper, richer understanding of the complex interrelationships between the concepts and events of the period. His story unites the disparate historical threads of university education, sociology, travel, western settlement, search for opportunities, Indian history and culture, the desire to preserve and create a unique American heritage, missionary endeavors, and government policies concerning Indians and reservations. More than just providing research possibilities, he was a man of, and believer in, possibilities.

³ A graduate student worked on Beede's transcriptions of the Dakota language and a researcher began writing a biography a few years ago. The graduate student wished me luck and I have heard nothing from the other researcher.

Many of the criticisms leveled at missionaries would seem to devalue Beede's work and mistrust him as a source on Indian culture. Some researchers might point to his wearing moccasins with his clerical robes as an example of his going native. One title I considered for this work was *Not Your Grandmother's Missionary*, reflecting that Beede did not fit what was expected of missionaries. He was unique, not because he went native, nor because he did not go native, nor because he succeeded or failed. To evaluate Beede as a missionary one must understand what he was trying to do. His goals, whether as a missionary, minister, lawyer, or judge, were constant throughout his life, though the way in which he acted on or expressed them changed as his situation changed. They were encapsulated in the idea of helping people work out the possibilities of their existence. For him this did not mean only an acceptance of church doctrine, living a good Christian life, or adopting Anglo-American culture. Beede understood that knowing and understanding where one came from and who one was formed the foundation of one's possibilities for the future and this, consequently, was a focus of his work as a missionary. He also understood that it was not enough to know who one was and where one came from if one's possibilities were limited by others' perceptions and treatment.

Little research has been done on Beede and most of what has been written about him was by him or by his friends.⁴ The bulk of the sources on Beede, five linear feet of his and his son's (Ralph) assorted personal documents and letters, are in the University of

⁴ Because so little research has been done on him, there is no direct historiography, but many in which he fits tangentially. Throughout, I have indicated how his work might fit into the larger scholarship of different topics, but I have not attempted to deal with missionary historiography to any extent. The expanse of potential literature could theoretically include everything from the works of the Apostle Paul in the Bible to current researchers. Some of the key ideas that missionaries dealt with will be treated and the works of some will be mentioned, but there will not be a comprehensive treatment of missionaries or mission work. The ideas rather than the sources are key to understanding Beede's work.

North Dakota's Chester Fritz Library's Elwyn B. Robinson Special Collections. Many of Beede's documents and letters are included in the collections of the North Dakota State Historical Society in Bismarck, especially in the Orin G. Libby papers. Libby and Beede were friends and they worked together to preserve native culture. Beede was also in contact with many important individuals and with administrators in the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs and some of this correspondence is also in this collection. Locating material on or written by Beede is an ongoing process, though each new source helps to enlarge the web of Beede's connections.

Two documents that provide a key to understanding Beede and his beliefs were written a few years before he began his work among the Indians as a missionary. The first was his dissertation, *Some Hindrances to Social Progress in the United States*, published in 1899 by Illinois Wesleyan University.⁵ In his dissertation, Beede expressed his views on society and the problems it faced as well as providing possible means of helping people create possibilities for themselves in their society. Overall, it was an optimistic, though realistic, assessment of his era. The other work, *Social Teaching of Paul*, was published in 1900 by Congregational College at Redfield, South Dakota.⁶ This work was a synthesis of his education in East Coast colleges and the work he did at the Universities of Chicago and Berlin and it delved into the connections he saw between sociology and religion. Although each document has a slightly different focus, they overlap and together serve as a key to understanding Beede's actions and values going into missionary work.

⁵ Aaron McGaffey Beede, *Some Hindrances to Social Progress in the United States*. (Bloomington, Ill.: University Press, 1899).

⁶ Aaron McGaffey Beede, *Social Teaching of Paul: A Paper Prepared by Aaron Beede in Connection with Work in the University of Chicago* (Redfield, S.D.: Press Print, 1900).

Other than short newspaper articles or pieces written for the State Historical Society of North Dakota and other researchers, these early works are distinct from Beede's later published works. Beede moved away from writing prose and focused on writing poetry, such as that in *Toward the Sun*, or on dramatic verse, such as that in *Sitting Bull-Custer*, *Heart in the Lodge*, and *The Terrible Rat, the Lost Calf, and a North Dakota Congressman*. This was an interesting shift in style that may reveal a greater shift in thinking or even an adoption of Indian methods of sharing history, culture, and values.⁷ This shift might also reflect joint authorship, the desires and views of Beede's co-authors, in works such as *Sitting Bull-Custer* and *Heart in the Lodge*. These works will be dealt with in later chapters.

Not only was Beede mentioned in various newspaper articles, but he also wrote newspaper articles as a means of communicating with the larger public on issues of social conscience as well as connecting cultures. In addition to occasional articles and mentions in the *Bismarck Tribune*, he also owned and contributed to the *Sioux Country Pioneer* from 1920 to 1922 under the article title, "Old Indian History." These articles were especially helpful in examining how he conceived of and transmitted Indian culture to the larger public.

Although Beede's papers and biographical information provided a timeline, many dates are contradictory and others cannot be determined. Beede's life, however, could be divided into his childhood, his early years in the West, his Eastern education, his return to

⁷ Aaron McGaffey Beede, *Toward the Sun* (Bismarck, ND: Bismarck Tribune Company, 1916); *Sitting Bull & Custer* (Bismarck, ND: Bismarck Tribune Company, 1913); *Heart-in-the-Lodge*, "All a Mistake" (Bismarck, ND: Bismarck Tribune Company, 1915); *The Terrible Rat, the Lost Calf, and a North Dakota Congressman* (Bismarck, ND: Bismarck Tribune Company, 1914).

the West, his years as a missionary, and his work as a judge and lawyer in Sioux County, North Dakota. Periods of his life, such as his years in Dakota Territory or his childhood, were outlined, but much of the when, where, and what he did remained guesswork based on a correlation of sources. Much of Beede's personal life is also unclear. In letters written later in his life, he mentioned his sons, daughters-in-law, and his grandchildren, but he included little about his wife or home life.⁸

A study of Beede's life could take many directions, yet his years as a missionary are of particular interest, both in their results and in their effect on him. He spent the years 1901-1916 as an Episcopal missionary to the Indian tribes in North Dakota, a time that reflected a maturing of his core beliefs, but which also revealed that he did not fit the role of a typical Christian missionary. His work was a synthesis of his childhood and young adult experiences and his sociological and religious studies. Ultimately his work reflected his desire to find, reveal, and cultivate possibilities, for the inner and outer man, both in faith and in everyday life. Rather than focusing on actions and words alone as foundations for changing Indians, he looked to identity- both that expressed by the culture and that created by the individual, as an important part of creating possibilities. During his years as a missionary, 1901-1916, and even after, Beede worked using humor, history, literature, religion, and economics to develop and create opportunities for the Indians with whom he worked. All these efforts reflected his philosophy as a missionary,

⁸ One explanation may be that his son Ralph burned most of the letters between his father and mother after Beede's death. Ralph Beede to one of his siblings, n.d. Orin G. Libby Manuscripts Collection, Aaron McGaffey Beede and Ralph Gordon Beede Papers, Collection 206, Box 4, Folder 1. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota. Hereafter cited as sender to recipient or journal, date, UND, Coll. 206, Box number, Folder number.

as a minister, and as a man. He was there to help others work out the possibilities of their existence, whether that meant accepting Christianity, finding new or better ways of making a living, or creating or maintaining an identity.

The first chapter is an overview of Beede's life up to his becoming a missionary. Though a multi-faceted chapter, it is unified by Beede's beliefs. As he stressed to others, the past created the present and the present forms and limits the future; to understand one's context and identity in the present, one must understand their past. Though a missionary, church doctrine cannot account for all Beede's beliefs on faith, life, and spirituality. All Beede's beliefs and experiences before being a missionary formed who he was and provided the basis for his actions. From early in his life, Beede revealed an interest in education, Indians, and farming. Beede's college and university education, though better documented, is suggestive rather than conclusive. Records show that he attended Bates College, Andover Theological Seminary, University of Chicago, and Kaiser Wilhelm University in Germany. Each of these centers of education challenged and developed Beede's thinking in different ways. Though he seldom stated what he studied or learned at each of these institutions, by placing his education in the context of the time and connecting them to Beede's own writings, we not only gain a sense of the kind of student he was, but also the development of his thoughts. His education did not focus on one topic, but ranged from studies on sociology and religion to law. Beede's early contacts with Indians, both as a child in New Hampshire and as a youth in Dakota Territory, provide a basis for later connection and understanding, while his studies formed his philosophy for life and for labor as well as providing him with the tools and beliefs that he used to make sense of the world for himself and for those under his care.

His training and experiences discussed in the first chapter helped to explain why Beede thought and acted differently from many missionaries and they provide the context for the next chapter. Not only missionaries, but all Christians struggle with what conversion should resemble. The Apostle Paul wrote extensively on this, particularly about the distinction that Christians must make between themselves and their former ways. The question Paul debated with other apostles, and that Christians continue to debate, was which should change first, the “inner man” or the “outer man.” The beliefs or the actions? Though many missionaries focused on changing the outer man (the way an Indian looked and acted) as a reflection of their success and the Indians new beliefs, Beede focused on the inner man. He saw beliefs and all genuine change as coming from the inside and finding its natural expression in one’s actions. Rather than worrying about the external actions that provide a clear measure of success, Beede chose to focus on the development of the individual. Rather than drawing distinct lines between Indian and Christian or American thoughts, culture, and actions, he strove to connect, negotiate, and even combine Christian teaching and Indian culture. He saw charm and found truth in the simple or primitive life. Beede was less concerned with outward trappings and more concerned with changing the heart, the wellspring of actions and attitudes. He might well have remarked in a sermon or other address that it was the heart that truly determined how civilized one was, not one’s stage of progress. Some considered these beliefs potentially heretical or unbecoming of a missionary.

Beede was concerned not only with missionary efforts and Indian expressions of faith, but also with how others viewed Indians. He realized that how others saw and defined one’s culture and oneself deeply influenced identity formation. This was

especially true for Indians, as increasingly their culture was recorded and defined by others. With the advent of boarding schools and day schools run by reformers who often disparaged or limited transmission of Indian culture, how Indians saw and defined themselves was increasingly determined or filtered by those who did not fully understand or know the culture they were judging and recording. Chapter three examines the white perceptions of Indian identity and how they were created through accounts of explorers and missionaries. It also examines how some Indians and researchers have written and interpreted sources and, through this, have explored and created Indian identity. This was foundational both to understanding Beede's "unbecoming" conduct and how he sought new possibilities in and through preserving and sharing Indians' traditions.

Beede knew that culture not only formed part of a people's identity, but also helped to explain who they were and, therefore, formed the basis for future direction. The inner man can also be seen as a person's core identity. Beede realized that taking away or discounting one's core identity to replace it with another was not only culturally destructive, but it also led to increased confusion and disconnection in the culture. As chapter four reveals, Beede's ministry was not limited to religious conversion and church work. He was involved in the collection, transmission, and preservation of the native culture. Beede's practices and policies toward native culture showed respect, curiosity and acceptance. He was less interested in his or others' perceptions of Indians and more in the Indians perceptions of themselves, views that influenced how and what he recorded. Beede recognized that some loss of native culture was inevitable in the struggle for physical survival, but he also hoped that in preserving and sharing what he could of

Indian culture he could influence perceptions of Indians in directions that would encourage white society to accept and provide greater opportunities for the Sioux.

Beede was concerned, not only with the inner man and preserving cultural identity as the basis of new possibilities, but he also considered the economic and political reality that formed and limited Indian opportunities. The establishment of economic opportunities form the heart of chapter five. Beede led a protest against the leasing practices that benefited the large cattle corporations and those associated with them, all of which he referred to as the Beef Trust. These corporations took advantage of federal policies and perceptions of Indians. Though some missionaries had called for support of the “poor savages” and others had worked to develop Indian farms as an economic base, Beede wanted more. Rather than focusing only on Indians changing their culture or receiving help, Beede wanted to change the perceptions of and policies affecting Indians to provide them with greater freedom and economic opportunities. His protest not only led him to use language and methods that some deemed to be unbecoming a missionary, but to call out or attack prominent figures. His work as a missionary ended, not because of heresy or ineffective ministry, but rather because his concerns for working out the possibilities for Indians’ economic and political future led some to challenge his methods and philosophy as a missionary. Beede explained in one letter that his protests were so unbecoming or disruptive that he came under scrutiny and pressure from his church leadership. Although he never lost his license, Beede lost confidence and trust in his church leadership and, because of this, decided to leave the ministry. He hoped that with his new opportunities after 1916, as a county judge in

charge of probate cases and as a lawyer, he might be able to better assist Indians in working out the possibilities of their existence.

Identity and how it interacted with one's choices and opportunities was a focus of Beede's work. As such, these threads, how others saw Indians, how Beede hoped they might be seen, his concern about how they saw themselves, and how people used assumptions of Indians to limit their opportunities, run through all the chapters. Seeking greater possibilities were goals that did not necessarily conflict with a missionary's calling. The way in which Beede pursued this in faith, in identity, and in economics, however, led some to question whether his conduct was unbecoming of a Christian missionary.

CHAPTER II
THE FORMATION OF BEEDE THE MISSIONARY: THE PAST AS THE
FOUNDATION OF THE PRESENT

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.¹

On September 22, 1913, Chief Red Fish spoke at a gathering that included 2,000 Indians, North Dakota governor Lious B. Hana, and the missionary Aaron McGaffey Beede. Red Fish did not speak as a typical chief, but rather as a he-yo-ke, a sacred clown or jester. Using sarcasm and humor, he spoke of the desperate need for food among the Indians, calling ultimately for the state to take over the management of Indian affairs. He explained that “Shipto [Beede] who stands here by me tells us this is best and we believe him in this matter even if he is an episcopal priest. He is a he-yo-ke like myself, and a he-yo-ke, you know can’t lie, -except when he is speaking as a priest [all this — sarcasm].”²

¹ William Wordsworth, “My Heart Leaps Up.” Not only does this poem express a deep connection between nature and learning, but also between one’s knowledge and growth as a child and who one becomes as an adult. I can imagine Beede reciting this poem before waxing eloquent on the importance of preserving one’s culture, one’s past.

² Many of Beede’s handwritten notes and letters are difficult to read because of his handwriting, the poor quality of paper, and because, over time they have deteriorated. He also occasionally used nonstandard spelling and words from multiple languages. He frequently used underlining to emphasize words and phrases. As much as possible I have tried to decipher his handwriting, however, when I am guessing or clarifying references, I will enclose the words or phrase in brackets and will indicate missing or illegible words by 2-em dashes enclosed in brackets. Ledger “D,” p. 23, September 23, 1913, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 23. Black Elk described the He-yo-ke as one who makes truth easier to receive as “the truth comes into this world with two faces. One is sad with suffering, and the other laughs; but it is the

The year 1913 marked the beginning of Beede's speaking out in public on the immediate physical needs of Indians and the larger goal of gaining full enfranchisement, rights, and land ownership for the Standing Rock Sioux. Beede's philosophy for life and faith as well as his training all came together in in this fight. It would reveal not only the opportunities Beede strove to help the Indians under his care achieve, but also new possibilities for Beede. Beede's new possibilities would take him out of the role of missionary and lead to accusations that he was not acting appropriately for a missionary. The same philosophy that he operated under as a missionary, however, remained the guiding force throughout the rest of his life and reflected his education and experiences.

Childhood

Beede's paternal ancestors founded the town of Sandwich, New Hampshire, in the colonial period. His parents were Captain Aaron and Mary McGaffey Beede, both of old New Hampshire families that were "considerably intermarried, too much so perhaps."³ Beede stated in one letter that his family was traditionally affluent, with most members attending Dartmouth, but that they had fallen on hard times and were in the process of repairing their fortunes.⁴ Beede's mother was also well known in Sandwich as being

same face, laughing or weeping. When people are already in despair, maybe the laughing face is better for them; and when they feel too good and are too sure of being safe, maybe the weeping face is better for them to see. And so, I think that is what the Heyoke ceremony is for." Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 145. Raymond J. DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," in Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 37.

³ Beede to Reverend W. R. Inge, January 9, 1930, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 14.

⁴ Beede to H. M. Brackett of Bates College (and the class of '84), June 28, 1931, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 15.

among the best-educated Classics scholars. Beede's father, a farmer, was influential in local politics and public affairs.⁵ Aaron McGaffey Beede, born in 1859, was the fourth of twelve children. He does not write much of his time before he went west or of his siblings, save occasional comments in letters. I have yet to find evidence of his writing home after he left New Hampshire.

In his papers, Beede does write some about his work on the farm. His family, though not in poverty, struggled to maintain its affluence when Beede was a child and, at times, had to find creative solutions when they lacked necessary tools. It seems that from his time on the farm Beede developed a strong work ethic and an appreciation for how to manage the land. He helped develop solutions to labor or crop shortages and other problems. He introduced the use of dry milk cows for plowing, rather than allowing them to remain idle. He increasingly took over management of the farm as he got older and as his father became involved in court disputes over property lines and flood control and became active in local politics.

Beede's letters also revealed an early interest in education. Although he gave no reason for doing so, in 1867 he left home without telling anyone so he could attend the commencement exercises of Bates College in Lewiston Maine.⁶ He was impressed with the college and promised its president that he would attend classes when he was old

⁵ His father was a prosperous farmer who was influential in local politics and public affairs. Lewis F. Crawford, *History of North Dakota, vol. 3* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1931), 497; Beede to Reverend W. R. Inge, January 9, 1930, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 14.

⁶ Without asking permission from his parents, Beede rode to the college with someone who was looking for a job. Taking no extra food or clothing, he left in the afternoon and arrived on the college campus at midnight. He and his companion slept in the wagon and attended the ceremony the next day. Beede to H. M. Brackett of Bates College (and the class of '84), June 28, 1931, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 15. See also Beede to Rev. George S. Ricker, D. D, June 10, 1930, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 14.

enough. Not much about his early education is clear, but he cited his mother and a local Indian tribe as being the two main influences. His mother, with her background in Classics, encouraged his love of learning and, through his contact with the Indian tribe, Beede learned about nature and developed his ability to observe and analyze the world around him.⁷ It may have been this early contact with Indians that encouraged his fascination with and study of Indian tribes later in his life.

Drawn West

When Beede reached the age of fifteen, he faced the choices of moving away, continuing to manage the farm for his father, or buying a farm his father offered to sell to him.⁸ He, like so many other young men during the 1800s, chose to take his chances in the West. The West captured his imagination and it provided him with many possibilities. From age fifteen to twenty-two, he roamed the Great Plains and pursued many jobs, including land surveying, teaching in a one-room school, guiding groups of settlers, bookkeeping for a bonanza farm, and working as a secretary for his uncle, A. B. Stickney (first president of Chicago Great Western Railway from 1884 to 1909), and living among Indians.

Beede arrived in Dakota Territory just as settlement was starting. Major reasons for this late settlement were the Dakota War of 1862 and the continuing conflict between the Sioux Indians and the United States government.⁹ Before 1850, the entirety of Dakota

⁷ Beede does not mention which tribe, but, given his location, he was most likely referring to a band of Abenaki. From Beede to Ada Comstock, July 1, 1929, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 13.

⁸ From a collection of papers sent to me by Ruth Ager, Beede's granddaughter.

⁹ Sioux was a corruption of a Chippewa name for the tribe that meant snake. The Sioux included seven major bands separated into three dialect groups, Dakota/Santee, Yanktonai/Yankton/Nakota, and

Territory belonged to Indian tribes. By 1870, however, Indian tribes ceded the Red River Valley and other small portions of what became North and South Dakota. Much of this followed the Dakota War of 1862, in which some Dakota tribes, angered by treaty violations and becoming increasingly desperate because promised annuities had not arrived and white traders would not extend more credit, attacked and raided white settlements in the Minnesota River Valley. It is unclear how many Indians and white people died in the conflict, but the retribution meted out by the United States government was swift and harsh. After the conflict, many Indian men were held prisoner and most of the remaining Sioux in Minnesota were removed to Dakota Territory. About three hundred Indian men were tried and found guilty of murder, but all save thirty-eight who were hanged, were pardoned. As a result of the Dakota War and the government's insistence on retribution, many Sioux tribes in Minnesota were left dependent on government support, and Indian land was ceded to the government.¹⁰

Western Sioux tribes in the Dakota Territory continued to resist White incursions on land and the settlement, leading to Red Cloud's War, which resulted in the Treaty of

Lakota/ Teton. Each of these groups had distinct cultures, often related to their environment, but they were lumped together under the generic title, Sioux. The Dakota were traditionally the more eastern of the language groups and made their home in the woodlands of Minnesota. The Lakota lived farther to the west and tended to live as traditional plains Indians. The Yanktonai lived between the two groups and adapted to a more riverine and tall grass plains environment that led them to adapt to many of the ways of the Ponca, Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa tribes. Today, these groups are located on reservations in North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Canada, Montana and Minnesota. Mary Jane Schneider, *North Dakota Indians: An Introduction* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Company, 1986), 65-67. Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman, Ok; University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 23-26. Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale university Press), 6-39. For an overview of Sioux history written from a post-colonial perspective, see Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 186-191.

¹⁰ For a brief treatment that ties the war into the destruction of tribal sovereignty, see O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 67-70.

Fort Laramie 1868. This treaty established the Great Sioux Reservation.¹¹ The Great Sioux Reservation ranged from the lower western part of North Dakota into Montana in the west and into Colorado, including the Black Hills of South Dakota. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills led to greater incursions into the Great Sioux Reservation and increased Sioux attacks on trespassers. Tensions between the Sioux and the United States military came to a head with the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876.¹² In the aftermath, the Sioux tribes that had not fled to Canada were forced onto reservations and the 1877 Treaty took away part of the Great Sioux Reservation, including the Black Hills. In 1889, following the philosophy and goals of the Dawes or the General Allotment Act of 1877, Congress further decreased the extent of Indian land by splitting the Great Sioux Reservation into smaller ones and selling the land between the reservations to white settlers (the Lakota received \$1.25 per acre which was used to offset treaty obligations). Standing Rock Reservation, located in the middle of South Dakota and overlapping into lower central North Dakota, was one of the five reservations established.

The philosophy of the Dawes Act was assimilation through the encouragement of economic development that focused on the individual rather than on the tribe. To accomplish this, the government surveyed all the reservations and created and assigned allotments of land to individual tribal members. The goal was to make the individual self-

¹¹ Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Fargo, ND: Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University, 1995), 223-30, 350-84.

¹² Though most scholars recognize the Battle of the Little Big Horn as the beginning of the end of Sioux resistance, Robert M. Utley chose to focus on the Battle at Wounded Knee in 1891 as the true end. "Even though only a tiny fraction of the Sioux nation met death," he wrote, "the reality of the conquest descended upon the entire Nation with such overwhelming force that it shattered all illusions." Utley, *The Last Days*, 5. In this he expressed much the same views as Black Elk. Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 207.

supporting and, in the process, decrease treaty annuities, such as clothing and food, and to use the money from the sale of unallotted land to build infrastructure on the reservations.¹³ The process of surveying and allotting came late to Standing Rock Reservation. It was surveyed in 1893, but was not allotted until 1906. The reservation lands were not opened for white settlement until 1909, before which unused land was often leased to large cattle companies for grazing.¹⁴

Beede came to Standing Rock Reservation before the land was allotted. Given the limited information on Beede during his early years in the Dakota Territory, we can't know, but he may have been familiar with this area. Beede did not specifically indicate how far west he had travelled during these years or when he met the Sioux. His first years in the region were recorded in scattered references in his journals, letters, and in a short piece in *North Dakota Collections*. Most writers believed that he came to Dakota Territory at the age of fifteen in 1874, although he reminisced in letters that he was sixteen.¹⁵ In scattered references, he provided a vague timeline for his western travels. He stopped in Chicago, where he may have learned bookkeeping and secretarial work from his uncle, A. B. Stickney. He spent the winter of 1876 in Minneapolis attending the university, likely studying preparatory teaching classes. Beede came to the Red River Valley just as bonanza farming and settlement began. In the spring of 1877, he hired on

¹³ Valentine McGillycuddy remarked that whites or Indians, if given adequate food and clothing, have no desire or reason to make a living. Candy Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillycuddy: Army Surgeon, Agent to the Sioux* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 229.

¹⁴ Mary Jane Schneider, *North Dakota's Indian Heritage* (Grand Forks, ND: University of North Dakota Press, 1990), 112; O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 71-82..

¹⁵ From a collection of papers sent to me by Ruth Ager, Beede's granddaughter.

as a bookkeeper on the Stickney Smith Bonanza farm in Minnesota.¹⁶ In the winter, he taught in a country school. At some point in 1877, he guided settlers across the Red River Valley in search of land.

While in Dakota Territory, he contracted typhoid and was restored to health by members of a Sioux tribe.¹⁷ For almost two years, he lived among the Sioux and Chippewa and learned their languages, both of which made it easier for him to establish relationships or reconnect later as a missionary. Beede's experiences provided him with a rudimentary knowledge of German and Lakota, as well as a familiarity with several of the other languages spoken in Dakota Territory.

Education in the East

In October 1879, Beede returned to the east to finish his college education and complete training as both a lawyer and minister. Although his education was clearly important, Beede left only scattered references to it in his correspondence and writings.¹⁸

¹⁶ He came to the farm with his brother Josiah or they met there. Josiah died soon after he arrived. Curt Eriksmoen, *Did You Know That ...? Vol. 3* (ND: J&M Printing, 2009), 54. Although most writers stated that Beede worked in the area that would become North Dakota, none provided many details. Zena Irma Trinka, however, stated that he worked on a farm located at Buffalo Creek in Minnesota. Zena Irma Trinka, *North Dakota Today* (St. Paul, MN: Louis F. Dow), 142. March 6, 1906, Beede wrote in a letter that the first church service occurred in Grand Forks while he was "teaching school on the Buffalo River, 10 miles East of Moorhead." in Orin G. Libby Papers, Series 10085, Box 8, Folder 16, State Historical Society of North Dakota. (Hereafter cited as date or sender, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box, Folder)

¹⁷ January 21, 1915, and October 14, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Also mentioned October 14, 1912, copy of letter to Beede from Bureau of American Ethnology, Herbert C. Fish to Aaron McGaffey Beede, Administration, Curator's Correspondence, Series 30205, Box 2, Folder 13, State Historical Society of North Dakota. (Hereafter cited as date or sender, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box, Folder).

¹⁸ The products of his education are *Some Hindrances to Social Progress in the United States*, *Social Teaching of Paul*, and possibly his thesis from Andover, though this last is speculation. The Beede papers contain a handwritten book that included formal titles focused on theology. Some of the pages have been damaged or have had newspaper articles dating from 1895 pasted over them. Add to this his handwriting that will need deciphering, and one lucky researcher would have a long and potentially impossible project. See UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 21.

He received a more-or-less traditional American education from Bates College in Lewistown, Maine, where he graduated Valedictorian in 1884. Colleges had existed in the United States since colonial times, and the curriculum emphasized religious or legal training, classical courses of study, and the teaching of standard texts. The more traditional East Coast universities emphasized rote learning, the Classics, and moral edification; they were not concerned with research and paid little attention to the natural or social sciences.¹⁹ Bates College, originally a seminary but chartered as a college in 1864, had strong ties to Christianity and a traditional focus on rote learning similar to that of other private institutions of the period. The college was unique, however, in that it expressed the ideals of the Great Awakening, via its ties to Free-Will Baptists and nineteenth-century reform movements. Free-Will Baptists believed in the equality of all people, and, as such, Bates placed no restrictions on race, ethnicity, religion, or gender for admittance. Members of the faculty and student body also spoke out strongly in favor of reforms such as temperance and women's rights.²⁰

Beede was described by fellow classmates as successful and popular. He was elected class poet in 1881 and his occasional speeches were said to be "pleasing" and to

¹⁹ The historian Roger Geiger argued that changes in the structure of American universities were not accepted until after the Civil War. In the years after the war, prominent educators and university professors who attended German universities, such as George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Cogswell, and George Bancroft, leveled three critiques at the universities: they needed to provide scope for the new kinds of knowledge, particularly the natural and social sciences; they needed to provide practical training for careers; and they needed to be more like European universities by incorporating advanced study in their structure. Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004), 1-6.

²⁰ Bates College, "Enduring Values in a Changing World," Bates College, <http://www.bates.edu/150-years/history/values/> (last accessed May 9, 2012); Bates College, "A Brief History," Bates College, <http://www.bates.edu/150-years/history/> (last accessed May 9, 2012). Beede may have developed an initial interest in Social Gospel and reform movements from his time at Bates.

show “good understanding.” Though not the student with the highest grades, he was elected the Valedictorian of his class. During part of 1883 or 1884, Beede began teaching in a school in Auburn, ME, though he listed law as his intended occupation.²¹

After attending Bates, Beede continued his studies. From 1884-1887, he studied in Lewiston, Maine, at the law firm of Pulsifer, Bolster, and Watson and became a partner after passing the bar.²² Beede seemed to enjoy his work with the Unitarian lawyers; however, after his eyesight was damaged in an accident, he was strongly urged to pursue ministerial training.²³ In 1887, he married Rebecca M. Ridley and began his studies at Andover, Massachusetts, Congregationalist theological seminary, from which he received a Bachelor of Divinity in 1890. It may be during this time that he began to think about studying or working abroad as a missionary.²⁴ As he was working on his doctoral degree, he served as a Congregational minister at Barrington, Maine, and as

²¹ His other statistics include his height 6' 2 ½", his weight 175, hat size 7 ¼, and his religious views, free thinker. Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 10 n. 4 (April 1882); Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 9 n. 3 (March 1881); Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 11 n. 2 (February 1883); Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 12 n. 6 (June 1884); Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 8 n. 9 (November 1880); Bates College, *The Bates Student*, 12 n. 6 (June 1884). Most editions of the *The Bates Student* are hosted on Bates College archive at http://scarab.bates.edu/bates_student/ (last accessed October 17, 2017). See also a copy from Beede's journal contained in Libby Papers, Series 10085, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

²² Beede does not seem to have been tied to one church denomination. Rather he seems to have pursued whichever offered him a desired opportunity. He attended a Free-Will Baptist College. He worked under Unitarian lawyers and studied at a Congregationalist seminary. Beede's family had ties to Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Quakers, and Episcopalians. Beede to Libby, April 15, [1916], Libby Papers, Series 10085, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

²³ Beede to Rev. George S. Ricker, D. D., June 10, 1930, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 14.

²⁴ Carl Diehl mentions that Andover Theological Seminary was one of the places that sent many of their students to Germany. Carl Diehl, "Innocents Abroad: American Students in German Universities, 1810-1870," *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976): 321-41; Crawford, *History of North Dakota*, vol. 3, 498. Beede was appointed a missionary to Northern China, but concerns over his wife's health led him to seek a position in a Congregationalist church in Maine. Bates College, *General Catalogue of Bates College 1863-1891* (Lewiston, ME: Journal Office, 1893), 54-55.

superintendent of schools in Alfred, Maine. By the 1890s, rather than continuing in law or seeking a position as a missionary or minister, Beede chose to pursue an academic career, success in which would be helped through expanded education and a teaching position at a Congregational college in South Dakota.²⁵

Returning to the West

In the early 1890s, Beede was recruited as the Chair of German and Greek at the Congregationalist College in Redfield, South Dakota, though he did not take up the position until 1895.²⁶ To strengthen his academic prospects, Beede pursued further education at Illinois Wesleyan University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Berlin, Germany. When or what Beede studied at each of these universities is uncertain except for 1895-96 when he studied Sociology and Economics at Kaiser Wilhelm University in Berlin, Germany. He also mentioned attending lectures by Dr. Lester F. Ward, a prominent botanist, paleontologist, and sociologist.²⁷ He completed his doctorate in philosophy from Wesleyan University in Illinois in 1896 and, by 1899, he

²⁵ I have found no affirmation that Beede intended to pursue an academic career, but, given his decision to take a position at a Congregationalist college and his advanced studies in Germany and Chicago, it seems likely that he was preparing for a position as a professor. One Bates student praised Beede's dedication to teaching, especially as he was offered a position at a prestigious Chicago church at the salary of \$ 2,500 to \$ 3,000 a year. Bates College, *The Bates Student* 23 n. 02 (February 1895).

²⁶ Though Crawford recorded this date as 1893, this does not seem likely as Beede was listed as Superintendent of the schools in Alfred, Maine from 1891-94. It appears that Beede was hired in 1895, but did not immediately start teaching as he had to finish his advanced degree or at least the classes at the University of Chicago and Kaiser Wilhelm University at Berlin. While teaching, he also served as a minister at Ashton, South Dakota, and proved up on a homestead. Crawford, *History of North Dakota*, vol. 3, 498.

²⁷ "I wish to acknowledge," Beede wrote in the final note in *Some Hindrances*, "that it was my former teacher, Lester F. Ward, L. L. D., of the Smithsonian Institute, who first stirred me up to see the necessity of devoutly studying society." Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 60. Beede mentioned in a letter that he had attended seventy of Lester F. Ward's lectures (21 years ago, in 1896) at the University of Chicago. Beede to Libby, Ft. Yates, November 9, 1917. Libby papers, Series 10085, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

had moved to Fargo, North Dakota, to serve as an assistant to the president of the Congregationalist College.

That his education and time among the Sioux coincided with the development and professionalization of social science fields in the United States, particularly that of Sociology, placed importance on the training he received and the contacts he made, particularly at the University of Chicago. Before the opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, Albion Small, sociologist and head of that department at the University of Chicago, referred to the study of the social sciences as amateurish, “philanthropic,” and “patriotic” rather than scientific.²⁸ Wealthy or privately funded amateurs had previously done much of the research, and Albion Small explained, “all the persons who were supposed to teach anything now regarded as within the range of the social sciences were going through the most elementary type of classroom program, guided by the crude textbooks then available.”²⁹ Beede also noted the poor quality of natural sciences textbooks. “With the Indians in boyhood,” he wrote, “I was able, when in college, to show my professors some inaccuracies in the books then used regarding

²⁸ “In brief,” wrote Small, “the period 1865-85 in the United States was a time of benevolent amateurishness with reference to questions, which have since been distributed among the historical, political, economic, sociological, and philanthropic divisions of positive social science.” Albion W. Small. “Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915)” *American Journal of Sociology* 21 (1916): 729-30. See also, Diehl, “Innocents Abroad,” 338. In America, these changes in the humanities and sciences are intimately connected to the migration of American students to the German universities and the sense and the vocation of scholarship that many appear to have acquired there. Though there was a greater professionalization of social sciences after 1885, many researchers until well after the turn of the century continued to rely on amateurs or those in contact with Indian tribes rather than trained researchers as one needed both time and money to establish connections and to perform research. Beede like many other missionaries provided an amateur source. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 125.

²⁹ Small, “Fifty Years of Sociology,” 730.

animals, plants and birds---such books are more accurate now.”³⁰ The growing acceptance of a synthesis between research and teaching in graduate education, often emphasized or encouraged by German universities, helped to move the fields of natural and social sciences from the realm of personal inquiry and hobby into scientific communities.

German models of education and German professors played a major role in the development of American graduate education, as well as in the fields of social and natural science.³¹ Beginning even before the nineteenth century, German theories on higher education filtered into the academic disciplines in the United States through Americans who had studied at German universities. This trend increased as students (and later, leaders in academia) such as George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Cogswell, and George Bancroft assumed positions of power or influence, toward the middle of the nineteenth century. These men encouraged universities to organize around the

³⁰ Beede to Ada Comstock, President of Radcliff College, July 1, 1929, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 13; Beede to H. M. Brackett of Bates College (and the class of '84), June 28, 1931, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 15.

³¹ German universities were at the zenith of their influence by the 1890s. They were the leaders in science and education. More than this, students wishing to enhance their reputations studied in Germany. Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), 18, 38. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 128-30. Albion Small, head of the department of Sociology at University of Chicago wrote, “It is an evidence of the state of academic publicity at the time, that I was much better acquainted with men and programs in the German universities than I was with other American institutions of higher learning.” Small, “Fifty Years of Sociology,” 734. The influence of German universities on American thought and education during the nineteenth century was as complex as it was indirect; Americans who studied in Germany brought back methods and theories which they included in their research, teaching, and the founding of new universities or colleges. Charles Thwing, a graduate of Harvard and Andover seminary as well as the president of several small colleges, produced an early account of the influence of German universities in 1928. He explained that many American students who had studied in Germany later worked as teachers and they diffused German ideals and education throughout the United States. Their shared experiences provided a base from which they worked to challenge and reconstruct American higher education. Charles F. Thwing, *The American and the German University: One Hundred Years of History* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1928); Diehl, “Innocents Abroad,” 338.

Humboldtian model, which emphasized a synthesis of teaching and research.³² Beede was one of about 9,000 Americans to study in Germany from 1820-1920.³³ He, like so many who became leaders in society and education, attended German universities to prepare for academic careers, to pursue a higher degree in a less expensive or more open environment (especially true for women), or to conduct research in the latest scientific fields in the premier schools.

Although the social sciences benefited from German thought, American universities focused on greater specialization or fields of research rather than on

³² Wilhelm von Humboldt developed this model with the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810. Professors would be responsible for both research and teaching; their teaching would spring from their research. Graduate students also selected research topics and worked under the supervision of the professors. Universities became centers of scientific knowledge and development. Thwing, *The American and the German University*. Hermann Röhrs built on Diehl's work but focused on the ways in which students integrated the German model and its emphasis on research and seminars, as a part of college the curriculum when they returned and took up teaching positions. He showed that though many of these men approved of German education and accepted the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of research and teaching, they were realistic about its applicability and wished to create a distinctly American graduate education. Hermann Röhrs, *The Classical German Concept of the University and Its Influence on Higher Education in the United States* (P. Lang, 1995), 72-91. See also, Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965). In *The Emergence of the American University*, Laurence Veysey emphasized that the American acceptance and use of German ideas was based on misunderstanding. He particularly looked at the areas of *Lehrfreiheit* (freedom in teaching), *Lernfreiheit* (freedom in learning), and *Wissenschaft* (a focus on writing or investigation as opposed to teaching), and the move toward idealism as these are foundational concepts to the Humboldtian model. Veysey argued that Americans believed *Wissenschaft* to be a method of pure scientific research rather than an ideal and that university should be a locus for scientific specialization. They ignored the German belief in an "underlying spiritual unity" to learning, research, and idealism, a romantic strain of thought that highlighted that not all things can be quantified. These misunderstandings ultimately led to failed attempts to implement fully German models in American universities, as Americans tended to fragment and isolate fields of investigation rather than recognizing an underlying unity of thought. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* 127. See also, Carl Diehl, *American and German Scholarship, 1770-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

³³ Beede's time there coincided with the peak enrollment of American students. Veysey sees the decrease of American students in German universities resulting from the 1890 inflation that increased the cost of attendance, the disillusionment with a German research model that at times seemed slovenly, the practice of some provincial German universities to be diploma mills, and the decrease in popularity of German universities and the increase of American. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 130-32. Röhrs, *The Classical German Concept of the University*, 11.

interdisciplinary work.³⁴ The focus of German universities tended to remain on ethnology and philology, both of which encouraged the development of nationalism through their study of the language and culture and the comparison of German culture with others.³⁵ In German universities, the department of philosophy contained both science and the humanities, reflecting a belief that the two fields were intertwined.³⁶ Beede's work shows some adaptation of scientific training, but, more than that, the idea of a unity between different areas of research, such as the humanities and sciences, and the use of historical and cultural research to influence and create current culture.³⁷ These were ideas that he

³⁴ Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology*, 18-22. See also footnote 32.

³⁵ Philology was the scientific study of written texts, and ethnology was a study linked to anthropology, but focusing on races and peoples, their relations to one another, their origins, and their distinctive characteristics. Yet, within these, the focus remained on how society should be formed and improved, both to make it better and to quiet social unrest. Not only were the universities centers for researching the language, culture, customs, biological characteristics, and history that defined groups, but they were also centers for the development of nationalism among students. Though conceptions of German nationalism began much earlier, the Franco-Prussian war and the unification of Germany in 1871 created a need to define what it meant to be German. Humboldt, as well as other German academics, saw the goal of education as creating enlightened, moral men and citizens. This did not extend to education in politics because of fears of socialism and revolution. "The majority of Academics," the historian Konrad Jarausch wrote, "regarded the 'awakening, strengthening, and purifying of love of the fatherland and support for the state' in formal teaching not only as legitimate, but also necessary." German courses on economics and social policy generally incorporated a strong element of love of the fatherland, support for the state, and interest in the best model for society, and carried a fear of socialism. Konrad H. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany: The Rise of Academic Illiberalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 189, 83-84, 177.

³⁶ The Germans initially kept the sciences and humanities together because many feared that a separation would limit freedom of research and hamper a deeper understanding of each field. This freedom allowed professors to select from a wide range of topics and approaches without having to leave their overarching area of research. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany*, 177-78. It also expressed a strain of romanticism as it insisted that not all things can be quantified and, hence, science and philosophy are inseparable when creating a full explanation. Röhrs, *The Classical German Concept of the University*, 15-37.

³⁷ In a letter to one young researcher, Beede recommended getting "out into some country town most anywhere, and as a day laborer (while no one knows that you know anything) to study thoroughly a community practically. I could give you a program which would assist in studying such a community, but all communities vary, while having certain fundamental Life-desires which are always the same. I may mention that I have tramped as a tramp 1300 miles in Germany, have done similarly on a smaller scale in England and France, and have studied some 200 communities in N.D., as many in S.D. and many in Minn.

explored or emphasized in his writing. More than this, he seemed to adopt it as a method of thinking about the world. He did not see stories or information as fitting only one category or purpose, nor did he limit himself to only one field of study or method of expression. This may be why he was especially fond of Indian dramas and why he chose to write two Indian historical dramas rather than two books on Indian history.

Sociology, initially, was tied closely to biological science and to subject areas such as philosophy, political science, economics, and psychology. American universities, however, developed separate departments for sociological study. American universities, such as the University of Chicago, showed both the adoption and adaptation of German ideas. Many of the University of Chicago's professors and those from other universities and colleges throughout the United States were partially trained in German universities. In the University of Chicago sociology department, one of the earliest and most influential social sciences departments with accredited sociology courses, all the members before 1915 had attended German universities. Despite this, the department developed a distinct approach.³⁸ Field research and interaction with the group under

Ill, Maine Vermont, Mass., etc.” Letter to a college student looking for information on North Dakota Clergy for a project, February 17, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

³⁸ Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology*, 38; Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship*, 5. With the growth of American universities and the establishment of their research departments, American professors wished to keep their students at home. Many American scholars also realized that German ideas and research could not be fully adapted to American society, in part because universities as well as the society had a distinctly different relationship with the government and its people. American universities tended to be privately owned or financed and they competed for students, faculty, and funding. They generally strove to provide a moral or philosophical education that was not intensely nationalistic nor meant to prepare students for government positions. The German imperial and hierarchical structure, as well as the state's support and to some extent control of universities, limited internal competition and encouraged nationalist sentiments and loyalty by providing secure funding and jobs for graduates. The universities had always been tied closely to individual states, but after unification, the German government helped to modify and control the education system, both by funding it and by providing careers for many of the university graduates. Otto von Bismarck asked, “What is it that sustains

investigation was a major component of many of the research projects of the University of Chicago's sociology department.³⁹ The department studied the different populations of Chicago, especially focusing on the social needs of the poor and immigrant classes. Many of the University researchers' projects were linked to the settlement houses established in Chicago to support and assimilate immigrant populations. Many of Beede's professors also seem to have mixed Christian ideals, if not faith, into their studies of society, particularly through the expression of Social Gospel ideals.⁴⁰ More than this they believed in the ability of the social sciences to provide answers to humanity's ills.⁴¹

the German official? The University and the army, indeed, two imponderables, which nonetheless exert a weighty influence." As quoted in Jaraus, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany*, 21, 161-65.

³⁹ Albion Small, somewhat biased wrote, "After 1892, sociology came out into the open as an accredited university subject, but I very strongly doubt if this consummation would have been reached at that time- I am not sure that it would have occurred at all-if the University of Chicago had not been founded." Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology," 763.

⁴⁰ In his writings, Beede seemed to flirt with the ideals of socialism. Many leaders in religion and reform expressed the interplay between Christianity, socialist ideals, and the growing industrial society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See "Ludlow: Principles of Christian Socialism" in J. Salwyn Schapiro, *Movements of Social Dissent in Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), 117-119. For a popular expression of the Social Gospel movement, Charles M. Sheldon, *In His Steps: "What Would Jesus Do?"* (Chicago: Advance Publishing Co., 1897). For a reformers perspective, Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*, (1888. Reprint, Stilwell, KS: Digireads.com). For comparison of three of the leaders in the Social gospel movement and their views on Christian socialism see, Jacob Dorn, "The Social Gospel and Socialism: A Comparison of the Thought of Francis Greenwood Peabody, Washington Gladden, and Walter Rauschenbusch," *Church History* 62 (1993): 82-100. <http://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/history/26>.

⁴¹ Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology*, 22-24. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 77. I came across an interesting newspaper article in my research that illustrated the research projects blended with social conscience as well as the ties of many of these projects to educated middle and upper class women. The article explained that one woman adopted fifteen children all of which were to be the same age but of different races. In raising them together, with all the same opportunities and restrictions, she sought to explore whether education and environment were more potent than hereditary. "A Novel Experiment" Friday, December 5, 1913, *Bismarck Tribune*.

The University of Chicago seemed to have a profound effect on Beede as seen in his references in his writings to the professors under which he studied.⁴² In reflecting on his time at Kaiser Wilhelm University, Beede began to question “whether or not the strenuously scientific Germans are not straying farther from concrete facts than teachers of other nationals.”⁴³ In his paper, “The Scientific Attitude of Indians,” written for a conference at the University of Chicago in 1921, Beede discussed the scientific mindset of the Sioux Indians and the importance of doing field research, especially as authors were not always accurate, nor did people, animals, or even elements act the same in nature as in captivity.⁴⁴ In this, he reflected the training he received in the University of Chicago’s sociology department.

The University of Chicago’s sociology department emphasized not only studying society, but also effecting change. In *Social Teachings*, Beede expressed this understanding when he wrote about the need for ministers to study and understand Sociology. Not only did he believe that this would add depth to their understanding of the

⁴² Beede remained in contact with Albion Small, Dean of the University of Chicago Graduate school of Arts and Literature, as well as others. Beede to Small, January 22, 1921 and Small to Beede, February 7, 1921, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 4. Beede also mentioned Small’s comments on *Toward the Sun* in a note contained in his correspondence. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁴³ “The Scientific Attitude of Indians,” Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁴⁴ Beede expressed this same idea when he wrote to Ada Comstock about the inaccuracy of textbooks. He explained, “animals, and birds, and even plants do not behave in pet captivity as they behave freely in the wild. With Indians on reservations amid customs which it has required centuries for our ancestors to make, and somewhat understand, we get scant facts regarding Indians basically. It is pet captivity.” Beede to Ada Comstock, President of Radcliff College, July 1, 1929, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 13; Beede to H. M. Brackett of Bates College (and the class of ‘84), June 28, 1931, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 15.

Bible, but also that it would help them to aid a man in “working out the possibilities of his existence.”⁴⁵ “In those changes so rapidly taking place in our own country,” he wrote,

the church must be prominent in social and reform work, always fearless and broadminded, or else there must be incalculable loss both to society and to Christ. But how can this be unless clergy prayerfully and arduously struggle to understand that social organization to whose needs she should minister?⁴⁶

This not only reiterated Social Gospel ideals, but it expressed Beede’s beliefs about the duties of a minister and a missionary, beliefs that would serve him well in the emerging communities in the Dakotas.

Beede’s return to the Dakotas came during a reversal of hopes for many. When he had first arrived in the area in the 1870s, settlement had just begun as fear of Indians, availability of land, and the reputation of the High Plains as a desert combined to limit settlement. Western Dakota Territory, with its limited precipitation and its longer inclusion in reservation lands was settled much more slowly and later than the eastern river valleys. The tireless work of boosters and the establishment of bonanza farms helped to change the image of what became North and South Dakota from that of the Great American Desert, an arid region thought to be unsuited for farming, to a place of possibilities. As settlers filled in the lower Great Plains region or found the prices charged by land speculators to be too high, many were looking for new opportunities. The Northern Pacific and the Great Northern railroads marketed the high plains as just the opportunity for new settlers, a marketing ploy that benefited railroad stockholders by increasing the railroad’s markets and customers.

⁴⁵ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 8.

⁴⁶ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 8.

Beede returned to the Dakotas in 1895 when the territory was experiencing a dry cycle. Many land owners were expressing growing concern over access to water. Beede not only saw the struggles farmers faced in trying to make the land productive, but he also struggled to prove up his own claim while teaching and preaching in the communities around Redfield, South Dakota. Those struggles may explain Beede's identification with and support of the disaffected. Beede was involved in many of the early Non-Partisan League meetings in 1915. His papers included his "Secret history of the NPL," which contained his account of the party's founding, principal characters, and the first caucus.⁴⁷ There was much debate over the NPL's legacy, but, during its time, it expressed the frustrations of a populace that felt dominated by powerful interests and business men who used corruption and coercion to profit at the expense of farmers and small landowners. Many of the goals of the NPL and its founders ran parallel to Beede's. The organization's rise to power came as Beede was challenging Federal Indian policy and the lease system on Standing Rock Reservation. Although Beede eventually fell out of favor with the NPL, his early interest reflected the disaffection he felt with those in power, particularly those who could influence conditions on Indian reservations.

Work as a Missionary

After working at Congregational colleges in the Dakotas, Beede felt called to work with Indians on the reservations. Beede joined the Episcopal church, possibly because it was established on Standing Rock Reservation or because it had a history of

⁴⁷ Beede's history of the NPL, July 14, 1919, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

missionary work among the tribes with which he was familiar from his early days in Dakota Territory. In 1901, Beede was ordained a deacon by Bishop Edsall and was given authority over missionary work in Rolla, Cando, and the Turtle Mountains.⁴⁸ In 1902, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Mann. Bishop Mann added Standing Rock Reservation added to his missionary responsibilities. By 1909, Beede was placed in charge of all Indian work and he transferred to Standing Rock Reservation at Cannon Ball. He received about \$1000 per year and was expected to provide his own housing.

Though Beede located his home and centered his mission work in the Cannon Ball and Fort Yates area on the Standing Rock Reservation, he does not seem to have lived like other missionaries. Rather than establishing a mission station and using that as the center of his ministry, Beede spent much of his time visiting and travelling between the many reservations under his care. Many mission stations were a family effort with the missionary's wife or family teaching the Indian children. From all indications, Beede's family never moved to Standing Rock nor were they active in his ministry. Beede was interested in education, but as the Episcopal church already had established boarding schools, he had little to do with the education and training of the children. It seems that Beede focused his efforts on ministering to the physical needs and developing the spiritual understanding of the adults and lay ministers under his care. This, of course,

⁴⁸ After the white congregation at Cando, North Dakota disbanded, he was reassigned and eventually became "absorbed with the Indians," to the point of wearing moccasins with his clerical garb. Robert P. Wilkins and Wynona H. Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase: The History of the Episcopal Church in North Dakota* (Fargo, ND: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1959), 96. Beede was not daunted by size of the territory that he had to cover or by the limited finances, though both could be frustrating. By the time he retired, he had not only built his own home, but he had also designed or helped to build several churches. Beede to Mr. John Corey, May 11, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12; copy of *The Sheaf*, 1975, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 2.

included presiding over special services, baptisms, marriages, and far too many funerals. The demands that travel placed on Beede increased his dependence the native and local church leadership.

Christian missionaries, especially travelling Catholic priests, had contact with the Sioux long before the 1800s. Mission work, however, was limited by the mobility of the tribes and their distance from the missionaries' bases of support. With increased settlement and the presence of representatives of United States government, missionary efforts among the eastern branches of the Sioux expanded during the 1830s. The four major church groups, Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Episcopalian, led in missionary work among them. The earliest groups to establish mission stations, however, were Catholics, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.⁴⁹

The best known early work among the Santee is associated with the Congregationalist church and the efforts of the brothers Samuel and Gideon Pond, J. D. Stevens, Thomas Williamson, and Stephen and Alfred Riggs.⁵⁰ They established mission stations and slowly began to build up communities of converted Santee. After 1860, the Episcopal church began its work among the Sioux in Minnesota under the first Bishop of Minnesota, Henry Whipple. Whipple, caring deeply for Indians, appointed Samuel D. Hinman as missionary in charge at their first mission station to the Sioux. Hinman, not

⁴⁹ Vine V. Deloria, Sr., "The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux," in Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 109.

⁵⁰ Stephen Return Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ; or, The Gospel Among the Dakotas* (New York, Arno Press, 1972), especially chapter 23; Stephen Return Riggs, *Mary and I; Forty Years with the Sioux* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1969).

only worked with the Sioux in Minnesota, but also followed them through imprisonment and removal to Dakota Territory. Accusations of improper behavior eventually cost him his position as a missionary. Throughout the early missionary work in Minnesota, Indians still represented a potential threat to white settlers. Riggs mentioned in his accounts of early missionary endeavors that they faced dangers, both from the unsettled country and from the Indians who lived there.⁵¹ For missionaries as well as for settlers, the Christianized Indians represented increased security. Not only did Indians' acceptance of and adherence to Christian beliefs lessened the settlers' fears, but Christian Indian communities such as Hazelwood Republic clustered around and protected missionary families and others during times of unrest and disaster.⁵²

During this same time, the Jesuit Priest Father P. J. De Smet journeyed among the western branches of the Sioux. Though Father De Smet was able to convert many and establish positive connections with some tribes, the transient nature of western tribes, based both on the extent of land under their control and on an economy based in hunting, made these connections difficult to maintain. This contrasted with established missions among the Eastern Sioux tribes who embraced agriculture and who had sold off most of their lands by 1860.⁵³ The widespread, if at times, limited contact with Catholic

⁵¹ Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ*, 120-140, 220-242, 304-307. In Dakota Territory, this continued after the 1860s, as settlement began in the 1870s. Kimberly Jondahl and James Moos, *The Frontier Missionary: Three Tribes, a Man of God, a Journey of Faith* (Bismarck, N.D.: The Printers, Inc., 2010), 38-55.

⁵² The Hazelwood republic had its own constitution and was an established community. The Christian Indians in the community helped to protect and hide missionaries and settlers from battles between Indian tribes and from Indians outside the community during the Dakota War in 1863. Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ*, 206, 240-41, 267-68, 307-22, 393-96; Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 68-69.

⁵³ Harvey Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux: A Crisis in the Early Paradigm" in Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 120-21.

missionaries helped to establish Catholic practices and beliefs that sometimes limited the influence of other churches or missionaries. Beede found among some members of his Indian congregation those who still practiced aspects of the Catholic faith. Part of Beede's work as a missionary was to decide how strongly he would insist that those under his care conform to the Episcopal church's beliefs and traditions regardless of whether the practices challenged were "pagan" or Catholic.

The early work of missionaries in Minnesota was interrupted by the Dakota war of 1862, after which the relationship between the government, the Sioux, and the missionaries changed. Not only did the war encourage bloodshed, anger, and fear among all involved, but it also brought a shift in the social and economic position of the Sioux in Minnesota. In response to the war, the United States government rounded up most of the Sioux in Minnesota, moved those not considered a threat to reservations in Dakota Territory, and incarcerated those accused of killing settlers or those believed to be dangerous.⁵⁴

One often responds to changes in environment, economic security, social position or forced reflection by questioning or evaluating one's beliefs. Missionaries may have provided answers to Indians' questioning as their work among both those incarcerated and those removed to reservations flourished. One might also argue that Christianity represented a tool that Indians could use to gain consideration, power, or economic status. Careful manipulation of the label *Christian* could provide a connection to a group's

⁵⁴ Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ*, 341-54; Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, "Introduction" in Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 10-11.

supporters, based in belief rather than blood or a means of proving oneself civilized or reformed. Missionaries' success may also reflect a desire to show outward assimilation to the dominant culture in the hope of gaining better or preferential treatment. Regardless of why Indians converted, missionaries' roles changed dramatically after the 1860s. Many of the early missions were destroyed, closed, or moved in response to the movement of the tribes. Some missionaries worked among the imprisoned Sioux, training them not only in Christian beliefs, but also in reading and writing their own language as well as English. Other missionaries moved to the new reservations, established new missions, and worked to develop native churches that incorporated Indians as leaders.

Missionaries' positions also changed with the decreasing threat from Indians. In the aftermath of the Dakota wars, the Santee were clearly under government authority. Western Sioux tribes maintained their independence, for a time, but all tribes eventually moved from being sovereign nations to being dependents by the close of the 1800s.⁵⁵ Not only did the relationship change, but also, as settlement proceeded and as the Sioux were faced with limited resources and territory, they increasingly centered their lives around government rations and policies.⁵⁶ "In other words," wrote the historian Robert Berkhofer

⁵⁵ As civilians and the government worried less about Indian hostility, control of Indian policy shifted from military oversight to the Department of the Interior and civilian control. Beede believed that this shift was based in the greed of the railroads and others that saw profit to be made from the Indians or from their land. Because the military had little to gain from managing Indian affairs, Beede believed that overall it did a better job. Beede to Fish, cc Libby, Ft. Yates, October 21, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁵⁶ The increasing white incursions on Sioux territory and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills led in 1867-1875 to the last plains Indian wars. Before hostilities broke out in the 1870s, the federal government was already altering its policies toward Indians. Rather than treating with tribes as sovereign nations, the government increasingly acted on the assumption that Indians were dependent peoples who must be civilized. After 1871, the federal government no longer concluded treaties with Indian tribes, but rather altered reservation policies and size through government legislation or presidential decree. Paulette F. Molin, "To Be Examples to... Their People": Standing Rock Sioux Students at Hampton Institute, 1878-

Jr., “the Americans called the tune to which the Indians danced regardless of tribal culture. This tune was composed of certain legal concepts and enforced by the power of the white army and red desire for treaty annuity.”⁵⁷ As the relationship of the Indians and the government altered, so too did that of the missionaries. Missionaries had been working to Christianize, and, with this, they encouraged the adoption of white culture. The adoption of Grant’s Peace Policy from 1869 to 1881 was an attempt by the President to reform the Indian civil service and limit corruption in its ranks. By placing reservation administration under the guidance of church groups, President Grant hoped to encourage peaceful relations between the military, which had been in charge of administration of Indian policy, and Indian tribes.

Some in the federal government hoped that missionaries or church-appointed officials, through their examples and Christian values, would gain the confidence of and successfully guide the tribes under their care. With this, the limited government support and protection of missionaries shifted to active support and approval of their efforts, particularly those of encouraging economic development, and placed added emphasis on civilizing.⁵⁸ The shift in the relationship between missionaries and the government from separate entities to collaborators during the Peace Policy placed the missionaries in a

1923 (part one)” *North Dakota History* 68 (2001): 9-13; Mary Lou Hultgren, “‘To Be Examples to...Their People’: Standing Rock Sioux Students at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923 (part two)” *North Dakota History* 68 (2001): 24-26.

⁵⁷ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1965), xi.

⁵⁸ The government began partnering with churches to Christianize and civilize Indians as early as 1819 through the establishment of a civilization fund which would provide support for missionary and church work among tribes. Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 27. Missionaries were also often involved in making treaties with tribes if for no other reason than they knew some of the language or had a connection to the tribe. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 60-62, 148.

position in which they often shared the cultural assumptions of those in government positions. Many in government and some missionaries believed that Indians were a vanishing race and that civilization was the only way to save them. Because of this, missionaries were expected to and often did press Indians to take on the practices and appearances of American culture. Their success and efforts were evaluated and encouraged by the government. Christianity, in the eyes of the Sioux and whites, became increasingly difficult to separate from assimilation and government policy. Some missionaries added incentive to Christianize by placing the welfare of Christian Indians before that of others or by using their position as reservation administrators to encourage the acceptance of or adherence to Christianity.⁵⁹ Civilization and Christianization, rather than just a philosophy from which reformers operated, became entwined with government policy and corruption. Some missionaries and reformers at the time recognized the dangers and criticized the methods and connections that compromised the spirit of Christianity for the appearance of civilization.⁶⁰ Others, though seeing the corruption, hoped that they might be able to limit its reach or effect on Indians.

Friends of the Indian, a group of reformers, politicians, and missionaries that lobbied for programs to help the Indian peoples, believed that civilizing Indians was the

⁵⁹ Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, *That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976* (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), 4-9; Everett W. Sterling, "Moses N. Adams: A Missionary as Indian Agent," *Minnesota History* 35 no.4, (December 1956): 167-177. This article provides an interesting look at the opposition that one missionary faced when he took on the role of agent as well as some of the struggles between traditional and Christianized Indians.

⁶⁰ Cary C. Collins expressed this sentiment as related to the work of Indian agents in the introduction and post script to Edwin L. Chalcraft, *Assimilation's Agent: My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System*, ed. Cary C. Collins (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Cathleen D. Cahill has a similar focus in *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

only way to keep them from misery.⁶¹ The shrinking size of reservations and the high mortality rate among Indians convinced many that Indians must be assimilated in order to be saved. John Oberly, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1888-1889, expressed many reformers' beliefs when he stated that Indians faced "civilization or annihilation, absorption or extermination."⁶² "Because time was clearly running out for the Indians, time was running out for reformers as well," wrote the historian, David Wallace Adams as a paraphrase of the thoughts of many of the reformers, though many reformers saw their efforts as benevolent, they had "become an absolute necessity, if we mean to save them."⁶³ Many reformers based their conception of the necessary changes on stages of progress. They believed that all people, in essence, had the same nature, but that cultural development reflected a growth of mind and heart. People at the savage (lowest) or barbarian (one step up) stage experienced the world with more primitive reasoning and emotion.⁶⁴ Some compared sociocultural development to the process of growth from

⁶¹ Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power On the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 5.

⁶² As quoted in David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1923* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 16.

⁶³ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 16. Moulton restated Agent Valentine McGillicuddy's understanding of federal Indian policy in late 1800s as,

Quash tribal beliefs. Require the Indians to abandon their hunting and gathering traditions and instead begin plowing the land and planting and harvesting crops. Send their children to boarding schools or require them to attend schools on the reservation. Most of all, break the power of the old chiefs who embraced those traditions.

Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 184.

⁶⁴ Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux," 116-119.

infant to adult and believed that “civilization represents a fundamental good through which nature develops the latent potential of human collective life.”⁶⁵

Adams’ discussion of the reformers’ debates over how to accomplish assimilation focused on three main areas: land, law, and education.⁶⁶ Initially, treaties informed government policies, but, as tribes moved from being sovereign and isolated entities to being dependent peoples, some in the government pushed for policies that encouraged self-sufficiency. “Self-interest meshed with idealism,” wrote the historian Frederick Hoxie, “for public policy makers seized on a plan they felt would reconcile the goals of Native Americans and whites.”⁶⁷ The philosophy of assimilation and cultural development centered on the American ideal of the yeoman farmer.⁶⁸ “Unemployed land

⁶⁵ Markowitz, “Catholic Mission and the Sioux,” 118.

⁶⁶ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 16-17. The two aims of reformers were: first, “owning land individually in a legal system built on private property would guarantee a base for Indian people in perpetuity, correcting the shortcomings of negotiated territorial rights that had been repeatedly transgressed and proven ineffective in holding the U.S. Government and white settlers at bay,” and, second, “Indians would come to think of themselves primarily as individuals, not as members of collectives. In so doing, their allegiances would shift from tribes, nations, and indigenous leaders to themselves and their ‘Christian Family’.” Karen V. Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains: Scandinavian Settlers and the Dispossession of Dakota Indians, 1890-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11. Reducing the land in the reservations was popular with many of those who sought to help the Indians, as well as those who hoped to make a profit from Indian lands. Much of the good or inexpensive land had already been purchased and Indian lands represented the next possible investment. Dividing the land and setting aside Indian claims freed surplus or unclaimed lands for settlers and speculators to purchase. Though the stated policy was that all the profit from the land sold would be placed in a fund for the improvement and development of the Indian tribes, Indians did not control the fund and so the money was not immediately accessible to them. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 53.

⁶⁷ Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 44.

⁶⁸ Land had always been a form of wealth and a sign of stability. The development of the survey and grid system made it easy to locate and claim one’s land. For many immigrants, it offered opportunities to profit from their own land as well as to create an inheritance for their children. Some believed so strongly that land should be for those who intended to use it that they conceived of land ownership based on use as a right. As the historian, John Opie wrote, “Locke said, and Jefferson agreed, that in their primeval state of nature all people had a natural right to property, just as metaphysical ‘accidents’ are tied to ‘subsistence.’ The right to property was first a right to subsistence. All people rightfully had access to land and its fruits so they might not starve.” Economic freedom was symbiotic with owning one’s land and,

seemed no less an injustice to Indians themselves than a menace to the progress of the surrounding commonwealth.”⁶⁹

Settling Indians on land, particularly the plains tribes, allowed them to create stable societies and, per stages of development, to move from the “primitive” hunter-gather societies to “more civilized” agriculture-based societies. Congress debated several bills that attempted to address Indian land policy, but none passed until the General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887. The Dawes Act reflected the belief that the responsibility and the opportunity of owning land would remake Indian society by replacing traditional social and economic structures.⁷⁰ Additionally, as Indians increasingly raised their own food, rations would become unnecessary.

hence, gaining subsistence. The idea of a right to subsistence and the ability of the land to provide this was challenged when the land was also seen and used only as a source of wealth or investment. When speculators purchased the land, and sold it for more than many immigrants could afford, the land was no longer serving its purpose of providing a living for the owner. Land fraud was common and the reason for much complaint amongst farmers, though, “despite their complaints, independent farmers were very often smaller versions of the big-time speculator.” At times, the land was purchased before farmers were able to bid on it by large land speculators, while at other times the speculators were cut out of the bidding by farmer’s organizations, at least until the farmers had secured their own land. Not all settlers were entirely scrupulous in their land acquisitions. Some would lay claim to one section and through preemption and mortgages on one section, buy others gaining far more land than the laws intended. More than just resources or a means to economic independence, land was a foundation of good citizenship as “longstanding logic of the eighteenth century still held: land holding gave a person independence, which in turn conferred freedom of thought and action, which in turn was essential to responsible participation in public affairs.” Land represented a stake in society and “landless men were servile and dependent, inevitably corruptible and invariably corrupted” and according to James Harrington, “a nation of self-sufficient agrarian free holders would approximate the perfect society.” John Opie, *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 24-29, 51-57.

⁶⁹ Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 47.

⁷⁰ Senator Henry Dawes saw selfishness or the desire for individual success as an underlying value to civilization. It was part of the driving force to build one’s success. The seemingly socialist ideals of many of the Indian tribes seemed simplistic and limiting in that they would not encourage individual drive. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History*, 157-161. Researcher Stephen L. Pevar saw allotment and assimilation as based in both greed and humanitarian ideals. The Dawes Act sought to fundamentally alter Indian views of land ownership, from belonging to the tribe to belonging to the individual, and through this assimilate the Indians. Regardless of the intended outcome, he explained that allotment generally made

Theoretically, individuals under the Dawes Act would be motivated by profits, by the promise of owning their land, and by gaining citizenship after a period of government supervision. The Dawes Act, through its plans for citizenship, held out the promise of placing the Indians under the American legal system rather than under the rulings of the reservation courts or those of Indian agents. Some reformers also hoped that the provisions and protections in the Dawes Act, particularly holding Indian land in trust until the Indians were ruled competent both to become citizens and to manage their land, would help to protect Indians from dispossession of their land.⁷¹ Though the historian Fredrick Hoxie argued that after the Dawes Act reformers backed away from assimilation by limiting the resources and leadership devoted to it, the policy of allotment and the underlying impetus to civilize the Indians remained the dominant government policy until the 1930s and the Indian Reorganization Act.⁷²

Education was also key to both missionaries' and reformers' work among Indians. After reservation management shifted back to government-appointed agents in 1881, missionaries no longer controlled aspects of Indians' life dealing with land and law, though some continued to support Indian farming efforts. Education, however, continued to include conceptions of Christian civilization as Indian schools, many administered by churches, incorporated and taught Christian principles as part of white civilization.⁷³

conditions worse as many Indians sold their land or lost it in foreclosure because of unpaid taxes. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians*, 8-10; 98.

⁷¹ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 11; Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 26.

⁷² Chalcraft, *Assimilation's Agent*, lx. Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux," 135.

⁷³ The connection between Christianity and education can be seen in *The Sheaf*. "And we also urge such reading [Spirit of Missions]," wrote one contributor, "upon all who rejoice in the evidence that the Gospel of Christ can redeem the barbarians of today as it redeemed the barbarians of old time; and upon

Shifts in the relationship among the government, missionaries, and Indians also influenced the way in which researchers and scholars have written about missionary work among the Indians. James Axtell, focusing on the conversion of Indians in the colonial period, questioned how missionaries have been evaluated. He believed that researchers had three main approaches. First, some historians wrote from the missionaries' perspectives and focused on how many Indians were converted. The second perspective tended to evaluate the effect of the missionaries on a passive native culture and adopted a negative view due to the influence of anthropologists' cultural relativism. Axtell believed in a third approach that evaluated missionaries' success based on Europeans as the offensive or attacking force, while the natives were the defensive or defending force.⁷⁴ Axtell argued that one cannot condemn a culture for forcing another to submit without first evaluating the levels of submission and resistance. Axtell's three approaches roughly

all who rejoice in the evidence that our own Church can convert and instruct the ignorant and lowly as well as the educated and cultured." *North Dakota Sheaf*, September 1910. Vine Deloria, Sr. believed that the Biblical training the Native priests received was equivalent to a liberal arts education. Vine Deloria, Sr., "The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux," 109. Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux," 105, 120-123, 127-36. Jordan stated that on Rosebud, the closest schools were run by the Catholic and Episcopal churches. He also remarked that the poor sanitary conditions of one boarding school made him return to the reservation before completing the curriculum. William Red Cloud Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," *South Dakota Historical Society Report and Historical Collections* 35, (1970): 333-34. Other writers praised missionaries' emphasis on education and often their wives' efforts of in providing more and better education and, through this, opportunities. Christyann Ranck Maxfield, *Goodbye to Elbowoods: The Story of Harold and Eva Case* (Bismarck, ND: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1986), 13, 23-26, 35. See also, Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 195-203.

⁷⁴ Axtell believed that an evaluation of the offensive should pose three questions: "How well did they succeed in changing the native cultures to their cultural goals and style? How effective were they in persuading the natives to accept their offer of Christian 'civility'? How successful were they in undermining native culture and institutions to create a crisis in which the natives would have to turn to their brand of cultural religion as a solution?" An evaluation of the defensive position should ask: "How well did they succeed in minimizing the impact of invasion, in maintaining their cultural vitality, integrity, and independence? How effective were they in accepting only as much of the Europeans' offerings as helped them to survive and prosper in their own terms? How successful were they in forestalling a crisis in which they might be forced to choose the Christian way as a solution?" James Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions" *Ethnohistory* 29, (1982): 40.

reflect the changes in Indian policy and research methods. The initial positive accounts of missionary work were focused on what they accomplished or on their intentions and tended to be sympathetic to the missionaries. These more positive accounts may also reflect early researchers' debt to missionaries acting as sources on Indian culture or they may simply reflect a wider belief in the correlation between Christianity and civilization.⁷⁵

With the cultural and political changes in the 1960s, many researchers took a more skeptical view of missionaries.⁷⁶ Missionaries' good intentions were not enough. As the Indian Rights movement increased in strength and popularity, the focus on cultural heritage and pride intensified. Much of the interest in native culture focused on a revival of native religion, leading to particularly strong criticisms of missionaries. Missionaries

⁷⁵Axtell, "Some Thoughts," 35-41. Claude Stipe believed that the tension or antagonism anthropologists had for missionaries was based on beliefs that primitive cultures have organic unity and missionaries' efforts disrupt this unity though culture change and that religious beliefs are meaningless or rather a marker of superstition. Some of those who commented on Stipe's contention also listed missionaries' lack of social sciences training and anti-intellectualism. Others focus on the fanaticism or the tendency of missionaries to focus on culture change as equivalent to acceptance of Christianity, though Glenn Petersen remarked that often these culture changes have been related to the perceived needs of the people. Jean Guiart mentioned, however, that Anglican priests were university trained during the nineteenth century and accepted traditional culture so long as it was not considered pagan. Claude E. Stipe et al, "Anthropologists Versus Missionaries: The Influence of Presuppositions [and Comments and Reply]," *Current Anthropology* 21, no. 2 (April 1980): 165-179. Though noting the contention between the two groups, Sjaak van der Geest believed that "under the skin," missionaries and anthropologists were similar in that they were both isolated from the people they were working with or studying, they both rob a native people of their identity (the missionary by changing it to reflect Christian values and the anthropologist by creating a stereotype) and they both appropriate culture into their own terms in order to understand it. van der Geest, however credited missionaries with a better understanding of the people with whom they worked based on their extended contact and more developed language comprehension as well as their greater openness to metaphysical or spiritual experiences. Sjaak van der Geest, *Anthropologists and Missionaries: Brothers Under the Skin*, *Man*, New Series 25, no. 4 (December 1990): 588-601.

⁷⁶O'Brien provides an overview of the political and legal situations that gave rise to the radicalized Indian rights movement. O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 86-90. William T. Hagen linked the development of New Indian History to the Indian Claims Commission which required more extensive and in depth understandings of Indian history. New Indian History reflected some of the same concerns and approaches that New Western History adopted, such as inclusion and multiple perspectives. William T. Hagen, "New Indian History" in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. by Donald L. Fixico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 29-42.

came to represent destructive cultural forces because of their role in cultural assimilation. Many researchers and activists also looked for means to reconstruct, reconnect, and redefine Indian culture and identity. One of the most expressive and well-known authors of this era was Vine Deloria Jr., particularly his book, *Custer Died for your Sins*. Written during the Civil Rights era and using sometimes satirical humor, Vine Deloria Jr. called for a reconsideration of the Federal policies, Academic research methods, and missionary efforts, and lingering Indians stereotypes.

Criticisms of missionaries often rested on their paternalism or on their challenging or breaking down of traditional identities and culture. Joining with these criticisms, postcolonial and imperialist studies both on the United States and on other countries portrayed missionaries as a tool of imperialism and social and community control. Initially, many of these studies focused on the Native Americans as victims of cultural imperialism, but, by the 1990s, many researchers, such as Axtell, were looking not only at points of cultural imperialism, but also at points of resistance and actions that empowered the subject cultures.⁷⁷

More recent studies have tempered some of the strident criticisms and have sought to evaluate social and cultural adaptation, both missionaries and the people with whom they worked. The focus has shifted to how individuals, both missionaries and

⁷⁷ Michael Rynkiewich echoed this idea in commenting on the antagonism that many anthropologists seem to have to missionaries. "Has there ever been a case," wrote Rynkiewich, "where a change agent simply laid out options and then left the decision to the people? Probably not. People have always had to choose, in the midst of political, economic, and social pressures. The key questions is not whether options are good or bad, not whether change should or should not take place, but rather what kinds of power and influence missionaries have, now and in the past, over the decision-making process." Stipe et al, "Anthropologists Versus Missionaries," 174.

Indians, acted within social and cultural limitations. Often, recent studies emphasize cultural negotiation, concurrent cultural transmission, and creation of hybrid cultures. Some studies show ways in which missionaries challenged prevailing assumptions about Indians and encouraged better treatment for them.⁷⁸

Though little work has been done on Beede, many researchers would likely take a highly critical view of his work, citing that he was not a researcher or that he was a missionary and hence was attacking the very culture he was preserving. Some might see his status as an outsider as limiting his understanding and appreciation of Sioux culture.⁷⁹ Though I would give him more credit because of his training, his philosophy, his method of research, and his concern for the people, the focus of this dissertation is not strictly on his accuracy when speaking about the Sioux people. Rather, it examines Beede's philosophy as a missionary and how this tended to challenge the accepted or expected actions and beliefs of a missionary's work.

Knowing researchers' expectations of missionaries can provide some insight into what was expected during Beede's time and, in that sense, help to provide context. The brief treatment of his life, placed within the context and beliefs of his time, also help to suggest some of the foundations of his beliefs and, possibly, the reasons he came to see

⁷⁸ Some examples are Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies In Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) and Darcee McLaren, "Living the Middle Ground: Two Dakota Missionaries, 1887-1912," *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 277-305.

⁷⁹ James Axtell expressed the view that outside observers are important to understanding or explaining a culture as their unfamiliarity leads them to seem more of how the culture is unique. Familiarity with the culture makes it more difficult to explore as the underlying ideas and assumptions are already apart of ones daily life. James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Native America" in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. by Donald L. Fixico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 13.

his work as a missionary differently. Throughout his life, he was interested in, if not passionate about, learning; but, as a child and a youth, his contact with people, including Indians and with the natural world, taught him much that he could not learn from school books. Though he seemed early to have been interested in missionary work or in ministry, his education in both law and social sciences deeply influenced how he saw both his society and other societies. It is difficult to know if his desire to seek the best in the people he met came from religious training or from social sciences research, but, in blending them, he not only sought the best in but also opportunities for those under his care. His ability to see the world through more than a religious frame of mind provided him insights and actions that did not always reflect what was considered proper for a missionary. One aspect of this, dealt with in the next chapter, was the focus of missionary work. Should it be on changing the actions or changing the identity or the person, the outer or the inner man?

CHAPTER III

A MISSIONARY'S DUTY: TO CHANGE THE INNER MAN OR TO CHANGE THE OUTER MAN?

From the viewpoint of primitive society, the Church (I use this term to signify all public religious exercises) is an outgrowth of the family, and its most immediate influence is upon family desires and ideals, which easily and normally take on the larger scope of community desires and ideals. The very historical source of all bibles is the Life-processes which become humanely manifest in connection with the family, primarily, and the prime mission of the Church is not to create larger opportunities, but to keep alive, if possible, in human beings that appreciative idealistic attitude toward opportunities and environments without which no opportunities are of any value. Your circular letter does not show any real appreciation of the prime importance of the family in society, and so you are not at present in a position to realize the vital mission of the church, - a mission now too much submerged through the displacement of both the family and the Church in modern society in connection with the sudden upleap of a new form of industrialism.¹

Surely Jesus was not like a whiteman; a whiteman comes with candy in his mouth to deceive, but Jesus with Truth in his mouth to teach."²

In the first quote above, Beede explained his views of the church as “an outgrowth of the family.” The church, through the family, was deeply linked to the community and, as such, reflected the community’s values, beliefs, and history. Regardless of the changes that church doctrine called for in the individual, the family, or the community, the church developed in a context. The pasts of the church’s members and of its community, influenced the church’s form, beliefs, and connections. Missionaries and ministers could either challenge or continue the direction of the church

¹ Letter to a college student looking for information on North Dakota Clergy for a college project, February 17, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

² A paraphrase of an Indian saying Beede overheard. Beede to Gilmore, May 20, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

or the community. They could choose to uphold the local traditions or worship practices or they could impose their own conception of faith and civilization. This was a choice Beede faced especially, when the direction of the community or the church was against his faith as was reflected in the second quote, a restatement of an Indian saying.

Beede's work as a missionary reflected his training at Bates College and at Andover Theological Seminary, as well as his service as a minister. His studies of economics and sociology, besides preparing him for an academic position, also seem to have challenged his thinking about Christianity and culture.³ Beede's missionary work reflected not only his education and interests, but also his belief that religion rooted in science could improve society and increase the possibilities available to its members.⁴ His faith was more than metaphysical belief; he was concerned with how Christianity affected the physical world and, especially, how it did or could make the world better. Rather than argue that Jesus' teachings and, by extension, Christianity was metaphysical and supernatural, Beede believed Christianity was a part of one's conduct or social action which placed it within the realm of sociology.⁵ He pointed to Jesus' teachings on how to live as well as the physical resurrection and perfection of physical bodies after Christ's

³ Beede believed that "great historical movements show the unity of sociology and religion. Our Puritan ancestors came to America, not in any reaction against religious standards of faith, but with a determination to carry out Christian ideas in conduct. Conduct in its complete sense, individual and social, is sociology on its practical side. It is, also, Christianity practically considered. ... The religious part of our nature is, and probably wisely, the most conservative, lingering behind our more progressive realization of truth. It is part of our nature in which we rest, finding peace and safety. Sociologically speaking, it is static not, dynamic. Religion works for stability and security and our power of control, we must remember, is ever held within fixed limits." Beede, *Social Teachings*, 2-3, 11-12.

⁴ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 1-8; Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 51.

⁵ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 5-6.

return. All of which indicated to Beede that Christianity was not exclusively spiritual; in fact, Christians' actions were seen as the physical expression of their spiritual state. He wrote in *Some Hindrances* that, "the Scientific idea, seconded and sustained by the ideas of Jesus, will, if actually worked out in individual and social life, save civilization from destruction and render men happy. Laws that are perfectly natural find in Jesus that expression and vital setting which adapts them to man."⁶

Though Beede doubted one could achieve perfection, he believed that, in pursuing Christ's teachings, one inevitably moved closer to perfection. The closer to perfection, the more fully one reflected the adoption of Christ's teachings, particularly the commandment on self-sacrificial love. For Beede, the Christian's physical life or actions reflected spiritual beliefs and practices, leading him to place emphasis on the church's role in influencing, altering, and guiding society. The relationship between Christian beliefs and the physical world became a focus of Beede's studies and thinking, underpinning his work as a missionary. Beede's beliefs on conduct and sociology influenced his mandate to convert and, by association, to civilize the Indians under his care. Though he emphasized conduct and action, Beede expressed a greater concern for beliefs, or the inner man, as the center of one's actions or one's possibilities.

Many missionaries centered their efforts on changing the outer man or the context surrounding the person in order to make it easier to live as a Christian. Others were concerned with the inner man as the basis for outer or lifestyle change. "With this idea of an unchanging revealed will," Beede wrote,

⁶ Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 52.

It follows that the ruling force in society is of necessity NOT subject to control by man. Who could think of controlling what is omnipotent and fixed? “Who art thou that repliest against God?” And it must needs follow from this idea that the thought of regenerating society by so altering the conditions and forces at our command as to cause change in brain structure and thought center is excluded. This principle carried out as Paul himself to be sure does not carry it in his practical work in the world, would exclude the idea of reforming men by transforming their environments. This idea dictates that all effort toward betterment must of necessity be manifested subjectively. It must be by direct effort upon the mind only. “Be ye transformed by the renewal of your mind.” It excludes a devout study and use of these conditions at man’s command through which structure, change and function are influenced or controlled. It necessitates that all effort for improvement shall be individual and not social.⁷

Beede would not leave Christianity in the realm of a personal aesthetic experience that has no bearing or influence on the culture, but rather he was arguing that Christianity must be a foundational set of ideals out of which individuals seek to work in the society. In other words, he believed the changing of the inner man produced individuals that also could change both their circumstances and the society in which they lived. Other missionaries focused more on bringing the outer man into conformity with the larger society’s or church’s expectations or as a precursor to fully changing the inner man. The question of changing the outer man or transforming the inner man spoke to the fundamental beliefs and attitudes of the missionaries and had deep implications for their ministry among the Indians.

A key issue in studies of missionaries and other Friends of the Indians was the attitudes of these men and women. S. B. Treat, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), wrote in the introduction to *Tah’-koo wah-kañ*, Riggs’s account of his mission work, that missionaries were obligated to work

⁷ Beede placed the impetus for change on the individual or the internal change, but, fearing that this might lead some to disregard that connections between Christianity and sociology, he reminded his readers that a Christian must also act according to God’s revealed laws and according to God’s possibilities for man, which include the outward expression of inner change. Beede, *Social Teachings*, 11-12.

among Indians because of the inevitability of assimilation, because of the legacy of puritan ancestors' missionary work, and because of the "countless wrongs" Indians had received at the hands of the dominant race. "It would be a grievous reproach to our Christianity," Treat explained, "if after all which they have suffered, nothing had been done to lead them up to a Christian civilization."⁸ Often missionaries' efforts focused on cultural replacement. "All the Indian there is in the race should be dead," wrote the educator and founder of Carlisle Indian School, Captain Richard H. Pratt, summing up the views of many, "kill the Indian in him, and save the man."⁹ Not all missionaries were convinced that their success depended on full cultural replacement, but most believed that replacing Indian culture with white culture was inevitable, if not necessary, for their race to survive and find their place in American society.

Missionaries' views varied on which should come first, Christianization or civilization. They differed as well in their attitudes toward Indians. Some were paternalistic and authoritarian or sympathetic, while others developed intense empathy for if not identification with the tribes they served.¹⁰ Sometimes, this empathy led to supervisors' charges that the missionaries had gone native. Missionaries, such as Harold and Eva Case, came to "identify with the Indians," wrote D. Jerome Tweeton, "and to

⁸ S. B. Treat, "Introduction" in Stephen Return Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ; or, The gospel among the Dakotas*, (New York, Arno Press, 1972), xxvi-xxvii.

⁹ National Conference on Social Welfare, *Official Proceedings of the Annual Meeting: 1892*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library), 46. Last Accessed November 5, 2017. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001/69>

¹⁰ Robert Hilbert, S. J., "Contemporary Catholic Mission Work Among the Sioux," in Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 143-44.

interpret their culture and their problems to the white community —reverse assimilation.”¹¹ Understanding missionaries’ approaches, attitudes, and motives provides a deeper understanding of the relationships and experiences of both the missionaries and the Indians with whom they worked. More than this, a missionary’s attitude toward and understanding of the people with whom he worked affected the opportunities, training or possibilities he sought for those under his care. Some believed that “primitives” could only evolve slowly stage by stage, while others hoped that through the right approach and intensity of training, a people could skip from “primitive” to “civilized.”

These beliefs about cultural advancement also affected how missionaries presented Christianity- those who saw Indians as primitive in understanding naturally approached transmission of Christian faith in the most simplistic terms, an idea that Beede frequently challenged. Those who believed that civilizing should precede Christianizing believed that the ideals and the message of Christianity could not be understood by Indians because they did not know the English language, nor did they understand white culture. This approach was not surprising, as most missionaries saw Indian spirituality as part of their everyday experiences; it was mixed in their language, economic and social practices, history and cultural expressions.¹² Because of this, missionaries often saw changed conduct as the outward sign of an inward change.

¹¹ D. Jerome Tweeton, “Preface” in Maxfield, *Goodbye to Elbowoods*, 3. Even agents’ views of and attitudes toward Indians could soften. Though I would not say that he went quite so far as reverse assimilation, Agent McGillicuddy wrote years after his time as an agent, “as I look back the Oglala’s were very good people and meant well, I was young in those days, and had to come down pretty hard on them at times, and some did not understand what I was trying to get at.” He even expressed understanding for Red Cloud’s opposition to him. As quoted in Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 242.

¹² The missionary Charles Hall noted both the multiplicity of gods and their connection to everyday tasks among the three affiliated tribes. Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 48.

Stephen Riggs, when describing the conversion of one Indian man, spent almost as much time describing his new style of living as describing his conversion. “By dressing like a white man and laboring with his hands,” Riggs wrote, “he showed faith by his works. This was all contrary to the customs of his people, and very soon brought on him a storm of opposition. He built for himself a cabin, and fenced a field and cultivated it.”¹³ Riggs’ emphasis on changes in lifestyle made sense when coupled with his and other missionaries’ views that the Indian religion was woven throughout the social and economic practices. “The Dakota’s religion,” Riggs wrote,

though so intangible and contradictory, is a powerful system, which permeates and enwraps his whole life. Indeed, it may be said to be his life. It gives the law to all social customs and domestic industries. It regulates the hunt, the journey, and the camp. And a fearful life it leads him. His worst passions and darkest fears are ever developed by it. He must be a *savage* as long as he is a *pagan*.¹⁴

Any change in social or economic practices might also express a change in religious beliefs. Changing the culture would break down traditional beliefs so they could be replaced with the tenets of Christianity. The added benefit was securing the survival of the people, as the economic practices of the Sioux, particularly those dependent on hunting, were no longer possible. Missionary teams often included farmers and teachers in an effort to change Indian lifestyle as well as Indian religion. Often the success of

¹³ Riggs, *Tah-koo wah-kañ*, 200-201.

¹⁴ Riggs, *Tah-koo wah-kañ*, 102-103. See also, S. C. Bartlett, “Introduction” in Stephen Return Riggs, *Mary and I; Forty Years with the Sioux* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1969), xiii; Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 3. Though not focusing on Christianity as the deciding factor in change. Charles Hall explained how the change in farming methods led the Hidatsa to change how they dressed as well as how interactions with whites changed values and practices. Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary* 63-65. Delbert Rice mentions some missionaries focus on lifestyle, on clothing and behavior, which reveals their ethnocentrism. Some of these practices respond to the people’s needs, however, the solutions that missionaries present are often limited by their own cultural experiences. Stipe et al, “Anthropologists Versus Missionaries,” 173.

missionaries was judged, not on the number of converts alone, but also on the degree to which Indians under their care had adopted white culture.

Missionaries favoring Christianization first believed that civilization naturally flowed from Christian principles. As Indians came to understand and accept Christianity, they would ultimately change their culture and practices to reflect those of Western Civilization or white culture which had Christianity as its foundation. The high mortality rate among Indians and fear among whites that the Indians would die off led some missionaries to give precedence to conversion, though they still worked toward civilizing them.¹⁵ No matter which approach missionaries preferred, efforts to reach native populations included education in white cultural and economic practices.

Many missionaries' paternalistic attitudes remain a point of frustration for researchers, as it was for many of the Indians with whom missionaries worked. Paternalism led some missionaries to force Christianization or civilization on Indians under their care because they believed that they knew what was best for them. Sympathy, however, tempered some of the paternalism and some missionaries allowed Indians the freedom to accept or reject white culture as they chose. Charles Hall, Congregationalist missionary on Fort Berthold Reservation from 1876 to 1930, described his home as an object lesson that he hoped would gradually change the Indians' culture through

¹⁵ Riggs, *Tah-koo wah-kañ*, xxxi, 384-86. Charles Hall worked extensively to learn Mandan and Hidatsa in an effort to more readily reach the Indians with whom he worked. "I believe that the present generation of Indians," Hall wrote, "would perish without the gospel or Christian ideas if we must wait for them to acquire our tongue before they receive them." As quoted in Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 79, 77-85.

example.¹⁶ For this reason he often left the curtains open so that passing Indians could view his family's daily activities and, if they chose, could stop and visit. Sympathy also often led missionaries to challenge the treatment of Indians and to act as advocates for their rights.¹⁷ Although some missionaries believed that Indians would have to adopt white culture to survive, they did not necessarily approve of the government's assimilation policies. Bishop Mann expressed this in *North Dakota Sheaf*, the official paper for the Episcopal Diocese of North Dakota, in June 1906:

The old order [of Indians] is mostly gone, and the new has not yet arrived. The church must deal with them as free men and women to make full Christians of them; and she cannot in all respects so treat them while the United States Government treats them as children. That their complete enfranchisement will be the destruction of many is, I fear, beyond question. But there will be a "survival of the fittest" and it has got to come to that sooner or later.¹⁸

Bishop Mann believed that the treating or defining Indians as children would limit their options and their acceptance in and of white culture including Christianity.

Some of the missionaries who started with a paternalistic or sympathetic approach considered Indians to be pagans, heathens, and savages, but, through time and proximity, they shifted from sympathy for to empathy with Indians.¹⁹ Often the change in attitude was reflected in an increased desire to understand and preserve Indian culture or by

¹⁶ Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 70-73.

¹⁷ Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 18, 51, 73-75.

¹⁸ Episcopal Church. *North Dakota Sheaf*. Fargo, N.D.: Missionary District of North Dakota, June 1906.

¹⁹ In the introduction to *Mary and I*, S. C. Barlett, President of Dartmouth College, explained that nineteenth century missionaries thought in terms of universal human nature and had a limited understanding of the implications of culture. S. C. Bartlett, "Introduction" in Stephen Return Riggs, *Mary and I; Forty Years with the Sioux* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1969), xii.

finding aspects of the culture with which they could identify.²⁰ Although some missionaries encouraged a complete change in how Indians lived and what they believed, others attempted to combine Christianity with Indian culture or they allowed Indians to develop their own conception of Christianity, so long as the concepts did not distort fundamental Christian doctrine.²¹ Some missionaries increasingly identified with and participated in Indian culture to the point of being censured by their church for going native.

Though missionaries' duties seemed to include changing cultures to reflect more closely an ideal Christian society, some missionaries, Beede among them, changed as little of the traditional Indian culture as possible. Early Jesuit missionaries often fell into this group as they did not always have the prolonged contact necessary to remake the society. Others believed that only the adoption of white or American culture would signal full Christian transformation. Beede shared many similarities with other missionaries, his studies of Indian culture, however, made him increasingly sensitive to and understanding of the differences as well as appreciative of the similarities between cultures. Rather than approaching Indians as savages or heathens, he saw them first as people with a cultural heritage that needed to be understood and preserved. He also believed that Indian culture

²⁰ Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 16- 25.

²¹ Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux," 121; Mary E. Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer: The Life and World of a Native American Bishop*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), XVI. Christyann Maxfield in comparing the mission work of Harold and Eva Case, the missionaries that followed Charles Hall at Fort Berthold, and the early work of Hall, focused on the change that came with contact and time. Maxfield explained that though both missionaries approached mission work with paternalism and worked toward assimilation, they were also willing to accept the Indians' pace. In speaking of the Cases, she especially emphasized that they allowed native Christians to choose what customs to keep and what violated their new faith. She even expressed that the Cases came to see many parallels between Indian religion and Christianity, though she does provide any examples of this. Maxfield, *Goodbye to Elbowoods*, 13, 25.

would have to change for the people to survive in the new social context they faced. Beede's beliefs influenced many of his efforts to find connections between Christianity and Indian culture, his desire to preserve Indian culture, and his deep empathy with Indians as a people. Because Beede believed in changing the inner man before the outer, he was willing to make compromises between Christian practice and native values, much as the apostle Paul did. He strove to study, to understand, and to know the culture, in order to know what must change and what could be incorporated into Christian beliefs.

Beede was not working alone, nor outside of a context. He was under the guidance of the Episcopal Church, a church that had already established a presence among the Sioux. The Episcopal Church's early work among the Indians dated from the 1860s and centered around the efforts of Henry Benjamin Whipple, the Bishop of Minnesota. He appointed Samuel Hinman as the first Episcopal missionary to the Sioux in 1860.²² Hinman came to identify strongly with the Sioux; in fact, Bishop Whipple pointed to this as the reason for Hinman's success. Hinman's concern for the Sioux and his call to be as a missionary to them led him to follow one group of the Dakota to their internment at Fort Snelling and through the removal to the Dakota Territory following the Dakota War of 1862. He worked as missionary on the Niobara mission in 1868 and encouraged the training of native clergy. Hinman's treatment of and approach to his missionary duties was complex. He taught and held services in Dakota, which was against government policy, and allowed Indians to place food on their relatives graves

²² Henry Benjamin Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York: MacMillian Company, 1912), 60-62. For an introduction to Hinman see, Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 17-20; William Joseph Barnds. "The Ministry of Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman Among the Sioux," *History Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 38 (1969): 393-405.

and to dance, actions that other missionaries and some native clergy opposed as being heathen. Hinman, however, insisted that the Dakota under his care adopt the clothing and hair styles of white society, build log frame houses, and learn to farm. Hinman not only worked as a missionary, but also as a translator and investigator for the government, which led to increased criticism and challenges to his ministry and character. Hinman eventually moved back to Minnesota because the bishop under whom he served accused him of immoral relations with white and native women at his mission.²³

In 1871, the Episcopal Church established the Diocese of Niobrara and, in 1873, it appointed its first bishop, William H. Hare. The diocese focused on working with Indians in the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Nebraska. During Bishop Hare's tenure, 1873-1905, the Diocese was again split and Hare was placed in charge of the Diocese of South Dakota. Much of Hare's work focused on education, leading him to support the development of boarding schools for Indian children. During this time, ten thousand Indians were Christianized, and one hundred chapels were built on ten reservations.²⁴ Hare oversaw six Indian and six white priests and sixty lay ministers. The Episcopal Church began work on Standing Rock Reservation in 1887, before this, the Catholic Church had conducted most

²³ Bishop Hare based his accusations on hearsay and accusations of people who were angry with Hinman over other issues. The conflict between Hare and Hinman dragged on for many years and pulled them both into court on charges of slander. Whipple who had first appointed Hinman stood by him throughout the ordeal and appointed him a minister in Minnesota despite Hare's charges. David S. Trask, "Episcopal Missionaries on the Santee and Yankton Reservations: Cross-cultural Collaboration and President Grant's Peace Policy" *Great Plains Quarterly* 33 (Spring 2013), 87-101.

²⁴ Vine Deloria, Sr., "The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux," 109. See also, Elizabeth H. Lane, Matilda Markoe, and Julia Schulte, *A Hand-book of the Church's Mission to the Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing co., 1913), 119-129.

of the missionary work there. By 1900, 12,000 Sioux were members of the Episcopal Church.²⁵

Bishop Hare was one of Beede's mentors when he entered mission work. Beede, however, would actually serve under the Bishop of North Dakota. In 1883, Bishop William D. Walker assumed responsibility for the northern part of Dakota territory and after 1889, North Dakota. Though Indian mission work would remain under Walker, he and later bishops of North Dakota were more focused on the white population and Reverend William D. Rees, who was stationed at Devil's Lake, coordinated Indian mission work until Beede took over. The mission field was too great and the duties too demanding for Rees to have great success and he often relied on his native lay readers to maintain the mission stations. Beede would serve under the Bishops, Samuel Edsell (briefly during 1901), Cameron D. Mann (1902-1913), and John Poyntz Tyler (1914-1931). Beede took charge of the both white and native Episcopal missions in Rolla, Cando, and the Turtle Mountains in 1901. By 1902, Standing Rock Reservation was added to his responsibilities. In 1909, Beede managed all Episcopal Indian mission work in North Dakota and lived full time at Cannon Ball on Standing Rock Reservation.²⁶ The sheer number of miles that he covered led him in 1909, upon his transfer to Standing Rock, to include a request in *North Dakota Sheaf* for the donation of a bicycle.²⁷

²⁵ Vine Deloria Jr., *Singing for a Spirit: A Portrait of the Dakota Sioux*. (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 1999), 84.

²⁶ "Cannon Ball Notes" *North Dakota Sheaf*, July 1909.

²⁷ "Cannon Ball Notes" *North Dakota Sheaf*, July 1909. In addition to this, Episcopal missionaries were poorly paid; most received around a thousand-dollar yearly stipend. Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 102. As Beede told the pensions board, there was little or no money that he could have put aside.

Changing the Outer Man: Christianity and the Sioux Culture

Beede began working as a missionary among the Sioux only twenty-three years after all the tribes had been forced onto reservations. Beede observed that, "All Indians seem anxious to become civilized. That is to say, they are anxious to live as white men do, with the white man's prosperity and comfort. The difficulty is that they do not yet know how to labor in a way to secure proper results of their exertions; and some of them are as yet much inclined not to labor six days a week."²⁸ Reformers, including missionaries, believed that settling down and working the land were the means by which to save the soul and the body of Indians, particularly those of the plains tribes. The buffalo and other game that tribes, such as the Sioux, depended on were decimated. The

²⁸ "Field of Rev. A. McG. Beede," *North Dakota Sheaf*, May 1907. Beede believed Indians' desire for economic success was equivalent to that of whites. The Indians, however, were hampered by traditional methods or practices and possibly even physiology. "A woman is allowed to work at most anything she likes at Ft. Yates," Beede explained in a note,

Mr. A. H. Kneal set a woman to scrubbing a floor and told her to scrub it as long as she wanted to and draw her pay. Indians don't really like that way of working. A Sioux Indian hates awfully to chop wood unless he can see the chips fly. He, like any phlegmatic man, works with a zest when he does work, especially when he is doing a job for himself and wants to get it done as soon as possible so he can rest. It is common to hear old Indians comment on the difference between the way a white farmer works and the way an Indian farmer works. They say "the white farmer works most every day from spring to fall. He gets to work early. He don't hurry. He don't rush his team. He don't seem to care weather he gets much done or not. But he gets a lot of work done; for he keeps right on. The Indian works quick and plays out. He gets sick because he does not have good food. Then he gives up. Father Martin once told me that while he was at the Farm school for many years he found that a Sioux Indian even when well fed for a month or more could not work like a white man. He said "they soon perspire greatly and tremble, when working. This is a sign of weakness." I have noticed the same when the weather is hot or even quite warm. The Sioux cannot stand hot weather. I have seen Sioux women lie in their tent and moan for the heat at 10 a.m., when a white woman could work with some degree of comfort, -and there never was a lazy Sioux squaw. But in the morning or at evening when it is cooler in summer, the Sioux Indians can work.

only hope for moving Indians away from a dependence on government rations, which were increasingly being limited, was finding a new way for them to make a living.

Given the Indians' stage of progress, many reformers believed farming to be the best option for gradually moving them into the American economy and culture. Land was also one resource still available to them. The government even used treaty allocations to purchase some of the necessary farming equipment.²⁹ Missionaries and government agents and employees, some of whom genuinely cared about Indians' welfare, labored to train Indians to farm. Some missionaries, reformers, and agents also worked to develop stock raising among the Indians. Farming could not only provide a living for Indians, but it was also considered the cornerstone of the American economy and identity. It tied to the ideal of the yeoman farmer and as such could move Indians a step further in the stages of progress. For the missionaries who saw American culture and Christianity as synonymous, farming would have been an important step in the Indian Pilgrims' Progress.

Farming was not encouraged only by white men or missionaries; Philip Deloria, an Episcopal Priest and the son of a Sioux chief, helped establish the Planting Society among the Sioux. This group later became the Brotherhood of Christian Unity, a group

²⁹ Hansen noted the ineffectiveness of government education as well as the poor quality of its support for the Indians' farming endeavors. Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 91. O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 78. In spite of the poor or limited support, some agents reported some success, particularly in with Indian freighting. Even with the freighting and opportunities that this brought, the Indians still faced a level of paternalism in that if they did not meet Agent McGillicuddy's expectations, he would take the wagons away. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 176-82. Jordon mentioned the beginning of freighting on Rosebud. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 338.

that promoted cooperation among Indian converts of different denominations.³⁰ The Brotherhood of Christian Unity faced opposition, however, from native factions that questioned the appropriateness of adopting new customs. Some Indians, aside from resisting white incursions, believed that it was the woman's job to farm, while the man hunted. The acceptance of farming would mean not only accepting white culture, but also altering conceptions of men and women's roles.³¹

Although Beede had mixed feelings about teaching Indians to farm, he was critical of agents who were unwilling or unable to teach Indians farming skills. On more

³⁰ Philip Deloria was the first Sioux Episcopal Priest. He also is also the forerunner of many well-known scholars: Ella Deloria, Vine Deloria Sr., Vine Deloria Jr., and Philip J. Deloria. Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 49-54. David S. Trask, "Episcopal Missionaries," 87-101. Beede's papers includes the farewell speech for the 1916 Indian Convocation given by Deloria. Beede concludes the translation with a brief note that Deloria "is a Teton, 67 years of age, a fine man." Farewell Speech of P. J. Deloria at the Indian Convocation at Cannon Ball June 30-July 2, 1916, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

³¹ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 49-54. Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 3-4. In 1911 Beede included this in a letter to Dr. Libby: "I am carefully saving records of trivial things which show the Sioux as he is now trying to become a Whiteman. Here is one. An Indian (we will call him Mato) was sitting on the ground a few [rods] apart from his tent in nature- [negligence costume] trying to mend his old pants. With another Indian (whom we will call Shangi), I approached and the following conversation took place.

Shangi- "How, Mato!"
Mato- "How Shangi"
S- Like sewing eh?"
M-To hell with you Shangi"
S- "Who sends a man to hell will meet him there in a year or two" (common Indian saying)
M- "I don't send you there. My heart is bad and I spoke quick. I sign me with the cross."
S- "What makes your heart bad Mato?"
M "These devilish pants, the old-time way was better."
S- Why don't your squaw mend them; is she out of humor today?
M - He-he -he!"
S- What makes her cross Mato?"
M- "She worked over the river for a white lady three weeks, and now she's no more a quiet Christian. She's a lady now. She stamps her foot and blows air out of her mouth. I almost think she is going to swear."

Beede to Libby, September 7, 1911, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

than one occasion, he argued with agents over the best way to teach Indians how to farm. During one “set to” in 1913, the agent complained that it took too much effort and that “Men will say we have no food and so can’t work. Our horses are poor. I cant’ take this d— plow work. I haven’t any seed, etc.” Beede told him that these,

aren’t a tenth of the difficulties we will meet, but still we can accomplish much if we really want to. ... Now is the psychological moment. The reservation is opened up. ... White men will settle here and the Indians haven’t range for stock. They must farm or starve.³²

In this same year, Beede reported to the readers of the *Grand Forks Evening Times* that the Indians on Standing Rock were experimenting with crop rotation, especially swapping out grain and cereals for corn and vegetables. They had tilled more land than any previous year and they were looking forward to a good harvest.³³ Beede realized that Indians faced challenges, both cultural and practical. Perhaps reflecting his own early experiences on his parents’ farm, Beede wrote a scathing criticism in his journal of Dr. Rice, a reservation doctor who had failed at farming, but still made much over the Indians’ inability to farm. Beede observed that:

One must know how to farm. A man likes to do what he can do, and do successfully. Indians were raising stock successfully, and they liked it. Stock is now stolen. They do not feel that they can farm successfully. No use trying to reinstate cattle raising. Can we get them to farming? I have heard the inspectors from Washington many

³² He continued to say that the transformation would not be instantaneous, but would take patience, time, “and above all it needs most careful adaptation to Indian nature and past-history.” According to the agents reports, Indians had been farming for many years. Beede was calling for an account and for the paper crops to become a reality. Journal 1, pp. 89-94, April 1, 1913; pp. 104-105, April 4, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24. Journal 5, pp. 217-18, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. Sister Mary Antonio Johnson, *Federal Relations with the Great Sioux Indians of South Dakota, 1887-1933: with Particular Reference to the Land Policy under the Dawes Act* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1948), 13-17.

³³ “Reds Learn to Rotate Crops,” *Grand Forks Evening Times*, May 5, 1913; “Indians Tilling Soil,” *The Oakes Times*, May 15, 1913.

times in speeches say, "Do not farm. Your land is not suited to farming. Raise cattle." This was in keeping with the plan to get this land for the Beef Trust cattle.³⁴

Stephan Riggs also criticized government efforts to have local farmers help Indians learn to farm, stating that too much was done for them and so they did not learn anything.³⁵ Beede's concern in the early 1900s, however, was that the government was doing too little and hampering individuals too much. He criticized the failure of the agents, the greed and corruption of men who used government policies and the Indians' situation to their benefit, and the falsified reports that promised success.

Beede was concerned because the limited farming successes on reservations were being blown out of proportion. "Several destitute Indians came begging" Beede wrote in his journal on October 8, 1914,

It is too bad. They are sending out articles to papers telling of good crops here and Indians prosperous, purposely to mislead. Crops are good, but acreage about 2 2/3 to a family, leaving out a few with more planted, but they would not furnish seed. I don't know how the old ones will live this winter.³⁶

The positive reports would encourage limited oversight of reservations. Beede feared that exaggerated and false reports would decrease support for Indians as they would appear no longer to need assistance. "Save a few (4) mixed bloods there is practically no agriculture in the district," Beede recorded in his journal in 1913,

The government reports on the matter are fictitious (on paper, not on the earth). Sub-agent Schwab has positively discouraged agriculture and lessened it since we had been here He has done it 1. By making it cost the few who raised a few acres of grain more than the grain was worth merely for threshing it. They have a small threshing machine in this district bought with Indian money. White men's machines from over

³⁴ Journal 5, pp. 30-33, February 22, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. Banner echoes the necessity of allowing time for Indians to adjust. Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*, 254.

³⁵ Riggs, *Tah-koo wah-kañ*, 387-88.

³⁶ Journal 4, p. 27, October 8, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. Journal 1, p. 104, March 20, 1913, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24.

the Cannon Ball River could have been had cheaper, but he wouldn't let them get it. 2. He makes it hard for them to get out of this reservation to work for white men at threshing, etc. That they give it up in despair. He does this by requiring them to have a pass, etc. And he is cross when a pass is asked. So Indians say to me "they keep us imprisoned here like cattle and starve us to death." There is no need of this strictness. There may be 3 or 4 men who might drink if they had liberty to leave the reservation. They should have free passes to go out and get work. It is less trouble to have an iron rule, of course, but such a rule does not make progress. Scwab does not at all encourage anyone to go out for work, they all tell me, but does show displeasure when one asks that privilege of doing so.³⁷

Beede called for a farming plan that was adjusted to suit the land and culture of the Sioux and that allowed time for them to adjust. Ultimately, Beede wanted to increase Indians' opportunities through full rights as citizens of the United States and vested owners of their land, a topic that will be dealt with in chapter five.

Beede expressed criticism of Indians who avoided farming or other steady work because of the effect dependence had on people. Farming, for Beede, was an economic necessity or possibility, but it was not a sign of Christianity nor of civilized behavior or values. He admitted in one journal entry that he had been "somewhat coercive" in efforts toward farming. "Am told that they disapprove of my position so far as the coercion is concerned," Beede continued, "but all approved of my firm stand for agriculture. I shall use coercion discreetly, and only when necessary. Nobody likes coercion."³⁸ He did not see farming as the answer to Indians' problems, whether spiritual or economic, but as one possibility, albeit one of the few open to them.

Some Indians saw Christianity and farming as providing ties to white civilization and economic opportunities. Conversion or the appearance of it could provide new or

³⁷ Journal 1, p. 104, March 20, 1913, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24.

³⁸ Beede does not explain what he did to coerce Indians here and I have yet to find his methods. Journal 1, p. 104, March 20, 1913, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24.

greater opportunities. Saswe, the father of Philip Deloria, came to “believe that the old ways were gone, and, now that the Yanktons were restricted to a small tract of land, they would have to support themselves in the white man’s way.”³⁹ He asked that an Episcopal mission be established on the Yankton reservation in 1870, even before he adopted Christianity, and he encouraged his son Philip to become an Episcopalian minister. Philip shared his father’s belief that “accommodation to the white man’s way, including his religion, offered the best hope for his people to survive.”⁴⁰

Not only did Christianity seem to provide new economic opportunities, the church also provided new positions of religious authority. White civilization and policies altered Indian power structures and, for some, offered new means of gaining authority or status. Among Indians, positions of leadership were often based in an individual’s skills or knowledge.⁴¹ When certain skills or knowledge were needed, one who represented those would be chosen to lead during that time or activity. Hunting, fishing and making war were all recognized skills and each could have a distinct leader. The importance of these leaders waned as these skills became less a part of reservation life.⁴² Medicine men and historians filled leadership roles, though they faced increasing opposition from whites

³⁹ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 35.

⁴⁰ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 79

⁴¹ Beede wrote about this tendency when explaining the difficulty of recording Indian history because only select people kept certain stories or records or performed certain roles. Beede wrote: “Specialization among the old Indians was carried to an extreme not surpassed, if equaled, in any eastern land. Certain special persons performed the special functions of the tribe, and others did not meddle, so these legends were told, or rather chanted, in their full form only by ‘historians’.” Beede to Libby, May 7, 1909, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁴² Beede and others talked about the tribal distinction between white-appointed chiefs and hereditary or chosen chiefs. Sometimes the government chiefs were recognized by Indians as official representatives, but other times, the government chose a vocal or convenient chief. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 183-89, 202-226.

who saw them as contrary to civilization or progress. Medicine men were linked to superstition, and tribal historians were not needed or appreciated as Indian children were increasingly educated in white-run schools and Indian history was likened to myth. The government appointment or recognition of tribal members as chiefs, regardless of their status in the tribe, and the establishment of the Indian police provided a means of circumventing traditional sources of law and authority in the tribe by recognizing cooperative Indians as legal representatives of the government. Some Indians saw the role of lay ministers or native priests as new positions of authority, while others saw them as a new expression of traditional roles like the medicine man.

Some of the Indian ministers established themselves as leaders in their culture, and, as such, represented an excellent source for evangelizing other Indians.⁴³ Markowitz explained that Indians were better at winning Indian converts and, as teachers, they could replace white teachers who left because of low pay.⁴⁴ The mission on Standing Rock was established through the efforts of two Sioux who had been educated at Hampton Institute. They started services that grew to include fifty attendees.⁴⁵ Native lay readers and priests provided a means of keeping the missions going as well as creating deeper connections between Christianity and the larger tribe. Beede, in a newspaper interview, described his lay reader Joseph Two-Bear as “one of the best educated men of his tribe in the state.”

⁴³ Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, “Introduction,” 12-13. Though they do remind their readers that the church, at times, brought political and economic advantages and, as such, faith was not the only or even first reason that some joined or held leadership positions in the church.

⁴⁴ Markowitz, “Catholic Mission and the Sioux,” 113. For an example of Native clergy see, Vine Deloria, Sr., “The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux,” 106-108.

⁴⁵ Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 47-48.

Beede stated further that his lay readers on the reservation were “getting along nicely” and that he took “great pride in them.”⁴⁶ Recruiting and training native clergy also proved the success of missionaries and indicated some level of cultural acceptance for Christianity.⁴⁷

More than this, limited finances of the mission field ensured that there were too few missionaries and the distances between the Indian chapels and reservations in North Dakota meant a great deal of travel. Because there were too few missionaries to function as ministers for all the Indian chapels, it was necessary to train Indian people for church leadership.⁴⁸ Beede trained or continued the training of native clergy, especially Thomas P. Ashley and William Cross.⁴⁹ Ashley had worked with other native lay readers, Charles

⁴⁶ “McG Beede at Fargo,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1912.

⁴⁷ William Barnds believed that the success of the Episcopal church and of Rev. Hinman was related to training and using native ministers as well as his living among them. Barnds, “The Ministry of Reverend Samuel Dutton Hinman,” 394-97.

⁴⁸ For a time, the Reverend William D. Rees, an Episcopal missionary, oversaw the work at the Cannon Ball mission as well as at his home mission at Fort Totten, a distance of 300 miles. Cameron Mann, the Episcopal Bishop in charge of North Dakota from 1901-1913, printed his diary of how he spent his time in *The North Dakota Sheaf*, the state paper for the Episcopal Church. It read like a combination day planner and mileage log. On one visit to Standing Rock reservation in 1907, Bishop Mann travelled forty miles by stage, met Beede, and walked a mile and a half with his bags to a ferry where he and Beede waited four hours for the boat. After crossing the river, they walked a couple of miles to a ranch where they stayed the evening. The next day, he met with native church leaders from Standing Rock and the day after that they held service four miles away at the Cannon Ball church after which they drove a wagon back to the ranch for a meal and then another 35 miles to Mandan. The Bishop caught up on office work, visited Fargo and Grand Forks and met Beede at Rolla only six days later. “Bishop’s Diary,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1907. In 1903, Thomas P. Ashley, “a native Sioux,” proclaimed one writer in the *North Dakota Sheaf* “cares for the flock while Mr. Rees is at Fort Totten.” Helen Burleson, “Children’s Corner: A Trip to North Dakota on the Wings of the Wind.” *North Dakota Sheaf*, April 1903.

⁴⁹ Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 96. Ashley resigned from the ministry after divorcing his wife and marrying another. Wilkins and Wilkins made the comment that William Cross took his place but was not as effective. Beede, however, received a commendation from Bishop John Ponytz Tyler (Bishop of North Dakota from 1914-1931) on his training of Cross. Tyler to Beede, July 19, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12. Beede also wrote a brief description of the native minister, Arthur Tibbets. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 19. Harold Case believed that the education of Indian lay ministers should not be too far in advance of the people with whom they worked because he feared that greater

Prettyflute and Martin Prettyfeather, since the 1890s to maintain the mission work on Standing Rock. Though many of these native lay readers were effective in their ministry, Bishop Edsall, Bishop of North Dakota from 1899-1901, remarked that there was much bitterness and contention among the Indians as they left their old ways.⁵⁰ Not all converts maintained their Christian faith. Sneve wrote that in times of distress or disorder, many natives turned from Christianity to traditional beliefs and practices.⁵¹ Bishop Edsall believed that the presence of a white missionary and their authority could help to limit this.

Missionaries and lay readers alike had to make distinctions between Indian practices and Christianity, both for themselves and for those to whom they ministered. The forms and practices of worship especially were an area of concern, as these were supposed to reflect or express Christian faith. Words and acts that expressed reverence differed, depending on how people viewed authority, wealth, nature, and themselves. In one culture, surrender and worship required one to kneel or bow one's head and, in another, one must raise one's hands. Because it was observable, Indians' worship practices were often used as measures, both of their being Christian and of their being civilized especially as, according to Stephen Riggs, Indian spiritualism with its ties to

education could create a superiority complex among the lay ministers. Maxfield, *Goodbye to Elbowoods*, 22.

⁵⁰ Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 76.

⁵¹ Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 10-13.

nature, influenced every aspect of their Indians, which meant that changing worship practices affected all of an Indian's Christian life.⁵²

As Indian practices came to reflect, more or less, white church practices, some missionaries held the Indians' actions up as examples of progress, while others used them to reproach backsliding or insincere white Christians. Often, underlying accounts of Indian worship and devotion were missionary appeals for support. Missionaries depended on support, both financial and gifts of supplies, from churches and fellow Christians.⁵³ Missionaries' supporters were generally too far away to know or understand the Indians and they could not see the missionaries' progress, leading many missionaries to carefully

⁵² Riggs, *Tah-koo wah-kañ*, especially chapter 5. See also, Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 10-13; Vine Deloria, Sr., "The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux," 109; Markowitz, "Catholic Mission and the Sioux," 145;

⁵³ Though Bishop Mann and others remarked numerous times on the Indians' willingness to support the church, they often included pleas in *The Sheaf* for financial assistance for Indians as the government rations had not been delivered or were not adequate. "Field of Rev. A. McG. Beede: Turtle Mountains," *North Dakota Sheaf*, February 1905; "Field of Rev. A. McG. Beede," *North Dakota Sheaf*, May 1907; "An Indian Appeal," *North Dakota Sheaf*, January 1911. Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing For a Spirit*, 50. See also, "Bishop's Diary," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1907; "Editorial Comment," *North Dakota Sheaf*, February 1909. The Episcopal Church from 1886-1893 spent \$107,146 on Indian missions for the entirety of the United States while the Roman Catholic Church spent \$2,366,416 and the Society of Friends spent \$150,537. Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 46-47. The first Bishop of North Dakota, William D. Walker, with the assistance of some of his friends entirely financed the mission in the Turtle Mountains in 1887. Bishop Mann described how he used a goblet and a china plate for a communion service (rather than a chalice and a paten). Helen Burleson, "Children's Corner: A Trip to North Dakota on the Wings of the Wind." *North Dakota Sheaf*, April 1903. See also, "Bishop's Diary," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1907; "Editorial Comment," *North Dakota Sheaf*, February 1909. The congregation took up an offering of \$3.28 to purchase the needed vessels, but they still required additional donations. Even if there were funds available to pay for the material to build a church, missionaries could not always find adequate labor or enough funds to pay for labor. Beede knew this from experience as he helped build the church at Cando. He later built the new chapel at Red Hail on Standing Rock as neither the carpenters or the stonemasons would work for reasonable wages or stay on the reservation with Indian families. "Editor's Desk," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908; "Our Indian Field: Red Hail," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908. Beede, with some assistance, laid the foundation stones while Indians hauled in the lumber from Mandan. "Our Indian Field: Red Hail," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908. Beede said that he built St. Gabriel chapel to withstand "anything but a no. 1 cyclone." "Editor's Desk," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908. He also repaired the chapel at Cannon Ball at the request of some of the Indians who wanted it built as strong as the one at Red Hail. *North Dakota Sheaf*, June 1906; "Our Indian Field: Red Hail," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908; "Cannon Ball Notes," *North Dakota Sheaf*, July 1909. Lane, Markoe, and Schulte, *A Hand-book*, 115-16.

craft reports and calls for support. These reports needed to be interesting, to reflect the readers' expectations and desires, and to demonstrate some visible progress- whether through quantity (converts) or quality (changed lifestyle of converts). Judging quality of converts was difficult unless one looked at actions, however, actions could change without a corresponding change in belief. An Indian could be "civilized" without being "Christianized."

Transforming the Inner Man: Defining Piety and Changing Definitions

Evaluating changes to the inner man took extended contact or relationship. One had to see how the change in beliefs and identity influenced the attitudes and lifestyles of converts. Though this transformation was a key part of building a Christian community, it was difficult to judge from a distance and, because it did not always have the dramatic visual appeal as the transition to civilization, it was not as inspiring to report. Using "civilization" or the similarity to white church practice as a means of measuring Indian faith or progress was much easier. External changes, the outer man, can be measured, quantified, and recorded individually or as a group. Though the outer man can reflect shifts in beliefs, internal changes are not easily measured and, sometimes, not easily expressed or seen. They cannot be measured as a group phenomenon, though some missionaries spoke in generalized terms of the attitude differences between Christian Indians and others, including whites, as proof of an internal change and missionary success.

Christian Indian devotion, as expressed in actions and attitudes, were used by some missionaries and ministers as examples and challenges to other Christians. At the Episcopal missionary council in 1908, Bishop Frederick Johnson of South Dakota spoke

on “The Evangelizing of the Indian Tribes” and reported on the “astonishing changes wrought in Indian life by the influence of the Gospel of Christ.” “In journeying here and there and abiding frequently in Indian homes,” he reported, “it is rarely, if ever, that I have not been asked to conduct family prayer. Only twice in a white household has the same request been made.”⁵⁴ Beede gave similar examples, such as that of the humble and giving attitude of the Indian man, Rising Sun. “It would have made a picture worth having,” Beede commented on his visit to the Indians in the Turtle Mountains,

to have applied the camera to Rising Sun last Sunday as he sat on a hewn long bench in his dilapidated log house without a copper in his pocket and none too much food in his stomach with tears rolling down both cheeks as he spoke of the sufferers in Italy and of how much he has to be thankful for. What a pity that the best scenes are not painted! What a pity that many a person blessed, but dissatisfied, could not learn one small lesson from this old, hard-working, unfortunate, thankful Indian!⁵⁵

During the dedication of the Red Hail church, the bishop received an offering mainly of pennies, but there were also four silver dollars given by a man who had vowed that he would donate five dollars when the building was completed. “He was a policeman,” Bishop Mann explained, “and was off on duty; and he had not saved the full \$5. But, though he could not attend the service, he remembered his vow and fulfilled it so far as possible. Most of our white people may find a needed lesson here.”⁵⁶

Beede’s writings do not show a missionary concerned with maintaining strict practices or continuing faith in the same way it had always been practiced. Beede, despite criticism, retained the belief that practices, whether in daily life or in faith, were

⁵⁴ “Report on the Missionary Council,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, November 1908.

⁵⁵ “Rolla Mission Field,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, February 1909.

⁵⁶ “Bishop’s Diary,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, December 1908.

influenced or interpreted through culture. He did not seem to be concerned with maintaining the purity of Episcopal practice, rather he compromised or negotiated between the cultures.⁵⁷ Beede compromised by allowing Indians to bring sacred objects to some church services. “At this time of year,” he wrote in an ethnological report on the wood mouse or vole,

I used to let the old Indians bring into the Church a leaf said to have been used by the mice for a sort of conveyance on which to haul the beans (maka ta onmnica), and some of the beans dropped by the mice, and other similar sacred objects connected with plant and animal living. And they were encouraged to bring similar sacred objects appropriate to each time and season of the year.⁵⁸

Beede hoped to connect Episcopal Christianity with Indian daily life and root it in their cultural beliefs and experiences. Because of this, Beede also mixed different churches’ traditions. He continued to use and practice many Roman Catholic traditions because Indians were familiar with them.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Beede to Professor Fish, April 2, 1917, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁵⁸ Ethnological Notes, November 25, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. See also Ethnological notes by Dr. Beede, written by Melvin Gilmore, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. This piece described the exchange many Indians did with the mice- corn or other item that mice would eat, for an equivalent amount of beans. The prayer the Blue Thunder recited near the winter store of one mouse can be freely translated as:

Thou Who art Holy, pity me, and help me I pray. Thou art small, but thou art large enough to perform thy proper work, and moreover, thou art given all needful strength, for Holy power which is everywhere extended strengthens thee at all times. Thou art wise, for the wisdom of Him Who is Holy is constantly with thee. May my heart forever abide undivided and complete in wisdom: for if the hand of Holy Wisdom leads me on, then all the shadows of my life shall be cleared away and I shall dwell in fullness of light.

The article further stated that many Indians who were absent from church during this season could be found praying or meditating near a store of ground beans seeking provision for the winter. The ground beans and other plants represented, according Gilmore and Beede, the plants and animals that touched on human life or taught lessons of life wisdom were brought to the church in each season as part of prayer or worship.

⁵⁹ Eriksmoen, *Did You Know*, 54. Beede described the Good Friday Mass as it was written for both the Catholic and Episcopalians as a primitive holdover rather than a true mass. He believed that it reflected more the primitive practices woven into church worship. April 6, 1917, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

This willingness to compromise expressed Beede's value of the internal change over the external, of the individual's commitment to Christ over how that commitment was expressed. Beede would seem to see creating and fostering links between the history and culture of the new believer and their new-found faith as a means of starting a process of complete life transformation rather than a total life disconnection. Rather than faith being a completely foreign and unrelated experience, Beede strove to show how God revealed Himself in the world and in culture, though He was not always recognized or fully understood. Beede believed that faith and culture must meet if they were to transform the world around them. As such, incorporating Indian practices that did not directly contradict key aspects of Christian faith reflected a concern for development of the individual, the inner man over that of how the faith was expressed.

Sneve explained that Christianity brought change to the native value system as "some Indians were able to retain old values and integrated them into Christian beliefs." For some then, conversion to Christianity "was an easy extension of the old," while others faced these changes with hostility and resistance.⁶⁰ Sneve further explained the importance of linking Christian faith with traditional culture as evidenced by Indian acceptance of Episcopalians because they could associate the "color and richness of Episcopal ritual" to their traditional rituals. She saw these connections especially in the traditions of baptism for babies and confirmation for young people as these seemed to be substitutes for the Hunka (marriage) and Puberty rites.⁶¹ The thank offerings that many

⁶⁰ Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 3.

⁶¹ Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 10. Mary Cochran observed that what was adopted into Indian culture to explain Christian concepts and faith developed greater importance after it was incorporated into

missionaries cited as signs of Indian devotion were a combination of or expression of old customs. Beede explained that Mr. and Mrs. Shell Track gave a thank offering on the return of their children from a government school. The children were unhappy and, through the offering, that Shells hoped to gain divine favor and attention, “so that their children would be more happy. It is an old-time Indian custom,” Beede explained, “to make a sacrifice if a person is unhappy.”⁶²

Mary Cochran, wife of an Episcopal bishop and author of *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, related how Indians not only made connections between their cultural practices and their Christian faith, but also how some of these connections brought Christian denominations together. The Indian Convocation was called Ominicie Tanku and included not only Episcopalians, but also Congregationalists and Roman Catholics as well as Indians from North Dakota, Montana, South Dakota, and Idaho.⁶³ It was a time to report on

or associated with preexisting cultural practices. Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, xviii-xix. Philip Deloria may have been referencing the puberty rites in his farewell speech at the Indian Convocation in 1916. “The trouble is that they have not the Gospel before their eyes to make them see things correctly,” he explained. “The gospel is that sacred ceremony that introduces a man into the universe of all living things so that he will see all things in this life and in the other life correctly.” Farewell Speech of P. J. Deloria at the Indian Convocation at Cannon Ball June 30-July 2, 1916, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁶² “Editor’s Desk,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, July 1908. The editor of the *North Dakota Sheaf* wrote that he had received a one-dollar thank offering from Mrs. Maggie Rattletail, “for the recovery from illness of her daughter Lucy.” He continued by telling the readers that this was the second such offering that he had received from an Indian in a month, but he had not in the last seven years received as many offerings from whites. “Editor’s Desk,” *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908. See also Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 10.

⁶³ Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 99. Beede to Libby, July 6, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. In a letter to Libby, Beede explained that Indians do not persecute others for their beliefs. And that “All reported cases I have traced down have essentially proved false. Christian Indians, members of different churches feel no intolerance toward each other, and in the old-times there never was the thought of intolerance in religion. I have found a few cases where saucy youths returned from eastern schools have been slightly punished for interfering with Indians in their religious rites but even these are insignificant. As a rule, the Indian with a sad heart endures it and is grieved at the irreverence of the youth. At Berthold, there was intimidation used with a high hand at one time, and this is charged to the Indians. But who was its author? When we see him there stands a man with hair so red it fairly glistens in the sun. Inquiry shows that his father was scotch Presbyterian.” Beede to Libby, October

church business and to baptize and confirm new believers. “Sometimes as many as ten thousand people gathered for days and nights of meetings, feasts, family reunions, campfires, singing, and praying,” Cochran wrote, “Christian Indian people found inspiration, meaning, and strength in these gatherings that replaced the fellowship they had experienced from the now forbidden gathering at the Grove of Oaks.”⁶⁴

Changing beliefs were reflected not only in devotion and acts, but also in changing concepts and language. Some of the changes in Indian culture, language, and thought simply reflected the cultural mixing that takes place when distinct groups of people came into contact with each other. Church music was also both adopted and adapted by the Sioux. In his writings, Riggs emphasized the importance of music to the Sioux people and he dwelt on its ability to draw people to the faith. Philip Deloria’s conversion was one example. Deloria wrote that he was riding by an Episcopal Church when he heard the hymn, “Guide me, O thou Great Jehovah” sung in the Sioux language. His desire to learn this song drew him into the church.⁶⁵ Sometimes it was only the tune or words but, as Christian music was adopted into the culture, it could and did take on

4, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Several newspaper articles mention the Episcopal Indian convocations. In 1910, hundreds of people attended and the event cost approximately “\$353.37 in money and nine cattle, which were killed as needed for meat.” The entire cost was covered by the Indians. The article, possibly written by Beede, expressed pride in the Indians that, within seven years, had saved enough to build their own church and to organize their own convocation with little input from their priest. The article closed by mentioning that Beede was the missionary priest and his Indian assistants were Skana and Martin Sintee. “Episcopal Convocation Held,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1910. Beede had Father Bernard, a Catholic priest, speak in 1911. The Indians funded the event themselves. “Many Indians Attended Episcopal Convention,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, June 30, 1911. “Go to Totten,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, June 17, 1913.

⁶⁴ Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, 18. The Grove of Oaks referred to a location in Minnesota which was the site of the early Sun Dances. See also, Lane, Markoe, and Schulte, *A Hand-book*, 108-109.

⁶⁵ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 42-43.

new roles that reflected the different needs, understandings, and culture of the people.⁶⁶

“Church music (generally European melodies with lyrics translated into Dakota or Lakota but sung in a distinctive style),” wrote Cochran,

is very important in the lives of Christian Dakotas and Lakotas. Like persons, geographical locations, and specific foods, hymns also engender webs of remembrances. The adoption of specific hymns is consistent with traditional Dakota and Lakota uses of sacred songs. Christian Lakota and Dakotas, especially the older generation, identify themselves and others with favorite hymns. So too departed members of congregations are memorialized with certain hymns, and the singing of favorite hymns are an important part of both funerals and the memorial rituals held one year after a death. It is not uncommon for elderly individuals to sing a cappella every stanza of a hymn from memory (and these hymns can exceed five or six stanzas) to honor a specific relative at church events such as Christmas gatherings. Thus, the musical honoring found in traditional settings such as feeds (a reservation English term for feasts that provide extra food for families to take home) and dances are continued in church life.⁶⁷

Government and missionary efforts to Christianize or civilize Indians often focused on language. “In order to obtain converts,” Sneve wrote, “the missionaries had to first educate Indians, not only in religion, but in language, which was needed for the transference of ideas.”⁶⁸ For some, replacing a native language with English was key to Indians’ success and progress, as the maintenance of Indian culture relied upon the strength of the language. To force students to break with their native roots, boarding schools and day schools often refused to allow students to speak their native language.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ The Iroquois voyagers adopted church hymns if not because of faith, then because of their rhythms and sound which seemed to fit rowing their boats on the river. Other natives who saw them and heard their songs asked to be taught the songs of power. Vine Deloria, Jr. “Frenchmen, Bears, and Sandbars,” in Alvin M. Josephy Jr, *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition* (New York; Vintage Books, 2007), 9; Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary* 79-81.

⁶⁷ Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, XVIII- XIX.

⁶⁸ Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 97.

⁶⁹ Charles Hall went against federal policy for education in that he continued to incorporate native language into the classes he taught and into his church services. Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 17, 79.

Doing so could be a means of or an attempt to control thoughts by controlling one's concepts or words.

Some missionaries clearly supported this approach, while others believed that their success depended on their ability to learn and use the native language so as to decrease their dependence on interpreters' translations. Beede understood the importance of language in framing and forming one's understanding not only of faith, but also of one's culture, a topic which will be explored in greater depth in chapter four. The researcher Monica L. Siems believed, and I think Beede would agree, that not enough emphasis has been placed on the role that language played in conversion and on natives' understanding of Christianity. She encouraged researchers to look, not only at the message of the missionaries, but also at how this message was translated into Dakota and other native languages.⁷⁰ Some missionaries, such as Beede, realizing that a better understanding of the language and culture was necessary to make Christianity understandable to Indians, took notes on both the language and culture.⁷¹ All Sioux, for example, had a similar belief in Wakan Tanka, though the belief was expressed with slight differences in each culture. Wanka Tanka was conceived of as the great creator who lived in or was connected to all things. Researchers dispute what the Sioux believed,

⁷⁰ Monica L. Siems, "How Do You Say 'God' in Dakota? Epistemological Problems in the Christianization of Native Americans," *NUMEN* 45, (1998): 163-182.

⁷¹ It was for this reason that earlier missionaries committed the Sioux language to writing and developed a dictionary. Rev. Stephen Return Riggs and Dr. Thomas Williamson created the first Dakota Grammar and Dictionary. Missionaries' notes sometimes formed the earliest or only records of tribes before their language was committed to writing. Charles Hall studied the languages of the Hidatsa or Mandan because there was not a good translator or effective means of communicating. Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 60-61, 85, 77-85.

but some argue that the Sioux had a monotheistic religion that made it easier for them to adopt Christianity as they “already knew” or viewed Wakan Tanka as the great creator.⁷²

It is often difficult to trace shifts in thought or language without written sources that document the shifts. Beede noted that white culture altered native beliefs by using faulty or erroneous translations of Indian words or concepts. The name Miniwakan, for example, meant sacred water, but whites had translated the word as Devils Lake. Though the Sioux believed in evil spirits, they had no concept of a devil as Christians viewed Satan. However, as Beede remarked, “the younger Indians think Wakan Sica means the same as devil, for they have been so taught by white people.”⁷³ And, he continued, “while missionaries were baptizing children and praying for blessings from God, that is from Wakan Tanka, many a reverent Indian was praying for such blessings from Wakan Sica, which shows that this being was not considered wholly bad, like the whiteman’s devil.”⁷⁴ Beede explained that Wakan Sica was a near-at-hand counterpart or part of the more distant Wakan Tanka.

Even as some Indians accepted Christianity, they retained a reverence or respect for native traditions, stories, and cultural objects. In a letter to Libby, Beede explained that it was difficult to learn about Indian traditions because “these people regard them as

⁷² Robert W. Larson, *Gall: Lakota War Chief* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 232. Before the missionaries and churches, “Wakan Tanka, the Great Spirit, spoke to those who listened for him, not in a church, but in all of nature,” Cochran wrote, “everyone listened.” Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, 7.

⁷³ Aaron McG. Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, April 28, 1921.

⁷⁴ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, April 28, 1921. See also Beede to George Heye, October 24, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12. Beede believed that learning a language from a book alone could lead to confusion. To understand the language well, one must learn it from native speakers. Beede to Dana Wright, April 11, 1921, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 4.

holy. Even if through Christian faith their religion has somewhat changed these [tales] are still sacred to them similarly as the holy Bible is still sacred to a [irreverential] scientist who still reveres it though not literally believing every word. You must have noticed how, even rough frontiersmen with little thought of religion [abhor] a man who speaks slightingly of the Bible.” He added that Indians were unwilling to fully share their culture or religious traditions with those who were unwilling to treat them with respect or reverence, especially as “an Indian can stand anything on earth, (even torture) except ridicule. The idea that white men depreciate them for revering these legends precludes them from telling them.”⁷⁵

Beede respected the legends and saw them as important to the culture and the people, important enough to protect and preserve. In 1911, he found that some of the stones revered by the Mandan and by some of the Sioux were in danger of being stolen because some whites might have heard about them. In order to protect the rocks from those who might take them or break them up as souvenirs, Beede began negotiations with the Indians to move them to the safety of the church yard. “Have got the two sacred stones in the church yard with legal title to them,” he wrote Libby in December 1911,

Have been working on it ever since I returned because I learned some white people know about them & was afraid [Wells] might be after them. [Kick-the-Iron] on whose land they were had got the idea that they had value He wanted \$25.00. I got him down to \$4.00 & paid him myself rather than lose the stones to our society. Had to give the Indians \$10.00 in [money], so will use your order to the extent of 10.00 with [... ...] for myself & have his bill over to N.D. Hist. Scy. It means the same thing. I was particular to have Shouts Holy help move them. He allowed that it was best to do so lest someone steal them by breaking them to pieces and “carry them far away.” But the visible pain on his face at seeing them moved puts new meaning to me into the Biblical laments over the meddling with holy things. As [Mato Criau] and I were

⁷⁵ Beede to Libby, May 7, 1909, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. This can also be seen in a conversation Beede had with one of his parishioners and a lay reader about Ghost Bells. The Lay reader had no doubt of their existence, but noted that they seldom were heard anymore as they were no longer needed. Beede to M. R. Gilmore, October 28, 1916. Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

moving the large stone by my gate with crowbars it sang a song as if pleased, - am not surprised at anything [among] Indians. He & I were the only ones there to hear it. Wish more had been there, [but] in that case I should have suspected ventriloquism- but [Mato Criau] is not a ventriloquist – as some Indians are. This song convinces Indians that the stone is pleased with his new home. Next Sunday we have – by request of Shouts Holy & others- special prayers for the souls of stone who [were] worshipped [through the] stone. Had to be careful of everything. If any accident had happened while moving the stones all would have been at an end. Everything went well, and I am glad. The Sioux regard stones as holy, something in the same way as the old testament is holy- without Christ. All seem pleased with the transaction.⁷⁶

Beede seemed to desire to document, study and understand as much as possible about Indian traditions and beliefs, including those aspects considered mysticism. Many missionaries had expressed curiosity or interest in Indians culture, though most seem to have drawn distinct lines between Christian or civilized and traditional or mystical Indian beliefs.

Some Christian Indians also sought connections between traditional spiritualism and Christianity. When an old Indian challenged Philip Deloria's acceptance of white culture and faith and chided him for forgetting Indian culture, Deloria answered that he had not forgotten his culture, but that he had found something more powerful. "We let others pierce our flesh in the Sun Dance, he explained,

This helps us to know the pain he bore when others put nails through his hands and feet and hung him on the tree. We made a sacrificial dance for our sins and to bring blessings to those we loved. Jesus made a willing sacrifice to death. The difference is that he sacrificed himself to save those who tortured him. There can be no greater strength."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Beede to Libby, December 22, 1911; Beede to Libby, September 7, 1911, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Articles about the stones appeared also in local newspaper. "Curator Fish Found Relics," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1912; "Found Picture Rocks," *Jamestown Weekly Alert*, August 1, 1912.

⁷⁷ Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer*, 27-28.

Vine Deloria, Jr. provided another example of this when he wrote that “Philip [Deloria] began to see his black clerical clothes and vestments as a modernized expression of the black tipi that Saswe [Philip’s father] had visited to receive his powers.”⁷⁸

Though some of this cultural mixing was positive, at other times Indians expressed concerns for the effect that Christian or white culture was having on their own. As Philip Deloria continued to work as a missionary of the Episcopal Church, he became critical of this process, stating that his people no longer had any fun or time to visit as they once did. He regretted the loss of traditional culture and questioned its disregard in comparison to Christian or white culture, especially as the church seemed to discriminate against Indian ministers.⁷⁹ Philip Deloria remembered how some missionaries and white easterners stared at the scars on his ears, which had been pierced as part of the traditional ceremonies for Sioux infants, because they were proof that the “church had claimed a real prize.”⁸⁰ Though it may have been gratifying for those looking for sign of missionary success, this attitude and approach isolated and angered Christian Indians. Placing Indians within the realm of redeemed heathen could potentially limit their possibilities in the church by turning them into a curiosity or someone that needed continual guidance. Their actions, such as a strict adherence to white cultural practices, might be closely watched for any signs of resuming heathen practices and beliefs, which might include

⁷⁸ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 66. Wabliska William White Eagle saw the necklace worn by a Sioux priest or “honest lawyer,” a man acknowledged as qualified to teach the sacred laws, as being similar in function to the stole of a priest. Beede to M. R. Gilmore, October 28, 1916. Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁷⁹ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 79, 3-4, 70-71. Vine Deloria, Sr., “The Establishment of Christianity Among the Sioux,” 110-11.

⁸⁰ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Singing for a Spirit*, 41-45.

anything not considered part of American civilization. Reforming the outer man may have led to some increased acceptance of Indians in the larger culture, but the strict break with traditional Indian culture that some missionaries and others expected left some Indians with a loss of identity or a confusion over the place or role they had in their own society as well as that of American society. The rules and expectations they had to negotiate had changed.

One Indian expressed frustration over attitudes that were not changing for the better, in spite of Christian influence when he came to Beede to request a sermon topic. “Wabliska William White Eagle, a man past 50 years and well informed regarding old Indian matters,” Beede wrote in 1916,

was just in asking, “Among white men is there any law in Earth and Heaven forbidding one to talk about an adulterer who has well repented of his sin, so as to discourage him from trying to live a respectable [life]?” He said that the Dakotas had a law that if one talks about a sin of a person after he was well repented he thereby takes upon himself a part of the sin. After promising to preach on that subject tomorrow, I asked him about “Ghost bells.”⁸¹

Later, after their conversation on ghost bells, without Beede prompting, he further explained about holy men and laws. “In olden times, we had men who were like a priest or like an honest lawyer who taught the people the laws of religion and the laws of everything relating to human living in a tribe,” explained White Eagle,

These laws were similar to Church-laws, only they were more sacred, for when a person was taught these laws he willingly obeyed them as sacred laws. But now many people do not respect church-laws as much as Dakotas respected these sacred laws taught in old times.⁸²

⁸¹ Beede to M. R. Gilmore, October 28, 1916. Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. Ghost Bells seem to have been a sound associated with the appearance or presence of a spiritual being, but other times they were associated with sacred fires and other omens. Ghost Bells, October 27, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁸² Beede to M. R. Gilmore, October 28, 1916. Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

Beede does not comment on whether he felt this way or not, however, he showed respect for the traditions and beliefs of Indians as well as their character, regardless of their acceptance of Christianity. This may be what Beede's son referred to as being an "old-fashioned missionary." In relating the healing of a child in which Beede had been involved, Ralph explained that a modern missionary might try to explain the event, but his father simply accepted it and moved on.⁸³ One of Beede's journal entries stated that

⁸³ When asked for information on his father's missionary work Ralph Beede wrote:

Dad was strictly an old-fashioned missionary. ... To some degree, his task was to lead the Indians away from their former beliefs toward Christianity. I remember one story he used to tell. In the very early days there was a band of Indians living north of Dunseith, who, with the exception of the one old chief, Chief Rising Sun, had not been converted to Christian ways. They were rather a neglected band. For a time, our government claimed they did not belong in their country and wanted them to return to Canada. They did not live on the reservation. Dad used to visit this old chief when he had time and would hold services for him and his wife in their log hut. One afternoon in the fall when he drove up there, he found a large number of other Indians assembled. This was unusual. A sick child was the explanation. The parents had taken him to the reservation doctor who had not done much for it and who had given its parents the impression that he thought nothing could be done for it. The parents and the assembled Indians approached dad with a proposition. They had heard of Christian baptism; if it were worthwhile, it should be powerful enough to cure the child; so if the white man's God would agree to make the child well by baptism, they would have Dad baptize it. Dad explained to them that God made no such bargains. I imagine in the course of the explanation he had the opportunity to explain more about the Christian religion than some had ever before heard. Finally, he told them that he would be glad to baptize the child, but that would not insure recovery of the child. The band discussed the matter for a while. Finally, the parents said that they wanted the child baptized. The unconscious child was brought into the log hut. The rest of the Indians crowded in. The child was baptized. No sooner had the water been poured on the child and dad, as officiating minister had said, "I baptize thee, etc." than the child opened its eyes and said, "I want some chicken broth." It made quite an impression on the Indians. Later most of them, too, were baptized and an Episcopal mission was established there, with many members. Now, if one wanted to, he could rationalize this. The child had passed the crisis of whatever illness it had. The water used at the baptism was just enough to waken him. And it was the fall of the year, and some of the Indians had been hunting prairie chickens. Some of these had been brought into the hut and their order was easily recognizable. As I understand it--- I may be wrong-- - a modern missionary would have to so rationalize it; an old fashioned missionary would not bother. Suffice for him what happened.

Ralph Beede to R. M. Streibel, February 21, 1952, Coll. 206, Box 4, Folder 5.

he had “learned more good theology from Sioux Indians than all I learned in Andover.”⁸⁴

Part of this may have come from his openness to learn and explore the knowledge and wisdom of other people and cultures. “I do not like to move the stones without the consent of the Mandan,” he explained in his first letter to Libby about the Mandan stones:

This is not due to any fear of the Mandans, but to a sense of reverence which in my nature over tops everything else, amounting at times to what some would call “crude superstition” With education and contact with [frontier] life this childhood element has increased rather than diminished.⁸⁵

Beede’s increased “crude superstition” or the influence of Indians’ traditional beliefs can be seen, sometimes directly and sometimes only by implication, in his writings. Indeed, that Beede seldom wrote straightforward pieces after he started work with Indians may reflect his respect for Indian methods of teaching through story, legend, or parable (an idea that will developed in chapter four). He may also have felt that the imagery and intensity of poetry better reflected the complexity of his thoughts and feelings. Beede’s attempts to amalgamate his thinking on life, society, and religion were captured in *Self Sloughed-Off, Person Free*, published after his death in 1934 though the thoughts and some of the writing were from much earlier.⁸⁶ Rather than a clear, concise presentation of his ideas, *Self Sloughed-Off* was poetry and a play. The heart of the piece was Beede’s

⁸⁴ Journal 1, p. 94, March 20, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24. Given this, the comments by Sjaak van der Geest on the ability of missionaries to engage and perhaps understand the “superstitions” of the cultural groups they work more than anthropologists is interesting. He saw this ability as related to how missionaries think about the world and about faith. Given their own spiritual beliefs, they are more likely than anthropologists, with their scientific mindsets to be open to supernatural experiences. Sjaak van der Geest, “Anthropologists and Missionaries,” 596.

⁸⁵ Beede to Libby, September 7, 1911, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. He mentioned in an article in the 1920s that Standing Rock monument was created in order to protect the stone from those searching for Indian relics. The tales of the Standing Rock, though they differ, expressed the belief that many stones were humans who had been turned to stone. Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 20, 1920; May 27, 1920; June 3, 1920.

⁸⁶ Aaron McGaffey Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off, Person Free: Heart and Pluck in this Epoch*, (Elgin, ND: Grant County News, 1934).

view of chivalry. For Beede, chivalry was best expressed in a mix of bravery and selfless action on behalf of one's community.

Though Beede was speaking of the needs of society, underlying this was his conception of life and religion which came to the forefront in the third section of the book. In this section, as well as in several of his later letters, he presented the concept of "the Real." Tracing the development of this concept is difficult. It may have been Beede's refutation of Plato, who called our reality merely the shadows on the cave wall or a simple reflection of a greater reality. Beede is also likely connecting to the Apostle Paul's concept of seeing through a mirror dimly. Beede, however, called for people to shatter the mirror through folk religion which was more than intellectual and which accounted for all our senses.⁸⁷ He did not see life as a dim reflection, but as part of our senses; the more fully and completely we use our senses, the more we can understand and appreciate the Real. "Whole-life sloughs self-And self sloughs life," he explained,

While in this epoch's painful strife
There's no retreat, for life is life.
This epoch fail? O yes, it may
Unless we have full chivalry.

Self-sloughed, blent senses touch the Real,
Strong-holding, free from false ideal-
Self-idea, anti-Real,
By many a self is dubbed ideal.⁸⁸

In these lines Beede brought together a sense of duty to make life better and an understanding that full knowledge and clear understanding of life required using all one's senses.

⁸⁷ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 75-76.

⁸⁸ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 76.

In speaking of the Real, Beede seemed to be referring to Natural Law, if not God, as that which existed outside of and as the basis of human knowledge and experience, rather than human-created social laws and perceptions of God. The Real, whether Natural Law or God, existed outside daily life and so one had to rely on all senses to grasp it.

“Self sloughed, free senses touch the Real,” wrote Beede,

Find life right here that’s life eternal.
The Real—IS, can perish never,
The real sensed – is joy forever.
This workers’ epoch needs new eyes
To ken the things this-side the skies;
And build new nations, selfless free,
Full-free with more than liberty.

Thou Church, thou dead man’s bones, arise,
Help ope this workers’ epoch’s eyes.
Maybe dead bones in pageant leaping
Might wake our eyes forever sleeping.
Sweet comforts lying Oh, so near,
Dear darling pleasures Oh, so dear.⁸⁹

In grasping the Real, Beede believed that society could be changed. He challenged the church, which was commissioned to be a guide and moral conscience to society, to return to its calling.

Beede spoke of self-seeking as being a prime danger of society. This attitude in its many forms, political, social, and religious, tore communities apart regardless of the class or race. Beede perceived self-seeking as equivalent to greed and at the heart of sin and destruction of the person and the community. Rather than using a church definition of sin, Beede instead walked his reader through a natural revelation of sin as based in the greed of a child as the precursor of the destructive selfishness of the adult.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 80.

⁹⁰ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 89-91. This natural revelation, in the way in which it was constructed and its images, reminded this author a little of Sioux visions described by Black Elk and others, especially

It may be that this is how Beede conceived of the remaking of the inner man. First one must come to know oneself and one's place in the world or to know one's sin and to receive God's grace. To know only oneself was not enough. The remaking of the inner man, for Beede, could not stop with self-revelation, but rather self-revelation must transfer into selfless action on behalf of the community. Beede explained in a note on the lines "In mother-love commutual,/ Or chaos' individual!" the Indian conception of community:

These four lines express old Indian view, viz: The fountainhead giving community a commutual spirit was the life-ties and love-ties and chivalry-ties linking mother with offspring, biologically and spiritually. This is a miracle because miracle, to their view, was more than mere life-process, was life **transformation** process, so that the same identical creature-life expresses in two, or generally more than two, persons or forms or faces who are distinct persons, though not individual or self. And this is so in many animals as well as in some plants, so it is world-wide, they said. To illustrate this view- If spirits did not unlock the jail to let Peter out, but Peter was momentarily transformed into the kind of a person he would be after his death, so that he found the door and walls no obstruction, then it was miracle; otherwise not. Without this constant miracle whose source is mother-love, the males, with strong individual and self-incline, would bring chaos with misery and destruction, as they said. Women were eager for community betterment with progress; they opposed wars for loot, and hailed to the utmost chivalry in defending. A tribe was often destroyed, they said, by the individual or self-spirit that arose, especially from success in wars for loot. I cannot say, as some do, that Indians were communist or socialist- or spiritualist as the term connotes to white people. Their community religion centered in the fountainhead here mentioned- and they failed much in such endeavors.⁹¹

The self then was meant to be subservient to the community. Beede would seem to agree with this in that he believed in individual change, but he also believed that Christianity was supposed to support and bring a community together. If one did not know the Real internally or with all of one's senses, however, then the self would be more likely to

in that it sought to use more than physical sense to understand the world and one's place in it. This seems an unlikely connection for a missionary to make and yet Beede had to account for the spiritual for his own faith. It is likely the greater focus that many Indians placed on the spiritual and its interactions with the natural world that deeply influenced Beede's own faith.

⁹¹ Emphasis is Beede's. Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 12-13.

corrupt one's actions and values and, through that, break down and destroy the community. He did not mean only mastery of self, but rather of transformation of self as the foundation for personal and societal strength and growth.

He also praised the Indian's ability to see more than logic and rule. "To see means all blent senses free," he explained,

They're countless, more than eyes, they see
O things so near us, Oh, so dear,
Till selfers make the earth so drear!
With nary a life-nerve man now serves?
For man's not blended with things living,
So putrefying, with no winging?

So much frontier free sense gather
That one can't camouflage another,
Its' radio, no static bother-
Was't somewhat learned from the Indian brother?⁹²

Not only did Beede link an expanded or clear concept of the Real to Indian understanding, he also questioned the belief that one must move away from simple faith and natural revelation in order to gain true faith. "In all such things, free sense has contracts," he wrote toward the end of *Self Sloughed-Off*,

Awake or sleeping, with near earth-facts;
Thrice linked with earth, we're near to heaven
If seamless senses are left heathen.
What're strikes forth to reach the new
Strikes back to rob what's lost, and true.

That monk said "that that IS-is."
Whole-life is here, we sense life near us
Whose ways coquettish, playful cheer us.
If man whole life's behavior breeches
for aye, Life must create a new species;
Life's teleos has ample reaches.⁹³

⁹² Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 82.

⁹³ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 84.

Beede provided a warning to his readers in *Social Teachings* when he explained that man had become so entwined or controlled by society that he could not function as a Christian unless society accepted and acted on the same beliefs. This reflected Beede's understanding that society was structured around accepted actions and beliefs- whether right or wrong. Anyone who challenged or who did not live by those actions or beliefs faced isolation and limited opportunities. They may also be labeled as inferior. Beede understood that for Christians to effect cultural change and to function according to their beliefs without becoming socially isolated, they had either to adopt accepted beliefs or gain understanding and acceptance of their own beliefs. This was the same question that Indians faced, whether to change according to missionaries' or the wider societies' expectations and standards or to face varying levels of social isolation, particularly as their culture had little to no acceptance beyond that of a curiosity in the United States.

One of the struggles for Beede and others like him was that a mixing of traditions or including Indian culture in worship could be perceived as heathenish. The attention to a spiritual world and spiritual forces was one aspect that led some churches to "call the people infidel," as Beede wrote in *Self Sloughed-Off*,

Degenerates, non-spiritual,
Because their senses touch the Real
Directly-nothing feudal.
The grandest phrase that Paul e'er spoke:
"Jerusalem from above is free,
Which is mother of us all."⁹⁴

Reflecting this, Beede wrote in 1917 that Indians take holy things more seriously than whites.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 78.

⁹⁵ Beede to Professor Fish, April 2, 1917, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

Whether missionaries tolerated or dismissed Indian culture, there was always a mixing of native and white practices in Indian worship and a debate in Indian and white circles of where to draw the line between traditional Indian culture and Christianity. In 1917, Beede wrote to Dr. Melvin Gilmore at the State Museum about rumors that some missionaries, in the early years of missionary work among the Sioux and before white settlement increased, allowed sweet grass in church services and even substituted it for palm branches on Palm Sunday. Some missionaries were rumored to use pemmican as a substitute for bread in communion.⁹⁶ Beede believed these rumors to be true, but he knew few, if any, missionaries who would admit to them for fear their conduct might be considered unbecoming or heathenish.

White churches or denomination leaders saw compromises as potentially dangerous to accepted church practices and they feared that the church might move toward heathen practices rather than moving heathens to salvation. Others feared that the compromises were a sign that the missionaries had gone native or were being drawn into savage society. Any missionaries thought to be too willing to compromise could fall under the scrutiny or criticism of their church leaders and possibly be dismissed. This criticism could also be used to discredit the missionaries in public eyes and thereby limit or control their actions. Beede accused some of the leaders in his own denomination of claiming that he used questionable practices or was corrupt as a means of limiting his

⁹⁶ Though Beede did not necessarily use it in communion, He did incorporate pemmican, “made as nearly as possible in the old-time way,” after communion in the Easter and Christmas services. He remarked that this was one of the reasons he was accused of heathenism. Beede to Gilmore, April 17, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

influence during his efforts, starting in 1913, to secure better living conditions and greater freedom for Indians on Standing Rock Reservation.⁹⁷

Though *Self Sloughed-Off* was published after Beede's death, it expressed concerns that he had even as a missionary. In particular, it expressed his doubts and concerns over church philosophy and its emphasis on practices or intellectual expressions rather than on the experience or lifestyle of faith and its role in creating and building up the community. "God may be helpful to religion," Beede wrote, possibly expressing the frustration he felt at the end of his missionary career,

As preached, God often harms religion;
God's not essential to religion,
I've lived with God-not-knowing people
who knew religion strong and simple-
Till church made them unstable.
The folks will have their free religion
With daily living inspiration,
A thrill with blended seamless senses
Ne'er to be crushed by sciences.⁹⁸

Missionaries were working to alter or replace Indian culture and identity, which at times meant altering, replacing, or eliminating aspects of Indian society that many whites considered uncivilized or harmful. They hoped that recreating the outer Indian might save the soul as well as the body. Missionaries often approached saving the Indians with the best of intentions. Their own training and cultural assumptions, however, often left them with a blindness to the costs of forced cultural assimilation or replacement. Beede, because of his training in social sciences, his interest in and observations of societies, and

⁹⁷ In 1917, at the end of his time as a missionary, Beede told a friend that Indians take holy things more seriously than whites, but that "the new Bishop could not understand me or my work. He thought it quite heathen, well it may be. I love that Blessed old heathen, Jesus, more and more." Beede to Professor Fish, April 2, 1917, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Also referenced accusation of heathenism, Beede to Gilmore, April 17, 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁹⁸ Beede, *Self Sloughed-Off*, 83.

his Christian faith, had a deep sympathy with the disaffected, those on the margins of society and those who were socially isolated. He was concerned not only with the Indian people's physical survival or conversion to Christianity, but also with their identity as a people.

Forcing Indians to adapt to white society was not the solution to their difficulties, nor would Christian faith alone allow them to succeed. Beede acknowledged that the realities that Indians faced would mean some level of forced adjustments, but, within this, it was important to understand and preserve Indian culture as the key to their present identity and the foundation for future possibilities. Though officially this was not his responsibility as a missionary, his training in the social sciences and his interest in Indian culture led him to make journal entries detailing what he saw and what he was told of Indian culture. He used these sources as a means of preserving Indian culture and as a means of changing how American society regarded Indians. He hoped to bring American and Indian culture together in community and, by this, increase the possibilities for both.

CHAPTER IV

COUNTERING WHITE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPLAINING INDIAN IDENTITY

Still we do not as yet know all the laws governing human impulses and desires accurately enough to say always with certainty whether a given trend is progressive or degenerative. As yet we are not always certain enough to predict in advance just what each biological law means for society. Many an anthropologist has mistaken a racial characteristic for a mark of degeneracy, and history shows that the thing that is destined to be is often the thing, which the leaders in society determine shall not be.¹

Beede, in his missionary work, may have ranked the inner over the outer man, but he was also concerned with others' perceptions of Indians. Those in religious, political, or social authority could limit and guide one's actions or opportunities based on how they perceived one's value or potential. Beede saw society's development based on man's perceptions (not always accurate) of Natural Laws, which he considered a scientific revelation of God's divine will or universal laws. He remarked many times in both *Hindrance* and *Social Teaching* that understanding society depended on understanding the Natural Laws as cultures interpreted them. Making society better or social progress, for him, meant not only moving forward with developments and technologies, but also understanding a culture's past and present. He believed that scientific knowledge "disintegrates the old fabric and insures changes," but he insisted that "only knowledge of the structure of society with the interwork of its component parts can answer the question" of what society will become.² He realized that society did not leap from one state to another, but gradually evolved to a future influenced by and built on the present.

¹ Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 1-2.

² Beede, *Social Teachings*, 9.

Though Beede understood that Indian culture would have to change in response to the social context, he also believed that the perceptions and beliefs of his time helped set the direction for the next generation.

Beede wrote that one must know the past because it informed the present and the present directed the future. Knowledge of the past, however, was tricky. To make the best decisions, Beede believed that one must understand society or culture- the social ideas or identity- that affected and even limited one's future options. Whether based in fact or perception, Beede knew that people's beliefs about their history and culture helped to identify them and underlay cultural expressions. These beliefs were a source of identity. Identity, however, could also be developed and centered internally (such as Beede's concept of the inner man as the foundation of belief and action) or it could be enforced, manipulated, or constructed externally (such as through relationships with or in opposition to culture, society, or family). Though Beede did not use the term identity, he clearly recognized the importance of determining cultural identity in choosing future direction or development. Individuals or groups act, based on how they see themselves, or react, based on how others see them. The weaker the internal identity, the greater the tendency for identity to be defined or changed by external factors.

Beede, like other missionaries, recorded and shared information about the people with whom he worked. Most of the information he collected, however, did not make it into missionary reports. Beede approached his study and understanding of native culture with the belief that the better he and others, including Indians, understood the culture and the background of the Indians, the more effectively they could all make an informed

decision about where the Indians' future lay.³ As a missionary, Beede worked to create a new internal identity, but he did not think that it was necessary or desirable to completely divorce the internal identity from the external. Though he sought to change aspects of the culture, both for survival and to align with Christian values, he also worked to preserve knowledge, to encourage practice of traditional culture, and, most important to him, to correct misperceptions of Indians that existed in American society and among researchers. Many in American society sought to define Indians according to their perceptions and beliefs, often inaccurate. Misperceptions created unfair assumptions of Indians and tended to encourage social isolation. More than this, Indian education was dominated by teachers trained in the perceptions and ideas of American society, ideas that, consciously or unconsciously, they taught. Beede's work helped to preserve some of the external markers that were part of Indian identity formation and maintenance.

Perceptions of Indian culture

Much of the understanding and perceptions of Indians among those who did not understand Indians or their culture developed from tales of travel and exploration. The Sioux and other Indians who inhabited the Great Plains region were visited by traders and trappers as early as the 1600s. The expedition in 1804-1806 of Merriweather Lewis and William Clark, however, publicized and popularized information about the West. One of

³ Though I do not have the manuscript of the speech, these ideas likely formed that basis of a speech mentioned in a newspaper article that Beede gave during the Fort Berthold fair. Beede spoke to the Indians gathered about "history and the importance of the preserving history, and the practical benefits gained from history." The article explained that those in attendance so enjoyed Beede's speech that he was asked to speak again the next day even though other state political figures were already scheduled. In an effort to avoid conflict, Beede slipped away to Bismarck. "Indians Fair at Berthold: Dr. Beede Delivers Interesting Talk at Big Gathering of Red Men," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, September 24, 1912.

the first accounts of the Corp of Discovery was by Patrick Gass, a member of the Corps.⁴ Gass described the Sioux as friendly and disposed to be of assistance, but not averse to stealing.⁵ He also stated that they were dirty, because they drank their water from the “paunches of the animals that they kill, just as they are emptied, without being cleaned.”⁶ He heard another describe the men as handsome, the young men as “likely and active,” and the women as “homely and mainly old.”⁷ In a footnote, he gave the description that appeared in *General History of the Fur Trade*:

It appears that these people, (in some respects resembling the wandering Arabs) are an unsettled, ferocious, blood-thirsty race, and have been great destroyers of the Algonquin nation, who inhabit the country around Lake Superior. Mr. M’Kenzie states the following circumstance, “within three miles of the last portage (a place near Lake Superior) is a remarkable rock with a smooth face, but split and cracks in different parts, which hung over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of the arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of the Nadowasis or Sieux, who had done much mischief in their country, and left these weapons as a warning to the Chebios or natives, that, notwithstanding its lakes, rivers and rocks, it was not inaccessible to their enemies.”⁸

Though Gass did not seem ill disposed to the Sioux, they were referred to throughout the Corps’ time in the Dakotas in negative terms, especially after 1805 when the Sioux declared Lewis and Clark hostiles because of the Corps’ alliance with the Mandan.

⁴ Patrick Gass, *A journal of the voyages and travels of a corps of discovery, under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke, of the army of the United States: from the mouth of the river Missouri through the interior parts of North America, to the Pacific Ocean during the years 1804, 1805 & 1806* (Pittsburg: David M’Keehan, 1808). This first account was popular, but Lewis attacked it, stating that it was not authentic. The official account, published in 1814, was prepared by Nicholas Biddle and edited by Paul Allen after Lewis’s death in 1809. This synthesis of the journals and documents related to the expedition remained the authoritative version until the publication of the journals in the twentieth century.

⁵ Gass, *A journal of the voyages*, 44.

⁶ Gass, *A journal of the voyages*, 44.

⁷ Gass, *A journal of the voyages*, 32.

⁸ Gass, *A journal of the voyages*, footnote 45-46.

Lewis and Clark undertook their journey, not just to explore the western lands, but also to provide accurate and detailed information on the climate and residents of the region. In this, they also produced an assessment of the threat that native people posed and an evaluation of the difficulty of using western lands. This colored their opinion of the native groups, especially the Sioux, of whom they did not think highly. The Lewis and Clark description of the Teton was quite telling in this regard:

rather ugly and ill made, their legs and arms being too small, their cheekbones high, and their eyes projecting. Their females, with the same character of form, are more handsome; and both sexes appear cheerful and sprightly; but in our intercourse with them we discovered that they were cunning and vicious.⁹

Lewis and Clark often mentioned the Sioux in their journals and commented on their tendency to drive out or dominate other tribes.¹⁰ The Sioux, when meeting with the explorers, asked for as many concessions as they could get without being openly hostile. Lewis and Clark's descriptions of the Yankton were more generous. They wrote that the Yankton were

stout, well proportioned, and have a certain air of dignity and boldness. In dress, they differ nothing from the other bands of the nation ... they are fond of decorations, and use paint and porcupine quills, and feathers. Some of them wore a kind of necklace of the white bear's claws, three inches long, and closely strung.¹¹

In 1814, the same year that the "authoritative" edition of the Lewis and Clark journals was published, Henry Brackenridge, a lawyer, diplomat, politician and naturalist,

⁹ Paul Allen, ed., *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: Performed during the years 1804-5-6. By order of the government of the United States, Volume 1* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814), 87.

¹⁰ There are many references throughout their travels of the Sioux threatening them or stirring up trouble among the other tribes. Allen, *History of the expedition*, 163-66, 136.

¹¹ Allen, *History of the expedition*, 59.

published an account of a trip he took up the Missouri River in 1811.¹² To satisfy his curiosity and in hopes of meeting up with his friend, John Bradbury who had accompanied Wilson Price Hunt, Brackenridge decided to join Manuel Lisa on his expedition. John Bradbury, Scottish botanist, also published an account of his journey through Western America West in 1817.¹³

That the Sioux were openly hostile to white traders when these men took their trip likely accounts for their negative impressions of them.¹⁴ One of Brackenridge's first comments was on the common practice of all Missouri tribes to beg from the traders and to emphasize their poverty. Breckenridge stated that the Sioux were generally dirty, filthy people. This overcame much of his early enthusiasm for studying natives. "Mr. Bradbury had been an enthusiast, as most philanthropic Europeans are, on the subject of the Indian's manners and I was myself not a little inclined to the same way of thinking," Breckenridge explained, "but now we both agreed that the world would lose but little if these people should disappear before civilized communities."¹⁵ He believed that "lovers of Indian manners, and mode of living, should contemplate them at a distance," as, up

¹² Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Vol. 6, Journal of a voyage up the river Missouri: performed in 1811 by Henry Marie Brackenridge* (Cleveland, OH: A.H. Clark Co., 1904).

¹³ John Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; including a description of upper Louisiana, together with the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee, with the Illinois and western territories, and containing remarks and observations useful to persons emigrating to those countries* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1817).

¹⁴ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 88. Many of these early explorers also talk about how the Sioux have forced many tribes to move to other locations or caused weaker tribes to join with others. Beede writes to Judge J. M. Austin and states that even the Sioux had their period of imperialism. This can be seen quite clearly in how the Sioux spread from Minnesota to dominate North Dakota by the 1800s. Beede to J. M. Austin, October 19, 1932, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37 Folder 7

¹⁵ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 128.

close, they are dirty and smelled bad.¹⁶ The sense of disillusionment, the crumbling of their conception of the noble savage, as well as the tendency to judge the tribes by European standards, may explain some of Brackenridge's disapproval of the Sioux.

Brackenridge admitted that the Sioux had the same types of moral character that existed "amongst the most refined people; but as their vices are covered by no veil of delicacy, their virtues may be regarded rather as the effect of the involuntary impulse, than as the result of sentiment."¹⁷ "In some respects," he continued, "they are extremely dissolute and corrupt; whether this arises from refinement in vice, or from simplicity of nature, I cannot say; but much are they mistaken who look for primitive innocence and simplicity in what they call the state of nature."¹⁸ Contact with whites made them worse, not by adding new vices, but by presenting new temptations. He believed Indians' ruin to be a lack of constancy and uniformity of character due in large part limited schooling and discipline. The primary values inculcated seemed to be those of courage and ferocity, while the morals praised by white society were neglected.

Bradbury's account of travelling up the Missouri River was also interspersed with references to the danger that the Sioux posed and how they attacked almost everyone. At one point, he stated that all his travelling companions realized that falling into the hands of the Sioux meant certain death.¹⁹ He also made notes on the religion, morals, laws, and hospitality of the natives. He sometimes pointed out differences, but mainly he wrote in

¹⁶ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 114.

¹⁷ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 128.

¹⁸ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 129.

¹⁹ Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America*, 176.

general terms.²⁰ Bradbury also remarked that the Sioux treated their women badly, so much so that some committed suicide rather than being forced into marriage. Some mothers killed their baby girls, believing this to be a fate less cruel than marriage.²¹ Bradbury included a footnote from Lewis's report before Congress in February of 1806 describing the Sioux as:

the vilest miscreants of the savage race, and must ever remain the pirate of the Missouri, until such measures are pursued by our government as will make them feel a dependence on its will for their supply of merchandize. Unless these people are reduced to order by coercive measures, I am ready to pronounce that the citizens of the United States can never enjoy but partially that advantages which the Missouri presents. Relying on a regular supply of merchandize through the channel of the river St. Peter's, they view with contempt the merchants of the Missouri, whom they never fail to plunder with their power. Persuasion or advice with them is viewed as supplication and only tends to inspire them with contempt for those who offer either. The tameness with which the traders of the Missouri have heretofore submitted to their rapacity, has tended not a little to inspire them with poor opinion of white persons who visit them through that channel. A prevalent idea, and one which they make a rule of their conduct, is that the quantity of merchandize they will bring them, and that they will obtain the articles on better terms. They have endeavored to inspire the Aricaras with similar sentiments, but happily without effect.²²

Based on these early accounts, government policy changed dramatically. Officially, from the late 1700s through the war of 1812, the American government viewed native tribes as being sovereign, focused on maintaining a trading relationship, and sought to limit settlers' incursion on Indian lands. "The natives will probably remain in quiet and undisturbed possession," Brackenridge explained,

for at least a century, for until our country becomes in some degree surcharged with population, there is scarcely any probability of settlers venturing far into those regions. A different mode of life, habits altogether new and suited to the situation, would have to be adopted. Settlements would have to be strung along watercourses at such distances from each other, that they could not protect themselves from the wandering tribes. The distance from market and the difficulties of reaching it would render that agricultural produce of little or no value. Yet, I am convinced, that did not

²⁰ Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America*, 167-69.

²¹ Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America*, 89.

²² Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America*, footnote 84-85.

the Indian possess it, there would in a very short time, be many small groups of settlements scattered through it.²³

Some Americans viewed Indians as enemies or a threat, lending added public and government support to the removal of all tribes to the lands west of the Mississippi River. Indian removal garnered public support because it appealed to the desire to protect Indians from white incursions and, often more enticing, it offered Indian lands for sale. From 1815 through 1830, many of the smaller eastern tribes agreed to treaties, ceding their traditional homelands, and moved into lands west of the Mississippi River. With the Indian Removal Act of 1830, all major tribes were relocated to western land that the United States government traded for Indian lands east of the Mississippi River. By the 1850s, settlers were crowding Indian tribes in their search for new settlement lands, while others trespassed on Indian land during their journeys overland to the West coast of the United States. In response to the western movement, and settler's demands for land, the reserves to which the government moved the tribes were made smaller and smaller.

The increased settlement and the smaller reservations meant greater contact between whites and the Sioux and led some in white society to see them less an active threat and more as neighbors or hangers-on around forts. Mary Henderson Eastman, among others, believed that Indians were a vanishing race. In *Dahcotah; or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling*, a book published about her experiences among the Sioux in 1849, she expressed sympathy for the pitiable state of many of the Sioux at Fort Snelling.²⁴ Through her husband's contacts in the native community, she

²³ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 169-170.

²⁴ Mary Eastman, *Dahcotah; or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling* (1849. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975).

came to know many Indians and she learned their language. The tales in her book are true, though some were “varied in order to show some prevalent custom or illustrate some sentiment to which these Indians are devoted.”²⁵ She wrote not only because the Sioux were a “vanishing” people, but also to call attention to their humanity and needs. More than this, she felt that the practices, beliefs, and values of the Sioux were generally misrepresented.²⁶

Eastman described the men as tall and fine looking. She also stated that they had reason and were intelligent, not simple savages, though some had not responded well to white influences.²⁷ She made an impassioned plea for missionary work and praised the efforts of those who had already begun working among the Sioux. She was especially sympathetic to the plight of Sioux women, as they did much of the work and yet were held in low esteem.²⁸ Though she had been warned that Indian women “gossiped and stole; that they were filthy and troublesome,” she “could not despise them,” as “they were wives and mothers- God had implanted the same feelings in their hearts as in mine.”²⁹ Even with her sympathy for the Sioux, she was clear in stating that they were “savages” and, as such, had many faults, as did civilized men.³⁰

²⁵ Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, vi.

²⁶ Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, xi.

²⁷ Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, iii-iv.

²⁸ Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, v.

²⁹ Eastman befriended many of these women and they her. When she feared the death of one of her children, many of these women came and kept constant vigil over her daughter until it was clear that the child would be all right. Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, vii, ix-x.

³⁰ Eastman, *Life and Legends of the Sioux*, xvii.

Though some accounts, such as those of Mary Eastman, were sympathetic, many early accounts tended to feed sensationalism or to focus on the otherness of the Indians and, in doing so, encouraged the public to isolate Indians, if not physically then intellectually or developmentally. Researchers tended to encourage this trend with their descriptions, analysis, and comparisons with white society.

Research Based Perceptions of Indians

Before many missionaries began work among the Sioux, travelers and adventurers provided accounts- sometimes with a scientific focus and at other times with a sensational flair. By the turn of the twentieth century, the accounts of Lewis and Clark and other explorers that described the Sioux as dangerous and threatening were replaced by scientists' commentary on their primitive state.³¹ As interest in investigating and documenting Indian culture grew, so too did concerns over how quickly the traditional culture was changing or vanishing. Though many researchers believed in the urgent need to study native peoples, limited resources and lack of time often meant that they had to rely on those already in contact with tribes, quite often missionaries.³² As the social sciences developed and flourished, Indians were increasingly considered a beaten race with only a lingering reputation for savagery. Often the researchers focused on studying

³¹ Perhaps reflecting the prevalence of these types of views, the missionary Charles Hall explained in the mid-1800s that he felt "that I am going to preach to men, not to a class of beings between men and monkeys." As quoted in Jondahl and Moos, *The Frontier Missionary*, 38.

³² C. L. Higham, "Saviors and Scientists: North American Protestant Missionaries and the Development of the Anthropology," *Pacific Historical Review* 72 (2003): 531-559. Many missionaries recorded their experiences and shared them with researchers, sometimes for extra income, and so that the public would understand what they were doing and why they needed public support. They also recorded information about the culture to further other missionaries' understanding or ability to minister to the Indians. This may help to explain why Beede received so many letters from academics and researchers.

primitive cultures to understand or expand on theories of social development or the primitive roots of their own society. Beede's work in preserving Indian culture seems at first to fit with the practice of many missionaries, explorers, and researchers.

The social sciences, particularly sociology, were important in both Europe and the United States because they influenced the way that people thought about their society and about themselves and they were often tied to racial thinking and nationalism.³³ Most social researchers during the nineteenth century believed in set stages of development, often based on an evolutionary conception of human development that moved from savage to barbarian to civilized. These stages are often linked to the nineteenth century American anthropologist and social theorist Lewis Henry Morgan. Beede would have been familiar with his work. Stages of progress were not limited to Morgan though. Much of the social research of the nineteenth century was based on the work of Auguste Comte. He sought to produce a scientific understanding of the social realm through uniting history, psychology, and economics. He hoped that sociological positivism could cure social ills. By the 1880s, Herbert Spenser and Karl Marx dominated the concepts of sociology. Spenser argued in favor of Laissez Faire and set out the concept of Social Darwinism while Marx criticized capitalism and forecast that ultimately society would

³³ Eric Wolf breaks down the field of anthropology into three basic periods tied to specific assumptions. He believes that the first period begins at the end of the civil war and continues to the last decade of the 1800s during which time the theory of social Darwinism evolutionary theory was elaborated and applied. From the closing decade of the 19th century to World War II, anthropology underwent a liberal reform period that stressed human flexibility or plasticity. The third period, from WWII through the present, focuses on the uncertainties and equivocation of power. As presented in, Laura Nader, "Sleep walking through the History of Anthropology: Anthropologists on Home Ground" in William L. Merrill, and Ives Goddard, eds. "Anthropology, History and America Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant" *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 44, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. 2002: 47.

move to socialism and communism. Though their conclusions were disparate, both of them saw society and its development as static and deterministic with set stages of progress.

In *Dynamic Sociology--Or Applied Social Science as Based Upon Statical Sociology and the Less Complex Sciences* (1883), Lester Ward challenged the common belief that stages of development were mechanistic and deterministic and reasserted the importance of the scientific method to the field of sociology. He believed that human will and thought influenced and changed society hence, through systematic intervention, social ills could be minimized or eliminated. These beliefs led him to challenge the work of Herbert Spencer and the ideals of the laissez-faire economic system and to advocate policies that closely resembled socialist ideals.³⁴

Beede was in contact with many researches and at different times references concepts from the social sciences. Though he seems to have worked and studied more in the realms of sociology, he was often in contact with anthropologists. He did not seem to draw a distinction between the fields, but rather wrote and reflected on society and culture, his own and Indian's, as he experienced it. Beede would not have been the only

³⁴ Lester Ward, the father of American sociology, according to Albion Small, developed his understanding and theories of sociology outside the university and, from all appearances, outside of German scholarship. Ward's contribution to sociology was later dismissed in favor of Emile Durkheim who proposed a similar focus without the critiques of Laissez Faire. Durkheim borrowed from Spenser and refined Comte's methods, arguing that sociology was an extension of natural sciences and that as such it could lay claim to the same objectivity, rationalism, and approach to causality. Both Beede and Durkheim were educated at German universities at around that same time. It is difficult to decipher Beede's views on sociology or the social sciences in any depth, but it is clear from his writings and his life that he had a strong belief in and hope that a better understanding of society would help to address the problems inherent in it. In this He seems to have followed more strongly Ward's arguments than the influences that both he and Durkheim would have been exposed to during their time in German universities.

missionary who had read about social sciences, but he was one of a few who had made a dedicated study and application of them to his missionary work.³⁵ Though Beede studied social sciences in Germany, he seemed to favor Ward's understanding of sociology, especially the concern for social policy. This may be the result of his ministerial training, exposure to progressive era ideals, or the influence of Ward's lectures that he attended at the University of Chicago. Beede in his writings often expressed a belief in people's ability to influence and direct their futures through the application of their wills. He also realized that will was shaped by history and culture and that people who had been divorced from these influences faced a limited context in which to interpret potential future directions and to evaluate moral questions.

Perception and Indian Identity

Preserving Indian's heritage often involved the accounts and observations about Indians based on a comparison to white societies and did not take Indian perspectives into account. The assumptions about Indian identity based on gleanings from their tales and songs did not reflect the natives' understanding and beliefs; hence, they could not bridge

³⁵ In an article exploring anthropologists' antagonism to missionaries, several writers mention that missionaries received no training in anthropology, linguistics, and other areas. Though since the 1950s, this has begun to change. See Stipe et al, "Anthropologists Versus Missionaries," 165-179. Yet, James Axtell's description of ethnohistory could double as a description of how Beede approached the study of the Indians with whom he worked:

One crucial test of reliability of any evidence pertaining to native life, written or otherwise, is to weigh and measure it critically against ethnological knowledge gained from study of the group or similar groups through variety of methods and materials. It is this new dimension—the critical use of ethnological concepts, materials, and sensitivity to evaluate historical documents—that separates ethnohistory from history proper. For Ethnohistorians can bring to bear “special knowledge of the group, linguistic insights, and understanding of the cultural phenomena,” which allow them to utilize written data more fully than the average historian.

James Axtell, “The Ethnohistory of Native America” in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. by Donald L. Fixico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 15.

the gap between what the culture was and what white society demanded it become. The foundation that many assumed as the basis for Indian society and identity was flawed.

Removal and reservations decreased contact between Indians and the general populace, making it easier to write and conceive of them as a separate entity. As Stuart Banner explained, the reservations could be a prison or a sanctuary, depending on whether the government was trying to keep settlers out or keep Indians in.³⁶ In an e-mail to David Martinez, Vine Deloria, Jr., a prominent Native American writer, activist and historian, explained:

People forget that there were 4 strand barbed wire fences around Sioux reservations until the late 1920s and that Indians had to have a pass to get off the reservation- and if a group of people went off the res they had to have an Indian policeman accompany them- in this atmosphere where everything was a police state and people were forbidden to attend social events held in a traditional manner, the few who did get outside and learned to live in white society had to act as spokes people to the larger society that Indians were people.³⁷

Some might argue that the term prison is too harsh, but the lives of those on reservations were under scrutiny and Indians were limited in what they could do and where they could go.³⁸

³⁶ Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*, 236.

³⁷ As quoted in David Martínez, *Dakota Philosopher: Charles Eastman and American Indian Thought* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009), 155. See also, O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 75. Agent McGillicuddy, explained historian Candy Moulton, limited white access to reservations in order to protect Indians from the negative influence of many traders. Though, a noble thought, it showed a mistrust of Indians ability to care for themselves. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 191. Charles Eastman at one time kicked a trader off the reservation for interfering with a medicine man. The trader was only following government instructions and the entire incident was worsened by misunderstanding by all parties. The women on the reservation petitioned for the trader to be allowed on the reservation again as his Indian family was still there. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 379.

³⁸ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 92-94.

For those whites who took up land or lived on the reservation, the opportunities for contact were much greater. Karen Hansen reminded readers that in

the United States, we think of cross-cultural encounters as beginning between indigenous peoples and European traders in the sixteenth century and culminating in warfare between the U. S. Government and Indian nations in the nineteenth century. But this particular engagement of separate worlds involved Scandinavian immigrants and Dakota Sioux on an Indian reservation in North Dakota *after* 1900. Decades of living side by side created multiple and contradictory layers of conflict, adaptation, resistance, and mutuality within the social relationships on [Spirit Lake Reservation] land.³⁹

When speaking about the social position of Norwegian settlers and the Indians living on Spirit Lake Reservation, Hansen explained that in many ways they were similar, especially because both were cultural outsiders to the rest of American society.⁴⁰ The great distance between communities and farms often encouraged social isolation, which was furthered by the tendency of immigrant groups to settle in communities. A clear difference between the settlers and Indians' situations, however, was that settlers could choose their isolation, but Indians were isolated on reservations by law and policy.

Given the limitations that the government placed on contact with Indians, it is not surprising that the focus of research and cultural images or depictions tended toward the exotic. Attendance at Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows and at Indian celebrations or programs allowed people to view Indian culture as one would a play, without concern for the Indians as people. They were not citizens, but dependents, and once they had been properly "civilized," they would gradually be allowed to assume responsibility for their own land and become eligible for citizenship.⁴¹ Their exclusion from the rest of society,

³⁹ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 1-2. Emphasis is the authors.

⁴⁰ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 9.

⁴¹ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 81-82,103.

as Beede, some whites, and some Indians argued, encouraged racial stereotypes and limited acceptance and support from the larger culture, making them vulnerable to the corrupt and the controlling.⁴²

This is not surprising, as many Indians did not speak or write English nor did they generally write about their culture or themselves for the American public. There were exceptions, particularly among Indians referred to as the Red or 1890s Progressives. The 1890 Progressive Generation, many of whom had been at least partially educated in white schools, worked to raise awareness of Native American rights. Foremost among these were Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, and Ella C. Deloria. These writers strove to present an accurate and sympathetic picture of Indians in an attempt to correct the stereotypes that they saw as central to the maintenance of the reservation system. They particularly strove to challenge the belief that Indians were uncivilized and uneducated, as this was the most common justification for limiting their legal status to that of dependents.⁴³ They also provided popular native voices rather than researchers' reports

⁴² Though relations between the different cultures on the reservations were not always friendly or accepting, many settlers conquered their discomfort or fear of Indians and established cooperative if not friendly relationships. Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 9. Though friendships and cooperative relationships did exist, some were unwilling to establish them or to have any extended contact with Indians. In a letter to a friend, Beede expressed his consternation over the refusal of builders to work on the reservation even to build a church and their tendency to overcharge Indians. "Editor's Desk," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908;

⁴³ Charles Eastman has published many works on both the history of the Sioux and their oral tradition. Ella C. Deloria worked as an ethnologist under Franz Boas and has published many works on the Sioux. Luther Standing Bear is probably best known for his *My People the Sioux*. In the preface to this work he states, "The preparation of this book has not been with any idea of self-glory. It is just a message to the white race; to bring my people before their eyes in a true and authentic manner." Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928). Charles Eastman and others of these early Indian rights writers have been dismissed by later writers as assimilationists, in large part because of their training in boarding schools and the radicalizing of the Indian Rights Movement of the 1960s. For an example of this see Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 157.

on their cultures. Unfortunately, many of this generation struggled to prove themselves against standards outside their culture and a society that often linked inferiority, not only to lesser economic development, but also to lower evolutionary development.⁴⁴

Further complicating matters, Indians, at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, were often educated either at boarding schools, often located off the reservation, or in day schools. Not only were these schools outside the Indians' culture, but teachers and administrators were often openly hostile or dismissive of Indian traditions and culture.⁴⁵ The school administrators sought to limit the practice and transmission of traditional culture and, through this, save the Indians from a culture they believed was limiting their potential development. Though children were pressured or forced to attend reservation schools, by the closing years of the 1800s, many Indian children were sent east to attend schools distant from their homes, which limited the influence their families and culture could have on them. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz wrote that the boarding schools not only stripped children of language and community skills, it

⁴⁴ Beede remarked on some of these attitudes when he described the unwillingness of white workers to work on the reservation and to board with Indians. In the August 1908 edition of *The Sheaf*, he related that carpenters would not board with Indians and their tendency to overcharge them, but then spoke favorably of his own experience boarding with them: "two Indians have generously given me meat, and one has given me bread. Our Indian ministers' wives are good cooks. They make tipsina broth so it is delicious. It is made of wild turnips. They can make all kinds of soups, very delicious. Sioux Indians are a very clean people, especially when they reside near the river. I enjoy myself here." "Our Indian Field: Red Hail," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908. Bishop Fredrik Johnson also emphasized the cleanliness of Indians in a speech at the missionary council in 1908. "I can point you to hundreds of Indian homes," he told his audience, "more cleanly and refined than those of white men of a like station in life." "Report on the Missionary Council," *North Dakota Sheaf*, November 1908. "Editor's Desk," *North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1908.

⁴⁵ Adams, *Education for Extinction*. The experience of Plenty Horse is one example of how schools challenged and broke down native identity, yet could not replace it with a new identity and opportunities. She also believed that boarding schools left a legacy of dysfunction on reservations. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 151, 156-57, 211-14. See also, Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 195-203.

was also useless in promoting assimilation and created “multiple lost generations of traumatized individuals.” David Edmunds wrote,

Educational institutions have consistently functioned as agents of acculturation, and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries their curricula and Dickensian methods of instruction often reflected a callous insensitivity to Native American children. Students were encouraged to renounce their traditional culture and to plunge headfirst into the mainstream of American life. Only a complete rejection of tribal identities would assure their assimilation into modern American society. Yet this promise failed. The adherence to white cultural patterns did not guarantee acceptance by non-Indians, and cultural patterns acquired at boarding schools often attracted criticism within the tribal communities. Since World War II, these attitudes have changed somewhat, but for many Native American people who passed through the boarding schools in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries; these institutions profoundly shaped their lives.⁴⁶

Often these institutions focused on technical training in order to encourage the “primitive” peoples to advance to the next stage of civilization. Even in reservation schools, technical education and basic English language acquisition were the focus. For boys, school generally included training in farming or similar occupations, girls were trained in the household arts, sewing, cooking, cleaning and child care. Though the intent was to train Indian children in skills that would allow them to adapt and succeed in white society, often this meant disconnecting them from their own culture and sometimes their families.

Views and accounts of Indian history in schools were often those written by white researchers and educators. Traditional values and beliefs were often denigrated or shown to be less advanced than those of white society, and the children were reminded- sometimes directly, sometimes by implication- that they were inferior to whites. Though

⁴⁶ R. David Edmunds, “Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995” *The American Historical Review* 100 (1995): 734-35. Many of these individuals would from the first Indian rights movement.

a total replacement of cultural was impossible, this system of education had an impact on the development and perpetuation of Indian culture and identity that was both dramatic and difficult to trace.⁴⁷ The schools encouraged the creation of a universal Indian identity, but this may have led to a partial destruction of individual tribal identity. Whether it was universal or tribal in focus, Indian education was dominated by white accounts and values that placed Indian culture on the same level as myth- interesting and diverting.

Researchers have since reflected some concern over Indian identity and participation when they criticized early historical accounts of Indians as being too critical, sensational, or trivial. Often earlier histories of the Great Plains focused on cowboys and Indians or anthropological accounts.⁴⁸ “Native Americans were culturally different from early literate white observers,” as David Edmunds explained,

⁴⁷ Beede occasionally recorded instances when young Indians showed ignorance of their own history or culture. Beede to Gilmore, Thanksgiving 1917 and Easter 1918, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁴⁸ The 1950s brought a change in methodology that would support a growing focus on and concern for Indian experience. William T. Hagan linked this to the work of the Indians Claims commission. Anthropologists understood the culture but not the historical context, while historians were focused on the political and administrative history and, hence, the white man’s version. Anthropology and history merged in the 1950s to produce ethnohistory, which became central to the “New Indian History” as this field attempted to examine and explain Indian culture and how it has adapted and persevered. It also strives to adopt a view where Indians are not hapless unresponsive victims, but rather respond to and negotiate their circumstances. This new methodology grew in popularity even as the Red Power movement and New Western History developed, grew, and influenced one another. Hagan, “The New Indian History,” in *Rethinking American Indian History*. Robert Berkhofer, Jr., expressed much of the new approaches that came with the development of ethnohistory in his *Salvation and the Savage* which emphasized cultural perspective as an important part of interpreting actions, attitudes, and responses. Edmunds, “Native Americans, New Voices”, 721, 725-26. For an example of this see, Utley, *The Last Days*. Fredrick Hoxie’s *A Final Promise* combined many of these techniques to reexamine the assimilationist policies of the pre-1920s. He argued that there were two distinct policies. The first was from 1880-1890 and strove for complete and equal assimilation of Indians. From 1890-1920, he argued that the closing of the frontier shifted the view of Indians from progressive development to the nostalgia of the noble savage. Traditionally, the growth of the pan Native American rights movement has been tied to the publication of Vine Deloria’s *Custer Died for Your Sins*. It presented Indian policy from the 1950s through the 1970s and called for political lobbying. It also called into question the role researchers had played in creating the struggles over Indian identity. Vine Deloria’s *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: MacMillan, 1969. Increasing involvement of Indians in research has come to be marked by a growing

and did not share the same native language. Even though most tribes maintained a rich oral tradition, in the early twentieth century this cultural and historical information was often dismissed as "myth" or "legend" and rarely used by historians. Since Indians initially produced no written records of their own, accounts of their history were formulated by Europeans, using records or accounts written by other Europeans, many of whom had relatively limited familiarity with the Native American cultures and languages they were describing.⁴⁹

The folklorist Barre Toelken cautioned against unqualified acceptance of researchers' work, as many isolated themselves from Indians, sometimes physically and sometimes intellectually, in order to be objective. In *Anguish of the Snails*, he not only wrote about the meaning and practice of many aspects of Indian culture, but also about the importance of understanding the relationship between the researcher and the subject and making research inclusive of the researcher's as well as the subject's perspectives.⁵⁰ Toelken, as did many researchers, noted that there were many misconceptions of Indians,

political activism of researchers on Native American culture. Not only are they concerned with how the Indian is referred to and conceived of within their studies, but also within the larger culture. Wilcomb Washburn "A Historian Among Anthropologists" in Merrill, William L. And Ives Goddard, eds. "Anthropology, History and America Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant" *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 44, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. 2002: 105-110. Since the 1970s, there has been a growth of studies on the pre-Columbian Indian history. Much of this relied heavily on archeology. There have also been growing numbers of post colonist studies. One such example is Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*. Shari M. Huhndorf in *Going Native* explored the ways in which Indian identity has been used first as a justification for colonization, and now, by means of going native and expressing sympathy with Indians some avoid the guilt of colonization. She provides a recent version of researchers' conceptions of Indians and what roles the Indians and the conceptions about them have meant. Native American agency has continued to remain a focus of modern research with researchers placing growing importance on the role of native collaborators both in creating projects and in determining that the content and use reflected natives' desires, interests, and needs. Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Americans in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001). One of the dominant motifs among these are Richard White's conceptions of middle grounds or places in which Indians and whites negotiated and merged their cultures. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices," 721.

⁵⁰ Barre Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails: Native American Folklore in the West* Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2003; Edmunds, 721; Larry Evers and Barre Toelken, "Introduction: Collaboration in the Translation and Interpretation of Native American Oral Traditions," in Larry Evers and Barre Toelken, *Native American Oral Traditions: Collaboration and Interpretation* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2001).

past and present. Recent studies have argued that an accurate understanding depended on a greater sensitivity to Indian voices and experiences. Often, researchers had limited contact with or depended heavily on others, such as missionaries or government agents, who were often interested in preserving oral traditions, particularly myths and legends, as examples of primitive tales or examples of mysticism. One example of this is Stephen Riggs, a missionary to the Sioux. Though sympathetic to Indians, Riggs tended to focus on his own experiences and to write about Indians rather than express their views.⁵¹ He wrote to convince others of the need for his missionary work and to prove the progress he was making, which tended to encourage a particular perspective in his writing.

Researchers' new techniques and philosophies, and recent native history have focused on shifting the interpretation of Native actions to show increased involvement, determination, and inclusion. The shifts toward inclusion, while often bringing greater sympathy and agency for Indians, cannot mask the struggle to balance sources.⁵² The historian Hansen explained that settlers left written records and many Indian sources were reflections or oral history, making a balanced narrative of the experiences on Spirit Lake Reservation difficult. Though good sources that may expand our understanding, oral history and reflections do not have the same immediacy nor ease of access as written sources, such as settlers' letters and journals. Additionally, historians, by training, give priority to written sources. The tendency of different groups of researchers to assign guilt,

⁵¹ Riggs, *Mary and I* and Riggs, *Tah'-koo wah-kañ* are excellent examples of this. Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices," 718-720.

⁵² Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 5; Gunlög Fur, "Indians and Immigrants-Entangled Histories." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 33, no. 3 (2014); Karen V. Hansen, and Grey Osterud. "Landowning, Dispossession and the Significance of Land among Dakota and Scandinavian Women at Spirit Lake, 1900-29." *Gender & History* 26, no. 1 (2014).

point fingers, or moralize based on their philosophy makes it even more difficult to create a balanced narrative.

Some researchers have used their knowledge of Indian history and culture to read into explorers' and missionaries' accounts to expand on Indian views and experiences by implication and interpretation. *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes*, a collection of nine essays written by authors who reflected on how the Lewis and Clark expedition interpreted and understood Indians was one such work.⁵³ The variety of content, approaches, and styles made these articles fascinating, especially as several of the authors expanded on the traditional narrative by referring to accounts by their own tribes.

Mark N. Trahant's essay "Who's your Daddy?" explored several aspects, including misunderstandings of Indians based in cultural assumptions.⁵⁴ Lewis and Clark described the Agaidika band of the Shoshone as being poor and pitiful, but they also described a quantity of silver bridle bits, many well-sewn fur garments, and the Shoshones' four hundred excellent horses, all of which were valuable trade items and signs of wealth. Trahant also commented on the Shoshones' superior trading skills. the twenty-nine horses they traded to the explorers were their poorest and worst.⁵⁵

⁵³ Alvin M. Josephy Jr., (Ed.), *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition* (New York; Vintage Books, 2007).

⁵⁴ Mark N. Trahant, "Who's Your Daddy?" in Alvin M. Josephy Jr, *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition* (New York; Vintage Books, 2007), 49-68.

⁵⁵ Trahant, "Who's Your Daddy?," 55; see also, Roberta Conner, "Our People Have Always Been Here," in in Alvin M. Josephy Jr, *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition* (New York; Vintage Books, 2007), 105.

Trahant also pointed out the fallacy of crediting Lewis and Clark for bringing the institution of democracy to the west when members of the crew voted on a replacement for a sergeant who had died. Trahant included examples from the Shoshone and other tribes who had long elected leaders for certain times or tasks. This was no different from what Lewis and Clark described.⁵⁶ The difference was a limited understanding or knowledge of the culture that those recording the events had. The limited understanding and perspectives of those recording Indian history that Trahant pointed out was a point of concern for Beede, just as it continues to be for researchers.

One of the most interesting aspects that Trahant explored in his essay was the meaning or connection behind historical accounts. His family traced its relation to Clark and took as proof the red hair, like Clark's, that some members had and the tradition that their tribe had met the expedition in Montana. As Trahant searched the records and traditions, however, he discovered that this tradition could not be true, because the tribe had not been in the vicinity when the expedition had passed through. It was a myth, taken as history, and it had become part of how members of his family identified themselves and explained who they were.⁵⁷ Trahant's essay emphasized the importance of understanding, not only the facts, but also the meaning or identity that people derive from their histories and myths.

Bill Yellowtail also commented in his essay in the collection on the dramatic impact that an interpretation of one's history can have. He warned of the danger of

⁵⁶ Trahant, "Who's Your Daddy?" 56-58. For more on leadership and government of tribes see, O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 24-27; Pevar, *The Rights of Indians*, 84-85.

⁵⁷ Trahant, "Who's Your Daddy?" 52.

allowing victimhood and grieving based on lost heritage or historical accounts of wrongs to become the core of one's identity, as this could trap one in a passive role. He called for a closer look, a new understanding or interpretation of the economic and social foundations, the heritage and history, of one's tribe as a basis for economic growth and a redefinition of who a person was.⁵⁸

Beede realized the importance of knowing one's origins, though he recommended that his grandson not go hunting up his ancestors as one could waste a lot of time living in the past.⁵⁹ He also believed it to be important that Indians knew and understood their history. Beede saw the many threats to and the destruction of Indian culture, which added greater importance to preserving what he could. More than this, however, he hoped to further accurate knowledge of Indian culture, an effort he believed would bring Indians greater respect and better treatment. Though he was recording and preserving Indian culture for researchers and for the American public, he was also doing it for the Indian people. Often Indian identity was defined by others or in reaction to other people's perceptions. In preserving the culture and striving to portray accurately the people and their values, both positive and negative, Beede may have been working to enable Indians to define their own identity and, hence, choose their own direction.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Bill Yellowtail, "Merriweather and Billy and the Indian Business," in Alvin M. Josephy Jr, *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008), 76-77.

⁵⁹ Beede to William Beede (b. 1922), 1926. UND, Coll. 206, Box 4, Folder 9.

⁶⁰ A sense of identity is key to knowing not only one's future, but also for what one is fighting. Though writing about unions and political education, Beede remarked, "They must learn how to use this power with intelligence and adroitness, as well as with justice. Much as we pity the people in their struggles we do not advocate giving them freedom until they win it." "In general," he continued, "we believe the people are the worthy and benefited recipients of only so much as they are capable of winning. The problem is to teach them to fight for themselves. Until they develop the skill to win from their

Knowing one's history and choosing one's identity provide stability and perspective that allow for evaluation of consequences and potential. Beede saw the Indians with whom he lived and worked, not as pitiful savages, but as people who had potential, but who might never be able to succeed unless they clearly knew who they had been, who they were, and who they wished to be. He knew that in issues between corporations and the people, the government had to act as a mediator and ensure impartiality in negotiations. Beede was angered that no matter how Indians defined themselves, they did not have a neutral mediator in negotiations. Given the degree of government control, who could or would act as mediator or provide impartiality in negotiations? Beede could do neither, but he did what he could to help the Indians become more capable of standing up for their rights.

As a missionary, Beede worked to provide a strong sense of identity through the remaking of the inner man and, through this, the uplifting and strengthening of the community. He understood that Christianity could not provide the only source of identity for Indians. They did not spring fully formed from Zeus nor from any other being's brow, but they were a people who had a history, a culture that formed a large part of who they were, both in the past and in their present. He knew that their understanding and choice of identity would also help to set and possibly limit their future directions. Preserving and sharing Indian traditions were a means of allowing Indians to decide for themselves who they were and to change others' perceptions of them. Though Beede knew that Indians would be unable to succeed without assistance from others, he knew that only so long as

oppressor, the present industrial government of the country, it would be idle to expect them to successfully administer it if it were freely offered them." Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 31, 47.

Indians could understand and define themselves would they have the foundation on which to maintain a strong community and to continue fighting for their rights.

CHAPTER V
THROUGH INDIAN EYES: COLLECTING, SHARING, AND EXPLAINING
ASPECTS OF INDIAN CULTURE

As Paul would have his brotherhood bring into being the conditions that engender love in order that it may appear and have free course; so must we transform our social organization making it more consonant with the Christian ideal before diverse individuals and groups can realize as actual that love which by the operation of christianity is now ideal in the race.⁶¹

As Beede wrote, a sense of brotherhood or common identity was at the heart of Christianity and he believed that this could also be at the heart of social change. Beede struggled with how to remake one's social organization to allow for greater brotherhood. For Beede, love and selflessness were the foundation of Christian conduct and they impelled action. One aspect of this action was the interest or benefit of the least in society. Rather than seeing the Christian as superior, hence removed from society and protected, Beede called for Christians to sacrifice themselves and their goods to protect or assist the weak and to help others find or create new possibilities. For Plato and others, a perfect society was based in common interest and was predicated on downplaying or destroying blood ties. Beede, by way of the Apostle Paul, emphasized that Christians must see all as "a brother or a sister, a mother or a father ... especially in him who has been stripped by thieves and robbers."⁶²

⁶¹ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 15.

⁶² Beede, *Social Teachings*, 15. Beede is referring to 1 Thessalonians 5:26 and Luke 10:30.

If love was a guiding, unifying principle, isolation was the danger, not only to Christian conduct, but also to social development. “The old individualism forgot that the individual does nothing,” Beede wrote,

save as he moves in cooperation with others. The thought of the individual without society is as absurd as that of a society which crushes the individual. The infant growing up in isolation does not develop even intelligence. So, the adult does not develop full manhood as an anarchist.⁶³

Rather than merely a social sciences definition, Beede also linked the need for connection to the Bible, as man was “man at the beginning, but still in a primitive state of existence and having his appointed growth and evolution from the outset in connection with society; for, ‘it is not good that man should be alone,’” Beede continued,

It is well known that human beings may develop a real and fairly noble self-hood without the exalted influence of Christianity at all, but never without full connection with those formative influences, which are obtainable only by membership in some sort of social organization. ... We must acknowledge, then, that society is the indispensable prerequisite of Christianity, though the latter is not absolutely indispensable to a social organization.⁶⁴

He cited tramps as examples of the dangers of being isolated. Tramps are not working toward disorder, but rather they have become isolated or detached from the restraints and incentives of society. “They have no family, neighborhood and church connections,” wrote Beede, “and so must degenerate and perish.”⁶⁵ Tramps and even vacationers can tend towards vice, corruption, or intemperance when disassociated from guides or laws that govern or reinforce behavior. Beede was interested not only in the laws that govern and guide, he was also concerned with the development of “noble self-hood.” He saw

⁶³ Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 23.

⁶⁴ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 5; Beede links this to Galatians 3: 24-25.

⁶⁵ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 7.

one's connection to society as an acceptance of the core rules and as encouraging the development of abilities and opportunities that increased its members' potential. Before the results of this disconnection can be remedied, Beede believed, one must first identify what conditions detach people from society.⁶⁶

Beede's society was divided; unions and acculturation or assimilation programs reflected class, race, and cultural divisions. Some, fearing the effect of cultural mixing on mainstream American culture or traditional power bases, supported isolationist policies, particularly in the case of Indians. Others saw isolation as protecting a vulnerable people, until they could survive in American society or until they all died. Beede found this troubling and a challenge both to his belief in Christian love and its presence and importance. He saw the integration of Indians, blacks, or foreigners as difficult to accomplish when the groups were socially isolated, whether in an ethnic neighborhood or on a reservation.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Beede's interest in and thoughts on this likely came from his time studying tramps by tramping in Germany. It is interesting how some of his observations were echoed by George Orwell in *Down and out in Paris and London*. Orwell wrote that tramps were considered "blackguards, and consequently there exists in our minds a sort of ideal or typical tramp- a repulsive, rather dangerous creature, who would die rather than work or wash, and wants nothing but to beg, drink, and rob hen-houses. This tramp monster is no truer to life than the sinister Chinaman of the magazine stories, but he is very hard to get rid of. The very word 'tramp' evokes his image. And the belief in him obscures the real questions of vagrancy." Rather than monster, Orwell wrote that they were "ordinary human beings, and that if they are worse than other people it is the result and not the cause of their way of life." Orwell explained that they were cut off from the rest of society, from marriage and family, because of their economic situation. They were a dead loss to the community. The unfavorable description and questionable behavior of tramps Orwell linked to being cut off from society, especially women, by the lack of work. If tramps were given work with which to support themselves, they would regain their self-respect and reestablish connections with society. George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (New York: Harcourt, INC., 1933), 200-201. Differences between Orwell and Beede come with their perspectives. Beede's views on society were an outgrowth of his Christian faith and his education, whereas Orwell's developed from his experiences, and acceptance of socialistic theories.

⁶⁷ Beede noted that through the school system and through shared interests, foreigners had been Americanized, "except where they congregate in large numbers in the cities" or isolate themselves from the larger culture. Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 18.

He believed that the ideal of love impelled him and all followers of Christ to reach out to these groups and recognize a common brotherhood. Whether it was foreigners or Indians, Beede remarked that “We find in their presence only a temporary hindrance and no insuperable obstacle. We must realize that they are one with us, and that their injustice and cause of complaint is also our own.”⁶⁸ More than this, he linked their cultural inclusion to progress, even citing Thomas Henry Huxley’s belief that cultural mixing encouraged progress: “It seems also to be true that every great forward movement in humanity has been preceded by the mingling under favored conditions of diverse peoples and bloods.”⁶⁹ Beede was not only a proponent of preserving Indian culture, but he also saw it as a means of connecting Indians to American culture and, through this, creating opportunities. He realized that social isolation was detrimental and a way to break it was by finding and promoting links between different groups.

Connecting Indians to society through Christian faith certainly would have been his goal as a missionary, but Beede took his responsibilities further. He sought to connect all Indians to American culture, not just ones who had become Christian brothers and sisters. One way he hoped to do this was by seeing Sioux culture from an Indian rather than from a white perspective, to understand not only what they said, but also how they thought about and understood the world. With all the information that Beede collected and evaluated, he began to see connections between the cultures. With these common points, he hoped to emphasize the humanity or brotherhood of Indians and so encourage

⁶⁸ Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 19.

⁶⁹ Beede, *Some Hindrances*, 16.

sympathy and assistance for their causes.⁷⁰ Beede not only sought this perspective for himself, but he also shared it with researchers and others. In doing so, he particularly emphasized the connections he saw between different cultures to increase understanding and possibly a sense of brotherhood. He also liked to point out moments when Indians chose to identify with American society. Whether it be whites identifying with Indians or Indians claiming American citizenship, Beede believed sharing these connections provided greater opportunities to both. Whites could create an American identity in unique plant and animal life, native cultures, and history, rather than by transplanting European identity. Indians would benefit from the increased opportunities and support created when they were identified as fellow citizens and as part of a unique American heritage and culture.

Collecting and Sharing Culture: Methods, Contacts, and Misrepresentation

Among the ways in which Beede preserved and spread an understanding of Indian culture was through sharing with other researchers or interested parties what he was told and what he observed while among the Indians. He was frequently in contact with many of North Dakota's researchers, such as Melvin Gilmore and Orin G. Libby. Melvin Gilmore, an ethnologist, a botanist, and a museum curator, first in Nebraska and later with the Heye Foundation and University of Michigan, was the North Dakota State Historical Society curator from 1916-1923. Beede was one of his sources of information

⁷⁰ Though he himself was "never much for writing," Beede originally began sharing his observations because of the prompting of friends and others and because of his desire to make connections between the cultures and hence gain support for Indians. He reminded Gilmore in a letter that, "a flower story or an animal story maybe interesting once in a while, and it will help people understand Indians." Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

on cultural artifacts as well as a contact with some of the local tribes. Gilmore was especially interested in the Indian names of and uses for native plants.⁷¹ Libby, referred to as the Father of North Dakota history and honored by the Mandan with the name “Long-Man-who-gets-things-right,” believed that the history of North Dakota would be incomplete without the history of every Indian tribe in the state.⁷² This belief led Libby not only to maintain a correspondence with Beede and others who worked directly with Indians, but also to visit all the tribes in North Dakota and to listen to their stories and songs and attend their dances. Occasionally, he stayed in Indian homes and slept under their blankets, no matter how uncomfortable he may have been while doing so.

Beede corresponded with Dr. N. W. Jipson, from Chicago, who was involved with his own historical society and who wrote on Indians.⁷³ Through Dr. Jipson, Beede submitted several documents and items to the Chicago Historical Society.⁷⁴ Beede exchanged letters with George Heye, a well-known collector of Indian cultural artifacts, and provided him with information on how Indians dressed.⁷⁵ George Grinnell Bird, the anthropologist and historian, was among those who corresponded with and visited Beede.

⁷¹ Not only was Beede a source for Gilmore, but Thomas Ashley corresponded with Gilmore occasionally providing information on Sioux culture and help with translations. Ashley was an Episcopal lay reader who worked under Beede until he forfeited his license by remarrying after a divorce and may have been introduced to Gilmore through Beede.

⁷² Gordon L. Iseminger, “‘Long-man-who-gets-things-right’: Mandan Name for Dr. Orin G. Libby,” (paper presented at the 47th Annual Dakota Conference on the Northern Plains, Sioux Falls, SD, April 24, 2015).

⁷³ Beede has records of correspondence in UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁷⁴ In February 1923, Beede sent Dr. Jipson an eight-page manuscript, “History of the Oglala Sioux, as kept by John No Ears.” In April, he submitted a “Mnemonic Pictures with key of the winter count” painted on linen by High Dog and a sealed envelope with the name of the person who shot Custer. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 6.

⁷⁵ Beede to Heye, September 5, 1928 and October 24, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12.

Beede provided him with information on the legends and history from several Indian tribes.⁷⁶ George E. Hyde, a historian specializing in Indian history, contacted Beede for additional information on the locations at which the Sheyenne hunted and camped. Beede responded to questions from Keene Abbott of the *Omaha World Herald* on Indian terms of greeting, Luella Hall on Indian attitudes to domesticated animals, and General Hugh S. Scott on the Arikara and Shoshone.⁷⁷ Even the United States Geographic Board contacted Beede, requesting the Indian names of specific buttes in North Dakota.⁷⁸

Not only did Beede record and share the oral traditions of Native Americans, but he also arranged opportunities for people to meet and speak with Indians. George Bird Grinnell visited Beede on at least one occasion.⁷⁹ Ernest Thomas Seton, an author, artist, and founding pioneer of Boy Scouts, and “seven or eight friends” planned a visit to see Beede in 1927. He told Beede, “if we could meet some of your fine old Indians it will be helpful to us, and I think we could make it helpful to them.”⁸⁰ In his reply to this letter, Beede told Seton that he had been asked many times to obtain goods from or interviews

⁷⁶ The legend of the Red Snake was about Mandan village that had been wiped out by disease. January 1918, July 2, 1918, August 28, 1920, January. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁷⁷ March 25, 1917, April 29, 1917, September 19, 1919, and September 21, 1919, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁷⁸ June 17, 1924, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 8.

⁷⁹ Beede to Grinnell, July 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁸⁰ June 23, 1927, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 11.

with Indians.⁸¹ Beede also provided letters of introduction and worked to foster connections between Indians and responsible researchers.⁸²

Though Beede, like other missionaries, was often a source or contact for researchers, there were limitations on what he could or would share. One was time. In his letter to Gilmore on Thanksgiving Day, 1917, he explained that he had taken on the roles of Judge and U.S. Fuel, food, and crop reporter in Sioux County. Additionally, “by unsought precedent,” he had become the free consulting attorney and was using every free moment to update and expand his previous knowledge of law. All of which left him little time for the “Indian work which he so loved.”⁸³ In a response to another letter from Gilmore pleading for information on botanical specimens, Beede responded with a very un-missionary like Indian proverb, “To hurry a man is as bad as to rape a woman - the worst of crimes.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ One time, Libby requested, only two days in advance, that Beede gather fifty to a hundred “representative old Indians for him and his friends to meet.” With the difficulty of getting rations for as well as messages to all the Indians, Beede decided to ignore this request. As it turned out, Libby had to cancel anyway. June 28, 1927, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 11.

⁸² One note in Libby’s papers reads:

Mr. Moses [McLanal], Dear Friend, This letter will introduce you to Professor Libby of Grand Forks. I wish you would talk with him freely about the old times among the Indians, as you do with me. Mr. Libby is a true friend of the Indians. A McG Beede

April 6, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Another letter in this collection informed Libby that his requested letter of introduction to an Indian in the Turtle Mountains was waiting with Mr. Ingalls at Dunseith. Libby to Beede and Beede to Libby, n.d. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁸³ Beede to Gilmore, October 28, 1916. Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. He said something very similar earlier in the year noting that he was reviewing law, involved in a new association for the Indians in Fort Yates, and tutoring Father Vincent in the Dakota language. Beede to Gilmore, April 17, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁸⁴ Beede to Gilmore, Good Friday 1916, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

Time was not Beede's only constraint. He responded to a request for his reaction on a brochure by remarking that the author W. H. Brennan was not "one of those pestering people." Beede indicated that not only did he have limited time, he was reluctant to respond to or write to those who would use his material to further misrepresent Indians. Some misunderstandings were based in the differences of culture and the challenges of translation, while others were based on assumptions of the character or culture. When he responded to Gilmore's request for a Sioux name for the high cranberry and on plants used for birth control, Beede explained his hesitancy to respond as a matter of delicacy, as well as his concern of how researchers might interpret or use it.⁸⁵ Beede clarified that birth control was not for unwanted pregnancies, but was for population control and that, traditionally, Sioux women had only four or, at most, five children. "But now in our times," Beede wrote,

Some educated well-meaning Indian women use these medicines to prevent child-conception altogether, or at least have only one, because as they say, "I do not want to bring my children into life to be at a disadvantage as compared with Whitepeople." I could name more than twenty women who have said this to me. And there are a whole lot more of things that ought to be privately written cognate with this thing you have touched upon. It is delicate, and must not be used, by those not understanding Indians to their derogation.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Aside from his concerns for how researchers and others would interpret Indian beliefs on and practices of birth control, he was also hesitant to share the information because of the name of the high-bush cranberry was *Wiatace*. "Wi~ya~ means woman," Beede explained, "and *ce* means the penis, or rather the red end or forepart of the penis; and *ta* means her. So *Wi~ya~ta ce*, or as spoken *Wiatace*, means Woman's Penis." Beede gave a brief description or explanation of anatomical parallels behind the name and concluded the topic with a reminder that "this does not show indelicacy in Indians, as most people would certainly conclude; for each race has its own strong lines of delicacy." Beede to Gilmore, June 5, 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

⁸⁶ Beede to Gilmore, June 5, 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. Beede wrote in this letter that Dr. Murphy of Washington had written to him for this information, but he was afraid to answer him as he did not know how the information would be used. Moulton also made this point when she explained that one interpreter intentionally mistranslated Crazy Horse in order to get revenge. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 125-39.

Another of the constraints Beede faced was that Indians were unwilling to share information. In a letter to Libby, Beede explained that old Indian traditions “are really known now only by a few old people” and until “they are convinced a man reveres these holy legends they will not tell them with much fullness.”⁸⁷ Beede fully understood the Indians’ frustration with researchers and others who would not or could not listen because they had their own assumptions. Herbert J. Spinden, a researcher of southern Indians, “does not seem to have any sense of reverence whatever” Beede complained to Libby in 1913, describing the man’s visit to the area,

He breaks in on a person who is talking and replies when another is addressed, thus violating Indian and animal etiquette. He did not seem to me to really know much, - ...-But he didn’t seem to want to learn anything. When he saw the Holy Rock it aroused no interest. At the village he was interested; but seemed to want simply to get something which he could make as excuse for writing an article for print. After an hour, he said “I’ve got all I need here.” His air of superiority was amazing. He spoke of the superficiality of people out here, etc. I made up my mind that I wouldn’t endure it any longer, so began to question him, politely and gently about the southern Indians whom he claims to know and he couldn’t answer any questions such as a man could who had any intimate knowledge of them. He tried to bluff, then squirmed till I pitied him. Are Indians to be written up by such men? No wonder they won’t talk. To escape my questions, he began to tell about a Carlisle graduate who was fearfully beaten by Nezperces because he wouldn’t engage in the old-time religious dances, - consuming all the time possible in the narration. On questioning him I found he based his story on the word of a white man who himself had it second hand. He didn’t even interview the persecuted youth tho’ he was near him. I made him feel like a baby crying for milk before my questioning on this matter was done.⁸⁸

This was not Beede’s first exchange with Spinden, with whom he had conversed about connections between Arikara, Sioux, and Mandan cultures in 1912. Beede “did not like Spinden very well,” and even felt

like holding the pipe to the sky and earth and four winds and swearing that I will never again converse with an easterner about Indians. All I tell them, they misunderstand and pervert. When I told him how in the Sundance, when a man is “hooked up,” a woman is always [singing] at the sun-side of the booth with the sun

⁸⁷ Beede to Libby, May 7, 1909, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁸⁸ Beede to Libby, October 4, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

shining on her naked body & especially on the pudendum (a fact I seldom mention, and one not recorded) he went into incoherent utterances about “more & more vulgarity” & c. Is there anything on earth more sacred than the function of motherhood? Anything more beautiful than a mother with a baby in her arms, - a Madonna?⁸⁹

Beede tried to stay true to the traditions, values, and desires of the Sioux in articles that featured their history or legends and when writing these pieces, he was careful to whom he gave permission to use them. “Recently, I was asked by a writer in Washington to allow my name and picture to be used in connection with some stories he is to write about Indians,” Beede explained in 1921 to readers of his weekly column in the *Sioux Country Pioneer*, “I declined to do it, because it is high time to represent the Indians correctly as a man like other men and stop this untruthful sensationalism about Indians.”⁹⁰ In 1915, The Bloosen Jennings Company, an acting company, “wanted to play *Heart-in-the Lodge* and give me a royalty, but they want me to change it in ways that are untrue to Indians, I won’t do it” insisted Beede.⁹¹

Beede knew that researchers and members of the public were interested in Indians. Some researchers, however, even with the best intentions, did not always accurately translate or explain Indian culture to their peers and to the American public. Researchers’ misconceptions and limited understanding of the Indian culture and people resulted in incomplete or erroneous studies, such as confusing food caches with

⁸⁹ Beede to Libby, September 22, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Black Elk’s description of a Sundance also emphasized the importance of the ritual too all of community life. Virgins cut down and trimmed the central pole, the leaders transported it. The warriors mock charged it. Babies were laid against it for a blessing. Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 73-75.

⁹⁰ Aaron McG. Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, March 24, 1921.

⁹¹ Beede to Libby, October 14, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. He did allow it to be presented as an outdoor drama in June of 1914 at Fargo’s North Dakota Agriculture College (today known as NDSU). Eriksmoen, *Did You Know*, 56; Trinkka, *North Dakota Today*, 143.

fireplaces. Not all researchers believed Indian traditions were reliable, especially as historical sources; while others questioned their worth.⁹² Beede once remarked, “I have found Indian statements remarkably correct on such matters of early history that I rely more on them than on the careless statements of white men.”⁹³ Beede accepted oral tradition, whether history, myths, legends, or stories, as important and revealing of the culture, history, and humanity of a people.⁹⁴ Many researchers have used oral tradition, especially myths and legends, as religious literature rather than as potential historical sources and have considered them to be unscientific. When Researchers evaluated tales based on a scientific understanding, they created value judgments of Indian culture and religious beliefs that did not accurately reflect who Indians were or how they understood the world in which they lived.

Beede was frequently frustrated with white researchers’ misunderstandings or misinterpretations of the Sioux. In a letter to Gilmore, Beede wrote about his acquaintance with Charles Eastman, the well-known Indian author and speaker. Beede

⁹² In 1915, Robert Lowie argued that one cannot “attach to oral tradition any value whatsoever” because “we cannot know them to be true.” As quoted in Shepard Krech III, “From Ethnology to Anthropological History in William L. Merrill, and Ives Goddard, eds. “Anthropology, History and America Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant.” *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 44, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C. (2002):85. To George Grinnell Bird, Beede lamented, “It is a pity that unscrupulous obtaining of ‘Indian Traditions’ has led some to totally discard such evidence as of any worth. Of course, the traditions of a tribe truly obtained are first class evidence.” August 28, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

⁹³ Beede to Miss Carpenter, n.d. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 9.

⁹⁴ Elden Lawrence, former president of Sisseton Wahpeton College and member of the Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate, believed myths, though difficult to trace and decipher the “authentic,” were an “integral component of native culture.” The stories made the history of a culture easier to remember and pass on. “To oral history, legends were like a library, and the more you could remember, the more knowledge you had.” As quoted in John Andrews, “Lake Legends: History and Mythology Abound in our Glacial Lakes” *South Dakota Magazine* 26, n. 2 July-August 2010, 79.

admitted that, in a sense, Eastman's explanations of how Indians perceived nation and place were true, but too general or not fully defined. Eastman's description of Indians, focusing on use, not ownership of land, was not the full picture. "My journals" Beede explained,

show statements over and over by numerous Indians as to the exact boundaries carefully made and agreed between tribes. Yet there is this much truth in what [Eastman] claims viz. There were no hard-and-fast fixed kingdoms (or nations), or States such as implied by the term Servia, or Palestine, or Egypt, or Greecia &c, or even such as is implied by Massachusetts, New York, Boston &c. where fixed country, kingdom or State abides even with a change of people; for by Indian thought a nation was a people, primarily, a supposed race or a portion of a race, the country occupied being secondary.⁹⁵

Eastman's work had the flavoring of being Indian, but it lacked full knowledge traditional Indian culture. Beede also believed that Eastman's understanding of Sioux religion had more to do with "Bostonian occultism" than the Indian's "living mysticism."

"Remember," Beede added,

Dr. Eastman has not lived much with Indians, and that the Santee have been under Whiteman's influence more than 100 years, and that Dr. Eastman's parents were Christian, in a time when a Christian had to forswear everything Indian by Congressional rules before Dr. Eastman was born; and that when after the Minnesota war he left for Canada matters were so arranged that in less than a year he was back and in the Whiteman's schools at the age of 13 years, and he has lived & learned & breathed the Whiteman's life ever since and married a white wife and disparaged everything Indian till the modern period set in & it was seen that there was much to be learned from Indians; then came a turn-about. And while in the remembrance of his 13 childhood (Santee) years there is much to give an Indian flavor to what he says & writes yet the major part, - most all-, of his information is apparently from books, while his childhood Indian years gives it a refreshing tone for the Easterner.⁹⁶

Beede's ability to share information on Indians was also limited by his relationship with them. He was sworn to secrecy on some topics and to speak on others would risk breaking trust with Indians and, hence, limit his ability to continue to collect

⁹⁵ Beede to Gilmore, Thanksgiving 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12

⁹⁶ Beede to Gilmore, Thanksgiving 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

information. At times, Beede passed on information to other researchers, but asked that his name not be mentioned. He believed it important to share some information, but he was unwilling to risk openly breaking confidences by being linked to the material. "I wrote a note to Mr. Hodge asking him not to use my name in any printed matter," Beede explained to Gilmore,

lest Indians might somehow learn of it. We must all be careful of this. I must remain completely hidden in all affairs. The Arikara took me to task for telling Dr. Libby how I was cured in a Teton medicine tent 36 years ago (they fooled Dr. Libby into thinking they know nothing of such things). By explaining that Dr. L. was considered by the Mandan "a Mandan in Soul who happened to be from [among] white people," and by some of the old Mandan sustaining my statement, the matter is made right. We must be careful.

He concluded the letter with, "If I remain hidden, we may get [——] some more things."⁹⁷ In another letter to Gilmore about a visit by George Bird Grinnell, Beede explained how he had provided an opportunity for Grinnell to learn about several villages by letting him "accidentally discover" an old village site. Once Grinnell knew of the village, the Indians were willing to answer Grinnell's questions, but they would not volunteer the information.⁹⁸ Though Beede was reluctant to betray confidences or trust, he felt it was important to share the Indians' culture and history. To do this, he worked around the expectations Indians placed on his keeping things secret or he used his knowledge of Indian behavior and beliefs to encourage them to reveal information of which they were reticent to speak. Were Beede to be believed, he had gained the

⁹⁷ October 14, 1912, copy of letter to Beede from Bureau of American Ethnology and Herbert C. Fish to Aaron McGaffey Beede, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 2, Folder 13.

⁹⁸ Beede to Gilmore, May 28, & May 21, 1918. Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. On May 21 Beede writes Gilmore about limiting what he showed them for fear of offending Indian friends, however by May 28, he had figured out a way to get around this concern. This is likely the visit that Grinnell referred to in his article in the *American Anthropologist*, "Early Cheyenne Villages," a copy is in Beede's papers. UND, Coll. 206, Box 3, Folder 24.

confidence of many of the older Indians, so much so that, when Red Fish and other old men were going to tell Beede about a confederation of Indians from the War of 1812, “they refuse to have any white man but me present when they tell the story.” He explained that

They are slow to speak of it, because, as they think, it concerns their religion and is sacred. I am not at liberty to give the names of my informers but it is common knowledge among Mandans and Arikara, as well as Sioux. Curtis, also [imagined] he got at the heart of everything sacred, didn't touch this & couldn't have touched it. There is a lot more I hope to get. Gaining traditions from the Indians requires that same tenderness, gentleness, patience, and painful perseverance which is necessary to achieving saint-hood.⁹⁹

Some of the Indians on whom Beede relied for information were Red Hail, a historian of the Sioux, Blue Thunder, historian of the Hunkpatina, and John Grass.¹⁰⁰ One source that Beede and other researchers collected were the winter counts or records of the important events from the tribe's history. Sometimes these winter counts were based only on the keeper's memory and at other times they were linked to a picture drawn on either a hide or parchment representing the major event of the year. These records prove invaluable for reconstructing the early history of Indians in North Dakota. From High Dog, Beede received a winter count considered especially interesting by the North Dakota State Historical Society. Beede's “careful process of collecting the terms, translating them, then completing the telling with a longer explanation of the events offers a detailed understanding of Lakota life on the northern plains during a period of

⁹⁹ Beede to Libby, February 23, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Beede to Libby, September 22, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹⁰⁰ Wilkins and Wilkins wrote that Red Hail was an Episcopalian convert in 1900. His native name was Wasulatusa, he had been at Custer's Battle, he had worked as a Scout for ten years and as a reservation policeman for ten years. Wilkins and Wilkins, *God Giveth the Increase*, 76.

cultural transition as well as the influence of the collector (in this case Reverend Beede) on the story-telling process.”¹⁰¹

In addition to Indians’ concerns over who was listening and how the material was being treated, “certain special persons performed the special functions of the tribe, and others did not [meddle], so these legends were told, or rather [chanted], in their full form only by ‘historians’.” Beede explained,

You probably know that an old historian on the Standing Rock has a history recorded on skins in hieroglyphics. This history runs back 100 years. He is the lone survivor of the “historians.” He claims other parchments have been lost. Rising Sun, north of Dunseith has a very great memory. Though for the last two years it has seemed to fail a good deal. He does not belong to the “historian guild,” but is in the old line of chiefs. He knows or did know a whole [chain] of legend which he [heard] in [Canada] when young. How much his own imagination, which is great, and his natural mental powers, which were strong, - how much these have [—] these legends it is hard to say. Many of the Indians say he dreamed these legends or “heard them sung in spirit [tales].” He says he heard them from those who heard them before. Three years ago he told me his legends and a vast amount of matter on various subjects. These “holy revelations” are his till he dies than he gives them to me, as “the Indians will not now learn them or believed them.”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ This comment is taken from a website maintained by the North Dakota State Historical Society to encourage the study of state history especially through the inclusion of primary source documents. The winter count is still on display in the North Dakota State Museum. Some of Beede’s translations, however, have been questioned by modern scholars. State Historical Society of North Dakota, “Primary Sources in North Dakota History: Unit 3: Set 1. Winter Counts.” Last Accessed, November 5, 2017. http://history.nd.gov/textbook/unit3_1_doc_set_intro.html

¹⁰² Beede to Libby, May 7, 1909, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. He mentioned talking frequently to Red Hail about Indian history and identifies Supe as a “good tribe historian.” Beede to Hyde, January 7, 1918. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. See also Beede to Libby, February 23, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Swift Dog after agreeing to give Beede a winter chronicle for the State historical society, made Beede promise that he would “see it with your own eyes every year while you live, so you will know they do not sell it.” Beede to Libby, September 22, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Beede recommended that Libby talk to Swift-dog, a Sioux chronicler, as he knew Indian history well and should especially be asked about the Custer battle, many aspects of Sioux History, about the Arikara and Mandan, and about the death of Sitting Bull. Beede to Libby, September 24, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. In explaining why he had not sent information on all the plants which Gilmore wanted identified, Beede wrote that while the Indian men he talked to could speak on some of them, the Indian women would have to speak on the others. Beede to Gilmore, April 29, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

Rather than assuming that he knew everything or even recording only the material that fit with his interests or views, Beede explained to G. B. Grinnell that “my way is, you know, just what is found, and my books of field notes are made in this way, and with no effort to reconcile or harmonize anything, which seems to anger some writers who are special pleaders wanting to ‘prove’ this or that.”¹⁰³ Beede’s journal entries, including notes on some of the conversations he overheard and in which he participated, formed the basis of what he shared with researchers. In a letter on January 7, 1918, Beede told George E. Hyde “my notes are largely what I hear in free conversations, not ‘interviews.’”¹⁰⁴ If queried by a researcher, he gathered specific information, but often his research flowed from his own curiosity and from the occasion. Once, as he was travelling with a group of Indians, Beede read them a paper titled “Fireplaces in South Dakota Badlands.” The author of the paper had found large depressions in the Badlands that suggested that Indians had chimneys or indoor fireplaces.¹⁰⁵ As Beede read the article to the group, their eyes shone with mirth, though they never said a word. Beede prompted them and finally Black Bull told Beede that these depressions were caches that had fallen in. Later, Beede

¹⁰³ Beede to Grinnell, January 1920, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Sometimes the material he recorded was diametrically opposed to previous statements by individuals, but as Beede said, “down it goes.” Beede to Gilmore, May 20, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. In the note at the end of another letter he explained that demanding a witness or one that volunteered information to prove the truth of what they said was insulting to most if not all and as such he would not promise irrefutable or unquestionable proven material, but the evidence as offered from his witnesses and informants. Beede to Gilmore, Easter 1918, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

¹⁰⁴ Beede to Hyde, January 7, 1918. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹⁰⁵ Beede is probably referring to A. E. Sheldon, “Ancient Indian Fireplaces in South Dakota Badlands,” *American Anthropologist* 7, no. 1 (1905): 44-48.

confirmed with Red Hail that these depressions were indeed caches in which Indians had stored food and other necessities that they could not transport.¹⁰⁶

Beede did not feel the need to translate or synthesize all the material he collected, but other researchers, such as Francis Densmore, sought to interpret the material she collected for a wider audience. Though some researchers may have been doing the best possible work with the best possible intentions, Beede's critiques on Francis Densmore's work with Indian music and Stephen Rigg's translations of the language emphasize a common concern of who was doing the interpreting and how one was going about it.

Francis Densmore, a researcher for the Smithsonian in the early 1900s, sought to preserve Indian music by recording and transcribing songs of many tribes with the goal of completing a comparison study on most of the American Indian tribes' music. The Smithsonian described Densmore as aspiring "to prevent the misrepresentation of Indian music in the media and the underrepresentation of true Indian music in scientific inquiry, and she suggested that the two were linked." "There is danger," she wrote in one letter, "that the future will form its opinions of Indians from the sentimental movies and the theater music when the Indian is seen through the bushes. Neither the "love lyric" nor theater tom-tom music are genuinely Indian, in the best sense."¹⁰⁷ On Densmore's trips to

¹⁰⁶ Caches not fireplace, nd., Libby papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹⁰⁷ Not only did she hope that her work might be used in school setting to combat misinformation about Indians, she also hoped that it might be used in the treatment of mental health. Smithsonian Institution Archives, "Frances Densmore," Last Accessed April 18, 2017. <http://siarchives.si.edu/research/sciservwomendensmore.html>.

North Dakota to record and document the music of its Indian tribes, Beede guided her or acted as a resource. They did not agree, however, on the results of her work.¹⁰⁸

Beede wrote to Libby in 1912 insisting that they needed to write a carefully worded refutation of some claims that Densmore had made about the songs she had recorded from the Arikara scouts. According to Beede, Densmore wrote to the Smithsonian that the songs were not well done because the Indians were drunk on mescal beans at the time. "Yesterday," Beede explained,

she made this same statement to me in Carignan's store at Fort Yates in the presence of several persons. A minute statement of the actual facts, - that the same persons sang for four nights in succession and that these same persons had been giving us that history in the intervening time would refute this story completely so as concerns anyone who knows how the mescal-bean works on the person. It does not work perceptible for eleven hours, then comes a period of almost uncontrollable excitability which varies with different persons, and with the amount taken. Then comes a collapse of stupor and sleep.¹⁰⁹

Beede asked Libby to help him refute this claim because he believed it to be untrue and because her claims might be used to refute the quality or content of the interviews that Beede and Libby had conducted at the same time.

Beede recorded that Densmore was angry with anyone who challenged her work.

"Miss Densmore seems peeved," Beede's letter continued,

¹⁰⁸ It appears that Beede first met Densmore in 1911 as he mentioned meeting her and wishing to read her volume on the Chippewa. Beede to Libby, September 7th, 1911, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. It is unclear how much or how closely Beede worked with her while she was in the area. For correspondence related to Densmore's work in North Dakota, especially her dealings with the State Historical Society, see Densmore and Libby, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 10, Folder 6; Fish and Densmore, Curator's Correspondence, Box 2, Folder 24.

¹⁰⁹ Beede to Libby, November 11, 1912, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. It appears that he was referring to mescal beans. James Howard provided a summary of the research done on mescal cults. He noted that few have recorded much about the effects of the drug, but he called the beans a narcotic and listed the results of taking them as passing out, seeing red, and vomiting. James H. Howard, "The Mescal Bean Cult of the Central and Southern Plains: An Ancestor of the Peyote Cult," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 59, no. 1 (1957): 75-87.

because so many say that her music does not fully represent the real old-time music as [it] was at its best. That is of course true. And yet, as I tried to explain to her, the records she has made have great value, - with of course some marked limitations. So strange that a woman thinks when she has done something in a field of science everybody ought to allow that she has scooped that whole thing, and made it a finality. Also her contention that she can reproduce this Indian music on the piano is somewhat ridiculous. The Whiteman's piano can't carry this music any more than it could carry the music of a scotch bagpipe. It carries only a part of it with the true flavor and something more left out."¹¹⁰

Beede admitted that the music recordings were valuable, but, he explained to Libby, if not to Densmore, that he could recognize only two out of five of the Chippewa songs she had transcribed into piano music from her original recordings. Beede approved of the attempt, but he also recognized that in rewriting Indian music to fit rhythms, formats, and instruments for which it was not created much of the original was lost.¹¹¹ Moreover, the researcher Barre Toelken explained, songs and myths were passed down from generation to generation and were used to transmit culture and to express community ties. They

¹¹⁰ Beede to Libby, November 11, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. The event that he mentioned in this letter to Libby likely was that recorded in his journal on November 9:

Miss Densmore assailed me in Mr. Carignan's Store claiming I had 'run down' her work, of getting old Indian songs. I told her her work had good value, but was *not* the real Indian music as one finds it at its best. She said that when the Indians sang for Dr. Libby and myself at Berthold, they had been eating mescal. That is not possible as the same ones who gave us the Custer S. Bull story sang to us for 4 nights in succession. One who knows how the mescal bean works know that would be impossible if they had used the [stimulant].

Journal 1, p. 53-54, 1912. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24. In a letter to Beede, Gilmore mentioned reading Densmore's book *Teton Sioux Music* and though not being able to judge the music, he called into question Densmore's notes on plants connected to the music. Gilmore to Beede, November 28, 1918, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

¹¹¹ In a letter to Gilmore, Beede explained how Indian songs had different tones or sounds depending on their use or who they were associated with. He described the music and meaning of one song that was tied with a mystical society. Between his poor handwriting and his mixture of terms from other languages, this is a challenging letter to read, but in it he clearly links the songs and the society to Indians understanding of the world and how they express their connection to it. Beede to Gilmore, October 26, 1918, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. Beede not only commented on the myth of the Pasque flower, but Melvin Gilmore included the plant's songs in a book on the Indian use of native plants. These songs were thought to be an "expression [of the flowers] own life or soul." Aaron McG. Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, March 24, 1921.

accomplished this “by musical and verbal nuance.”¹¹² They were more dependent on the recollections and associations in the listeners’ minds,” and, therefore, were difficult to express.¹¹³ It may be that the differences between Beede and Densmore were related to how they believed music connected to the community. In *Travels with Frances Densmore*, the authors explained that Densmore’s “quarrel was not with those who held power-except regarding their suppression of certain parts of Indian music and dance-but with those who refused to acknowledge the right of Native people to survive and be respected as cultural ancestors of all Americans.”¹¹⁴ The focus then was on the product and its relationship to historical record. Beede saw the product and the history as part of a living community and as having implications for his own time, not just future generations. Densmore seemed to be interested in the products of the cultures she studied and their uses, while Beede was concerned with the identity of the people and what was needed for their preservation and reformation.

Beede was also concerned with how people interpreted words and concepts as this influenced how researchers recorded and understood material. Libby expressed some of the difficulties of translating Indian stories in his article on incorporating them into the educational curriculum. “The Indian speech is agglutinative,” explained Libby,

ours highly inflectional, and we are thus separated by an unbridged chasm of speech evolution, across which words do not easily pass. To one who has not attempted a

¹¹² Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 140.

¹¹³ Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 140. Songs, music, and dances, like myths, were sometimes also misunderstood, though still important for their ability to inspire and express cultural and continue beliefs. Toelken remarked that songs and stories are “dramatic enactments of reality which go far beyond mere entertainment.” Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 112.

¹¹⁴ Joan M. Jensen and Michelle Wick Patterson, *Travels with Frances Densmore: Her Life Work, and Legacy in Native American Studies* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 4.

translation, the difficulty is not at first apparent. A typical Indian story as told by one of their old men is punctuated by untrammelled gesture, enlivened by the ever-changing play of facial expression, and interspersed songs, dances, and changes of posture, while through it all runs the music of speech, playing the whole gamut of human emotions in an atmosphere surcharged with the feelings of a sympathetic audience. A mere literal translation is, of course, out of the question; and while the English Language is a wonderfully adaptable instrument in skillful hands, it must be put to its utmost to tell the story truly as it flows from the lips of a trained Indian story teller.¹¹⁵

Beede knew his limitations when translating. He once recommended that Libby find someone else to interpret at an important interview because Beede thought he might be unfamiliar with some of the words and he was concerned that some might doubt his interpretation.¹¹⁶ His concern with interpretations and translations were even greater with interviews dealing with the Little Big Horn Battle and other controversial Indian topics, as Beede had disagreed with many on the details of the battle. When Libby asked Beede to accompany him and other researchers who were arranging a visit to the battle site for White-Cow-Walking, one of the Sioux warriors who fought in the battle, Beede eagerly agreed, but he refused to be the only interpreter. "If [White-Cow-Walking] goes," Beede wrote,

we positively must have an interpreter other than myself. I have so disagreed with others regarding the battle that if I was the only interpreter, it would be claimed that I did not interpret correctly. We can no doubt borrow that interpreter at the Crow Creek agency. It is important to get White-Cow-Walking's story some way.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Orin Libby, "Myths of American Indians as Material for Supplementary Reading in our Secondary Schools" Mississippi Valley Historical Society, *Proceedings* 4 (1910-11) 109.

¹¹⁶ Beede wrote to Libby that they needed to interview Swift Dog a chronicler, on the Battle of Little Big Horn, aspects of Sioux history, what he knew about the Arikara and Mandan, and on the death of Sitting Bull. Beede to Libby, September 24, 1912, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Though he could interpret most historical records, Beede admitted that he had "to have help from old Indians in reading records which are unusually antique." "Hunted for Cave," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, August 13, 1913.

¹¹⁷ Beede to Libby, May 18, 1915, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

Beede was also aware of public assumptions and desires. “I will interpret Sioux if you can’t get an Indian,” he explained to Libby in another letter, “An Indian is more satisfying to the public, I find.”¹¹⁸ For these reasons, Beede began recording not only translations of what he heard from the Indians around him, but also their actual wording.¹¹⁹

Beede was also short with researchers who based their knowledge of the language on a few visits and examples. Stephen Riggs *Dakota-English Dictionary* was a source of amusement and occasional frustration for Beede. “There is nothing in the world that should puzzle one who hears the Sioux language,” Beede wrote in a draft of a letter, “and is familiar with it as it is spoken. One who learns a language from books finds difficulties not found in by one who learns it from hearing and from familiar contact with the people.”¹²⁰ Beede criticized Riggs’ dictionary because it revealed a limited understanding of some of the concepts behind words, knowledge that came from living among, not just studying, a people. “Riggs did valuable work,” Beede explained to Gilmore in a Good Friday letter in 1916,

By printing words others had [collected], and adding others. But his “sprach ansicht” is nil. When I want a genuine laugh, I read a few pages of “Riggs Dakota Dictionary.” I can’t see how a man could escape so many [patent] facts. He evidently did not live with Indians, hearing their free conversations, but lived in the manse, and had the [aid] of a few Indians who did not know Dakota very well, (because their youth had been passed in English schools), and did not know English very well. He thinks the

¹¹⁸ Beede to Libby, May 8, 1914, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

¹¹⁹ Beede to Gilmore, May 20, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. In a letter written a month earlier, Beede explained that he had been advised by Thomas Seton to record the original language of things that might be disputed by researchers so as to support or check Beede’s work. It seems that he was not doing this regularly before 1917. In the wake of this letter and given comments in other letters, it seems Beede was facing some criticism over his translations or interpretations of Indian sources.

¹²⁰ Beede to Dana Wright, draft, April 11, 1921, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 4.

syllable [lipa (li= varying K)] means “wet.” Its meaning is always prone, down. He was caught by two examples, viz wa-lipa, a water stream, which is “wet” of course. But the meaning is something prone or the-thing-everybody-knows-or-wants (ie. rain) prone or down. Wa in Dakota corresponds quite well with lat. quis, Grk. tis, = definite or indefinite, really, something-nobody-knows-what, something-I-know-but-wont-tell-what, something -everybody-knows-what &c. When mosquitos didn’t fly the Indians said they were Lipa, prone, down, Riggs that they were saying that were “wet.” These two examples caught him and held him, so he couldn’t see the scores of cases where lipa cannot mean anything except prone, down. It has no [derived] meanings as many Dakota syllables do have. Dorsey apparently did not see the error, and [Swanson] apparently follows Riggs and Dorsey “by faith.” So I might mention plenty of similar things.¹²¹

¹²¹ Beede to Gilmore, Good Friday, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. The term “sprach ansicht,” if transcribed correctly, did not readily appear in any of the searching I did. A German speaking friend of a friend, Konstanze Riedel-Stiegler believed that “Linguistic view or linguistic perspective could serve as a translation. . . . The term Sprachansicht goes back to Humboldt, who said that you can only broaden your horizons = get a new "Weltansicht" = view on the world if you learn another language. This is called "Humboldt's Sprachansicht." Konstanze Riedel-Stiegler, Facebook message to author, January 2, 2018. According to Beede, some of the errors influenced the larger understanding of Indian culture, such as Riggs’ conception of the Indian god Wakantanka as a war god. Beede, however, copied down an Indian saying that expressed “Wakantanka never directed any people to fight in war; people do this of their own desires and without the command of Wakantanka.” Beede to Gilmore, May 20, 1917, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. Beede explained in another letter how the translation of religious terms affected researchers understanding of the culture:

Sir: Beg to bother with another matter for investigation. In a recent article, dealing with general religious philosophy, the statement appears “Those familiar with Indian matters do not feel certain that such terms as Orenda, Manito, Wakonda, Wakan tanke are correctly rendered by the term Great Spirit.” The context shows that the author of the article intends to imply doubt as to Indians, generally, being pure monotheistic in belief. Never mind this. It is so difficult to grasp precisely what monotheistic means to any person, and the difficulty in a foreigner getting that attitude of the Indian, that this is a deep question. Though Indians I have known do apply the last three names to limited objects and to specific events and experiences, especially those appearing in dreams, visions, and states somewhat akin to dream wherein the same are encountered at a distance away --- often far away--- yet I think the meaning of these terms basically, as clearly conceived by an Indian, comes as near to monotheism as any people has come actually. [Margin note on the left side of the paragraph: I think some term that means “spirit,” with as much accuracy as can be expected in those not closely familiar with Indians, is used by most Indian peoples without any qualifying adjective, or the need of the any.]

But the point I am after is this: Old Western Sioux had the term Woniya, which is not given by Riggs except in the phrase Woniya Wakan by which missionaries rendered into Sioux the term Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit; and this phrase used by missionaries seemed bungling or tautological to Indians, because the [term] Woniya itself indicated what was holy, without adding Wakan (for literal rendering). And in old stories that term Wankan tanka is seldom or never used; and if used in a couple instances, seems to be a late redaction. But the term Wakan and the term Woniya are quite commonly used, especially the term Wakan.

Now I have asked many old Indians which is the older term, Woniya or Wankan tanka and all they say is that Woniya is very old (lila ehana) while the term Wakan

He also wrote about a few other errors of translation, such as Riggs confusing plurals and abstracts with composite terms. Beede's assessment was that Riggs had missed many words and had made up other words that made sense, but were not a part of the language.

Beede highlighted one misunderstanding of Indian language that deeply influenced young Indians as well as researchers. In an exchange of letters with Gilmore, Beede commented on Charles Eastman's belief that the term "Wasicun" as applied to white men showed that the Indians thought of them as "supernatural beings." "Nothing makes an old Indian more provoked than the mere mention of that," explained Beede, "it assumes an ignorance in Indians which probably never existed. I believe it was Spanish fiction in the first reports of it, and from that it has gone on."¹²² Old Indians, especially Red Tomahawk, were angered that Eastman and other young Indians thought that Indians had considered white man to be supernatural or god-like beings or had believed in a "Happy Hunting Ground" as a place to hunt and eat food after death.¹²³ In a letter, Beede explained that the term "Wasicun" was old and had many "trunk-branches each of which

tanka is not old, though the term Wakan is very old; that in old times Wakan tanka was not used. Woniya means Spirit; fundamentally, life, breath moving, or motion, the living essence or person in all that lives. If I want a child to draw-in its breath while being examined by a physician, I say "Nina yo!" I think many Indian peoples have a term corresponding to Woniya; and, if possible, I want to know whether such term antedates a term they have which may be, and sometimes is, applied to objects seen in dreams &c. [inserted margin comment: i.e. a definite term for a definite God]. This is difficult, but some light may possibly be secured on the matter.

Beede to Heye, October 24, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12. See also Beede to Gilmore, April 17, 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. Axtell wrote that a researcher had to examine language to understand world view, but also, since language changes and affects perspective, one had to also "peel off later additions." James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Native America," 16.

¹²² Beede to Gilmore, Thanksgiving, 1917, Curator's Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12.

¹²³ Beede remarked that Gilmore's comments in *Toward that Sun* were more accurate as they explained that food left for the dead was meant to be eaten before they reached the spirit world.

is thence quite independent in specie” by which he meant there were many meanings or uses for the term. He thought Indians used “Wasicun” in reference to white men as “persons or things who are wandering, struggling.” In this sense, the word had also been applied to some American Indian tribes before they had ever seen white men.¹²⁴

Beede sought to collect and share Sioux traditions and history both as a part of cultural maintenance, but also to expand the historical record. His concerns for accuracy certainly make sense from the perspective of a researcher, but more than just a concern about researchers’ needs, Beede was concerned with how people interpreted Indian culture. Missionaries, researchers, and many other writers had perpetuated an idea of a primitive people locked in mysticism. Whether or not it was unbecoming or uncommon for a missionary, Beede attacked the misrepresentations and misunderstandings which encouraged false concepts of Indian identity, both among researchers and among young Indians trained in white schools, and which discouraged the creation of brotherhood or connections by presenting Indians as primitives who were trapped in mysticism.

Indian Culture and Mysticism

Though Beede believed that Indian culture, myths, and music provided a means by which others could come to understand Indians, he realized that many believed all Indian culture was infused with superstition and based on a primitive, unscientific

¹²⁴ Beede to Gilmore, January 3, 1918, Curator’s Correspondence, SHSND, Box 5, Folder 12. See also Beede, October 4th, 1916, Libby papers, Box 37, Folder 7. Beede also consulted Saniyuxsa (Shaved-on-one-side) about the meaning of Wasicun. He gave Beede five definitions:

1. The man in the Thundercloud with smoke at his feet, (first called wasicun) and so called because “we saw his feet only.”
2. The Smoky zephyrs on the plains.
3. Frenchmen, because they had guns with smoke.
4. Any white men.
5. Any man or people wandering round.

Wasicun, October 4, 1916, Libby papers, Box 37, Folder 7.

understanding of the world. Beede's conception of myth, explained in newspaper articles published in the *Sioux Country Pioneer* in the column titled "Old Indian History," focused on function or purpose, rather than science.¹²⁵ In one article Beede stated, "stories grow out of the circumstances" and "myths come the same as other things come, hard-fisted commerce and all- from motives and desires influenced by environments."¹²⁶ He admitted that it was difficult, if not impossible, to pin down the elements of a myth as "we are continually, tho slowly, sluffing off old myth and taking on new myth."¹²⁷ Myths were also inexact; they did not specify the exact "kind of tree, flower, and chrysalis" as "such exact data would spoil the myth. The Indian mind felt this, and so did not attach to such myths exact data, tho Indians had the most exact knowledge of trees, flowers, and all sorts of chroysolis. The very nature of myth forbids over exactness."¹²⁸ The purpose

¹²⁵ For almost two years, from 1920 to 1922, Beede's articles ranged from history to culture to myths of North Dakota's Indian tribes. Crawford, *History of North Dakota, vol. III*, 497. In some of his newspaper articles, Beede explained some basic aspects of religious mythology, dream images, and interpretations, and he gave descriptions of Indian spirits and their functions in the culture. See, Aaron McG. Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, March 31, 1921; April 14, 1921; April 21, 1921; May 12, 1921; May 19, 1921; December 1, 1921; September 22, 1921; October 6, 1921. These articles also provided background information that some readers needed in order to understand the myths. North Dakota State Historical Society and the Missouri Historical Society requested copies of the articles for their records. Most of these articles are in Libby papers, Box 37, Folder 11. Unfortunately, the articles are not dated, though some are numbered. For this reason, I have identified many of them in the *Sioux County Pioneer* rather than in the Libby Papers. Aaron McG. Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 22, 1920, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 4.

¹²⁶ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 30, 1921

¹²⁷ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 30, 1921. One instance of this is in the myth of Standing Rock. He wrote George Hyde, "I know that some of the very old Sioux did know this original Arikara myth, Old Red Hail knew and believed the myth, but I daresay few of the Sioux know this old myth now. The Sheyenne myth has crowded it out among the Sheyenne and the Sioux myth, the one that Mrs. McLaughlin wrote has crowded out the old myth among the Sioux." Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Axtell also discussed that nagging nauter of mythes and the need to account for this in research. . James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Native America" in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. by Donald L. Fixico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 17-18.

¹²⁸ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, July 21, 1921. Though this did not mean a myth did not contain or was not based on historical facts. Red Hail and others told the Legend of the Red

was to transmit some moral, belief, or idea. Toelken reflected this concept when he wrote that the “native peoples don’t just recite myths for the fun of it,” as often the tales that explain how something came to be are not really explaining the origin, but rather reminding the audience of a cultural value or moral.¹²⁹ Beede further explained that all people want, consciously or unconsciously, “what lifts or excites or shocks into larger living, by pleasing or painful emotions.”¹³⁰ Beede seldom explained the myths, believing that the values or beliefs were self-explanatory, a belief that might have reflected his experience with Christian parables. It was important to him that researchers, as well as members of the public understood the function of myths. They were meant to provide more than enjoyable reading because they carried Indian cultural values, practices, and beliefs.

Other missionaries had recorded and shared Indian myths as examples of primitive beliefs or as entertainment. Unusual for a missionary, Beede thought that myths also revealed the Indians’ humanity and creativity. He believed that knowing, studying, and understanding Indian myths could help to connect cultures and teach important life lessons, much as did English stories or Biblical parables. Beede and Libby both agreed that myths were a means of educating North Dakota children. “Historically considered,” Libby wrote in a paper published for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association,

the mythology of any Indian tribe or clan represents the evolution of their civilization, the salient feature of their origin and history, their legal and moral codes, their social observances, and family, clan or tribal customs, and their religious beliefs and

Snakes, which was about the Mandan villages being wiped out by small pox. Beede to G. B. Grinnell, July 2, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹²⁹ Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 121, 112-13, 133.

¹³⁰ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 30, 1921.

practices. More than this, it embodies their only literary expression of the emotional life of the race, the tribe, or the individual. Whatever sentiments they may feel, what passions may stir them, the play of fancy, the pride of race, their characteristic wit and humor, their convictions, aspirations, and higher reaches of thought are to be found here and here only in permanent form.”¹³¹

Beede shared two myths about the whirlwind that served to reveal cultural values.

The myth of the Prairie Rose recounted how Mother Earth wanted color and flowers on her blanket, like the ones that she had in her heart, because the earth’s surface was like a desert and was the playground of the whirlwind. When one of the flowers in Mother Earth’s heart would venture to her blanket, it was destroyed by whirlwind. Finally, the Prairie Rose, Mother Earth’s favorite flower, came up and the whirlwind loved her and allowed her to live and spread and soon other flowers and plants came to join her and “the whirlwind liked them and played with them and became still more gentle.” “So,” Beede concluded, “Indians put the colors of prairie rose on their garments and tents, and when whirlwind sees this color he remembers his first love for Prairie Rose and he becomes too gentle to kill people, though he sometimes played with them boisterously.”¹³²

Another of the tales Beede shared told of the whirlwind and the grandchild of a flower and highlighted the importance of respect for elders. The tale opened with a flower on a tree having an infant. The infant grows and leaves that flower and creates its own home, grows wings, and flies away. One day the child returns to grandmother flower and finds that her nectar is sweet. The child drinks all the nectar and kills the flower. The

¹³¹ Libby, “Myths of American Indians,” 107.

¹³² Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, September 1, 1921.

whirlwind, who loved the flower, was angry at the child and so created a storm that blew the creature to the ground and killed it. The whirlwind fell asleep, hoping that next year “when the infant gets wings and flies away ... it will not abuse its elder.”¹³³ Though sometimes a myth used specific flowers and plants, at other times the focus was more on the lesson than on knowledge of the natural world.

The tale or myth of the tyrant and the sacred spring also spoke of attitudes, values and relationships. A tyrant was forced to flee his tribe when the young men banded together against him. Wherever he ran, he was given no more than a little food and a night’s lodging. He finally came to a sacred pool, but a voice warned him that to drink would bring him pain unutterable. So, he refused to drink. Eventually, however, his thirst drove him to drink and once he started drinking, he continued for many years. The pain and the nature of the water changed him into a good man. His influence spread throughout the country and brought much good. To any others who came on the sacred pool, the same voice warned that to drink was unutterable pain.¹³⁴ Each tale could have multiple meanings. One might use it to illustrate how the tribe should handle a tyrant, how one should show or limit hospitality, or even the idea that one can be changed and do good. Not unlike a biblical parable, there are many meanings, morals, and perspectives that can provide a different lesson each time the tale is repeated.

The tale of the Idealistic Bee is reminiscent of Aesop’s fable of the ant and the grasshopper. The bee did not wish to work and, he asked, “What is the use of working all the time? Why not sing and enjoy the pleasing days?” And from that time on, “this bee

¹³³ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, July 21, 1921

¹³⁴ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, August 11, 1921

did not go back to the tree,” Beede wrote, “but he flew about among the flowers singing and eating what honey he wanted, and at night rested in a cup of a flower.” Though a Bean Mouse family offered to house him if he would sing for them, the bee refused, explaining that “I cannot live on your food, though you like our honey, and I dare not go back to the home in the tree where the other bees have honey for food in the winter, so I must die.” Beede concluded that “this is one of the chapters in the Indian Bible teaching that all should do their share in the work of the tribe.”¹³⁵

Myths and cultural beliefs were often considered by researchers and others as being unscientific and mystical or primitive, a label that set apart and isolated people from those who did not share their beliefs. In a paper, “The Scientific Attitude of Indians” that Beede intended to deliver at a conference in Chicago (he became ill and was unable to attend, though he sent the paper to be read), Beede called into question the practice of judging Indian intelligence and scientific aptitude based only on their myths. This was, he declared, “as erroneous as to gauge the estimate of white men’s knowledge by ‘Alice in Wonderland.’ Every person and race has its story-world always.”¹³⁶ Judging a culture by its story world never provided an accurate picture of the intelligence or scientific aptitude of its members. “The Sioux are scientific-minded,” he frequently remarked in the “Old Indian History” articles, “not superstitious-minded as some say.”¹³⁷ At least, “no Indians I have met were more superstitious than ordinary people, tho whitepeople notice an

¹³⁵ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, October 13, 1921

¹³⁶ Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹³⁷ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, number 86 in Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 11.

Indian's points of superstition rather than their own; and regarded not the vast realms of the Indian's exact observation and knowledge."¹³⁸

Beede was fond of relating how Melvin Gilmore and Keene Abbot, editor of the *Omaha World Herald*, tested His-Horse-Appears, an old Indian, on "that vast field called Natural History" for two days. Both Gilmore and Keene were "convinced that he is equal to, or superior to, most any university professor in such subjects." His-Horse-Appears was one of "a dozen old Indians still living, in Sioux County," who were "equally as proficient along such lines."¹³⁹ Another example that Beede reported to his readers in the *Sioux Country Pioneer* was an occasion when after the Sioux defeated and killed a Crow warrior of great strength and size, they proceeded with an autopsy to determine the source of this strength. Much of it they attributed to healthy living and exercising, not supernatural intervention.¹⁴⁰

Beede believed that Indian myths flowed naturally from how they thought and how they conceived of their world. "White people," wrote Beede in an article on July 7, 1920,

think of the mind as a sort of inner circle with an outer circle consisting of the body around it. Indians thought of the mind as a sort of outer circle around the body, like the heavens canopying the earth, and that mind can travel away or expand away from

¹³⁸ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 19, 1921.

¹³⁹ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, September 9, 1920. In another "Old Indian History" article, Beede informed readers that "Western Sioux knew animals and human anatomy quite well, knew the organs and their functions. Their odd beliefs called superstitions were not occasions of fear, but of study. They conversed about such things." Aaron McG. Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, number 86, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 11.

¹⁴⁰ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 16, 1921.

the body and behold objects very far away, sometimes, especially in some visions or dreams. Their myths therefore are objects of nature.¹⁴¹

This is a complex idea, but rather than the senses filtering the information taken to the mind, the mind filters the information for the body. As the mind was not tied to a purely physical space, the reach of the senses, as perceived by the mind, was greater. Beede also explained that the Indian mind did not focus on multiple objects at once in the way that many white men have been trained to do. They focused, rather intently and single mindedly on one problem and saw it to its resolution. Rather than being a limitation or an example of primitive thought, Beede considered this as a passive-receptive method of thinking. Taken in context with his other articles, one might gather that he saw Indians as absorbing and sensing the world before choosing what to process, whereas white men processed what they needed in order to achieve a particular result. “This indicates,” he explained, “that the mind’s ability to apply itself upon objects is not dependent upon stimuli, but is forced habit.” In other words, the Indians cannot have “many irons in the fire” at one time. “It is one thing at a time, and with zealous tremendous single track and unanswerable logic,” Beede concluded.¹⁴² To a scientist, who would label the Indians’ supernatural experiences or stories about such events as mysticism or lies, Beede might have quoted Shakespeare, “There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.”¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, July 7, 1921. For more on how Indians think and the links between nature, religion, and mysticism, see “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 19, 1921.

¹⁴² Because of this, he believed that dragging on any decision, such as the Black Hills claim distracted from industry, etc. Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, July 14, 1921.

¹⁴³ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 5, Lines 167-8.

Beede kept an open mind and indeed seemed to have some of his own supernatural experiences, such as when he moved the sacred stone into the church yard, his recovering from typhoid fever when first in Dakota Territory, and the healing of a child for whom he prayed when he had just begun his missionary work. “Who can say,” Beede questioned his readers, “what another does see, or does not see? Who knows that ‘we the people’ are the only ones? Who knows that there are not countless persons invisible to us?”¹⁴⁴ He also wrote that Indians, like Greeks, were more appreciative of Living Nature than others were, a Nature in which modern researchers have shown, “each atom, of mineral, metal, liquid or flesh is composed of several microscopic worlds quite like the solar system.”¹⁴⁵ Connecting it all to his Christian faith, Beede finished the article with the statement that “such communities and persons are no smaller compared with us than we are compared to the Universe and God. And Jesus told us better than to assume that God is partial to persons of any particular race or color or size.”¹⁴⁶

Though highly educated and with a scientific bent to his thinking, Beede refused to use only scientific explanations, especially as he saw scientific or Natural Laws as an interpretation of a God-created reality that was beyond simple physical perception.

“Illusion is far more than nothing,” explained Beede,

far more than pleasing fiction or garb; it is an incarnation of reality, the hither face of reality-and so is reality as each person or people can visualize reality, and God. Illusion is to the soul what living objects are to Life-the real presence of Life, very Life.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 23, 1921.

¹⁴⁵ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 23, 1921.

¹⁴⁶ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, June 23, 1921.

¹⁴⁷ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 26, 1921.

He put this more bluntly in his article of September 16, 1920, "Broadly speaking, all religion is mysticism, is supernatural."¹⁴⁸ One had to struggle to break through into an understanding of the Real which underlies all life.¹⁴⁹

This concept could be encapsulated in Beede's retelling of the Wedding Myth. A young man with superior archery skills was invited to participate in an archery contest for the hand of a pretty maid in a neighboring village. On the way to the village, he was so excited he told a companion he met on the road all about himself and the contest. The young man's travelling companion was none other than Unktomi, the prankster. Unktomi tricked the young man into climbing a tree and, by casting illusion on him, Unktomi left him stuck in the tree. Unktomi then took the young man's dress clothes and bow and impersonated him in the contest. When Unktomi was unable to hit the target, the people of the village figured out who he was and soon found the young man. A medicine man "disillusioned" the young man so that he could climb down from the tree and compete for

¹⁴⁸ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, September 16, 1920. In another article Beede explained that not only were Indians fully engaged in living in Nature, and affected by its moods, but white men were also affected. Folklore and adages indicted that "forefathers who lived much in the open were more affected by such vicissitudes than we of to-day are, for with the delusive aid of machinery, we temporarily have the idea of conquering Nature more than the idea of learning to live in and with Nature." Beede warned however that nursing "at Nature's very breast too constantly" was also not good, as "one had best try to create and encourage a certain selfhood, in harmony with Nature's fundamental facts, which can tide over the darker times with momentum from soul-inspiring smiles and the immortal assurance of faith." Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, October 28, 1920.

¹⁴⁹ Beede further explained in his article on illusion and culture that "as soon as the artist or any other person is aware of his practiced illusion, he must discard it-for illusion of which he is not conscious-or else be a mere fakir or trickster." In viewing European paintings, Beede felt that some artists failed to do this, and from then on, their work lacked sincerity. Indian art work, and myth, and religion, and illusion is sincere. It is superficial to criticize rites for their illusion, if they are sincere. "Of course, Indians and others have their illusions-what of it. Indians seem to have lived thru, or past, certain types of scientifico-religious doubt which troubles some superficial white people. Divine Truth is not limited to one race or creed, but its formal expression in its living garbs of illusion depends upon all the factors of living and thinking. The immediate factors, most of all affecting such matters is now and always has been earth forces whether earth is worshipped or not." Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, March 26, 1921.

the hand of the maid. The side effect of the medicine man casting disillusionment was that when the young man won the hand of the pretty young maid, he did not see her “like a young girl idolized,” but, rather, “an ordinary faithful true hearted person” whom he liked well enough to marry. They lived happily ever after and their tent was called “the Tent of Happy Disillusioning.”¹⁵⁰

Whether he thought it best to live in one’s illusion or to become disillusioned, Beede believed that there was more to life and knowledge than man had yet grasped, which meant that labeling people as primitives or mystics was unfair. More than this, in a society that deferred to science, even within religious circles, anything or anyone who was seen to have ideas or beliefs that were outside the laws of science would be isolated and face limited or decreased influence as well as respect for their beliefs.

Though he was willing to accept that there were things that were beyond what he could know, Beede still strove, whenever possible, to confirm or explore supernatural senses, abilities, and experiences. He would question and, when possible, try to observe the supernatural. He may have had personal experience when still a young man on the plains with Indian doctors. Though many stories attribute supernatural power to the doctors through their use of rattles and powwows, Beede wrote that many men with whom he had talked explained that rattles and powwows were a means of expressing the feelings of the families and others when a person was sick.¹⁵¹ Though this does not preclude a supernatural element, this would provide an explanation of actions and objects tied to the supernatural, without making them examples of mysticism.

¹⁵⁰ Beede, “Old Indian History,” *Sioux Country Pioneer*, September 15, 1921.

¹⁵¹ Transcriptions of Beede’s journals, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 8.

Ghosts particularly interested Beede, both Indian beliefs about and their encounters with them. In a letter, Beede included accounts of two ghosts. One, which took place near the Missouri River, was that of Red Ears and Stretches-Himself on January 6, 1912. The other, which took place on the prairie, was related by Iron Whirlwind and Richard Wagacan on January 10, 1912. These men explained that a woman dressed in traditional Indian clothes and clutching a buffalo robe that hid her face walked into the home. She sat by the fire and spoke of how she would freeze to death. "I write these two accounts," Beede noted, "because they are recent and well verifiable."¹⁵²

Beede explained in a journal entry that the Sioux believed people's spirits had three parts - the grave, the jury, and the tent. The spirit that travelled with the corpse was the grave spirit. "His tent spirit" Beede wrote,

would stay around his house for a year. His "jury-spirit" would (unless he was a man full of Great Spirit) not come into consciousness for a while, - not till bodily decay set in. The "tent-spirit" goes with the "jury-spirit," after a year, and all the spirits eventually become one. Then the man may go immediately to happiness, with Great Spirit, or he may have a hard road to travel. But since Great Spirit is everywhere, this man may be happy as a rose or a flower or a fish just as well as anything else.¹⁵³

Indians may have developed their ghostology more than the white men who lived around and among them, but that did not mean that only Indians had ghost stories.

¹⁵² "A Ghost," January 6, 1912, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. In October of 1915, Beede again wrote to Libby mentioning the "most famous ghost of N.D.," the "ghost of the cannon ball." Beede thought the ghost tale would make a great convocation speech for the University of North Dakota. He claimed that he was the only white man (there were about twenty-six Indians) who knew the truth of the ghost who had haunted men, "especially military officers, for several years." To Libby, October 17, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Unfortunately, he does not mention this ghost story again in his correspondence, though his journals may still contain the story.

¹⁵³ Manuscript on Indian customs: V-Z; I.V. Intuitions - Extra sensory perceptions, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 19.

Beede also recorded accounts of white men who encountered ghosts, noting that they had many similarities to Indian experiences. "Have written so much of Indian occultism," Beede scribbled,

I will write a Whiteman's story, -- could write many of them. Mr. Lawrence, a wealthy farmer living S. W. of Dunseith told me, "mr. - - - - came and filed a claim near me. I loaned him \$125. He was poor. I was getting on well. The note outlawed and he would not pay. So we had nothing to do with each other. It was in the fall, we saw a light, a lantern as we thought start from his house toward ours. We watched it. When it got to the slough (a big wide slough ½ a mile across it) with water, instead of going round the road it came straight through the slough. We were afraid. When it got near the house the dog saw it through the window. when it got most of the way to the house I let the dog out, he ran to it and just as he got to it the light went out. My wife said hitch up the team and go up. Something may be the matter." I, my wife, and daughter went up and when we got there his wife said, "oh, I am glad you have come, I was all alone here with the body when he died." He had died suddenly just as the light started (his wife and daughter corroborated what this paragraph contains). The next night I brought him in his coffin as far as my house, my wife and daughter staying with his wife. We were going to send the corpse from willow city on the train in the morning. I ran the buggy into the buggy shed, went and unlocked my door and there stood the man in my kitchen. I sort of forgot he was in his coffin in the buggy shed. I said "what do you want?" He said, "I want you to forgive me for not paying you the \$125. It makes me miserable." I said, "Yes, I will gladly do it if you will go away and not scare me" He disappeared.¹⁵⁴

Ghosts could also signal or be portents, both for good and for ill. Kekake-Kdeska, Beede's neighbor, told of one of his hunts in which the appearance of a ghost foretold ill fortune. They had not been hunting long when

an owl began to whoop, and then whistle in the edge of the thicket by the river. The whistling of the owl (an owl does not whistle like an elk) scared the two with K. K. and they went back toward home. Immediately K. K. saw an elk coming, and it was the elk who was whispering and whistling, and when [K. K.] whooped and whistled it made light like a firefly, when the elk got near K. K. fired, and the bullet made sparks by the elk, who still moved on. He fired again and the same sparks, and still the elk moved on. The third time he fired the elk fell. Hearing the firing, the two men came back. All of them went where the elk fell, and there was no elk, only the old bones of an elk which had been there as much as two years ago. It was not an elk, but the elk-ghost coming back to revisit his bones. He was afraid when he found he had been firing at an elk-ghost. A few days later, (out hunting with the tent and family) he had a similar experience. His wife said "something bad will come of it. Let us pack up and

¹⁵⁴ Manuscript on Indian customs: V-Z; I.V. Intuitions - Extra sensory perceptions, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 19. Jordan seemed to enjoy playing on white superstition as an adolescent. He recorded a story of a white man who thought he had encountered a ghost. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 337-38.

go home.” So they packed immediately (unusual to pack and go in the night) and went home. The next day his wife, a well woman, never sick, dropped dead, and soon a child died. This was twenty years ago. K. K. is my new neighbor. He is a sincere man. He, and one of the men with him still living, vouch for those elk facts. All know about the death of the wife and child.¹⁵⁵

Some Sioux attributed miracles to ghosts. “Many of the things white men have written in their Bible as miracles,” Beede explained,

the Indians explain on the ground of human psychology, telepathy, hypnotism, etc. They believe the mind of a person may influence that mind of another at a great distance. They also believe that the will of person may so affect the body of another person that even at a great distance as to give him more than ordinary strength, or complete weakness. They also attribute to the immediate actions of ghosts working either alone or in co-operation with men, many such things as are recorded in the Bible as miracles. They believe also in living personal forces in what men call “inanimate nature” which help or hinder men according to their mental attitude including the purpose of their actions.¹⁵⁶

Indians made no significant distinction between the physical and spiritual world nor between men and ghosts. Ghosts merely signaled a change in nature, sometimes temporary and sometimes not. This change explained how “a man is carried bodily through some physical substance such as a skin, tent, or a hill of earth” as he temporarily

¹⁵⁵ Manuscript on Indian customs: V-Z; I.V. Intuitions - Extra sensory perceptions, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 19. There were many other incidents recorded such as the following. “Yellow Bear, Ft. Berthold, was digging lignite with a small crow bar,” wrote Beede,

made of a gun nozzle flat and sharp. He thrust the bar under a layer of coal and out came a toad wounded and bleeding on the side of the head, cut by the crow bar. Y. B. felt so bad that he cried. Than he wiped the blood form the toad with his hand, and talked to the toad, and wept. Than he took a string from a green handkerchief and passing it through a hole in a real fine elk tooth he prized highly for it good luck, he tied it onto the neck of the toad as an offering, taking care not to disturb further the toad’s house in the coal bank.

The next day a young Indian came to Yellow Bear, with the elk tooth, Yellow B. said “where did you get it?” the young man said “From the neck of a toad. I tied 3 beads on his neck to pay for it.” Y. B. said “You cheated the toad, and you have done wrong. You better go give him back the good elk tooth.” The young man did not do it and the next day his horse ran away with him and broke his leg and arm.

¹⁵⁶ Journal 1, p. 107. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24.

changed from flesh to spirit. “They account for a man bound with cords becoming suddenly free in this way,” Beede explained,

where the cords are untied they consider it ... but where they are seen being there tied, it is considered “wakan.” They consider [Saint Paul] delivered from prison in accord with their own “wakan occonpi.” They consider that Jesus in his risen state was completely and finally in that state which other men have experienced momentarily. He is the “other life” not as a ghost is, but in the full presence of “the Great Living Mysterious One.”¹⁵⁷

In the case of Jesus, his “other life” had been defined by the unification of the three spirits all people were thought to have. Perhaps Indians believed that Jesus was temporarily changed in nature to achieve necessary tasks and, with his death, he returned to his original nature. Though ghosts and the supernatural seemed proofs of mysticism and primitive thinking, Beede showed that it was not fear, but rather a complex and reasoned conception of reality. A reality that was not far removed from that of the white men around them, if the ghost stories are to be believed.

Establishing Brotherhood

Many missionaries sought to connect Indians to American society through Christian faith or civilization. Beede, however, desired to establish a common cultural identity. Indian myths, legends and oral traditions not only revealed cultural values and conceptions of the world, of life, but they also provided links between people. Sharing ghost stories could reveal common beliefs and, possibly, experiences, while legends and history could create or enhance cultural identity, both through providing new information and through connecting peoples’ experiences. Libby, Beede, and other North Dakota historians believed that North Dakota’s history could not be written without including the

¹⁵⁷ Journal 1, p. 108. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24.

history of the Indians. “Our History has been presented and taught inadequately from lack of properly constructed text books,” Libby wrote in 1910, “and if a knowledge of this primitive life does lie at the beginning of a clear understanding of State history, it certainly has a place in a preliminary chapter in our national history.”¹⁵⁸ He explained that Indian myths were a “genuine outgrowth of American life in a purely local environment at a time when man was first learning how to struggle successfully with nature and how to translate his experience into human speech for perpetuation in the linguistic and literary records of his tribe.”¹⁵⁹ He believed that no general history of North America “should receive the rank for text or reference purposes, unless it contains a carefully written presentation of the primitive civilization upon which or alongside of which our own has developed?”¹⁶⁰

Beede’s social sciences training, particularly that received in Germany, may have influenced his desire or need to make connections between American and Indian history and culture. Beede’s interest in social sciences and its ties to the romanticism and nationalism of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, which emphasized preservation of the past as a part of cultural heritage, may have encouraged his studies of Indian cultures.¹⁶¹ Through the lens of Romanticism, which glorified and idealized the past and the natural world, researchers and others saw the Indian as an exotic other or a noble savage and a representation of freedom and a tie to nature. Through the lens of

¹⁵⁸ Libby, “Myths of American Indians,” 106. See also Beede to Libby, July 16, 1913, Libby papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

¹⁵⁹ Libby, “Myths of American Indians,” 108.

¹⁶⁰ Libby, “Myths of American Indians,” 106.

¹⁶¹ Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 4.

nationalism, researchers looked to the distant cultural or environmental roots of one's nation. The role of the social sciences in analyzing and creating cultural, ethnic, or racial identities was not lost on researchers and this realization formed the impetus for much of the German research, particularly in philology. Social sciences helped to create German identity through its studies of language and literature. Rather than creating a state based only on liberal and enlightened ideals, German researchers and romantics attempted to create a "German nation of mind," based on "essential national character supposedly shared by all persons of German descent."¹⁶² As many of these studies were developing,

¹⁶² Hartmut Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth," in Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop. *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 171. To create this national identity, German researchers traced back the German language and searched for past narratives, which emphasized a common descent and lent antiquity. The Nibelungenlied became one source of cultural myth, but more important than that were the descriptions of Germanic tribes by the Roman historian Tacitus. His work contained the tale of Arminius, a chief who outsmarted the Romans. The historian Hartmut Lutz presented a summary of Tacitus's simultaneous view of "barbarization and idealization of Germanic tribes" with their "unspoiled virtues and unrefined vices"

Tacitus assigned Teutons ... blue eyes and reddish blond hair.... Tacitus projected onto them virtues that were eagerly picked up by the Romantics eighteen hundred years later: honesty; unflinching, even destructive loyalty to family, clan, tribe, and tribal leaders; utter fearlessness in battle; respect for women; physical hardiness; and stoicism in the face of adversity. Tacitus praised their freedom from the restraints of civilized society, their closeness to nature, spirit of independence, and honesty. At the same time, he described Teutons as cruel, inclined to overindulge in drinking and gambling, and prone to go berserk in battle.

Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm," 171-76. Through the creation of these culture myths, some Germans sought to give their culture an indigenous identity, a status that expressed natural and ancient ties to the land and provided idealized concepts of German character. The identification with these "primitive" qualities led to a fascination with Indians for many Germans as they saw Indians embodying similar primitive values or cultural characteristics. Germans also identified with the oppression that Indian tribes faced in the United States. James Fennimore Cooper's *Leather Stocking Tales* as well as the shows that featured Indians and displays of their art and culture increased the German interest in and knowledge of Indians. The real key in much of their German identification came with the works of Karl May. May, a novelist, created the idealized German colonizer, Shatterhand as an expression of Tacitus's idealized German characteristics. Shatterhand's faithful and noble Indian sidekick, Winnetou received and humanist German education from a German immigrant and hence exemplified, understood, and judged German virtues to be superior. May's work bolstered German beliefs in their role as imperialists by reinforcing their conception of German ideals as superior to other countries'. It also increased German identification with Indians through Winnetou's acceptance of German ideals and his cooperation with Shatterhand. This identification continues even today in Germany through Indian hobby groups. H. Glenn Penny, "Elusive

American students were studying at German universities. Beede mentioned in passing some of these attitudes in his letters, leaving one to wonder on what level these studies influenced his efforts to connect American identity to the history of the land as told through native traditions.

Beede also noted that Indian history and legends could add to both public (what was generally known or believed to be true) and “proper” history (what was fact based and sometimes unknown).¹⁶³ Libby and Beede believed that to preserve and ensure the accuracy of Indian oral transmission, a tribe’s histories and legends had to be carefully recorded.¹⁶⁴ “Tragically,” wrote researcher David Edmunds,

one of the greatest blunders committed by historians peripherally interested in Indians at the turn of the century was their failure to collect or use the oral accounts held by many tribal members whose lifetime spanned much of the nineteenth century. Many of these individuals, or their parents or grandparents, had participated in events early in the nineteenth century. Since extended families and tribal communities continued to exist, these oral accounts could have provided a considerably enlarged Native American perspective. Unfortunately, during the twentieth century, much of this valuable information was lost.”¹⁶⁵

Authenticity: The Quest for the Authentic Indian in German Public Culture,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48 (2006): 798-819; H. Glenn Penny, “Red Power: Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Indian Activist Networks in East and West Germany.” *Central European History* 41 (2008): 447–476.

¹⁶³ Note to the Historical Society, May 12, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Beede seemed to grow increasingly cynical over the information and sources that were recorded. In several of his letters he emphasized the need to have true or “proper” history that recorded things as they happened not through the filter of some special interest or pleader. Beede to Libby, October 4, 1913; Beede to Libby, October 6, 1915; Beede to Gilmore, cc. Libby, Ft. Yates, October 20, 1918; Beede to Libby, Bismarck, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. “Something is lost,” Beede wrote, “when a yarn- not fully true but contains essentials of truth-” is not recorded. The motives behind historical events are “realized by a few people who delve and study, and are keen and alert, while the Robert Louis Stevenson Myth, and similar myths are considered, on the whole, better for people in general than the ‘naked truth’. We have most all ‘knowledge’ in the form of some illusion, even our sacred religious knowledge which is ‘revelation’.” Carter H. Harrison, January 22, 1923, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹⁶⁴ Gordon L. Iseminger, “Dr. Orin G. Libby: A Centennial Commemoration of the Father of North Dakota History.” *North Dakota History*, 68 no. 4 (2001): 15.

¹⁶⁵ Edmunds, “Native Americans, New Voices,” 721.

Beede hoped that he could gather information on Indian treaties, as well as the early history of the Dakotas. Some of this was done by recording what he heard when among Indians and some by asking questions. He and Libby also asked Indians to explain and depict their history and to walk over the land on which the events had taken place. Through these, they strove to increase accuracy of recall and to gain a better understanding of the connection between history and the physical environment. An interesting example of this came when some Indians visited the State Museum and walked through the exhibits. Beede overheard the Indians criticizing the number of horses in the reproduction of the Mandan village as being about half the actual number. They did not know whether this was because the person who created it included only the horses of the occupants he knew, whether he was too lazy, or whether he was “too scant on mud.” Trunkan Wicasu and Mato Wilko later confirmed that there were other inaccuracies as well.¹⁶⁶

Other examples of Beede and Libby’s attempts to draw out the Indians’ accounts are the battles of the Little Bighorn and Whitestone Hill. At both battle sites, they arranged for Indians who had been there or who had heard the tales from family members to walk over the battlefield as they told their stories.¹⁶⁷ When speaking with the Arikara scouts about the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Beede and Libby used a sand table on which the scouts could tell where they were and show how the terrain affected what they saw and did. Other ways that Beede worked to provide written and visual records was through negotiating with keepers of winter counts to make copies of them to be placed in the

¹⁶⁶ Beede to Libby, Bismarck, October 7, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

¹⁶⁷ Beede to Libby, May 18, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

North Dakota State Museum. He also sought to copy or protect other cultural objects by placing them in the care of the North Dakota State Museum. The objects and places were visual and physical reminders and connections to Indian history and traditions. The oral traditions and histories that Beede and Libby recorded were meant to explain and to connect the Indians' past to their present and future and to provide a basis for them and for all Americans to create a new and distinct American identity. Sometimes, this meant challenging how history was viewed.

One of the largest projects that Beede and Libby worked on together brought all of these elements together.¹⁶⁸ The history of the Battle of the Little Big Horn had been written primarily from military perspectives and documents, views that concealed much and, Beede and Libby argued, unfairly placed blame for defeat on the “cowardly” Arikara scouts who guided Custer. Beede and Libby met with nine of Custer's surviving Arikara scouts and, for five days in August 1912, they interviewed Little Soldier, Strikes Two, Little Sioux, Young Hawk, Red Star, Red Bear, One Feather, Running Wolf, and Curly Head. The scouts' accounts, as historian Gordon L. Iseminger wrote in 2001, “consisted of testimony by eyewitnesses who had been traditional enemies of the Sioux, who had been scouts in the service of the United States government, and who had volunteered

¹⁶⁸ The project was noted in many local newspapers. “Dr. Beede to Elbowoods,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, August 13, 1912; “Custer Scouts Interviewed,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, August 28, 1912; “Much Research Work Being Done,” *Grand Forks Evening Times*, August 29, 1912; “Interview Custer Scouts,” *Jamestown Weekly Alert*, September 5, 1912; “Custer Scouts Interviewed by Dr. Beede and Prof. Libby,” *Devils Lake Inter-ocean*, September 6, 1912.

their accounts years after the event when they no longer had to fear retaliation for what they had said.”¹⁶⁹

In 1920, after conducting more research, Libby published “The Arikara Narrative of the Campaign against Hostile Dakotas, June 1876” in the State Historical Society of North Dakota’s *Collections*.¹⁷⁰ Libby proved that the scouts acted as they were required to and that they bore no responsibility for the defeat of the men under Major Marcus Reno’s command.¹⁷¹ Iseminger believed that “the accounts are also valuable because they were recorded before the Battle of the Little Bighorn had become entangled with the Custer myth and had not been edited and romanticized by non-Indian translators.”¹⁷²

Beede not only participated in interviewing the Arikara Scouts, but he also asked many old Indians about the battle and about Custer and Sitting Bull. He worked with the Sioux to refine and record their version of the events surrounding what had occurred at the Little Big Horn.¹⁷³ The drama, *Sitting Bull- Custer* was the product of this collaboration. Using a drama to tell the story likely appealed to Beede’s artistic side, but,

¹⁶⁹ Iseminger, “Dr. Orin G. Libby,” 16.

¹⁷⁰ Orin Grant Libby, *The Arikara Narrative of the Campaign against the Hostile Dakotas, June 1876* (Bismarck, N.D.: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1920).

¹⁷¹ Iseminger, “Dr. Orin G. Libby,” 15.

¹⁷² Iseminger, “Dr. Orin G. Libby,” 16.

¹⁷³ Beede’s work with the Arikara further established him as a resource for those interested in these aspects of Indian history and led to the exchange of many more letters. These interviews also provided him a new venue for contact as well as a platform to push for connection and Indian rights. Beede and Libby helped the Indian scouts establish the Association the United States Volunteer Indian Scouts of which Beede became the first chaplain. This organization encourage public and government recognition of the military service and contributions of the Indian scouts. Beede to Judge J. M. Austin, October 19, 1923 & Beede to Carter H. Harrison, January 22, 1932. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7; Beede to Mr. Charles Francis, Batesville, NY, January 17, 1927, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 11. According to the *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, the Scouts led very “sincere” Memorial Day celebration on Fort Berthold in 1913. “Indians Celebrate Memorial Day,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, June 6, 1913.

more than this, he explained that his drama was but a piece, a condensed version of a larger drama, that was performed among the Sioux.¹⁷⁴ Beede made clear that the drama was not only a collaborative effort that highlighted his connections with the tribe, but it was also a way to share his appreciation of their cultural expressions and history with a much larger audience. In his notes on the drama, Beede explained how the Sioux had helped him write *Sitting Bull-Custer*, especially in deciding which songs and characters to leave in or take out.¹⁷⁵ Beede may also have considered poetry and drama as being better than a historical narrative as a means of connecting the sympathies of Indians and whites, though he knew or soon learned that not all would appreciate *Sitting Bull-Custer*.¹⁷⁶

Beede wrote to Libby in February 1913 that there were some last-minute complications with publication, but that the entire first run of the play, one thousand copies, had already been spoken for.¹⁷⁷ Though pleased with the positive responses he

¹⁷⁴ Often, the forms of myth, song, poetry, and dance were mixed to create elaborate dramas. Beede was fond of Indian drama and mentioned an incident in "Old Indian History" at which the Indian Red Hail acted out the legend of Standing Rock by changing his voice for each character. Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, May 20, 1920. Melvin Gilmore remarked, "Among Indians the highest religious form of public religious expression was a pageant or drama which included rhythm and music, and the dance was frequently but not always a part of such public religious exercises." See also Beede, *Toward the Sun*, 195-98.

¹⁷⁵ In *Heart-in-the Lodge*, he added a note that he did not think that one of the songs fit the character to whom it was attributed, but the Indians who worked with him on the piece assured him that it was appropriate and it was what they wanted. *Heart-in-the Lodge*, 59.

¹⁷⁶ "Am told," Beede wrote to Libby, "[James] McLaughlin has no words too severe for it." Beede added his own criticism of McLaughlin, explaining that he was not the authority he claimed to be on some matters and on others, he "is a born liar." Beede knew that the *Sitting Bull-Custer*, "cuts hard [McLaughlin's] position on many matters." Beede to Libby, Rolla, October 22, 1912, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Beede's sentiment on McLaughlin is shared by William Red Cloud Jordan when he spoke of McLaughlin intimidating or telling off the Indians on Rosebud that were against selling their "surplus" land to homesteaders in 1910. "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 330-31, 381.

¹⁷⁷ Beede to Libby, February 6, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

received and the interest shown, Beede wondered, “does that show that the time has come when people have more interest in Indian affairs, or is it merely because I struck a popular note in combining Custer with Sitting Bull?” Either way, Beede concluded “I think the play will awaken interest in Indian work.”¹⁷⁸ It may have. It was published at the point when he began speaking out against Indian policies on Standing Rock Reservation as can be seen in his dedication.¹⁷⁹ His purpose in writing *Sitting Bull Custer* was to address the Indian view of the tragedy and to encourage respect for Indians. Beede strove to do this through presenting the stories of the people rather than the history of the battle.¹⁸⁰

Not only is the drama sympathetic to Indians, but it also draws parallels of experience particularly between Sitting Bull and Custer. Both Sitting Bull and Custer struggled to maintain their influence and both faced the doubt and apprehension of those in leadership positions in their culture. Beede depicted both Custer and Sitting Bull as fatalistic- they both believed that they faced their ultimate defeat and loss of power, but that the only option left to them was to fight and, possibly, to die in that fight. Despite

¹⁷⁸ Beede to Libby, February 6, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16. Richard White mentioned Beede and *Sitting Bull- Custer* in an article examining the iconography of the frontier. White raised questions about the connections between Beede’s, Indian, and white depictions of Custer. Richard White, “Fredrick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill,” in *The Frontier in America Culture: Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick*, edited by James R. Grossman, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 40-45.

¹⁷⁹ Beede dedicated that book to Simaqua who died at 103 of “slow starvation, because of the awkward system of Indian affairs’ by which the U. S. government exhausts Indian resources in ‘administration.” Beede, *Sitting Bull & Custer*, “Dedication.” See also, “Life and Death of Simaqua,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, September 6, 1912.

¹⁸⁰ Though focusing on Sitting Bull and Custer, the drama included small glimpses of others stories. One such tale is that of the lovers in Act III. In the notes on the play, Beede explained that this reflected the story of Echonka and Winona. Echonka was injured and lived for a few days after the battle, long enough for he and Winona to marry. A few days after his death, Winona died from grief.

Sitting Bull's fatalism, in his vision of Custer's coming, he saw, "Great Yellowhair and all are dead, / Ere half one battle-hour is sped."¹⁸¹ In the final scene, Sitting Bull found Custer's body. Custer's spirit arises and Sitting Bull paid homage to Custer as a brave soldier who followed orders, though he believed that the policy Custer defended was indefensible.

Following the publication of *Sitting Bull-Custer*, Indians from the Hunk-pa-ti tribe asked Beede to help them tell a part of their history, the Whitestone Hill Battle of 1863, when General Alfred Sully attacked a band of Hunk-pa-ti rather than the Santee tribe that he had been pursuing. Sully's expedition was part of a military reprisal for the Dakota War of 1862. The location and narrative of the battle were influenced by accounts of army men. In speaking with the surviving members of the tribe and their relatives, however, Beede and Libby discovered that the battlefield was not where accounts reported it to be. They asked Indians to assist them to determine the correct location and also to recall events of the battle, in order to more accurately and fully explain it. Beede and the Hunk-pa-ti tribe worked together to write *Heart in the Lodge or All a Mistake*, a drama that incorporated cultural symbolism and reflected the ways in which the tribe conceived of and wrote about their history.¹⁸²

The drama's preface provided a brief introduction to the events and the people associated with the battle, emphasizing that the Hunk-pa-ti were a peaceful, agrarian

¹⁸¹ Beede, *Sitting Bull & Custer*, 16.

¹⁸² As Beede explained, "*Heart-in-the-Lodge* is composed by old Indians, I merely put it into English, and the same is true of *Sitting Bull-Custer*. Sioux are great [with] drama. Their religion was in the form of drama." October 14, 1915, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. He expressed this again in November 25, 1916 in a letter to Howard Biggars and on October 19, 1932 in a letter to J. M. Austin, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

tribe, and uninvolved in the unrest in Minnesota. The thirst for revenge among many whites and Sully's attempts to cover his failure to stop the Santee tribe from fleeing beyond the Missouri River were factors in the battle. The first scene highlighted this as it opened with a sacred fire and a buffalo dance as a celebration for having gathered winter provisions. Not only did the dance stress the tribe's peaceful intentions, but it also clearly showed the time of the year and helped to set the stage for the magnitude of the tribe's loss.

The attack on the Hunk-pa-ti was based on miscommunication or the inability to communicate. The tribe could not communicate with the soldiers, save through a resentful interpreter, and the soldiers did not understand the tribe or their actions. Actions that the tribe intended as peaceful gestures were incorrectly interpreted by the soldiers sent to scout them. The Indians sent to parley with the army were disrespected and their statements were incorrectly translated by the interpreter. The result, unfortunately, was a battle and loss of life. Both could have been avoided. The loss of life was intensified by the way Beede focused attention on it. The stage directions explained,

the curtain rises several times, showing the flight in a realistic way. Small ponies or dogs or both are hauling travois with papooses and other things tied onto them. A few big dogs have papooses tied onto their backs. Little boys are riding dogs astride. Women with papooses on their backs are trying to carry a lot of stuff besides. Some women are singing lullabies to their papooses. Others are bitterly crying. Children run along holding onto each other's hands, some screaming, and some showing great sagacity, are lame and hobbling. Some are praying. Some are yelling. They are trying to help each other in ways that hinder. All is a bedlam of confusion.¹⁸³

The sense of loss is further heightened by a tragic love story. The warrior Takes-his-Shield's lover, Heart-in-the-Lodge, was wounded in the initial attack. Takes-his-Shield

¹⁸³ Beede, *Heart-in-the-Lodge*, 25.

decided that he should draw the fire so the rest, including his lover, could flee to safety. Entrusting his lover to his best friend, Takes-his-Shield charged the soldiers as the rest of the tribe slipped from the stage.

The final curtain rose on those of the tribe who survived, now in a hastily prepared and ill-provisioned camp. The tribe was no longer pursued, but some members were wounded and dying. Adding to the tragedy, the herald called out the bad news that all the goods that they had left in their original camp had been destroyed by the soldiers.¹⁸⁴ The Hiyoke tried to lift their spirits with jokes and witticisms. Though this lifted their spirits, a conversation between some of the older Indians revealed that, though Heart-in-the-Lodge would recover from her wound, in her mind she was still seeking her lover. She kept seeing Takes-his-Shield, even though the Hiyoke reported that he had died. The ending was ambiguous- if Heart-in-the-Lodge awoke, she would be healed in mind and body, but, if she did not, her spirit would be guided to Takes-his-Shield.

Though a play, the piece added to the accounts of the battle by including those of the Hunk-pa-ti and by explaining their conceptions of them. It also tabulated the losses and helped to explain the tribe's decline and struggles. The play was also interesting in that it presented a complicated relationship between the many Sioux tribes. The Santee from Minnesota were considered "whitemanized." The Yankton were imperialistic and, as the overlords for the Hunk-pa-ti, set the tone for acceptance of white technology and

¹⁸⁴ In the long list of goods recited by a herald, there was little in the tribe of white manufacture. Beede highlighted this with the explanation that the tribe would not dare to offend their "quasi overlords, the Tetons, who were maintaining a policy of strict isolation from white men." Though the list was of mainly Indian items, the descriptions reveal that many of them were articles of leisure or ornamentation, not just survival. Beede, *Heart-in-the-Lodge*, 40.

even of the Santee. The play also displayed the Indians' humanity and the themes they had in common. Love, loss, grief, desperation, hope, sacrifice, and humor in the face of tragedy were values that Beede's audience, whether white or Indian, could appreciate and with which they could identify. Because *Heart in the Lodge* was staged as an outdoor drama in June 1914 at Fargo's North Dakota Agriculture College (today known as North Dakota State University), Beede may indeed have succeeded in encouraging a greater development of brotherhood between whites and Indians.¹⁸⁵

One of Beede's earliest publications, *Large Indian Cornfields in North Dakota Long Ago, and an Indian Drama Petite for School Children* (1914) focused even more on the development of a shared American identity. It not only showed aspects of Indian culture (in this case focusing on the Mandan and affiliated tribes), but it also emphasized that Indians were an important part of the American heritage.¹⁸⁶ This pamphlet discussed the uses and value of corn around the world; detailed how Indians cultivated it; summarized the beliefs and practices related to planting and harvesting corn; and presented a short drama that would have been part of the harvest celebration. Beede saw the history of corn not only as a preservation of Indian culture, but also of what he termed "true Americanism." "What is true Americanism," he wondered, "if not first of all the

¹⁸⁵ Eriksmoen, *Did You Know*, 56; Trinkka, *North Dakota Today*, 143.

¹⁸⁶ George Will, in continuing the development of his father's seed company, looked to and developed Indian seed varieties. He emphasized in one catalog cover the "debt owed by the North Dakota Farmer to the Indians for the gift of corn." More than this, he respected the experience, persistence, and adaptation that Indians' successful crops represented. In researching Indians' seeds, he hoped to find better crops or methods to increase farmers success. Fred Schneider, "'Corn in the Crib is like Money in the Bank': George F. Will and the Oscar H. Will & Company, 1917-1955," *North Dakota History* 76, n. 1, 2 (2010), 7-9, 12, 19.

keenly sympathetic appreciation of our own native life and all life?"¹⁸⁷ For him, this meant learning about and living in a uniquely American culture, rather than looking to Europe- basing our culture and identity "in native sources and resources."¹⁸⁸

Not only were Beede's plays a means of connecting cultures and creating identities, he also saw in Indian dances something more than a pagan religious practice or fanaticism.¹⁸⁹ Toelken described dance as part of an "active ongoing process of cultural life" that "evokes experiential engagement, integration, and reintegration." It "embodies or enacts cultural attitudes which cannot readily be articulated today."¹⁹⁰ By this, he meant that dance and drama were a participatory experience that strove to draw people together and into the culture. Dances were usually neither strictly secular nor sacred, but they served as an intersection between the two. At times, they were used to memorialize people and events. Toelken further explained that dances today have become the most common articulation of "Indianess."¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, July 1, 1920.

¹⁸⁸ Beede, "Old Indian History," *Sioux Country Pioneer*, August 26, 1920; June 10, 1920.

¹⁸⁹ Large community dances like the Sun Dance and the Ghost dance had been prohibited among the Sioux since 1890 and before. The Sundance was banned because it included elements of self-torture, while the Ghost dance was linked to fanaticism and paganism and uprising. One Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed his agents in 1901 that, "Indian Dances and so-called Indian Feasts should be prohibited. In many cases, these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils." As quoted in O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 76. Jeffery Olster presented a post-colonial treatment as he argued that reservations marked a period of American colonization and Wounded Knee represented anti-colonial resistance. Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and US Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Raymond Demallie provides a good analysis of this event and its historiography in Raymond J. Demallie "The Lakota Ghost Dance" *Pacific Historical Review* 51 (1982): 385-405.

¹⁹⁰ Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 104, 106.

¹⁹¹ Toelken, *The Anguish of the Snails*, 83-88.

In an ethnographic note on the Sun Dance, Beede examined the similarities in practice between it and the Bavarian Mayday celebrations as related to him by his friend, the Benedictine Father Bernard Strassmaier. The pageantry of the celebrations and, especially, the selection and the decoration of the posts used in both dances had similarities.¹⁹² World War I brought new connections. Some of the Indian dance rituals, particularly the practice of giving away goods, was encouraged, as the Red Cross (because its symbolism and ideals fit those of the dance) was often the recipient of these goods.¹⁹³ The dances also expressed the Sioux's support for the United States' efforts in World War I and they memorialized the victory.¹⁹⁴

Beede observed the Sioux Victory Dance celebrating the end of World War I held on November 30, 1918, and he commented on the debate of whether the American flag should be placed on the dance post or somewhere else. Many younger Indians thought it would be more acceptable to whites to place the flag on a nearby pole or, possibly, at the top of the post. Most of the older Indian men and women, according to Beede, believed that the flag needed to be attached just below the top of the pole with rawhide. The post's top was associated with "Holy Deity" and "Holy Destiny," while the area under the wolf (tied about five feet down from the top) was associated with the Indian people. The flag's position between the wolf and the top placed it under spiritual authority, but reflected the belief that "white men by their superior wisdom had enabled the united Indians and white

¹⁹² Memorandum, May 1, 1917, Sundance. Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7.

¹⁹³ For accounts of the Sundance before the turn of the century, see Deloria, Ella. "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux," *The Journal of American Folklore* 42, No. 166 (1929): 354-413.

¹⁹⁴ Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 13. Hultgren, "To Be Examples," 34.

people to win this war for freedom of all people.”¹⁹⁵ By specifying an organic linking (the rawhide) of the two cultures, the Indians were reflecting, “that the white people coming to this island had become the successors of the old Indian governments.”¹⁹⁶

Blue Thunder, quoted in a footnote in Beede’s account of the Victory Dance, remarked, “the white people have become a great people in this island and in all the world because they were wise enough not to throw away the native plants and foods.” His list included beans, corn, potatoes, tobacco, and “the sacred food for all white people,” the turkey. He continued with the statement that, “white people have built this great nation on good ground prepared by Indians before the white people came, and this nation cannot be considered separate from the old Indian customs and bravery and food-raising.”¹⁹⁷

Thomas Frosted, another Indian speaker at the victory dance, expressed much the same sentiment when he explained the symbolism connected with the American flag:

You see the main part of this flag is red, which does not mean that red is superior to the blue and white in the flag in the smaller part, but it means that the Red men were the first people here on this island. The color red signifies the earth and all that grows out of the earth- the people, the food which is provided by nature for people, and the food which people learn to cultivate for themselves. The color blue signifies the sky above the earth with all its unmeasured boundaries, its everlasting power, and its kindly wishes for the earth and all there is on the earth. The color white signifies that by the action of the Earth and all the Sky there comes a future world for all beings great or small. So the groundwork of this flag being red does not signify any superiority of the color red over the colors blue and white, but it signifies merely that the Red men were the first people in the island, ... And now, as we are all aware, the white race have become the ruling race in this island. ... Yet as white men come to understand the Red men, they are more inclined to give them credit for their help in

¹⁹⁵ Aaron McGaffey Beede, “The Dakota Indian Victory Dance,” *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1942): 170.

¹⁹⁶ Beede, “The Dakota Indian Victory Dance,” 169.

¹⁹⁷ Beede, “The Dakota Indian Victory Dance,” 169.

making this great nation by freely supplying the white men who came with the many things necessary to the growth of a great nation.¹⁹⁸

It is difficult to know where these ideas developed. Were they the product of missionaries, reformers, and educators working to change Indian culture? Did they reflect a temporary connection based in the common war effort? Could these Indians have been acting on expectations or desires of the white people living among or around them? Was it possible that some of the older Indians were seeking a legacy, especially given the decreasing prominence of their people? Each person may have had a different motivation, and it may be impossible to know what these were. The inclusion of the flag and these comments, however, raised an interesting point. The comments seem to reveal a desire to connect with American society through connecting cultural symbolism, joint action (through participation in World War I), and heritage. The motive for this connection was not spelled out, nor was there likely to be only one, but it does raise questions of identity and brotherhood.

Creating this identity would seem to be a purely secular bent to his missionary work, yet it flowed from the core of Beede's Christian faith. In *To Kill a Mocking Bird*, Harper Lee wrote, "you never really know a man until you understand things from his point of view, until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."¹⁹⁹ This, in a sense, is the heart of Christianity; God became a man in order to establish connection or relationship between God and man. God acted as a bridge and He called his followers to

¹⁹⁸ Beede, "The Dakota Indian Victory Dance," 177-178.

¹⁹⁹ Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mocking Bird LP: 50th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 48.

do the same. Sometimes the bridge must be between God and man, but at other times it must be between man and brother.

Beede hoped that brotherhood or a common identity could lead to a better, a more Christian, society. He, like Plato, knew that blood ties could take one only so far. Christian brotherhood was not based on blood ties, but was founded on godly love that impelled the Christian to see others as brother or sister. Beede did not believe that this meant all Christians should look, act, or think alike. He did not believe they should experience and understand the world in exactly the same way. Beede knew that when Christians made distinctions based on blood or culture, they could isolate others or themselves. Beede strove to create brotherhood among Christians, Americans, and Indians by increasing interest in Indian culture and breaking down misconceptions.

Though Beede, as a missionary, believed that transformation and change came from within a person, he also realized that external forces and challenges could and did affect one's beliefs and they often served as a precursor for change. Through collecting and sharing Indian traditions, and stories, Beede was able to increase knowledge of and access to Indians. In working to explain the culture, he helped to create not only understanding, but also the commonalities of experience. He particularly liked to show how what was criticized as being Indian mysticism had its parallels in white culture. In explaining Indian's culture, Beede strove not only to emphasize their humanity, but also to increase people's knowledge of history by including Indian perspectives and information. Greater access to and explanation of Indians' culture would make it easier for others to see Indians' perspectives, to "climb into their skin." He also sought to create a common identity by linking the heritage of the land and Indians to American culture.

Beede hoped that as Americans developed appreciation for and acceptance of Indians, they would see Indians as having the same potential as others and Indians would gain greater opportunities as their social isolation lessened. Indians, as brothers, as sisters, as fellow citizens, would have more status, support, and connection to American culture than was allowed by their political status on reservations. This increased status could potentially break down Indian isolation, as well as provide them with greater political, economic, and social opportunities.

CHAPTER VI
ON INDIAN IDENTITY, ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, GOVERNMENT POLICIES,
AND THE BEEF TRUST

We define society as INDIVIDUAL MEN SO ORGANIZED BY COMPULSORY LAWS AND BY SIMILAR DESIRES THAT THE WELL BEING OF EACH AFFECTS AND IS DEPENDENT UPON ALL, AND ALL UPON EACH. The mission of the social organization is to enable the individual to realize the possibilities of his existence. Between the workings of a true society and the true aims of the individual there could be no friction.¹

Complete justice with [the apostle Paul] is outwardly the Christian ideals operating in the organic state and so tempering the individuals and groups that, while each affects and is dependent upon all others, there is freedom without disruption. ... Serving according to one's talents and receiving according to one's needs is so indelibly written in Paul's just state that we cannot rub it out without rubbing out the state.²

There can be few more fitting ways to conclude Aaron McGaffey Beede's work as an Episcopal missionary- and this dissertation- than with a discussion of his struggle against what he termed the "Beef-Trust." His efforts to get the stock of the large cattle companies off Standing Rock Reservation was a culmination of Beede's experiences and philosophy of life and ministry. The issue was more than a struggle against those who were taking advantage of the laws that placed limitations of Indians. It was about Beede's desire to assist Indians in working out the possibilities of their existence. This struggle led him to a growing disenchantment with his church- if not with Christianity- and to conduct that some called unbecoming for a Christian missionary. At the heart of Beede's unbecoming conduct was a concern for people and a curiosity and openness to the world around him that seemed to transcend doctrinal or cultural differences. Beede's

¹ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 2.

² Beede, *Social Teachings*, 13.

sociological views and sense of social justice were centered on his Christian beliefs in justice as an outgrowth of love because people placed others' interests ahead of their own. Though Beede realized the impossibility of achieving an ideal or just state, he saw the duty of ministers, particularly those who were "well versed in sociology, not from casual reading but from prolonged study guided by a master mind, of its deeper scientific principles," to aid others in working out the possibilities of their existence.³ Part of working out these possibilities was "serving according to one's talents and receiving according to one's needs."

As Beede's quotes suggest, society is based on connection and each person's behavior affects the lives of others. Beede believed that a Christian was duty bound to "serve" and to "receive." In other words, Christians must find ways to connect with others rather than isolating themselves from others. Remaking Indians to be or appear to be replications of white Christians was not Beede's desire. He wanted to break the isolation and limitations Indians had faced, but not at the price of their culture and identity as a people. As a missionary, he strove to find a balance between traditional Indian culture and Christian teachings. Beede's work among the Indians was not merely about changing their lifestyle and hoping that, thereby, they changed their beliefs. Nor did he believe that the answer was to replace their old identity and beliefs with different ones.

Assisting others to work out their possibilities meant helping them to recognize and create opportunities. Recognizing the influence of one's past on the options available

³ Beede, *Social Teaching*, 8.

and projecting where present opportunities might lead were all part of the working out of possibilities. This was by no means a simple task for Beede, as his perspective and the perspective of the people with whom he worked could be limited by how they viewed and understood themselves, their culture, and their society. Sometimes, however, the larger culture or circumstances limited one's options. This in part was what lay behind Beede's work to share and explain Indian culture. Not only did Beede's work with both Indians and researchers to share and preserve Indian history help to increase understanding and appreciation, but it also was important as a foundation of an Indian identity, one that may or may not include Christianity and traditional Indian culture. The importance of this came down to the internal forming of identity. In sharing the history, culture, and humanity of Indians, he also hoped to challenge negative stereotypes and to change society's image of Indians.

Yet, even as Beede worked as a missionary among the Indians of Standing Rock Reservation to expand their possibilities, he and the Indians with whom he worked were limited by social and economic realities, realities that Beede believed were the result of unjust Federal policy. Beede was frustrated with how government policy treated Indians as inferior and with how this influenced their health and livelihoods. Government policies considered Indians as dependents until proven otherwise, and they were provided limited means and incentives for gaining self-sufficiency. Though Indians were strongly encouraged, even forced, to adapt to government-sanctioned livelihoods and practices to gain status and citizenship, the policies that governed reservations as well as many people's attitudes toward Indians left them vulnerable to graft and corruption. The heart of the issues against which Beede fought was Indians' status and social position. Federal

policy was paternalistic, based on the assumption that Indians were unable to care for themselves. Therefore, their land, resources, education, livelihood, and travel had to be controlled or regulated. Though some of this was based on a misconception of the identity and abilities of Indians, paternalistic treatment also meant that unscrupulous individuals were able to gain control of or access to Indian resources and thereby realize a benefit.

When Beede challenged Indians' status as defined by federal regulations, he was calling not only for a reevaluation of who Indians were, but also an accounting from those who controlled Indian land and a surrendering of income from some of those who profited from the system. In challenging federal policy, Beede came into conflict with federal Indian agents, politicians, businessmen and leaders of his church. As Robert Wilkins and Wynona H. Wilkins summed it up, Beede "denounced those people who encroached on tribal lands, who stole the Indian's cattle, and, in the government at Washington, those who allowed them to starve."⁴ Beede was particularly angry with the

⁴ Wilkins and Wilkins. *God Giveth the Increase*, 96. Beede claimed that the contacts and relationships between leaseholders and government officials and church leaders led to many of the attacks on his ministry. If these claims are true, there is likely no official or unofficial record. Though, the fact that he was able to keep his licensure would indicate that there were no real problems with his beliefs or that it was too much trouble or embarrassment to challenge them. These accusations explain why Beede had lost his faith in the "full Christian honesty of Churches." Beede to Mr. John Corey, May 11, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12. In his letter of June 30, 1916, to Reverend A. S. Lloyd, the New York prelate of the Episcopal Church in the United States, Beede resigned from his work as a missionary and he responded to the Lloyd's questions about Beede's character and ministry. Beede challenged the bishop's perceived cooperation with the business interests that supported the cattle companies that operated on the reservations. Beede made clear in the letter that he realized that the bishop's early inquiries about his missionary work or rather the attempts to find a reason to dismiss Beede were the result of pressure from Lloyd's contacts with business interests, particularly those with an interest in cattle. Indeed, from the time that he first began his struggle against the cattle operations, Beede told Lloyd that he had been expecting to face pressure or threats from business men or government officials, though his reactions to pressures from his church seem to indicate that he expected or hoped for better. Beede was relieved that it came only after he had already won some concessions. Though Beede did not openly rail against or denigrate the church to

leadership of the Episcopal church, especially when he found himself under attack for speaking out about the needs of Indians and the limitations placed on them. "One of the most pathetic things I ever heard," Beede wrote on June 30, 1916, to the head of the Episcopal missionary board, A. S. Lloyd,

was old Indians praying about as follows "O Great Spirit remember that the Beef cattle men are dangerous and forgive Bishop - - - for not facing them and getting food for us when we were starving and give him a place in Heaven for he was a good man."⁵

In several letters and journal entries, Beede charged that accusations of "heathenism" were attacks based on his questioning of federal Indian policy and his accusations against the DZ Cattle company and the lease system of which it took advantage, rather than on failures related to his work as a missionary. In a letter written in 1929, he informed an aggressive college booster, "some years back, when I, impelled by God and the Holy Ghost, disobeyed our Prelate in provincial N.Y. fighting for reform in Indian matters, and barely won-out in the conflict 'with my neck on,' the noble prelate had the largeness of soul to commend me, and the House of Bishops the same; and I'm still a Priest in the Church, in the best of standing."⁶ Beede's frustration with his inability to address these realities or rather the strictures placed on him as a missionary led him to leave the ministry in 1916.⁷

which he had given so many years of service, he did lose respect for it, or rather, for its leadership. Beede to A. S. Lloyd, cc to O. G. Libby, June 30, 1916, Libby Papers, Series 10085, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁵ Beede to A. S. Lloyd, cc to O. G. Libby, June 30, 1916, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁶ Beede, July 14, 1929, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 13.

⁷ Most writers believed that Beede resigned because he was criticized for the way he distributed the contents of missionary barrels. Wilkins and Wilkins, *God Giveth the Increase*, 129. Apparently not, as

Beede did not initially speak out or write about the corruption he witnessed or the misery and death he saw on the reservations, often as the result of government policies. Beede's initial reluctance to speak out for Indian rights and possibilities may have stemmed from his belief that one must achieve one's own freedom or status for either to have meaning. Beede was there to assist working out the possibilities, not to force a direction. For Indians, however, achieving one's freedom or status was difficult or impossible, as they were wards of the state and had no legal status when off the reservations. Given this inferior status in society, Indians struggled to gain their rights and the ability to act on the possibilities they saw and worked to develop for themselves. Beede wrote in *Hindrances* that in disputes between the people and corporations, it was the government's responsibility to provide controls so that the interested parties could

"I got a bad hernia," Beede wrote to the board, "and so was rather unfit for further missionary work, physically." "Continuous long foot journeys," he explained,

such as I had always done in constant work among the scattered Sioux Indians--- sometimes 50 miles in a day, on one occasion 25 miles, from Cannon Ball to Fort Yates, through a terrific blizzard that horses could not face, to baptize an old Indian, who died less than one hour after his baptism (And C. A. Sheffield, now of Story City, Ia. with whom I got permission to pass the night, said to me, "I'll be d---d if I'd face that storm to baptize any old Indian"; but before I left his house, he & wife & 3 children were baptized, & have been commendable Christians since) and considerable many joyous hardships.

The physical hardship had taken its toll, but criticism from his church leaders, also disheartened him. "I intended, during the two years [on Sabbatical], Beede continued in his letter,

to think matters through, and try to get my bearings, psychologically and spiritually; but grew more and more to lack confidence in the full Christian honesty of Churches - -- and that feeling has not yet changed, though I now see more clearly that a church cannot be "aloof" as a poet can be.

Beede to Mr. John Corey, May 11, 1928, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 12. In a hand-written note on the back of a copy of Beede's letter to his prelate and the other Episcopal bishops which he sent to Dr. Libby, Beede requested that the letter remain known only to a few. He wanted to deal with the matter quietly, not drag it before the public. This probably explains why so few of those who have written about Beede know about his disagreements with and accusations of church leaders. Beede to A. S. Lloyd, cc to O. G. Libby, June 30, 1916, Libby Papers, Series 10085, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

work out their own solution. The government, in the case of the Indians, was already an interested party and believed that it represented the needs or desires of the Indians when it allowed leases on reservation lands.⁸ Given the emphasis in Indian policy of encouraging land settlement and farming as imperatives for civilization, questions over the control of land ultimately led to questions of Indian status and to the control and use of reservation lands.

By 1913, Beede had seen the suffering caused by the practices of the large cattle operations leasing Stand Rock Reservation land and by government policies that limited the Indians' ability to act in their own interest. Beede saw the root of the problem as control of Indians' lives and lands. The Beef Trust, Beede's term for a group of ranching interests in the western part of North Dakota, leased Indian land on which to graze their herds. Beede believed that they sold and kept the money from Indian cattle mixed with theirs and that their cattle often destroyed Indian lands and crops.⁹ The Beef Trust

⁸ In ruling on Federal jurisdiction on Indian reservations during the case of *U.S. v. Kagama*, Justice Samuel Miller explained in 1886,

These tribes are wards of the nation. They are communities dependent on the United States. Dependent largely for their daily food. Dependent for their political rights.... From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the Federal Government with them and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the duty of protection, and with it the power. This has always been recognized by the Executive and by Congress and y this court, whenever the question has arisen.

As quoted in O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 73. Laws and rulings following one this tended to increase paternalism. See also, O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 74-82.

⁹ Not surprisingly, considering Beede described it as a "gentlemen's agreement," I have found no other sources on the Beef Trust. Beede, however, recorded a few names and brands that were involved in the disputes and he called out a Congressional representative for defending, assisting or permitting access to reservations lands. Sources may exist to document the existence of a "Beef Trust," but in my research, I have not found them.

depended on the cooperation or the collusion of the Indian Bureau and Indian agents on the reservation, encouraged by the corruption and graft of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁰

Beede's challenges to federal policy focused first on the Indians' survival, as starvation, malnutrition, and disease were rampant. Secondly, he worked to procure a position from which Indians could sue for their rights. Though the Beef Trust had a presence on other reservations, Beede focused his attention on Standing Rock, particularly the part of the reservation located in North Dakota. He knew that to win the struggle, he needed to limit the Beef Trust's access to the reservation and gain recognition of the Indians' legal standing and freedom to make decisions. He linked these larger issues to state politics by encouraging the establishment of Sioux County and, he hoped, greater state and local control of the reservations. He hoped that local control might also mean greater accountability, as Indian agents might face supervision by state governments rather than Washington politicians.

Control of Land: Settlement and Use of Western Lands

The context for Beede's struggle rested in the settlement of western lands, the needs of the cattle industry, and the government's Indian policy. Railroad investors, desiring to improve their finances and increase their profits, promoted the area. The Northern Pacific Railroad investors, in order to stave off financial collapse, needed settlers in Dakota Territory to purchase the sections of land granted to the company by the government to encourage the construction of a transcontinental railroad.¹¹ The

¹⁰ January 6, 1914, Journal 2, pp. 100-101. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

¹¹ Hiram M. Drache, *The Day of the Bonanza: A History of Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North* (North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1964). James J. Hill, president of the

railroads focused their efforts on European immigrants, particularly those from northern Europe. As the historian Karen Hansen explained in her recent book, *Encounter on the Plains*, “In North Dakota, most settlers were first- and second-generation Scandinavians who were exceedingly poor, had little formal education, and spoke broken, accented English, if they spoke English at all. But they knew that land, provided they could obtain it cheaply, could serve as a foothold and be made to yield a livelihood.”¹² The land speculation and land rush meant that by 1900, “as Scandinavian immigration to the United States swelled, few opportunities for homesteading remained. The exceptions were in arid, relatively inhospitable parts of North Dakota and Montana and on Indian

Great Northern was especially known for his efforts to encourage settlement. He was interested in increasing the Railroad’s haulage and hence maintaining the profitability of the Railroad. Hill was also a prime example of one who saw the opportunities provided by the opening of the western United States. He came from the east and began as a shipping clerk in Minneapolis. Because of his head for business and making shrewd investments, he quickly became a major player in shipping and transportation in the region. Claire Strom, *Profiting from the Plains: The Great Northern Railway and Corporate Development of the American West* (University of Washington Press, 2011), 3-12. James J. Hill was also an amateur agriculturalist and through experimentation and his conceptions of the land, he developed what he believed to be the answer to the struggles many western farmers experienced in the dry years after 1890. He believed in diversified agriculture rather than monoculture for example raising wheat as a cash crop.

¹² Karen Hansen gave many reasons for the immigration. For some, it was social momentum and kinship ties (everyone else seemed to be going, it appealed to a wanderlust, and often family members in America drew other family members). Land ownership was particularly appealing to Norwegian immigrants who tended to be from rural locations where inheritance laws and family ownership made land purchase almost impossible. Moreover, those fortunate enough to own land could not always be sure that they could raise enough to avoid starvation. For some, immigration also offered an opportunity to leave behind reputation, family, or intolerable situations. America, and specifically North Dakota, offered inexpensive land as well as higher agricultural wages. The kinship draw was true for Europeans as well as for Americans. Beede went to Chicago because he had family there. He went to the area around Fargo to join his brother or his brother joined him there. Either way, family provided a draw and connection between the western lands, the East, and other countries. Some of Beede’s earliest writings were newspaper articles written after he arrived in Redfield, SD in 1895. He described his new position at the college, the people he met in his duties as a minister, the countryside, and the weather. See pp. 185-end, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 21. Though many settlers were interested in land, the cost sometimes limited their ability to stake claims. The Bonanza farms, shipping industry, and railroads all provided secondary opportunities or part-time labor for those who needed the extra money in order to stake their claim or to support their families until the land produced enough to live on. For others, these areas provided opportunities for investment. Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 3, 60-67, 70-72, 102.

reservations.”¹³ Settlers, however, learned that the soil of the lower plains region was fertile and that, with work, it produced crops. Initial successes, mixed with boosterism and less available land, fed rumors that the high plains were not, after all, “the Great American Desert; it was the Great American Garden.”¹⁴ Lending credence to this belief, the decade from the mid-1870s to mid-1880s had ample rainfall. Second and third-rate land was eagerly snatched up in the land booms of the late 1800s.

On paper, all land seemed to be equally fertile and productive, a belief that had serious repercussions by the 1890s. The upper plains entered a dry cycle and most farmers became concerned about access to water. The belief in man’s ability to conquer

¹³ Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 3. Major General William B. Hayes, stationed at Fort Buford in Dakota Territory in 1874, remarked that “this country will not produce the fruits and cereals of the east for want of moisture, and having no way to be artificially irrigated, and will not, in our same generation, suffer one penny an acre, except through fraud or ignorance.” As quoted in Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 96. The Public Land Commission, established in 1879, revoked many of previous land acts because of fraud and sold the arid land or marginal land to settlers at reduced cost. “The commission concluded that the frontier of open land was virtually at an end, because agricultural land, worked by the small independent farmer, was gone. Hence the laws that controlled western expansion into the empty public domain, particularly the 160-acre Preemption Act and Homestead Act, should be repealed and replaced by more practical ranching and resource-development acts.” Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 81. Population booms occurred during this period in Kansas-Nebraska and the Dakota Territory, and hence seemed not to reflect this. Given that John Wesley Powell was among the commission members and he had lobbied for different standards of land dispensation in arid regions, specifically those past the 100th meridian, these changes to the law were unsurprising. With the farm failure of the late 1880s and early 1890s, the commission and Powell seemed prescient. As Opie so succinctly explained: “The dryland plains came to represent human failure, not only in the 1890s but extending continuously into the 1930s. The blizzard of 1886-87 wiped out cattlemen. The extreme drought of 1887, which returned hot winds and dust storms, drove out the farmers. It was said that the main crop had become mortgage foreclosures. The widespread drought of 1894 was the worst with only 8 inches of rain over much of the Western grassland. The humid-region grasses retreated and the dryland short grasses moved eastward once again.” Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 102.

¹⁴ Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 97. As settlers or speculators claimed all the land of the lower plains, others hoped the upper plains would also yield good crops or, at least, land that could be sold for a profit. Acts such as the Graduation Act of 1854, which sold pieces of land at reduced prices depending on how long they had been on the market, admitted that all land was not of equal quality, yet, with the increased rainfall, the upper plains seemed to be responding to settlers’ desires and efforts to remake it. John Opie argued that surveys, which broke the land up into easy-to-locate and identify squares and imposed order on what had been an unfathomable wilderness, did much to convince settlers that the area could be molded to human’s desires. Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 9-10, 58.

nature and impose his will on the landscape, echoed by those espousing the belief that the “the rain followed the plow,” were encouraged by men such as the well-known explorer, James Fremont. Though he admitted to some of the area’s shortcomings, he and many land boosters painted a glamorous picture of the opportunities provided in the west.¹⁵

With the droughts that began in the arid west after 1886, land owners began to petition the government for assistance for irrigation projects and for locating and building

¹⁵ Michael A. Bryson, *Visions of the Land: Science, Literature, and the American Environment from the era of Exploration to the Age of Ecology* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002). Environmental histories of the high plains have added depth to an understanding of the settlement period. Many researchers include John Wesley Powell’s views as a key to the debate on western development. Powell, a Civil War hero, a scientist, and a philosopher, led the first successful expedition down the Colorado River and one of the most successful and influential surveys of western lands. He worked as the head of the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Ethnology, and as an Indian commissioner and called for caution and a better understanding of western lands before they were sold. Powell believed that science should be applied to the settlement of western areas and should reflect the environment and provide tools and knowledge to remake nature for man’s benefit. Though Powell’s policies were generally ignored or only partly implemented, he still influenced how people thought about the west and the solutions that were offered to solve environmental challenges. Drawing from his experiences and observations during his time in the West, Powell developed and presented an initial assessment of the land and its potential for settlement to Congress in 1878. His *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* was not taken seriously. “Embodied in the scant two hundred pages- actually it the first two chapters of the it,” wrote Stegner, “was a complete revolution in the system of land surveys, land policy, land tenure, and farming methods in the West, and a denial of almost every cherished fantasy and myth associated with westward migration and the American dream of the Garden of the World.” Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1954), 212. Through the Report, Powell emphasized the need for a better study of the irrigation needs and potential for the West in order to develop the land wisely. He believed natural resources should provide for the greater good of communities, a belief that led him to support some level of government intervention in managing the land. Powell argued that people needed to recognize that each region was part of a larger whole, “so that what was done to the mountain forests affected that lowland streams and that the lands without water were intricately related to those with water.” He wanted the lands to be managed locally by a commonwealth or essentially a large county organization that represented an entire watershed or bioregion. He believed that this would provide for a democratic and locally focused use of the resources that took into account the limitations of the land and helped the smaller farmers who might otherwise be restricted from resources by large corporations. Donald Worster, “The Legacy of John Wesley Powell,” in *Reopening the American West*, edited by Hal K. Rothman, (Tucson: University of the Arizona Press, 1998), 81. Bryson, 94. Donald Worster, “The Second Colorado River Expedition: John Wesley Powell, Mormonism, and the Environment,” in *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930. Memoires of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 231, edited by Edward A. Carter, (Philadelphia: American Psychological Association, 1999). Against the general argument of Powell’s *Arid Lands Report of 1878*, Grove Karl Gilbert wrote an additional chapter on water supply that explained that there was enough water in the ground for crops and that special measure for land use were not needed. Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 80-81.

reservoirs.¹⁶ The optimism of the 1870s was giving way to pessimism of the 1890s. “All but the most extreme boosters,” noted Opie,

admitted that the empty arid lands of the western United States did not naturally have enough water for farming and settlement. But tens of thousands of farmers had already been pushed west to put down roots. Nor did the situation improve in the future. For seventy years, between the first settlement of the 1870s and the government-inspired recovery in the 1930s, plains farmers were thrown to near starvation conditions, leading to the displacement of tens of thousands of families, the creation of a debtor class, and a major failure in America’s vaunted frontier settlement.¹⁷

¹⁶ Stegner emphasized that the conjunction of natural disasters that year began to break down man’s faith in his ability to control nature. Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*, 295-99. This provided an opening for Powell to lobby for topographical mapping in 1888 that would be the basis for planned use and settlement of the arid west. Using both the Geographic Survey and the Irrigation Survey, Powell began a through mapping of the west that he projected would take seven years. With the establishment of his irrigation survey, Congress stopped the sale of western lands, pending the completion of his study, in an attempt to guarantee that large corporations and landholders did not gain control of the land, especially water resources, and shut out the small farmers. This led to Powell’s downfall, as the country looked to the West as a source of new opportunities for the creative and hardworking individual. Several states such as “South Dakota, Montana, and Washington complained that areas were included [as arid] that could raise the finest wheat in the world without irrigation. Again, Powell was blamed.” Others thought that it was a waste of money and time to map the entire country when all that was asked for were the possible reservoir sites. Many other groups were impatient with Powell’s caution and vision, leading Congress to end the irrigation survey and reopen western lands in 1893. Everett W. Sterling, “The Powell Irrigation Survey, 1888-1893” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 27 (1940): 430.

¹⁷ Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 93-94. There were tensions between land speculators, farmers, and the railroads. Not only did the railroads seem to be profiting, but also farmers faced low prices and yields for their crops, while freight charges remained high. The elevators that bought from the farmers were generally controlled by the railroads and often sold the farmers’ crops as a higher grade than originally assessed to manufacturers. Tensions that were hidden or contained in the midst of a booming economy and excessive opportunities, spilled over into farmers’ protests and agrarian movements, and eventually the Non-Partisan League (NPL). Robinson, *History of North Dakota*; Thomas W. Howard, (Ed.) *The North Dakota Political Tradition* (Iowa State University Press, 1981). “The scale of the catastrophe,” wrote John Opie, “was amplified by social and economic problems: the class of agricultural prices and the Panic of 1893, the most severe depression yet in American history. Drought and depression lasted to the end of this century. Western farmers lashed out with violence and unexpectedly radical politics. They attacked those they believed had deceived them about western lands and then cheated them out of possible survival: eastern money interests, railroad developers, and federal policy makers, who appeared inept and deeply mistaken.” Opie, *The Law of the Land*, 102. In some respects, the NPL echoed some of Powell’s ideas, focusing on greater local control that limited the power of large business cooperatives and, through this, improved the lot of the farmers and others who disliked the imperialism of Minneapolis businessmen. Beede attended many of the early NPL meetings in 1915. His papers included his ‘secret history of the NPL’, which contained his account of the party’s founding, principle characters, and first caucus. There is much debate over the NPL’s legacy, but one thing is clear; it expressed the frustrations of a populace that felt disaffected. Though Beede fell out of favor with the NPL rather quickly, his early interest reflected the disaffection he felt with many in power, particularly those who could influence conditions on the reservations. The rise of the NPL and Beede’s efforts to gain recognition of Indian rights and assistance for

Even with this pessimism, however, there was still a demand for land, which explained some of the pressure for the passage of the Dawes Act and the desire to survey and allot the land of the reservations.

Cattlemen also played a major role in settling the West. They moved their herds onto the plains in search of free and plentiful grazing before settlers came to file land claims. Most of the accounts of the cattle companies focus on the boom period before the 1900s in Wyoming and Montana, where most the large corporations operated. The availability of rangeland and the good returns on limited investments encouraged massive speculation in the market from the late 1870s through the 1880s. By the 1890s, the price of beef plummeted as speculation in the industry came to halt, the result of overstocking, drought, and the severe winter of 1886-87.¹⁸ Overstocking was the result both of speculation in beef stock placed on public land as well as the increased numbers of settlers. As settlers filed claims, the area of public land open for grazing decreased. The loss of herds during the harsh winter of 1886-87 demonstrated to many companies that they needed to acquire secure, adequate grazing and winter feed for their herds. Many companies became land and cattle companies and they also maintained only those cattle for which they could raise feed.

Both before and following the 1900 settlement boom, some of the largest cattle companies had maintained their herds by grazing them on public land and by trespassing

their needs coincided. Dunbar-Ortiz noted a similar connection of interests between small farmers and indigenous farmers in the Green Corn Rebellion. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 166-67.

¹⁸ Ernest Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, (University of Minnesota Press, 1929), 216-258.

on Indian reservations.¹⁹ Reservation land was enticing, as the land was open and relatively free of other grazing animals (the buffalo and most other game had been severely reduced in numbers). That the cattlemen could not legally use the reservations led many of them to set up dummy companies to take the blame if the government decided to prosecute them.²⁰ Some agents, such as Valentine McGillicuddy in the 1880s, ignored or encouraged the trespassing, believing that Indians working in concert with the cattle outfits and settlers to round up strays encouraged neighborly relations, an important

¹⁹ Though there were some small stock raisers, a combination of the larger stockholders usually controlled the ranges and the cattle industry. These groups often established and enforced range laws, especially in states like Wyoming where they dominated. They also promoted and enforced the process of identifying herds by registering brands. The large cattle companies that generally ran these groups often had banks or large numbers of investors behind them, providing influence in territorial as well as national politics. As land was settled and divided into smaller farms and ranches and overgrazing on public lands decreased the amount of natural forage available, cattle owners increasingly pursued policies that allowed them control of or access to the greatest amount of land at the least cost. One way in which they achieved this was through buying or leasing alternating sections of land, specifically ones that provided good shelter for their animals or that contained or controlled a water source. By strategically locating fences on the lands they purchased or leased and by the way they moved their herds between the sections of land, they could use or control more than they owned or leased. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, 184-215; Everett Dick, *The Lure of the Land: A Social History of the Public Lands from the Articles of Confederation to the New Deal* (University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 222-35. Most of the research on this topic seldom or briefly mentions North Dakota, though much of what was true in other locations also occurred in the state. One recent work that looks at range cattle in South Dakota, particularly in the northwestern part of the state, is Nathan Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness: Ed Lemmon and the Open Range* (South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2015).

²⁰ It was a needless precaution, as Indians were loath to report trespassing cattle for fear agents would discover that they were hunting off the reservation. Nathan Sanderson, "Dean of the Range: George Edward Lemmon, Open Range Cattle Ranching and the Development of the Northern Great Plains," Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research, University of Nebraska Department of History (June 1, 2011). <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historydiss/40>, 95-102. Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, especially chapter 3. Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 140-44. The Pine Ridge Agent Charles McChesney found almost five hundred cattle that did not belong on the reservation during the 1896 spring round up. Peter Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 72. Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and US Colonialism*, 135-36. Journal 5, p. 152, March 18, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. For killing of cattle companies' herds, especially by white people, see Sanderson, "Dean of the Range," 99; Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, 143-45. The *Bismarck Tribune* published an article on May 13, 1911, titled, "Last stand of the Stockmen now made in the West: Settlers encroaching on the Preserves of Cattle and horse raisers; Indians to the Rescue." This article discussed the problem of stock getting into farmers' fields and the ranchers complaints of lost stock. Indians had allowed ranchers to run cattle in the Bad Lands for \$2 per head for horses and \$1.50 for cattle.

step in Indian assimilation.²¹ Additionally, range managers or cowboys for these companies occasionally provided meals to the Indians. Some Indians also found employment as cowboys.²²

As settlement increased, some of the large cattle owners realized not only the necessity of trespassing on Indian land, but also the need to have some guarantee that allowed them access to the range while denying it to settlers. One method was lobbying the federal government to establish leases on the reservation. Under the government's lease system, individuals or corporations could rent Indian land, often for a fraction of its value, and, unless agents were vigilant or the lessee was honest, cattle could damage Indian crops and Indian cattle could be taken into the large herds of the ranchers. They hoped that these leases might encourage further economic development of the area, particularly by railroads.²³ The reservation land was rented when an Indian was deemed by an agent to be incapacitated or incompetent at farming.²⁴ Beede explained that the

²¹ Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 59-60.

²² Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys*, 70, 73-74. Iverson seemed to argue that there was more resistance to the cattle companies than commonly believed, but much of the resistance was suppressed by the cattle companies or local agents. Sanderson, "Dean of the Range," 99. Janet McDonnell also links the unwillingness of Indians to report trespassers to their conceptions of land ownership and use. Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

²³ Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 55.

²⁴ It is interesting noting this in relation to the philosophy of the Dawes Act- opening up unused Indian land for settlement, while strongly encouraging the development of Indian farming. Sanderson, "Dean of the Range," 116. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 46-47. Especially, as Peter Iverson wrote, the leasing of the Crow land "encouraged tribal factionalism and reduced chances for rapid development of the [cattle ranching] enterprise" among Indians. He continued, "perhaps more than any other commissioner, [Cato] Sells expedited the separation of the Indians from their land base. In 1920, he extended the leases of Mossman and Zimmerman on the Cheyenne River Reservation." These leases covered a large portion of the reservation and caused much agitation among the Indian stockmen as many of them traced their loss of stock to these leases. Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys*, 64-70.

cattle companies often rented small disconnected parcels of land that had shelter and water, thereby allowing them “unimpeded range from water pool to water pool, place of shelter to place of shelter, devouring up freely as they went from place to place.”²⁵ The rents paid on these lands were below average and the money was placed in a general fund to be used for the Indians’ benefit, rather than given to the Indian who owned the land.

“When an Indian rents land for a pasture or anything,” Beede explained,

the rent is paid to the agency. Then in order to get any of it he must go and get down on his knees and beg, and state just what he is going to do with it, etc. And his application must be approved at Washington. The consequence is that the Indian is irritated and feels that they want to steal his money. So he trumps up this and that subterfuge to get his money, and ½ of it does not go to any real good for the Indian.²⁶

Some reformers, realizing that the plains tribes and the lands on many of their reservations were more suited to stock raising than farming, pushed the government to provide native groups with cattle herds in hopes of developing a cattle industry.²⁷ For many agencies, cattle raising was a short-lived and not strongly encouraged venture, as some agents thought it was unnecessary or impossible. Agent Valentine McGillicuddy explained in the 1880s that Indians had no reason to go to the trouble of raising their own beef, as the government provided them with plenty of beef and the cattle they were given were either slaughtered or allowed to roam.²⁸ Given this, McGillicuddy saw no reason to

²⁵ Journal 2, p. 255, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Iverson explained this process on the Cheyenne River reservation, 67-68.

²⁶ Journal 2, p. 247, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

²⁷ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 138-39. The historian Peter Iverson called this policy a “natural outlet” for the Sioux. One problem with the policy was that cattle were issued to individuals, so when one lost his stock, he lost all the profit. Most large cattle operations were set up on a stock basis in which each investor owned a percentage of the herd and hence of the profit. Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys*, 64-66.

²⁸ Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 53-54.

oppose the illegal grazing by cattle of white outfits on reservations, even if they threatened to interfere with the development of an Indian herd.²⁹

Though many reformers and Indian agents chose to focus on farming, the idea of developing an Indian stock raising business never entirely died. Jack Carignan, old-time settler, agent, and friend to Indians, asked one of the reservation's inspectors, when he heard in 1909 that the government had decided to lease Standing Rock Reservation land to large white cattle outfits,

if it is so profitable for cattlemen to place cattle here and hire them cared for, why is not equally profitable for Indians? Why not purchase cattle with part of the funds belonging to these Indians in Washington, and have one overseer of the cattle with a hundred or less young Indians given employment as "cowboys," "line riders," ect." And turn the profits over to the Indians?³⁰

In 1882, large livestock companies proposed long-term leases, which appealed to many in government as a means of funding Indian infrastructure, such as hospitals and schools.

The cattlemen faced opposition and delays from small livestock owners, settlers, and others who hoped to gain access to the land. By the early 1900s, agents, cattlemen, and

²⁹ The Indian agents and cattlemen sometimes colluded to cheat Indians on their beef rations, hence providing bonuses to the civil service salary and greater profit margins for cattle owners. Depending on the agent and the cattle company, the animals selected were sometimes inferior and overpriced. Cattlemen often tampered with the scales or with the weight of the cattle to increase their profits. Sanderson, "Dean of the Range," 105-108. In *Controlled Recklessness*, Sanderson highlights that this was more detrimental to Indians than cattlemen's trespassing. 56-58. Journal 2, pp. 9-10, December 18, 1913; pp. 48-49, December 29, 1913; p. 18, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25; Journal 5, pp. 225-26, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. See also, O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 76. William Jordan seemed to hint at some of this when he described how one agent tried to make him take a diseased cow. Jordan also mentioned that trespassing on the reservation as well as the cattle rustling that was common in the early 1900s. The rustling occurred and rustlers were seldom convicted because there was a "circle society" of many in the area that were involved or encouraged others to rule in favor of rustlers when they were brought before court. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 363.

³⁰ As quoted by Beede, Journal 2, p. 282, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. By February 1914, Cato Sells was toying with the idea of reintroducing stock raising on Standing Rock Reservation particularly after all the fallout from leasing reservation lands. Journal 2, pp. 290-94, February 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. "Indian Conditions," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1914.

railroad boosters were working to secure Indians' support for grazing leases on Standing Rock Reservation. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1897-1905, promoted these leases, believing that using the unsettled or unused land for grazing cattle would provide more income for Indians than their own attempts at stock raising and it would make the Indians more self-sufficient. He also believed that the grass was a resource that should be paid for by those who did not own it and should not be monopolized by "progressive" or "civilized" Indians or by men who had married Indian women as a means of gaining control of land.³¹ The contacts with the cattlemen would also provide valuable connections between the Indians and white businessmen that he hoped would further assimilation.

The individual Indians were of divided opinion on the issue of leases. Some, like the Returned Students Association or Progressive Indians, were supportive as it fit with their training at boarding and day schools. Other Indians questioned the honesty of the cattlemen and the government. Some feared that the leases would result in an increase in trespassing. Jones and other agents initially waited on the leases in hopes that enough Indians would sign their agreement, but, by 1902, the Secretary of the Interior had approved the plan in spite of Indian reluctance and had adjusted Indian policy to allow

³¹ Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 122-24. The two earliest lessees on Standing Rock Reservation were the cattlemen, George Lemmon and W. I. Walker. George Lemmon won the bid on the larger and better of the two leases and W. I. Walker rented the other lease. The leases came under attack almost immediately as Indians raised protests on a number of issues, they had not approved of the locations, the prices, or the terms of the leases. Ranchers who lost the bid also alleged that Jones had acted unethically in the process. Lemmon's bid was eventually accepted, though Walker faced greater opposition as the area of his lease was located closer to population centers and it had a greater potential to interfere with Indians' crops or livestock. From 1902-1907, Lemmon rented land that straddled the border and Walker took over his lease in 1907. Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 126-27, 133-45. Indian lands had been increasingly rented since 1890s. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 79-80.

for reservation leases. Only after Jones published the amount of land available for two large leases on the western part of Standing Rock Reservation did the Indians give in and sign to authorize the land leases. The government pledged to discontinue the leases as the reservation land was allotted, as Indians were settled on their own land, and as white settlers bought the unallotted land.

Adding to Beede's frustration and the Indians' discontent, the lease holders who did not fence off their cattle or who allowed their cattle to graze the land between their lease holdings often destroyed Indian crops and grazing land.³² White farmers, when this happened to them, could sue the rancher or company to limit their loss, though this was not always successful in suits against powerful cattle combines. Indians were less likely to prevail, as their claims generally went through their agents, who may or may not have had friends in the cattle industry. Any case tried in Indian court was ultimately ruled on by the agent who also selected and paid the Indians who served as judges for the court.³³

³² Events like this led Beede to ask, "Now what became of Indian fields under such conditions? What became of the growing agricultural industry which missionaries, regardless of religious denomination were so eagerly encouraging?" Journal 2, p. 255, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. The Bismarck Tribune of February 5, 1915 reported that the Indians were rejoicing that the "big cattle men" would no longer be able to graze on the reservation. It further reports that "the Indian department has forced adjustments on many of these [crop] damage claims but many others remain unsettled." In an interesting counter point to this, William Red Cloud Jordan recalled one Indian rancher that eventually asked to sell his cattle as because he did not have enough land to support their grazing and in using Indian pasture or trust land, the cattle occasionally damaged homesteader gardens or land. The damages he was paying led him to request permission to sell his stock, but the agent denied this. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 364, 356-58.

³³ Journal 3, p. 61, 1914, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians*, 88. One transcript of Beede's journals records that Tom Frosted Captain of Indian police stole a cow and sold it. When he was caught, the agent gave him the option of being tried in white or Indian court. He chose Indian court so he could be tried by John Gross, who owed his position as president of the farm association, if not his position as judge, to the agent. I. R. Indians Treatment by Government Agencies, p. 52, UND, Coll. 206, Box 3, Folder 17.

Some of the interviews contained in the Historical Data Project of the 1930s revealed both successes and setbacks, often linked to the leases or the opening of the reservations to white settlement.³⁴ Robert Little Bird explained that the Sioux were good at raising cattle but, when the reservation was opened to white people in 1915, “The Government and White people soon forced us out of the cattle business. The government encouraged us to sell or lease our land to the white people. After we sold or leased our land, most of us sold our cattle and horses. We no longer did any work and hard times came upon us.”³⁵ William H. Stark worked for the Indian police until 1900 after which he settled on his wife’s land and raised cattle and horses. He was said to have over one hundred head of horses and eighty head of cattle at one point. His interviewer explained that “He gave away many of horses and cows to other Indians. On the opening of the reservation to white people, he gradually lost his herds and in 1918 moved to Cannon Ball.”³⁶

Frank Bull Bear’s account explained in greater detail the difficulties many Indians faced. After his marriage in 1895, he farmed and raised cattle. “By 1900,” he recounted,

I had twenty head of cattle and fifteen of horses. I put up a few tons of hay in the summer. I did not need much as my stock grazed in the woods along the Missouri River. I made a good living until 1915. At that time many white settlers came in. Many of my Indian friends quit raising cattle and horses. They leased or sold their land to the white people. They no longer did any work. As was the custom when hungry, they came to my house and I killed a beef for them. Gradually my cattle disappeared and by 1920, I did not have a cow. I sold all my horses except one team.

³⁴ Historical Data Project, Pioneer Biography Files, Series 30529, Box 21, Roll 25, State Historical Society of North Dakota. (Hereafter cited as Name, Pioneer Biography, SHSND, Box, Folder).

³⁵ Robert Little Bird, Pioneer Biography, SHSND, Box 21, Roll 25.

³⁶ William H. Stark, Pioneer Biography, SHSND, Box 21, Roll 25.

In 1925, I moved up near the Cannon Ball sub-station as I no longer was making anything on my land.³⁷

William Jordan in his reminiscences of life on Rosebud Reservation recounted how homesteaders limited the land available for grazing, as well as made it more expensive, both in the need to raise or buy feed as well as paying for damages done by their cattle herds to homesteaders' property.³⁸ On all reservations in the Great Plains, the increased leasing to white cattle owners or settlers, the bad weather, and unfavorable markets made it difficult if not impossible for Indians to maintain cattle herds or farms.

Beede explained the challenge that "the Beef Trust" represented when he listed the beliefs that underlay it: white men did not care or they could not do anything about what was done to Indians and Indians could not unite or enlist others' support. D. B. Zimmerman was one of the cattle barons that Beede singled out. There is little information other than a few mentions of his name in sources dealing with cattle ranching, but the *Abilene Daily Reporter* on May 23, 1912, published a short article titled "21,000 Cattle Being Shipped Out of State." The article explained that Zimmerman, one of the "biggest ranch and cattle owners of the northwest" and among the "most extensive independent coal operators in Pennsylvania," was transporting his herds after dipping from Texas to his pastures in North and South Dakota and Montana.³⁹

Beede believed that those who cheated the Indians operated under the belief or justification that "you can't starve an Indian," as they lived off the land or government rations. For some, this seemed to justify stealing thousands of Indian cattle between 1909

³⁷ Frank Bull Bear, Pioneer Biography, SHSND, Box 21, Roll 25.

³⁸ Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 347, 352-64.

³⁹ "21,000 Cattle Being Shipped Out of State," *Abilene Daily Reporter*, May 23, 1912.

and 1913 and cheating Indians on rations. In the fall of 1910, Beede recorded that there were 40,000 cattle owned by Indians on Standing Rock Reservation, but, after the Beef Trust gained access to the reservation, cattle numbers decreased significantly.⁴⁰ By the fall of 1913, “the ‘official count,’ (when interested to make out the largest number possible for [the agents’] own protection),” Beede wrote, “shows 600, and a few over.”⁴¹ A former Agent, Major Beldon, told Beede that he believed more than 300 carloads of cattle had been stolen and, though some of the cattle were paid for, the price was below market value, and the money seldom reached the Indians who owned the cattle.⁴² “No ‘cowboy,” Beede explained,

⁴⁰ Journal 2, p. 88, 91, 99, 129-131, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. “In the fall of 1910 the full branding showed over 9,000 calves on the Standing Rock Reservation, I think there were that number. For a month, I have been trying to estimate from all the available evidence how many cattle there were on this reservation in the fall of 1910. I do not consider ‘official report’ worth much in this matter, or in any other matters. I believe there were 40,000 cattle on the reservation belonging to the Indians in the fall of 1910.” P. D. Norton, “who made his campaign for congress promising to protect people from the overlordism of the trusts,” quotes this figure as “more than 40,000.” Beede questioned, “How many more than 40,000? So we are agreed that a calamity has befallen this people. A loss of 35,500 cattle means a loss of one and one half million dollars (1,500,000) measured in terms of money alone. No food is as serious for an Indian as it was for a white man on the frontier here in the early times. No cattle to eat the grass and make more food for men next summer is serious.” Journal 2, p. 249, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁴¹ Journal 2, pp. 129-131, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. This is interesting in light of Indian testimony in the Historical Data Project. Both Beede’s accounts and the Indians’ accounts tie a loss of Indian cattle to the lease or purchase of Indian land. The Indians’ accounts focus on individual property holdings and say little or nothing about the Indian cattle issued to each Indian that were left to roam the reservation. Nor do they make direct reference to government policies.

⁴² Journal 2, p. 91, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Beede wrote:

Saw Maj. Beldon, and told him what Indians said about 300 carloads or more of cattle being stolen-‘It’s all of that and only \$8.00 a head paid.’ He said ‘It’s all of that, - more than 300 cars I think.’ Then he went on to say that he knew of several cattle being disposed of without permits from the office, by merely crossing out the brand. He even said that he himself got some in this way, and Agent Hamilton knew it. He said he paid a fair price for what he got (and I believe him). I know Indians from whom he bought cattle and what he paid. Maj. Beldon told me he fully believed that only \$8.00 per head was paid for a lot of the cattle and some had not got anything and never would get anything (of course he does not wish to be quoted). He said ‘Hamilton was right in with those fellows in Washington who run the commissioner.’

would go to an old Indian and steal his cow, or his horse. The “cowboys” would hang a man who would do such a thing. But there are vast herds of cattle drifting southward by night before the prevailing southern breeze which blows the mosquitoes from their noses as they eat grass fresh with dew. No half-clad old Indian is there to say “this one is mine and that one belongs to my grandchild.” They are an indefinite herd of animals, regarded somewhat as a natural product, like the buffalo who roamed the prairie before them. And here are men who are not inside of a church “once in a dog’s age.” How easy to encourage away a dozen of these cattle or a trainload of them! ... And it is not dangerous to encourage a trainload of these cattle away if all “is right with the agent.”⁴³

The Beef Trust also used the Indian agents on the reservations, department heads in Washington, D.C. or graft; the Beef Trusts depended on the cooperation or collusion of the Indian Bureau.⁴⁴ As Beede expressed it,

No “Beef trust!” Well, a “Gentlemen’s agreement,” that’s what they call it. The two dry summers came (1911 and 1912) yet there would have been plenty of grass and hay on the reservations for the Indians’ cattle, if the “Beef Trust” cattle had not come there. These “Beef Trust” cattle had the right of way. They were understood to be a privileged class, favored by those in authority from local agents and sub-agents to those higher up. And how high up? Does the “gentleman’s agreement” go past the Indian office in Washington to some center from which the Indian office emanates as a department, or does their “gentleman’s agreement” fluke when it comes to the Indian office and pass on to the “Gentlemen’s Combination” which does now as always has made millions of money out of Indian affairs?⁴⁵

I asked him if he had any ideas who those fellows were, and he said that Merritt, the first assistant, was the head man of the group.

⁴³ Journal 2, p. 261, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁴⁴ For examples see, Journal 4, pp. 167-68, February 3, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27; Journal 5, pp. 151-56, March 18, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28.

⁴⁵ Journal 2, pp. 100-101, January 6, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. As Beede does not go into great detail about this group or its members, much is unclear. “The whole dealings with Indians have been controlled by unscrupulous men,” and Beede continued, “honest men had to fall in with these schemers or get out. The Whiteman does not hate the Indian but certain men wanted their land” Transcriptions of Beede’s Journals, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 8. William Jordan’s comments on a “circle society” as a group that allowed or rather protected cattle rustlers in the area of the Rosebud Reservation may be part of Beede’s group or might simply indicate a similar group. Jordan also mentioned one instance of those connected with reservation management and government using their position and to attempt to grab land from Indians through promissory notes held by the trader in the years 1904-5. The government stepped in a disallowed that claims. Jordan, “Eighty Years on the Rosebud,” 338-39, 358. McGillicuddy also dealt with corruption both in the Indiana service and among white men that lived on or around the reservation. Sometimes these men would collude with Indian leaders to challenge or undermine that agent’s authority. Moulton traced how McGillicuddy became the most investigated agent because of his unyielding policies, some of which the Indians found intolerable and some which those who wished to profit from the Indians found intolerable. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 220-42. Sanderson wrote that large ranchers had a gentleman’s agreement for access to the land, but this agreement did not include

The control of Indian land and, to some extent, their livelihoods relied on the guardianship or paternalism written into Indian policy. The Dawes Act and the leasing policies both relied on the belief that Indians were incapable of being fully trusted with their own resources until they were more advanced. Without education and assistance, they were too primitive or too unskilled to work the land or to understand the value of what they owned. The Dawes Act not only set aside Indian land, but it also provided that when the Indians had been judged competent by an Indian agent or the United States government they would receive both their land and citizenship. Until that time, they were under the government's guardianship. The leasing system, though meant to address illegal grazing on Indian land, showed the government's assumption of guardianship for the Indians' best interest.⁴⁶ When the Indians on Standing Rock Reservation protested that they did not want the lease system because they believed that it would harm their own farming or ranching, the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs forced the lease agreements through. Commissioner Jones justified this because he thought it was the best policy- the land could be used and a profit made from the cattle that were already illegally on the reservation. Whether he was right or wrong about the potential profit of

rights or protections for small ranchers or Indians. Sanderson, *Controlled Recklessness*, 37, 49. *Assimilation's Agent* mentions an "Indian ring." Chalcraft, *Assimilation's Agent*, xii. Beede mentions some of the members: Walt Parkins (Mandan), Captain Baker, Doctor Tracy (Bismarck), Vet. Surgeon, Major Belden (Shields). Transcriptions of Beede's Journals, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 8.

⁴⁶ Though focusing more on current policy, Pevar discussed the concept of the government trust relationships with Indians and defined and explained the benefits and negatives and responsibilities in this relationship. "Most statutes that confer a duty on the federal government to manage tribal property," Pevar wrote, "require the federal government to collect royalties from the sale or lease of that property, deposit the money in a federal account, and then distribute the money to the beneficiary (which in some cases is the tribe and in other cases is a tribal member)." If a tribe wishes to have greater control over its resources, they face responsibility for mismanagement or other costs associated with that control. Under the Dawes Act, many Indians were forced to take the deeds for their allotment and receive full ownership rights, which included state property taxes, leading many to lose their land by foreclosure. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians*, 30-44, 70-73, 96.

the lease system, both this and the Dawes Act revealed the status afforded Indians during Beede's time. They were conceived of as inferior or as children who had limited rights. Though protecting others was noble, protection that did not allow one to grow or develop stifled one's possibilities. In his struggle against the Beef Trust and government policy, Beede was really attacking the stifling of possibilities.

Control of Life: Give Us this Day our Daily Bread

Even without the loss of their cattle or control of their land, Indians faced limitations and controls on daily life. Their status and limited rights affected even their ability to obtain sufficient food, often because of higher costs and weighted scales. One reservation physician, Dr. Rice received

oats in payment for his service to white men over the river (who gave him credit for charging good fees) and retailed them to Indians for twice what they cost him. [Beede knew] him to sell out the pork [Rice] had raised to Indians at an unreasonably high price and the Indians claimed that his weights were not accurate.⁴⁷

With the advent of World War I, government attention shifted from domestic policy including reservation management to the war effort, contributing to starvation and poor conditions on the reservations. The problems with cost and availability of food, however, were tied more to how Indians were perceived and treated than to federal attention.⁴⁸ Indians were also often limited in how much and where they could spend their money. "If [an Indian had] money in the bank," Beede explained:

he can't have any of it. He can get sometimes a permit to buy certain goods to a certain amount. I have seen an Indian with such a permit go into a store and get perhaps one third of its amount in what he then needs. If the permit was money, he

⁴⁷ Journal 2, p. 294, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Hansen, *Encounter on the Great Plains*, 125.

⁴⁸ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 168-70. O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 80.

would lay by the rest of it for a time of need, but he feels that he must take something to the full amount of the permit. So he takes stuff he really don't want. He can't get \$5.00 in one store where there are wares or foods he does want and then go to another store to expend the remainder of the permit. He must expend all of the permit in one store.⁴⁹

Agents and policy makers justified limiting or withholding Indians' access to their money by asserting that Indians spent their money unwisely or that they made frivolous purchases. Such statements angered Beede. He sometimes accompanied elderly Indians when they went into Mandan or Bismarck to shop. He observed them bargain shrewdly, and he heard them threatening to take their business elsewhere if a merchant would not drop the price. "Old Indians can reckon well," he wrote, "they know the quality of the goods. All they need is what belongs to them in MONEY, and liberty to go where they please to trade."⁵⁰ William Jordan indicated that Indians' control over their resources, such as stock, was limited because a "boss farmer" would not allow him to sell some of his stock when he did not have the land to support them.⁵¹

Some Indians received food rations directly from the agents, but these rations were often insufficient to stave off hunger or starvation.⁵² Red Hail, a Sioux Indian in his

⁴⁹ Journal 2, p. 247, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Johnson, 50; Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 129-33. According to Dunbar-Ortiz, funds, starting in the civil war, from the sale of indigenous land sales and royalties were held, managed, and invested in Washington rather than distributed. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 168.

⁵⁰ Journal 2, p. 247, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. McGillicuddy faced this often enough when dealing with Indians on Pineridge Reservation. Moulton, *Valentine T. McGillicuddy*, 175-177.

⁵¹ Jordan also mentioned that the Indian stock was branded under the Indian Department indicating some control or oversight of Indian stock. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 364, 347.

⁵² Journal 5, pp. 32-33, February 22, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. Journal 4, p. 1, August 25, 1914; p. 16, September 15, 1914; p. 27. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27; Journal 3, PP. 1-5, February 22, 1914; pp. 161-2, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26.

eighties who lived by Cannon Ball River, received rations, but, in 1915, he protested they were not enough. "It is hard for him," Beede wrote,

he is not actually suffering for want of clothes, tho' his clothes are old and patched. He had a good over coat I loaned him last fall. He is actually suffering from meat, but I don't see how I can buy it for him. The Tetons (once corn raisers, as the old people say) had come to live on meat as the staff of life, but they had with it huge quantities of wild turnips and dried fruits. Since the theft of the cattle, they get very little meat, and it gives them a pain in the muscles, which is peculiar. Old Red Hail gets from a 'ration' ½ pound flour and 10 oz. bacon a day. Also, a little rice each two weeks, about 1 ½ pounds. Of course, that just keeps a man out of his grave slowly starving.⁵³

Beede believed that most Indians were suffering from starvation or malnutrition, particularly because a core belief of their culture was that all food should be distributed among community members. As Frank Bull Bear mentioned, he was expected to slaughter his cattle to feed the needy or hungry people when they came to him.⁵⁴

Because of the suffering among the older Indians and the fact that most of them were either too old or infirm to work their land, Beede focused much of his attention on the older Indians.⁵⁵ Though unable to do more than care for a small garden, they could not sell or lease their land without the Indian agent's approval. When approval was granted, many could have lived on the revenue they received, but the proceeds went into a general fund or a bank account to which the Indian had little or no access.⁵⁶

⁵³ Journal 5, pp. 32-33, February 22, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. Red Hail was only one of many Indians also came to Beede and other ministers for assistance in obtaining food. See, Journal 4, p. 1, August 25, 1914; p. 16, September 15, 1914; p. 27. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27; Journal 3, PP. 1-5, February 22, 1914; pp. 161-2, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26.

⁵⁴ It is interesting that similar comments were made by Frank Bull Bear and William H. Stark in their interviews. Though they do not say that they were starving or malnourished, they talk about killing their livestock to help feed hungry neighbors. William H. Stark & Frank Bull Bear, Pioneer Biography, SHSND, Box 21, Roll 25.

⁵⁵ Journal 2, p. 11, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁵⁶ Journal 1, p. 165, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 24. The Secretary of the Interior was authorized by law to not only lease Indian lands, but also to control the funds and determine when they

The tension between the cattle companies, government policies, and the status of Indians came to a head with the two dry summers of 1911 and 1912, followed by a bad crop year in 1913. The Indians' resources were stretched thin and many faced a winter of malnutrition, if not starvation. Beede's protests against government control or "overlordism" and corruption were eloquently set out in his rendition of an Indian story titled *The Terrible Rat, the Lost Calf, and a North Dakota Congressman*.⁵⁷ Published in April or May of 1914, the *Terrible Rat* appealed to the public through a retelling of an old Indian tale that recounted how the corruption of agents had contributed to starvation on the reservation. He also included a poem written from the perspective of an Indian calf that had been stolen by the Beef Trust's men and a condemnation of P. D. Norton's defense of the trusts, his ignorance, and his disregard of facts.

Beede wrote that there once was a rich Indian agent. "He had made money," according to the story,

by stealing horses from the Indians, and selling them to friends. He had made money by stealing food sent up the river by the Great Father for the Indians, and selling it to his friends who were digging gold. He had made money by selling flour, coffee and sugar to his friend the storekeeper, and the storekeeper gave the Indians one cup of sugar for a buffalo skin, and he dipped the cup in water so it would not pour out so much sugar. The Indian agent kept his money away in a money-house down the river so the government inspector would not find it and make him give him half of it.⁵⁸

should be distributed. Pevar indicated that government has not always done a good job collecting, accounting for, and distributing income derived from leases. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians*, 9, 72, 77-78.

⁵⁷ The idea for the book began with Beede's experiences among the Indians and a story he heard on the Fort Berthold Reservation that referred to another time of starvation. One aspect in the tale that came directly out of these experiences was the tale of an Indian mother weeping from the unexpected kindness of an agent who provided a coffin for her child who had starved to death. Journal 2, p. 282, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Beede consulted Libby and others in the process of creating the book. When it came out, however, Libby wrote to Beede that "your pamphlet was a surprise since I thought you were planning to write a more pretentious work. You hit the nail on the head, though." Libby to Beede, April 27, 1914, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁵⁸ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 5.

The Indian agent became ill and died. As he journeyed through the spirit world he began eating everything because of his great hunger. After eating the gate to the spirit village, he developed stomach pain so severe that the spirits of the Indians who had lived on the agent's reservation felt pity for him. They remembered his kindnesses. One woman said while crying, that

When my poor little baby died for want of mother's milk because he stole the beef and I was starving, he gave me a cotton-wood board and some nails to make a box to bury her in. He was so kind to me when my poor little baby died! Oh, I never can forget his kindness. It makes me suffer to see him suffer." And another woman said, "I was starving for a dipper of coffee, and he gave me eleven great kernels of coffee when he stole the rest of the coffee. I was eighty-seven years old that day. It was the day I died. That dipper of coffee tasted so good! Oh, I can't forget his kindness."⁵⁹

An Indian priest explained to the agent that though his heart was good, his stomach and mouth or his insatiable hunger made him steal. The priest offered to heal the agent by turning him in to "a good man like an Indian," but the agent pleaded to be sent back to the living as a white man. Because the priest could not turn him into a white man, the agent begged to be anything but an Indian. The priest changed him into "the terrible rat with wild looking eyes and a hairless tail" and sent him back into the world of the living.⁶⁰

The rat found his way back to the reservation he had controlled when an agent and he ate all the supplies in the storeroom. When the new reservation agent discovered the rat, he ignored it. Everything was fine until the Indians had a year of poor crops and needed the food from the storeroom. The agent refused to give it to them, and

wrote to the Great Father that he was giving the people food and they were wasting it. And when a boy who had been among white men and learned to read, wrote to the Great Father that the people were starving, the Indian agent got two old Indians to sign a paper by their thumb marks saying that what the boy wrote was not true. He

⁵⁹ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 8.

⁶⁰ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 8.

fooled the old Indians. He made them think the paper said that the people must have help or they would starve, but nobody had starved to death yet.⁶¹

Finally, the new Indian agent explained that there was no food because of the thieving terrible rat. The Indians were saved from their starvation only after one of the elderly chiefs died from starvation and, in the spirit realm, pleaded for his people's survival. The rabbits that appeared served as food to help his people survive.

The tale, however, did not end at this point, because the terrible rat took a wife and had children, and his children had children. The greed and hunger of the rats increased. "Some of the rats," Beede concluded,

went to all the Indian reservations. Some of the terrible rats went down the river to all the white men's villages. Some of the terrible rats went to the village of the Great Father. Sometime the terrible rats will eat the villages of the Indians, and the Indians will die. Sometime the terrible rats will eat the villages of the white people, and the white people will die. Sometimes the terrible rats will eat the village of the Great Father and the Great Father will die. Sometimes the terrible rat will eat the earth, the same as the mice eat up the moon when the nights are dark.⁶²

In the story, Beede focused on greed and its destructiveness on both the Indians and those in federal service. He hoped not only to raise sympathy, but also awareness of the corruption that he saw as inherent in federal Indian policies and the system.

Government control of the land and its control over Indian's daily lives was intolerable to Beede, but the policies that underlay both were the foundation of reservation life. More than this, many in the government or in government service profited directly or indirectly from these policies. Freedom and independence or new possibilities for Indians would mean the changing of both hearts and minds, as well as financial loss for some. Government policies and attitudes toward Indians combined to

⁶¹ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 10.

⁶² Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 13.

make it difficult for Indians to obtain food, but the Beef Trust practices exacerbated these problems and benefited from the underlying prejudice against Indians. The “Beef Trust” was also a symbol and result of the unfair treatment and limitations placed on Indians that could be attacked. The Dakota Territory and later the states of North and South Dakota found their industry often regulated or controlled by large corporations or business owners based outside the state. North Dakota’s population was poised to feel sympathy and comradery with a people oppressed or limited by corporations and unfair restrictions on their economy. Additionally, tensions ran high at times between the large ranchers and the small farmers and settlers, especially as settlement increased and the open range disappeared. Beede knew that if he could tap into this common experience and sympathy, he could gain support and public pressure for reforms to Indian policy.

Beede knew that reform had to come in two phases. The Indians’ most immediate need was adequate food that could be attained by raising public awareness of and support for their plight. As Beede gained sympathy and assistance for the Indians’ immediate needs, he began to draw attention to the policies that allowed these conditions on the reservation and to call for change. People’s perception and definition of Indians was at the heart of the change for which Beede called. He wanted better treatment and greater rights based on their humanity and culture. Ultimately, he called for Indians to be recognized officially as civilized and, as such, allowed to control their own land and their own lives. Beede increasingly came to doubt the honesty of government agents and increasingly reluctant to believe their willingness to change when they profited from and owed their positions to the conviction that Indians were considered to be inferior. Rather than trying to move a system and its agents against their interests, Beede attempted to

sidestep the system by working with the North Dakota Governor, Louis Hanna, for the establishment of Sioux Country on the Standing Rock Reservation. Through this he hoped to focus scrutiny on the reservation management as well as gain voice for the Indians through state recognition of their rights. Once recognition of Indians was achieved, the Beef Trust would no longer be able to use the reservation lands as it pleased.

Public Awareness and Providing for Immediate Needs

In 1913, Beede's anger over the Beef Trust on the reservation spilled over into a colorfully worded condemnation that some clearly thought was unbecoming a Christian missionary, "Five years ago," he wrote, "before the Beef-Trust cattle came here, we had beef half the time. The damned hell-born devils had to come and ruin our prosperity. Now we starve. God damn the trusts, the 'government,' and half the bishops. Oh, we did have a blessed church service. All enjoyed it. I couldn't keep from crying as I saw the poor old Indians hoping for 'heaven where there is no Beef-trust'."⁶³ In a journal entry in 1914, Beede elaborated on the situation and his reasons for speaking out. "All reports will show," Beede wrote,

that I have been a rather silent man regarding the Indian Bureau until recently, but I have seen and I have kept diaries. My silence was broken by compulsion. Seeing a graveyard full of buried children at Fort Yates, and knowing when many times as many more had been buried made me think, -and weep- but it did not make me break my silence. The time came when more than 40,000 cattle as congressman P. D. Norton admits the number were, was gone but "4,500" as he says. And the crops failed. October was cold. Tho' I did not think so, old-timers said that it would be a long tough winter. I saw lean, blue babies moaning for mother's milk because mothers were starving without their fault. I saw an old man and his wife with two

⁶³ Journal 3, p. 116, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26. Beede mentioned in a letter to Libby that "yellow dog affidavits" and other attempts to down play his statements on Indian poverty. Beede took it as a challenge and called for federal and state investigators to verify or negate the reports. Beede to Libby, December 17, 1913, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

children in consumption, and only one pack of dried cherries, three pots of corn and their onions for winter's food. I saw many families similarly situated. Men and women came to me in despair. Did the inner circle of the Indian Bureau know, or didn't they care? I think they know little and care less.⁶⁴

Beede mentioned that Martin Seewalker, one of the Indian Episcopal lay ministers, buried his baby that had died of starvation on February 21, 1914, a fact that one of the reservation doctors was forced to acknowledge.⁶⁵ Though some Indians signed affidavits swearing that there was no starvation and some spoke out in spite of the fear of imprisonment or other punishment, many Indians did not believe that anything would be done or they feared that protests would be construed as an uprising that would be met with retribution.⁶⁶

Beede had witnessed poverty on Standing Rock Reservation before, but, by the fall and winter of 1913, the situation had become desperate. His frustration and concern led him to issue a challenge to Indian agents and to the Beef Trust in a lecture given at Fort Yates on November 23, 1913.⁶⁷ In his remarks, Beede described the dire situation

⁶⁴ Journal 2, p. 294, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁶⁵ Journal 2, p. 294-96, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Journal 3, p. 4, February 23, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26; for Dr. Rice's comments on farming and sickness see Journal 5, pp. 29-30, February 22, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. For sickness and deaths among the children from a lack of food, see Journal 2, p. 85, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. One of the reservation physicians linked the results of malnutrition to the overwhelming presence of active tuberculosis in the Indian population. Journal 3, pp. 166-67, February 3, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. Though discussing access to health care on the Rosebud Reservation, Jordan provided some insight government provisions for health care. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 332-33.

⁶⁶ "These Indians, intelligent men and afar seeing," wrote Beede, "would gladly have held a general council and sent up a protest like the voice of many waters. Why didn't they do it? Why, they dared not do it. They were held as ever in a vice of tyranny while a few hired ones spoke for all of them as their hirers directed them to speak." IZ 2-3, UND, Coll. 206, Box 3, Folder 1; IZ, UND, Coll. 206, Box 3, Folder 6. Beede referred to the situation with the Navaho when U.S. troops claimed an uprising. It did not take long before public outcry over the treatment of the Navaho. IR 33-34, UND, Coll. 206, Box 3, Folder 16; Journal 4, 167-70. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. Many writers have noted the fear of or threat the military represented to Reservation Indians. Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History*, 163-67.

⁶⁷ Beede's files do not contain journal entries covering these dates, but he referred these events at other points in his journals, see Journal 2, pp. 9-10, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

the Indians faced and called for drastic reform, starting with the removal of Beef Trust cattle from the reservation. Favorable coverage by the *Bismarck Tribune* and other papers, as well as responses and support from area churches, encouraged Beede and allowed him to believe that what had previously appeared to be unconcern for the Indians' plight stemmed from a lack of information.

A day before delivering this lecture, Saturday, November 22, Beede had his first meeting with Dr. A. H. Kneale, the new agent inspector of the North Dakota Reservations.⁶⁸ Dr. Kneale showed Beede a letter that he intended to send to Washington in which he described the situation and asked for assistance for the Indians. Beede later noted that, based on the hour-long conversation, Dr. Kneale seemed to be a fair, and, possibly, an honest man.

Even more encouraging to Beede, A. C. Wells, the subagent for the Cannon Ball district, sent John S. Brown and Red Tomahawk, Indian policemen, to survey the families in his district during Thanksgiving week. They were to draw up a list of those who were destitute. Beede met them on their first day and by then they had already located twenty

I have yet to find out at which event he was speaking, but, given that it was a Sunday, he may have spoken in a church service. Newspaper articles list some of the dates of articles and addresses he gave dealing with both starvation and disease on Standing Rock Reservation. "Ask Protection for the Indian: Tuberculosis, Because of the Changed Mode of Living, Needs More Attention," *Grand Forks Evening Times*, February 14, 1913; "Tuberculosis Among Indians: Father Beede Hopes to have Legislature Urge Government Help," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, February 12, 1913; "City News: Beede on Indians," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, October 5, 1913; "Indians are Starving on Government Rations," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1913; "Claim Indians are Starving to Death; Hundreds in Danger," *Ward County Bowbells Tribune*, December 12, 1913; "McLaughlin, S.D. Dec. 7," *Emmons County Record*, December 11, 1913; "Indians Not Managed Well," *Pembina Pioneer Express*, December 19, 1913.

⁶⁸ December 18, 1913, Journal 2, p. 10. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25; March 8, 1914, Journal 3, p. 45. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26. Beede mentions in this later reference that the date for this meeting was November 22, 1913.

destitute families. Beede asked for a list of the names and read them off to Red Tomahawk. "He fully understood," noted Beede, "and described the destitution of each family."⁶⁹ The next day, Brown and Red Tomahawk found sixteen more destitute families. Later, when Beede discussed the list with Wells, the Indian agent told him, "I am going to give out food sufficient to save from starvation, even if I have no authority from Washington to do so. I do not believe any jury in N.D. would convict me for giving out food to keep people from starving."⁷⁰ That evening, while Beede was at Wells' house, Dr. Kneale contacted Wells about the Cannon Ball report and requested another "stronger" report. Wells admitted to Beede that he had toned down his report, for fear that it would not be believed in Washington.⁷¹ Wells began to issue more rations.

Two days later, everything changed. The agents began looking for individuals to sign affidavits attesting that the Indians were not destitute.⁷² Dr. Rice, a reservation physician, John Grass, the appointed chief of the Sioux, and Red Tomahawk were among those who signed affidavits.⁷³ Beede wrote later that John Grass and Red Tomahawk claimed that the affidavit had been misrepresented and that others who spoke out often faced intimidation or retribution from their agent.⁷⁴ Agent Kneale even offered a \$10

⁶⁹ December 18, 1913, Journal 2, pp. 11, 20. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁷⁰ Journal 2, p. 11, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁷¹ Journal 2, p. 12, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁷² Journal 2, pp. 12-13, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁷³ Journal 2, pp. 16, December 18, 1913; pp. 45-46, 52, 68-69, 76. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. See also, "Sioux Indians Not Starving: Chief John Grass Write Gov. Hanna Denying that the Reds are in Want," *Grand Forks Evening Times*, December 23, 1913; Indians are Not Starving: Chief John Grass Outlines Situation to Governor Hanna," *Langdon Courier Democrat*, January 1, 1914.

⁷⁴ Journal 2, p. 33, December 24, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Beede comments that John Grass had the role as chief of the Sioux in name only. He was appointed by agents and had limited standing among the tribes. After he signed the affidavit, he lost almost all credibility and, had the Indians

dollar reward for each case of destitution brought to his attention. The newspapers implied that he did not expect to give any rewards, but he faced having to give at least two payouts.⁷⁵

Resolving to take the case to the public, Beede enlisted the help of a Bismarck Presbyterian minister, Dr. Harris, to raise funds and secure food and clothing to deal with the Indians' immediate needs.⁷⁶ Dr. Harris gave a Thanksgiving address with which he raised over thirty dollars and some clothing donations. More importantly, some of the attendees formed a committee following this service to petition Secretary of the Interior, Fredrick Lane, Commissioner of the Indian Bureau, Cato Sells, and President Woodrow Wilson to attend to the Indians' needs.⁷⁷ These petitions had the desired effect, and Washington's response was to order the agents to investigate the cases of destitution.⁷⁸ In response to the affidavits, Beede called for an inspection of the reservations by

been allowed to shun him, many would have. Journal 2, p. 35, December 24, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁷⁵ "Report on Standing Rock Starvation Cases," *The Pembina Pioneer Express*, January 16, 1914; "Around the State," *Emmons County Record*, January 22, 1914.

⁷⁶ The Episcopalian minister in Bismarck, Reverend Frank Wilford, refused to assist Beede; he believed it was the government's duty to provide for the Indians' needs. Beede did not tell Dr. Harris about the government's response because he feared that others might believe, like Wilford, that all help should be determined by the federal government. Journal 2, pp. 14-16, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. "Forlorn Redmen Face Starvation," *Bismarck Tribune*, November 28, 1913.

⁷⁷ It appears that the committee also worked to gather clothing and other donations for the needy Indians. Beede explained that he would itemized expenditures for the money donated, but not the clothes. "Thanks for the committee," and "Will Publish Report," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, December 2, 1913.

⁷⁸ Beede was aware of this order, as an unidentified man listened in on the orders given at the Cannon Ball station. Beede's informant thought that there was also an order to suppress the reports of poverty. Beede was not certain of this. Journal 2, p. 16, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. According to one news report, Assistant Commissioner Merritt, "states that he has received a telegram from Mr. Kneale stating that he has the matter well in hand and that there is no immediate danger of hunger or actual destitution." "Is Looking Out for Indians," *Bismarck Tribune*, December 1913.

government officials, to be accompanied by “some alert North Dakota Woman.”⁷⁹ In January, he published an open letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, “requesting and demanding” an accurate assessment of the starvation on the reservation.⁸⁰

Even as Dr. Harris delivered his Thanksgiving Day address, old Red Hail, a Sioux Indian in his eighties who lived by Cannon Ball, was composing his own plea for assistance to Commissioner Cato Sells. He asked that he might be allowed to sell his land and use the money for food and other necessities. “Now I am feeble,” he wrote,

I need money for food and clothes. My wife is feeble. She needs a dress and a shawl. We have nothing to do anything with. And where are we going to get that money for food and clothes. The man who said we are all right did not tell the truth.⁸¹

Indians efforts were often limited to appeals, similar to that of Red Hail. As Beede explained, “the Indian can have no will in the matter at all. He is conquered and imprisoned. Even when presenting facts that anyone can see, they are sworn down with affidavits.”⁸²

Among themselves, Beede related, the Indians spoke of driving the Beef-Trust cattle from their lands, yet they feared that the government “would have flashed forth lurid headlines of an Indian uprising (to scare the public), and then troops of cavalry

⁷⁹ “Asks Investigation,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, December 30, 1913.

⁸⁰ “Asks Probe in Indian Conditions: Rev. Beede Publishes Open Letter to Commissioner Regarding Investigation,” *Grand Forks Evening Times*, January 5, 1914.

⁸¹ Beede explained that the man Red Hail referred to was either A. H. Kneale or A. C. Wells. Beede saw a translation of a previous letter and was surprised that Red Hail had said that he was fine. Beede translated the second letter and Joe Two Bears, William Cross, and A. H. Kneale signed as witnesses. Beede attached his own note, further describing the situation on the reservation. This was one of many letters that Beede wrote to Cato Sells. Journal 2, pp. 37-38, 39-40; 184. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁸² Journal 2, p. 8, December 18, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

would have galloped onto the reservation.” Beede agreed and, in one address, remarked that, “nothing could harm your cause more than the doing of anything which could be twisted into an uprising,” a belief with which the old Indians agreed.⁸³ When the government detective, C. F. Egge, confronted Beede about the protests and agitation for Indians rights leading to an uprising, Beede explained, none too patiently, “there’s no danger of an Indian uprising. Hell, they are so crushed and starved that they couldn’t uprising. Everybody knows that.”⁸⁴ In their desperation, many Indians risked speaking out. At a parish meeting on Christmas Eve 1913, all 210 Indians present voted to adopt a resolution to thank the churches in Bismarck for their support, to affirm that Beede was telling the truth about starvation on the reservation, and to challenge the lies in A. C. Well’s reports.⁸⁵

Some of those who signed affidavits denying that Indian’s were in poverty were surprised to receive letters from Washington that were less than favorable. Beede knew that Dr. Rice, one of those who had signed an affidavit, received a letter in which he was instructed to perform his duties properly.⁸⁶ Though Beede would not reveal the source of his information, he expressed his pleasure and confidence that “Washington believes my statements, realizes the force of public opinion in N. D., and knows that conditions are so

⁸³ Journal 2, p. 274, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁸⁴ Journal 5, pp. 151-59, March 18, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28. He further explained that there was a better chance of a white uprising if large ranchers or corporation cattle had remained. Osgood wrote of the threat that many white farmers, grangers, populists, and small ranchers posed to the large corporations in the late 1800s and how some of these were not above secretly slaughtering trespassing cattle. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, 240-48. See also, Dick, *The Lure of the Land*, 251-62.

⁸⁵ Transcriptions of Beede’s Journals, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 8.

⁸⁶ December 18, 1913, Journal 2, p. 17, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

bad that they can't be covered up."⁸⁷ In December, Indian agents increased rations and the government set aside \$30,000 to pay Indians for work assigned by the agents.⁸⁸ By December 27, Beede could note that, "none are starving now, but many would have been starving if I hadn't made my move and got rations increased. They were giving out to only 50 persons and were intending to take them away. They are giving rations to 300 persons in the Cannon Ball district now."⁸⁹

By the end of December, the appeals for assistance resulted in more and better rations, as well as the provision of a fund to pay Indians wages for work assigned by the agents. Beede and the Indians, however, were still concerned about the Beef Trust cattle and the misleading affidavits. Both could limit future opportunities. Beede, Indians, and others in the state believed that the Beef Trust cattle had to be forced off the reservation for good. As an expression of their commitment to this goal and their defiance of the

⁸⁷ December 18, 1913, Journal 2, pp. 9-10, 28-31. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

⁸⁸ "Numerous Indians now at work," Beede wrote,

My efforts and the sanction of the Bismarck churches (see the telegrams to Washington Thanksgiving Day), have resulted in the sending of 30,000 to be expended for labor. 30,000 - what an amount! Someone will say, they are alright now. There are 45,000 on the reservation. This means (not reckoning those who can get along and those in schools) less than \$1.00 to each person. Women are given work as well as men. 40 men with teams are now working on the road between Ft. Yates and Cannon Ball at \$2.25 (the old wages before foodstuffs so rose in price that wages for white men were increased). Mark you, this 30,000 is not given by the government. It is merely set aside for this purpose (since we got after things) viz "the irregular labor fund." Note, then, that this \$30,000 already belongs to these Indians, but they have to get what belongs to them by working for it \$2.25 per day, self and team or \$1.25 without team and board self and team." Dr. Kneale was not particular about who worked or if they accomplished much. His main concern was putting on a show that still allowed Indians to gain needed money.

December 18, 1913, Journal 2, pp. 5-7, 8-9, 72. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Jordan does not provide dates, but this may be what he was referring to when he mentioned Indians road crews. He may also be referencing relief efforts during the 1930s. Jordan, "Eighty Years on the Rosebud," 365-66.

⁸⁹ December 29, 1913, Journal 2, pp. 45, 55. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

Indian Bureau's limitation on their right to speak, eight chiefs met at Beede's home and testified in writing to the starvation on the reservation, a document that Beede referred to as the Indians' "Magna Charta." The statement by the chiefs was published, not in one, but in many local and regional papers.⁹⁰ Agent Wells was furious and insisted that the chiefs had had no right to attend the meeting or to publish the document in the newspaper. "But now that the paper is made and published," Beede wrote,

I do not think they will imprison anyone for making the paper, but they will try to punish some of them ostensibly for something else. They had no idea the chiefs would get up courage to do such a thing. They thought the Wells-Red Tomahawk-Grass paper would go unchallenged by the real chiefs, because those chiefs would not dare to write a letter to a newspaper without permission.⁹¹

Wells later punished these men by refusing to allow them to serve on the reservation farming board, even though their own people had elected them.⁹²

⁹⁰ "Eight Red Chiefs Write to Norton" *Williston Graphic*, February 12, 1914; *Grand Forks Evening Times*, February 6, 1914. The letter reaffirmed that there was starvation on the reservation, that the men who signed that affidavits did not speak for the people, but worked for the agent, and that their cattle were gone and they had not been compensated for their loss. They further challenged A. C. Wells assertion that he had surveyed that conditions on the reservation and they were fine. The Chiefs explained that Wells "does not go around. He does not tell what is true. He should not make trouble for poor people. Some have to get food from the mice in the woods." It was signed by Red Fish, Jerome Cottonwood, Mark Red Bull, Big Head, Chasing Fly, Iron Road, Ghost Crow, and Tokana Luta. It was witnessed by Red Hail, James Elk, No Two Horns, Red Bow, Beede-Use-His-Arrow, Rev. M. P. Seewalker, William Cross, George Grey Stone and Martin Iron Bull.

⁹¹ December 18, 1913, Journal 2, pp. 185, 205, UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. September 1, 1914, Journal 4, pp. 9-10. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. Beede mentioned that: "Heretofore, Indians have had no way of expressing themselves in protest, all so called petitions and papers signed were completely manipulated by agents, and from Washington. The department was irresponsible to any vote of any people, quite independent of the rise or fall of this or that policy or party in American affairs. Since the "Magna Charta" signed by eight chiefs over a year ago. ...Indians exercise some more liberty in the real expression of opinions, and the signing of papers, (but on the S.D. side of the reservation, the freedom of opinion is not equal to the N. D. side of the reservation)." He believed that "If this 'Magna Charta' could have come 25 years ago, the effect would have been 10 times more, but no one seemed to be capable of carrying it through. ...Now it comes when Indians are practically "done for" as a people." February 3, 1915, Journal 4, p. 170. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27.

⁹² 1914, Journal 2, p. 205. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. Beede also recorded that Wells locked Red Fish in his office and then offered him \$20 dollars to recant his signature. Other chiefs were similarly approached. 1914, Journal 3, p. 31. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26.

Through appeals to the public by Beede and by leaders on Standing Rock, Indians gained recognition of their struggles and support to keep themselves alive. More importantly, Beede's work with the tribal members, local newspapers, and others not only connected the diverse groups and their sympathies, but it also encouraged a common goal by targeting the Beef Trust and corruption. Even more importantly, Beede encouraged Indians' efforts to gain possibilities, efforts which found expression in documents like the Magna Charta. Beede may have made recommendations, or guided ideas and efforts, but he did not control or limit them, a distinction from the policies and practices of many reformers, policymakers, and missionaries.

Policy Changes and More Possibilities?

Though public pressure led Indian agents to increase rations and provide limited financial support for some Indians, the underlying policies and attitudes of the federal government remained unchanged. The lease system on Standing Rock Reservation was a symbol of the government's paternalistic policies and of the exploitation of the Indians. By drawing attention to how the Beef Trust was using the government's Indian policies to their advantage, Beede hoped to generate enough public pressure to bring about changes in policy. Beede wanted independence for the Indians, their full rights under American law, absolute ownership of their land, and freedom to go or shop where they pleased. If he could not get changes made on the federal level, he believed that by helping to establish Sioux Country, North Dakota, he could achieve state supervision and recognition of Indians' rights at least to the North Dakota part of the Standing Rock Reservation.

Some Indians, such as Red Fish, one of the chiefs who signed the Indian Magna Charta, echoed this sentiment. Beede recorded Red Fish's speech, likely given at the Indian Fair at Fort Yates on September 22, 1913, in one of his journals. After first informing Governor Hanna that there was a difference between his and Indian blood, Red Fish, explained,

Good food makes good blood. Bad food makes bad blood. My blood is more bad because we old Indians are starving all the time here on the reservation with the game gone. And if [—] gives an old man a soup bone, somebody steals that meat all off before the bone gets to him. It is a long road to Washington and the president never comes to see us. I want the governor for our president then he will be near us and see that we are used well. He has a good eye. He is honest. His heart is full of love ([—Dakota word—]). I want this Indian business [—] over to the state to handle. Shipto who stands here by me (myself). Tells us this is best and we believe him in this matter even if he is an episcopal priest. He is a he-yo-ke like myself, and a he-yo-ke, you know cant lie, -except when he is speaking as a priest [all this — sarcasm]. The Governor tells us to keep our land, not to sell it. - keep it for our children, that sounds grand, can't he tell us how it is the old people past labor can make food come up out of the land so they will not have to sell it? Does he think we old Indians can live on good air and Missouri river water and church masses [he was laughing good natured, and at this point he assumed a poise and facial expression meaning that it was famine time and all were praying in vain for the buffalo who had gone off somewhere else, but white people did not understand this and Indians did not enjoy it, because they seemed to disconcert the governor]. Why don't they give us old Indians \$15 each moon and take this out of the price of our land when we die and it is sold? We have our land. We fought for our land when great Custer and his soldiers were killed, we Dakota always have land but we can't eat grass and hay while we are alive and our ghosts won't want the land when we are dead. With these buffalo horns on my head, I have the heart of a buffalo, but my stomach is still the stomach of a man. We are now American citizens, we are the only Indians who were never conquered by white men, we came into the President's great nation by a treaty. A man [—] and [—] makes a treaty with us. He talks good, he tells us we shall have food and clothes for each Indian as long as there is an Indian unless he is able to get it for himself. Then the man who made the treaty hides somewhere ([—Dakota word—]) and we cannot find him, the governor must know where he is. The governor has got eyes like the eyes of God. He can see in the darkness. We can see only in the light, and sometimes even in the daytime is partly dark to us old Indians, because we have not much food and our [—] is grave and we have no hope. (tokenta Woape)⁹³

Beede, and some Indians such as Red Fish, believed, or at least hoped, that state oversight would break down the control of the Indian Bureau and Federal government by

⁹³ Ledger "D," p. 19-25, September 22, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 23.

transferring the management of Indian affairs to the state, after which there might be greater support for immediate citizenship for Indians. Beede did not believe that reforms carried out by the Indian Bureau would produce the changes needed on the reservations, moreover, the Indians had learned to distrust many of the agents.

Removing the lease cattle from the reservation was a step in the right direction, especially as Beede believed that their presence and their protected status were the result of connections or agreements with policy makers in Washington, DC. In his book, *The Terrible Rat, the Lost Calf, and the Congressman*, he challenged one congressman who, he believed, may have been corrupt.⁹⁴ P. D. Norton, a North Dakota Congressman and a member of the Committee of Indian affairs, came under attack in the piece for his newspaper articles that called into question the veracity of Beede's and the Indians' reports of starvation on the reservations.⁹⁵ With his criticisms of Congressman Norton

⁹⁴ Journal 2, p. 282, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. See also, "Beede Answers the Norton Statement," *The Valley City Weekly Times-Record*, January 22, 1914.

⁹⁵ Journal 3, pp. 17, 22-23, 27, 55-56, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 26. The attack on Norton began because of an article he wrote on March 27, 1914 in the *Fargo Forum*, in which he defended the leasing system and by extension the so-called Beef Trust. He also called into question reports by Beede and others that Indians were starving on the reservations, going so far as to hint that Beede's outcry was based on kickbacks from local businessmen who wanted to benefit from doing business on the reservation. Though I have found references to this article, I have yet to find it. One article titled "Not Serious" stated that Norton had been investigating conditions on the reservation and they were exaggerated. He believed that Beede's personal feelings had led him to overestimate the situation. *Grand Forks Evening Times*, January 7, 1914. This was obviously not the end of the debate as in April, North Dakota newspapers ran an article that referenced Beede's *The Terrible Rat* and called for Norton to explain himself. Though not giving full credence to Beede's inflammatory language, the author believed that Beede had certainly gotten Norton's character and he had no doubts about the veracity of the reports from the reservations. "Norton Should Explain," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, April 24, 1914; *Ward County Independent*, May 28, 1914; *Dickinson Press*, June 6, 1914. In a May letter to the editor, Beede referenced an interview given by Norton in the *Mandan Pioneer*. Beede believed that Norton had failed to answer the issues. Beede stated that it had been decided to exclude the Beef Trust cattle from the reservation, but he wondered when Norton had defended Indian rights against those of the Beef Trust. Beede asked if Norton had helped to provide opportunities or income to the old and disabled Indians. And finally, Beede made the point that the \$100,000 appropriated for cattle does not begin to make up for the \$1,500,000 which was lost after the Beef Trust gained access to the reservation. Beede feared that the actual value Indians would receive if there

and his acerbic poetry, Beede attacked the corruption that kept Indians locked in a system that defined them as dependents and threatened to turn them into “defectives.”

In his articles, Norton asserted that the Indians had plenty of food, including “mice feed” and other natural products, and he denied that the Beef Trust had stolen Indian cattle because their herds and those of the Indians were nowhere near each other. “It is admitted,” wrote Beede, “that the Indians have large funds of money in Washington. And yet Norton defends the position that none of this money belonging to Indians is *due* them. That is, they cannot have it unless their white neighbors, in their behalf, urge the matter insistently rather than see them starve.”⁹⁶ He charged that Norton would sooner see old Indians die, eating “mice feed,” than have anybody in his district “derive a business profit” from the Indians.⁹⁷ In this, he was expressing the beliefs that Indians could feed themselves from the land and that the people backing Beede were local business men hoping to gain increased access to the reservation and there by greater profits. Beede was especially angry because Norton accused him of receiving bribes from local businessmen to lobby for these policy reforms. These accusations of corruption were especially suspect to Beede as he had heard rumors that Norton’s property was “so covered up that no one can successfully proceed against him in a suit for damages.”⁹⁸

were not changes in the reservation system would be closer to 70,000, which the Beef Trust and others profiting from graft. Beede also requested that Norton address the facts rather than calling Beede’s behavior as unbecoming a minister. Aaron McGaffey Beede, “To the Editor,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, May 6, 1914.

⁹⁶ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 14.

⁹⁷ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 15. “mice feed” likely refers to the Indian practice, explained and possibly publicized by Beede and Gilmore, of Indians exchanging some their own supplies for what the wood mice collected. It was a means of adding variety to their diet. See above, Chapter 2, Footnote 58.

⁹⁸ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 15.

“Why,” asked Beede, “should an old Indian who has 1,000 acres of land be obliged to live on ‘mice feed’ and boiled bark anyway?”⁹⁹ He demanded that Indians receive the funds that were held by the government for their advancement and education and that they be allowed to spend the money where and how they pleased. He asked that the old and infirm be paid a stipend rather than be expected to work the land- land that could be sold on their death to pay for their stipend. Though some believed that the old Indians would “fool away” their money, Beede believed it just as likely for “White people and young Indians, educated by them,” to squander their resources.¹⁰⁰

Beede also pointed out that the Indians’ shared summer pasture lands lay near those used by the Beef Trust’s herds. He also charged that Norton benefited from using his office to defend the Beef Trust. “It is a serious matter,” charged Beede, “when a Congressman, using his congressional position for influence, rushes to defend a cattle combine, or any other combine or trust.”¹⁰¹ “I would sooner die hanging on a tree, without confession and unction,” continued Beede, “than die glutting down beef like a bottomless hound while the poor Indians are starving. Apparently, Norton doesn’t care.”¹⁰²

More than a plea for justice or a rebuttal to Norton’s attack, Beede’s *The Terrible Rat* set out his proposals to deal with the “Indian Problem.” Beede had discussed many of

⁹⁹ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 20.

¹⁰¹ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 21. Warned by Egge, the government detective, that Norton would sue him for libel because of the pamphlet, Beede responded that he was the one being attacked. He also reminded Egge that he had supported Norton in the 1914 elections because the Congressman had dropped his support of the Beef Trust. Journal 5, pp. 155-56, March 18, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28.

¹⁰² Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 18.

his ideas with friends or in lectures, but, with the *Terrible Rat*, he hoped to reach a larger audience. Though he had received many letters from easterners thanking him for his work on the Indians' behalf, Beede remained frustrated. "Easterners can't seem to get the idea the Indians are like other human beings," he wrote, "They think there must be some special program for them. Old ones need to have their property honestly used for their support. The younger ones need Freedom. Sec'y Lane praises this. Will he do it?"¹⁰³ Beede was not interested in merely obtaining adequate rations for a time, but in gaining independence for the Indians.¹⁰⁴ He proposed that the Indians, especially the old or infirm, should receive the proceeds from the sale of tribal land immediately, that all Indians should have the right to buy and sell in the open market, that the money belonging to Indian children should be available immediately for their support, and that the old and infirm should receive monthly payments in money, not in permits or vouchers, that could be refunded to the government after the sale of their land upon their death.

Beede's focus was on freedom. "Freedom makes men," he declared,

Slavery makes defectives. And the management of Indian affairs is now making defectives in our state at a rapid rate. They and their defective offspring will cost this state millions of dollars for their support in the near future, when the present management, having exhausted all Indian resources, drops them onto the state for support.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Journal 4, p. 111, January 5, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27.

¹⁰⁴ "Rations were a detriment" he believed, and that if one wanted "to be paternal, you must be paternal entirely, not half way. The government has always been half-way paternal and half way free." Journal 2, p. 139, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

¹⁰⁵ Beede, *The Terrible Rat*, 16; Journal 2, p. 288, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. "Indian Becomes Defective Race," *Grand Forks Evening Times*, December 17, 1913.

Beede wished to see the young Indians, “set free, perfectly free with full control over all their property and with a vote.”¹⁰⁶ He proposed giving them full citizenship, rather than waiting for others to judge them as being “civilized” before granting citizenship and the ability to work at any profession they chose.¹⁰⁷ He believed that citizenship and freedom would come, if not from reformers’ ideals, then because the “implacable demand for food and sufficient food for all [Indians]” would lead to freedom as the government would not or could not continue to pay and “[The Indian agents] have not money to feed [the Indians] and pay for the graft.”¹⁰⁸ “I am of the opinion that it would be better,” Father Ambrose Mattingly, Beede’s friend and a Roman Catholic missionary, wrote to the *Bismarck Tribune*, “far better, to sever all ties between the Indian and government.”¹⁰⁹ Secretary Lane expressed his thoughts in an article in the *Bismarck Tribune* in December 1914. “Give every man his own,” he wrote

and let him go his way, to success or destruction, rather than keep alive in the Indian the belief that he is to remain a ward of the government. ... In 1839, the problem was how to get the Indians out of the way. Today the problem is how to make him really a part of the nation.¹¹⁰

Not only did Lane’s thoughts on Indian policy express both the need for freedom and independence of the Indians, but also the need or desire to expand possibilities for Indians through connecting them to American culture

¹⁰⁶ Journal 2, p. 145, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

¹⁰⁷ Journal 2, p. 145, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. The Dawes Act built in the ability to become a citizen, however this depended on a ruling by the Indian agent or the secretary of the interior or commissioner of Indian affairs. Generally, this was determined by progress toward civilization.

¹⁰⁸ Journal 2, p. 79, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25.

¹⁰⁹ “Fr. Ambrose on Indian Question” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, December 10, 1914.

¹¹⁰ “Cast Burden Upon Indians,” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, December 11, 1914.

Beede believed that the state might provide assistance in establishing independence for the Indians. As early as the Fort Yates Fair in September 1913, Beede and Governor Louis Hanna promoted placing Indians under state control by establishing a county in North Dakota that incorporated part of Standing Rock Reservation.¹¹¹ During the commemoration of the Battle at Whitestone on September 8, 1914, “Gov. L. B. Hanna closed the exercises with a speech,” the *Bismarck Tribune* recorded,

setting forth that if Indian affairs were handled by the several states where Indians are, we might even now hope to inspire Indians with hope and a true desire for progress. All those present evidently agreed with Gov. Hanna on this point and felt that now, at last, the Indians ought to have just and humane treatment.¹¹²

Governor Hanna oversaw the establishment of Sioux County in September 1914 and appointed Beede as County Judge, emphasizing that Beede would be working with probate cases. Beede was interested in this position long before the governor appointed him, because, as judge, he hoped to be able to secure the best possible land settlements for Indians.¹¹³ Beede realized that the freedom that he was calling for would not ease the burdens on the Indians, but, as he wrote to Father Bernard Strassmaier, the Catholic missionary, the Indians’ current state would mean degeneracy. Freedom would bring

¹¹¹ Beede recorded what he heard and saw, including Indians’ reaction to the speeches at an Indian fair in 1913, possibly on Fort Berthold. Ledger “D,” pp. 1-30, September 22, 1913. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 23; Journal 4, pp. 5-6, 9-11, August 30, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27.

¹¹² “Commemoration at Whitestone” *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1914.

¹¹³ Journal 4, p. 1, August 30, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. For Beede’s philosophy on judging Indian cases see, Journal 4, p. 17, September 15, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27. The county was established in 1914 and Beede did not retire officially until 1917. He was on a sabbatical by 1916.

hardship and loss of property, but, perhaps it would also bring hope and more possibilities for Indians.¹¹⁴

By April 1915, government policy shifted from blocking the sale of Indian land to passing legislation that provided an Indian with the “immediate title to his land.”¹¹⁵ This likely had little to do with Beede or Standing Rock’s situation directly, but it reflected some benefit or interest to the government or others who hoped to benefit from more access to Indian land. Though C. C. Covey, the new agent at Standing Rock Reservation, supported Beede’s policy to allow Indians to sell land and to receive a monthly stipend, still there was “no real progress,” as those supporting the Beef Trust or large lease holders blocked the efforts that allowed Indians to sell their land.¹¹⁶ “The joke of the whole thing,” wrote Beede,

is liable to be that these young Indians will be given land patents with freedom to sell at once, without personal freedom, so land men can get the land. Then when young Indians have squandered their land (as white young men do their property) and interested parties have got the land; then the cry of incompetency will be heralded, as to preclude full personal freedom, and perpetuate the Indian Bureau. I see this and expect it. But with nothing but persons (not property) to overlord, there will be less profitable corruption and more hope for ultimate freedom for Indians.¹¹⁷

There is no clear indication why the Beef Trust eventually took the cattle off reservation lands, but the *Bismarck Tribune* marked the event. Beede hinted that it may have been that white settlers, frustrated with the damage the cattle did to their land, were killing

¹¹⁴ Journal 2, pp. 55-56, 1914. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 25. In an interesting letter to Gilmore on the Indian uses for native plants, Beede spoke about birth control.

¹¹⁵ Journal 5, p. 246, April 27, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28.

¹¹⁶ Journal 5, pp. 68, 123, 197, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28.

¹¹⁷ Journal 5, pp. 247-48, April 27, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 28.

them.¹¹⁸ It may also have been that the state now levied taxes on the cattle and that the cattle companies had to pay a higher leasing fee. With more Indians gaining control over their land, the Beef Trust would be required to negotiate the leases individually and, potentially, pay market price for access to the land.

Beede was not only concerned with gaining acceptance and better treatment for Christian brothers and sisters. His appeals were based not only on justice or cries for pity, but on the perception grounded in common humanity of Indians as brothers and sisters. He sought to limit social isolation and increase opportunities. Had he succeeded in gaining not only changes in economic policy, but also in how Indians were perceived and hence treated, many hardships, such as forced attendance at boarding schools, may have been avoided.

As it was, Beede's struggle against the Beef Trust had mixed results. The Beef Trust removed the cattle from reservation lands, but Beede did not gain full freedom and citizenship for Indians.¹¹⁹ Many Indians lost their land to unscrupulous investors, to poor choices, or to the inability to pay the state property taxes that came due after the land was taken out of trust.¹²⁰ The Beef Trust, however, provided Beede with the opportunity to challenge the government's treatment of Indians, to gain some recognition of the Indians'

¹¹⁸ Referendum of the 7th Industrial Democratic Laws, June 16, 1919, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

¹¹⁹ Trinkka stated that he was instrumental in the U.S. Government recognizing the rights of starving Indians. Trinkka, *North Dakota Today* 142-43. Citizenship for Indians before the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 generally meant the individual lost their tribal status or rights when they assumed their American citizenship. The Meriam Report of the 1924 showed greater respect for Indian culture and a belief that Indians should be allowed to assume more control of their own affairs. O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 79-82.

¹²⁰ Land taxes are one reason that some Indians choose to leave their land in federal trust. Though this limited their control, it also freed them from paying land taxes.

legal standing, and to make some improvement in living conditions on the reservations. Beede had called attention to Indians' needs and he had generated increased interest in their difficulties, grievances, and culture. The struggle also led in an increase in the amount of rations that Indians needed. Beede believed that his efforts had also forced agents and employees on the reservation to be more honest. Indians had also become more willing to speak out. "They do have immensely more freedom than a year ago," Beede remarked in 1915, "they dare to express themselves as opposed to an agent and to call him to account for his utterances now."¹²¹ This struggle also marked the end of Beede's work as a missionary and the beginning of new possibilities.

Beede's new possibilities came not from hope, but from pessimism. Confronted by the Beef Trust, frustrated by government policy, and disillusioned by the seemingly uncaring attitude of his church leaders, Beede had come to doubt his church's willingness to act on Christ's teachings. The complaints received on his ministry led him to call into question the church's ability or willingness to move beyond merely a metaphysical application of Christian values. His options for ministry and social change were limited by the tenets of the church, while more opportunities opened in local law and politics. As a missionary, he had called for legal and political change from a position of moral authority and, when possible, he had used political and legal means to challenge injustice. The prime and ultimate example of this was his struggle against the Beef Trust. Beede's appointment by Governor Hanna as the new probate judge for Sioux County involved him in the process of settling Indian land titles and inheritance issues, areas that he knew

¹²¹ Journal 4, p. 111, January 5, 1915. UND, Coll. 206, Box 1, Folder 27.

would be key for Indian survival. Rather than continuing under the label of missionary and having to circumvent restrictions placed on him, he decided to act on his Christian and social values outside the church.

CONCLUSION

A BELIEVER IN POSSIBILITIES

Thus we see that habits, customs and standards of judgement and action tend strongly to perpetuate themselves even when wrong, while change or progress entails suffering, self-sacrifice and sometimes disgrace on those who are impelled to struggle for betterment.¹

The tendency of religions of all time has been to care more for religion than for humanity; Christ cared more for humanity than for religion. His sermons were explanations of his society²

In 1916, Beede concluded his work as a missionary and officially resigned his position as head of Episcopal missionary work among the Indians of North Dakota. He does not seem to have regretted leaving mission work, though he did write to Libby that the Cannon Ball mission went to pieces after he left.³ Beede questioned his church leaders' approach to missions, and probably everything else, as he seemed to relish teasing out answers to the questions that others were unwilling to ask. "I feel that the churches have quite fully ceased to be on the moral and humanitarian side of any situation or question," Beede wrote, giving words to his disillusionment, "and are timidly struggling for existence, for self-preservation as institutions, with premonitions of falter. It is not pleasing to thus consider the churches."⁴ Beede was more concerned with justice

¹ Beede, *Social Teachings*, 2.

² Henry Drummond, "The Program of Christianity" as quoted by Beede in *Social Teachings*, 6.

³ Beede to Libby, September 20, 1918, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 8, Folder 16.

⁴ No recipient, December 14, Libby Papers, SHSND, Box 37, Folder 7. Another expression of this comes in *Sitting Bull & Custer*,

The Sioux must give their homes to cattle.
The "stock-men" hunger for our land.
Their hunger has a cruel hand.

for the Indians and recognition of their rights than he was concerned with charitable donations, his position, or the opinion church leaders had of him. His church leaders' refusal to put the needs of the Indians before their own conception of what Indians needed left Beede disillusioned and unable to continue his work as a missionary.

Beede had begun working as Sioux County judge in charge of probate cases in 1914, so it was not difficult for him to shift and to pursue new opportunities as a judge, a state's attorney, and a lawyer in Sioux County, work he continued until his death in 1934. His association with Indians, however, remained a key part of his life.⁵ Beede did not have the time and inclination to practice law and to continue his mission work at the same time, but he saw the law as a tool that he could use to continue acting on his core beliefs. Regardless of his disillusionment, Beede continued to act on those beliefs in order to help others, especially Indians.

This dissertation is not a biography of Beede, but that was never the intent. In limiting the focus to Beede's years as a missionary, the dissertation revealed not just who Beede was, but also the essential aspects of both his character and his conduct as a missionary. In the introduction, I commented that an individual should be an example or should offer a unique perspective to the researcher. In some ways, Beede was a typical

Ah, this is it – *to rob and steal*
Is all there is to Christian weal.
With Christian water on his head
An Indian's manliness has fled.

Delivered through the words of Sitting Bull, Beede's condemnation of Christian values here likely reflected his ongoing struggle against the Beef Trust. Beede, *Sitting Bull & Custer*, 6.

⁵ The historians, Robert P. Wilkins and Wynona H. Wilkins stated that "not only did he come to live more and more like the Indians, but he often joined them in their hunting expeditions and in their travels from one reservation to another." Wilkins and Wilkins, *God Giveth the Increase*, 129. In one of his letters, Beede mentioned that not only was he studying to get full law credentials, but he was often interrupted by people who needed free legal advice.

missionary. He baptized, confirmed, preached and, like many others, he recorded Indian traditions and spoke out about the poor living conditions many Indians faced. All of these activities are appropriate for a missionary, but Beede went further.

As a missionary, Beede did not insist on conformity to others' perception of what it meant to be civilized and Christian. He knew that the outer man, the actions or how one lived, was important not in and of itself, but rather for what it revealed of the inner man. Beede sought to develop who the Indian or the white Christians were inside before he worried about the outside. Because of this, he was willing to blend traditions and relax church tenets and expectations, actions that some decried as heresy.

Beede's efforts as a missionary went beyond transforming either the inner man or the outer man. He knew that one's past formed the basis for identity or for future growth and that much of the Indians' traditions and cultures were being lost. Indian children were often educated apart from tribal influences and by a culture that saw limited value in Indian traditions. More than this, Indians were often labeled as being mystics or primitives and, therefore, they were further isolated and disconnected from the rest of society. Beede believed that recording and sharing Indian traditions and accentuating the commonalities among cultures was one method of breaking down social isolation, of changing perceptions, and of supporting a sense of identity- all of which were key to finding and creating one's possibilities.

Though his church leadership might have turned a blind eye to Beede's recording, sharing, and blending cultural traditions, they were unable to ignore Beede's challenges on behalf of the Indians. Beede's other efforts were gradual changes as it would take time to record and share traditions and even more time to change perceptions and create a

sense of common identity. This was time that he did not have by 1913. Beede's struggle against the Beef Trust and, by extension, the policies that limited Indians' opportunities, demanded immediate actions, immediate changes. His language and behavior in this struggle might have reflected what those around him thought was conduct unbecoming for a missionary, but they reflected his duty as a minister, as a missionary, or as a Christian- to enable others to work out the possibilities of their existence.

Could Beede have been better or more effective had he limited his actions to those considered acceptable for a missionary? Should he have acted as other missionaries did? I cannot answer these questions other than to say that he would not have been himself had he acted differently. I do not know whether the Beef Trust would have remained on the Reservation or if the Sioux would have been better off had he limited his services to those of a traditional missionary. Historians and researchers still do not agree on what the best federal policy would have been and what would have constituted fair treatment of Indians.

In the process of pursuing his missionary work, Beede left a gift to researchers. He recorded and shared information on the Indian tribes with which he was in contact. This was reflected in a series of articles he published in the *Sioux Country Pioneer*, as well as in his letters and in conversations with visitors. His journals, although they are frustrating to decipher, help to preserve many aspects of Sioux culture that might otherwise have been lost. We cannot fully appreciate how much he influenced the histories written about the Indians, as he did not always identify himself as a source, but the history of North Dakota is certainly the richer for his efforts. An example of this is on

display in the North Dakota State Museum in Bismarck. High Dog's winter count remains part of the static exhibit highlighting North Dakota's Indian heritage.

Behind all his efforts to gain rights, to record and correct misperceptions of Indians, and to transform the inner man was this core belief in possibilities. Though Christianity provided many new possibilities and could certainly form the basis for one's future, Beede did not limit his efforts to establishing congregation and building churches. He strove to find possibilities for others in both the religious and the secular. Beede's underlying belief and goal was more than a policy or a credo, it was a way of seeing the world and those around one. In calling for Christians to seek not only their own possibilities, but also those of others, he was asking people to create a community that encouraged and enabled all members to seek what was best for their future. This goal is as commendable today as it was in Beede's time. It is, however, a goal that will always lead some to describe the conduct of those pursuing it as unbecoming.

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