BREAKING THE FRAME: HOW PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DAKOTA-U.S. WAR OF 1862 INFLUENCE HISTORICAL MEMORY

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Abstract: This dissertation examines photographs of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862, and seeks to highlight how photographs have shaped contemporary and persistent ideas about the War and the Dakota people. This work utilizes photographs of Dakota Indians as a primary tool to reconstruct and refract the historical narrative of the Dakota-U.S. War. The convergence of photography and mass consumerism resulted in a plethora of Dakota photographs beginning in 1858. This work looks at three specific groups of photographs between 1858 and 1865. The first photographs of Dakota Indians documented groups of Dakota delegates after negotiating treaties to sell their land in exchange for money and annuity payments. The next group of photographs were taken by photographers in St. Paul, Minnesota, and resulted in an explosion of mass production spurred on by high consumer demand. Photographers, like Adrian Ebell, traveled great distances in hopes of documenting life on the Dakota reservations in order to capitalize on the financial success of other indigenous photography.

Focusing on the motivations and manipulative aspects of the subjects, the photographers, and the viewers of these photographs, this dissertation examines how images of the Dakota directly contributed to the persistent ideologies of settler innocence, which justified retaliatory violence and Dakota removal from Minnesota. The pervasive ideologies rooted in settler-colonial contexts have shaped historical memory, excluding Dakota peoples from engaging in public memory, and perpetuating the tension between Dakota and non-native in the re-telling of the past. Primary source material analyzed for this dissertation include photographs, Dakota prisoner of war letters, Dakota oral histories, published and unpublished Dakota narratives of the war and their life in Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society Manuscripts Collections, the Gilcrease Museum's panorama of the war, Newspapers, and captivity narratives.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Still, there is something predatory in the act of taking a picture."

-Susan Sontag[1]

During the early evening hours of July 3, 1863, a man and his son picked raspberries before retiring for the day. Another father and son spotted them and watched closely as they meandered through the raspberry thicket. Unaware that others watched as they ate, the father and son left their belongings on the ground while they foraged. Suddenly the evening exploded in gunfire, as the second father and son shot at the men in the thicket. The first shot hit the man eating the berries. He quickly returned fire, hitting his assailant in the shoulder, but also simultaneously receiving a mortal wound to the chest. As he lay dying, knowing death was close, the father whispered his last words to his son. The son wrapped his father in a blanket, and placed new shoes on his feet before retreating into the night. The other son, separated from his father after he fired the first shot and fearing him dead, raced to town for help. When the authorities arrived at the

[1] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Frarrer, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 14.

scene they found the mortally wounded man, who had hours ago picked berries with his son, dead in the grass.[2]

How had these two sets of father and son found themselves entangled in a shoot-out in a field of berries? This episode of violence illustrates the vast, complicated and deadly nature that encapsulated the relationship between Dakota Indians and the non-natives who co-existed in Minnesota. Aggression and anger sanctioned violence that permeated the land and the people so pervasively that instances like this plagued the Minnesota prairie and beyond. Nathan and Chauncy Lamson did not need permission to attack the two Dakota men picking berries. In the social, cultural, and military milieu of 1863 Minnesota, the very nature of their victims being Indian gave Lamson the right to attack and kill. The body of the dead Indian provided entertainment to townspeople, and they defiled and mutilated it by removing the hair, head, and clothing before dumping the headless body into a pit.[3]

Almost a month after losing his father, the son from the raspberry thicket was taken into custody by U.S. military officials on July 29. He had managed to elude other non-native peoples, but found surviving on the Minnesota prairie alone and without family members difficult. Hunger plagued his travels, and when authorities found him he did not resist arrest. While in custody, the young man, Wowinape, told his story and

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[2] Wowinape's recollection of his father's death was printed by *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, August 13, 1863; Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 279-282; Curtis A. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising: A Pictorial History* (Edina, MN: Beaver's Pond Press, 2009), 269-271.

[3] Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), 8. Anderson's biography of Little Crow is an excellent source of Little Crow's life, but also the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862.

astonished the world. He was the son of Little Crow, the vilified and assumed leader of the Dakota-U.S. War. His father died while they picked berries together. News of his capture and the death of his father spread quickly. While mourning the loss of his father, Wowinape, stood trial for crimes committed during the war, was found guilty, and sent to prison in Davenport, Iowa, where other Dakota men had been incarcerated since the war ended.[4]

Figure 1.1. Joel E. Whitney, "Wo-wi-na-pe, Little Crow's Son," ca. 1864, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[4] *Saint Paul Daily Press,* September 12, 1863; *Saint Paul Daily Press,* October 25, 1863; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 279.

Wowinape's story is an example of the tragedy that befell the Dakota Indians after the Dakota-U.S. War in late summer, 1862. After the war, he and his father fled the state and roamed the land bordering the United States and Canada. He suffered the loss of his homeland and his family. He experienced hatred and cruelty from wasicu[5], or non-native peoples, injustice from the military and U.S. officials, and finally banishment to prison and then to a reservation in Nebraska. However, being the son of the notorious leader of the war did not consume his legacy. Wowinape survived his torment and became a successful man. He changed his name to Thomas Wakeman, married, and lived on the Flandreau reservation in South Dakota. In 1879 he organized the first Sioux Indian YMCA, known today as the Cheyenne River Reservation Sioux Indian YMCA.[6] His legacy continues, but questions of his notoriety complicate his memory. Is he the son of the famed leader of the war, or is he a man who helped organize the only YMCA on reservation land?

Theme

Photographs illuminate and bring to life events from our past. These images illustrate people, places, and histories. The physical image acts as a visual aid to the viewer by providing a glimpse of a moment in time. Since the birth of photography in 1837, people have set out to capture their own likeness and those of others, both known

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[5] Wasicu is the Dakota word for non-Indian or non-indigenous. See Angela Cavender Wilson, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28:1-2 (Winter/Spring 2004): 185-212.

[6] "The History of the General Convention of Sioux YMCAs," http://web.archive.org/web/20080128033154/http://www.siouxymca.org/history.htm (accessed, March 1, 2019).

and unknown.[7] Other images of far and distant places and the near and familiar have captivated audiences around the world. Collected by generations of people, photographs continue to animate the past, as we look at images that enthrall our curiosity, inspire our future, and guide our interpretation of the past. Using photographs as a lens to interprete the past contributes to the dynamic process of historical study. Photographs are not a terminal repository of perspective, expectation, and power. They reflect just as much as they receive.

This work utilizes photographs of Dakota Indians as a primary tool to reconstructe and refract the historical narrative of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862.[8] In so doing, it seeks to highlight how photographs have shaped contemporary and persistent ideas about the war and the Dakota people. Though the images are common in scholarship, the potential of the photographs as a source of information is largely overlooked or neglected. Scholars use them more to complement than convey. This study seeks to fill this gap. Building from the wealth of information from previous scholars, the photographs of the Dakota

[7] The first photograph was called a *daguerreotype* invented by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in Paris, France. Daguerre made his first successful photograph of a still life in 1837, and printed manuals for others to construct cameras and a guide to taking photographs. Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2006), 15-19. The year photography was invented is debated by historians. Curtis Dahlin claims the birth of photography was in 1839, and he agrees that the *daguerreotype* was the first type of photograph. Curtis A. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 321-322.

[8] Historians have labeled the war in 1862 with many names, but I will refer to the war as the Dakota-U.S. War or the Dakota War. Some historians described the war as an uprising or rebellion. However, as Philip Deloria states, “Outbreak was more rebellion than war, as much social and cultural as military, and intimately concerned with the extent to which Indians had or had not been assimilated or forcibly incorporated into American civil society.” Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 28.

Indians and their subsequent war take center stage of this work. The photographs drive the narrative and provide new analysis to reveal new consequences of this horrific event.[9]

Photography, still in its infancy in the mid-nineteenth century, became a source of both documentation and entertainment. The images captured during the Dakota-U.S. War document and also capitalize on the highly commercialized properties of the images—and the Dakota. The Civil War sparked an interest in news photographs, and "played a significant role in shaping the nation's image of the war."[10] Influencing the images of the Dakota-U.S. War, the Civil War gave photographers the opportunity to develop a style and method of documenting living history. Photographs, in turn, had a dramatic impact on how people have remembered and interpreted their pasts. Civil War and photography historian William A. Frassanito claims photographs have a "visual tale" to tell because images make statements and illustrate events in history.[11] This "visual tale" of the Dakota War of 1862 is the subject of this work.

Historians commonly use photographs as visual or textual evidence. Often these images serve as proof or evidence of how people dressed, what buildings looked like, and provided insight into a peoples' culture. However, photographs are tangible pieces of

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[9] The term Dakota refers to the four eastern bands of what is commonly known as the Sioux Nation. Dakota also refers to the Santee tribe. The four Dakota bands include the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton bands. The name Sioux has an Algonquin origin, but may also be a "corruption of part of an Ojibwa word" meaning enemies. Dakota means "ally" and is considered a more accurate term than Sioux. For this study I use Dakota when describing the indigenous peoples as they relate to Minnesota and the war, and refrain from using the term Sioux. This is discussed further in Chapter Two. Anderson, *Little Crow,* 6; Louis H. Roddis, *The Indian Wars of Minnesota* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1956, 4.

[10] William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 15.

[11] Ibid.

documentation that contribute to the overall narrative through rigorous historical analysis. In other words, photographs are primary sources that deserve the same thorough examination as any other historical source. Subjugated to professional inquiry as other primary sources, the evaluation of photographs contribution to the historical narrative. However, photographs do not deliver truth. Just as a diary possesses biases and distorts facts, photographs contain ancillary motives within their frames.[12]

Photographs possess three manipulative factors that influence historical narratives—the subject, the photographer, and the viewer. As manipulative devices, each requires examination in order to extrapolate facts and meanings. Like a "visual memory," as Martha Sandweiss aptly describes, photographic images illustrate, but also indicate how people chose to remember the past and how their present world affected their own perceptions of remembrance and documentation. Photographs of the Dakota before and after the war are striking and are key to understanding the perceptions and memory of the war from the point of view of the wasicu and the Dakota themselves.[13]

Illustrations, like photographs, do have limitations. For instance, photographs reveal or illustrate, but they can also hide or disguise. The viewer is limited only to what is in the photograph and is often unaware of what was left out of the photograph. For nineteenth century photographers taking images outside, natural light was an obstacle that

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[12] Anthony W. Lee, "American Histories of Photography," in *American Art* 21:3 (Fall, 2007) 2-9; Joshua Brown, "Historians and Photography," in *American Art* 21:3 (Fall, 2007), 9-13; Michael Kammen, "Photography and the Discipline of American Studies," in *American Art* 21:3 (Fall 2007), 13-18. This series of articles in *American Art* introduce the idea of the significance of using photographs in historical work. They highlight key works that have focused on photography, and the growth and development of this field. Their work and this topic is expanded in Chapter One.

[13] Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), 8-9.

determined whether or not exposure was possible. Insufficient light meant the camera could not capture the image. Many images of the Dakota War were taken outside, meaning the photographers contended with the sun for exposures. In addition to natural light, exposure times posed another obstacle. By 1862, depending upon the camera, most exposure times did not exceed thirty seconds. So, the need to remain still resulted in many stiff and awkwardly posed persons. This is also why many people did not smile—outside of the concept of smiling for a photograph had not yet materialized.[14]

The benefit of photographs is that the actual photograph is tangible proof that something existed and that something happened. Buildings, people, places, and other tangible objects within the frame of any given photograph existed, stood, or appeared at some point in the past. In addition, images of the Dakota in 1862 show how they dressed, what their houses looked like, and other cultural aspects of their world. Since we lack many sources from the Dakota, these photographs help bring to light Dakota culture and life and give a voice to otherwise voiceless Dakota Indians. Likewise, photographs illuminate white culture and customs and their interactions and relationship with the Dakota. Combined, these images contribute to the ongoing discussion of the Dakota-U. S. War.[15]

Methodology

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[14] Frassanito, *Gettysburg,* 30; Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 32.

[15] Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 235-246. Newhall explains how photographs have documentary qualities, and "the chief characteristic is that the photographs assert their independence. They are not illustrations. They carry the message together with the text."

This investigation requires asking questions that often cannot be answered; however, the process of evaluation, or the investigation, uncovers the mystery or hidden aspect that photography can contribute to interpretation and historical analysis. In essence, the tangible photographs and the interpretation of that image have an agenda or point of view that inherently manipulates or distorts the overall meaning and understanding of the image. This idea of manipulation and the investigation into that manipulation is what inspired this work. The methodology developed is used to deconstruct images in order to construct an understanding of how photographs contribute to the manipulation of how the past is viewed.[16]

The method used to examine photographs in this work is referred to as deconstruction or deconstructing the photograph. This deconstruction includes the analysis of the subject, the photographer, and the viewer(s). They embody several factors that contribute to their manipulative quality. Each manipulates or distorts the meaning of the image in its own way by changing the original content of the photograph. However, the manipulations are part of the historical narrative and therefore relevant. The deconstruction formula based on the three manipulating factors is applied to each image in this dissertation. Accounting for each factor and evaluating the image's position within the historical narrative and power dynamic contributes to a better understanding of the

[16] Errol Morris, *Believing is Seeing: Observations on the Mysteries of Photography* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 134. In this work, Morris encourages people to ask who the photographer is, what motivated him to take the pictures, and who was in the picture and why. The most important aspect of Morris's work is his encouragement to other historians to "use the same evidentiary practice and technique on photographs that they would use on written documents, that photographs have a point of view. And, despite the fact that the photographers say that they are just snapping what's in front of them, they often go out into the field with a very definite idea of what they want to return with."

Dakota and the war. This methodology provides a foundation for constructing an accurate historical and cultural context around photographs, paying particular attention to the photographer and the subject as an agent of cultural studies, which in turn helps viewers understand themselves and the way they view each other. It is a constant conversation that continues as long as photographs are taken and as long as viewers gaze upon images in order to build a greater understanding of their social, political, and cultural lives.[17]

The use of photograph in the interpretation of the American West and American Indian studies has contributed to the development of this methodology. Works that focus on photographers, specific groups, or one historical moment in time aided developing certain parameters in this methodology that evaluates photographs within historical context. Photographic histories that are defined by collections, photographers, or specific groups provide the best work in this field. *Print the Legend* is a critical study of American West photography. Martha Sandweiss claims that the trans-Mississippi West cannot be understood outside of the visual records that have been left behind in photography, prints, illustrations, and panoramas. She discovered that Americans informed their idea of the West through these visual sources, which in turn had a direct relation to the way American popular images of the West evolved over time. The commercial interest in images of the West often reinforced stereotypical ideas, but these

[17] An example of early photograph analysis in historical writing is Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History Matthew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 288-90. This work won the Smithsonian American Art Museum's Eldredge Prize. Trachtenberg used photographs taken by five photographers coupled with historical information to serve as the historical context for what was happening in America at that particular time.

images also created their own public opinion.[18] Sandweiss and other American historians focusing on photography in their research provide inspiration and examples of practical application of photographic analysis for this dissertation.

The subject as manipulative device is anything that is captured within the frame of the photograph. This includes people, landscapes, still life, and any combination of the three. A key question to consider is whether or not the subject was a willing or non-willing participant in the image. If the subject is unaware of the photographer and his lens, then the image developed is essentially stolen from the subject. If the subject is unknowing of the photographer—an unwilling participant—will the viewer also understand that the image was captured without the consent of the subject? This particular situation can manipulate the way the viewer "sees" the image and is discussed further when deconstructing the photographs of the Dakota after the war.[19]

Consent from the subject is critical to understanding the subject's motive. Why is the subject getting their photograph taken, or why are they participating in the act of having their image taken? These questions highlight the motive of the subject.[20] The subject manipulates the image by actively engaging in the photographic process. This is similar to how the photographer manipulates by simply taking the shot. Furthermore, the

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[18] Sandweiss, *Print the Legend.*

[19] After the war the Dakota are primarily photographed while in prison or the concentration camp set up at Fort Snelling. Some photographs appear to show the Dakota knowingly sitting for the camera, however, some illustrate that as prisoners and detainees they had little agency in whether or not the photographer took their picture.

[20] Corinne L. Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling, 1862-1864* (St. Paul: Prairie Smoke Press, 2006), 43-44. Monjeau-Marz comments how photographers were a welcomed group in the Fort Snelling internment camp. This means that the photographers could walk around and take pictures at their leisure, whether or not the Dakota wanted their pictures taken.

absence of a subject can also contribute to the interpretation of the photograph. Whether or not the viewer understands the importance of the absence changes the meaning of the photograph. Overall, the subject acts as an agent—or unintended agent—of manipulation because his presence influences the viewers' interpretation of the total image. Though this pertains mostly to people serving as the subjects, the subject can also be a landscape, object, or other tangible things within the frame.

Beyond the participation and motivation of the subject is the need to understand the subject as an individual—their history and culture. How does the subject differ from the photographer and the viewer in relation to their culture? Perhaps the subject differs remarkably[21], as in the case of the Dakota, which provides additional manipulations for the photographer and the viewer. For instance, the Dakota attracted photographers and viewers alike because people wanted to collect photographs of Indians. This means the photographer is motivated to photograph the Dakota because there is an audience willing to purchase the images. The commodification of the Dakota as a subject contributes to historical remembering and misremembering. The Dakota as commodity coincided with the rise of tourism, and memory of the past changed as consumers used photographs to shape their understanding of the Dakota, the war, and the past in general. I discuss this concept in chapter five.[22]

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[21] I am using the distinction of race and culture to differentiate the Dakota from wasicu.

[22] Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). This work is a good example of how ephemera such as photographs commodified Indians, which in turn was used to construct memories of wasicu innocence and redemption.

Behind each nineteenth-century photograph is a photographer someone who is trained in developing plates with chemicals that will react to a light exposure through a lens. The photographer is the first factor in determining the direction of the photograph. Where and when the photograph is taken and selection of the subject are a few of the variables under the photographer's control. He[23] dictates and controls the image for the viewer. His reason for taking the photograph is also manipulative because his reasons often motivate the outcome of the shot. For instance, the photographer may be economically motivated to capture an image worth a certain value to a particular audience. He can also be personally motivated which involves taking an image that evokes some type of emotion for the viewer—like the image of a loved one. Specific prints meant for an individual are also subject to manipulation since the photographer is shooting the image in a way that is directed by the viewer or person for whom the photograph is created.[24]

Another aspect to consider is whether or not the photographer is able to control the conditions of the shoot. Most early photographs were taken inside studios where the photographer had almost total control of the conditions inside that studio. However,

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[23] I refer to the photographer as male in order to simplify my work. It in no way indicates that there were not female photographers.

[24] Several works exist that focus on photographers. These works have inspired some of the questions I ask during this work. For further study see: Steven D. Hoelscher, *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourist Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008); *Joel E Whitney: Minnesota's Leading Pioneer Photographer: Catalog of Cartes de Visite,* compiled by the Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group, 2001); Anne Makepeace, *Edward S. Curtis Coming To Light*, (Washington D.C.: National Graphic Society, 2001); Alan R. Woolworth and Mary H. Bakeman, eds. *Camera and Sketchbook: Witnesses to the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Roseville, MN: Prairie Echoes, 2004).

photographs taken outside the studios fell subject to the natural surroundings and nature. Natural light determined whether or not the lens could capture the subject. Because of the equipment in the nineteenth century, light had to be bright enough to help produce an image, but not so bright that it might saturate the subjects. In addition to light, the subject had to remain still for several minutes. Movement of the subject caused the image to appear blurry and ruin the picture. Later in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, light became less of an obstacle with the invention of the flash or staged lighting fixtures. In 1862, subjects had to remain still for several seconds. Other conditions the photographer had to grapple with included wind, rain, and other natural elements, the landscape and all of its challenges, and the angle of the camera or vantage point of the desired subject.[25]

The photographer can also stage the image, which then distorts the viewer's interpretation of the photograph. Early photographs inside custom studios often are images of individuals either sitting or standing in front of a decorative backdrop. Sometimes people have their hands resting naturally while others have one hand in their pocket or an elbow perched atop a column. Still others are seen holding objects like guns or pipes, and their bodies are mimicking some type of physical action—like the act of shooting a gun. This type of staging becomes problematic when photographers start working outside their studios, but the idea of posing subjects does not change. Often the staging or posing of the subjects directly correlates to the photographer's motives for capturing that particular image. This phenomenon occurred early on in the history of

[25] Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 32. Newhall notes that by the 1840s subjects had to sit still for about half a minute with a "natural expression," or the photograph would be ruined. This explains why most subjects are so stiff and demure. The concept of smiling for a photograph was rare because subjects could not hold that expression for the duration of the exposure.

photography. One of the best examples is of Timothy H. O'Sullivan and Alexander Gardner's photographs of a dead Civil War soldier. Attempting to capture a "sentimental composition," the men came upon a Confederate soldier and moved the body about forty yards to a stone wall in order to create a story of the deceased. Labeled a sharpshooter, Gardner's photograph of the soldier's death suggested he had a spectacular last stand against Union forces; his fight led to an injury, and he laid himself beneath the rocks as he awaited his death.[26] Historians later discovered that the photographers relocated the body and gave the soldier props that did not correlate with the story Gardner created. Because Gardner wanted to evoke an emotional response from his viewers, he altered and manipulated the scene, subject, and thus the viewer's potential response to the image.[27]

Lastly, the photographer's personal background is relevant for historians using photographs in their research. Did the photographer receive formal training, or were their talents cultivated on their own? How did the photographer's background influence their vocation? Photographers carry their own biases that seep into their work and can

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[26] Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*, 6. Sandweisss discusses the importance of labeling photographs, and how labels change the way people see photographs.

[27] Frassanito, *Gettysburg,* 186-192. Frassanito explains how the image of "Dead Confederate soldier at sharpshooter's position in Devil's den" was staged. He found the image of the same soldier in previous negatives from Alexander Garner and Timothy O'Sullivan about fort yards down the slope from the last image of the same solider near the rock formation. Also, Frassanito finds that the gun the photographers gave the "sharpshooter" was not a typical gun for sharpshooters, but instead a gun used by most infantrymen. These mistakes allude to the fact that the photographers actively manipulated the scene for a more dramatic and emotional exposure; Morris, *Believing is Seeing,* 143.

influence their methods of taking images. Each has a personal story that inevitably ties directly to the photographs they capture.[28]

The final component to the investigation of manipulation is the viewer. This is any person who looks at the photograph. The viewer is significant because his interpretation of the image can alter and distort the original intent of the photograph. Even more significant is that each viewer can interpret the image differently from another viewer, thus multiplying the various interpretations of one image. This also changes as people throughout time view the photograph. In fact, this study seeks to understand the way history has used photographs to aid in the evolution of how individuals remember the past.[29]

Key questions to investigate include whether or not the viewer values the subject of the photograph. People can look upon an image and be biased in their interpretation based on of whether they value or do not value the image. For instance, most Americans look at photographs of Osama Bin Laden with malice and discontent. However, those who followed the practices of Osama Bin Laden can look upon the same photograph with admiration. In addition, the value placed upon the image based on one's acceptance of the

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[28] Frassanito, *Gettysburg*, 24-50. Frassanito spends a great deal of time discussing the Civil War photographers in his work. His investigation into their background contribute to his research, because he explains the preoccupation with the dead that the photographers had, and how their techniques influenced the photographs.

[29] Frassanito, *Gettysburg,* 186-192. Frassanito plays on the hopes of an emotional response from his viewers by manipulating his shots. Morris, *Believing is Seeing,* 3-6. Morris discusses two photographs taken by Roger Fenton called "The Valley of the Shadow of Death." One photograph is of a road in Ukraine during the Crimea war with cannon balls scattered all over the road. The other is of the same shot but without the cannon balls. Morris discusses which photograph came first, and how each photograph changes the interpretation by the viewer.

photograph also has meaning. It manipulates the interpretation based on the individual's biases and preconceived notions.

Demand is a critical element in determining how much the viewer can manipulate the photograph. Interest in a certain image causes the photographer and even the subjects to deliver wanted images to the consumers. Often this is seen through photographs of exotic and far away places. Individuals seek out and purchase these images because they want to see things that are not available in their area. Native Americans often provided the "exotic" or "dangerous" element to consumers of the nineteenth century. High consumer demand can turn personal photographs from images with relatively little widespread interest into a generally sought after image. This is something that happens with many nineteenth-century photographs. Original photographs of individuals increase in value and demand after events in history transpired.[30]

These elements combined caused the original photograph to take on new meaning. Because of the variables associated with the photographer, the subject, and the viewer, a photograph can be manipulated and distorted. For historians, the photograph can visually represent a moment in time, but it can also give critical information that contributes to the construction of the historical narrative. To understand the photograph, the historian must first understand these three key manipulative elements. Once the manipulative factors are accounted for, the photograph then becomes a critical piece of evidence that not only provides visual clues but hidden aspects of the past.

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[30] Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling,* 44. Monjeau-Marz discusses how one image of a Dakota named Betsey sold well in Joel E. Whitney's studio. Therefore, Whitney continued to make copies and invest in other images of Dakota Indians.

Purpose

In 1858, the Dakota roamed and dominated a vast territory, but by 1862 they found themselves depressed, despondent prisoners of the federal government, rounded up, placed under guard, and confined to small stockades. Through their photography, photographers captured images reflecting that dramatic transition and presented an enduring visual representation of the historic collapse of a once strong and powerful nation.

The purpose of this study is to determine how photographs aid in the interpretation of historical events and how images of the Dakota have contributed to the historical memory of the war and the Dakota peoples. Photographs taken immediately before, during, and after Minnesota's tumultuous Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 provide tangible evidence for historians seeking to discover the broader underlying impressions of that traumatic event. In particular, the work of three photographers of significance—Adrian J. Ebell, Joel E. Whitney, and Benjamin Upton—highlight some of the interpretations and lessons that may be drawn from such an examination.

These photographs are grouped into three phases. The first phase is the "Delegation Photos." Delegation photographs include photographs taken of various Dakota delegates who traveled to meet with government leaders in the 1850s to negotiate treaties for their tribe. During their negotiations, delegates posed for pictures to document the occasions. These photographs typically included Indian delegates and their travel companions—Indian agents, translators, missionaries, and traders. The photographers for the delegation were trained professionals and accustomed to taking portrait style

photographs. The intended viewer of these photographs varied. Most often the federal government intended the photographs as documentation of the negotiation process.[31]

Pre-war photographs consist of the many photographs taken in Minnesota before the war. Now on reservations, the Dakota attempted a farming lifestyle and were instructed by missionaries for spiritual guidance. Photographs taken of the various Dakota in the Lower and Upper agencies, along the Minnesota River, reveal common everyday life. Photographers such as Adrian Ebell traveled great distances to capture these images for a large consumer population salivating for exotic images such as these. Money motivated most photographers during this period. The intended audience included people unaccustomed to seeing Indians and willing to pay for the photograph and wasicu who lived alongside the Dakota.[32]

Pre-war and delegation photographs are unique because the Dakota exhibit agency in their participation of the photographic process. After the war most Dakota captured in photographs were prisoners or detainees They had less ability to avoid photographers while living in fenced enclosures. The subjects' participation or lack thereof manipulated and distorted the interpretation of the photograph.

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[31] Herman J. Viola, *Diplomates in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Bluffton, South Carolina: Rivilo Books, 1995), 168-182. Before photography, delegates had their portraits painted. The tradition carried over into the nineteenth century with photography.

[32] Several works discuss the pre-war photographs: Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*; *Joel E. Whitney*, Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group; Woolworth and Bakeman, *Camer and Sketchbook*; Adrain J. Ebell, "Indian Massacres and War of 1862," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* 27:157, (June, 1863), 1-24; Edwin R. Lawton, Edwin Lawton Journal, Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Collections, 1862.

Lastly, photographs of the Dakota after the war highlight their despondency at losing the war. The photographers no longer celebrate the Dakota. Instead, photographers document the Dakota's exile from Minnesota. All images were taken after the violence and carnage created by the war. It is important to note that due to the equipment carried by photographers, action shots of the fighting do not exist. Therefore, no images exist of the Dakota during the war. Instead, one image exists of survivors fleeing on the Minnesota prairie.[33] Various photographers used the war as an opportunity to deliver to the public images of the defeated Dakota.

The Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 has captured the attention of historians since the event occurred. Historians have concentrated their research on the military aspects of the war, its cause, and consequences for the Dakota Indians, and how the war fits into the larger timeline of Indian resistance and removal during the nineteenth century. However, few historians have incorporated the extensive number of photographs illustrating the war into their work. Though a few sources include photographs in their narratives, these sources do not use them as historical documentation to provide in-depth perspective and interpretive analysis to accompany the discussion as to why the Dakota sought violence in 1862. The abundance of photographs and primary documentation of the photographer and their subjects is a much-neglected area in the literature of the war. This dissertation seeks to fill in that gap within the developing body of literature surrounding the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862.

Brief History of Dakota-U. S. War of 1862

[33] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 188. This photograph is discussed in Chapter Three.

Historians generally agree that the causes of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 began many years before while the United States tried to use diplomacy to suppress the Dakota.[34] Beginning in 1837, the government made several treaties with the Dakota, exchanging money and annuities for land. The Treaty of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux in 1851 exchanged much of their land in Minnesota, and the 1858 treaties resigned the tribes to a smaller strip of land south of the Minnesota River. A pressing concern for Dakota revolved around the claims made by traders who allowed the Dakota to purchase goods on credit. When the annual annuity money came to the tribe, the government allowed the traders to cash in on the credit—charges that greatly exceed the value of their products. Now in debt, with little land, restrictions on their movement throughout the reservations, and the constant influx of wasicu settlers threatened the Dakota's place in Minnesota. Corruption, mismanagement, and neglect coalesced to create a volatile mixture. On August 17, 1862, four Dakota men hunting near Acton killed a man and several others after an argument. This action by four young men marks the beginning of the war.[35]

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[34] Many great accounts of the 1862 Dakota War exist. A few good examples are: Kenneth Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1962); Jerry Keenan, *The Great Sioux Uprising: Rebellion on the Plains August – September 1862* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003); Marion P. Satterlee, *A Detailed Account of the Massacre by the Dakota Indians of Minnesota in 1862* (Minneapolis: Marion P. Satterlee, 1923); Duane Schultz, *Over the Earth I Come* (Leichestershire: F. A. Thorp Publishing, 1992).

[35] Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: Uni of Nebraska Press, 1967), 109-114; Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr., *Indians and Bureaucrats: Administering the Reservation Policy during the Civil War* (Urbana: Uni of Illinois Press, 1974), 104.

Figure 1.2. Philip Schwartzberg, http://www.usdakotawar.org/history/multimedia/six-weeks-war-august-18-september-26-1862.[36]

The actual war in 1862 began on August 18, 1862, after a very brief early morning meeting between some of the Dakota leaders and the four men who murdered wasicu in Acton. Once disgraced for his participation in signing the 1858 treaty, Little Crow stepped forward as the leader and led the attacks on the Upper and Lower Sioux agencies. Unorganized and chaotic, the battles waged across the Minnesota prairie lasted for forty days until the captives and non-combatant Dakota who chose not to fight surrendered to government officials at Camp Release. Most of the warriors that participated in the battles fled north to Canada or west out of the state. The majority of the Dakota population, the friendly Indians, did not participate in the violence, but shared

[36] This map can be found in Philip Schwartzberg, "The Dakota Conflict: A Brief Chronology," *Minnesota's Heritage* 1 (January 2010).

in the punishment, as they were corralled and placed in a camp at Fort Snelling before their forced relocation to reservations outside of Minnesota. Those warriors captured by the military stood trial at a makeshift courthouse presided by five wasicu men. Considered a gross injustice, trials quickly commenced and found many Dakota men guilty of murder with little evidence, hastily rushing through proceedings so that in a matter of weeks a total of 303 Dakota Indians were found guilty and condemned to death.[37]

The list of condemned landed on President Abraham Lincoln's desk, who approved only 39 of the convictions, much to the dissatisfaction of many Minnesota settlers. On December 26, 1862, thirty-eight Dakota—one man received a reprieve before the execution—marched to the center of town in Mankato, walked onto the scaffold, and died together in the largest mass public execution to date in the United States. The remainder of the prisoners and the 1,700 friendly Dakota received banishment from their home in Minnesota. The prisoners made their way south to Davenport, Iowa, and stayed in custody at Camp McClellan until April 1866 when those still alive received presidential pardon and joined their tribes and families in Nebraska at the Santee Reservation. Though some managed to move back into Minnesota, after the events in 1862 the Dakota no longer held a strong presence in Minnesota. Punitive expeditions led

[37] David A. Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*: *Civil War Policy and Politics* (Chicago: Uni of Illinois Press, 1978), 77-91. Another excellent source on President Lincoln's involvement in the 1862 war is Hank C. Cox, *Lincoln and the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Nashville: Cumberland House Publishing, 2005).

by Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley and General Alfred Sully hunted and chased the Dakota through Minnesota, and North and South Dakota.[38]

Review of Literature Pertaining to the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862

The Dakota-U.S. War has captivated historians since this crisis erupted in Minnesota. There are several key works that provide sound analysis of the Dakota and their war, but do not use photography as source material or utilize the photographs within their interpretation of these events.[39] Gary Clayton Anderson, has authored important works including *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* and *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862*. Anderson's scholarship contributes greatly to Dakota history. He focuses on early relations between fur traders and Dakota Indians and chronicles Dakota movement through the next two hundred years, providing exemplary scholarship for Dakota history, particularly in and around the war of 1862. Most of his works stress the importance of kinship ties within Dakota culture as a way to create strong bonds between Dakota and wasicu people and leadership roles for Dakota. For Anderson, the lack of kinship ties and their requisite loyalty account for how the war in 1862 developed.[40] Anderson's biography of Little Crow chronicles the Dakota warrior's life, his emergence as a leader, and his importance during the war of 1862.

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[38] Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862*, 76-82 and 87-92.

[39] Older monographs of the Dakota include Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1970); Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial*; Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics*; Roddis, *The Indian Wars of Minnesota*.

[40] Anderson, *Little Crow,* 16.

There is an adequate amount of source material devoted to the explanation of the events leading up to the war, the war itself, and the aftermath that followed. Kenneth Carley's *The Dakota War in 1862* provides an excellent synopsis of the war, followed by a brief summary of the trials and removal of Dakota peoples.[41] Two of the most recent books published on the Dakota war, Gregory F. Michno's *Dakota Dawn: The Decisive First Week of the Sioux Uprising, August 17-24, 1862* and Scott W. Berg's *38 Nooses: Lincoln, Little Crow, and the Beginning of the Frontier's End,* synthesize the wealth of sources and topics related to this event. Gregory F. Michno spotlights the first week of the war. He claims that he used new sources, such as the Indian Depredation Claims of the National Archives, but does not add to the established narrative of the war. However, Michno does utilize nineteen original maps and sixteen pages of pictures, twelve of which were taken in the nineteenth century by Joel E Whitney and other photographers.[42] Scott W. Berg published *38 Nooses* on the 150th anniversary of the war. Berg's sources are not as detailed and documented as Mincho's, but the two men arrive at the same conclusion.[43]

Few works utilize the wealth of photographs taken during this time period. Alan Woolworth and Mary H. Bakeman's *Camera and Sketchbook: Witnesses to the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (2004), focuses on Adrian Ebell, a famous photographer of the war, and

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[41] Kenneth Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862, 92*.

[42] Gregory F. Michno, *Dakota Dawn: The Decisive Frist Week of the Sioux Uprising, August 17-24, 1862* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2011), ix-xi; Andrew J. Wagenhoffer, "Author A & A: Gregory F. Michno," Civil War Books and Authors, http://cwba.blogspot.com/2011/08/author-q-gregory-f-michno.html (accessed May 30, 2013).

[43] Scott W. Berg, *38 Nooses: Lincoln, Little Crow, and the Beginning of the Frontier's End* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2012); Scott W. Berg, "About the Author," Scott W. Berg, http://www.scottwberg.com/author/ (accessed May 30, 2013).

Albert Colgrave, who made several engravings from Ebell's photographs that were used in print. Woolworth and Bakeman write biographical chapters for both Ebell and Colgrave, then dedicate the remainder of the book to reprinting popular newspaper articles from Ebell—utilizing Colgrave's engravings—and other primary source materials related to these men. One of the most famous accounts of the war came from Adrian Ebell in his article "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862" published in *Harper's Monthly*.[44] The article in its entirety is reprinted in *Camera and Sketchbook* as well as several other articles Ebell wrote while acting as an Army lieutenant in Colonel Henry H. Sibley's unit. The limited photographic analysis is used when describing the sources used for the engravings found in *Harper's Monthly*. Mary Bakeman uses eyewitness accounts to pinpoint the actual day Ebell took certain photographs, establishing the provenance of each image and how the photographs were later used in print.[45] Bakeman notes that the engravings vary in slight ways from the original sources—the photographs. These slight changes, according to Bakeman, make the photographs "more artistically balanced, with some features removed and others shifted slightly."[46]

The technique of using the photographer as the focus of a work, like in *Camera and Sketchbook*, is similar in *Joel E Whitney: Minnesota's Leading Pioneer Photographer*. This work is a collection of photographs from Joel E Whitney's studio.[47] A brief biographical sketch of Whitney is provided at the beginning of the book, but the

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[44] Woolworth and Bakeman, *Camera and Sketchbook, 29*-70.
[45] Ibid., 72.
[46] Ibid., 72.
[47] This work, "contains 350 *cartes de visite* (cdv's) of Native American and landscape views which Whitney took between 1860 and 1871. These 2 ½ x 4-inch albumen photographs were very popular in the 1860s;" Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, xi.

remainder is simply a collection of images arranged by geographical location.[48] For the purpose of this study, *Joel E. Whitney* provides invaluable information about the number and location of several photographs relating to the Dakota war. The Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group compiled dates relating to each photograph reprinted in their book. Information about back marks—which help determine the date of each photograph—revenue stamps, number of copies found, and the location of each photo is assembled into a table at the end of the work. This table has helped in the investigation of each photograph used in this dissertation.[49]

Another helpful resource is Curtis A. Dahlin's *The Dakota Uprising: A Pictorial History*. Dahlin's work is a wealth of information about the war that uses photographs to accompany the narrative. However, like most other works utilizing the photographs of the Dakota war, this work does not critically evaluate the photographs or use them as primary sources. Instead, what the reader gets is a visual history of the war and the related participants and victims of this deadly event.[50]

Preview of Chapters

The following chapters are arranged topically according to the deconstruction method. The study begins with the role of the subject—the Dakota—as it pertains to the photographs. The Dakota experienced the evastating consequences of American expansion as wasicu flooded their territory and brought new concepts and ideas of how

[48] *Joel E Whitney: Minnesota's Leading Pioneer Photographer: Catalog of Cartes de Visite,* compiled by the Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group, 2001), 2.

[49] The valuable table is found on pages 124-127

[50] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, xi.

best to utilize the land. Settlements and farms disrupted the native wildlife and reduced Dakota's supply of reliable food. Furthermore, their traditional way of life created discontent with the newcomers and resulted in treaties which defined strict boundaries on the land for Dakota peoples. Government officials and missionaries pushed assimilation and other cultural transformations to change Dakota in order to have them fit into the new mold of wasicu civilization practices. This included transforming hunters into farmers, establishing nuclear families instead of large communities, creating political representatives instead of admired leaders, and encouraging the acceptance of Christian religious practices.

The disruption to Dakota life and the influence of wasicu culture challenged the Dakota to find a way to live within the new boundaries of their old world. These changes are illustrated throughout the photographs of the Dakota peoples from 1858 to 1865. The photographs show Dakota wearing a mixture of traditional clothing and wasicu garments, their life on the reservation, going to church, farming, meeting with government officials, and living in the concentration camp after the war. The destruction of the Dakota plays out in a chronological order from their delegation photographs, to images of them in Minnesota, and finally with the detainees and prisoners after the war.

The Dakota as the subjects drive the narrative of this study, and when available their words, histories, and other sources are used to examine how they influence the use of photographs as they relate to the memory of the war. Dakota sources are scarce compared to the government documents and other wasicu related information. What is available are primarily translations of Dakota letters and oral histories translated and written by wasicu. A groundbreaking addition to the small selection of Dakota documents

came in 2013. Clifford Canky and Michael Simon translated fifty letters from Dakota Prisoners of War incarcerated in Davenport, Iowa, and published their translation. For the first time, non-native speakers and historians heard directly from the Dakota who lived during the war. Other Dakota sources include interviews and statements of their time before, during, and after the war that had been collected by journalists and historians. Otherwise, the Dakota left little written word about their life during the war. Furthermore, the Dakota did not discuss the use of photographs or their role as subjects.[51]

The photographs of the Dakota became solidified within the context of war and their defeat. Most images of the Dakota represent the vast majority who did not participate in war. Therefore, most photographs are of innocent non-combatants, navigating their changing world, and simply surviving. In contrast, some Dakota guilty of partaking in the war were immortalized in the images that captured their execution. The Dakota had little agency in influencing the historical memory of the Dakota people and the war. However, their images contributed greatly to the concept of wasicu innocence through the ideology of settler colonialism. Through the photographs, Dakota people became consumable objects that helped drive ideologies that constructed a historical social memory dominated by wasicu culture.[52]

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[51] Clifford Canky and Michael Simon, *The Dakota Prisoner of War Letters: Dakota Kaskapi Okicize Wowapi* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013); Another excellent Dakota source is Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes.*

[52] There are many works that discuss the concept of settler innocence, and how historical memory has justified violence and destruction against native peoples. See Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Lorenzo Veracini, "'Settler Colonialism:'

The photographer as manipulative device follows the discussion of the Dakota. Three photographers are highlighted in this section. Adrian Ebell traveled to Minnesota in the summer of 1862 with the sole purpose of photographing the annual distribution of annuities and goods at the Upper and Lower Sioux Agencies. Along with his assistant, Edwin Lawton, Ebell took several photographs of the Dakota at Yellow Medicine, the Upper Sioux Agency, just days before the war began. These images illustrate the daily life for many of the Dakota living on the reservations and contrast sharply with the first images of the Dakota as delegates taken in 1858. Ebell's presence in Minnesota gave him a unique opportunity to photograph the Dakota immediately before and after the war—something very unique to other photographs of Native Americans.

Many of the photographs were published through Joel Emmons Whitney's studio. A photographer himself, Whitney financed Ebell's foray into Minnesota by loaning him supplies on credit. Whitney later republished most of Ebell's photographs under his name, a common practice during this time. Whitney also took several studio portraits of Dakota before the war, and will venture into the concentration came at Fort Snelling to take photographs of the detainees camped along the Minnesota River, and the execution of two Dakota in 1858 at Fort Snelling.

I examine in detail the motivations of the photographers, the studios and other settings used by the photographers, and the way the images were capture in detail. The current technology and photographic practices and the prevailing scholarship of

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Career of a Concept." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41:2 (June 2013): 313-333; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8:4 (2006): 387-409;

antebellum photography provide a framework for understanding the photography of the Dakota during the mid-nineteenth century.

The viewer, the final manipulative device, looks at how people immediately after the war used photographs of the Dakota. Nineteenth century viewers primarily purchased images of the Dakota for their personal albums or to share with loved ones. These stories are found in newspaper accounts, and personal memoirs and discuss how people wanted to collect these photographs—or were sad to hear that their photographs had been destroyed during the war. It is revealed that these photographs were used as propaganda against the Dakota. A painter copied directly from the photographs to create scenes for a panorama that he took around small towns as a form of entertainment. This precursor to moving pictures, the panorama helped to further the wasicu driven narrative of the war, while promoting their innocence and justification for violence against the Dakota. These ideologies permeated the historical memory of the Dakota and the war and have caused tension between wasicu and Dakota that still exists today. Living tribal members carry the trauma of 1862 and are taking steps to fight against current notions and scholarship pertaining to their history.[53]

Finally, the chapter on memory investigates how photographs were used to construct historical memory. I analysis the way viewers use photographs of the Dakota since the mid-nineteenth century and then build on the ideas of settler innocence and

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[53] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, ed. *In the Footsteps of our Ancestors: The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century* (St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2006). Waziyatawin's work is a collection of modern histories of the marches to commemorate the removal of the Dakota in 1862 and 1863. Stories of marcher's experiences paint a clear picture of how historical trauma has been passed down from generation to generation—keeping the divide between Dakota and wasicu relevant.

justification for the actions against the Dakota. One way to understand how photographs influenced the memory of the Dakota and the war is through the lens of "Settler Colonialism.: Settler Colonialism is a theoretical framework used by some historians to explain the removal of indigenous peoples from their land.

Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialism as "a structure rather than an event" because it "is an inclusive land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies."[54] Put differently, Wolfe argues that settler colonialism is ongoing and not just something that happened in the past. Unlike traditional colonialization, which primarily focused on temporary resource extraction, settler-colonists came to land with the intent to stay. Their tenure on the land and the various methods employed by the settlers happens over a period of time that likely has no definitive end; meaning it does not happen in a defined period, but "persists over extended periods of time."[55] The settler colonizers come to the new land with the intent to stay permanently, and never return to where they originally departed. The primary motivation is land, and the settler colonizers use various methods to ensure not only their claim to the land, but their permanence as well.

A shared public memory developed from captivity narratives, interviews from people who experienced the war, and the purchase of ephemera goods such as photographs. This memory then reinforced notions of how people saw and remembered the war, creating a biased understanding of the past that still causes problems today. Even

[54] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" *Journal of Genocide Research* 8:4 (2006): 390-393.

[55] Ibid., 403.

large cultural institutions such as the Walker Art Center (WAC) find it difficult to share art that illustrates the violence of the past.

The photographs used in this work represent the most prolific images taken between 1858-1865. Though more images exist than are used in this work, the photographs were chosen based on popularity, availability, and curated to provide an overall consensus of imagery that exists of Dakota Indians. Several images were taken in a series, and provide subtle differences that neither enhanced nor added to the historical narrative. Therefore, a single image is used instead of several that depict the same subject, scene, and were taken by the same photographer. Other photographs are unique and are highlighted within the text to describe the exclusivity of the image. Photographs of the 2012 exhibition at the Minnesota Historical Society were taken by the author to document the look and feel of the exhibition. Later, photographs taken by journalists of Sam Durant's *Scaffold* sculpture within the park of the Walker Art Center were sourced from online news articles. The images of *Scaffold* are included to illustrate the physical placement of the sculpture within the Walker Art Center grounds, the protests of the sculpture, and the original concept by the artist. No photograph exists of the gallows from the executions of thirty-eight Dakota on December 26, 1982. Therefore, images of the artist interpretation of the scaffold not only illustrate the physical structure, but also how physical representations of the past can still provoke outrage among Dakota Indians today.

Conclusion

This study begins with photographs of Dakota delegates visiting places like Washington D.C. and New York. These images were taken in studios under the supervision of the photographer and his staff, who posed each individual who sat in front of the camera. Still using the same materials and development processes, the photographers moved out of their studios and had to adapt to their new surroundings. Out of their element and without the help of their studios, photographers in the field after the war were limited in how much they could influence the shot. The subjects had time to pose, or better, pause long enough for an exposure, but they do not appear to be arranged, adjusted, or wildly influenced as in the style of delegation photographs just years earlier. Alfred Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, photographic historians, suggest that "[t]he reason an allegorical impulse appears so often in early photographs may be that practitioners had not yet abandoned patterns established by contemporary painters."[56]Stuck in their common practice of portraiture pictures, photographers adjusted and adapted to photographing Native Americans outside of the studios.

Utilizing the deconstruction methodology, each manipulative device is rigorously investigation to provide sound photographic analysis firmly rooted within the historical context. This method bridges the gap between the often-ambiguous nature of photographic analysis of persons like Susan Sontag, into academic work rooted in scholarly research. Working alongside other disciplines such as American Studies has helped to foster a broader base for photographic interpretation within the historical field

[56] Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph and the American Indian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xvii.

making it a reputable endeavor for all academics. Ironically, one of the most difficult things for historians to conquer is the confinement of the photographs themselves. This endeavor to break the photographs out of their frames into the larger historical context will continue to provoke further historical research.

How is the history of the Dakota-U.S. War further aided by photographs taken between 1858-1865? How did these photographs shape and continue to shape contemporary and persistent ideas about the Dakota War and the Dakota people? These questions drive the narrative of the following chapters, bringing photographs to life through using Dakota voices, photographer motivations, and how viewers have constructed historical memory as it relates to the Dakota and the war.

CHAPTER II

THE SUBJECTS

"I loved my lands, it was on them that I had been raised and fed, it was on the land of my fathers. I therefore had reason to love it. In the meantime the Americans came and demanded my lands[.] I at once acceded for I loved the Americans[.] I sold my lands for fifty years. My great father was to give me money and goods, I know that my great father is good and that he wishes only my good, but some of his children are not as good as him[.] **– Standing Buffalo**[57]

The subjects of the photographs in this study are the Dakota Indians. The Dakota consisted of four eastern Sioux tribes: Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton. The Dakota lived around the upper Midwest of modern-day Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota following game to hunt and met seasonally for hunting, the collection of sap, and dancing. From 1858 to 1865—a seven year period—all the photographs consulted for this study contain Dakota Indians. Throughout the seven year period, the photographs illustrate the rapid change in Dakota way of life from

[57] Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862*, 293. Standing Buffalo was a member of the Sisseton band and grew up in Minnesota. He and other members of his band did not participate in the war, but fled after negotiations with Little Crow failed to end the fighting. After the war Standing Buffalo traveled to Manitoba and Montana, evading United States forces that urged his surrender. He died in 1871 while fighting with Assiniboine Indians.

reluctant farmers to detainees and prisoners of war. Investigating the series of photographs as a whole and focusing primarily on the subject of each image, new ideas about the 1862 Dakota war and the Dakota people begin to emerge.[58]

Subjects are manipulative devices that can change the way viewers of the photograph think and feel about the image. For instance, the image captured is a moment frozen in time and space that depicts an event that happened in the past. Someone stood in front of a camera, was posed, and that image is a lasting testament to that event. In the same vein, the Dakota—the subjects—are verifiable proof of their existence in a place and time. They sat for group photographs in New York in the Spring of 1858; some Dakota posed outside of church for an unknown to them photographer named Adrian Ebell in August 1862. These events happened, and the Dakota not only experienced it themselves, but that moment now lasts forever through the surviving photographs.

Key questions for discerning the role of the subject—the Dakota—include asking who were the Dakota? Where are the Dakota when the photography is taking place, and

[58] Raymond J. DeMallie and William C. Sturtevant, *North American Handbook* vol. 13 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 736-742, and 749. Table 2 lists the Sioux Tribal names as Santee, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton. The Santee, or Eastern Sioux bands, are also known as the Dakota. The four eastern bands mentioned in the text combine to make the Dakota band of the Eastern or Santee Sioux. To avoid confusion, all references to the Eastern Sioux peoples will be called Dakota. Other Sioux bands, such as the Yanktoani and Yankton bands—also known as Nakota—and the Western Teton—also known as Lakota—will be denoted specifically by their band name or affiliation in relation to the Dakota. I use the term Dakota to refer to both the people and their tribal affiliation in favor over the term Sioux. The word Sioux was given to the Dakota by their enemies and can have negative connotations. Therefore, the Dakota, the Easter Sioux bands, are the preferred nomenclature in this study. . See also Stephen R. Riggs. *Dakota Grammar: With Texts and Ethnography* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press 2004), 156-164; This includes full-blood and half-blood Dakota Indians, as well as any other variation of blood quantum.

why are they at that particular place? More importantly the question that I seek to answer is why is it important that the Dakota are being photographed? What becomes clear is that the primary subject, the substantive matter of the image, is the Dakota Indians. How is it that so many of their photographs exist, while their history and especially the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 is so vague in American public memory? Dakota faces litter the imagery of the war, yet most wasicu viewers knew little about Dakota culture, politics, and society, which helped to create a sense of detachment. These images appear in most scholarship about the Dakota and can be found in multiple institutions across the country.

Photographs pertaining to the Dakota-U.S. War primarily contain Dakota people. The images illustrate Dakota bands co-existing within a world strongly dictated and controlled by Americans and other wasicu. These photographs demonstrate how the Dakota were not a warring and fiendish race bent on causing chaos and destruction to the white man,[59] but instead a nation that negotiated and signed treaties outlining their rights to various property and provisions; they were individuals subsisting on the frontier much like their white settler neighbors, and finally as refugees, prisoners of war, and unfortunate losers in a race to conquer land, life, and liberty.

The Subjects: The Dakota

The Dakota chased game, including the American buffalo and deer, across the upper-Midwest of modern-day Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota. At

[59] Many newspapers during the war referred to the Dakota as fiendish, devilish, and other such demeaning terminology. Message of Governor Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota." Delivered at the Extra Session, September 9, 1982. St. Paul, MN. W. M. R. Marshall, State Printer, Press Printing Company, 1862

first relatively isolated from initial contact with Europeans, the Dakota tribes later began trading and learning about their new neighbors. Eventually the constant and ever encroaching influx of Europeans, immigrants, and settlers caused the Dakota to start selling their most precious resource: land.

The first treaty signed by any of the Eastern Dakota tribes designated land for the construction of military forts. Signed in 1805, the United States military erected Fort Snelling, built in 1819 upon the ceded land. This fort loomed over the Dakota homeland atop a bluff overlooking the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. Several other treaties signed throughout the first half of the nineteenth century restricted the Dakota to smaller and smaller pieces of land, eventually relegating the tribes to two small strips of land along the Minnesota River.

Changes in their way of life through the selling of their land coincided with the devastating and relentless push of Manifest Destiny, and several of these key moments were captured through photography.[60] Like other indigenous nations in North America, photographs exist of the Dakota, marking their time working with government officials, missionaries, and settlers. These images also encapsulate war, devastation, and imprisonment, which makes their photographs unique. It was the time, place, and other specific circumstances that made the Dakota the subject of this study. In a very detailed

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[60] The changes to Dakota way of life were documented early by missionaries and other government officials. Samuel Pond, a missionary to the Dakota wrote, "The new mode of life within the prescribed limits of the Reservation was naturally, in fact, necessarily extremely irksome to a people accustomed to an active, roving life, untrammeled by any of the restraining rules and regulations of civilized communities." Samuel W. Pond Jr, *Two Volunteer Missionaries Among the Dakotas: Or the Story of the Labors of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond,* (Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society: Boston and Chicago, 1893), 210.

chronological story, the photographs exhibit the rise and fall of the Dakota as a nation. While working with government officials to establish an agreement—to reason with equal leaders—that benefited their peoples, the Dakota sat for group and individual photographs in New York while working as delegates for their tribe. Later, photographers traveled to Minnesota in order to capture their likenesses. Finally, the images of the Dakota, taken after their defeat by US forces, illustrate their last moments in Minnesota, their homeland. Combined these images not only tell the story of the Dakota in the nineteenth century, but have shaped and continue to shape the way their history is remembered.

Delegation Photographs

The first photographs taken of the Dakota Indians document their travels to Washington, D.C. in the hopes of negotiating successful treaties with the "Great Father."[61] Negotiations between Native American tribes and government officials began almost immediately after Europeans and later Americans began to settle land previously occupied by American Indians. Delegates from Indian tribes traveled to Philadelphia, New York, and Washington to discuss treaties of peace, land sales, and other government

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[61] Leaders in the United States government in reference to the American president used this term during the nineteenth century. Francis Paul Prucha, a noted American Indian and United States government historian uses this term in his work and the same meaning is applied in this work. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, Vol 1 and 2, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Herman J. Viola finds that the first images of Native Americans in Washington D. C. were taken December 31, 1857. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin,* 179. Viola also states that the term *Great Father* used by Native Americans, "was a diplomatic device rather than an expression of subordinance." Indian fathers traditionally acted generously with their children and gave many gifts; therefore, most Native Americans considered the government's relationship toward Indians as a similar metaphor. The relationship of the government mirrored the Indian father who acted in generosity to ensure a strong relationship and not literally as a superior entity.

matters. Portraits of Native Americans often resulted from treaty negotiations. Interest in portraits came from outside of the government, usually by entrepreneurial individuals with a particular vested interest in Native Americans. Thomas L. McKenney took a personal interest in collecting material culture from diplomats visiting Washington D.C., which included portraits of Indians. McKenney hired Charles Bird King to produce many of the works that would later line the walls of his government office.[62] Painting Indian delegates never became an official part of an Indian visit, but did happen sporadically. Likewise, photography of Indian delegates became popular, but interest in acquiring the photographs came from outside the government—typical professional photographs looking to add to their portfolio of work.[63] Nevertheless, delegates made the long journey to far away cities, and government officials rushed them from one venue to the next, all the while showing the Indians the large buildings, public transportation, and other awe inspiring advancements as a way to illustrate the superiority of the white non-native peoples. This intimidation technique and later acts of kindness such as gift giving, created a new type of communication strategy for negotiations. Photographs of the Dakota delegates in 1858 illustrate this new phenomenon.

Early delegations began as a way to get neighboring and warring tribes to declare peace with one another so that the territory remained safe for incoming wasicu neighbors. Over time American Indians no longer needed to delegate peace between tribes as intertribal warfare stagnated in the nineteenth century as tribes moved to smaller and

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[62] Herman Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin*, 174-5. Viola asserts that McKenny, "was convinced the Indians would soon disappear as a people by assimilation into American society, spent considerable time and money gathering portraits, artifacts, books, and manuscripts relating to Indian Life."

[63] Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin,* 182.

smaller reservations—essentially separating the tribes from one another. Indian delegations traveled to meet with U.S. officials primarily to negotiate the sale of land. Government officials worked to coerce Indian delegates with visits to large cities such as New York City and Washington D.C. Officials anticipated that the buildings, civilized city, and general way of life of their wasicu neighbors exemplified a superior lifestyle to the visiting delegates. The façade of superiority played out at the negotiation table as Indian delegates considered civilization programs and other concessions in order to bring the negotiations to a close.[64]

Three key nineteenth-century delegations contributed directly to the crises in 1862 for the Dakota people. Beginning in 1837, 1851, and finally 1858, each delegation ended in a promising treaty of peace and continued prosperity for the Dakota people; however, each treaty also brought the Dakota closer to ruin, as the size of their territory decreased with each passing treaty. The arrival of white settlers changed the dynamics of life for the Dakota people. Coexistence meant the forfeiture of lands to the seemingly continuous flood of settlers, the displacement of game and other wildlife, and the movement to change the strong and persistent Dakota culture into an acceptable "civilized" non-native lifestyle. Big Eagle, a chief and leader of the Mdewakanton band, gave an interview in 1894 in which he listed several reasons for the Indian retaliation against the United States government. He spoke about the series of treaties that eventually stripped the Dakota of their way of life. "The whites would not let [the Dakota] go to war against their enemies,"

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[64] Viola's *Diplomats in Buckskin*, 22-29. This work is an excellent source that details the history of Indian delegates traveling to Washington D.C. He finds that the attempt to impress the delegates failed. Most returned home to their tribes without a desire to educate their children or overhaul their culture.

which caused cultural problems that Big Eagle said ultimately resulted in war; because "[t]he Indians wanted to live as they did before the treaty of Traverse des Sioux—go where they pleased and when they pleased; hunt game wherever they could find it, sell their furs to the traders and live as they could."[65]

Brief History of the 1837, 1851, and 1858 Dakota Treaty Delegations

Though the Dakota and other Sioux tribes worked with the United States government before 1837, the delegation and subsequent treaty from 1837 set a standard for diplomacy between the two nations.[66] White settlement, intertribal warfare, and the loss of wildlife from traditional hunting land contributed to the 1837 treaty. Indian agent Lawrence Taliaferro encouraged the Dakota people to cede their useless land to the government for money—a way to subsidize their lifestyle and compensation for the losses. Today, the treaty appears more like a "standard land purchase instead of a compromise."[67] Signed on September 29, the Dakota agreed to give up their lands east of the Mississippi River in exchange for money set into trusts to ensure perpetual funds for the tribe. The United States government set the initial trust at $300,000, and the Dakota received five percent of the interest annually. This meant the Dakota received around $38,000 annually. However, the treaty noted various stipulations dictating what part of

[65] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 23; Big Eagles interview can also be found here: Jerome Big Eagle, "A Sioux Story of the War," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* 6 (1894): 382-400.

[66] There are many sources on the details of these three treaties; however, I find that the most concise information is found in the work of Gary Clayton Anderson. His work is used to reference this information for the remainder of the discussion on Dakota treaties.

[67] Gary Clayton Anderson, "The Santee Dakota: A Study in Sovereignty and Economic Dependency" (PhD diss., University of Toledo, 1978), 183-188. Jennifer Elaine McKinney, "Revisiting the Dakota Uprising of 1862" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2009), 36.

the funds went directly to various entities. For instance, a specific amount of the annual fund went to support various civilizing projects to help change the Dakota from a hunting, semi-nomadic existence to a community of farmers living in permanent homes and communities. The consequences of the first treaty created a dependent relationship for the Dakota, and the cycle of dependence continued until 1862.[68]

Due to the tedious ratification process, the Dakota did not receive their promised goods and annuity or monetary payments for several years. During this time, wasicu traders established shops around Dakota Territory and began giving goods from their store to the Dakota on credit. Often the traders sold their goods at exorbanant rates causing the Dakota to fall into debt. Business boomed for traders in Indian territories because once the annuity payments arrived, the traders called in their debts and took the payments directly from the government. This meant money very seldom made it into the hands of the Dakota people. Big Eagle recalled that much of the Indian debt accrued over time; debts accumulated before the treaty, from deceased family members who held debt during their lives, or persons no longer "present."[69] Business practices like this continued

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[68] Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:493-494. The treaty indicates that the Dakota received $38,000 annually, and that $10,000 went to purchase "goods," $8250 for "medicines, agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of a physician, farmers, and blacksmiths," another $10,000 towards projects to promote civilized Indians—farming—and $5,500 to cover the cost of the delegation's journey to sign this treaty. Gary Clayton Anderson estimated that the interest gained on the initial trust, the Dakota received around $38,000, and that over a twenty-year period the trust grew to $991,000. However, the full amount of the trust or interests never reached the Dakota people. The Uprising of 1862 ended government payments from treaties before that year. Anderson, "The Santee Dakota," 191.

[69] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 24.

throughout the nineteenth century, and for the Dakota people, traders and debt persisted up until the War.[70]

The 1837 Treaty is unique because the Dakota people sold their land without the government establishing reservations or placing restrictions on land movements west of the Mississippi River. They continued to hunt the land on both sides of the Mississippi River, and very few Dakota had to relocate west since most of the tribe had moved west following game. However, the peaceful coexistence quickly ended as white settlers crossed the Mississippi and again caused problems for the Dakota. Now dependent upon the generosity of traders and faced with mounting debt, the Dakota quickly spiraled into a series of devastating treaties that reduced their lives to conform to strict guidelines and limits, which caused resentment towards the federal government.[71]

The creation of Minnesota Territory in 1849 brought new troubles to the Dakota. Politicians approached the Eastern Dakota bands but did not succeed in convincing them to negotiate a treaty.[72] The Dakota, having already signed one treaty, had demands and changes to the government's proposed plans. Leaders from the Mdewakanton band, Wabasha and Little Crow, asked that funds from the 1837 Treaty that never reached the Dakota be used for basic necessities instead of luxury items. Little Crow understood how the Dakota depended upon the Government for survival and that their lives benefited from trying to work with the government instead of against it. His influence among his

[70] Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow*, 31.

[71] Anderson, "The Santee Dakota," 212.

[72] The term Dakota refers to the Eastern band of Sioux Indians: Mdewkantons, Wahpetons, Wahpekutes, and Sisseton. The Mdewkantons were the only band to benefit from the 1837 Treat, and therefore reluctant to enter into another negotiation. The Wahpeton and Sisseton bands are also called the upper Sioux bands, and the Mdwkanton and Wahpekute the lower Sioux bands.

people contributed a powerful force behind the negotiations, which eventually commenced among Minnesota governor Alexander Ramsey, Indian Agent Nathaniel McLean, and Dakota leaders in June 1851.

Sisseton and Wahpeton—Upper Sioux—bands met first at Traverse des Sioux just south of Fort Snelling along the Minnesota River. The Upper bands gave up their lands in Minnesota and Iowa for $1,665,000. The United States Government planned to create an agricultural and self-sustaining Dakota reservation under the treaty provisions. The Traverse des Sioux treaty stipulated that money went directly to farming equipment the construction of schools, mills, and other necessary structures to promote farming.[73] Dakota leaders signed two copies of the document and agreed to the stipulation that annuities and other payments begin as soon as the Dakota vacated the agreed upon land purchased by the U.S. government. Unknown to the Dakota, the two copies actually consisted of the treaty and an addendum giving substantial portions of money to traders and other mixed-bloods. The traders' papers, or the addendum, allowed money to flow directly to the traders instead of the Dakota. The traders took the money to cover

[73] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties,* 2:588. The actual language of the treaty stated, "all their lands in the State of Iowa; and, also all their lands in the Territory of Minnesota, lying east of the following line to wit: Beginning at the junction of the Buffalo River with the Red River of the North; thence along the western bank of said Red River of the North, to the mouth of the Sioux Wood River; thence along the western bank of said Sioux Wood River to Lake Traverse; thence, along the western shore of said lake, to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line, to the junction of Kampeska Lake with the Tchan-kas-an-data, or Sioux River, thence along the western bank of said river to its point of intersection with the northern line of the State of Iowa; including all the islands in the said rivers and lakes."

expenses, primarily Dakota debts, and the remainder of the money or annuities filtered down to the Indians.[74]

Government officials used the Traverse des Sioux treaty to apply pressure to the lower bands—Mdewakanton and Wahpekute—to negotiate their own treaty. The Treaty of Mendota, signed a month later, gave $1,410,000 for similar lands in Minnesota and Iowa. As with the Upper Band, the treaty specified that money go towards various civilization programs, including farming equipment and schools. The lower bands had one year to vacate the territory and receive their annuity payments. However, unlike the Upper Band, the Lower Band refused to sign the traders' paper and considered backing out of the negotiations all together. However, the Wahpekute Band eventually signed the infamous traders' papers, further supporting the government.[75] Eventually, Minnesota officials threatened to withhold payments to the Mdewakanton Band if their leaders did not sign off on the traders' papers. Eventually, and with much bribing, the Mdewakanton leaders signed off, giving the traders the right to withdraw money directly from the payments before the Dakota.[76]

The traders' papers addendum financially crippled the Dakota people. The entire addendum, created to keep money out of Dakota hands, illustrates the intense corruption and fraud committed against the Dakota people. Indian officials received the annuity and funds directly from the government. From there the money went directly to the traders,

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[74] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind,* 187.

[75] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties,* 2:591; Anderson, *Little Crow*, 62-66.

[76] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind,* 195-196; Anderson, *Little Crow*, 70. Anderson claims that kinship relations between the Dakota people and friends and relatives in government contributed the signatures required for the traders' papers. White relatives and friends resorted to bribing if encouragement did not work.

but only after the officials took around ten percent of the total as payment for their services. The traders followed suit and took percentages from the total cash in their possession as the money passed from one individual to the next. This left little to no actual money for the Dakota. They did try to fight back by asking the traders to produce itemized lists of each individual's debt and convincing former trader Henry Hastings Sibley to propose a federal investigation, yet the Senate investigation ultimately ruled against the Dakota.[77]

The final treaty with the Dakota occurred in Washington, D. C., in March 1858, and again the U.S. proposed purchasing land in exchange for money and annuities. Primarily representing the Mdewakanton Band, the delegates had mixed hopes for negotiation. Wabasha, a leader of the Dakota and supporter of peace between Indians and whites had denounced the 1851 treaties, but he participated in the 1858 delegation to ensure land for his people. Later in his life, Wabasha gave a statement claiming he agreed to the 1858 treaty negotiations to ensure the Dakota had land along the Minnesota River and asked for help to learn to live like the whites. Tactfully, the Great Father, or U.S. Government, agreed to land allotments to each Dakota family, and Wabasha claims that the Great Father warned him, "that the traders were like rats; that they would use all their endeavors to steal [their] substance, and that if [they] were wise, [they] would never sign a paper for anyone."[78] It is unlikely that government officials told Wabasha to be weary

[77] The investigation and previous treaties represent, "one of the biggest acts of trickery and deceit against the Dakota Indians." McKinney, "Revisiting the Dakota Uprising of 1862," 48; perhaps close to $370,000 went directly to traders and mixed-bloods by the end of 1852. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind,* 197.

[78] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 29-30. Wabasha's statement can also be found here: *Papers Relating to Talk and Councils Held with the Indians in*

of the traders, since, like the government, traders maintained a pivotal role within the entire negotiation process. Manipulation and deceit conquered the delegates, and just like the two pervious treaties, the 1858 treaty benefitted the traders over the Dakota.

Two actual treaties were signed in 1858 by the Upper and Lower bands respectively. The treaties gave each family or single man eighty acres on the south side of the Minnesota River. Dakota living north of the river had to vacate the area and move south. The treaty warned that those who left the reservation forfeited their "rights, privileges, and immunities, be subject to all the law, obligations, and duties, of citizens of the United States" and denied their portion of the annuity payments.[79] Resentment among the delegates and Dakota in Minnesota erupted over the new designation of their reservation. Though land plots appeared desirable, the amount of land on the reservation shrank, and resentment caused previous leaders to lose prominence and governance with their people.[80]

The goal of all treaty negotiations between Native Americans and the United States government hinged upon crafting a relationship where the U. S. government could stymie warring tribes in order to create peaceful lands recently ceded by the Indians for American settlers to populate.[81] However, by the twentieth century, delegations no longer sought to curtail problems on the frontier but instead to acquire the frontier and to pacify

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Dakota and Montana Territories in the Years 1866-1869 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 90-91.

[79] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, 785-8.

[80] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties,* 781-786.

[81] Viola, *Diplomates in Buckskin,* 26.

the original inhabitants through gifts and intimidation.[82] On the other hand, Native Americans continued to believe in the process of delegations and looked forward to the opportunity to bring to the Great Father their grievances. The change in this relationship resulted in part in the deterioration of negotiations. The 1858 delegation proved the hardest for both the Native Americans and the US government. Negotiations dragged on for several months despite the government's persistence, and in the end, the Dakota tribes returned home in June with the task of informing their families that they must move to smaller reservations and continue to wait upon the government for their promised delivery of money and annuity. Ultimately, the same problems with the previous two treaties persisted with the third, as the United States government did not uphold the promises, and the Dakota appeared powerless to change that fact.[83]

Deconstructing the Delegation Photographs

Figure 2.1[84] is a photograph of a group of Upper Band Dakota—Sisseton and Wahpeton tribes—taken in New York City by Charles Deforest Fredericks after they signed the 1858 treaties. Standing from left to right are: Joseph Akipa Renville, Scarlet

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[82] Viola, *Diplomates in Buckskin,* 29. Viola points to intimidation and the acquisition of land as the two motivational factors in hosting tribal delegations in Washington D.C. and New York. Government officials hoped to overpower the Indian delegates with the "superiority of civilized life compared to theirs" in hopes of encouraging the Indian delegates to return home and enlist this new way of life upon their people. In correlation with intimidation, the U. S. government used many tactics to persuade Indian delegates to sign away millions of acres of land. Anderson, Gary Clayton, *Little Crow*, 23; Anderson, Gary Clayton, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 267. Anderson explains how the relationship between the Dakota and government officials changed or evolved over time. In the beginning encounters between the Dakota and their white neighbors were based on the establishment of "kinship" relations. However, once the practice of delegation visits became common place the relationship shifted to a rigid and more sterile relationship.

[83] Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin*, 28, 94; Anderson *Little Crow*, 94-104.

[84] Upper Dakota, Sisseton and Wahpeton tribes. New York, 1858.

Plume, Red Iron, John Other Day, Paul Mazakutemani, and Charles R. Crawford. Seated below from left to right are: Mazamani, Stumpy Horn, Sweet Corn and Extended Tail Feathers. All men present in this photograph were alive in 1862.[85] Furthermore, all of these men opposed the War in 1862 and many acted against the warring Dakota by protecting their white neighbors and friendly Dakota. Joseph Akipa Renville, a leader of the Wahpeton band, spoke out against the hostile Dakota in 1862 and even stayed in Dr. John Wakefield's home, a white settler, in order to protect it from looting and destruction. Later, Akipa spoke directly with Little Crow on August 23, 1862, and requested Little Crow release the Brown family, a prominent family in Minnesota with strong ties to the Dakota. Joseph R. Brown, the patriarch of the family, previously served as Indian Agent to the Dakota from 1857 till 1862. At the start of the war, Joseph R. Brown was traveling to New York City and escaped captivity, but his wife and children were taken as prisoners and forced to leave their home and join the rebel Dakota. Akipa, the stepfather to Susan Frenzier Brown—the mother of the family held captive—walked into Little Crow's camp and faced sharp criticism and taunting from other Dakota warriors. To this he replied "that there was no bravery in killing helpless men and women and little children, but that it was simply cowardice, and cowards would only boast of it."[86] After the war, Akipa and his brother Red Iron—also seen in figure 2.1—followed

[85] Curtis A. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising: A Pictorial History* (Edina, Minnesota: Beaver's Pond Press, Inc., 2007), 18.

[86] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 70 and 134. Samuel J. Brown, a member of the Brown family that Akipa rescued from Little Crow retold this story in the *Mankato Weekly Review*, drawing upon diary entries he wrote after the war. Samuel J. Brown was a mixed-blood Dakota, and his father, Joseph R. Brown was Indian Agent in 1858. Joseph R. Brown is photographed in figure 3. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 217. Akipa was 52 years of age in this photograph, and died on November 9, 1870.

the Dakota prisoners to their prison in Mankato, Minnesota, where both brothers counseled other inmates. Red Iron, like his brother, opposed the war and reportedly stated that he would "shake hands" with Colonel Sibley and welcome an end to the violence.[87]

Figure 2.1. Charles DeForest Fredericks, "1858 Indian Treaty Delegation to Washington," ca. 1858, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Joseph Akipa Renville wore a stovepipe hat, a long jacket, and trade-shirt with necktie. The length of his untucked shirt hangs almost as long as the hem of his jacket. It was common to see Dakota wearing their traditional cloth trade shirts, which were

[87] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 42; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 203-4. Red Iron was quoted by a member of his band, in a government claim for restitution, as agreeing with the larger group that met at the mouth of the Chippewa River to oppose the war. Red Iron was about 48 years of age in 1858, and died sometime between 1883-1884.

generally long enough to cover the breech cloth or groin of the wearer.[88] His attire is a great example of the influence white culture and the signed treaties had on the Dakota. Since the 1830s, most Dakota opted to make their clothing from cloth instead of animal skins. The cloth provided a steadier and more reliable material than their traditional methods. Often referred to as "trade-cloth" this new material was readily available and used to make shirts and other pieces of clothing. Shirts, made of government issued cotton, were long sleeved shirts that were typically belted and covered the upper torso to the tops of the knees. An example of a common trade shirt is best illustrated with Joseph Akipa Renville (upper left). He wore a trade-shirt under a modern jacket.

Another typical paring with a trade shirt is demonstrated by Red Iron (center), who wrapped a blanket around his waist and draped it over his left arm. He, too, is wearing a trade-shirt, and stands out in contrast to the other Dakota in this photograph because he is wearing all traditional Dakota clothing. The others mix wasicu clothing, like jackets with hats and neckties, with their traditional attire of leggings, moccasins, and trade shirts. Red Iron opted out of all wasicu apparel and instead wore his native clothing, and an ornate headpiece with three feathers. [89]

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[88] Description of Dakota dress is found primarily writing by missionaries. The Pond brothers have the best description of what the Dakota looked like in the 1830s. Their clothing and dress were influenced heavily by trade with early white settlers, and they adopted cloth, wool, and other fibrous materials to their outerwear. However, most Dakota kept their traditional footwear of leather moccasins. Further information about clothing and attire see Samuel W. Pond, *Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest* (1875; rept., St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1986).

[89] DeMallie and Sturtevant, *North American Handbook*, 766. "By the 1830s Indians near the fort dressed exclusively in clothing made of trade cloth, using buckskin only for their moccasins." The blanket becomes a significant part of Dakota dress for both men and women. Many of the photographs in this study show Dakota utilizing blankets as part of their attire. The Pond brothers also documented that the blankets were

This photograph is a good example of the varied hair styles of the Dakota in 1858. Several men have long hair, parted and braided to either side of their heads. Others wear their hair long, still parted, but not in braids. However, several of the Dakota have significantly shorter hair. Short hair is sometimes described as a way to identify which Dakota had taken up the wasicu practice of farming. However, some Dakota customs include cutting hair short, for instance, in times of mourning. Men and women alike are reported to have cut their hair after the death of a family member or loved one. One practice that all Dakota men in this photograph adopt is the lack of facial hair. The Dakota typically did not grow facial hair, and if hairs grew on their faces they would pull them out. Another interesting point to make is that Dakota who worked closely with government officials, like Charles Crawford (standing, far right) adopted wasicu dress over traditional garments. Charles Crawford's hair is also shorter than his father, Joseph A. Renville (standing, far left). The generational differences in style of dress and hair is perhaps a distinguishing feature of this photograph. Dakota men with short hair, wearing wasicu clothing appear in photographs taken before the war in 1862; however, many photographs of the Dakota as prisoners or detainees show a mixture of the two styles.[90]

Red Iron and Joseph Akipa Renville's brother, Mazamani, wore their hair in braids like Red Iron, and wore a formal jacket over his trade shirt like the majority of Dakota in this photograph. He, too, has a stove-pipe hat. In fact, all men, except for Red

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heavy and made of wool; "of dimensions suited to the size of the wearer; for these blankets were made expressly for them, and of all needed sizes. They were generally white, but some were red, green, or blue. They preferred the white for hunting, believing that the game was less afraid of them." Pond, *Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest*, 34.

[90] Adrian Ebell's photographs of the Dakota of the Upper Sioux Agency show men wearing a mixture of wasicu and Dakota clothing. The women and children appear more consistent in their dress. Their clothing is discussed later in this chapter.

Iron and the interpreter, Charles R. Crawford, wore stove-pipe hats. Likely a gift during their travels, you can see how Joseph Akipa Renville and Stumpy Horn personalized their hats with accessories. Stumpy Horn had wrapped a piece of fabric around his hatband, while Renville chose a medallion centered on the top band of his hat. Additionally, the Dakota in hats also paired their ensemble with long jackets and trade-shirts.

An interesting contrast to the Upper Band of Dakota, is that of Charles R. Crawford. The son of Joseph Akipa Renville, he served as a translator during the 1858 treaty negotiations. Not a signing member of the group of Dakota, Charles Crawford traveled with his father and other Dakota leaders to Washington, D.C., as a translator and not as leader of his tribe. Crawford demonstrated the transition going on in the Dakota reservations in the mid-nineteenth century. His father, a leader and important member of the Dakota and a full-blood, married a mixed-blood Dakota woman. Their son grew up in a time of transition from old to new ways of life. Instead of working within the tribe, Charles worked outside of the tribe for the same institution implementing the new changes—the U. S. Government. His choice of dress illustrates the difference between his generation, and that of his fathers. He tucked his shirt into his trousers, wore wasicu style shoes—as opposed to moccasins—and his cut hair appeared remarkably short compared to the others in their photographs.[91]

Scarlet Plume and Paul Mazakutemani both signed the treaty in 1858 and went on to oppose the war in 1862. Paul Mazakutemani, also known as Little Paul or He Who

[91] Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 6. Anderson and Woolworth state that clothing often delineated whether or not a Dakota had accepted or rejected acculturation. "They often wore long hair, leggings, and breechcloths—the visible symbols of their Indian life-style."

Shoots as He Walks, became one of the "strongest most consistent voice[s]" to oppose the war. He had converted to Christianity and became a farmer after 1858 and is a great example of how the treaties changed Dakota way of life. Since the conception of Reservation life, the Dakota grew increasingly dependent upon government intervention. The distribution of annuities brought in items like trade-cloth that had profound influences on Dakota dress, but other annuities like agricultural equipment were less influential. By 1858 the Dakota essentially survived on "annuities and trader's credit," and very few practiced agriculture, opting instead to hunt off the reservation and return only to "collect annuities."[92] His unwavering support for white culture and non-violence is illustrated in his apparel in figure 2. Like many of his fellow Dakota, Paul wore a stovepipe hat, blazer, and pants intermixed with traditional Dakota footgear. At his feet is a fan, indicating hot weather and suggesting that these men paid particular attention to their attire and dressing for a formal occasion. He helped protect the missionary Stephen Riggs, his family, and other white people before they fled from Dr. Williamson's home and later served as a scout for Colonel Sibley receiving $500 dollars from the government for his services. [93]

Little is known of Stumpy Horn, Sweet Corn, and Extended Tail Feathers other than they opposed the war in 1862. However, if they shared similar philosophies about the future of the Dakota as the other signatories of the 1858 treaty, they resisted the violence in 1862 like the others in this photograph. In particular, Mazmani—Iron

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[92] DeMallie and Sturtevant, *North American Handbook*, 770.

[93] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 41 and 44; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 194-198: Adrian Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (June) 1863.

Walker—believed so adamantly in stopping the war that he walked out onto the field at the Battle of Wood Lake, protesting the violence, and was hit by a cannon ball, that severed his leg. He died from his wounds.[94] John Other Day, another leader of a Wahpeton band, helped sixty-two white refugees escape during the war. He led one of the two large refugee parties to safety—the other being the Rigg's party—using disguises to scout a route and keep distance between the refugees and the bloodshed. John Other Day opposed the violence and had separated himself from traditional Dakota ways by owning land, planting crops, and marrying a white woman.[95]

Stumpy Horn, Sweet Corn, Extended Tail Feathers, and John Other Day all wore similar stove-pipe hats, long jackets with trade-shirts and trousers. Stumpy Horn and Sweet Corn wore buckskin moccasins, while Extended Tail Feathers wore leather shoes like Charles R. Crawford. All four men appear similar in dress; however, Stumpy Horn wrapped a blanket around his waist. Blankets were another item similar to trade-cloth that became a staple item on reservations.

A remarkable occasion, figure 2.1 also illustrates the nuanced transition many of the Dakota—especially the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands—had taken since the last treaty in 1851. This group of nine delegates and one translator depicts men wearing a mixture of

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[94] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 178; *St. Paul Weekly Press*, October 9, 1862.

[95] John Other Day told of his heroics to missionary Gideon Pond, who then published Other Day's narrative in the *Saint Paul Press*, August 28, 1862; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 119-128; Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862* (1961; repr., St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1976), 18 and 81; Anderson, *Little Crow*, 105; *Washington Union*, April 7, 1858 John Other Days personal character was sharply criticized by missionary Stephen Riggs who looked down on Other Day's "debauchery" and the scandalous saloon woman he supposedly took as a wife; Adrian Ebell "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (June) 1863.

Dakota clothing, decorated with white clothing items such as stove pipe hats, jackets, and bowties. However, the difference in style and dress is apparent in these photographs. The influence of new technologisies and wasicu culture infiltrated the Dakota way of life as seen in the delegation photographs.

This first image of Dakota delegates best illustrates the Dakota who opposed the war in 1862. Most of the anti-war supporters lived in the northernmost agency, Upper Sioux Agency, also known as Yellow Medicine, as depicted in figure 2.1. These men wear a combination of wasicu and Dakota clothing. Some are still wearing long braids or long hair, while others have cut their hair to look more like a white man. Of the nine signing members in this image, only three are not clearly defined as pro or anti-war. This photograph strongly illustrates the Dakota who opposed the war in 1862.

The son of Wahpeton leader, Joseph Akipa Renville, Charles Renville Crawford clerked at the Upper Agency under Thomas J. Galbraith. He traveled with his father and other important leaders to Washington D. C. in 1858. Acting as one of the many translators, Crawford demonstrates the transition going on in the Dakota territories in the mid-nineteenth century. His father, a leader and important member of the Dakota and a full blood, married a mixed blood Dakota woman. Their son grew up in a time of transition from old to new ways of life. Instead of working within the tribe, Charles worked outside of the tribe, for the same institution implementing the new changes—the United States Government.

A smaller group of Dakota from the Lower Agency assembled for figure 2.2.[96] This image is unique because only full-blood Dakota Indians are in this photograph providing a good example of the various ways Dakota distinguished themselves on the reservation. Clothing and dress identified whether or not Dakota had accepted or participated in the civilization and acculturalization programs.[97] Samuel Brown, a mixed-blood Dakota explained this difference as "the breech cloth for the pantaloon—who lived in a brick house instead of a skin tepee, drove oxen instead of horses, and depended for his subsistence upon the plow and hoe instead of the bow and arrow."[98] The men in figure 3 are wearing more traditional Dakota clothing than the other two delegation photographs in this chapter. As discussed, figure 2.1 shows a group of Dakota men who mostly opposed the war in 1862; however, figure 2.2 illustrates only one man with similar sentiments. Most of the men in figure 3 fought against the wasicu in 1862. The full-blood Dakota from the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute tribes standing from left to right are: Big Eagle, Traveling Hail, and Red Legs. Seated from left to right are: Medicine Bottle, The Thief, and an unidentified Dakota. Considering that information does not exist for the unidentified man and that Medicine Bottle had died before the war, Traveling Hail was the only Dakota leader to strongly oppose the war. The rest either

[96] Lower Dakota, Mdewakanton and Wahpekute tribes. New York, 1858.

[97] One Dakota man recalls how warring Dakota went from village to village telling men to "take off our citizen's clothing and put on blankets and leggings." Another mixed-blood, Samuel J. Brown, explained how farmer Indians "discarded the Indian dress for that of the white man—the breech cloth for the pantaloon." The first Dakota tried by the military commission for crimes during the war, Godfrey, testified that he was worried about his clothing when the war began. "I still had my pants on. I was afraid; and they told me I must take my pants off and put on the breech-clout. I did so." Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 65, 71, 87

[98] Ibid, 71.

actively or passively participated in the war.[99] Big Eagle and Medicine Bottle, the two men sitting and standing on the left were brothers but had varying roles in the war. Big Eagle, also known as Jerome Big Eagle, did not participate in the violence during the war. He had taken up the role of farmer, but had not completely rejected Dakota way of life. Though present at several of the battles, he testified in 1862 about how he went to several "friends" to warn them of the attacks. He claimed that many Dakota men "had a friend that he did not want killed," and many white settlers in the area received similar warnings from their Dakota friends. He indicated a level of ambivalence towards the war and perhaps explains why he did not participate in the battles.[100]

Similar to his brother, Medicine Bottle had become a farmer, despite his active role in the soldiers' lodge—a police type organization "whose duty it was to maintain order," and to deliver punishment to offenders.[101] Three men on the soldiers' lodge contributed to the 1858 treaty: Medicine Bottle, The Thief, and Red Owl. Along with the important members of the Mdewakanton tribe, Medicine Bottle joined the Mdewakanton tribe as a leader of the soldiers' lodge and as a veteran of treaty negotiation. He helped encouraged others such as Little Crow to sign the 1851 and 1858 treaties. Having transitioned into a farmer while maintaining his role in the soldiers' lodge, it is unclear whether or not Medicine Bottle would have supported the war. He died in 1862, before the war from an accident. While chasing a chicken he fell and caught his mouth on a hook hanging from a scaffold that was used to dry corn. The hook caused massive brain

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[99] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 20.

[100] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 56; Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 40.

[101] Roy W. Meyer *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 7.

damage and loss of blood. He died within minutes. In the photograph, Medicine Bottle is holding a pipe, an instrument used during traditional Dakota negotiations. Knowing his role as a farmer, one can deduce that had he lived he would have opposed the war. However, his participation in the soldiers' lodge might have caused him to pause. The members of the soldiers' lodge played an important role in choosing to go to war.[102]

The Thief, a member of the soldiers' lodge, and Red Legs both supported the war. In fact, The Thief helped to plan the initial attacks at Fort Ridgely with notable Dakota leaders Mankato, Cut Nose, and Little Crow. After the defeat at the Battle of Wood Lake, The Thief fled Minnesota.[103] The Thief is photographed with two long braids, seated with a blanket around his waist, and holding a pipe. His pose is almost identical to Medicine Bottle's, with both men seated, holding a pipe in their left hand, and wearing trade shirts with blankets wrapped around their waist. Red Legs is standing, wearing an ornate headpiece with feathers, a trade shirt and jacket, and a blanket wrapped around his torso. Red Legs did not escape, but instead surrendered at Camp Release and joined most of the Dakota tribe in internment camps at Fort Snelling. Ironically, Red Legs received the sum of fifty dollars from the United States government several years after the war for his support of the United States government during the war. "[T]he line between those who were consistently friendly and those who were not was blurred," as seen with Red

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[102] Anderson, *Little Crow,* 94 and 186; Case, John H. *Historical Notes of Grey Cloud Island*, Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. Vol 15, 1915, 371-378. http://www.archive.org/stream/historicalnoteso00caserich/historicalnoteso00caserich_djvu.txt accessed September 6, 2016

[103] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 72.

Legs.[104] Those who participated during the war did so sporadically, and once resigned to the idea that they no longer had the upper hand, many of the Dakota warriors either surrendered or stopped fighting. They did not represent the hardened Dakota who adamantly refused to participate.

Figure 2.2. Charles DeForest Fredericks, "Dakota Indian Treaty Delegation to Washington, D.C.," ca. 1858, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The only Dakota man in figure 2.2—excluding the unidentified gentlemen and Medicine Bottle—to oppose the war in 1862, Traveling Hail, also known as Passing Hail or Wasuhiyahidan, lived a very different life from his companions in this photograph. Traveling Hail, an important and revered member of the Mdewakanton Band, lived as a Christian and as a farmer. His actions as a model citizen captured the attention of Thomas J. Galbraith, Indian Agent in 1862. In fact, during the elections for Speaker of the Mdewakantons in the summer of 1862, Thomas J. Galbraith supported Traveling Hail.

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[104] Dahlin, 226. Red Legs is photographed by Benjamin Upton during his time at the internment camp at Fort Snelling.

That support might have played a significant role in the election of Traveling Hail. Either way, during the early morning war discussions on August 18, Traveling Hail spoke out against the attack and murders in Acton and against continued violence and all-out war. He spoke against other significant leaders, such as Big Eagle and Little Crow. His resistance to the war is not surprising since he had already adapted to many of the white ways and lifestyle.[105] In fact, during the war he protected and shielded Cecelia Campbell and her family from the violence. He is standing behind Medicine Bottle holding a blanket around his waist. He wore a trade shirt under a jacket and his hair is cropped short. No other specific adornment is on his person. He is the least decorated of the six men and perhaps is a representation of his lessening affiliation with traditional Dakota ways.[106]

This group of men in figure 2.2, all full blood Mdewakanton and Wahpekute leaders, represented some of the strongest leaders alive during 1858. Furthermore, three men in some way participated actively in the war. There are no mixed blood Dakota, translators, or government officials in figure 2.2 unlike figure 2.1 and 2.3. Excluding the unidentified Dakota and Medicine Bottle, half of these men fought in some way during the war. Red Legs and Big Eagle were present at some of the battles, whereas The Thief helped in the planning of some of the attacks.

Another notable difference in Figure 2.2 is that all six men wore mostly traditional Dakota clothing compared to the other photographs. All wore trade shirts with a mixture of white and Dakota garments. Instead of a necktie, Big Eagle wore a bear claw

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[105] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 25; Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 45.

[106] Anderson, *Through Dakota Eye*, 49.

necklace and is holding an axe. He is also wearing a feather headpiece like Red Legs. Though four of the men are wearing jackets, they each wrap themselves in a blanket. Unlike the Upper Sioux in Figure 2.1, the Lower Sioux in Figure 2.2 pose with objects such as pipes and axes. Their photograph has more Dakota clothing and accessories, creating a more authentic look of the Dakota leaders. Though men wore trade shirts and jackets every day on the reservation, these Dakota men would only wear adornments like a head piece on special occasions. Hence, the Dakota did not look like their photographs on any given day in Minnesota, but chose to create an ornamental look—or allowed the photographer to decorate them according to his liking. They demonstrate the resistance to completely shed their Dakota heritage by wearing their traditional, formal attire during such a significant time of their lives. The power and authority granted to them by the members of their tribes is honored by their choice of clothing. They proudly wear Dakota apparel and choose not to incorporate any gift—like the stovepipe hats.

The final group photograph taken in New York after signing the 1858 treaty—figure 2.3—is of the Lower Dakota delegates with various government officials.[107] Almost a middle ground between figure 2.1 and figure 2.2, figure 2.3 displays a group of important leaders—Dakota who supported and opposed the war—and government officials and leaders. A great example of the mixture of people working to negotiate a final treaty with the Dakota, these delegates and their travel companions represent the varied perspectives and diversity of the negotiation process.[108]

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[107] Lower Dakota, Mdewakanton and Wahpekute tribes. New York, 1858.
[108] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 19.

Figure 2.3. Charles DeForest Fredericks, "Joseph R. Brown with Dakota Indians and White Men who Accompanied him to Washington for a Treaty with the Government," ca. 1858, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

As with most treaty negotiations, the mixed-blood and wasicu companions of the Indians played a prominent role. These men translated for delegates and government officials. They provided counsel for the Indians, but also held strong biases that included personal and financial gain. Missionaries, or leaders, went to help steer the negotiations towards civilizing factors that affected the way of life of the Indians, while traders and some government officials went to ensure a portion of the money Washington doled out for the purchase of Indian land. Traders profited the most, and in return their sneaky corruption of the negotiations directly resulted in the violence of 1862.[109]

[109] Barbara T. Newcombe, "'A portion of the American People:' The Sioux Sign a Treaty in Washington, 1858" *Minnesota History* (Fall 1979): 85.

The Indian agent during the 1858 negotiations, Joseph Renshaw Brown, received orders from the acting commissioner of Indian Affairs to organize a group of Dakota leaders to travel to Washington. "A leading trader among the Sioux, lumberman, founder of cities, land speculator, legislator, Democratic politician, inventor, editor, and Indian agent," Joseph Brown dutifully complied with Commissioner Charles E. Mix's request. A man with many specialties, Brown understood Dakota culture and life far better than some of his successors. He married a Dakota woman, learned to speak their language, and lived on the reservation—although in a large house. A supporter of civilizing methods such as farming and permanent houses, Brown assimilated well with his Dakota brethren and served as a role model of achievement.[110] His photograph in figure 2.3 represents a man who was personally connected to the Dakota people and acted as a very strong leader for their survival—despite having strong biases towards the influence of wasicu culture.

Joseph R. Brown's clothing is entirely without any Dakota embellishment. His suit is complete with tie, slacks, and leather shoes. His hair is styled like a wasicu man and he is holding no props. The profile view of his person allows for a thorough gaze at his attire, posture, and presence within the photograph. He is also a good figure to use as a comparison with the other men in this image. He is smartly dressed, as are a few others, but he is not representative of his Dakota heritage in this particular image.

Agent Brown played an active role in the negotiations and later during the war. He suffered a serious gunshot wound to the neck, but survived his injuries and helped missionary Stephen Riggs identify Dakota prisoners before their execution on December

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[110] Newcombe, *'A Portion of the American People,'* p. 84.

26, 1862. Nathanial Brown, Joseph's brother, also traveled to Washington, assisting with the logistics of transporting such a large group from Minnesota to Washington and back; Henry Belland, also in figure 2.3, assisted Joseph Brown and others throughout the negotiations.[111]

White government officials, and mixed-blood Dakota came as interpreters and liaisons for practical business purposes. Not negotiating themselves, men like Antoine Joseph Campbell shared a long history with the Dakota delegates but had lived separately long enough to side with the wasicu strategy of farming and other civilizing mechanisms. Antoine Campbell, raised by mixed-blood parents, understood Dakota way of life, but did not agree with the 1862 war. Campbell and his family were taken hostage by pro-war Dakota and released with the other prisoners on September 26, 1862, at Camp Release. However, during his time in the war camps, Campbell acted as secretary to Little Crow and even delivered the truce to Colonel Sibley under a white flag. His daughter, Celilia Campbell Stay later recalled her family's time during captivity and the moment her father delivered the letter of truce, saying "[t]here is something holy and impressive to see these warriors who had for a space of five weeks, and three days spurned father's warnings and advice and at the last moment show him so much regard."[112] He is dressed in a suit and his hair is short and styled. His right hand is rested on the shoulder of Mankato, very

[111] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 19 and 89.

[112] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 253 and 287. Cecelia Campbell Stay's history of the war is remarkable and very detailed and provides good information about the tumultuous relationship between the friendly and violent Dakota. Her family, taken prisoners at the beginning of the war for refusing to fight against the whites.

similar to how Andrew Robertson rested his hands on Wabasha's shoulders. A sign of friendship or reverence, these men were both mixed-blood interpreters.

Andrew Robertson and his son, Thomas A. Robertson served as interpreters and translators during the treaty negotiations in 1858. Mixed-blood Dakota, these men shared Agent Brown's belief in civilizing the Dakota, but did not benefit monetarily from the travel and negotiations like the traders. They joined the delegation because of their language skills. Most of the Dakota leaders did not speak English, and very few wasicu spoke Sioux, hence the great desire and need for many translators. Additionally, Andrew Robertson is the only man in this photograph to die before the war. His son, Thomas, acted as a liaison for Little Crow and government officials throughout the war. Technically a Dakota hostage, Thomas later received one hundred dollars for his services during the war. He went with most of the Dakota to the internment camp at Fort Snelling before leaving for the Sisseton and Wahpeton Reservation.[113] Thomas wore a suit and had his hair styled, while his father opted for a loose fitted jacket sans tie or any adornment. Both men lack Dakota apparel and stand out from the Dakota men in the photograph.

The remainder of the men in figure 2.3, Tomahawk, Red Owl, Mankato and Wabasha, were members of the delegation—the men sent to negotiate on behalf of the Dakota people for a fair deal with the United States Government. Little is known about Tomahawk, but Mankato and Wabasha are two great examples of the hostile and friendly branches of the Dakota. Mankato, a Mdewakanton chief, played an active role throughout

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[113] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 62. In fact, Thomas A. Robertson stood trial in 1862, but was found innocent.

the war. However, after the 1858 treaty, he took up farming. Perhaps his involvement with the 1858 delegation and his time trying to become a farmer contributed to his active participation in the violence. Many Dakota struggled to adopt farming as a new way of life, and that resentment and anger spilled out in August of 1862. Mankato, like many other hostile Dakota, took up arms against the wasicu, he later died at the Battle of Wood Lake from a cannonball.[114] He is the only known participant of the war that is seen here in figure 2.3. He is seated on the far left, and is holding a fan in his left hand and a staff in his right hand. He is wearing a suit without a blanket, but has cloth wrapped around his hair. It is unclear if his hair is long or short.

Seated next to Mankato, Wabasha is also wearing a jacket paired with a trade shirt. He also holds a fan, but has a blanket wrapped around his waist. The presence of blankets and fans indicates that the weather was hot, but the blanket was a prized personal item of the Dakota men. Considered a part of their formal attire, the blanket is akin to the suit the white men wore. Lastly, Wabasha's hair is cut short in the front, but he wears two long braids.[115]

Wabasha, a leader of the Mdewakanton tribe, had traveled to Washington in 1837 and again in 1858. In 1868, after the war, Wabasha gave a statement, testifying to his desire for a friendly and cooperative relationship with the United States. During the 1858 negotiations, he desired a home for his people and the necessary tools to become like the

[114] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 71.

[115] Samuel W. Pond, *Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest*, 34-35. Missionary Samuel W. Pond describes how trade cloth and wool were used to make jackets and blankets for the Dakota. The blanket was worn wrapped around the waist where a girdle or belt held the garment in place. The blanket hung down from the belt or was pulled up over the head like a jacket. It was a common everyday garment for the Dakota.

whites. He testified that he wanted "land on the Minnesota River" and for the Great Father "to help [the Dakota] to live like whites."[116] His presence in the photograph in 1858 represents his desire for mutual friendship and cooperation. In fact, he claims that before his last trip to Washington, he tried to write the president a letter describing how his upbringing as an Indian was over and that he desired to live like white men—living in a homestead, farming, working with animals, and owning property.[117] During the war, he spoke openly of his opposition to the hostilities, and though present at some of the battles, he never participated in the violence.[118] Other Dakota condemned his ways and blamed him for their deaths. He stood between the hostile Dakota that sought revenge for the broken promises of the U.S. government, and the friendly Dakota who tried in vain to live within wasicu society.[119]

Red Owl, standing between Andrew and Thomas Robertson, was a member of the Mdewakanton soldiers' lodge until his death in 1861. He opposed the farming initiatives introduced by the government, and celebrated the younger generation's inclination towards a traditional Dakota life. His appearance in the photograph is representative of

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[116] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 29, 36.

[117] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 29.

[118] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 98.

[119] Isaac Heard, *History of the Sioux War and Massacre* (New York: Harper, 1865), 284. Wabasha's son-in-law, Rdainyanka wrote to him before his death saying "You have deceived me. You told me that if we followed the advice of General Sibley, and gave ourselves up to the whites, all would be well; no innocent man would be injured. I have not killed, wounded, or injured a white man, or any white persons. I have not participated in the plunder of their property; and yet to-day I am set apart for execution, and must die in a few days, while men who are guilty will remain in prison. My wife is your daughter, my children are your grandchildren. I leave them all in your care and under your protection. Do not let them suffer; and when my children are grown up, let them know that their father died because he followed the advice of his chief, and without having the blood of a white man to answer for to the Great Spirit."

more traditional Dakota clothing and adornments. He wore a feathered headpiece, jacket with trade shirt, and held a staff in his left hand. His jacket is similar to a white man's suit, but his long braids and moccasins give him an authentic Dakota facade. His voice and influence with the younger generations likely contributed to the growing resentment of many of the younger Dakota. In fact, the younger men of the tribes wanted to face their enemies in battle and contributed greatly to the call for war in 1862. Men like Red Owl held tightly to their traditional values, and created a new generation that fought for the losses of their ancestors.[120]

Figure 2.3 represents a mixture of Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2. Titled as the Lower Sioux Delegates, Upper Sioux members are also in this photograph. Of the ten men present, only four actually signed the treaty on behalf of the Dakota. The other six men are either white government officials or mix-blood interpreters. All of the Dakota wear jackets with trade shirts and blankets, but do not wear the stove top hats from figure one. There are ornamental accessories such as feather head pieces and decorated pipes, but not everyone is accessories like the men in figure two. Symbolically, figure 2.3 is a visual example of the nuanced relationship between the Dakota and the United States. These two entities posed together is an illustration of compromise and transition.

The transition from traditional Dakota life to a wasicu life is best seen with head interpreter Antoine Joseph Campbell who wears a suit similar to that of Indian Agent Joseph Brown. Not only is he wearing white clothing, but he is also acting as an intermediary for his fellow Dakota. As an interpreter, he translates not only words, but physically he is translating to the viewer the cultural shift happening on the Dakota

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[120] Anderson, *Little Crow*, 111.

reservations. More and more white influences have taken hold of the Dakota peoples with their dress, hairstyle, and general way of life. This transition is forced on the Dakota by the treaties they signed, and by the fusing of two cultures, which resulted in an upheaval of Dakota way of life. The photographs of the delegations represent a visual example of change and concession; a fundamental change that shatters old ways and forces unfamiliar and unwanted modifications for the Dakota.

Deconstructing the Absent

The historic leader of the Dakota-U.S. War, Little Crow, was not photographed in any of the group Delegation photographs. His absence from the photographs is just as significant as the presence of the other Dakota leaders. A notable leader in the Mdewakanton tribe and the Dakota peoples, Little Crow chose not to participate in the New York photographs. Disgusted by the way the negotiations crumbled in Washington, D.C., Little Crow no longer wanted to participate in delegations or white practices.[121]

Though Little Crow opted out of the group photographs in New York, he did sit for a photographer while in Washington, D. C. Several images of him exist, dressed in traditional clothing and posed both while seated and standing. Most importantly, these images taken at James E. McClee's studio in Washington, D. C. were taken before or during the treaty negotiations. Obviously not opposed to having his picture taken, Little

[121] Dahlin *The Dakota Uprising*, 18-20.

Crow's absence from the group images in New York is an example of his disgust with the negotiations and sheds light on his overall mood.[122]

Figure 2.4. James E. McClees, "Little Crow, M'dewakanton," 1858, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, New Jersey.

The negotiations had upset Little Crow and his frustration with the overall experiences in Washington, D. C. resulted in his literal and virtual removal from Dakota and U.S. politics. The delayed proceedings created a tense environment throughout the summer of 1858. The Dakota leaders traveled over 3,500 miles and spent a total of five months away from home. Throughout this time, Little Crow, as well as many of the other leaders, tried vehemently to have Commissioner Mix and the Great Father listen to their

[122] Barbara T. Newcombe 'A Portion of the American People' 91. Newcombe claimes that Little Crow "apparently had had enough of posing in Washington and is not included in the New York photographs."

concerns regarding the prosperity of the Dakota people. First, negotiations went at an exasperatingly slow pace. Over the five months there were extended periods of down time where the Dakota either lingered around their hotels or traveled throughout the city for recreational fun. However, the novelty of the city had worn off, and Little Crow anxiously waited his turn to confront Commissioner Mix.[123]

First on Little Crow's agenda, the recovery of undelivered funds and promises from the previous treaties, angered Commissioner Mix, who focused his time with the Dakota on the present treaty. Little Crow constantly brought up the fact that money that the United States promised to deliver with the 1851 treaties had not made it to Minnesota. Furthermore, Little Crow wanted to amend the practice of giving the traders money to cover the debts incurred by the Dakota from year to year. Instead he wanted the government to give the Dakota the entire sum of the money due to them, and the individuals indebted to the traders would then pay off their debts directly to the traders. This would help curb the corruption and practice of the traders taking more money than owed and allow the Dakota to have full control over their money. Furthermore, Little Crow asked that the treaties be read aloud before he signed. He told Commissioner Mix, "we had been so often cheated by and deceived in signing papers, that I wish to act cautiously, and not to sign any more without having them explained, and understanding their contents, so that we may distinctly know what we are doing."[124]

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[123] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties,* 185 and 781.

[124] National Archives Record Group, 75, Documents Related to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties with Various Indian Tribes, 1801-69, T494, Roll 6.

Commissioner Mix responded to Little Crow with veiled threats that became more aggressive over time until Mix used bullying tactics to push Little Crow and the others to sign the treaty. At times referring to Little Crow as a child and insinuating his resistance to signing the treaty to that of a petulant child, Mix warned that the newly formed state of Minnesota had no agreement with the Dakota, and the state of Minnesota could turn all the Dakota lands over to wasicu settlement. The treaty presented to the Dakota ensured them some of that land and payment for the remainder that they forfeited to the government. Wary from the months of negotiations and previous experiences with broken promises and longing for home, Little Crow signed the treaty but ended his participation with the entire ordeal.[125] He removed himself from the conversations with Commissioner Mix and other government officials and chose to stay out of the group photographs. In fact, on the Dakota's return to Minnesota, Little Crow no longer had a leadership role within his community. Big Eagle, a member of the delegation, recalled that the 1858 treaty sold a large portion of Dakota land and upset many Dakota, who held Little Crow responsible for his part in the treaty. Little Crow suffered personally as well as publicly after 1858 and "virtually disappears from the sources."[126] The other delegates shared Little Crow's general abhorrence of their summer in Washington, D. C.; however, he appears to have suffered the most. His shrinking political and public activities after

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[125] NARG 75 DRNRUT, Roll 6. The actual transcript from June 19, 1858 reads that Commissioner Mix responded to Little Crow by saying, "I am sorry to say, my friend, you are talking like a child now. You have been here three months, and the very matter put into the proposed treaty at your [now] special request, you are now finding fault with, or don't seem to understand. If you don't like it, you can go home, and you will find that the whites will take from you by force what your great father proposed to buy and pay for, and, at the same time, secure to you and your children and their prosperity permanent homes."

[126] Anderson, *Little Crow*, 106; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 23.

1858 suggest that despite his best intentions, his community lost respect for his leadership ability. Serving as a leader for as long as Little Crow had and the cultural implications of such a role and fallout weighed on him as an individual.

The struggle to acquire Minnesota land for white settlers and to relocate and change the Dakota way of life is smeared across the delegation photographs. These images show Dakota men with both traditional Dakota attire that is mixed with wasicu clothing such as jackets, top hats, and breeches as they transitioned into a world that encouraged white cultural practices of individuality, farming, and owning property. Perhaps government officials saw land and opportunity when they viewed delegation photographs. To them, perhaps these images justified the acquisition of the land through legal, political negotiations because the images act as visual records of fair acts of diplomacy. The Dakota came to Washington, spoke with official leaders, signed legal documents, and participated in just and legal proceedings afforded to other legal entities. In this sense, the 1858 Dakota delegation photographs illustrate the official selling of land, but for viewers today, the same images illustrate the farce of negotiations and the loss of land.

The 1858 delegates went to Washington with the heavy weight of knowing how their fathers had conducted their diplomacy; waging war, taking bounty and goods from the defeated enemies, and conducting the rest of their lives with the notoriety of being strong and brave men that protected their families, peoples, and loved ones. Working towards achieving these same goals, the 1858 delegates conducted a new form of diplomacy that proved just as difficult as waging war. Negotiations and signing treaties became the new standard of proving their bravery. Using ink and paper instead of war

and acts of bravery challenged the new leaders and resulted in less than desirable results. Forced into selling their land and moving into a sedentary culture made of farmers ended with some Dakota resorting to war. Finally, the old ways of conducting diplomacy reemerged in 1862 after trying to live within the confines of the U. S. government.[127]

Four Years Later

Photography in 1862 differed considerably from photography in 1858, so much so that by 1862 a "cultural chasm" of sorts further separated truth from reality. American Indians, entrepreneurs, and the rise of a mass media fueled society collided in the mid-nineteenth century.[128] The output of such collisions brought forth a new purpose for photography that took over society's appetite for entertainment. Photography gave people a visual clue to the secrets of their world and took on a role of "shaping cultural understanding and misunderstandings."[129] In fact, the photographs taken of the Dakota in 1862 helped to construct ideologies, perceptions, and beliefs of the role of the Dakota in American life that were both positive and negative. Subsequently, these photographs continued to shape opinions about the Dakota long after their original exposure in 1862. This new form of communication helped to formulate a new cultural trend based on imagery.[130]

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[127] DeMallie, *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 13.

[128] Steven D. Hoescher, *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourists Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 17.

[129] Hoescher, *Picturing Indians,* 17.

[130] Steven D. Hoescher argues that the encounter between American Indians and American photographers was during a transitional time "after the full weight of comprehensive government programs to eradicate Native life." The "contact zone" of this encounter redefined the purpose of photographing American Indians. According to

Portraiture style photography from 1858 evolved into an attempt to capture true form, reality, and sincere glimpses of both the subject and his surroundings. Photographs not only provide evidence, but also, according to Susan Sontag, "the camera record justifies. A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture."[131] The photographs of the Dakota Indians taken before the war document a moment in time before the eruption of violence. This moment is drastically different from photographs taken right after the Dakota admit defeat and surrender their captives to the federal authorities, as well as the first images taken in 1858. These differences, subtle and obvious, hold clues about the subjects, the photographers, and the impact of visual culture on how the Dakota War was remembered.

Many factors existed in 1862 that prevented the photographer from taking a "truly candid photograph." The equipment, heavy, cumbersome, and numerous as well as the long exposure time meant that the photographer created a "distinctly formal setting, even if that setting was outdoors."[132] This indicates that the following pre-war photographs still shared similar elements to the delegation photographs such as posing, formal settings, staged and framed scenes created by the photographer, and most likely willing participants. However, the move from inside to outside did create new problems for photographers. They learned to adapt to their new environment quickly. Tom Robotham

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Hoescher, photography "served as a technology of domination to subdue indigenous peoples the world over, but it has also worked to provide those very peoples a medium for their own culture's survival, endurance, and renewal—for their survival," 10-55.

[131] Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 5.

[132] Hoescher, *Picturing Indians,* 13.

attributes the outbreak of the Civil War as a direct influence to the way photographers photographed American Indians.

The "battlefields and encampments served as a training grounds" for photographers who later found themselves deep in Indian Territory. Photographers learned how to travel efficiently, how to work with subjects not necessarily there to be photographed, and within the elements that they would not control, like in their studios. Tom Robotham claims, "wartime improvements transformed the camera into an efficient and reliable instrument." Now the camera and style of photography changed, and broke away from the stiff confinements of studio photography. However, the evolution or adapted style brought on by the Civil War also "makes a social comment about the kind[s] of collecting interest" made during this time period. Photographs sought out American Indians and traveled great distances with heavy and bulky equipment in order to take their photographs. The very act of seeking subjects and investing in such endeavors meant something. Whether money motivated the photographers, or the idea that the vanishing American Indian population needed to be photographed before they no longer existed, photography of such individuals became a staple in the photographic world and continues still today.[133]

Still a nascent field, photography competed with other visual art forms such as paintings, engravings, and sketches in captivating audiences, and photographers in the

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[133] Tom Robotham, *Native Americans in Early Photographs* (Greenwhich, Connecticut: Thunder Bay press, 1994), 9. Robotham is summarizing Lee Clark Mitchell *Witness to a Vanishing America: Nineteenth Century Response.*

1850s grappled with how to promote their new craft.[134] Popularity rose when technology allowed for the mass reproduction of photographs. As described in Chapter One, the first forms of photography did not allow for reproductions. Not until the creation of the *carte-de-visite* by André Adolphe Disdéri in 1854 did photographers find a way to reproduce enough quantities to see a profit from the sale of CDVs.[135] In fact, the informal aphorism "quantity more than quality" best represented what CDV's meant to photographers and the public alike.[136] Millions of CDV's were sold throughout the United States and Europe during this time, and all CDV's shared similar dimensions making them the perfect, and affordable addition to photograph albums. Many historians have already noted that these card like photographs added excitement to personal albums, and people bought these cards with images unfamiliar to them as a form of entertainment. Exotic images such as American Indians sold well in the United States.[137]

The potential to make a small, perhaps reasonably sized fortune for images of American Indians drove photographers to travel great distances. Using the same material and development processes, the photographers moved from their embellished studios,

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[134] Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West,* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), 11. Martha Sandweiss discusses the problems associated with finding a market for photography in the 1840s and 1850s.

[135] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*: *From 1893 to the Present* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art: 2009), 64-66.

[136] Oliver Mathews, *Early Photographs and Early Photographers: A Survey in Dictionary Form* (London: Reedminster Publications Ltd., 1973), 47.

[137] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 319. Dahlin states that the CDV photographs cost twenty-five cents, "not an insignificant amount of money" or something equal to about three hours of labor for a worker who's general pay was a dollar a day; Matthews, *Early Photography and Early Photographers*, 47. Mathews states that the CDV was "a supplement of the original visiting card," and exhibited "quantity more than quality." He further claims that "hundreds of millions" of CDVs were made and sold during its lifetime.

which provided a certain level of control over of the shoot, to the outdoors where they had to juggle elements such as weather, the vastness of the Minnesota prairie, and unprepared participants. The resulting images are a testament to the movement and development of photography, journalism photography, and mass-media communication. Seeking fantastic images, photographers traveled great distances to capture an image that evoked a mythic fantasy, a strong emotion of desire, hate, or curiosity, and offered viewers an insiders peek into the Dakota world and way of life.[138]

Summer 1862

In the months preceding the Dakota War, discussions over the annuity payments and delivery of goods saturated the Upper and Lower reservations. Along with waiting for their payment, the Dakota discussed the absence of Minnesota men—off fighting for the Union forces in the Civil War—and how to obtain more credit from the traders' stores. Though some Dakota likely lacked adequate provisions it was the previous winter that caused anxiety for the Dakota in 1862.[139] The unusually harsh conditions during the winter of 1861-1862 resulted in a massive crop failure. Many Dakota experienced "near-starvation," and those conditions weighed heavy on their minds during the summer of

[138] Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph and the American Indian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), xvii. Bush and Mitchell also discuss a reason why some delegation photographs appear highly posed and its subjects stiff is that the photographs continued to mimic painters and the style of portraiture paining.

[139] Traditionally, the Indians who farmed or otherwise made efforts to participate in agency agricultural activities received better goods and supplies. Those that chose not to participate agency programs received less than their fellow Dakota. Favoritism is well documented and contributed to the divide among the Dakota once the war begins. See Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 227-260.

1862.[140] Reducing the Dakota to small, poor sections of Minnesota put them at a disadvantage for survival in general. Therefore, many government programs were introduced to teach the Dakota how to farm. However, this drastic change in their way of life resulted in few Dakota farmers, and with little to no land to hunt, the majority of the Dakota depended upon their annuity payments and distribution of goods.[141]

In August 1862, some Dakota Indians, under the advisement of agent Thomas Galbraith, finished renovations of the agencies, planted corn and other crops, and waited patiently for the arrival of their annuity shipment. Many of the stores around the agency had stopped giving credit to the Dakota, choosing to wait for payment before extending more, and taunted the Dakota with speculation on whether or not they would ever see their annuity.[142] Anxious for their money, and their current supplies dwindling, the Dakota took charge of the situation on August 4, by storming the warehouse of the Upper Agency and helping themselves to the stockpile of goods Agent Galbraith had horded all summer. He claims that he wanted to make what few supplies he had in his possession

[140] Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 5; Anderson and Woolworth also note that an infestation of cut worms contributed to the crop failure. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 20. Adrian Ebell, “Indian Massacres and War of 1862.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 27 (1863): 3.

[141] Big Eagle, a Mdewakanton who participated in the Uprising told a report, Return I. Holcombe, in 1894 that one of the biggest problems among the Dakota, and contributed to the push for war was that the way the whites had treated the Dakota. He claims the white, “would not let them go to war against their enemies…[made] the Indians give up their life and live like white men—go to farming, work hard and do as they did.” However, the Dakota had no interest in farming, but instead wanted to “live as they did before the treaty of Traverse des Sioux—go where they pleased and when they pleased.” Jerome Big Eagle, “A Sioux Story of the War,” *Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society* 6 (1894):382-400. Traders often withheld credit to the Dakota in anticipation of another annuity payment. Once the payment was cleared, the traders would allow Dakota to purchase goods on credit, incurring massive debt, and repeating the cycle.

[142] Anderson, *Little Crow*, 122.

last the entire summer and, not anticipating the delayed arrival of annuities, had become very strict in giving out food to the Dakota.[143] It took Lieutenant Timothy J. Sheehan and a loaded howitzer to stop the confiscation of goods.

The standoff at Yellow Medicine—Upper Agency—led to a meeting between the leaders of the Dakota tribes and government officials. A speaker on behalf of the Dakota, Little Crow made the case that the tribes had used up the food and supplies delivered to them throughout the summer, and they could not subsist on what little remained. In essence, they were starving despite the bountiful harvest that most anticipated that fall and seen in figure 2.7 and 2.8.[144] Little Crow asked that "some arrangement [be made] by which we can get food from the stores" because "[w]hen men are hungry they help themselves."[145] Agent Galbraith turned the discussion over to the four "store-keepers"—traders—who all turned to Andrew Myrick for his reply. After much deliberation and hesitation, Myrick rose to leave the council and remarked, "So far as I'm concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass."[146] The slight enraged many of the Dakota but subsided when Captain Marsh strongly encouraged Agent Galbraith to issue any available goods to the Dakota. All accounts of this event indicate that after the

[143] Thomas J. Galbraith, *Annual Reports*, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1862, Washington: GPO, 1863.

[144] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 26.

[145] Winifred Williamson Barton, *John P. Williamson: A Brother to the Sioux,* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), 48. Barton's biography of John P. Williamson places Dr. Williamson at the conference between the Dakota and the government in early August at Yellow Medicine—Upper Agency—and denotes him as the speaker who relayed Myrick's comment to the Dakota present that day.

[146] Ibid., 49.

distribution of goods, all alarm dissipated and things went back to normal at the agencies.[147]

Pre-War Photographs

The photographs taken just days before the war show many of the Dakota working in the cornfields, going to church, and other daily activities around the agency. The candid and benign scenes in these images are hard to reconcile with the plethora of factors that led to the war. The failed treaties, the breakdown of good relations between the Dakota and the United States, the notion that many of the Dakota were starving by the end of the summer, and the Civil War that took many of the military forces south all contributed to the Dakota War. However, historians argue over whether or not many of these reasons were primary or secondary factors that triggered the violence. Overtime some of these causes developed and evolved into almost mythic realities, such as Andrew Myrick's comment, and have survived over time to become synonymous with the war. The distortion, the creation of these myths, and the historical facts are better illustrated through the deconstruction of the pre-war photographs.[148]

The pre-war photographs differ greatly from the first images of the Dakota Indians. The following photographs were taken on Dakota reservations. Instead of being submerged in wasicu society, these photographs celebrate Dakota way of life. There are families, children, and women represented in these images. Furthermore, the Dakota

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[147] Anderson, *Little Crow*, 127-128; Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862,* 6.

[148] William Watts Folwell and Russell W. Fridley, *A History of Minnesota*, vol 2 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1961), 228. Folwell identifies the causes of the Uprising as "immediate" or prolonged factors. Each cause had an important role in the mixture of the immediate and prolonged factors, however, individually, these factors might not have triggered the events of 1862.

appear in casual dress and engaging in common activities. The activities documented in the following photographs were direct results of the 1858 treaties and include such things as farming, living in homes instead of tipis, and converting to Christianity. The Dakota subjects look physically different from the subjects in the 1858 photographs. Their clothes, their stances, and the backgrounds are remarkably different primarily because the photographer has traveled to the Dakota, the photographs were taken outside, and the subjects are a mixture of men, women, children, families, and their wasicu neighbors.

Figure 2.5. Adrian John Ebell, "Dakota Indians at Williamson's Home (Pajutazee Mission) near Yellow Medicine," August 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Titled, "Dr. Williamson's House," figure 2.5 is a picture of Dr. Williamson's Pajutazee mission and not his home. Titles often did not coincide with the actual image and cannot be judged as accurate. Despite the misleading name, the photograph does include images of Dr. Williamson, his wife, several Dakota members, and the building erected by Williamson for use as a mission. A missionary himself, Dr. Williamson

dedicated himself to ministering to the Dakota and serving as a physician. His skills in medicine were used extensively throughout the Dakota-U.S. War. Dr. Williamson and his wife, Margaret, had moved to Minnesota in 1834 and since than had lived and worked among the Dakota. In fact, Dr. Williamson traveled with the 1858 delegates to Washington D.C. and strongly opposed the treaty. He clearly had strong compassion for the Dakota, and his perseverance continued long after the war.[149]

This photograph of Dr. Williamson's mission was taken either Sunday, August 17 or Monday, August 18th; perhaps this image was taken on Sunday morning after church services. Dr. Williamson is the man in the wide-brimmed hat behind a Dakota woman wrapped in a blanket, his wife, Margaret Williamson, and another white woman. Several Dakota men and women, including a young boy named Samuel Chaska in a straw hat, jacket, and holding a "muskrat spear" also appear in the image .[150] The man in the center is holding a bow and two arrows. He is dressed in a mixture of wasicu and Native clothing, as are most of the Dakota women in the photograph. One woman, standing between the Dakota man in the center and Dr. Williamson, has a small child on her back. In the foreground is the Pajutazee mission it is made of wood with a bell tower on the right side near the roof. A wooden fence surrounds the building.[151]

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[149] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* p. 18, 32.

[150] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 27. Samuel Chaska appears in several of the images taken by Adrian Ebell. He is also seen at his father's house and with women in a cornfield guarding the crops from blackbirds.

[151] Alan R. Woolworth and Mary H. Bakeman, eds., *Camera and Sketchbook: Witness to the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Roseville, MN: Park Genealogical Books, 2004), 74. Woolworth estimates that the photograph was taken on Sunday, August 17 after church services; Dahlin, 27. Dahlin identifies Dr. Thomas S. Williamson as the man in the "broad-brimmed hat," Margaret Williamson, Samuel Chaska, and figures the other white woman is Aunt Jane, Margaret's sister.

Figure 2.6 Whitney's Gallery, "Robert Hopkins Chaska and Family at Chaska's House near Dr. Thomas Williamson's Pajutazee Mission near the Yellow Medicine Agency," August 18, 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

There is a contrast between the Dakota women and the wasicu women in this picture. The two white women wear bonnets, shawls, and large skirts. The Dakota women wear a mixture of wasicu and Dakota clothing. They use government issued blankets instead of shawls and do not wear anything in their braided hair. Their clothing is less ornamental than the wasicu women's, and their skirts are darker and without aprons or kerchiefs. Similarly, Robert Chaska and Dr. Williamson differ in their dress. Though both wear pants, Samuel does not wear a hat, jacket, or tie and instead he wraps a blanket around his waist and wears traditional Dakota foot ware. Ironically, his son Samuel dresses similarly to Dr. Williamson rather than his father. He dons a jacket, hat, and light colored pants like Dr. Williamson's. This could indicate that children adopted or transitioned easier to wasicu cultural standards such as dress and attire. Samuel Chaska

does not represent the typical Dakota child, but he does give strong clues that while adults and parents adopted wasicu ways, children likely found it easier to convert.[152]

Taken the day the war began, Robert Hopkins Chaska and his family stand in front of their home with other Dakota people in the foreground in figure 2.6. [153] Chaska and his wife, Sarah Wawiyojiowin, and their son, Samuel, had started converting their lifestyle from Dakota to wasicu. This photograph shows their home, made of brick, with farming equipment situated on land parceled out to them by the government. As a way to encourage civilization, the Indian agents helped Dakota build homes and gave them equipment to farm. This showed favoritism towards the Dakota who cut their hair and adopted wasicu ways—living in permanent homes made of brick, farming, and wearing wasicu clothing.[154] The Dakota who resisted these changes did not receive help from government officials, and resentment grew between those who labeled 'friendly,' 'cut-hair,' or 'farmer' Indians and traditional Indians who did not adopt any of the civilization practices. These two groups grew further apart once the farmer Indians began harvesting crops, depending upon purchasing goods on credit and relying on annual annuities.[155]

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[152] "Dr. Williamson's House" Adrian Ebell's photograph. The idea that children were easier to convert than adults is rooted firmly in civilization practices throughout nineteenth century America. The concept of pulling children away for their Indian homes and transporting them to boarding houses to completely convert their ways was highly successful in eradicating Indian culture.

[153] Adrian Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and the War of 1862," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* June 1863, 3.

[154] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 247.

[155] Big Eagle, *As Red Men Viewed It,* 129; and also in *Through Dakota Eyes.* Big Eagle recalls the tension between the two groups and the disparity between the two created by the government, traders, and overall favoritism. He also discusses how difficult the transition and transformation was for many Dakota people who took on the challenge of living like white people.

This photograph is an excellent example of the conversion the Dakota went through because of the treaties signed with the government. A large tipi frame is in front of the brick house representing the physical movement and transformation from semi-nomadic lives to living in permanent structures as farmers. Still utilizing traditional Dakota ways of life, Chaska has adopted many wasicu ways while slowly abandoning traditional Dakota lifestyles. He has cut his hair and donned wasicu clothing, and has moved his family into a home built of brick.

Figure 2.7 Adrian John Ebell, "Indian Women and Children Guarding Corn from Blackbirds," August, 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Figure 2.7 and 2.8 are unique photographs taken by Adrian Ebell on August 18 depicting women and their work on the reservations. Sitting atop of structure made of wood, women and children acted as scarecrows to keep birds from eating their crops. In figure 2.7 the structure are various instruments used to make noise to aid in the activity of keeping away the birds; a black pot seen in the middle of the photograph was likely used for this purpose. Many of the women and children are unidentified; however, the small

child in the center of the photograph is likely Samuel Chaska. On the far left side is Thomas S. Williamson in the wide-brimmed hat looking at the structure. Samuel and Dr. Williamson appear in several of the photographs taken on August 18 and appear to have followed Adrian Ebell and Edwin Lawton around as they photographed activities on the reservation.

This particular activity came as no surprise to Edwin Lawton, who described on August 14 how Dakota women and children "engaged in the very interesting occupation of scarecrows."[156] On their journey to the Upper Agency Lawton mentioned how fifty or so tipis dotted the landscape of scattered civilized home where naked children played. His description of the landscape and ambiance renders a natural but crude world where activities such as women acting as scarecrows and children running around naked is so common that it warrants a lengthy discussion in his diary. Furthermore, this activity incited such interest from the visitors that they photographed a similar occurrence four days later. Undoubtedly a common practice throughout the Dakota reservations, the photographer and his assistant found this occurrence interesting and memorable as both wrote about this particular scene—Lawton before the war in his diary and Ebell after the war in his famous *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* article.[157]

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[156] Edwin R. Lawton, "Edwin Lawton Journal," Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Collections, 100.

[157] Adrian Ebell does not describe the women as scarecrows, but he does mention that "Corn and wheat fields, though but of recent commencement, were frequent and heavily ladened with their wavering harvests, for never had Minnesota been blessed with so abundant a yield as in the fall of 1862." Adrian Ebell, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.

Figure 2.8. Adrian John Ebell, "Dakota Indian Women Winnowing Wheat, Upper Agency," August 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

In figure 2.8 two Dakota women demonstrate how harvested wheat is separated from the shaft of the plant. The two Dakota women stand facing one another as they toss the wheat into the air. They stand on a tarp that collects the grain as the lighter chaff flies off with the breeze. More grain appears in the background, indicating a tedious and laborious task for the women.[158] Figures 2.7 and 2.8 clearly illustrate that agricultural activities had fully commenced on the reservations and that several Dakota families engaged in agricultural activities. What is most significant about these two images is that it is the first time Dakota women appear in photographs. The way the women dressed and their activity on the reservations is documented in these images and provide a good comparison to photographs taken after the war. Photographs of Dakota women after the war show them seated in front of their homes and often surrounded by their children.

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[158] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 24.

Dakota women, like Dakota men, blended wasicu and Dakota clothing. The women wore long trade-cloth shirts with plain skirts paired with traditional Dakota moccasins. The women standing guard in the corn field are photographed with many children. Providing daily care and maintenance of young children fell to Dakota women—a fixed custom in Dakota society. The woman standing below the scaffold holds a blanket over her shoulders, but none of the women cover their heads with bonnets or other headwear. Their hair is parted down the middle of their heads and braided. The manufacture of clothing belonged to Dakota women, who would decorate their blankets with silk, embroidery, and beads, and make them a personal and valuable piece of their wardrobe.[159] In addition to colorful and ornate blankets, women wore necklaces and earrings—seen more clearly in the post-war photographs.

The pre-war photographs bring to light a typical day on the Upper Agency. The Dakota went to church, lived in permanent brick homes and tipis, and cultivated the land. These activities were not shared by all Dakota, but it is evident that they existed in parts of the reservation. Photographer Ebell described Dakota life on the reservation as "but of recent commencement, were frequent and heavily ladened with their waving harvests, for never had Minnesota been blessed with so abundant a yield as in the fall of 1862."[160] Ebell's words, written months after the war, differ remarkably from those of his assistant, Edwin Lawton, who wrote in his diary of his disappointment at not finding a "flourishing Indian Village," but instead a small town with houses, stores, schools, all centered in,

[159] Samuel Pond claims he saw a Dakota women refuse fifty dollars for her blanket because it did not cover the material and effort put into the garment. Pond, *Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest*, 32.

[160] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 26-27; Adrian Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862," 5.

"the [bleak] far reaching prairie enlivened by here and there a heard of cattle with a solitary squaw guarding them."[161]

It bears mentioning that though crops existed, not every Dakota had access to their bounty. Whites and the traders often favored farmer Indians, those who had succumbed to the white man's way and learned to farm, cut their hair, and lived in houses. Chief Big Eagle stated that those Dakota who farmed received farming equipment, tools, and houses from the government. He claims this favoritism by the government created tension between the farming Indians and those who refused to live like the white men. The Dakota who chose not to farm suffered severely from food shortages, lower credit limits at the stores, and poorer treatment from the agency officials, and added to the already tense environment.[162] So when the Dakota stormed the warehouse on August 4, 1862, many did so not because of hunger but because of the late annuity payment, the loss of credit at the stores, and an overall disgust with their situation and relationship with the United States.

Early historians credit starving conditions in the summer of 1862 as a significant cause for tensions and the subsequent war. However, later historians acknowledged that

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[161] Edwin Lawton Diary, 97-100; Photograph is titled "Squaws Guarding Corn from Blackbirds," and the description on the back of the photograph states, "These Birds are very destructive to corn, sometimes destroying a whole field in an incredibly short time. During the ripening of the grain, the Indians build in different parts of the field, *staging,* as seen in the picture, by setting four posts and stretching skins between them, upon which the squaws sit, with a canopy of skins overhead, and beat drums, kettles and tin pans, frightening the birds away. This picture was taken near the Indian Mission on the Minnesota River on the morning of the day of the massacre, of 1862." Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 25.

[162] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 26-7; Kenneth Carley, "As Red Men Viewed It: Three Indian Accounts of the Uprising," *Minnesota History* 38 (September 1962): 130.

the tension throughout the summer resulted from various prolonged problems, only one of which was the inadequate food supply. The Upper and Lower reservations had suffered from crop failures in previous years, and tensions ran high in 1862 over concern about food and provisions for the coming winter.[163] The evidence of crops and harvesting did not indicate that the Dakota had food. Many Dakota still relied on hunting as their primary source for food. Many more waited for the shipment from the government to staunch their hunger. The photographs prove that farming existed in the Upper Sioux Agency reservation, and some Dakota had taken to the agricultural program.

The premise that the Dakota, so starved and hungry, went to war with the United States lacks sufficient evidence and common sense. Multiple factors, and various interpretations of those factors can account for some of the reasons for war. Yet, claiming that the Dakota had started and continued to starve paints an image of the Dakota as weak and inferior. Furthermore, having one cause for the violence takes away from the larger and more multifaceted reasons for war. Describing the Dakota as weak, hungry, and quick to lash out and go to war allowed people in the mid-nineteenth century to justify the violence in Minnesota. It also diverted attention from the primary triggers such as, inept government practices, corruption among the traders and store clerks, failed promises outlined in treaties, and the attempted overhaul of Dakota culture.[164]

Acton Murders

Historian, Kenneth Carley, describes the beginning of the war as a, "trivial egg-finding incident…[that] quickly mushroomed into a major conflict between [the Dakota]

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[163] Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 228.
[164] Carley, *The Dakota War, 3*-5.

and whites."[165] Similar to the photographs that Ebell took of the Dakota on and before the war, life on the Minnesota prairie resembled any other normal day; with Dakota Indians working on their farms, walking to and from church, and engaging in other common activities. Since the war erupted quickly, without a plan or widespread knowledge, many Dakota and Minnesota settlers alike woke up on August 18, 1862, and began the day as if it were any ordinary day. News spread of attacks and violence, causing Minnesota to quickly morph into a hostile environment filled with panic-stricken people. Ironically, Kenneth Carley's statement that frivolity ignited the spark can also apply to the way Adrian Ebell's photographs changed and evolved after the Uprising. His images capture trivial, every-day occurrences that appear boring in comparison to later images that detail the desolation of many Dakota prisoners while in custody. Most striking of all are the images of many prisoners' final moments of life.

Sunday, August 17, 1862, ended with five white Minnesota settlers dead. Four Dakota men walked home after a hunting trip. They happened upon a nest filled with eggs and began to argue over whether or not to take them. The location of the eggs, on a white man's property caused concern for one of the Dakota who worried that if they ate the eggs they might all find themselves in trouble for stealing from a white man. Frustrated by a poor hunt and the lack of annuity supplies, another charged the first with cowardice. Eventually, the debate ended with each man challenging the others in their group to prove their bravery by killing the nearby white man. The home of the white man in question belonged to Mr. Robinson Jones. He and his wife died alongside their son-in-law, Howard Baker, a Mr. Webster and a young girl of fourteen. In total, five Minnesota

[165] Carley, *The Dakota War,* 7.

white people settled the debate over the bravery of the four Dakota hunters. Having sufficiently proved their valor, the four stole a wagon and went directly to Shakopee's camp, about six miles North of Redwood Agency.[166]

After hearing the details of the Dakota bloody encounter in Acton, Shakopee took the men and their camp to Little Crow's house to discuss further the events and how to proceed. No records or transcripts exist of these early morning talks. However, Big Eagle's interview in 1894 with the newspaper reporter Return I. Holcombe provides the best summary of what likely occurred at Little Crow's house. Big Eagle claims many of the elder Dakota resisted the younger men in their eagerness for war. In fact, Little Crow's statement—as retold by his son Wowinape who was present when his father gave the speech—warned that if the Dakota chose to go to war with the wasicu they faced certain death. His experience negotiating treaties, working on the reservations as a farmer, and daily interaction with the government agents gave him first hand experience and knowledge of the vast power of the United States and its people.[167] However, Little Crow was a Dakota man first, and at best a Dakota man living in a white man's world second. He likely understood better than most the consequences of attacking the United States or its citizens, but valued the honor and traditions of his people over fear of death.

The divide between the younger and older generations continued throughout the early hours of the morning. After listening carefully to both sides, Little Crow spoke and

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[166] Big Eagle identifies the four Dakota braves who committed the Acton murders as Brown Wing, Breaking Up, Killing Ghost, and Runs Against Something when Crawling. Though he does not give an explanation for the murders, his recount of the events that day point to the fact that the braves, having an unsuccessful hunt, found themselves in an ill-tempered mood and hungry. This mixture proved fatal in more ways than one. Gary Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 35-36.

[167] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 39-40.

declared that war had started with the murders in Acton. Due to the blood spilt, he knew the "whites would take a dreadful vengeance because women had been killed."[168] Big Eagle does remark that a council took place after Little Crow's speech, and the official declaration of war came from the council and not Little Crow. However, the Dakota chose Little Crow as their leader after they challenged his bravery.[169] Little Crow, once a powerful and well-respected member of his tribe, had lost his prestige in the years following the treaty delegations. Recognizing this as an opportunity to regain his former standing within his tribe, Little Crow reluctantly agreed to lead a war, even though he knew the likely outcome. He ordered the first attack for the next morning against the wasicu living at the Lower Agency.[170]

The murders in Acton ignited the fiery tensions between the Dakota and the United States government, but enough animosity between the two groups existed before

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[168] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* p. 36. Big Eagle notes that he, Wabasha, Wacouta continued to talk for peace after Little Crow proclaimed war. Their hesitation did not last long, because all three men—and Little Crow—participated in several key battles during the Uprising. It is important to note that Big Eagle's statement, taken many years after the battles, possibly allowed the man to vindicate and atone his actions from 1862. First hand narratives of events from years past always pose a unique problem for historians. He might have used this opportunity to try to appear against the violence, but participated because the council officially declared war—in direct comparison to his feelings towards attacking whites.

[169] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 36. Jerome Big Eagle, "A Sioux Story of the War," recorded by Return I. Holcome, *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 1, 1894, p. 15; Jerome Big Eagle, "A Sioux Story of the War," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* 6 (1894): 382-400; H. L. Gordon, *The Feast of the Virgins and Other Poems* (Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1891), 343-344.

[170] Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands resided at the Lower Agency. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow,* 134. Anderson description of Little Crow in the moment of declaring war: "Little Crow had always been pragmatic. He had consistently worked for solutions that were within the realm of possibility. His decision to join a doomed war effort certainly contradicted his past behavior, but it did not run counter to the traditional obligation of a Sioux warrior to his community and people—that of giving his life when such a sacrifice became necessary for the benefit of the whole. The honor that attended such sacrifice was more important than the dire consequences of the war."

the murders that almost anything could have set off the explosion of violence in August 1862. Failed promises, lack of adequate supplies, corruption, and the overall deterioration of professional relationships created the volatile fuse, and the Acton murders provided the flame. However, the situation in Minnesota does not stand out as unique. The overall mismanagement and poor treatment of Native Americans across the United States created similar situations that plague our history. The Dakota in Minnesota experienced comparable hardships created and resulting from contact of two conflicting groups of people. The Dakota's uniqueness is the swiftness of their actions and the images that captured their demise.[171]

The War

The war began in earnest the next morning with the first attack on the Lower Agency. A series of battles and skirmishes over the next four weeks accumulated the full force the Dakota managed to muster. Despite the element of surprise, and the knowledge of the land and surrounding agencies, the Dakota never managed to put forth a unified and cohesive force against the unsuspecting settlers and government officials. Poor management, unorganized strategies, weaker ammunition and arms, and division within the Dakota forces ultimately spelled their defeat. An opportune moment passed by while the Dakota pillaged and plundered instead of decisively attacking their enemy. The result was total annihilation of the Dakota community. The strongest effort from the Dakota, the guerilla style warfare that constituted destruction of personal property through fire

[171] DeMallie, *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol 13 page 770. "[A]fter 1855, reservation conditions steadily worsened. The kinship ties that connected the Santee and white traders and diplomats had begun to erode, creating a social vacuum between the two populations."

and looting, peaked during the first week of fighting. However, momentum soon waned when the Dakota lost several key battles against the agencies.

The initial attack on the Lower Agency succeeded in surprising the incredulous settlers and caused widespread panic and disbelief. Due to the familiar relationships between the wasicu populations in Minnesota and the Dakota, the surprise attacks confused most settlers who chose to wait out the threat instead of organizing defensive forces. This allowed the Dakota to move swiftly across the territory, devastating property and inflicting severe casualties upon the wasicu. In fact, an organized response to the surprise attacks took almost four weeks to come together; all while the Dakota raged guerilla warfare. As wasicu recognized the danger and severity of the Dakota threat, they took flight to nearby government agencies.

The Dakota attacked Fort Ridgley on the Lower Agency twice, and twice they failed to take the Fort. The first attack on August 18 confused the Lower Agency officials, and in their attempt to understand the ramifications of the surprise attack, made several mistakes that led to casualties and significantly the capture of men, women, and children, who were forced to live with the Dakota throughout the War. Unclear on the location of Dakota forces, many agency employees fell victim to misdirection from trusted Dakota allies. Captain John Marsh, stationed at Fort Ridgely, followed White Dog to an ambush at Redwood Ferry. Marsh and half of his men died during the ambush. The survivors returned to Fort Ridgley and immediately sent world to Governor Alexander Ramsey at Fort Snelling.[172]

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[172] Jerry Keenan, *The Great Sioux Uprising: Rebellion on the Plains August-September 1862* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003), 27. 200 Dakota warriors faced off with around 75 agency employees during the first attack at the Lower Agency. Twenty

Governor Ramsey assigned Colonel Henry Hastings Sibley to end the violence in Minnesota. His knowledge of Minnesota's landscape and Dakota way of life made Sibley an obvious choice for military leadership. Sibley acquired four companies—around 400 militiamen—and an assortment of supplies. However apt Sibley was, he considered his men and equipment inadequate. Sibley called for additional supplies and delayed his movement into the conflict zone in order to prepare his untrained voluntary militiamen. During the nearly three-week delay, the Dakota continued their rampage across the Minnesota countryside, something for which Sibley received harsh criticism after the rebellion ended.[173]

The Dakota descended upon Fort Ridgley twice, once on August 18, and next again on August 20. During both assaults, the men at the Fort held off the Dakota with their superior artillery and the help of rain thwarted the Dakota efforts. Lieutenant Thomas P. Gere helped 250 refugees, flooding into Fort Ridgley, keep the Dakota from taking the fort by utilizing any available weapon on hand—including axes, shovels, and pitch forks.[174]

Simultaneously, New Ulm fell under attack by Dakota forces on two separate occasions, and twice the townspeople managed to keep the Dakota at bay. The first attack on New Ulm resulted in a stalemate, as Charles S. Flandrau, former Indian Agent and Federal Judge, kept the Dakota from penetrating the defenses at New Ulm. However, the

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men died, while another 50 were taken captive, while the rest escaped to the refuge of Fort Ridgley; Jen 70-71

[173] Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862,* 62-63

[174] Keenan, *The Great Sioux Uprising,* 34. Lieutenant Thomas P. Gere was stricken with the Mumps while defending Fort Ridgley on August 18 and 20th. His ability to keep the Fort under his control was aided with a rain storm that send the Dakota forces back to their encampment.

second attack on Saturday, August 23, almost succeeded in taking the town. The Dakota had set fire to several haystacks so that the smoke appeared to be coming from Fort Ridgley. New Ulm dispatched several men to investigate the diversion created by the Dakota, and the Dakota succeeded temporarily in causing panic and disillusionment among the wasicu forces. Chief Wabasha, Mankato, and Big Eagle were all present during the second attack on New Ulm, which might account for the initial success the Dakota had that day. However, Mankato stood in front of a cannon ball, declaring his invincibility; he died from the wounds inflicted by the cannon ball. The Dakota failed to penetrate the walls of the safe hold in New Ulm and left the battle field, giving the residents and refugees of New Ulm time to evacuate on Sunday, August 24.[175]

The Dakota suffered from unorganized and unfocused attacks and strategies. The entire fighting force consistently divided their men between attacking forts, towns, or homesteads simultaneously and at random. This kept the Dakota forces from unifying. The initial attacks during the first week of fighting illustrated just how unprepared the Dakota were for all-out war. After the first assault, the strong Dakota presence quickly diminished into looting, plundering, burning of property, and then withdrawal back to camp. Individual acts of violence occurred all across Minnesota, while large towns and Forts came under attack by Dakota braves.[176] The most successful part of the war for the Dakota revolved around the small attacks on individual homesteads, the plundering of towns, homes, and businesses, and the killing and stealing of livestock.

Many of the Dakota men who had participated in treaty negotiations took up arms and fought alongside the younger Dakota men. Chiefs Wabasha, Mankato, and Big Eagle

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[175] Carley, *The Dakota War,* 39 and 49.
[176] Keenan, *The Great Sioux Uprising Rebellion*, 34.

participated in the some of the battles. During the battle at Birch Coulee on September 2, the Dakota braves took advantage of the high grass and maneuvered back and forth to the battlefield throughout the day and into night. Big Eagle later recalled that the Dakota "had an easy time of it. We would crawl through the grass and into the coulie and get water." Dakota women cooked for the fighters and delivered the food via the river. The fighting ended later that night when word of reinforcements reached the Dakota. However, the longest battle took place at Fort Abercrombie, where the Dakota laid siege from September 3 through September 29. Due to limited ammunition, the agency officials waited out the Dakota siege, and burned hay stacks to limit Dakota visibility when men went to the nearby river for water. Reinforcements eventually arrived at Fort Abercrombie on September 23, and the siege officially ended six days later. The Dakota managed to loot the local livestock, but never penetrated the Fort or caused massive damage.[177] Only five men were wounded during the siege, and five men died. The biggest accomplishment by the Dakota throughout the war consisted primarily of spreading fear and terror throughout Minnesota as they attacked at random and without warning.

The last major battle for the Dakota occurred on September 23 at Wood Lake, and for the first time during the outbreak of violence Colonel Sibley and his forces met the Dakota braves in battle. Camping overnight at Wood Lake, Sibley and his men happened upon a large group of Dakota—as many as 1,200 Dakota braves. The battle sprang into action at first light, while many of Sibley's men foraged for potatoes to cook for

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[177] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 151; The intial attack on For Abercrombie commenced on September 3, the decision to lay siege came around September 6, and the official siege ended on September 29th. Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862,* 56.

breakfast. The battle lasted two hours. Sibley quickly defeated the Dakota, in part due to the advanced weaponry and artillery his men carried into battle.[178] This defeat marked the "end of organized warfare," and the beginning of negotiations to rescue the captives held by the Dakota.[179]

Two Dakota camps formed during the war. The hostile camp included most of the captives taken during the war, members of the Soldiers' Lodge—a Dakota organization that oversaw the battles in the war—and consisted of more Mdewakanton and Wahpekute band members than the Upper Agency members.[180] The friendlies camp consisted of individuals opposed to the war, and eventually the camp took over most of the captives the night before the battle at Wood Lake. After the Dakota defeat at Wood Lake, they returned to their camp and found that their captives had moved into the friendlies camp and were being protected by noncombatant Dakota. Friendly Dakota had dug holes in their tents to help hide and protect themselves and the captives. Samuel Brown, a mixed-blood captive, recalled how the friendlies camp grew so large that some Dakota threatened Little Crow and other hostile Indians giving up their location to Sibley and his troops.[181]

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[178] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 72.

[179] Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862,* 63. The battle was actually fought at Lone Tree Lake, but was recorded incorrectly by a soldier who mistook the lake for Wood Lake.

[180] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 229. Thomas A. Robertson notes that the Soldiers' Lodge was not led by Little Crow, but a group of many individuals including Cutnose who was executed on December 26, 1862.

[181] Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 70 and 223. Cecelia Campbell Stay, a captive during the Dakota war noted that friendly Dakota had placed her in a hole within the tent and stood outside to guard them against the returning Dakota warriors. She writes that the friendly Dakota dug a hole outside of the tent to, "s[t]and in, to fight in, to fight defending us, if it came to battle between them and the Hostiles." *Through Dakota Eyes*, 251.

Figure 2.9. Adrian John Ebell, "Camp Release," 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Figure 2.9 taken by Adrian Ebell, has come to symbolize the end of the war and the beginning of Camp Release, or when the friendly Dakota and captives taken during the war surrendered to Colonel Sibley. An article published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* by the photographer Adrian Ebell uses an engraving made by Albert Colgrave of Ebell's photograph of Camp Release titled "Indian Camp Taken by Colonel Sibley."[182] However, this photograph is not an image of Camp Release but of a similar camp.[183] Ebell likely took this photograph after the Battle of Wood Lake, but this image does illustrate how the various Dakota camps looked during the war. Soldiers stand in front of wagons and tipis while two Dakota captives are seen seated in the middle of the

[182] Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and the War of 1862."

[183] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 203. Dahlin believes this photograph was taken sometime between October 17 and October 21, 1982. Thomas Scantlebury, a soldier in the Seventh Minnesota Infantry recalls a photographer taking images of Dakota camps on October 17, 1982. The photographer was likely Adrian Ebell since he was well entrenched with the military after his rescue.

photograph. Scattered throughout the Minnesota prairie, Dakota camps became a gathering place of not only the Dakota themselves, but also of the loot stolen throughout the war. Prized items such as wagons and livestock littered the landscape, as seen in this photograph while smaller loot occupied places within the tipis.[184]

Camp Release officially refers to September 26, 1862, when Colonel Sibley took over the friendly Dakota camp including all captives. Overnight, hostile Dakota, including Little Crow and much of his band, fled after the devastating loss at Wood Lake. Some of the Dakota fled to Canada, while others took their chance on surviving on the northern plains of Minnesota, South Dakota, and North Dakota. Their flight on the night of September 24 meant that Sibley approached primarily friendly Dakota who had stood against the war. Communication between Colonel Sibley and leaders of the hostile camp had informed Dakota leaders of the encroachment of military forces, and that should they lose the war the soldiers would be upon their camp swiftly. Colonel Sibley promised Dakota leaders leniency in return for release of the captives.[185] Upon entering the camp, Sibley is greeted mostly by friendly Dakota, captives, and very few Dakota who participated in the war. However, some Dakota decided to stay and surrender to Sibley. Big Eagle, a Mdewakanton member who participated in some of the battles, decided to

[184] Heard, *History of the Sioux War,* 182. Heard describes seeing wagons filled with stolen items and cattle among the Dakota camps. He claims, "tents were well supplied with carpets and different kinds of goods and household utensils."

[185] Antoine Joseph, a mixed-blood Dakota taken captive during the war, served as Little Crow's secretary and transported him in wagons. Joseph asked Little Crow to release hostages, which Little Crow did after the Battle of Wood Lake. Later Joseph went to Colonel Sibley to discuss the arrangement of the two camps and how most of the captives were being protected by friendly Dakota. Dahlin, 212. Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 287.

stay at Camp Release and surrender.[186] Later, after his trail and imprisonment, Big Eagle regretted taking Colonel Sibley at his word. He later explained that his actions during the war "had been in fair, open fight," and he did not think incarceration a possibility once he surrendered. In fact, had he known of his future time in prison, he would not have surrendered.[187]

The destruction of the Dakota nation began at Camp Release. The Dakota lost control over their own lives. An exchange took place; the captives were released as the Dakota themselves were taken into custody. Those who did not flee were left to Colonel Sibley's forces, angry white settlers, and corrupt government officials. When Colonel Sibley marched into the friendlies camp, he stood in front of women and children, mixed-blood Dakota, and very few Dakota braves. In fact, the people he surrounded were non-violent Dakota who had protected their friends and families during the war. Colonel Sibley quickly separated the men from the women and children.[188] A temporary jail was erected within a day, and under orders from Colonel Sibley, Colonel Crooks and his team took custody of Dakota men late one night and put them in jail. The men were shackled

[186] Woolworth, *Camera and Sketchbook*, 17. Woolworth states 269 white and mix-blood captives were counted at Camp Release. Samuel J. Brown estimated that 270 white and mix-blood captives were counted. Anderson, *Though Dakota Eyes*, 225

[187] Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 237.

[188] Samuel Brown explains that he worked with military officials to lie to the Dakota in order to separate the men from their families, and thus successfully put them into custody without another battle. Brown informed the Dakota that a roll call was going to take place in order to deliver the annuities. Once families approached the military, men were told to go and be counted as heads of households as their wives and children went through the camp to wait. These men were then taken into custody. Anderson, *Though Dakota Eyes*, 226.

together; "[s]ide by side the right foot of one was fastened to the left of another."[189] This group of Dakota men stood trial for their alleged involvement in the war just two days after Camp Release. On September 26, Colonel Sibley established a military tribunal of five men and commenced to try the Dakota. The first Dakota to stand trial was Godfrey, and the next thirty-nine days 392 Dakota men were tried in the military tribunal—an average of 10 Dakota per day.[190]

The trials of the Dakota Indians held from September 28, 1862, through November 5 represented an epic miscarriage of justice.[191] As many as forty Dakota were tried before the military commission in one day; the average trial lasted around five to ten minutes. Many Dakota did not speak or understand English but relied on translators. The Dakota did not have official legal representation, were not allowed to call witnesses on their behalf, and faced prejudicial treatment from the military tribunal, translators, and other wasicu witnesses who testified against them. The evidence used to find the Dakota guilty included bringing any type of supplies to a battle, firing a weapon, killing, and raping. Simply being present at a battle condemned many of the Dakota to death. Carol Chomsky, professor at the University of Minnesota Law School wrote:

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[189] Adrian Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862," 20. Photograph E91.4S r23. Two Dakota men seated on the right of the photograph appear to have their ankles shackled to one another.

[190] For more information on the trials of the Dakota see Carol Chomsky, "United States-Dakota War Trials: A Study in Military Injustice," *Stanford Law Review* 43:13; Kenneth Carley pg 69 described the trials as a "travesty of justice." The military tribunal included Colonel Crooks, Lieutenant Colonel Marshall—later replaced by Major Bradley, Captain Grant, Captain Baily, and Lieutenant Olin. Reverend Stephen R. Riggs and Samuel J. Brown acted as interpreters, and the official recorder for the commission was Isaac Heard.

[191] Lawyers assigned by President Abraham Lincoln to review the list of condemned Dakota remarked that they were "shocked by what they found—short trials, reliance on hearsay evidence, denial of due process and of counsel—and rejected many of the findings of the military commission." Prucha *The Great Father*, 444.

> The Dakota were tried, not in a state or federal court, but before a military commission. They were convicted, not for the crime of murder, but for killings committed in warfare. The official review was conducted, not by an appellate court, but by the President of the United States. Many wars took place between Americans and members of the Indian nations, but in no others did the United States apply criminal sanctions to punish those defeated in war.[192]

In the end, 392 Dakota went before the commission and a total of 303 were found guilty and sentenced to death.[193] Before the end of the trials, Colonel Sibley moved the entire encampment at Camp Release south to Redwood Agency. The weather turned cold, and supplies and food had decreased.[194] Once at Redwood Agency, the military commission continued the trials of the Dakota using an abandoned log cabin as the military headquarters and courthouse.

Francois LeBath, a trader from the Lower Sioux Agency who died during the war, had previously owned the log building that Colonel Sibley appropriated for the court house and his personal dwelling. This "quondam kitchen, but henceforth immortalized court-house" is seen in figure 2.10.[195] This photograph, likely taken by Adrian Ebell after October 24, was printed by Whitney's Gallery and labeled "Indian Jail, Prisoners in the foreground."[196] The title used during the publishing of the photograph is misleading. The

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[192] Chomsky, "The United States-Dakota War Trials" 14.

[193] Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 221. Anderson states that of the 392 Dakota tried, 307 were sentenced to death.

[194] Samuel Brown recalls that on October 4 150 soldiers escorted around 1,250 Dakota to Yellow Medicine Agency to gather corn and potatoes to feed the Dakota, military, and other personal. On October 12, they left Yellow Medicine for Redwood Agency, arriving on the 15th. Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 225-226.

[195] Heard, *History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863*, 239-240. Isaac Heard wrote how he slept at the log building with Colonel Sibley, and remembered the evenings in the building as "coz[y]."

[196] Minnesota Historical Society, "Indian Jail for U.S.-Dakota War Captives." It was common practice for the publisher of the photograph to not be the photographer of

military trials of the Dakota took place in the log cabin after the Dakota moved from Camp Release to the Lower Sioux Agency—Redwood Agency. That move happened after October 24, and, therefore, the images were likely taken sometime after that date.

Figure 2.10. Adrian John Ebell, "Indian Jail for U.S.-Dakota War Captives," ca. October 25, 1862-November 11, 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Five Dakota men are seated on the ground with blankets wrapped around their bodies. The blankets are pulled close to the men's shoulders giving the viewer the impression that the weather was poor and the men cold. The Dakota wear traditional footwear and some have wrapped clothing around their heads. Isaac Heard, the recorder for the commission remarked that on October 21, while preparing to move the Dakota to the Lower Agency, "the cold was so intense that they shivered as if in fear that Death was

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the original photograph. Photographers often took pictures that were developed and processed by other photographic studios. Those studios then printed the images under their own business names. In this case, Joel E. Whitney published this photograph in his studio in St. Paul, Minnesota despite having not taken the photograph himself.

hurrying fast behind."[197] A fierce storm enveloped the Minnesota Plains with strong winds that took down tents and trees and littered the landscape with black dust. Testimony from white settlers and Dakota alike illustrate that the lack of food, provisions, housing, and the coming of winter made Camp Release and the days that followed a brutal experience for all involved.[198]

The men standing in the background of figure 2.10 are part of the militia formed and under command of Colonel Sibley. These men hold rifles and wear kepi caps and greatcoats with capes. Other men dressed in trousers and jackets without military insignia represent the volunteer forces, settlers, or other agency officials. Together these groups of white wasicu and military men took charge of moving the Dakota from Camp Release through to the Lower Agency. They monitored the movement of the men as one group, and the women and children and other non-combatants as a separate group. The photograph of Camp Release and the prisoners in front of the make-shift courthouse are of Dakota men. No women are present in these photographs. In fact, women and children do not appear in photographs until they are removed to Fort Snelling after the trials. The men in these photographs appear sullen; their faces blank as they sit on the ground with their knees close to their chests, making them appear small. The victors stand, almost

[197] Heard, *History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863*, 231.

[198] Adrian Ebell, Harpers Mag. Ebell recalls the storm "uprooted trees on the river sides; blew down tents upon our heads, and sent us around like a brood of chickens in a rain-storm; took up barrels and sent them from one end of the camp to the other." The soldiers appeared "black with ashes and dust," as the entire area "began to grow colder." P22.

lording their success over the Dakota, making it easier for a viewer to understand which side won the war. [199]

The Dakota men in images figure 2.9 and 2.10 are unknown to this writer. However, the Dakota in figure 2.10 were most likely part of the group of men put on trial for war crimes since they are seated in front of the building where the trials took place, and two of the Dakota are shackled together. Considering that these Dakota men were prisoners, their participation in the photograph is unclear. Perhaps they had no choice but to sit and have their photograph taken; in fact, two men in figure 2.10 are shackled together and making any attempt at movement difficult and unlikely.[200] The photographer needed the subjects to remain still while the exposure took place, but that does not indicate whether or not the Dakota wanted their images captured by the photographer. The Dakota in figure 2.10 stare blankly at the camera, as do the men standing in the background, unlike the men in figure 2.9, who stand in profile gazing off into the distance while the two Dakota seated look in the direction of the photographer.[201]

Photographs of the Dakota after the war depict them as prisoners of war, detainees, and otherwise defeated peoples. Remarkably, the Dakota in these photographs did not necessarily represent the guilty. Most of the Dakota responsible for the war and who participated in the bloodshed had fled after the Battle of Wood Lake, making the

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[199] The two Dakota who's feet are show, and who are sitting close together toward the right side of the photograph appear to have their legs shackled together. Another two Dakota are seated behind them, while a Dakota man is seated to their right in the foreground.

[200] Adrian John Ebell, "Indian Jail for U.S.-Dakota War Captives," Minnesota Historical Society.

[201] I cannot confirm that the two seated figures are looking at the camera or staring down at the ground. However, their faces are lifted enough to assume they understood the photographer was in front of them and that their images were being taken.

images of the Dakota who remained part of a larger non-combatant group of men, women, and children. However, use of these images after the war, and even the inscriptions used by publishers like Whitney's Gallery, do not defend the innocent Dakota. These images perpetuated the idea that the Dakota, as a nation, were guilty. An innocent Dakota and a guilty Dakota cannot be discerned in these photographs; instead, the viewers are left to determine for themselves what they are seeing in these images. A photograph labeled "Indian Jail" with Dakota men seated on the ground, and military men holding their guns standing behind the Dakota visually illustrates the idea that the Dakota had violated a law and were being processed as criminals. However, most Dakota were not criminals; instead, they were bystanders and casualties of the persecution the Dakota people faced indiscriminately by settlers and government officials.

The need for justice and retribution hung heavy throughout Minnesota. Wasicu civilians and settlers repeatedly attacked the Dakota as they passed through their towns on the way to Mankato and Fort Snelling. At least one Dakota baby died after a woman attacked the child, ripping it from its mother's arms, and bashing the head of the child. The hatred towards the Dakota even took hold of some settlers who desired to enter into the prison camp at Mankato and deliver their own punishment against the Dakota. Soon, white officials had not only to contain the prisoners but also to keep out wasicu seeking retribution. The Dakota were not safe outside of the prison walls. While in prison, the military tribunal sent the list of guilty, along with a list of death sentences, to President Abraham Lincoln. The trials ended November 5, and President Lincoln did not send his final list of condemned to Minnesota until December 6. The president asked a group of lawyers to review the cases and present him with their findings. The American Civil War

occupied much of the president's time and attention, and he would have preferred that the matter of the Dakota War remain within the boundaries of Minnesota. However, after receiving a list of 303 condemned, President Lincoln was "[a]nxious to not act with so much clemency as to encourage another outbreak on the one hand, nor with so much severity as to be real cruelty on the other."[202]

The lawyers reviewing the cases against the Dakota were instructed by President Lincoln only to confirm the death sentence if a Dakota had committed rape or participated in a battle where men had died. In the end, the committee found only thirty-nine Dakota guilty under the new guidelines. Quick to put the matter to rest and move on to finishing his draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln approved the thirty-nine convictions and assigned General John Pope to a newly created Military Department of the Northwest. This department, along with General Pope, were to see to the situation in Minnesota in a manner that would not interfere with the office of the president; in short, President Lincoln did not want to divert his time and energy to other matters beyond the war to preserve the Union.[203]

Post-War Photographs

After the soldiers separated the Dakota men from their families, the women, children, elderly, and a few Dakota men were sent to Fort Snelling. This group of non-

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[202] Abraham Lincoln, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* ed. Roy P Basler, Marion Delores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap vol. 5 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 551.

[203] David A. Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 81. Nichols describes General Pope's "militaristic" charge towards the Dakota a symptom of his failure during the Battle of Bull Run, which he lost in August 1862. His reassignment was likely a demotion, however, Nichols notes that Mary Todd Lincoln and General Pope were friends and his appointment to Minnesota was an attempt of the president to appease his wife.

combatants totaled 1,601. They traveled as a group from the Lower Sioux Agency through towns such as New Ulm and Henderson, reaching Fort Snelling on November 13, 1862.[204] Samuel Brown, a mixed-blood Dakota served as an interpreter for the military and relayed messages between Colonel Sibley and the group of Dakota refugees.[205] He recalled that as the large group of Dakota passed through Henderson, a wasicu "with blood in his eyes and half crazed" charged at the Dakota.

> "Men, women, and children armed with guns, knives, clubs and stones, rushed upon the Indians,…and before the soldiers could interfere and stop them, succeeded in pulling many of the old men and women and even children from the wagons by the hair on the head, and beating then, and otherwise inflicting injury upon the helpless and miserable creatures."[206]

The mob violence the Dakota experienced after the war is found in many of the personal remembrances of not only the Dakota but also of members of the military, wasicu, and other Minnesotan citizens. James T. Ramer of the 7th Regiment wrote that while passing through New Ulm, citizens tried to attack the Dakota, remarking how the women displayed more violence and anger than the men.[207] Richard M. Jackson, a volunteer under Sibley, also remembered how the women at New Ulm "seemed to be armed with

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[204] Corinne L. Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling, 1862-1864*, (St. Paul: Prairie Smoke Press, 2006), 63, 99. Monjeau-Marz uses Lt. William McKusick's final census on May 20, 1863 to determine the population of the Dakota at Fort Snelling in November of 1862, until their removal the following May. The census included 1,489 Dakota and 112 mixed-bloods.

[205] Samuel Brown was a mixed-blood Dakota taken prisoner by the warring Dakota during the war. Brown and his family were freed at Camp Release. Brown later worked with Colonel Sibley as a scout. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 70-71;

[206] Anderson and Woolworth, *Though Dakota Eyes*, 227-8.

[207] William Rainey Marshall Papers, MHS, box 2. Narratives relating to the 7th regiment, circa 1890, 2 folders. Ramer made these comments on November 9, 1862.

long carving knives and all had voluble tongues."[208] Many sources also mention the death of a Dakota baby at the hand of an enraged wasicu woman. The Dakota baby, ripped from its mother's arms, later died from the wounds inflicted upon it by the woman.[209]

One of the most haunting images of the US-Dakota War is that of the concentration camp at Fort Snelling. This photograph, figure 2.11, is commonly referred to as an internment camp. However, by definition, the men, women, and children held in the fenced enclosure were not "prisoners of war, enemy aliens, [or] political prisoners,"[210] but rather "members of persecuted minorities…deliberately imprisoned in a relatively small area with inadequate facilities," making the definition of the camp at Fort Snelling a concentration camp.[211] Fort Snelling sits atop a bluff at the apex of the Minnesota River and the Mississippi River. The photograph of the concentration camp

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[208] Richard Mott Jackson, Dakota Conflict of 1862 Manuscript Collection, MHS Box 5. Jackson also claims that two of the Dakota were killed on the march to Fort Snelling.

[209] There are a few different accounts of how the child died. Most claim that the child was "dashed" or thrown to the ground, or the head was "dashed." Good Star Woman, Samuel Brown, and others confirmed the violence towards the Dakota who moved in a long line to Fort Snelling. Various acts of violence are recorded, including the death of the Dakota baby by a white woman. *Through Dakota Eyes 227, 233*; Monjeau-Marz, 30; Adrian Ebell, "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 no. 157 (June 1862): 23. Angela Cavender Wilson describes the death of a relative that was passed down through her great-great grandmother Maza Okiye Win. Maza Okiye witnessed a group of wasicu settlers attacking her grandmother, stabbing her and then pushing her body into a river. The body was left in the river as the Dakota moved forward towards Fort Snelling. Angela Cavender Wilson, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death marches," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28 no.1&2 (Winter/Spring 2004): 195-196.

[210] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/98094?redirectedFrom=internment+camp#eid299754 (Accessed March 10, 2019)

[211] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/403843?redirectedFrom=concentration+camp#eid (Accessed March 10, 2019). By definition a concentration camp is, "in being a place of oppression, suffering, and inhumanity."

was taken from the top of this bluff, looking down towards the floodplain of the riverbeds. Photographer Benjamin Upton took this photograph sometime during the winter of 1862-1863. The image shows the fenced enclosure erected to serve as a temporary stockade to hold the Dakota. The fence made of wood boards stood roughly sixteen feet high and enclosed an area of two to three acres.[212] The enclosure housed the remainder of the Dakota tribes left in Minnesota. In the photograph, smoke is billowing out of the tops of the more than 200 tipis, snow covers the ground, and the Minnesota River flows in the background. Also visible is the roof of a building used as a headquarters for the military and a hospital. This appears in the lower left of the photograph.[213]

The Dakota experienced extreme conditions, emotional turmoil, and death that winter at Fort Snelling. The conditions inside the camp were poor. The Dakota brought their own tents to the camp and lived in crowded circumstances, as seen in photograph—figure 2.11. The close quarters led to poor sanitation and facilitated the spread of diseases. Measles permeated the Dakota camp and contributed to the high mortality rate that winter. Dr. Williamson wrote in *Mankato Weekly Record* that at least one tenth or 200 Dakota died during the winter at Fort Snelling.[214] Riggs reported in *The Saint Paul*

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[212] Stephen Return Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1880), 191-2. Riggs notes the location of the camp on the "low ground near the river."

[213] Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling,* 41. Monjeau-Marz estimates between 200-250 tipis. However, Curtis Dahlin estimates 200-225 tipi, having counted the visible ones and deucing the number seen in the shadows of the enclosure. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 222.

[214] Diseases spread at the concentration camp at Fort Snelling, and at the prison camp at Davenport, Iowa are well documented. See Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian*

Daily Press that the Dakota did not want to leave their dead outside the concentration camp walls because other bodies had been mutilated once outside the fence. Instead, the Dakota hid the bodies of the dead in their tents. The winter proved hard on the Dakota at Fort Snelling. The ground froze making only temporary burials possible, further encouraging the Dakota to hide their dead. The cold temperatures were exacerbated by the limited wood supply for the Dakota to burn for fuel. Harriet Bishop McConkey wrote that women and children ran barefoot throughout the camp in and out of the slush made up of snow, waste, and other foul ingredients.[215]

Figure 2.11. Benjamin Franklin Upton, "Captured Sioux Indians in Fenced Enclosure on Minnesota River below Fort Snelling," ca 1862-1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Internment at Fort Snelling; Riggs, *Mary and I*; *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, January 23, 1863; *The Mankato Weekly Record*, March 28, 1863.

[215] Harriet Bishop McConkey, *Dakota War Whoop; or, Indian Massacres and War in Minnesota* (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill, 1863, Rev. ed., St. Paul: For the Author, 1864. Rpt., Chicago: Lakeside, 1965), 277.

The environment at Fort Snelling only encapsulated one half of the problems the Dakota faced that winter. They worried about the condemned Dakota at Mankato and whether or not their families would ever see one another face to face. On top of the emotional weight of uncertainty, the Dakota became objects of interest akin to caged animals in a menagerie. Visitor passes allowed civilians to enter the fenced enclosure and walk around freely. Missionaries such as Stephen Riggs and Bishop Henry H. Whipple used passes to enter the concentration camp and the prison at Mankato. Often confined to the protectiveness of the inside of their tents for warmth and privacy, the solitude the Dakota created for themselves evaporated as visitor passes were given to tourists and other onlookers. One such visitor wrote, "[t]hey must be seen in their wigwams to be appreciated. …We went around lifting up the little doors and looking in without saying as much as by your leave…"[216] Among the onslaught of visitors were photographers like Benjamin Upton and Joel E. Whitney.

Photographs of the Dakota during the winter of 1862-1863 highlight the conditions of the camp, but more importantly they demonstrate to historians what the Dakota looked like before their forced removal and exile from Minnesota. The following photographs taken at Fort Snelling are of Dakota who did not participate in the war, but who faced the consequences of the war nonetheless. Not only did they lose their own homes, family members, and belongings; they who lost their homeland and their right to stay and live on the land of their ancestors. Many wasicu championed exile and

[216] Letter from Pastor George Briscoe quoted from Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling,* 6. Conditions of the concentration camp at Fort Snelling can be found in Harriet E. Bishop, *Dakota War-Whoop: or, Indian Massacres and War in Minnesota 1862-'3,* 312.

petitioned government leaders to remove the Dakota, but others saw it as a way to protect the Dakota. Due to the attacks on both the Dakota removed to Fort Snelling and the prisoners removed to Mankato, many believed the Dakota were not safe inside Minnesota's borders. Instead, the idea to relocate the Dakota was sponsored by people like Riggs and Williamson, who considered the removal an act of kindness—to prevent acts of retribution from wasicu society—instead of a punishment.[217]

Figure 2.12. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Sioux Women at Prison Compound, Fort Snelling," ca. 1862-1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[217] Thomas J. Galbraith called for the removal of the Dakota in his 1863 Annual Report as Indian Agent; Governor Ramsey called for an outright extermination of the Dakota in an address to the Minnesota Legislation on September 9, 1862. In his speech he claimed, "Our course then is plain. The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of Minnesota."

Women and children made up the majority of the Dakota in the concentration camp. They are photographed extensively during their confinement. Some photographs, those taken by Adrian Ebell in the days before the war, show Dakota women, but they do not become the primary subjects of the photographs until after the war. The women at the concentration camp represent the Dakota who chose not to participate in the war. They illustrate the innocent, but also how the consequences of war were shared by all Dakota.

Figure 2.12 is of two women, seated in front of a tent and holding hands. The two unidentified women pose in a similar manner to many other photographs of women at the camp. Both women look at the camera confirming their participation in the photographic activity. Perhaps the photographer staged the shot and posed the women; however, their acknowledgement of the photographer and his intent to take a photograph means they engaged in the photographic activity alongside the photographer. Both women wore large disks around their necks—peace medals given to delegations visiting with government officials. Their hair is parted down the middle of their heads with a braid on either side. They wear shirts and skirts made of cloth, but the unkempt nature of their clothing, the hems of their shirts not tucked under their skirts, and the moccasins on their feet illustrate the blending of wasicu and traditional Dakota clothing. The Dakota had adopted wasicu clothing, but their manner and style continued to illustrate the difference between the two cultures.

The photograph in figure 2.13 is of a Dakota mother and child. The child is on the woman's back and has a bonnet or covering over its head.[218] The woman is seated with a

Hudson Bay blanket wrapped around her shoulders.[219] She is in front of a tipi. The scene is similar to figure 2.13 in that both subjects are seated and posed in front of a tipi. Perhaps the photographer wanted a clear background that did not include the fenced enclosure. Either way, the women in these photographs humanize the plight of the Dakota families who were torn apart by the war. Despite their involvement in the war, most of the men were separated from their wives and mothers. The burden of caring for the family fell to the women, whose burdens were exacerbated if they had multiple children, infirm family members, in addition to dealing with their own loss. These families were separated until April 1866, when the men in prison at Camp McClellan were pardoned and join their relatives on the Santee Reservation in Nebraska.

Figure 2.13. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Sioux Woman and Child at Prison Camp at Fort Snelling," ca. 1862-1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[219] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 277. Dahlin mentions the Hudson Bay Blanket in this photograph.

One of the few men to stay with the women and children at the concentration camp, figure 2.14 was Wacouta, a Mdewakanton chief. Wacouta and 221 members of his bend surrendered at Camp Release and moved with the rest of the Dakota to Fort Snelling. He had strongly encouraged his band and others to avoid war after the murders in Acton, and when the war started, he protected Minnesota settlers like Jannett DeCamp and her children. When Wacouta took inventory of his possessions upon entering the concentration camp, he included three horses, three oxen, and two wagons. Like the other Dakota, he surrendered his property when he surrendered to Sibley at Camp Release. The valuable property indicated that Wacouta was a rather successful farmer Indian, and how the accumulation of wealth was favored by the farmers than the traditionalist Dakota.[220]

Figure 2.14. "Wacouta (Foremost Talker), at Fort Snelling Prison Compound," ca. 1862-1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[220] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 224; Satterlee, *Court Proceedings in the Trials of Dakota Indians* (Minneapolis: Satterlee Print Co., 1927), 57-58.

Figure 2.15. Whitney's Gallery, "Tepees of the Sioux Indians," ca. 1862-1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The most revealing image from the first internment at the concentration camp is that of figure 2.15. No person in this photograph appears to be posed, or acknowledge the photographer. A Dakota is seen wrapped in a blanket, lying on his side in the foreground. Behind him are two tipis. A group of Dakota sit next to the further tipi, while another is seated in the entrance to the other tipi. The tall fence enclosure is visible. The tops of the tipis extend past the height of the fence, providing an indication of the height of the wall. There is no activity in this photograph. Instead, what is illustrated is that inside the concentration camp, groups of Dakota found themselves without agency and purpose. They waited in terrible suspense for their future and that of the Dakota sent to prison.[221]

[221] Riggs, *Mary and I*, 190. Williams write, "The suspense was terrible."

Very little news permeated the camp, and so with no employment and little hope, I imagine the days at Fort Snelling appeared something similar this photograph.

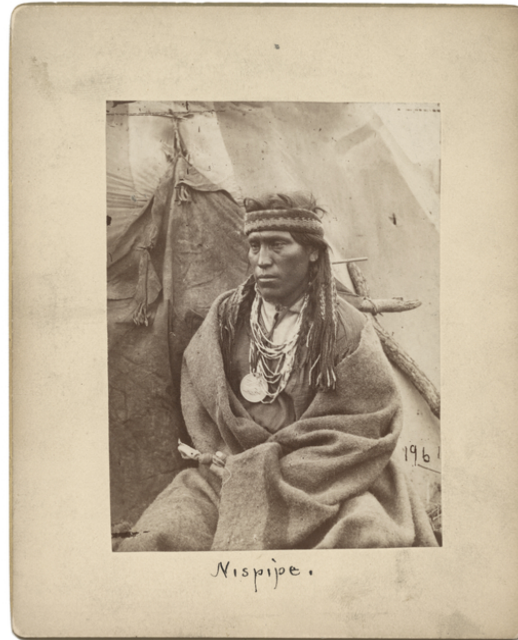

Figure 2.16. Benjamin Franklin Upton, "Nispipe, also identified as Ta-chun-da-hupa (Little Crow's Nephew), Prisoner at Fort Snelling," ca. 1864, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

A group of Dakota surrendered to Major Hatch at Pembina in January 1864. Major Hatch delivered the group to Fort Snelling before they, too were dispersed among reservations in Nebraska or prison in Iowa. While awaiting their future, the Dakota lived in the wooden fenced enclosure that had held their families immediately after the war. This time, the Dakota labored and worked in the fort—they cut wood, hauled water, and perform other menial labor tasks.[222] The photograph in figure 2.16 taken by Benjamin Upton is of Little Crow's nephew. He arrived with the other Dakota who surrendered in January 1864. He is seen seated in front of a tipi with a blanket around his shoulders and a peace medal around his neck. A head piece made of cloth is wrapped around his brow.

[222] Saint Paul Press, May 22, 1864.

For Nispipe, his time at Fort Snelling is barely two months, and in the spring/summer compared to the other photographs of the Dakota from 1862. Despite the difference in year, season, and length of confinement, all photographs of the Dakota at the concentration camp are of men, women, and children seated or standing next to their tipis. Perhaps the seated positions of the Dakota confined at Fort Snelling, harken back to the images of Camp Release and the prisoners seated outside of the make-shift court house.

Conclusion

What do the photographs of the Dakota after the war contribute to the historical narrative of the war and the Dakota? How do these images help to shape the persistent ideas about Dakota peoples? For one, the photographs are strong examples of how non-native peoples controlled the immediate public discourses on the war. Most of the descriptions on the CDVs of the Dakota at Fort Snelling indicate whether or not the person was a prisoner, a relative of any Dakota who participated in the war, especially family members of Little Crow. They have a similar composition and pallet making them easy to identify as images from the concentration camps. Dakota had not been photographed at Fort Snelling until after the war. The fort becomes a symbol of victory for wasicus and a symbol of defeat and confinement for the Dakota. Furthermore, advertisements encouraged white consumers to purchase the photographs of the defeated Dakota, helping to perpetuate the role of winner and loser.[223]

[223] The Saint Paul Press, March 8, 1864 advertised images of Little Crow's son and other prisoners at Fort Snelling for sale at Whitney's Gallery.

What is it about the subject, the Dakota, that has shaped and continued to shape contemporary and persistent ideas about the Dakota War and the Dakota people? The intended purpose of the photograph and how viewers have interpreted these photographs are examined in the next two chapters. This chapter has considered whether or not the Dakota as the subjects of these photographs altered or changed ideas of the war and Dakota history. For the Dakota, their own interpretation of the war and the aftermath is hard to infer. Prisoners at Camp McClellan wrote often of their sadness and despair because of the actions of some of the Dakota. They distinguish themselves from the warring Dakota and those, like themselves, who never wanted to fight the wasicu. However, most recognized that the distinction between Dakota peoples was something they could not achieve in wasicu society. Four Lighting understood this conundrum stating, "[w]e realize that whoever sees us, and no matter what we say to try to defend ourselves, the white people will think of us as dogs."[224]

Other Dakota turned to Christianity for answers. Many Dakota in prison, and at the concentration camps converted to Christianity. Missionaries noted how a wave of religious revival swept through both camps. The tide of change was dramatic compared to the religious endeavors the missionaries faced before the war. It is as if the war pushed the Dakota to Christianity. This change was either welcomed or accept, and with hesitation by the missionaries. Knowing whether or not the sincerity of the conversions, the passion and dedication adopted by the Dakota illustrate how the war changed the Dakota. Dakota who did not fight in the war but were held as prisoners sought comfort

[224] Clifford Canky and Michael Simon, *The Dakota Prisoner of War Letters: Dakota Kaskapi Okicize Wowapi,* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013), 11.

and instruction through the wasicu god. Perhaps this conversion demonstrates how the Dakota understood the strength and power of the American way of life in and its supremacy over the Dakota. By throwing their support behind the victors religious preferences, they too would overcome their current situation of misery and might once again enjoy freedom. It is important to remember that most of the Dakota who wrote letters from prison, or who gave their testimony later in life did not participate in the war. This means that not only do the innocent survivors of the war share in the blame and punishment of the war, but they also have to find a way to survive the punishment. Understanding that most non-native peoples will not be able to distinguish between the good and bad Dakota, it behooves them now to change and try new tactics to help illuminate that distinction.

CHAPTER III

THE PHOTOGRAPHERS

"Through the images the affections are ever bright in our memories, and without one of these daguerreotypes, the features, the form will grow fainter and fainter, and in a few years be lost altogether."

-The Daily Minnesotain[225]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, scientists in Europe had discovered that coating paper or leather in silver nitrate and then exposing these 'plates' to light resulted in a copy of images from a device called the *camera obscura*. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, a scenic artist, began experimenting with photography and had successfully took the first photograph in 1837. By taking silver-plated sheets of copper, Daguerre exposed the polished light sensitive side to iodine, which reacted with the silver to create an image. The plate appeared blank until he exposed it to heated mercury. Once the image appeared, the plate was bathed in a salt solution to stop the exposure and eliminate any sensitivity to light. These photographs are named after Daguerre and are

[225] *The Daily Minnesotain,* December 15, 1855.

called *daguerreotype*.[226] Exposure times of upwards of twenty minutes limited the subjects of the first *daguerreotypes*. The first photographs were of still life and buildings because the subject had to remain still for the duration of the exposure, otherwise the image appeared blurred. Furthermore, *daguerreotypes* did not produce negatives, so each was unique.[227]

Brief History of Photography

Three advances in the 1840s propelled photography into a mainstay and allowed for portrait photography of people. Improvements with the camera lenses, the addition of an accelerant on the iodized plates, and, finally, the *gilding* of plates—coating plates in gold chloride and heading the liquid over a flame—improved the quality of the photographs and reduced the exposure time. Studios dedicated to portraits emerged all over Europe and made their way to the United States. By 1855, Massachusetts recorded over 400,000 *daguerreotypes* taken over one year. Popularity of photography increased as production costs went down, allowing people of all financial means to afford to sit for a portrait. Exposure times were around half a minute, and technological advances reduced the cost for the photographer and subsequently made the photographs relatively affordable.[228] Beaumont Newhall, curator to the Museum of Modern Art and the author of the most influential work on photography, *The History of Photograph*, credits "Yankee

[226] Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 18-19; Oliver Mathews, *Early Photographs and Early Photographers: A Survey in Dictionary Form* (London: Reedminster Publications Ltd., 1973), 49. The actual process follows: "A polished silver copper plate was sensitized with iodine and/or bromine vapour. After exposure in the camera the positive latent image was developed with mercury vapour…and finally fixed with sodium thiosulphate (hype) before sealing behind glass and framing."

[227] Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 27; Mathews, *Early Photographs and Early Photographers,* 49.

[228] Ibid.*,* 30.

ingenuity" for many of the technological advances with photography and the growth of its popularity throughout the world. Americans spearheaded the development of studios dedicated to photography and revolutionized the way people captured likenesses of one another.[229]

The *daguerreotype* soon gave way to the *ambrotype* and *tintype* photographs that used a new technique called the wet plate to develop the photographic images. The "plates" were coated in a collodion solution and had to be wet when the exposure took place. This meant that photographers had to be near a darkroom for preparing the plates and developing them into photographs.[230] *Ambrotypes* produced a lower quality picture, but were developed more quickly—the same day as the sitting. Yet, like the *daguerreotype,* both types needed proper mounting in order to prevent the glass from breaking. The more durable materials that made up the *tintype*, thin sheets of iron, reduced the likelihood of breakage and became more popular as people carried the photos on their person or mailed them to loved ones.[231]

All of the above techniques soon disappeared in favor of the *carte-de-visite* (CDV) photograph. Extremely popular because of its size and durability, the CDV produced eight images on one sheet. Technological advances resulted in creating negatives, meaning photographers were able to use the plates to reproduce and make

[229] Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 33. Prices were determined by the size of the photograph, and competition between galleries reduced costs over time. Furthermore, Beaumont states that, "factories division of labor was said to have speeded up the work to a production of 300, 500, and even 1,000 daily." However, "hastily made portraits were seldom satisfactory; many were left behind by disappointed customers." 39.

[230] Ibid., 59.

[231] Ibid., 63.

copies of the original image. Another important feature for the CDV was its size. The international standard, 2 ½ x 4 inches, meant that cards were bought and traded to fit personal albums all around the world.[232] These small cards exhibited a photo, often with a caption and the photographer's studio address, and filled personal albums throughout Europe and America. Personal albums might display family portraits alongside other photographs such as Dakota leaders of the war. Due to their popularity, the CDV photographs became a lucrative trade for photographers. The disadvantage of CDV's, as well as other styles, was the time it took to make the image, the equipment required to develop the photographs, including darkrooms, and, ultimately, the lack of motion required to make these photographs successful. Considering the laborious process to develop photographs during the war, all the photographs taken before, during, and after the war were of still subjects, who were more than likely aware that they were being photographed and were staged to capture the photographers' desired image.[233]

Review of Literature Pertaining to Photography

The convergence of commercial photography, mass tourism, and the colonization of Native Americans in the late nineteenth century marks a historical moment for

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[232] *Carte-de-visite's* were patented in France by André Adolphe Disdéri in 1854. His new technique became so popular and, "so easy to imiate tha tall over the world carte-de-visite were being made in a mechanical, routine way by photographers who were hardly more than technicians." Newhall, *The History of Photography,* 64; American Museum of Photography, "A Brief History of the Carte De Visite," American Museum of Photography, http://www.photographymuseum.com/histsw.htm (accessed May 20, 2012).

[233] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 319. Dahlin claims that these photographs cost twenty-five cents, or something equal to about three hours of labor for a worker who's general pay was a dollar a day; "not an insignificant amount of money;" Matthews, *Early Photographs and Early Photographers*, 47. Mathews states that the CDV was "a supplement of the original visiting card," and exhibited "quantity more than quality."

historians studying photographic history. Photographers, either from a desire to document or through curiosity, fed popular cravings for images of the America West and its Native inhabitants before they vanished or blended into modern America. Despite the bulky equipment and limitations—exposure times upwards of thirty seconds—the development of the CDVs established a lucrative trade for this industry. Invented around the mid 1850s, CDVs revolutionized commercial photography. Often referred to as the "original visiting card," tourists purchased a CDV relatively cheaply and displayed them in their personal albums to document their travels or to remind them of the foreign and exotic places they longed to visit.[234]

The photographers that specialized in CDV photography desired quantity over quality. Cameras developed specifically for the exposure of CDVs captured the same image eight times on one plate.[235] Now the photographer had multiple copies of an image and a negative that produced endless duplicates, allowing them to sell the same image to more people and to capitalize on the commercial interests of that photograph. One such interest, the American West, captivated audiences across the world, and photographers during the nineteenth century took notice. Today, museums, libraries, archives, and personal attics overflow with photographs of the American West. These images sparked a new discussion in the historiography of photographic history. Specifically how to include

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[234] Joshua Brown, "Historians and Photography." *American Art* 21 no. 3 (Fall 2007): 9; Oliver Matthews, *Early Photographs and Early Photographers: A Survey in Dictionary Form* (London: Reedminster Publications Ltd., 1973), 47.

[235] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*: *from 1893 to the Present* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art: 2009), 64. Newhall also comments that, "[t]he family album became a fixture in the Victorian home, and as a consequence, quantities of cartes-de-visite have survived. As documents of an era, they are often of great charm and interest." (66).

photographic history into their own research. Still a nascent field, historians have developed new ways in which to incorporate interpretations about photographic history into the already established field of the American West.

There are no clear origins of the use of photography in historical research. For historians interested in photographic history, relatively little information exists within the historical field to provide a foundation of interpretation. Instead, photographic history relies on various disciplines and, as such, has evolved out of a multi-disciplinary field. American historians took to other fields such as American Literature or American Studies to develop a model for interpretation. In 1939 the American Historical Association's annual meeting called for historians to look at cultural history. Members Roy Stryker and Paul Johnstone asked historians to utilize photography in their written historical work and to use social and cultural history as an avenue for this new documentation. However, Michael Kammen finds that the American Studies field used photographic history more intently than historians.[236]

American cultural historian Michael Kammen argues further that American Studies pioneered the use of photography in historical research. During the social revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, American Studies programs across the United States spearheaded the use of photography as historical documentation. Used extensively in the 1970s, photographic interpretation was brought into the classroom in the 1980s by American Studies students and became an established part of the field by the 1990s. Since that time, historians and American Studies students have worked to bridge the gap

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[236] Michael Kammen, "Photography and the Discipline of American Studies," *American Art* 21, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 16-17.

between the two disciplines. The inhibiting factor for the two disciplines is how each uses photographs in the structure of their fields. Historians are often confined to textual evidence and are more willing to overlook photographic analysis, whereas other academics use photo analysis with more ease. Historians are challenged with "[treating] photography and other archival visual evidence with the same seriousness and rigor they apply to text."[237] One method is to use photography as critical documentation, while utilizing American Studies approaches for the interpretation of the actual photography to create "a coherent body of photographic evidence, [placed] in relation to the larger visual culture of its time, and endeavor to recover the original context of 'shooting' and viewing."[238]

Key works in the field of photographic analysis began by researching a collection of work by one photographer. Steven D. Hoelscher looked at on H. H. Bennett's photography in *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourist Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells*. Hoelscher estimates that not only did photographers seek to capture Native Americans and their culture before it vanished, but Native Americans also acted as their own agents in the process of collecting and preserving their own history. During the process of taking photographs, photographers and their subjects entered into "contact zones" where both the subject and the artist agreed upon a mutual understanding of the meaning of the photograph.[239] The photographer often looked at the commercial success of a shot, while the subject sought to capture an essence or moment

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[237] Brown, "Historians and Photography," 12.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Steve D. Hoelscher, *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourists Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 13.

of time forever. Throughout the process, photographers reinforced cultural stereotypes, and Hoelscher argues it occurred even with the subject's knowledge.

Using a collection of photographs from a source other than a photographer is another way to approach photographic interpretation. Michelle Delaney used the Gertrude Käsebier collection at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History as the foundation for her work, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History of Gertrude Käsebier* (2007). An American Studies graduate of George Washington University, Delaney concentrates on the Gertrude Käsebier collection to describe how Native Americans were photographed in the late nineteenth century during a period she called their transitional phase from free to reservation life. During this transition, Sioux Indians willingly participated in Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows which exhibited Native Americans in dramatic renditions of popular battles. Between 1898 and 1912 Gertrude Käsebier photographed over one hundred Sioux who acted in Buffalo Bill's shows. Delaney utilizes Gertrude Käsebier's personal history and the history of Buffalo Bill to show how Käsebier's photographs provide a juxtaposition of Native American culture in transition.

Delaney's investigation shows how significant the photographer is in the context of the photographs. Photographers construct their own point of view through photographs, and that, in turn, manipulates the outcome of the desired image. Delaney finds that Gertrude Käsebier's childhood on the Great Plains and her experiences with Native Americans throughout her lifetime influenced her photography. After her formal education at Brooklyn's Pratt Institute, Käsebier turned to photography and created her own style of simplicity and lifelike photography. Käsebier chose to work with older

cameras that used glass plate negatives. In 1898 she saw a parade of Buffalo Bill's Indians in New York and was inspired by the differences in lifestyles the Native Americans had from the Native Americans she remembered as a child. Delaney finds that Käsebier wanted to capture "modern portraits of individuals involved in a cultural transition."[240] Compared to the "exploitive marketing images" from the Wild West Show, Käsebier photographs "avoid the ultra dramatic and self-exploitation."[241] Instead she sought "to cultivate simplicity" by photographing the Sioux Indians in both traditional garb and in white man's clothing.[242] Her desire, according to Delaney, was to show "life divided."[243] Delaney used Zitkala-Sa, an accomplished Sioux woman who left the Pine Ridge reservation and her family to pursue education—becoming a talented "violinist, performer, composer, lecturer, and author."[244] Two photographs of Zitkala-Sa depict this duplicity, as the woman is photographed in a wasicu dress with a violin and in traditional Native American attire in another to demonstrate this transition. Still within the genre of capturing the vanishing Indian, Delaney uncovers how one artist sought to seize the moment when the Indian vanished from one life and merged into another. Historians of Native American photography center their research on the transition of Native American cultures from traditional to a reflection of white culture.

Deconstructing the Photographs

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[240] Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (New York: Collins, 2007), 16.

[241] Ibid., 21 and 37.

[242] Ibid. 37.

[243] Ibid, 18.

[244] Ibid.

The treaty delegations in 1858 produced the first photographs of Dakota. The invention of photography and the government's desire to entertain and show off the superiority of wasicu culture resulted in the new tradition of taking group delegation photographs of Indian visits to Washington, D. C. Like many sources pertaining to the 1858 treaties, these photographs exhibit tangible and intangible evidence that contribute to the overall understanding of how the negotiations ruptured the relationship between the Dakota and the US government. Photographic likenesses of the Dakota delegates illustrate how they dressed, who actually participated in having the picture taken, but also provide insight into how the photographers elicit intangible manipulations that alter the original purpose or meaning behind the photograph.[245]

Charles Deforest Fredericks

Delegation photographs reveal nuanced differences that complement the existing scholarship of the 1858 negotiations. Both the Upper and Lower bands sat for photographer Charles Deforest Fredericks in New York City as they made their journey home to Minnesota. The Upper bands consisted of the Sisseton and Wahpeton tribes as seen in figure 2.1, while the Lower bands, made up of the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute tribes are seen in figures 2.2 and 2.3. Though all photographs appear similar, their images reveal important facts about the treaties, the general mood of the Indian delegates, and the overall effect of the events in 1858.

Photographer Charles Deforest Fredericks photographed the Dakota delegates in 1858 and hundreds of other Indian delegates throughout his time in New York City. By

[245] Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin*, 182.

all accounts, Fredericks appeared as an ordinary professional who likely apprenticed with an established photographer before beginning his work with Jeremiah Gurney in New York.[246] Fredericks left New York City and traveled throughout South America and Paris before working extensively in Havana, Cuba, after 1858.[247] Charles Deforest Fredericks was likely chosen by the United States government for his skills at photography and nothing more; he had no known ties to Native Americans or the government, did not possess any unique titles that might lend himself to notoriety, and did not continue long in New York before leaving for Havana—explaining his lack of interest in continuing to photograph Native Americans.

Fredericks, like many photographers in Washington, D.C., and New York City, sought out delegations in order to capitalize on the public demand for images of Native Americans. Photographers sought out visiting Native Americans, often contacting the interpreters and other government officials who accompanied the delegates, asking them to visit their studios for a chance to take pictures of Native Americans.[248] Therefore, making a profit primarily motivated delegation photographs from the point of view of the photographer. The potential financial gain from images such as figure 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3

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[246] Jeremiah Gurney was Frederick's partner in New York. Their studio, located at 349 Broadway, was later purchased by Fredericks. Charles DeForest Federicks was born in 1823 and died in 1894. http://craigcamera.com/dag/fo_table.htm#Fredericks,%20Charles%20DeForest January 19, 2015

[247] *New York Times*, March 13, 1857; *New York Times* March 11, 1858.

[248] Herman Viola, ???. Viola speculates that photographs paid handsomely for the chance to take pictures of the Native American delegates.

could bring substantial profits for the photographer and his studio.[249] Fredericks tried to get as many images of the Dakota delegates for the purpose of financial gain.

Much more is known about Fredericks's subjects than Fredericks himself. The Dakota subjects participated freely with Fredericks and his assistants, as they sat for their portraits. The delegation photographs held "exploitive marking" value[250] for the photographers, but also gave Dakota the opportunity to demonstrate their good will and cooperation in working with the U. S. government. Their participation in 1858 is unique because later, after the violence in 1862, many of the photographs depicted the Dakota—even those photographed in 1858—as prisoners and not free men.

Minnesota boasted a number of famous photographers during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their combined efforts ensured a lasting visual record of the events in 1862 and a plethora of images of Minnesota. However, many of these photographers are not covered in this chapter due simply to the lack of available images. The most important figure in photography for nineteenth-century century Minnesota, Joel E. Whitney, contributed directly and indirectly to many of the remarkable images of the Dakota and their war. He later published many of Adrian Ebell's photographs in his studio in St. Paul, a tradition not unusual for this time in history.[251] Adrian Ebell not only managed to take remarkable photographs of the war in 1862, but his images have lasted. Unlike other photographers, their photographs have not survived and are lost to history.

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[249] Barbara T. Newcombe, 82-96; Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin*, 182.

[250] Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wil West Warriors*, 16.

[251] Curtis Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising: A Pictorial History* (Edina, Minnesota: Beaver's Pond Press, 2009), 315-316; Beaumont Newhall, "Minnesota Daguerreotypes," *Minnesota History* 34:1 (Spring 1954), 28-33.

Joel E. Whitney

Joel E. Whitney was born in Phillips, Maine, on May 18, 1822. He settled in Minnesota territory in 1850 and quickly became the preeminent daguerreotypist and photographer in St. Paul. In addition to establishing a studio in the heart of St. Paul, Whitney capitalized on his entrepreneurial skills at real estate and banking. His talents as a businessman helped him create a photographic empire in St. Paul. He acted as a mentor and teacher to other famous photographers—Charles Zimmerman and Moses C. Tuttle—who kept his business alive and thriving after he retired.[252] Whitney "diversified" his business efforts and his photographic studio by becoming the first photographer to utilize the collodion negative photo-process, which created CDV's on albumen paper.[253] This new process developed multiple copies of one image on paper, instead of one permanent

[252] Charles A. Zimmerman immigrated from France at the age of four. His father was a photographer. He showed an aptitude for photography, and purchased Joel E. Whitney's photographic studio in 1871. Many of Whitney's photographers were reprinted by Zimmerman, using his own name. The Zimmerman family created their own photographic company called Zimmerman brothers in 1891, which Charles Zimmerman participated in until his death in 1909. See Alan A. Woolworth, "Charles A Zimmerman," vol. 28 *Research notebooks on Minnesota Photography and Photographs,* Minnesota Historical Society. Hereafter referred to as RBMPP, MHS. Moses C. Tuttle was born in Maine in 1830 and made his way to Saint Paul by 1854 where he worked as a photographer. He claims to have purchased Whitney's studio in 1858; however, Whitney return to take over the business the following year, and Charles Zimmerman became his partner before purchasing the business outright in 1871. Tuttle established his own business in downtown Saint Paul, which was destroyed in May 1867. The *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, reported on May 25, 1867, "Mr. Tuttle, the photographer, suffers quite severely…. Seven cameras, three or four thousand "negatives," and several hundred dollars worth of chemicals and implements were burned. The loss of the negatives is quite serious, as they always form the most valuable stock of a photographer, and cannot be replaced." See Alan A. Woolworth, "Moses C. Tuttle," vol. 24 RBMPP, MHS.

[253] Bonnie G. Wilson, "Working the Light: Nineteenth-Century Professional Photographers in Minnesota" *Minnesota History* 52 (Summer 1990), 45; Henry A. Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity: A Chronicle of Progress and a Narrative Account of the Industries, Institutions, and People of the City and its Tributary Territories* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1912), 1177.

image on glass. Therefore, Whitney and others had the opportunity to create numerous copies of one image to sell to the general public.[254]

Whitney's studios in St. Paul soon boasted a plethora of photographic products and photographs for his clientele to purchase. This endeavor meant that not only did Whitney photograph the local citizens of St. Paul and tourists, but he also became the distributor of other images such as landmarks, civic activities, and Native Americans—published in the CDV form for purchase as collectables for family albums. In addition, he also sold the albums that combined various CDV images in one volume. "People commonly purchased portraits of people they read about in the news, since no newspaper printed photos at the time and everyone wanted to see and collect images of the famous for themselves," the photographic albums and prints in one location meant Whitney provided a service and a souvenir for his customers.[255] Some of the best material Whitney published over the years came from the Dakota-U.S. War in 1862. He acquired the rights to reprint many of his fellow photographers' famous images, which he then sold to the anticipating crowds wanting to take home a piece of the war.[256]

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[254] Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary*, *1839-1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 629-632; Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lusky, *the North American Indians in Early Photographs* (2000. London: Calmann and King Ltd., 1986), 44.

[255] Bonnie G. Wilson, "Joel Emmons Whitney, Minnesota's Premier Frontier Photographer," unpublished work by Alan R. Woolworth, vol. 26, RBMPP, MHS.

[256] Alan R. Woolworth and Mary H. Bakeman, eds. *Camera and Sketchbook: Witnesses to the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Roseville, MN: Park Genealogical Books, 2004), 71. Once Joel Whitney copyrighted Ebell's photographs taken between August and December 1862, Ebell had to contact Whitney for permission to use his images in his articles he wrote for *Harper's Monthly*. Historian Woolworth claims that this caused tension between the two photographers and their friendship eventually ended. It is important to note that Ebell did get copies of his images and Albert Colgrave used them as inspiration for the illustrations in the magazine article.

Benjamin F. Upton

Figure 3.1. Benjamin Franklin Upton, "Confirmation of Dakota Indians at Fort Snelling by Bishop Whipple," 1863, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Whitney's gallery and studio published photographs from photographer Benjamin Upton. Like Whitney, Benjamin Upton was born in Maine in 1813 and traveled to Minnesota in the 1850s. Already an established daguerreotypist in Maine, Upton decided to build a portable studio in the back of a wagon using the new collodion negative photo-process. His ventures into Minnesota territory resulted in renowned panoramic photographs of popular landmarks such as a new suspension bridge in Minneapolis, members of the First Minnesota Volunteers, and the vast landscapes he captured by climbing tall buildings.[257] In fact, his greatest contributions as a photographer, according to his biographer Edward Bromley, were his panoramic views of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Unfortunately, most of his work was lost or destroyed except for a few albums Edward Bromley saved, preserved, and eventually donated to the Minnesota

[257] Wilson, *Working the Light*, 51.

Historical Society. Bromley interviewed Upton in 1901—Upton was reportedly 83 years of age—and used many of his panoramas from 1850 to illustrate his article in the *Minneapolis Sunday Times*.[258]

Famous for his panoramic views, Benjamin Upton also took many photographs of the Dakota Indians in and around the twin cities. Two important images by Upton include the view of the fenced enclosure of the Dakota at Fort Snelling, figure 2.11, and the mass confirmation of Dakota by Bishop Henry H. Whipple.[259] It is likely Upton took many photographs of the Dakota, but those images were either lost or destroyed.[260]

Adrian Ebell

Each photographer contributed unique views of the Dakota, but Adrian Ebell captured the most intimate and unique moments of the Dakota. Therefore, Ebell's photographs are used most often in this investigation. Adrian Ebell happened to be in the right place at the right time, or perhaps the Dakota erupted -U.S. War erupted at the right time and place for Adrian Ebll. Either way, Ebell and the Dakota met on the Minnesota prairie in August 1862, and the images taken of the conflict over the next few months have documented and preserved that moment in history.

Unlike the studio photographers from the delegation photographs, Adrian Ebell was part of a larger "itinerant medium" population that included photographers,

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[258] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide*, 597.

[259] Woolworth, "Benjamin F. Upton," vol. 25, RBMPP, MHS.

[260] Fleming and Lusky, *The North American Indians in Early Photography*, 44. Edward A. Bromley, "An Old Time Photographer," *Minneapolis Sunday Times,* July 28, 1901; Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 312.

magicians, entertainers, and entrepreneurs.[261] These men traveled all across the United States performing their craft for crowds eager for news and entertainment. Photographers captured images that sold in shops throughout the country, some ended up in dissolving view apparatuses also known as magic lanterns, and later the images became the inspiration for panorama paintings, etchings, and other art forms. This new trend in communication through visual and verbal performance took off in the mid nineteenth century and combined to create a new form of mass media. Photography, just one form of communication, informed the general public on things, events, and people both near and far. In order to capitalize on the opportunity to make money through entertainment, entertainers first had to know their craft, their audience, and be willing to travel great distances.

Made famous by his first-hand account of the war and the photographs he captured while traveling in Minnesota in 1862, Adrian Ebell's photographs document the days before the war and the violence that poured out on the countryside the following month. Born in Ceylon—Sri Lanka—Ebell immigrated to the United States and enrolled in Yale University in 1859. In 1862 Ebell worked in Chicago, giving magic-lantern shows and teaching music when he decided to go to Minnesota in August to photograph the yearly distribution of annuity goods to the Dakota Indians. He hired an assistant, Edwin Lawton, a fellow student in Chicago, and the two embarked on their journey north on August 1, 1862. Traveling by train and steamboat, the two men arrived in St. Paul on

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[261] Erkki Huntamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2013), 8. Huntamo states, "as an itinerant medium it was also steeped into centuries-old traditions of ambulatory entertainment. It competed with theater troupes, blackface minstrels, automata, wax and dime museums, popular cosmoramas, and magic lantern shows."

August 6 where they met up with local photographer Joel Whitney. Here, Ebell purchased supplies on credit from Whitney and made his way to the Upper Agency—Yellow Medicine—enduring bad weather and hot tempers.[262]

Figure 3.2. "Photographer Adrian Ebell and his Assistant Edwin R. Lawton in a small boat while working in Minnesota," 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Adrian Ebell was a storyteller. He worked as a performer of magic lantern shows before he traveled north to visit the Dakota reservations. There is no known previous experience with American Indians, and Ebell appears to not be motivated other than the opportunity to document life on the Dakota reservations in order to capitalize on the financial opportunities of his photographic documentation. It is during this rise of mass media that Adrian Ebell took his knowledge of photography, his skills as a showman, and his ambitious entrepreneurship north to the Dakota reservations. Adrian Ebell had already

[262] Edwin R. Lawton, "Edwin Lawton Journal," Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Collections. Lawton wrote that he and Ebell argued many times during their trip north, and had an overall dislike for one another; Alan R. Woolworth, "Adrian J. Ebell: Photographer and Journalists of the Dakota War of 1862," *Minnesota History* 54:2 (Summer 1994): 87. Adrian Ebell actually leaves his five-octave melodeon as collateral with Joel Whitney.

established himself as an entertainer, photographer, and adventurer before he embarked on his journey in 1862. Although very different from the twenty-four hour news cycle of the twenty-first century, these early attempts at delivering news in creative and innovative ways that not only informed but also entertained captivated audiences and created a lucrative field for these showmen.

The financial benefits of photographing exclusive scenes motivated Adrian Ebell. Deconstructing his images, the evidence shows a significant financial motive for Ebell as his primary purpose in photographing the Dakota. Similar to the motivations of the delegation photographers, money continued to play a significant role in nineteenth century photographers. These photographers made money through the sale of their photographs, and sometimes through awards received from fairs and expositions.[263]

Adrian Ebell was twenty-three years old when he arrived in Minnesota, and he is described as an "[e]xhibitor of a [d]ioramma and a [p]hotographic [a]rtist by [p]rofession."[264] He possessed the skills necessary for a photograph and entrepreneur, and used those skills to fund his education at Yale College. People in Minnesota testified that Adrian Ebell's skills as a photographer were utilized in August of 1862 as his "profession or trade" as a means of "obtaining [financial] means to secure his education."[265] Using a

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[263] Wilson, "Working the Light," 49. Wilson notes that nineteenth century photographers who won awards could advance their "reputations" and subsequently their careers by advertising…their success and thereby advertising their work."

[264] Woolworth, *Camera and Sketchbook,* 121. Ebell's professional description was written by Charles L. Bryant, a government representative of Minnesota, in his depredation claim for items lost during the 1862 war.

[265] Woolworth, *Camera and Sketchbook*, 123-124. Thomas Williamson supports Ebell's depredation claims by stating, "[t]hat claimant was a Photographist and had come to Pajutazee on business of his profession or trade." Furthermore, Thomas Galbraith wrote a supporting affidavit to Ebell's depredation claim where he stated that Ebell's work in Minnesota was "for the sole purpose of obtaining means to secure his education."

skill or trade to make money was not a new concept for Ebell or other entrepreneurs in 1862. In fact, many photographers rushed to the Civil War battlefields to document that chaos of war and sell those images to the general public.[266] Ebell took a calculated risk by choosing to document the Dakota in Minnesota. He did not have the financial means to journey to the Dakota reservations, and he had to fund his trip by utilizing his skills as a magic lantern performer. This indicates that Ebell made a gamble on investing in this opportunity, which for him resulted in the most coveted images of the war, a personal first hand account published in a national magazine, and the preservation of his name and association to the Dakota war.[267]

Financial motivation is further supported by the fact that Adrian Ebell had no known previous experience with the Dakota Indians or other American Indians. His previous experience as an entertainer makes his journey north more reasonable, because it make sense that he chose his subjects for the explicit purpose of financial gain. His lack of connection to the Dakota, the annuity payment, or Minnesota Territory points to Ebell noticing an opportunity and using his skills as a photographer to capitalize on the financial possibilities of photographing the Dakota. His skill set used during the 1862 war, his entrepreneurial aptitude and photographic expertise, had no other known

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Galbraith essentially makes the case for Ebell using his talents as a photographer to financially help in his studies at Yale College.

[266] Frassanito, *Gettysburg.* describes how Alexander Gardner, Mathew Brady, and Timothy O'Sullivan used the Civil War as a way to make money by capitalizing on documenting the trauma of war.

[267] Adrain Ebell, "Indian Massacres and War of 1862," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 (1863): 1-24.

connection to the Dakota and their distribution of goods, money, and annuity payments.[268]

Furthermore, it appears Adrian Ebell never received an invitation from government officials to photograph the Dakota. In fact, evidence proves Ebell took it upon himself to travel to Minnesota and anticipated cooperation from locals around the reservation for room and board. The one person that knew of Ebell's arrival, Joel Whitney, also had no prior connection to Ebell. As a fellow photographer and entrepreneur, Whitney had utilized the Dakota as subjects in his photographic work, and it is plausible that he discussed his experiences with Ebell. However, Whitney too does not have any official connections with the Dakota tribe or government officials on the Dakota reservations. Edwin Lawton, Ebell's assistant, notes that Ebell had made introductions with Whitney prior to their arrival. However, Lawton does not describe any other introductions with locals in Minnesota.[269]

The locals that Ebell and Lawton encountered on the Dakota reservations welcomed the duo and even legally supported Ebell during his pursuit of monetary compensation for the damage and loss of personal property during the war. Jane Williamson, the wife of Dr. Thomas Williamson at Pajutazee Mission (Upper Sioux Agency), wrote an affidavit on behalf of Ebell's depredation claim, stating "he was on the

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[268] The depredation claim suggests that though Ebell was a skilled photographer, his only motivation in traveling to Minnesota was to take photographs for monetary profit. He had no other connection to the Dakota Indians or the people in Minnesota other than to capitalize on the opportunity to take rich photographs.

[269] Edwin R. Lawton, "Edwin Lawton Journal," Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Collection, 1862.

reserve for the prosecution of his professional duties and with not unlawful purposes."[270] Despite submitting his claims twice, Adrian Ebell was denied any aid from the government because he ventured onto the reservation without permission or consent of the government. His entire presence in Minnesota had been self-induced. He volunteered to explore the financial opportunities of photographing the Dakota, and ,according to the government, his personal losses were self-inflicted.

The material possessions destroyed during the war amounted to $774. 25, an equivalent of around $18,000 in 2015.[271] Ebell continued his stay in Minnesota until December 1862. After his time with the Dakota, he returned to Chicago and continued his education, eventually graduating from Yale Sheffield Scientific School and Medical College in Albany, New York, with a medical degree. He continued to give magic lantern shows but turned his full attention to developing a study abroad opportunity for young women of wealth.[272] He died on April 10, 1877 outside of Hamburg, Germany. A remarkable man with a remarkable career, Adrian Ebell contributed some of the most spectacular images of the Dakota and their war. His images are unique because they have survived, provide the viewer with an intimate look at the activities on the reservation the day the war began, and his style as a pseudo-photojournalist gives his visual and written accounts a original and animate quality.

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[270] Anderson and Woolworth, *Camera and Sketchbook, 124*. Other supporting afidavits on behalf of Ebell were written by "prominent, well-known and respected people" such as Thomas Galbraith, Clark W. Thompson (Superintendent of Indian Affair), Alexander Ramsey, Charles A. Zimmerman, Stephen R. Rigs, Margaret P. Williamson, and Thomas S. Williamson; National Archives, RG75, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[271] www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi (accessed April 15, 2016). Calculation was done using the end date of 2015 and the amount from 1862 at $774. Other similar inflation calculators estimate a similar cost of around $18,000.

[272] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 314.

Breakfast on the Prairie

Ebell and Lawton arrive at Dr. Thomas S. Williamson's home and mission—Pajutazee—on August 15 and immediately begin taking pictures of the local Dakota Indians. For the next two days, Ebell took many photographs until he was forced to flee along with Dr. Williamson's family because of the war. Unable to carry all of his equipment, Ebell managed to take a camera and some primed plates, which he later used to take one of the most memorable photographs of the war. After they reached safety, Ebell then stayed in Minnesota as an impromptu photographic journalist, accompanying many military units in search and rescue missions. He later gave very detailed accounts of survivor stories, along with his own, in local newspapers and most famously in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. He was the first person to give a fully and detailed account of the events before, during, and after the war.[273]

The only known photograph taken during the war is that of a refugee party fleeing the Upper Agency on August 21, 1862. Reports of disturbances with the Dakota reached the Upper Agency on Monday, August 18, as Adrian Ebell and Edwin Lawten took photographs of Dakota performing daily chores. Debate among the wasicu continued throughout the day, and though some wanted to flee to the nearest fort, many considered

[273] Eventually Bell leaves Minnesota in mid-december due to illness. He later travels back to Yale and eventually settles in New York before his death. Alan R. Woolworth finds that "[Ebell's} significance lies in his arresting photographs and observant descriptions of the traffic days of 1862. A young man bent on nothing more exciting than taking pictures of Indians in the new state of Minnesota, he became an unwitting participant in the event that launched a series of wars on the norther plains that did not end until the battle of Wounded Knee in 1890." Woolworth, "Adrian J. Ebell," 92.

the reports benign. Ebell himself considered the notion of war unlikely, "and had no doubt that it would blow over shortly. [Many,] even the most timid, had the least conception of its extent and magnitude."[274] Looting began at Dr. Williamson's home and church, located near the Upper Agency, which spurred Ebell, Lawton, the Williamson family, and others to leave and seek safety behind the walls of Fort Ridgley.

Figure 3.3. Adrian John Ebell, "People Escaping from Indian Outbreak of 1862," August 21, 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The fleeing party of refugees met up with Stephen Riggs, his family, and others and would later become known as the "Missionary Party," one of two large refugee groups that left their homes in search of safety.[275] Between August 18 and August 21, the refugee party experienced rain, cold nights, fear of attack, and the possibility of running out of food. On the morning of the 21st Ebell recalls,

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[274] Adrian Ebell, "Indian Massacres and War of 1862," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27:157 (June 1863).

[275] The Missionary Party included the Williamson family, the Riggs family, Ebell and Lawton and many others. The second group, known as the John Other Day Party, were a group of wasicu ,including Indian Agent Thomas J. Galbraith and his family, and mixed-blood Dakota led by John Other Day. Other Day's refugee group safely arrived at Hutchinson on August 20. John Other Day was celebrated and credited with saving the lives of 62 people. Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 194.

> …we arose, and performing out toilets, like a newfoundland dog just out of a mill-pond, with a hearty shake to dry ourselves, strode or waddled toward a thicket some ten miles distance, where we hoped to collect a few sticks with which to cook our breakfast, which we drove along before us on the hoof; for not a mouthful else had we.[276]

It was here, on August 21, that Ebell captured the group of refugees having their first hot meal since fleeing the Upper Agency. This image carried many captions labeling it "The breakfast on the prairie" and "Dinner on a Prairie;" but the meal took place late afternoon around three in the afternoon. One of the cows taken during their escape was slaughtered and cooked. Martha Riggs, Stephen and Mary's daughter, recalled that "[h]ere our party was immortalized by a young artist—a Mr. Ebell."[277]

In the background were horses and wagons encircled the group in an attempt to provide cover and security while eating. Thirty-five people appear in this photograph, including Stephen Riggs and his wife Mary with their children Martha, Anna, Thomas, Henry, Isabella, and Robert. Margaret Williamson, Dr. Thomas Williamson's wife, along with their children Henry, Nancy, and Elizabeth Hunter along with her husband Andrew Hunter. This image includes at least seven unidentified German settlers—a demographic that suffers great loss during this war. Of note is Andrew Hunter, married to Elizabeth, holding an ax above his head (upper right corner). His pose and action of exhibiting an ax elicits a sense of determination and protection of the others seated on the ground. Many individuals are lying on the ground in a very relaxed pose; however, accounts of these

[276] Ebell, "Indian Massacres and War of 1862."

[277] Stephen Return Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1880), 174.

survivors indicate that the fear of violence and the anxiety of their journey did not cease until they reached safety.[278]

The photograph of the refugees is significant, not only because it is the only known photograph taken during the war, but because it represents the nuanced group of people living in Minnesota who interacted with and lived alongside Dakota. The girl in the foreground—closest to the camera—was likely Sophia Robertson, a mixed-blood Dakota living with the Williamson family at the Pajutazee Mission. Her brother, Thomas A. Robertson, served as a translator during the delegations of 1858 and became a prisoner of the Dakota during the war. Sophia appears in this photograph likely because she stayed with the Williamson family while going to school at Pajutazee. Her family symbolizes the polarizing nature of people living in Minnesota in 1862. Though their family had strong ties to Dakota culture, their wasicu father and his involvement in Indian affairs made them enemies to the Dakota waging war.

Conclusion

A newly married couple from Fisslerville, New Jersey, decided to spend their honeymoon in Minnesota. Mr. and Mrs. D. Wilson Moore vacationed at the Rigg's residence and found themselves part of the group of refugees fleeing for their lives. Their idea of a good honeymoon was to visit Minnesota during the time of the distribution of annuities and goods, but their adventure into Indian lands made them in participants

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[278] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 188-193. Dahlin identifies all 28 people in the photograph and provides a brief description of their involvement in the escape. This is an excellent source for information about the individuals in this photograph; Mary Riggs describes her experiences as harrowing, but credits God with their survival. In *Mary and I,* Mary states, "we could not but feel that God who had led us during these long days, would neither suffer us to perish in this prairie wilderness, nor be taken by savages."

rather than just witnesses. The idea that people from all across America—Adrian Ebell and the Moore Couple—came to Minnesota to watch the Dakota collect their payments as a way to entertain themselves provides a stark contrast what actually unfolded. The seriousness of the war and the carnage that followed was in no way entertaining for the Dakota or the people who suffered loss during this time. However, the Dakota continued to attract crowds of people long after the war ended. Their entertainment value rose as photographs dispersed throughout the territory, giving viewers an opportunity to memorialize the people, places, and events of 1862. Photographs brought to life, and kept alive the realities of the war—violence, death, destruction, and exile. These realities soon morphed into collective memories constructed around concepts of wasicu victimization, where "images of personal progress could also illustrate collective progress."[279]

[279] Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), 24; Mary Riggs wrote about Mr. and Mrs. Moore in *Mary and I*, 150; Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising*, 191.

CHAPTER IV

THE VIEWER

"Through the image the affections are ever bright in our memories, and without one of these Daguerreotypes, the features, the form will grow fainter and fainter, and in a few years be lost altogether." – The Daily Minnesotian[280]

The viewer is anyone who looks at the photograph and uses their reaction to the photograph to construct their own interpretation of history. This is the most difficult step in the deconstruction method because viewers throughout time have not stated their thoughts and opinions outright. In order to garner those insights, the historian must look at how the general population has used the photographs in things such as memoirs and personal narratives, newspapers and other published journalistic forums, and constructs of memorial subjects that use photography in a larger concept for the purposes of preservation, storytelling, and commemoratives. Each time a photograph is used within these constructs the photograph is aiding in the interpretation of the story and acting as a manipulative device to persuade the viewer to react in a constructed manner. For

[280] *The Daily Minnesotain*, December 15, 1855.

instance, photographs paired with newspaper headlines that blamed the Dakota for the war or vice versa are giving the viewer a visual script of the story. The photograph is indicative of the general tone and becomes an accomplice to the account presented. The viewer's interpretation of the photograph changes throughout time. Entire generations may view the photograph as evidence that the Dakota were their enemies, while others in that same generation might consider the photograph to illustrate a repressed and forlorn group of individuals. Considering the changing options throughout time, the purpose of this chapter is to determine the evaluation in how photographs have been used to aid in the interpretation of the Dakota-U.S. War, and how those interpretations have evolved over the same time period.

Figure 4.1. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Little Crow," ca. 1860, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The viewer's demand for photographs corresponds directly to the construction of a public historical memory. For instance, after the war, many Minnesotans and other wasicu kept Little Crow's portrait from 1858 as a reminder of the evil lurking behind the image. Perhaps followers of Little Crow kept his image as a token of admiration, or as a reminder of what was lost because of the war. At the same time, the value placed upon the image based on one's acceptance of the photograph also has meaning. It manipulates the interpretation based on the individuals biases and preconceived notions. Photographs of the Dakota-U.S. War are commodities in a consumer market. They were driven by demand. So viewers have an active role in the production of settler colonial ephemera.[281]

Luring the Viewers through Advertisements

Viewers from the past left little indication about their feelings and thoughts about said photographs, and today's viewer is biased by the historical events that have unfolded since the creation. However, two clear points of view are triggered by these photographs: the point of view of the Dakota and the point of view about the Dakota. Despite the duplicity of views formed by the wasicu onlookers, the Dakota delegation photographs had an "exploitive marketing" value resulting in yet another manipulative feature worthy of deconstruction.[282]

The first, and most obvious, "exploitive" value for delegation photographs consisted of financial gains. Photographers took note of the growing interest in

[281] Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Internment at Fort Snelling,* 44. Monjeau-Marz discusses how one image of a Dakota named Betsey sold well in Joel E. Whitney's studio. Therefore, Whitney continued to make copies and invest in other images of Dakota Indians.

[282] Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (New York: Harper Collins Publishing, 2007), *16.*

photographs, especially unusual photographs such as the Dakota Indians, and started producing mass quantities of said images for sale in their shops. The photographers then advertised in local newspapers, baiting customers with various types of marketing ploys. These advertisements noted the large quantities of photographs, the types of photographs, and the most current and up to date technology. Similar to today's marketing schemes, the nineteenth century photographers liberally embellished their advertisements, claiming things like, "[t]he arrangement of light is NEW, and believed to be superior to any other for producing uniformly bold pictures. No pains will be spared to give satisfaction to those who may favor the proprietor with their patronage. Paintings, engravings, and daguerreotypes, copied in the best manner."[283]

The primary photography studio in St. Paul, Minnesota, Whitney's gallery, boasted some of the most audacious promotional campaigns. Whitney's gallery, an important repository for many of the Dakota images that appeared during and after the 1862 war, claimed superiority over other studios because the likenesses caused other individuals to question whether or not the person in the photographs was in fact that individual. *The Minnesotian* recounts a story of how a Dakota man walked past a window display at Whitney's gallery and tried to attack one of his enemies, a Chippewa that he saw in a photograph, later a man found a likeness of his beloved and proposed marriage to the photograph—believing it was really his love. The newspaper article goes on to

[283] *The Minnesota Pioneer*, November 27, 1851 and December 18, 1851. Many of these advertisements are found for photographic studios and photographers across the United States. Whitney's studio in St. Paul Minnesota is chosen primarily because most of the Dakota Indian photographs were found in his studio and became the primary source of many of the later images of the Dakota. In order to provide consistency, his studio is chosen as an example, but similar advertisements exist with almost identical campaigns.

warn Whitney that "taking people and making them look in the pictures more natural than themselves, the consequences may result in something really serious."[284] The probability that either event truly happened is slight, but the language used by marketing personnel illustrates that, for the photographer, these photographs were a source of income—financial gain, and that there was a market of people interested in purchasing the photographs. The photographers and photographic studios advertised in such ways in an effort to beguile the general public into visiting their establishments and purchasing likenesses of their own. Therefore, the deconstruction of the viewer of the Dakota delegation photographs is based on the premise that for wasicus, the delegation photographs provided personal enjoyment and/or financial gain for the photographer, studio, gallery, etc.[285] The entire activity, for non-governmental official, in taking or purchasing photographs of the Dakota Indians was part of a larger commercial enterprise.

Advertisements created markets of settler fantasies about Indigenous primitivism. Claiming Indians attacked photographs of their enemies corresponds with the persistent notion of primitive peoples in a cities; the idea of the Indians in urban spaces who cannot understand technology. Indians who directly influenced the photography industry and its role within settler projects through their own decisive agency drove consumer purchases of Indigenous photographs. These advertisements lured consumers while also creating false identities of Dakota as primitive, which were then used by consumers after the war

[284] *The Minnesotian*, June 25, 1853.

[285] Business Directory for the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota Territory (Saint Paul: Goodrich and Somners, Printers. Pioneer and Democratic Office, 1856). An advertisement for Whitney's Gallery claiming, "view of Falls, portraits of Indian Chief, &c For Sale" specifically advertise American Indian photographs to the general public. It is quite possible that Whitney's gallery in Minnesota managed to reproduce many of the Delegation photographs taken of the Dakota in 1858.

to prescribe notions of settler innocence to the wasicu. Furthermore, the concept of photographs as keepsakes or mementos further supports the notion that nineteenth century viewers placed sentimental value on photographic likenesses, which directly influenced the way historical memory was primarily driven by wasicu.[286]

The value each individual placed on his photographs is hard to ascertain; however, not entirely impossible. For instance, Stephen R. Riggs, a missionary who spent the majority of his life working with the Dakota—and who had a large role in the war of 1862—recounted to the *Minnesota Pioneer* in March 1854 the story of a fire that destroyed his home and most of his belongings stating "our daguerreotypes, and other remembrances of friends are all gone. We regret the loss of them, but then we remember that we are fast hastening to the land where mementos are not needed."[287] The concept of photographs as keepsakes or "mementos" indicates that nineteenth century viewers placed sentimental value on photographic likenesses. This sentimentality encouraged the photographers to advertise their stock of photographs ranging from scenic views, Native Americans, and relatives alike, to entice purchases primarily by wasicu people.[288]

The audaciousness and large quantity of the advertisements indicate that as a commercial enterprise photography flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Technology improved, prices went down, and more and more people had their likeness

[286] See Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Cothran coins the term "marketplaces of remembering," the idea that the purchasing of photographs, or the collection of other ephemera was an exchange that commodified memory. "Economic changes produced new marketplaces through which people experienced their recent present and formed their perception of the past. And today these marketplaces continue to shape our understanding of the era." 14-15.

[287] *The Minnesota Pioneer*, March 30, 1854.

[288] *Daily Minnesotian*, August 20, 1860.

taken, purchased photographs of themselves and as well as other subjects, and collected the photographs in personal albums. By 1860, Whitney's Gallery had an international clientele that included the almost daily onslaught of tourists.[289] His advertisements mention the various reasons for purchasing his photographs, which include purchasing as personal keepsakes and as a source of preservation since "[l]ife is uncertain, and persons…should not delay one moment in procuring one or more of these mementos of life, which under the trying circumstances of a final reparation of friends, no price can purchase."[290]

Building upon the drive for preservation, photographing Native Americans provided a form of scientific documentation for historical records. Though not entirely successful, Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution requested that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs collect photographs of Indian delegations as a supplement to the already extensive collection of portraits owned by the government at the Smithsonian Institute. Furthermore, he asked that negatives of the photographs be purchased to ensure the ability to make limitless copies of these images should something like a fire destroy the originals.[291] Joseph Henry noted a collection of photographs of

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[289] *Daily Minnesotian*, August 20, 1860. This newspaper advertisement claims that photographs "are sent by express and mail to all parts of the United States and even Europe, and lie on every centre table, or hang on every parlor wall, almost, in this state."

[290] *Minnesota Pioneer*, June 3 1853. Other advertisements, such as the one found in *The Minnesotian* on August 21, 1852 points out that unlike the expense of oil paintings, daguerreotypes serve as the "great portrayer of the countenances of the millions—should all the republicans ever render thankful reverence. Thy art is a truly democratic art, and enable the whole people to hold communion, face to face, with absent friends, and dearly beloved sweethearts, wives, parents, brothers, sisters, and children."

[291] Herman Viola, *Diplomates in Buckskin*, 180-181. Viola states that Joseph Henry contacted the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on multiple occasions trying to encourage the purchase of Indian delegation photographs, but his ideas fell on

Native Americans taken at James E. McClee's studio during their visits to Washington, D. C. between 1857 and 1858. McClee's studio advertised the collection in local newspapers, which likely bolstered Joseph Henry's novel idea.[292] However, the United States government did not actively seek or participate in collecting photographs of Indian delegations as an alternative to oil paintings or as a source for scientific historical records. Despite governmental officials the lack of interest, commercial photography continued to participate in capturing likenesses of Indian delegates for "the sales appeal offered by unique views of American Indians in native dress…the wilder and more savage-looking the Indians, the better the photographers like it…add[ing] spice to the photographs."[293] Since preservation, historical documentation, or nostalgia never solidified within the government as acceptable reasons to acquire photographs of Native Americans, non-native, governmental officials' perspectives on photographs are vague at best. The government did not have a viewpoint on photographing delegates, since it did not actively seek or participate in the photography.

The Role of Newspapers

After the war, the primary photographs ins galleries throughout Minnesota included these photographs taken by Adrian Ebell and others of the Dakota as detainees at Fort Snelling. The delegation photographs remained in circulation but were limited to their specific audiences. For example, Little Crow's photographs from 1858, specifically the photograph where he is seated and wearing a jacket with a blanket around his lap, is

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deaf ears. Even after a fire in 1865 that destroyed numerous oil paintings of Indian delegations, Mr. Henry still was unable to convince others to acquire photographs and the accompanied negatives of said images.

[292] Ibid., 180

[293] Ibid., 182.

considered one of the most popular images of the Dakota War by researcher Curtis A. Dahlin and a group photo collector group in Minnesota.[294] The Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group found eighteen different carte-de-vistas of that one particular photograph of Little Crow. This is not surprising since Joel E. Whitney advertised this exact photograph in the St. Paul Daily Press in early December 1862. His advertisement announced that he acquired the photograph "at a high price" from a citizen who came upon it after a young girl tossed the photograph "when it became the picture of an assassin."[295]

What Whitney and others were doing after the war was reaffirming to customers who purchase pictures of the Dakota, particularly of Little Crow, that the likeness was of an "assassin." An advertisement in the *Saint Paul Daily Press*, boasted that Whitney procured the copyright of the photograph:

> Whitney has taken out a copyright for his photograph of what is believed to be the only extact [sic] likeness of "Little Crow," the always well known, and now celebrated Sioux Chief, who has obtained a undeniable renown this summer, as the leader of the insurrectionary bands of that fierce tribe. The picture is taken from a daguerreotype likeness, which at the beginning of the outbreak, was in the hands of a half-breed girl near Fort Ridgely, but was thrown away by her when it became the picture of an assassin. It was picked up, however, by one of our citizens, and purchased at a high price by Whitney. Little Crow is here represented as a sort of Merman-half horse and half alligator—that is to say, sitting in full civilized costume—coat, vest, biled [sic] shirt—tall shirt-collar and a neckerchief in the place where a rope ought to be, and enveloped as to the lower half of his body in a five point blanket.[296]

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[294] *Joel E Whitney: Minnesota's Leading Pioneer Photographer: Catalog of Cartes de Visite,* compiled by the Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Photo Collectors Group, 2001); Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 39.

[295] *St. Paul Daily Press*, December 13, 1862; Dahlin, 39.

[296] *Saint Paul Daily Press,* December 13, 1862.

Describing Little Crow as an "assassin" and "sort of Merman-half horse and half alligator" makes him a caricature, which makes it easier for society to condemn him without any retrospection. This type of story saturated newspapers after the war, and demonstrates the extent to which viewers withheld critical thinking in favor of adopting the understanding that Dakota alone were to blame for the "outbreak" of violence.

Charles Lewis investigated newspaper coverage of the Dakota-U.S. War and remarked that newspapers such as *Mankato Record* and *Mankato Independent* acted as "guard-dog[s]" promoting "local power establishment" instead of "entire communities."[297] Throughout the war these small town newspapers advocated for the displaced white settlers without any concern for the Dakota Indians. Their primary audience, Minnesota's white population, directed their writing, which produced an "overall tone…of righteous indignation and excitement sometimes bordering on hysteria."[298] As in other small town or local papers, the Dakota were grouped as a whole rather then as individuals; no distinction between the pro-war and anti-war members of the Dakota tribes were made. By assigning blame to the entire group of people, the language in these newspapers were prejudiced, often ascribing skepticism even to the "good" or "friendly Dakota." Publishers adopted an overarching standard of portraying the Dakota in a negative light; creating, developing, and continuing the skewed public historical memory.[299]

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[297] Charles Lewis "Wise Decisions: A Frontier Newspaper's Coverage of the Dakota Conflict," *American Journalism,* 28:2, 2001 p 51.

[298] Ibid, 58.

[299] Katryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, *The War in the Worlds: Reading the Dakota Conflict through the Captivity Literature*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln & Lincoln, 2009, 92-93. The author claims, "contemporary readers tolerated examples of

Furthermore, Lewis finds that the editors of small newspapers, like the ones mentioned, actively left out any news that was sympathetic to the Dakota. It is not until after the executions on December 26, 1862, that editor John Claggett Wise of the *Mankato Record* published material from missionary Stephen Riggs. Riggs's statements and letters highlighting his concern for the Dakota during this time, which was not part of the general narrative in publication. However, his statement was published by Riggs after the execution because he was an eye-witness and could attest to some of the conversations the Dakota prisoners had before their deaths. He also provided information about the gallows and atmosphere at the hanging.[300]

Captivity Narratives

Another way viewers constructed and influence historical memory was through the writing of their experiences during the war. Known as captivity narratives, these first-hand accounts primarily focus on the cruel sanguinary aspects of their captors. One of the most controversial narrative of the war came from Sarah Wakefield. After her rescue at Camp Release she, recounted her plea in the court case against Chaska, a Dakota whom she knew and trusted was innocent. Chaska was responsible for her safety during her captivity, but despite her testimony he was hanged at Mankato on December 26, 1862. After the publication of her book, she found opposition from local authorities and publishers because her story was, "[p]reoccupied with obstacles of fear and cultural bias in the quest for truthful representation. …[The] narrative raise[d] question about the

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one or two 'progressive' Indians amid a much greater focus on Native barbarity, and tut-tutted about a few rouge white, but did not alter their basic view that traditionalists American Indians were brutish and inferior, while white Americans were civilized and superior."

[300] Ibid, 69-71. *Mankato Record*, December 26, 1862.

possibilities of truth telling in this cultural moment of westward expansion."[301] Her story clashed with the prevailing theory that the Dakota who captured women did so in order to rape them; instead, she stresses that she was neither molested nor mistreated during her captivity. Jane Namias, the editor of the latest edition of Wakefield's story, claims that Sarah Wakefield wrote her book for several reasons. One reason was to create sympathy for Chaska, whom many believed was her secret lover and whom she was mourning. However, Namias finds that Sarah's relationship with Chaska was nonsexual and she was merely trying to save a friend who had protected her and her family during the war.

Other captivity stories described brutal experiences during the war and which satisfied audiences appetites. Lavina Eastlick's story is diametrically opposite to Sarah Wakefield's story. The Eastlick family put their trust in a known and friendly Dakota Indian named Pawn, who later instigated an attack against the family. Lavinia was shot through her foot, side, and head and lay sprawled in the grass as her husband was murdered. Surrendering to their attackers, Lavinia watched as a Dakota woman repeatedly struck her son Freddy, and she was shot again trying to rescue. She then describes how she witnessed the death of two more of her children, before she managed to get away from her attackers by lying in the grass after Pawn shot her in the back.[302] She spent the next fifteen days attempting to reach safety and was eventually reunited

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[301] Janet Dean "Nameless Outrages: Narrative Authority, Rape Rhetoric, and the Dakota Conflict of 1862" in *American Literature* 77:1 (March 2005), 97. Sarah F. Wakefield and June Namias *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[302] Bryant and Murch, *A History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians*, 349. Lavinia Eastlick wrote that as she kiss her husband, she held his face in her hands and later remembered that he felt cold to the touch.

with her surviving children: Merton, her oldest, had carried his younger brother of just fifteen months about fifty miles.[303]

Histories written soon after the war demonstrate how prevailing wasicu points of view were critical of the Dakota, and in turn perpetuate a wasicu driven historical memory. Isaac Heard, Harriet E. Bishop McConkey, Chares Bryant, and Abel Murch all relied on eye-witness testimonies to give a “frontier viewpoint” of the war. It took three decades before Indian accounts were added to the historiography of the war. These authors describe the Dakota as “backward, evil pagan savages who committed atrocious acts.”[304] Bryant and Murch label the Dakota as a “warlike people” and relied on official correspondence to describe the events of 1862. Other writers such as Alexander Berghold repeated factual errors found in the earlier works—Heard, McConkey, Bryant and Murch—while emphasizing the culpability of the federal government, and going so far as to claim the war an “understandable Dakota Reaction.”[305]

[303] Lavinia Day Eastlick, *Thrilling Incident of the Indian War of 1862, Being a Personal Narrative of the Outrages and Horrors Witnessed by Mrs L. Eastlick in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Atlas Steam Printing Company, 1864). Eastick’s fourth son, Willis, died three months after birth and not from the war. Two other sons, Fred and Frank died during their attack at their home on August 20, 1862. Only her oldest and youngest, Merton and Johnny survived the war.

[304] Derounian-Stodola, *The War in Words,* 218.

[305] See William E. Lass, “Histories of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862,” *Minnesota History* 63:2 (Summer 2012) 44-57; Charles S. Bryant and Abel B. Murch, *A History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians: In Minnesota, Including the Personal Narratives of Mary who Escaped* (Cincinnati, Ohio: R. W. Carroll and Co., Publishers, 1868); Issac V.D. Heard, *History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863* (New York: Harper, 1865); Harriet E. Bishop McConkey, *Dakota War Whoop; or, Indian Massacres and the War in Minnesota* (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill, 1863); Alexander Berghold, *The Indians’ Revenge: Days of Horror* (New Ulm: Brown County Journal, 1891).

Turn of the century revisionist historians, including Return I. Holcombe and William Watts Folwell, finally included Dakota histories in their works. Return I. Holcombe included Big Eagle's account of the events leading up to the war, the war, and the aftermath. "[The] first historian to write objectively about [the] war," Holcombe avoided derogatory sterotypes and accusatory language against the Dakota. His critical evaluation led him to claim that most of the Dakota were noncombatants from the Upper Agency, and those who fought were primarily from the Mdewakanton Band.[306] William Watts Follwell continued the revisionist agenda by avoiding the sensationalism of pioneer stories in favor of a more thorough analysis of the causes that led to war. The efforts of revisionist historians helped to create a balanced and more even interpretation of the war, however, historians in the 1950s began using delineating descriptive words such as "Uprising" or "Outbreak" instead of "War."[307] Changing the name from war to uprising diminished the events of 1862 and striped the Dakota of their sovereign status. Implying that the war was an outbreak of violence created an ideological context that the expulsion of the Dakota was due to their violent nature.[308]

Celebrating Victory

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[306] Lass, "Histories of The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862," 49; Lucius F. Hubbard and Return I. Holcombe, eds., *Minnesota in Three Centuries, 1655-1908* 3 vols (New York: Publishing Society of Minnesota, 1908).

[307] See Louis H. Roddis, *The Indian Wars of Minnesota* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1956). Roddis refers to the war as an outbreak and uprising throughout his book; C. M. Oehler, *The Great Sioux Uprising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Duane Schultz, *Over the Earth I Come* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992). William E. Lass concludes that Oehler and Schultz forfeited facts in favor of a good story, making their histories less academic and more entertainment.

[308] For more information about violence and the terminology used to describe Indian warfare see Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

In the 1850s, a talented sign painter from Utica, New York took his craft out west where he encountered many new and exciting forms of "primitive entertainment."[309] John Stevens had established a homestead and business in Minnesota where he witnessed the ingenuity of craftsmen, showmen, and artists alike using their skills as entertainers in rural America. Hungry for amusing diversions, people in Minnesota came out in huge numbers to see circus performances, traveling shows, and picture shows where images projected onto a screen dissolved into a continuous flow of images. It is also likely that John Stevens, the talented sign painter, encountered panorama shows. Panorama shows used painted pictures or scenes on a long strip of canvas to deliver a fantastic story that combined images with theatrical performance, a narrator, and sometimes live music. The canvas was rolled up like a scroll and unrolled using a mechanical device that was hand cranked by a stagehand. As images unrolled, a narrator described the scene to the audience using his own showmanship, lights, music, or other devices to make his presentation unique and spectacular.

Panoramas, considered as the first moving pictures and the precursor to modern film, was the premier entertainment for rural Americans in the late nineteenth century. "The panorama's emergence was intertwined with the onslaught of capitalism, imperialism, urbanism, and, in the long run, the emerging era of the masses."[310] John Stevens saw an opportunity to make a living using his artistic talent as a painter, by creating panoramas to entertain his fellow Minnesotans and bordering states. Having the

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[309] Bertha L. Heilbron, "Documentary Panorama," *Minnesota History* 30 (March 1949): 14-23; John Bell, "The Sioux War Panorama and American Mythic History," *Theater Journal* (Johns Hopkins University Press), vol. 48 (1996): 279.

[310] Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013), 5.

ability to paint, narrate, and travel, he just needed a story to tell. The story Stevens told was that of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862.

The Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, houses one of two known surviving panoramas made by John Stevens. Carefully tucked away in storage, the panorama has thirty-six scenes painted in oil on thin canvas. It stands around six feet tall, and is over 200 feet in length. Included in storage is the original mechanism used to display the panorama and three large poster advertisements promoting Steven's diaphanous panorama. The largest of the advertisements declares, "Something New! John Stevens Unsurpassed Diaphanous Oil Paintings and Concert. To Night. For Particulars See Small Bills." Since few panoramas have survived, it is quite exceptional to have a fully functional panorama with accompanied advertisements in one location.[311] However, more interesting is how similar some of Steven's scenes are to actual photographs. The proliferation of photographs of the war obviously made their way to Stevens, who drew inspiration when painting his panorama. Photographs of the Dakota Indians dispersed throughout the United States both before and after the war because of their popularity among shoppers and the affordability of the photographs.

The Panorama

[311] Heilbron, "Documentary Panorama," 14-23; John Bell, "The Sioux War Panorama and American Mythic History," *Theater Journal* (Johns Hopkins University Press), vol. 48 (1996): 279-299.

Figure 4.2. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Historian John Bell describes John Stevens panorama as "an epic propaganda performance that treated the elimination of Indians as an inevitable and ultimately reasonable consequence of American Manifest destiny: pioneer expansion across the continent to the Pacific."[312] For residents in Minnesota, justifying expansion and Manifest Destiny like ambitions for the state of Minnesota held high importance in their state agenda. If the Dakota-U.S. War in 1862 was a reaction to expansion in Minnesota, then John Stevens' panorama was used to justify the expansion and in the same vein demonize the Dakota for their actions in 1862. In many of the scenes Stevens portrays wasicu settlers in their homes, working the fields, or acting friendly to the Dakota. He then portrays the Dakota as the physical aggressors, attaching wasicu settlers, using excessive violence, and destroying the tranquil scenes Stevens had painted earlier. Scene

[312] John Bell, "The Sioux War Panorama and American Mythic History," 283.

10 is a great example of the juxtaposition between the violent Dakota and the innocent Minnesotan civilians. As the settlers lie in wait in the tall grass, the Dakota loom in the distance below dark clouds, highlighting the tension growing on the frontier as attacks sprang up without notice and caused massive damage to the settlers and their land.

Figure 4.3. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Furthermore, Stevens paints the settlers on a rich and prosperous backdrop of farmland and bountiful harvests. Scene six shows Mr. Cook fetching water for a group of Dakota who happened upon his home. In the background you can see endless fields of grain ripe for harvest and rolling fields of beautiful Minnesota frontier. The settlers are shown working with nature by planting and working the earth. Again, Stevens adds the Dakota to these images of obvious aggressors or "villans" by having them rush into the scene, storm the farmer's home and land, and fire upon the farmer when his back was turned. Essentially, Stevens presents a very biased picture of the events in 1862. Yes, a

group of Dakota Indians did attack wasicu settlers, killing and pillaging as they made their way across the agencies. However, that group was comparatively small in relation to the entire Dakota nation located in the northern and southern agencies. They did use violence against the wasicu, but the wasicu were not all innocent.

Figure 4.4. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Stevens' panorama ignores the plethora of reasons for war occurred, and instead focuses on the violence and other atrocities so that the Dakota appear as the clear and unmistakable enemy of wasicu settlers. The panorama in essence a propaganda machine, created a good versus bad mentality that "reinforc[ed] the audience's notions of settler superiority and the wisdom and inevitability of western expansion."[313] Stevens further solidifies this notion by painting more elaborate scenes with frames of white portraits

[313] John Bell, "The Sioux War Panorama and American Mythic History," 286-292.

compared to less elaborate Dakota portraits. Scene 32 is a collection of Napoleon's French commanders encased in elaborate frames and with titles, while scene 16 shows three Dakota men seated together with no identifying marks or embellishments.

Figure 4.5. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Stevens used photographs of the Dakota and other participants of the war and essentially copied the likeness from the photograph to the panorama. He quipped to audiences during his presentations, "Ladies and Gentlemen, we cannot well proceed with this scene of horror without first giving you some correct likenesses of some who were connected in it."[314] These "likenesses" were copied directly from photographs of the Dakota taken in 1858 during their delegation negotiations. It is clear that John Stevens had access to these images either by purchasing them himself, or borrowing from friends, as images of the Dakota saturated Minnesota after the war.

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[314] Panorama script in Helmerich Center for American Research Archives. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Scene nine of John Stevens' panorama depicts Big Dog—a Dakota man, John Other Day—a Wahpeton Dakota leader, and General Henry H. Sibley. All men are seated in chairs in what appears to be a studio. John Stevens used his artistic license by placing all three men together in the same room, an event that never actually occurred. Instead, he offers his audience a look at two Dakota leaders who worked against the hostile Dakota during the war and the general responsible for ending the 'reign of terror.' While unveiling this panoramic scene, Stevens or another narrator proclaimed:

> Ladies and Gentlemen, we cannot well proceed with this scene of horror without first giving you some correct likenesses of some who were connected in it. This is a correct portrait of Gen. H. Sibley, one of the first pioneers of Minnesota, long identified in the march of improvement in the Northwest and the commander in chief of the expedition against the Sioux. John Otherday, a friendly Indian, served as a scout under Gen. Sibley through the Indian campaign and distinguished himself fighting against his own people at the battle of Wood Lake. Many redskins bit the dust from his unerring rifle. Nebegnah, or Big Dog, tendered the services of himself and warriors under his command to Gen. Sibley through the Indian campaign.[315]

Governor Ramsey had called upon Colonel Henry H. Sibley to gather four companies totaling about 400 Minnesota militiamen. Sibley had good knowledge of the Dakota Indians because of his pervious dealings with them in the fur trade. The militias consisted of untrained volunteers and proved difficult to keep together. The men waited nearly three weeks for sufficient supplies to arrive. Meanwhile Sibley used the delay to prepare his men to fight effectively. The delay allowed the Dakota Indians to continue their assaults on Minnesota towns and throughout the countryside. Criticized for his late

[315] John Stevens transcript of "Panorama of the Indian Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills."

arrival to the war, Sibley convened over Camp Release and the surrender of the Dakota.[316]

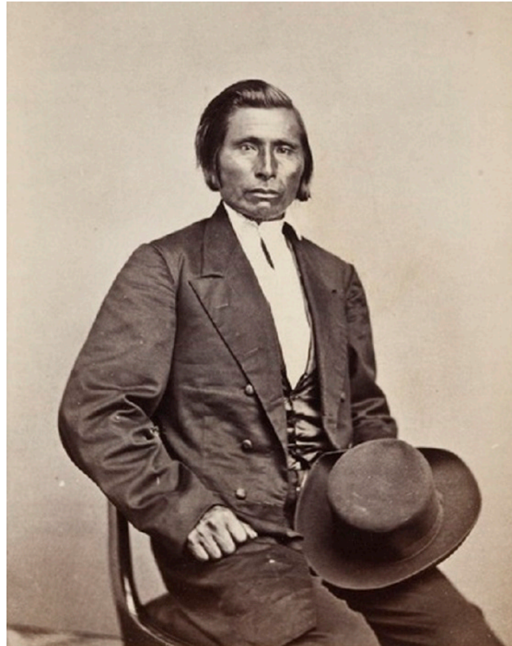

Figure 4.6. Whitney's Gallery, "Anpetu-tokeca, John Other Day," ca. 1862, Minnestoa Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Seated next to General Sibley in the panorama is John Other Day. A leader of the Wahpeton Band, he helped sixty-two wasicu refugees escape during the first days of the war. He led one of two large refugee parties to safety by using disguises to scout a safe route and keeping a great distance between the refugees and the bloodshed. His inclusion in this particular scene of Stevens' panorama is likely because of his heroic actions during the war.[317] However, this particular illustration is striking in its similarity to a photograph of John Other Day in 1858 in figure 4.6. Other Day traveled with many

[316] Jennifer Elaine McKinney, "Revisiting the Dakota Uprising of 1862" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2009), 71.

[317] John Other Day told of his heroics to missionary Gideon Pond, who then published Other Day's narrative in the *Saint Paul Press*, August 28, 1862; Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes,* 119-128; Adrian Ebell "The Indian Massacres and War of 1862."

Wahpeton Dakota leaders to Washington, D. C., to negotiate a sale of their land in exchange for money and annuities. During his time in Washington, John Other Day sat for a photographer. The lasting image shows Other Day seated in a chair with one arm resting on the armrest and the other hand holding his hat. He is wearing a modern suit, and his hair is cut and styled like a white man's. In the photo he holds his hat with his left hand, but in the panorama he is holding his hat in his right hand. The panorama, is in fact, a complete copy of the 1858 photography, except that is appears transposed. Since Stevens's painted his panorama in the 1870s, it is clear his inspiration for John Other Day's portrait was the 1858 photograph.[318]

Unlike scene nine, which depicts friendly Dakota, scene twenty of Stevens' panorama, depicts three Dakota who took an active role in the war. Seated and wrapped in blankets from left to right are Flying Dog, Little Crow and Medicine Bottle. Unlike the previous scene, Stevens is highlighting the violent participants of the war. Two in particular are illustrated in similar likenesses of photographs of these individuals. First, Little Crow, famously known as the leader of the war, is seated between Flying Dog and Medicine Bottle.

The photograph taken of Little Crow in New York 1858, figure 4.1, shows him seated, wrapped in a blanket, and also appears to be the inspiration for Stevens' portrait in scene twenty. The posture, dress, and profile of Little Crow in both instances are so

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[318] See figure 4.6 of John Other Day.

similar that it is easy to conclude that the 1858 photograph provided the basis for this scene.[319]

Figure 4.7. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Another strong example of photographs providing inspiration for Stevens is the image of Medicine Bottle from scene twenty of the panorama. A strong supporter of his community and resisting the changes the government pressed upon his community, he aligned himself with the leaders of the war from the very beginning. He attended the early morning meeting where tribal leaders met and decided to go to war.[320] Similar to the transposing of John Other Day's images as seen in figure 4.5, Medicine Bottle's painting is a transposed copy of a photograph from 1864. Both examples show Medicine Bottle seated with his chin resting upon his folded hands. His elbows rest on his knees and a blanket is wrapped around his shoulders. His hair is braided and he holds a fore longed expression on his face.

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[319] See figure 4.1 of Little Crow.

[320] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 274; See figure 5.7 of Medicine Bottle.

Another transposed example is of Cut Nose in scene twenty-six. A photograph of Cut Nose, figure 4.9, taken sometime before December 1862 shows him seated, wearing a jacket, wrapped in a blanket, and wearing seven feathers on his headdress. The same is seen in Stevens' panorama, except the images are transposed. Interestingly, another painter, Henry Cross, painted a similar looking interpretation of Cut Nose. However, Henry Cross's depiction of the notorious killer has more differences than similarities to the photograph. In his painting, Cross has Cut Nose wearing only three feathers in his head dress, an animal hide jacket with fringe, and resting his hands on top of an axe. Upon closer examination both the photograph and the painting show Cut Nose with similar facial features. However, the differences are so apparent that it is hard to estimate how much the photograph of this man inspired Cross's portrait.[321]

Figure 4.8. John Stevens, "Panorama of the Indians Massacre of 1862 and the Black Hills," GM 0126.2220, Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[321] Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 261; see figure 4.9.

Cut Nose is one of the last scenes of Dakota warriors in Stevens panorama. The Panorama goes on to highlight current affairs such as the cabinet members of Napoleon's army and the various European princesses. Bertha Heilbron explains that these scenes provide relief from the traumatic images of the 1862 war.[322] Displaying Cut Nose towards the end of his narrative allows Stevens to built a climatic tension that is finally reached with the scene of the thirty-two Dakota hanged during a public execution on December 26, 1862. For the remainder of Stevens performance, he can focus on current affairs, and other newsworthy topics. A closer examination of these panels might also find that Stevens used photographs as his inspiration for the likenesses he put on his diaphanous panorama.

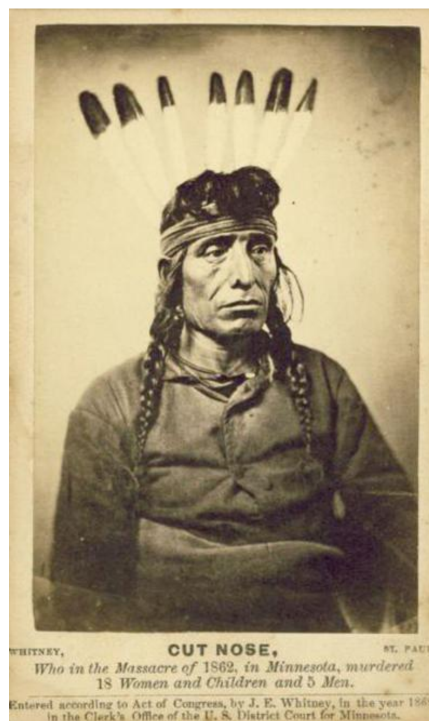

Figure 4.9. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Cut Nose," ca. 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[322] Bertha Heilbron, *Documentary Panorama*, 21.

John Stevens used his panorama to entertain the masses, reassuring them that the Dakota played the role of the villain and the wasicu the victims. His scenes, inspired by actual photographs, distort the truth about the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862. Images taken at a time of peace are repurposed to create a "visual memory" based on deception and manipulation. Photographs and other images influenced public opinion and went so far as to create a national consensus regarding Dakota life and culture. Since the birth of photography in 1837, people have set out to capture their own likeness and those of others, both known and unknown. Other images of far and distant places, and the near and familiar have also captivated audiences around the world. Collected by generations of people, photographs continue to demonstrate their ability to animate our history, as we look at the images that captivate our curiosity, inspire our future, and guide our interpretations of the past.[323]

Conclusion

Arguably one of the most outspoken voices to emerge during the twenty-first century is Angela Cavender Wilson. A Wahpetunwan Dakota woman, Waziyatawin, a Dakota name given to her by an elder, advocates for a 'decolonization' of Dakota history. To 'decolonize' the historical narrative is to challenge the prevailing narrative—the predominantly Euromerican centric narrative. She calls for a fundamental change in the language used to describe the events in 1862. By challenging the syntax of the story, she is asking the reader to view the narrative through a different lens. Calling out the Minnesota Historical Society, one of the leading forces in Minnesota and Dakota Indian history, the historical society does not ascribe to strong terminology such as 'genocide,'

[323] Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present*, 15-19.

and "ethnic cleansing," according to Waziyatawin. Instead, the watered down version of history presented at institutions such as the Minnesota Historical Society "is a reflection of ongoing racism and colonialism as an institution founded by the architect of Minnesota's genocidal policies, Alexander Ramsey, the Minnesota Historical Society has a definite legacy to uphold."[324] Alexander Ramsey, the first governor of Minnesota and one of the founders of the Minnesota Historical Society, was also the man that called for the extermination and removal of the Dakota after the war in 1862. His legacy obviously does not hold the same sentiments for Dakota people as it does for wasicu Minnesotans.

In 2005, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Tom Holm, John Red Horse, and James Riding In discussed the importance of American Indian Studies as a separate discipline and field from History, English, and other humanities programs. James Riding In pointed out the challenges facing indigenous scholars and programs such as AIS noting, "[c]olonialism has branded indigenous peoples with a mark of inferiority." He went on to say, "this attitude of the colonizer has resulted in such destructive policies as forced removals, coercive assimilation, and genocide."[325] What indigenous scholars are articulating is the fact that memory, and the historical preservation of that memory, do not line up with factual evidence of the past. Furthermore, the biased historical memory contributes directly to the problem of reconciling the past. For the Dakota, the wasicu driven narrative of the Dakota-U.S. War is one reason the historical memory is so skewed in

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[324] Waziyatawin, Ph.D. *What Does Justice Look Like? The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland.* St. Paul, Minnesota: Living Justice Press, 2008, 74.

[325] James Riding In, "First Panel: Reclaiming American Indian Studies," *Wacazo Sa Review* 20:1 (Spring 2005), 169.

underlying notions of indigenous violence, settler innocence, and a belying treatment of the past.

CHAPTER V

MEMORY: "IT'S LIKE A FIGHT OVER WHO OWNS HISTORY"

***"Well, its something people don't want to remember. Unfortunately the ones that suffered through it had no way to forget. That carried down through the generations. It's a generational memory that the Dakotas can't forget.* – Dallas Ross**[326]

The year 2012, the 150th anniversary of the Dakota-U.S. War, brought a renewed light to the darkest parts of the Dakota-U.S. War. The Minnesota Historical Society developed extensive programing and outreach aimed at a wider audience to encourage participation in various activities designed to educate the general public about the war. Part of the programing included a new exhibition at the Minnesota Historical Society devoted solely to the war. Literature, advertisements, and news articles dispersed throughout Minneapolis and St. Paul, and scholarly conversations about the war entered a new phase in the history of the Dakota-U.S. War.

The 2012 Exhibition at the MHS aimed to bring together all narratives about the war and its legacy. Members of the Dakota Nation were invited by MHS staff to view

[326] Dallas Ross, interviewed by Deborah Locke at Upper Sioux Community, Minnesota, May 5, 2011, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society.

artifacts in the collections and to have an active role in the interpretation of the objects and the history in general. In a genuine effort at inclusiveness, MHS faced extreme challenges. The center itself is tied to the oligarchy that condemned the Dakota in 1862. Alexander Ramsey called for the extermination of the Dakota from Minnesota while acting as the first president of the Minnesota Historical Society, a seat he had held since the founding of the center in 1849. Dan Spoke, then director of MHS and project manager of the exhibition told reporters, "not only is the Minnesota Historical Society not necessarily an expert on the events of 1862, but, given the organization's roots, it can't even pretend to be an unbiased arbiter," yet the organization attempted to give due diligence to the wrongs of the past by including as many perspectives of the war that existed.[327]

Figure 5.1. 2012 Exhibition at MHS, St. Paul, MN. Photo by Jennifer McKinney

[327] Michael Crouser "The No Win War" *Minnesota Monthly* May 2012. Crouser is interviewing Dan Spock, the Director of Minnesota History Center and the project manager of the exhibition. http://www.minnesotamonthly.com/May-2012/The-No-Win-War/ (accessed September 10, 2019).

Sheldon Wolfchild, a descendant of Medicine Bottle, who was hanged at Fort Snelling in 1864, served on the advisory board for the MNHS 2012 exhibition and told reporters that though the understanding of the war is still unclear for many people, he is adamant that the Dakota did not cause the events in 1862.[328] He talked with Dan Olson about how "small and incomplete" the exhibition is concerning the truth about the causes of the war. Certain aspects of the war, including a letter written by Bishop Henry Whipple to Abraham Lincoln warning him that the situation in Minnesota was apt for war if conditions continue, are absent in the exhibition, and Wolfchild considers the small labels a "shame" in that patrons have to really look and search for the information.[329]

Tucked away in a far corner, the 2012 exhibition recited the same story found in previous scholarship. Similarly, the photographs used in the exhibition were familiar images seen throughout scholarship and labeled and presented in the familiar chronological manner. Cases sat in front of temporary walls, lined with photographs and other various forms of material culture. Behind the cases, the walls depicted topical portions of the war. Photographs highlighted topics such as refugees with Adrian Ebell's photograph mounted beside his infamous photograph of the refugees eating on the prairie. An informational panel on 'Bounties' had Little Crow's famous photograph of him seated wearing a suit and wrapped in a blanket, figure 4.1.[330] Information about the

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[328] Dan Olson, "Sheldon Wolfchild's View of the US-Dakota War" *Minnesota Sounds and Voices*. Minnesota Public radio. September 7, 2012. https://www.mprnews.org/story/2012/09/07/arts/sheldon-wolfchild-minnesota-sounds-and-voices (accessed September 10, 2019).

[329] ibid.

[330] The most famous photograph of Little Crow is Image figure 4.1. He is seated with a blanket around his shoulders. This image of Little Crow was taken before the 1862 war.

trials, execution, imprisonment, and expulsion each claimed a space within the exhibition. Typically, one informational panel was paired with one plexiglas covered case filled with photographs and other text panels. The most innovative portion of the exhibition asked for visitors to express in one word their "feelings after viewing this exhibition." Pens and post-it notes were provided at the end of the exhibition for visitors to write down their feelings and post it on the informational panel for future viewers to read. Some of the words included, "very touching," "intrigued," "unnecessary," "travesty," "devastated," "heartbreaking," "disgusted," "unbelievable," "greed," "ashamed," "unfair," "hopeful," "peace," and "anger, shame, sadness." These post-it notes littered the display panel in early August 2012 and illustrate the conflicting feelings of the patrons of the 2012 exhibition.[331]

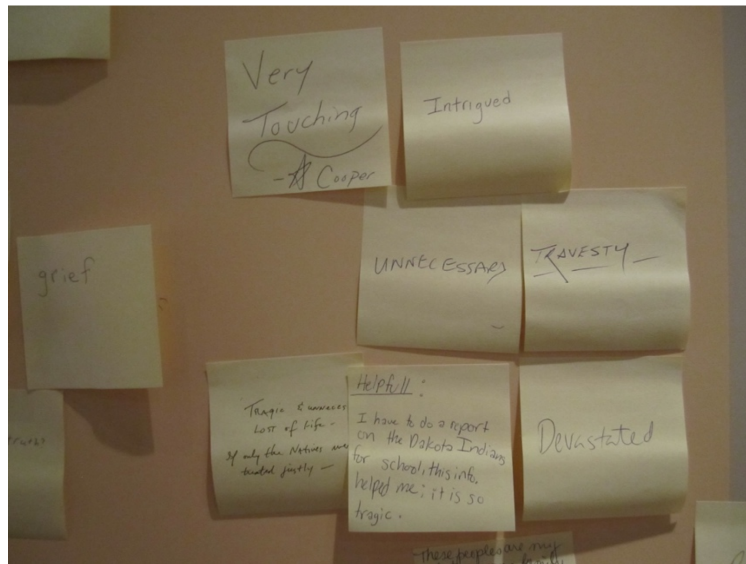

Figure 5.2. 2012 Exhibition at MHS, St. Paul, MN. Photo by Jennifer McKinney

The "thorny position" of the MHS aside, the exhibition and literature underwhelmed audiences, but it did provide momentum concerning the U.S. Dakota War

[331] "The US-Dakota War of 1862" exhibition at the Minnesota Historical Society, August 1, 2012.

that persists. The website devoted to the US-Dakota War is continuously updated with new digitized resources from the MHS, information regarding other sources of information and provides new literature for teachers looking to include Dakota history and culture in their classrooms.[332] Perhaps the most positive outcome of the exhibition, this website serves a better purpose for both scholars and laypeople alike. Where the exhibition fell short, the website ascends by delivering information in a clean and concise manner, illustrating the various nuances of the war, and provides the user the power to dive into topics for further investigation. As of March 2019, the website is still running, and new digitized information from the MHS collection continues to add to the depth and knowledge of the war.

Both the website and the exhibition used photographs of the Dakota and other participants in the war to illustrate and provide context. However, both entities continue to use the photographs chronologically, so that when the viewer is looking at the Dakota it is easy to see a progression of destruction. The images of the prisoners of war at Fort Snelling are often the last images the viewer sees of the Dakota. These images are strikingly different from the images of the Dakota before the war.[333] In fact, the only photographs of Dakota in the pamphlet for the 2012 exhibition is an image of Little Crow's wife and two small children confined at Fort Snelling in 1863, and the view from Fort Snelling in 1862 after the war when a majority of the Dakota people were imprisoned below the fort by the Minnesota River. No other photographs of the Dakota

[332] http://usdakotawar.org

[333] Even the pamphlet accompanying the 2012 exhibition used the image of the internment camp from figure 2.11.

were included in this particular piece of literature.[334] Likewise, the exhibition paired Dakota images with information surrounding the consequences of the war.

The exhibition opened on June 30, 2012 and ran till September 8, 2013. The MNHS website stated that the measurable outcome of the exhibition, “left visitors with a positive overall experiences of Minnesota’s history and cultural heritage…left visitors with a great interest in Minnesota’s history and cultural heritage…[and] increased the likelihood that visitors will recommend the Minnesota Historical Society to their friends and family.”[335] The 2012 exhibition garnered far more praise and recognition than previous attempts such as 1987s “Year of Reconciliation” where Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich attempted to heal the divide between Dakota and wasicu and their shared past.

Asked to remark on the 125th anniversary of the Dakota execution at Mankato, David Larsen, a Dakota tribal chairman, “said he felt anger and bitterness that white history still blamed the Indians.”[336] David Larsen’s interview reflected the problems wasicu and Dakota faced even after Minnesota instituted a “Year of Reconciliation,” which intended to “[ease] the bitter feelings that are a legacy of the 1862 conflict.”[337] According to Larsen, the year brought more bad feelings than good, and the failure of that year was due to the fact that the Dakota were not included in the organization of the event. Once again, wasicu held the reins of the conversation, and the Dakota were left out entirely. Identifying this problem has become an insurmountable objective in correcting

[334] pamphlet accompanying the 2012 exhibition “The US-Dakota War of 1862” page 7 and 10-11.

[335] http://legacy.mnhs.org/projects/1535

[336] *New York Times* December 26, 1987

[337] Ibid

historical memory. Larsen surmises: “If you don’t understand *those* things about a community you’re trying to help, you’re very likely to cause people to build walls, creating even more problems than exist now.”[338] A reporter during the Year of Reconciliation of 1987 developed a relationship with Ernest Wabasha, a Mdewakanton Dakota, who taught him that the war “is a wound in the hearts of a people.”[339] The war went beyond just facts, it was something many Dakota still struggle with as not only a nation as they tried to reconcile their past within the wasicu commemorations.

Efforts in Minnesota to include Dakota in the history of Minnesota and the Dakota-US War continued to move forward. The 150th anniversary of the war brought a renewed interest in commemoration and remembrance. Minneapolis issued a resolution declaring the 2012-2013 year the “Year of the Dakota.”[340] The resolution identified “complex issues” including “reparations and restitution, treaties, genocide, suppression of American Indian spirituality and ceremonies, suppression of Indigenous languages, bounties, concentration camps, forced marches, mass executions, and forcible removals,” and promised to include the Dakota perspective while engaging in the complex issues throughout the year. Chris Mato Nunpa, a Wahpeton Dakota, expressed joy at the language used throughout the Resolution. He identified “genocide” and “concentration camps” as significant words that finally illustrate the reality or ‘Truth-Telling’ of what

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[338] David E. Larson, “Some Native Thoughts on the Quincentennial” *Minnesota History* (Spring 1992): 27.

[339] Nick Coleman“Earnest Wabasha: The Burden of Minnesota’s History” http://theuptake.org/2013/04/12/ernest-wabasha-the-burden-of-minnesotas-history/ (accessed September 12, 2019).

[340] Resolution of the City of Minneapolis http://www.minneapolismn.gov/www/groups/public/@clerk/documents/webcontent/wcms1p-101707.pdf (accessed September 10, 2019).

the Dakota experienced.[341] Language has contributed to the ways readers understand the Dakota perspective, and often the language is fatalistic; it is defeatist rhetoric.

Recently, the focus has shifted to that of the Dakota perspective on the war and the history of the Dakota people. This shift brings with it a confrontation with how the memory of the war has been damning for the Dakota, and it highlights the need to look back upon these events through a new lens. Focus has shifted from the facts of the war—the who, what, when, where questions—to why the consequences of the war and the historical memory have developed a persistent ideology that is not concurrent with what we know today. The war happened, yes, but that does not explain why tensions between the Dakota and the wasicu persist today. The tension is more evident today because the conversation includes Dakota voices and Dakota memories.

***Scaffold* Highlights Existing Problems**

The Dakota have managed to influence the public conversation about the war and shared memory of the past. Five years after the 'Year of the Dakota,' Minnesotans once again faced the hard truth that the Dakota were still unsatisfied with the way their story was being told. Sam Durant's *Scaffold* instillation sparked fire that erupted in outrage from the Dakota peoples and reverberated throughout the art world.

[341] Chris Mato Nunpa, " 'Year of the Dakota:' Minneapolis resolution uses unprecedented honesty, St. Paul to follow suit," Twin Cities Daily Planet, December 29, 2012, https://www.tcdailyplanet.net/year-dakota-minneapolis-resolution-uses-unprecedented-honesty-st-paul-follow-s/ (accessed September 10, 2019).

Figure 5.3. Sam Durant, *Scaffold,* 2012-2017. http://moussemagazine.it/candice-hopkins-the-appropriation-debates-2017/ by Candice Hopkins

Chaos consumed the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota, erupted in chaos on May 26, 2017. Demonstrators lined the fenced off sculpture garden in protest of an upcoming unveiling of artist Sam Durant's sculpture titled *Scaffold.* The Walker Art Center had closed the previous year for renovations, and planned to reopen to the public in June 2017. Part of the renovation process included refreshing the sculpture garden with sixteen new works. Olga Viso, the director of the Walker, issued a press release in January 2017 that included Durant's sculpture. However, Viso did not mention that the center planned to unveil the new installation next to the iconic *Stonebridge* and *Cherry* by Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen.[342] Encompassing a large campus with exhibition spaces, a cinema, performing arts theaters, and a sculpture garden, the

[342] Olga Viso published her statement on the Walker Art Center website and *The Circle*, an online publication about art and news pertaining to Native Americans thecirclenews.org. Olga Viso, "Learning in Public: An Open Letter on Sam Durant's Scaffold," Walker Art Center, https://walkerart.org/magazine/learning-in-public-an-open-letter-on-sam-durants-scaffold (accessed September 27, 2018).

contemporary art museum scrambled to understand just what had gone so wrong. Demonstrators discovered that after a year of renovations and updates, the yet to be reopened Walker Art Center planned to present *Scaffold*, an artwork acquired years earlier that had sat in storage. *Scaffold* was first displayed in Kassel, Germany, in 2012 before the Walker Art Center acquired the sculpture in 2014.[343]

Figure 5.4. Sam Durant, *Scaffold*. https://www.wmagazine.com/story/sam-durant-scaffold-artwork-walker-minneapolis-controversy.

Sam Durant constructed *Scaffold* from wood and steel to represent seven executions sanctioned by the United States from 1858 to 2006. Each gallows is represented in the sculpture, and includes the executions of abolitionist John Brown (1859), the Dakota executions in Mankato (1862), the Lincoln Conspirators (1865), the Haymarket Martyrs (1886), Rainey Betha (1936), Billy Bailey (1996), and Saddam Hussein (2006). In his statement to the public on May 29, 2017, Durant explained:

[343] Sarah Cascone, "After Outcry From the Dakota nation, the Walker Art Center May Dismantle a 'Traumatizing' Gallows Sculpture by Sam Durant" Artnetnews May 30, 2017 https://news.artnet.com/art-world/walker-controversy-sam-durant-scaffold-974612 (Accessed July 20, 2017)

> *Scaffold* seeks to address the contemporary relevance and resonance of these narratives today, especially at a time of continued institutionalized racism, and the ongoing dehumanization and intimidation of people of color. *Scaffold* is neither memorial nor monument, and stands against prevailing ideas and normative history. It warns against forgetting the past. In doing so, my hope for *Scaffold* is to offer a platform for open dialogue and exchange, a place to question not only our past, but the future we form together.[344]

Durant apologized for not considering how the sculpture would affect Dakota peoples and recognized that the protests stemming from his art had challenged him to do what he aimed to do with *Scaffold:* "My work was created with the idea of creating a zone of discomfort for whites, your protests have now created a zone of discomfort for me."

Protests against *Scaffold* and the Walker Art Center began on May 26, 2017. Protestors stood alongside the chain-link fence with signs reading "$200 for scalp of artist" and "take it down." Protests spread across the internet, taking root on platforms such as Facebook, using such phrases as #notyourstory, and #nativelivesmatter.[345] News agencies also picked up the story and helped to spread the news of the protestors. *Star Tribune*, a local newspaper for the Twin Cities, called out WAC's failure to see what they described as a "child's jungle gym"— the blatant "institutional arrogance and systemic inequality" that *Scaffold* would create.[346] Within twenty-four hours, Olga Viso published her statement, followed by Sam Durant two days later. WAC, Durant, and Dakota leaders

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[344] Sam Durant, "Artist Statement," May 29, 2017, http://www.samdurant.net/files/downloads/SamDurantArtistStatement-May292017.pdf (Accessed July 20, 2017).

[345] Stephanie Eckardt, "Here's One Way to Deal with Problematic Artworks, Like Sam Durant's *Scaffold.* Burn Them" W Magazine, June 1, 2017, https://www.wmagazine.com/story/sam-durant-scaffold-artwork-walker-minneapolis-controversy (accessed July 20, 2017).

[346] David Cournoyer and Scott Russell, "After Dismantling a sculpture in wake of protests, Walker must lead effort to dismantle inequality," Star Tribune, May 30, 2017, http://www.startribune.com/after-dismantling-a-sculpture-in-wake-of-protests-walker-must-lead-effort-to-dismantle-inequity/425397503/ (accessed September 27, 2018).

communicated with one another during these three days and agreed that a meeting was necessary to discuss the future of *Scaffold*.

Figure 5.5. Protests at WAC. https://www.mandatory.com/living/1270219-sam-durant-under-fire-for-scaffold.

On May 31, 2017, a group of Dakota, a group from the Walker Art Center and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, and artist Sam Durant sat down with a professional mediator to discuss the situation. Sitting in a circle, the conversation began with ideas to remove the Mankato Gallows from the installation, but leaving the other six, then moved to the idea of removing the entire sculpture. Durant agreed to remove the structure. The overwhelming tension caused by the art work could not be undone unless the entire work was removed. Durant also agreed to transfer all intellectual property rights to *Scaffold* to the Dakota, giving them the authority to dismantle, burn, bury, and destroy the work in their own way. The experience for Durant was "wonderful." He

managed to address the problem with the correct individuals and come to a resolution, giving him the sense of accomplishment and closure.[347]

The Walker Art Center issued an update about *Scaffold* on June 5 letting the public know that the structure had been dismantled and preparations were made to remove it to an undisclosed location. Dakota people then had to decide what to do with the sculpture. It was reported in September, 2017 that Dakota elders decided to bury the wooden parts of the sculpture. Other pieces of the work, including steel and concrete, were recycled. The location and date of the burial remain unknown, but the dismantling, removal, and final burial brought an end to the physical problem of *Scaffold* on Minnesota and Dakota lands. However, the problem of cultural appropriation, reconciliation, and "moral reckoning" continued to persist throughout Minnesota, the art world, and beyond.[348] Durant and Olga Visa continued to address the controversy over *Scaffold,* which advanced the question: Just why was *Scaffold* so triggering for Dakota, and how does an artist explain cultural appropriation in their work. The National Coalition Against Censorship or NCAC criticized Durant and WAC for removing the sculpture, claiming they did not take the time to understand the problem and instead set a

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[347] Carolina A. Miranda "Q & A Artist Same Durant was pressured into taking down his 'Scaffold.' Why doesn't he feel censored?" *LA Times* June 17, 2017. http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cam-sam-durant-scaffold-interviews-20170617-htmlstory.html (accessed July 20, 2017).

[348] Information about the burial can be found here: Claire Voon, "Dakota Elders Decide to Burn Sam Durant's Controversial Sculpture," Hyperallergic, September 5, 2017, https://hyperallergic.com/398866/dako-elders-sam-durant-scaffold-burial/ (Accessed July 20, 2017); Alicia Eler, "Artist satys debate over Walker Art Center's 'Scaffold' points to need for national 'reconciliation process,'" Star Tribune, February 27, 2018, http://www.startribune.com/sam-durant-speaks-out-about-scaffold-six-months-after-its-destruction/475212193/ (accessed July 20, 2017). Sam Durant explains that a "moral reckoning" had yet to deal with United States history of "colonialism, violence, genocide, lynching, and slavery."

precedent by which protests can outweigh the intended objective of the artist, essentially silencing the artist. Olga Viso and Durant quickly fired back with explanations of their own. Both reiterated the mediated session with group leaders from Minnesota, Dakota, and WAC, and that the group decided in unison to remove the art instillation. Durant publicly stated that he did not see the removal of *Scaffold* as censorship but that "the work no longer fulfilled [his] intentions."[349]

Incidents such as the 2012 MHS exhibition, Sam Durant's *Scaffold,* and the protests that follow bring to light the persistent problem of how ideas about the Dakota and the war continue to upset native communities, and how contemporary ideas about the past are still problematic today. Have photographs influenced the memory of the Dakota-U.S. War, and are they part of the problem that exists today? Through the lens of settler colonialism, defined by Patrick Wolfe as "a structure rather than an event," settler colonizers employed various methods to take ownership of the land. In this manner, the Dakota-U.S. War was an opportunity for settler-colonists to remove Dakota peoples from Minnesota in order to gain full access and ownership of the land.

Methods employed by settler colonizers to stake their claim to the land results in the elimination of the indigenous population. The elimination of the natives transpires over time and through various institutions which result in the extinction or removal of the indigenous peoples. Institutions seek to change the native from their socio-normative

[349] Carolina A. Miranda "Q & A Artist Same Durant was pressured into taking down his 'Scaffold.' Why doesn't he feel censored?" *LA Times* June 17, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cam-sam-durant-scaffold-interviews-20170617-htmlstory.html (accessed July 20, 2017); Olga Viso, "Walker Art Center Responds to the National Coalition Against Censorship," Walker Art Center, June 20, 2017, https://walkerart.org/magazine/walker-art-center-response-national-coalition-against-censorship-scaffold (accessed September 27, 2018).

lifestyle to that of the newcomers. The change occurs through programs encouraging religious conversions, changes to societal constructs of communal to individual, and other types of civilization methods to change indigenous practices to that of the newcomers.

Colonization of indigenous populations differs from settler colonialism because the colonizers first sought to work with the native peoples. Colonists requested land deals through treaties in order to work within the new land and with the existing native populations. The interactions between wasicu and the Dakota began in a similar way. Fur traders developed relationships with the Dakota through political and social methods in order to extract the resources they desired from Dakota land. The newcomers employed the Dakota to help them take the necessary resources, in this case fur, from the land. They also developed social relationships with the Dakota through marriage and friendship. For the colonial newcomers these relationships ensured a coexistence that allowed them to get what they needed without employing more complex methods for control. Meaning a mutually beneficial relationship developed wherein the colonial newcomer extracted the resource, while also utilizing native labor to help extraction. Natives then conducted trade, which benefitted their lifestyle. The colonial newcomer did not encourage transformative change—forced conversion—on the native people.[350]

However, once the need for resource extraction ended, new types of wasicu came into Dakota territory and began the systematic removal of the Dakota. These newcomers wanted to stay, not just take resources, but to build permanent settlements with their own

[350] For more information on early relations with Dakota and wasicu see Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

social and political constructs. These constructs no longer worked with the indigenous population, and so methods developed to remove the Dakota from the land. The social reconstruction of native lives facilitated removal of the Dakota from Minnesota and began with civilization program instituted after the sale of Dakota land, and through religious conversion encouraged by missionaries living among the Dakota. These methods were discussed in Chapter Two. Settler-Colonialism changed the way wasicu treated the Dakota. They no longer looked at them as sovereign nations, but rather obstacles to settler colonial motives.

A master narrative of settler innocence and victimization emerged after the war, and persisted into the 21st century. The wasicu driven history was reinforced and carried through the past by captivity narratives, historical literature, commemorative events, memorials, and through the collection of material goods and ephemera that reinforced the white, settler-colonial world view of the war. Historical writing and narratives used a rhetoric that often demonized the Dakota and glorified the wasicu victory because of their inherent goodness and moral qualities, which the Dakota lacked.

Shared Memory

Construction of a public shared memory began before the war ended. Interviews and captivity narratives documented personal experiences with the war to which many people in Minnesota could relate, and helped others define their own understanding of the war. Sarah Wakefield's captivity narrative, *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees*, presented a unique view of the Dakota. The sympathetic tone of her story, along with her adamant testimony against Chaska's murder charges, brought her public ridicule. She addressed the "false and slanderous stories" about her relationship with the Indians, specifically

Chaska, but the attacks against her character did little to halt the popularity of her story. Her account was published soon after the war, a second edition followed in 1864, and is still in print today.[351]

Harriet Bishop McConkey wrote *Dakota War Whoop* in 1863 despite being neither a participant nor survivor of the war. McConkey relied on information from newspapers, reports, interviews, and stories from survivors of the war to fill the pages of her book. She wrote the highly sensationalized version of the war as a way to earn money and subsidize her meager income as a school teacher. Historian Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola explains that McConkey had three goals for her book: "first, to make money; second, to write a comprehensive, credible, informative account; and third, to reinforce the widespread belief in Manifest Destiny."[352] This publication is an example of the rhetoric and sentiment shared by many in Minnesota. Unlike Sarah Wakefield, McConkey used hate filled language to demonstrate the wickedness of the Dakota while celebrating the voracity of the Minnesotan settlers. She condemns the Dakota by saying, "[i]n every normal savage heart exists a principle of reckless hate towards the whites, which, stimulated by real or imaginary wrongs, needs no avalanche of argument to start the missiles of death."[353] Prescribing hate as a reason for violence enables others to invite goodness and peace. This clear delineation is repeated throughout most other narratives.

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[351] Sarah Wakefield, *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997), 115.

[352] Derounian-Stodola, *The War in Words,* 74-75.

[353] Harriet E. Bishop McConkey, *Dakota War Whoop: or, Indian Massacres and War in Minnesota, of 1862-3*, (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill), 287.

Nineteenth century ideas of modernity and westward expansion help to explain how the memory of the war is challenging for today's society.[354] The movement west brought with it new ideas of what it meant to be American. The ideas of American Exceptionalism took hold during this time and were used as justification for the violence that occurred with expansion.[355] Because of the nature of modernity and Manifest Destiny, Americans and other settlers understood violence such as the Dakota-U.S. War as a necessary step in securing the land for themselves. The change in rhetoric used by historians began to reflect the problems demeaning terminology and how it has contributed to a biased history. Using the term "uprising" instead of "war" was a popular way to denote the significance of the events in 1862. Simply identifying the six-week confrontation as an uprising, something brief and insignificant compared to a war, helps to demonstrate how words and phrases affect memory. Kenneth Carley published his first work on the Dakota war in 1961. In 2001, he changed his title from *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* to *The Dakota War of 1862* to reflect a more balanced perspective of the past.[356] The concept of American innocence, or even the idea that the war and violence were part

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[354] Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 16. Cothran explains that the idea of American innocence started with the Puritans, but become extremely power "under the banner of Manifest Destiny and founded on republican ideas of political freedom stemming from economic freedom, [Americans] rationalized a version of history in which the endless—or seemingly endless—expansion of the nation was necessary for the success of their republican experiment."

[355] Many books explain the concept of American Exceptionalism; however, I prefer Richard T. Hughes, *Myths America Lives by: White Supremacy and the Stories that Give Us Meaning* (Urbane and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

[356] Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *New Indians, Old Wars* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 100. Cook-Lynn explains how the terms used to denote the events like the Dakota War in 1862 were part of the propaganda used to manipulate memory.

of the process of Indian removal and land security, is remembered through photographs of the Dakota.

Historian Boyd Cothran identifies this phenomenon as what he calls "marketplaces of remembering."[357] Consuming ephemera, such as photographs, becomes part of the process of remembrance because the photographs contribute to "networks of exchange and commodification…through which we access the past."[358] Immediately after the war, photographs of the Dakota became so popular, that many images were reprinted by competing businesses. Joel E. Whitney developed and reprinted Adrian Ebell's photographs, and his business partners continued to develop the same images after Whitney sold his gallery. Advertisements in local newspapers and the widespread distribution of the photographs demonstrate that Dakota photographs possessed value—both intrinsically and materially. Consumers wanted photographs of the Dakota ensuring that galleries continued to stock their shelves with desirable and more, importantly, profitable photographs.

Retaliatory Violence and Memory

Photographing the Dakota continued well after the war ended in September 1862. Photographers visited the concentration camps and later document the incoming prisoners caught by military during the punitive expeditions—that hunted Dakota who did not surrender at Camp Release. These prisoners were detained at Fort Snelling before army personnel escorted them to either a prison in Davenport, Iowa, or the newly formed Santee reservation in Nebraska.

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[357] Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War*, 14.
[358] Ibid.

Punitive expeditions after the war reinforced the concepts of settler-colonialism and provided a framework for wasicu to retaliate with violence. Expeditions between 1863-1865 resulted in further death and destruction for Dakota people who did not surrender at Camp Release.[359] Expedition forces under the leadership of General Alfred Sully engaged a large group of Dakota Indians at Whitestone Hill in North Dakota on September 3, 1863. Sully's men indiscriminately slaughtered men, women, and children and then burned the tipis and recent stocks of buffalo meat, rendering any survivors helpless against the upcoming winter. Samuel Brown, a wasicu interpreter with Sully's expedition, told his father that he questioned whether or not the Dakota they encountered at Whitestone Hill were hostile despite Sully's wholesale "slaughter" of men, women, and children.[360]

Sully received positive reports from General Pope and others in the war department, that commended him for an excellent battle. General Pope wrote to Sully claiming that the complete victory would send a message to Dakota still beyond the government's reach, that a similar fate awaited them once the military tracked them.[361] On June 28, 1864, Sully attacked another Indians at Killdeer Mountain in North Dakota. Known as the Battle of Tah-kah-o-kee-ta, more than four thousand soldiers attacked the

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[359] Many other Indian tribes were caught up in the punitive expeditions and were attacked, killed, or taken prisoner by expedition forces hunting Dakota Indians.

[360] A larger portion of Samuel J. Brown's letter is found at the MHS website. See http://usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/punitive-expeditions. For further information on the Whitestone Hill massacre, see Michael Clodfelter, *The Dakota War: The United States Army Versus the Sioux, 1862-1965* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1998), 118-154.

[361] United States. War Records Office, et al.. "*The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union And Confederate Armies.*" Washington: Government Printing Office, ser. 1 vol 22 pt 2 correspondence; 608 Pope to Sully October 5, 1863.

group of Indians with canons. Frank Myers, a soldier from Iowa, remarked, "[i]t was amusing to see the desperate efforts made by the Indians to get out of reach of the cannon."[362] Myers illustrates that the rage and excitement of chasing and killing Indians went beyond Minnesotans. A consensus among wasicu of their superiority over Indians justified their actions on the expeditions. He called the Indians he chased "red devils," claiming all Indians were the same. The military forces that chased the Dakota across North and South Dakota often encountered other tribal nations but failed to distinguish among Indian tribes during battle. Many non-Dakota peoples, died at the hands of the military. Retaliation was swift and indiscriminate. [363]

Figure 5.6 Joel Emmons Whitney, "Medicine Bottle and Little Six at Fort Snelling," ca. 1864, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

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[362] Frank Myers, *Soldiering in Dakota Among the Indians in 1863-4-5* (Huron, Dakota: Huronite Printing Press, 1888), 16.

[363] For more information on the Battle of Killdeer Mountain see Michael Clodfelter, *The Dakota War*, 155-177.

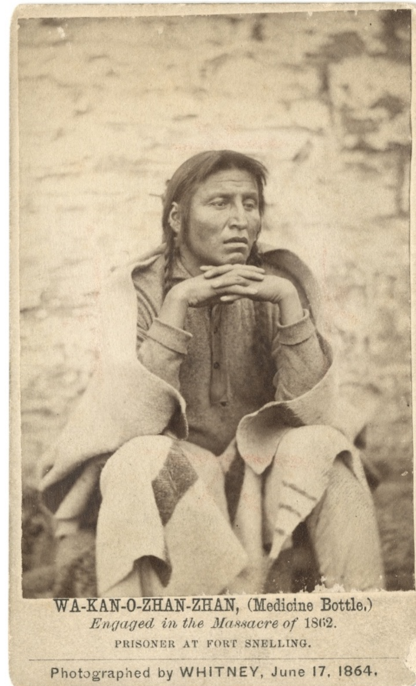

Figure 5.7 Joel Emmons Whitney, "Wa-kan-o-zhan-zhan, Medicine Bottle at Fort Snelling," ca. 1864, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The last public execution of the Dakota-U.S. War took place at Fort Snelling on November 11, 1865. Major Edwin A. C. Hatch and his battalion chased Dakota Indians north to the border within Canada. He had information that leaders of the war, specifically Little Six and Medicine Bottle, were camped close to Pembina, North Dakota. Located in the far northwestern corner of North Dakota, Pembina was a Red River settlement on the west side of the river. Major Hatch discussed his intention with Canadian officials to accept only unconditional surrender of Dakota peoples in the area. Negotiations began November 1963, and Major Hatch kept his word. In January 1864, forty-two Sioux people surrendered to Hatch, another forty-nine gave up by the end of

the month. However, Hatch was not satisfied because key leaders of the war had not the surrendered. Hatch wanted Medicine Bottle and Little Six.[364]

Figure 5.8. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Shakopee, Little Six, prisoner at Fort Snelling," ca. 1864, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

John H. McKenzie and Onisime Giguere coordinated with Hatch to entice the two Dakota men to McKenzie's home, where they would drug the men and take them prisoner. McKenzie and Giguere used wine, liquor, and laudanum to incapacitate the Dakota, but, only Little Six succumbed to intoxication. Medicine Bottle did not drink in excess and was coherent throughout the night of January 16, 1864. After Little Six fell unconscious, McKenzie and Giguere separated the two Dakota, put a chloroform-soaked handkerchief over Little Six's mouth to ensure he remained unconscious as they used physical force to subdue Medicine Bottle. After both Dakota men were handcuffed,

[364] Alan R. Woolworth, "Disgraceful Proceeding: Intrigue in the Red River County in 1864," *The Beaver, Magazine of the North*, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Canada, Outfit 299 (Spring 1969) 54-59.

McKenzie delivered them to Major Hatch. Little Six and Medicine bottle remained with Hatch that winter, and arrived at Fort Snelling on May 27, 1864. For the next seventeen months, Little Six and Medicine Bottle remained prisoners at the fort. The trial of Medicine Bottle and Little Six began on December 2, 1864 and both were convicted of murder on December 7 and sentenced to death. Many delays stalled their execution, but President Andrew Johnson eventually approved the sentence on August 1865. The execution took place on November 11, 1865, almost two years after their capture.

Little Six, also known as Shakopee, was a Mdewakanton Dakota and respected leader in his community. He was fifty-one years old at the time of the war. Reporters described him as a beggar and coward with long grey hair. Medicine Bottle, or Wakanozhanzhan, was approximately thirty-four when he was executed. He was described as "a splendid specimen of an Indian," with "powerful muscular frame, indicating great strength and power of endurance."[365] Both men walked to the scaffold outside of Fort Snelling, after receiving last rites from Father Ravoux. Surrounded by over 1000 people, around 500 military and estimates of 500-800 civilians, both men remained calm as they ascended the scaffold and died just past noon on November 11, 1865.[366] Joel E. Whitney, the noted photographer of the twin cities, took an image of the two men just after their execution. Little Six and Medicine Bottle's bodies still dung from

[365] *The Saint Paul Press*, November 12, 1865: 4.

[366] *The Saint Paul Press*, November 12, 1865. The news reporters spent the entire day with the Medicine Bottle and Little Six inside Fort Snelling, and then witnessed the executions. Their remarks about that day appear on page 4 of this newspaper. Other information about Medicine Bottle and Little Six can be found in Dahlin, *The Dakota Uprising,* 272-275.

the nooses, and two coffins are seen on either side of the scaffold. Both men were hooded and wore military fatigues.

Figure 5.9. Joel Emmons Whitney, "Hanging of 'Shakopee' and 'Medicine Bottle,' Fort Snelling, 1865." November 11, 1865, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Before their execution, both men had attracted tourists and families living at the fort, and were photographed by Whitney in June 1864. Mary Jeannette Newson, daughter of Thomas McLean Newson, a soldier stationed at Fort Snelling, remembers seeing both Medicine Bottle and Little Six while her family lived at the fort. She recalls:

> In our play about the parade ground we often watched with frightened delight the two captive Indians, leaders in the Sioux War, each dragging a cannon ball chained to his left leg, while under guard he swept the walks. Medicine Bottle was a coarse, brutal creature who often showed to visitors his arms tattooed with the symbols indicating the (400) men, women, and children he had scalped, about fifty in all. Shakopee, or Little Six, was interesting and intelligent.

The two Dakota men were viewed by many people around the Twin Cities before their execution, including photographers. Mary's memory of the two prisoners likely reflects what others witnessed when they visited the fort. However, Mary did not witness the execution, but she recalls her father's conversation with her mother explaining how as Shakopee was about to be hooded, a train whistle assailed the surrounding area. He then remarked aloud, "[a]s the white man comes in, the Indian goes out."[367]

Photographs of Shakopee and Medicine Bottle both before and after their execution hit the marketplace with as much potency as the photographs form 1862. The public still considered Indians "as but a grade higher than the brute," and witnessing executions nothing more than "beholding the scenes of a slaughter pen."[368]

Conclusion

The way the past is remembered illuminates what structures were reinforced and concepts used to create a collective or public memory. Wasicu controlled the narrative of the war after 1862, and hence the memory of that time is seen through wasicu lenses. The concepts of innocence and bravery, victims of violent behavior, and meeting the Dakota challenge and ultimately winning have driven the historical narrative, photographs of the Dakota and the war reinforce this public memory. The Dakota lost the war and with it the agency to contribute to the memory of the past. Today, the convergence of Dakota voices and the call to rectify the one-sided memory have created a problem for wasicu to address the lack of Dakota presence in the memory and historical construction of the past. This problem is demonstrated in the way commemorative events and memorials are enacted

[367] Mary Jeannette Newson, "Memories of Fort Snelling in Civil War Days," *Minnesota History Magazine* (vol 15 no 4 December 1934): 399

[368] *Saint Paul Press*, November 12, 1865.

and displayed, how modern Dakota voices interject their own remembrances and ideas about the war as it relates to genocide, and how scholars today are trying to understand concepts such as settler colonialism as a way to unpack the complexity of the consequences of the Dakota war in relation to how the Dakota lost not just the war, but their land and thus their agency as well.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

> ***"I have not participated in any bad things our Dakota have done, now I have suffered terribly for a long time, but maybe this is all in God's plan and God may want me to go through all this for His Sake. Maybe if He pities me, I will go home—it is so. I want His help—it is so. That is all I will say. I shake your hand—it is so."*** **-Antoine Provencalle**[369]

Historical memory is racially and socially biased, creating a complex dynamic between peoples which results in tensions, animosity, and sometimes hatred. Historical trauma carried throughout generations creates diverging narratives where, more often than not, the dominant narrative supersedes all others, and leave the marginalized outside the realms of influence. For the Dakota-U.S. War, wasicu focused histories, commemorations, and public discourses have overshadowed Dakota voices, preserving a biased point of views from 1862, and furthered tensions between Dakota and wasicu people of today. As seen with Sam Durant's art instillation, the cultural appropriation of Dakota history still causes problems. Indian-white relations are not the only social

[369] Antoine Provencalle to Stephen R. Riggs, Davenport Iowa, August 22, 1864. See Canky and Simon, *The Dakota Prisoner of War Letters*, 60-61.

dynamic still suffering today. African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans are some of the groups that find it difficult to discuss their shared past with Americans today. It is not unfathomable that tensions between Dakota and wasicu persist today. What is most interesting is why that memory is still so polarizing.

Prominent advocate and Dakota historian Waziyatawin writes that "[a]t the most basic level, the colonization framework challenges the narrative that seeks to justify policies of invasion, forced removal, and genocide."[370] A supporter of decolonization and reparation to Dakota peoples, Waziyatawin highlights the struggles over their own history that many Dakota face today concerning their own history. Their history was usurped, distorted, and molded to favor wasicu positive implications justifying the past. The issue becomes not simply taking back their history but also deconstructing the wrongs of the past in order to construct a more balanced narrative, which hopefully redirects the historical memory to shape contemporary and persistent ideas about the Dakota War and the Dakota people to include a broader understanding of the consequences of the events.

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[370] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, ed. *In the Footsteps of our Ancestors: The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century* (St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2006), 43; Waziyatawin, Ph.D., *What does Justice Look Like? The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland* (St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2008). Waziyatawin describes what she calls "reparative justice" in this book, calling for "land restoration and reparations." She outlines several different methods that would give Dakota peoples back the land stolen from them in 1862. First, land designated as federal, state, or local be returned to Dakota before calling for privately held land to be returned. Also, any land under tax forfeiture would provide an avenue for redistribution of land to Dakota. She suggests using a lottery system to determine which Dakota takes property and where. Beyond relocation expenses, Waziyatawin points to systemic failures such as basic needs like water, electricity, education, transportation, as part of the reparations. However radical her ideas, what she does is point out the many deficits to Dakota people that are directly related to the war. Since 1862, Dakota have been disproportionately disadvantaged in American society, but also within historical memory. I have drawn largely from her analysis on historical trauma and memory.

Remembering the Past

Between 2011 and 2012, the Minnesota Historical Society carried out an oral history project aimed at collecting as many histories from Dakota living in Minnesota, the Upper Midwest, and Canada. As of 2019, thirty-nine Dakota oral histories germane to the Dakota-U.S. War are available in the Oral History Collection at the MHS. The project coincided with the 150-year anniversary of the war. Since the anniversary, other Dakota centered scholarship has given voice to members of this nation that have carried throughout their generations, the historical trauma from the war, to their exile, and finally to sharing the land once again with others in Minnesota. Not all Dakota share the same memories, understandings, or feelings about the past, but these histories offer us the opportunity to hear stories of Dakota, by Dakota.[371]

The interviewer asked similar questions to all of the interviewees such as what were their earliest memories? What family member had the most influence on them? What Dakota history was taught to them by their family when they were young, and was the war in 1862 discussed? Many recall receiving only a handful of traditional Dakota history from various family members, but had little knowledge of the war. Even the Dakota language is a point of contention in these oral histories. One woman explains that her mother's experiences in boarding school were the reason why she chose not to speak Dakota around her children. Teachers from the boarding school punished Dakota for speaking anything other than English. Therefore, when the students became parents, not

[371] The MHS published audio and text versions of the interviews conducted for the oral history project to the website dedicated to the Dakota-U.S. War. See http://usdakotawar.org/stories (accessed March 12, 2019).

wanting their children to experience the same reproaches, did not teach children the Dakota language.[372]

An interesting point made by several of the participants in this project stated how disconnected they felt from Minnesota. The Dakota diaspora after the war meant many peoples were displaced from one another, and lived in different states and countries. Dakotas in Canada find it difficult to track down their relatives living in the United States. Because many fled the state after the war in 1862, Dakota peoples living outside of Minnesota, especially the Twin Cities region, have experienced a sense of separateness from their own tribe.[373] However, those that have visited family in the United States or went to Minnesota expressed a sense of "coming home."[374]

Today, members of the Dakota Tribe manage to remember and honor their shared past in unique ways including commemorative marches. The Dakota Commemorative Marches of 2002 and 2004 honored the two Dakota roups forcibly removed from Minnesota: the largely women and children-based group of noncombatants living in

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[372] Joan Pendleton, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Lower Sioux Community, Minnesota, March 2, 2011, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society. http://usdakotawar.org/stories/contributors/joan-pendleton (accessed September 1, 2018).

[373] When asked if he would like to visit Minnesota, Melvin Littlecrow responded emphatically yes, stating, "we've got to get reacquainted and see who we are and who they are." Melvin Littlecrow, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Dakota Tipi First Nation, Manitoba, Canada, January 18, 2012, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society.

[374] Marina James remaked, "It just feels like I was going home." Marina James, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Dakota Tipi First Nation, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Canada, January 18, 2012; Other who expressed similar sentiments include Elsie Noel, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Dakota Tipi First Nation, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba Canada, January 18, 2012; David Pashe, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Dakota Tipi First Nation, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba Canada, January 19, 2012; Clayton Maxwell Smoke, interviewed by Deborah Lock at Dakota Tipi First Nation, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba Canada, January 18, 2012.

internment camps at Fort Snelling before removal to Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota, and the smaller group of Dakota prisoners, primarily men, sentenced to prison at Camp McClellan in Davenport, Iowa.[375] Myla Vicenti Carpio, who participated in the 2004 march, explained that "[w]hat makes the march important is that, by reclaiming this history and these past experiences, we also change the present."[376] She goes on to say a "commemorative march is about community memory—what a community chooses to remember and why. For indigenous people, maintaining our collective memories and histories is fundamental to who we are and who we can be."[377]

These sentiments echo John Peacock's summary of the transcribed letters of Dakota prisoners living at Camp McClellan. He writes:

> Commemoration does not have to idealize our Dakota ancestors as unified in their resistance, and it should not idealize our ancestors in any other way if the purpose of commemorating them is to grieve and heal. Moving forward entails acknowledging the whole truth, not only about our just cause and the historical injustices done to us, but about the full range of our own and our ancestors' human reactions—sometimes heroic, sometimes not.[378]

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[375] A large group of around 1,700 Dakota arrived at Fort Snelling on November 13, 1862 and spent the winter interred at Fort Snelling. May 4-10, 1863 this group was removed to Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota and later the Santee Reservation in Nebraska. The Dakota prisoners of war marched from Mankato, Minnesota to Davenport Iowa in April 1863. Around 270 prisoners received life sentences, but President Andrew Johnson pardoned the remaining prisoners, and moved them to the Santee reservation in April 1866.

[376] Myla Vicenti Carpio, "Reconnecting Past and Present: My Thoughts on the 2004 Dakota Commemorative March," in *In the Footsteps of Our Ancestors: The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century* (St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2006), 174.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Clifford Canky and Michael Simon. *The Dakota Prisoner of War Letters: Dakota Kaskapi Okicize Wowapi* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013), 215.

Finding the truth is a common focus among Dakota people today. Waziyatawin writes that justice begins with a "truth commission" to report the falsities of the past as a way to educate people. She challenges her fellow Dakota people to utilize "wide-scale truth telling" in their everyday lives as a way to undermine public and historical memory.[379] From the prisoner of war letters written after the war to the historic testimony from Dakota Oral History today, the pursuit of truth is part of the entire tapestry of the Dakota War and the Dakota people.

Conclusion

How different do photographs of the Dakota-U.S. War appear when used in a Dakota driven narrative of the past? If the photographs are used in the same manner in which wasicu people have used them, then the images change dramatically and a new history and understanding of the events in 1862 emerge. Beginning with the delegation photographs, these images highlight a sovereign nation negotiating peace treaties and land boundaries between two nations and their people. The changes in Dakota appearance—especially their clothing—demonstrates their generosity at compromise; showing the Dakota as a accommodating people. Through this lens, the Dakota went to the other party's country to conduct negotiations. They exchanged territory for money, a transactional deal that was later reneged upon by the other party.

After signing treaties, the Dakota returned home and experienced invaders commandeering their land under the guise of beneficial programs that conflicted with their way of life. Part of the invasion by missionaries, Indian agents, and other

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[379] Waziyatawin, *What does Justice Look Like?* 9, 82-99.

government officials had been planned and prepared for in the treaties; however, this infiltration triggered a breakdown of social systems that resulted in a fractured nation. Two different groups emerged after the treaties. One group chose to integrate their lives into government funded programs, thus creating dependence on the other nation, while others rejected the new activities that encouraged lifestyle changes. Animosity and frustration between these two groups further complicated the matter at hand and new and profound pressure from a growing group of outsiders challenged Dakota peoples to find new ways to co-exist in a territory that was historically and fundamentally theirs.

Chaska and his family, figure 2.6, demonstrate the fluidity of change enveloping Dakota lands, and the transition is manifest in the abandonment of the tipi in favor of the permanent brick home. The frame of the tipi remains, but the family lived in a brick home akin to their wasicu neighbors' homes. The permanence of the family and being confined to one place limited their ability to live traditionally. They could not chase game across the prairie, or meet with other members of their nation for social gatherings. Their travel was restricted to the reservation, their farms, and their church.[380]

Eventually the compromise between the Dakota and the wasicu evaporated when some of the Dakota leaders declared war and attacked their enemies. As a nation, separate from the United States, the Dakota had the right to declare war. The death and destruction that followed were committed during a time of war and were seen by the combatants as justified within the definition of war. However, after the Dakota lost the war, the penalties placed upon them were unjust, unlawful, and severe. Instead of negotiating the surrender of the participants of the war, the entire nation shared in the consequences that

[380] Figure 2.6 is on page 86.

included executions, imprisonment, and forced removal. In essence, the entire nation was at fault, and criminal sanctions were one sided. Only the Dakota faced charges of murder, not the United States government which also contributed to the death toll of the war. Furthermore, the United States was not held responsible for contributing to the war by exercising corrupt practices that cheated the Dakota out of their freedoms and promised annuity payments established by the treaties of 1850 and 1858.

Through this lens, Dakota might look at images of Camp Release and detainees at Fort Snelling and see injustice, prejudice, and discrimination against a sovereign people. No other participants in the war faced such harsh consequences as the Dakota. Though some settlers lost their lives, their homes, and their property, they were not forced to leave Minnesota, or see their fathers and brother incarcerated, or their wives, elders, and children thrusted into internment camps and forced to walk out of their homeland and into a foreign land. The different perspectives of the war are a powerful reminder of how collective memory can seize a common history and manipulate the past to reflect a biased and one-sided narrative. Photographs of the Dakota contributed to a two dimensional and easily digestible inference of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 by highlighting how pervasive ideas rooted in settler-colonial contexts have shaped historical memory, excluding Dakota peoples from engaging in public memory, and perpetuating the tension between Dakota and wasicu in the re-telling of the past.

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