A history of the Nebraska Winnebago Indians with special emphasis on education

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A HISTORY OF THE NEBRASKA WINNEBAGO INDIANS

WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Hyman Lubman
June 1962
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to reflect the effectiveness of the education of the Nebraska Winnebago Indians by the government of the United States of America.

A definite realization of the desired end in Indian education must be established for the correct interpretation of this work. Fey and McNickle very simply present the goal of Indian education as, "Education has always been considered a basic tool in helping the Indian people accommodate their lives to the world of the white man."¹ The Meriam Research Study reiterates as follows:

The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational... devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization....²

Robert H. Lowie writes, "The general policy of the government was to civilize the natives in the sense of making them literate, English speaking, Christian farmers like their white neighbors."³ Commissioner Burke of the Indian Depart-


²Meriam and Associates, The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), p. 21; This study was made at the request of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior.

ment emphasized the previous definitions further by stating a more specific list of goals:

Practically all of our work...has become educational: Teaching the language...the academic knowledge...common arts and crafts of the home and field...make the best use of the land...raise the right kind of live-stock... work for a living...save money...want material pos-

sessions...4

In considering the effectiveness of the government in this broad scope of education, it becomes imperative that a knowledge of the culture and history of the tribe be intro-
duced. This is essential in order to understand and evalu-
ate the results of the attempts made. The culture will pre-
sent the fundamentals of the social mores and religious be-
liefs. The history will deal primarily from the time of their contact with the white man until the present time.

The old Winnebago Indian culture, social and reli-
gious, still has its effect on the people of the tribe today. The residual concepts of God, the good deeds for admission to heaven, the spirits, and spiritual leaders still maintain a degree of influence. The social recognition or condem-
nation of individuals for the type of work done by men and women and the attitudes toward marriage also are influenced by past standards currently on the Nebraska reservation.

This work deals with the Nebraska Winnebagoes who

4Meriam, op. cit., p. 348.
constitute approximately one-half of the tribe. The rest are located in Wisconsin, which is, as far as is definitely known, the origin of these people. The gradual split came about through the series of displacements of the tribe in which the dissatisfied and homesick members filtered back to their original location. The Nebraska portion is the segment which has relocated and have attempted to abide by the agreements made with the government. It had been considered until the latter part of the nineteenth century as the only legal entity of the tribe.

The five major removals occurred between 1837 and 1861. The overall picture is one of expanding white population encroaching upon desirable Indian land followed with the transfer of the Indians to a place which would provide subsistence for them. In these moves the primary concern of the government was to look out for the interests of its citizens, but it also was motivated toward the welfare of the Indians if their conditions reached a critical stage. It was for one of these two reasons or both that the tribe was moved from Wisconsin to northeast Iowa, northern Minnesota, southern Minnesota, eastern South Dakota and finally to their present location in eastern Nebraska.

The success of the education of the Winnebagoes on the present Nebraska reservation is most important. They have been located there for close to a century of changing
government policies. Their education is, at this time, a major problem to the local and state governments. It also falls into the overall still dominant problem of the Indian Department, which is the education of the reservation Indians.
CHAPTER II

CULTURE

The culture of the Winnebagoes is so broad an area that it is necessary to limit its consideration to the provinces which have survived in varying degrees so as to exert an influence upon the Nebraska Winnebagoes at the present time. Their old basic culture goes back at least to 1000 A.D. and was repeatedly adjusted to meet new situations. They borrowed considerably from the Algonquin tribes after 1400 and also from the whites and Christianity with increased intensity from the middle of the seventeenth century.\(^1\) The areas touched upon will be those of the social organization, religion, and material culture of the tribe as it existed before the major invasion of the white man into this nation's territory.

One must grasp the significance of a clan in order to comprehend the social structure of the tribe. The clan is an intra-tribal exogamic (marriage outside of the group) group of persons, actually or theoretically of blood relationship, organized to promote their own as well as the tribal welfare through a code of duties.\(^2\)


The origin of the clans and the initiation of all life began, according to the Winnebago concept, at Red Banks in the present state of Wisconsin. The clans were established when the Earthmaker or Creator told the people that "you should therefore select an animal, the animal you best love, and after which your clan shall be named and recognized." Each group then selected an animal which had characteristics that they admired and envied. They felt that the spirits of this animal would transfer some of its attributes to the clan from that time on. This animal was not sacred to them such as the cow in India, but the spirit of the animal was the giver of blessings.

There were twelve clans among the Winnebagoes. They were divided into the upper division or those above the earth and the lower division or those on the earth. The descent in both of the phratries of the Winnebago were along patrimonial lines, and marriage included a spouse from each division.\(^3\) The upper division combined four clans: Thunderbird, War People or Hawk, Eagle, and Pigeon. The lower

\(^3\) Oliver Lamere, "Clan Organization of the Winnebago" (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1919), p. 1 (Mimeographed)

\(^4\) Hodge, op. cit., p. 959.

division was made up of eight clans: Bear, Wolf, Water-Spirit, Elk, Buffalo, Fish, Deer and Snake.  

Each of the clans had a specific duty toward the tribe as a whole. The Wolf clan helped the Bear clan in policing the village area. The roll of the public crier or heralder was that of the Buffalo. The duty of directing the passage of streams was assigned to the Water-Spirit. The two most important of the clans, however, were the Bear and the Thunderbird.

The chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, the most revered of all of the twelve groups. He was an exponent of peace at all times. His sanction was necessary in order for the tribe to go to war, although he was prohibited from leading the war party. He served as an intermediary between wrongdoers and their avengers, even in the case of murder. His lodge was a sanctuary where no harm could be inflicted upon anyone.

From amidst the Bear clan was chosen the war chief. His duty was to lead the tribe on the war path as well as on the hunt for game. A duty of the Bear clan was to carry

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into effect the orders of the Thunderbird chief. They also had the power over all disciplinary actions as well as the patrolling and guarding of the village. 8

A village was made up of one band composed of the several clans. Within the encampment each clan had its specific location. A band was theoretically of common family relationship, each having its own leader or chief. Each village was made up of a number of lodges with several families living in each of these shelters.

Family ties among the Siouan and Algonquin groups were much closer than that of the white man. 9 A Winnebago had several auxiliary fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles, etc. A child's father's brother was taken as a father, as was his mother's sister accepted as a mother. His father's sister was an aunt, and his mother's brother was an uncle. The siblings of the auxiliary fathers and mothers are his sisters and brothers; the siblings of uncles and aunts are also uncles and aunts. 10 This


9Winnebagoes are basically of the Siouan culture borrowing heavily from their neighbors, the Algonquins.

relationship extended to nieces and nephews. After many generations of marriages, much of the tribe was closely related. This relationship is shown on page ten.

Most marriages were arranged by the parents of the proposed spouses, and it rarely happened that the latter refused to abide by their decision. If, however, the young people refused to accept their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. There was some courtship of the maiden by flute playing, but love songs were rare. Gifts were brought to the betrothed's parents. Girls were usually married as soon as they reached the marriageable age.

In most cases, a man took only one wife although he was permitted to take more. In a polygamous marriage, the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. This she condoned if she noticed that her husband was getting tired of her or losing interest in her. While the marriage existed, it was considered sacred, and there were few cases of infidelity. Although it was very easy to obtain a divorce, most couples were true to each other for life.

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13 Ibid.

Winnebago Family Relationship

Mother's Brother & Wife
(Uncle & Aunt)
---
Children
(Uncles & Aunts)

Father's Sister & Husband
(Aunt & Uncle)
---
SIBLINGS
Children
(Uncles & Aunts)

Mother's Sister & Husband
(Mother & Father)
---
Children
(Brothers & Sisters)

Father's Brother & Wife
(Father & Mother)
---
SIBLINGS
Children
(Brothers & Sisters)

These siblings are fathers and mothers or uncles and aunts to their auxiliary brother's and sister's children, depending upon the above conditions.
After a couple were married, they usually lived with the wife's parents for approximately two years. This time was considered by some as part of the obligation of the son-in-law to the wife's parents. He hunted, fished, and performed other duties for his father-in-law, but after two years he returned to his father's lodge, where he stayed as long as he wished. Usually the son erected his own lodge after his first or second child. At no time did the son-in-law speak directly to his mother-in-law. This same rule held between the daughter-in-law and father-in-law.15

It was the duty of the women to do the most tedious tasks such as tanning of the skin, the care of the children, and the preparation of the food. They also hewed the wood, carried the water, and planted and raised the crops. This partner of the marriage also had the duty of building the shelter for the family.16 A general observation was reported by one authority who stated that "the able bodied men of the tribe could not be permitted the luxury of doing these jobs that came to be regarded as women's work".17 It was even considered degrading and disgraceful for a man to do the chores


17Lawson, op. cit., p. 125.
designated for the women. 18

The mature man had a two fold duty to the tribe. One major obligation was that of the hunter. Through the benefits of the hunts for deer, bear, beaver and the like, the tribe received a good share of its food, clothing, and shelter. The other obligation was to develop himself in order to be prepared to guard the camp against any possible attack from an enemy. The men were unhesitatingly ready to sacrifice their lives to protect the tribe. 19 To be a successful warrior was the highest ideal of the Winnebago. 20

The teaching of the children was left to the elders of the family. The boys and girls were directed not only in religious principles but also in the different aspects of life. This encompassed the fundamentals of being a warrior, behavior to one's parents, how to treat one's spouse, and how to bring up children.

The training of a boy for his place in the society started from the time he could walk. At that period he was taught to draw a bow string and "at 10 or 12 years of age

19 Reifen, op. cit., p. 6; Lawson, op. cit., p. 125.
20 Radin, The Trickster, p. 22.
he did not fail to kill a bird at which he shot."  
He was taught the four war honors of counting coup and the
honor of dying in battle, which would result in perpetual
happiness for the soul. A social code of ethics was also
taught such as to help an older person with whatever one
possessed, never to abuse one's wife, and no matter who
would enter a shelter, to offer him whatever food was on
hand. To give of one's possessions to the poor was thought
of as highly as obtaining coup.22

A daughter was taught a separate line of conduct.
She was instructed always to listen to her parents, to
lessen her mother's work as much as possible, and also to
attend her father's wants. All of the work in the home be-
longed to her as well as the chores of chopping the wood
and carrying it home. The responsibility of looking after
the vegetables, harvesting the crops, and cooking the food
was also her obligation.23

In addition, a behavior pattern in marriage was
taught. The elders directed that she should always remain
faithful to her husband, never to strike a man, never to be

21 Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.). Lower Canada, Abenakis,
Louisiana: 1716-1727 (Vol. LXVII of The Jesuit Relations and
23 Ibid., p. 177.
haughty with her spouse, and always to be obedient. She was
to allow her husband to take care of her parents and must
exert every effort in order for her husband’s family to have
a liking for her. The child of the family was not to be
struck but to be made to fast. The mother was never to take
the child’s part when he was reprimanded by the husband. 24

A child was taught early in life that one of the
basic fundamentals for social recognition was determined by
his action on the field of battle. There were four degrees
of bravery in battle. The highest honor was given to the
first to strike the enemy within sight of the enemy’s friends.
The next two recognitions were given to the two warriors who
were the second and third to do this heroic feat. To the
first brave to kill the enemy was given the last of the four
distinctions. 25 Each of these deeds was known to the tribe
by the way the warrior was dressed. The first honor or
coup was designated by the wearing of a headdress and eagle
feather, the second by the wearing of only an eagle feather,
the third by a hanging eagle feather, and the fourth by the
eagle feather being placed criss-cross in the hair. 26 Other
deeds were represented by dress or by painting of the body

24 Ibid., p. 178.
25 Ibid., p. 158.
26 Ibid., p. 161.
such as, a rope around the waist for the capturing of enemy horses, legs painted white to denote participation in a war party in the winter, red painted areas representing the location of past wounds, and a dyed red eagle feather indicating capture and torture of an enemy.

When the warriors arrived victoriously from battle, a victory dance was held. During this ritual scalp locks were displayed on the ends of poles which represented not only the capture of the enemy but also the domination of the deceased soul by the warrior who had killed him. The warrior also gave thanks to the spirits to whom he danced, prior to the attack, for the assistance given him.

Not only did the Winnebagoes rely upon success in battle by appealing to the spirits through dances, but also they took along the clan bundle for strong immediate help from their guardian power. There was only one bundle per clan, and it was entrusted to the most worthy of that group. Its contents were directly related to the myth of the origin of the clan. The holy packet played a dominant role in the major war feast during the winter.²⁷

The basis for belief in spirits or any other inanimate concept by the Winnebagoes is explained by one authority in this way:

²⁷Ibid., p. 428.
He claims that what is thought of, what is felt and what is spoken, in fact, anything that is brought before his consciousness, is a sufficient indication of its existence and it is the question of existence and reality of these spirits in which he is interested.28

Thus, most Winnebagoes believed that the universe was made up of an enumerable number of spirits who manifested their existence by way of being seen, heard, felt emotionally, or by any other indication or result. The tribe held some specific deities as major supernatural powers. Some of the most important of these were the Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, Morning Star, Spirit of the Night, Water-Spirit, Thunderbird, and Earthmaker.29

The Great Spirit, He Who Makes Something, or by a third name, The Earthmaker, was the omnipotent creator. The Winnebago, having received life from this supernatural, usually had to go through the great power's intermediary spirits, seldom worshiping to the head spirit. It was through or from these intermediary spirits that the individual was blessed with all the things that were of any value to him in his existence.30 Thus, the Disease-giver extended blessings connected with war and the curing of disease, and the Moon gave blessings to women. The Thunder-

28Ibid., p. 284.
29Hodge, op. cit., p. 960.
30Radin, The Trickster, pp. 115-16.
bird, a popular spirit, theromorphic in form, caused lightning by the flashing of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings, blessed men with practically everything but particularly with victory on the war path.

When the Winnebago God created earth, He withheld from the spirits tobacco, which they greatly desired. This He gave to man, and it was through tobacco that the greatest success was achieved in obtaining blessings from the spirits. Tobacco, as a result, was one of the most prized possessions of the individual. This treasured source of influence was used individually and collectively by religious groups.

The medicine lodge was the most sacred and most secret of all of the societies of the tribe. The purpose of this group was to "prolongate the life and cultivate the virtues of the tribe," none of which, however, was to relate to war. A new member, either male or female, generally succeeded some deceased relative. They must first pay an initiation fee before being accepted into the society. The virtues that were to be received were symbolically

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33 Sanders, op. cit., p. 359.

34 Hodge, op. cit., p. 960.
impregnated into the individual by the "shooting" ceremony in which a shell was supposedly shot into the body and then coughed up by the candidate.\textsuperscript{35} The entire ceremony for the entrance into the society took four days and nights; however, a full knowledge of the teachings required long years of study.\textsuperscript{36}

The important function of the medicine dance or ceremony was the "passing" of blessings through speeches and songs going from one band to the other. The blessings were also symbolized in the drums, gourds, and actions in which each band partook.\textsuperscript{37} A more specific enumeration of the principles of the rite is difficult because of the extreme secrecy of its members. There are contradictions in the interpretation of these rituals.\textsuperscript{38}

The concept of the pilgrimage of the soul to heaven has been generally determined. Winnebagoes looked upon death in the first period as a journey to the life hereafter.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{36}Lurie, op. cit., p. 93.
\textsuperscript{37}Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, p. 369.
\textsuperscript{38}Radin and Lurie stated that the shooting ceremony symbolized reincarnation. The leaders of the tribe which were interviewed during the research for this paper, all being well educated and many members of the tribal council, deny the concept of reincarnation among the tribe.
The deceased maintained a consciousness that he possessed on earth and retained a type of intercourse between individuals. It was during the funeral ceremony that the journey of the soul was aided in its four day trip to salvation. A torch was kept lit for four nights at the head of the grave in order to help the soul find its way. Warriors took part in the feast, which also lasted for four nights, in order to tell of their war exploits and call upon the souls of the men whom they had slain to aid the soul of the deceased. If a warrior told a falsehood of his war deeds during the ceremony, he would condemn not only the soul of the deceased but also his own soul to damnation. The deceased was also aided by food which was left at the grave. In addition to all of the things mentioned, personal possessions such as tobacco, war clubs, beads, and bracelets as well as symbolic objects were buried with the body for help on the journey and for use in the life hereafter.

The second period of death took place when the soul reached the destination of the journey. The soul would find all of the relatives who had died before him. Life was as it was on earth, but with all carnal desires eliminated.

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40 Lurie, op. cit., pp. 75-76; Lawson, op. cit., pp. 127-28; Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 140-144.
Everything was provided, and their existence was eternal enjoyment and bliss.\textsuperscript{41}

In burying, the body was wrapped in birch bark or matting and placed in a shallow grave. In the winter sometimes a scaffold between two trees was used. Whenever a shallow grave was made, an "A" shaped structure was put over it to protect the body. Most of the graves were placed in an east and west position so they could "look toward the happy lands of the West."\textsuperscript{42}

The duty of clothing the body in the best attire and painting the clan markings as well as being responsible for the general funeral arrangements and the wake fell to a member of the "opposite" or "friend" clan. Each clan, having a special position in the tribe, had a close relationship with the clan opposite it in the arrangement of the clan locations. A tobacco pouch was conveyed to a member of the "friend" clan, and by this he knew that the family of the deceased had selected him for the obligation.\textsuperscript{43}

The good life on earth was taught and initiated at a very young age. The basic fundamental role was that of

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Hadin, The Winnebago Tribe}, pp. 144, 314.
\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Lawson, op. cit.}, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Saniers, op. cit.}, p. 359; Statement by John Littlewolf, Officer of the Winnebago Indian Council, personal interview.
fasting in order to secure contact with the spirits. A boy would be taught to blacken his face, go into seclusion, and fast for a few hours. The most important period for this observance was at puberty, when the fasting period was extended for days on end. Winnebago boys were looking for a guardian spirit from whom they could summon assistance in time of crisis. Without this spirit a man would be at the mercy of events both natural and sociological. The result of a successful vision from a spiritual guardian would lead to honor among his fellowmen and, later, sufficient subsistence for his family and a protective guardian over the members of his hogan.

Girls did not fast for a visionary blessing but for general forces to have pity on them, grant them good husbands, and healthy children. These periods of fasting lasted for ten days in special menstrual lodges set aside from the camp. After her first menstrual flow she was considered ready for marriage with a member of the opposite clan phatrie.

Each clan had a myth relating to its origin. It

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44 Underhill, op. cit., p. 119.
45 Sanders, op. cit., p. 365.
46 Radin, The Trickster, p. 115.
48 Ibid., pp. 137, 167; Lurie, op. cit., p. 91.
was not only from this myth story that the fasting visions were related to, but it served as a basis for the selection of individual names.⁴⁹ Some examples of actual names in the Eagle clan were White Wing, Good Voice, Red Cloud, and Strong Walker. A few more names denoting other clans of the tribe were Little Wolf, Big Bear, Snake, Little Beaver, and Thunder. These names were held with pride and honor.⁵⁰

Of course, along with the religious concepts and social relationships, the basic needs for material subsistence such as shelter, food, and clothing were paramount. The Winnebagoes obtained these easily, for the products of nature which produced them constantly surrounded the tribe. Their concern was for current needs and the future would take care of itself.⁵¹

Shelter for the Winnebagoes consisted of hogans made up of grass, reeds and/or bark mats. Poles were driven into the ground, bent, and tied together at the top; and a fire was built in the center. Mats were tied to the poles, and matting of a soft material was also placed on the ground. Bark matting was used to cover the hogan in the winter.⁴⁹

⁵⁰Lamere, op. cit., p. 3.
⁵¹Reifel, op. cit., p. 6.
matting in the spring and summer and a grass lodge was constructed for an overnight stay. These shelters were warm and comfortable, accommodating as many as eight families in their semi-permanent location. Occasionally the tipi was used while they were on the hunt.

The tribal existence was nomadic in nature. The longest period that they stayed in one place was for three months. December, January, and February they were located in the semi-permanent village; the Bear clan then gave the winter feast, and they observed the various ceremonies. The month of March was one for hunting, April for fishing, and May was the deer season. In June the tribe returned to the village for the squaws to plant corn, squash, and beans, only to leave again for the month of July to continue to hunt for deer. The harvest of the crop was ready in August, so the Winnebagoes would return to the village to allow the women to gather, dry, and store the corn. September was the month for wild rice gathering, so they were on the move again. The roving of the tribe continued through October and November, when they hunted large game and dried their meat. It was then that they returned to the village for

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53 The hogans were twelve to forty feet in length and from ten to twenty feet wide.
the three months' stay and to complete the year's cycle.\textsuperscript{54}

In addition to the previously mentioned sustenance assembled by the Winnebagoes, berry gathering was of significance. Berries were in bountiful supply and gathered in the fall by everyone, the men, women, and children.\textsuperscript{55} It seems to be one of the very few activities that the entire family did jointly.

The wild rice was also easily obtainable. It was gathered by running a canoe into the tall stalks of rice, pulling it over the edge of the boat, and knocking the grain off the stalks into the bottom of the canoe. The collecting of berries and the harvesting of rice together lasted from five to six weeks.\textsuperscript{56}

Almost half of the year was spent on the hunt, which provided not only the meat but also most of the clothing for the tribe. The women wore buckskin, which covered them from the neck to the middle of the leg, leggings which went from the knee to the ankle, and socks of elkskin lined with hair.\textsuperscript{57} The men wore a buckskin shirt beaded at the neck and down the front and buckskin leggings, sometimes fringed

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{56}\textit{House Ex. Doc. No. 539, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess.}
\textsuperscript{57}Thwaites, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 137.
\end{flushleft}
along the side. The clout was of three pieces, a strip of plain material to cover the genitals, supported by a belt and two ornamented flaps falling over the front and rear. As has been previously mentioned, arm bands, garters, and specific ornaments were worn only on certain occasions and by certain people. The typical male headdress, seen on page twenty-six, was a comblike ornament woven from deer's hair with an eagle feather attached.  

The people of the Winnebagoes had many games from which they gained pleasure in their leisure hours. They included a ring and pin game, foot and hand ball, leaping, shooting at marks, foot racing, in addition to LaCrosse, which was one of the favorites. Besides those mentioned and probably the most widely employed form of amusement was the moccasin game, in which one side was to choose which moccasin contained a bead. It trained the individual in a greatly desired attribute of not showing any overt sign of emotion under pressure or in this instance, when the stick was near the correct moccasin. In addition to the men's contest, the most played and enjoyed women's diversion was Kansu or the women's dice game. It was played with eight dice made of bone and with the sides either white or black.

FIGURE 1

WINNEBAGO HEADDRESS AND ORNAMENTS
or both. The women played this game well into the night, which emphasized the fascination that gambling held for both sexes. 59

Another form of enjoyment was the tribal dances, although the scope of these extended from the realm of humor to the point of solemnity. In many cases, it brought forth the Indians' desire to have the spirits favor them in the varied phases of their needs. Some of the dances observed were the buffalo dance for good hunting, scalp dance for aid of the spirits of the deceased, begging dance for charity for the old people, and the war dance appealing to the spirits for success on the warpath. In the last mentioned, the entire tribe participated. The men danced in the center, painted with their clan markings and for the various coup obtained. They wore nothing but breach cloths and were armed with their war weapons. The women danced around the outside, dancing in a milder step but keeping the same tempo as the men. Several of the older men chanted as they beat the drums in the varying rhythms. The beat started slowly and increased as the dance progressed. A United States Army General stated in 1826 that they danced

fifty deep "their tread shook the solid earth and their yells at the end of each cadence, rent the very heavens." 60 The entire tribe participated in the festivities.

Thus, in consideration of the social aspects of the Winnebagoes, specific points have been acknowledged. The clan was involved in the selection of a chief, burial ritual, belief in guardian spirits, and marriage rights. Family relationships among the tribes were so interwoven that each individual possessed several fathers and mothers and a corresponding number of brothers and sisters and so forth, with a strong obligation of love and help to each. The instruction of children, both religious and social, was the chore of the elders of the family. The success of the husband in his prime duties of being a warrior and a hunter directly hinged upon the degree of social prominence in the tribe. It was also his duty not to degrade himself by doing women's work such as caring for the crops.

Some main religious concepts were also introduced. It was emphasized that all Winnebagoes had the obligation to believe in the Indian deities or spirits. These governed the degree of success in health, salvation after death, war, the hunt, as well as in all other areas of their existence. The major leader of the religion was the medicine lodge.

60 Lawson, op. cit., p. 130.
whose members were sworn to secrecy not to divulge the fundamental contents of their cherished rituals.

It was equally important for the Winnebagoes to meet their material needs as well as their spiritual obligations. The types of subsistence of the tribe, in their varied forms, were always in abundance but necessitated a nomadic existence. Obtaining these needs so easily helped to promote the philosophy of the Indian, which was one of concern for the problems of today and of allowing tomorrow to take care of itself.

The understanding of some of the basic convictions of the Indian culture is necessary for the interpretation of the advancement made by the Nebraska tribe. This is measured by the amount of progress achieved toward the goals set down by the United States Government. The desire of the government has been to transpose the Winnebagoes from a life of their own culture to that of the material minded Christian who had invaded and dominated him. This process was actually started in the middle of the seventeenth century.
CHAPTER III

EARLY HISTORY

References to the origin of the Winnebagoes are vague and varied; however, their history, evolving through their discovery by the white man, the influence of the trader, participation in colonial wars, major illegal trespasses of settlers and the ousting of the tribe from its homeland, is a matter of record. Their attitude toward the white man shifted from the belief in his being a god to one of suspicion and finally to that of his being an unwelcome intruder.

The origin of the Winnebago people was difficult to establish since the tribe did little if any recording of its history. It has been said to have been one of the first tribes to occupy Wisconsin.\(^1\) They, according to their myths, believed that the tribe had always dwelt at what is now Green Bay, Wisconsin.\(^2\) One theory expressed the belief that the nation came from Mexico, driven from there by the companions of Cortez. Stories have been passed down of excursions made to the Mexican border. Another

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\(^2\) House Report No. 2503, 82nd Cong., 2nd Sess.
theory was that the Winnebagoes came from the north, either from the area of Hudsons Bay or Lake Winnipeg.³

If the Winnebagoes migrated from anywhere, the greatest probability is that the tribe was part of the Siouan retreat, which shifted them from within the Atlantic coast (in the approximate area of Virginia to South Carolina) to their location at Wisconsin. If the latter possibility is correct, their trek across the mountains, down the Ohio River, and across Illinois was likely caused by pressures from the Iroquois and Algonquin nations.⁴ The indications are that the Winnebagoes belonged to one of the four divisions of Siouan migrations moving westward, which included the Missouri, Ioway, and Oto.⁵ The Winnebagoes settled farther east than any other Siouan tribe. By whatever route they took, the Winnebagoes were then surrounded by the Algonquin tribes. Through centuries of close association with their neighbors, the Winnebago traditions and beliefs became a mixture of both the Siouan and Algonquin cultures.⁶

⁴Ibid., pp. 79-80.
The first recorded contact made with the tribe by any white man was the accomplishment of a Jesuit priest, Jean Nicollet, in 1634. He was sent out by Governor Champlain to treat with certain tribes of western Indians. While with the Hurons, he heard of the Ounipegon (Winnebagoes) or in Algonquin, "a people who come from a distant sea." Nicollet decided to attempt to arbitrate and made peace between the two waring tribes. He also was anxious to make contact with these people, who he thought, as their name indicated, might be from Cathay. Expecting Chinese, he wore a grand robe of china damask all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. Upon landing on the shores of Green Bay, he displayed gifts to show his friendship. In each hand he held a pistol, which he fired into the air. The Indians thought that this white man, the first they had ever encountered, dressed in a manner they had never seen before, shooting thunder out of both hands must surely be a manifestation of the thunderbird spirit. The entire

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tribe assembled, and each chief had a feast for him. This was the manner of acceptance of the first white man by the tribe.

The first attempt to formally introduce the Christian philosophy and "civilization" to the Winnebagoes came with the establishment of the mission of St. Francis Xavier. It was founded at Green Bay by the Jesuit priest Claude Allouez in 1669. He reported that they were "the first to receive our attention and the best instructed" of those at the mission. Within a thirty-five year span, instruction about the white man, his possessions, and his philosophy were initiated.

The early interests of the French were adequately described by one of the priests about 1655 in a report to his superiors when he referred to the Winnebago area as follows:

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...to send thirty Frenchmen to that country, not only would many souls be won to God, but also a profit would be derived in excess of the outlay required...the best furs come in the greatest abundance from those regions.\textsuperscript{12}

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Winnebagoes were exchanging skins for loose coats, blankets, large kettles, guns, hatchets, and knives with the French.\textsuperscript{13}

Father Sebastien Raseles described the Winnebagoes in 1723. He observed that they were tall, strong, and agile and had swarthy complexions, black hair, and teeth whiter than ivory. The adults as well as the adolescents were devoted to tobacco and smoked the greater part of the time. He was surprised to find that "to give them a piece of tobacco pleased them more than to give them their weight in gold."\textsuperscript{14} He went on to report that to hunt and make war were duties of the men, and the women's obligations were to make baskets and bowls, plant the crops, and prepare the food.

The meals were very irregular and served communally. They lived from day to day, ate whatever good food they had,

\textsuperscript{12}Thwaites, Lower Canada, Iroquois: 1654-1656, p. 79.

\textsuperscript{13}Thwaites, Lower Canada, Abenakis, Louisiana: 1716-1727, op. cit., p. 137.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 141.
and did not worry about whether there would be any left for tomorrow. The meat was boiled in a kettle for about three fourths of an hour and then served in a basin of bark. It was distributed among all the people in the hogan; each one bit into the meat "as one would bite into a piece of bread."15

The feasting as well as most habits of the Winnebagoes during the first quarter of the eighteenth century did not undergo much change by the coming of the Frenchmen although living was made easier by the introduction of western civilization's manufactured goods. It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that a marked degree of dependence upon the white man and his products was established.

The Winnebagoes were known by their neighbors as a ferocious tribe that periodically allied themselves with the French. The relations between the Winnebago and other tribes varied through history. They once numbered four to five thousand strong and had declared war on all the neighboring tribes, who for protection formed an alliance against them. Their aggressiveness diminished considerably when their number was reduced to fifteen hundred after two disasters: a decisive defeat in battle with the Illinois and an epidemic. Their population built up again to three thousand, where it has remained up through the present time. With

15Ibid., p. 141.
this force the tribe fought with the French against other Indian tribes in 1724 and again in 1729.\textsuperscript{16}

Relationships with the French were greatly strengthened in the year 1729. The Winnebagoes, in destitute condition, reduced to eating boiled bear skin, were relieved by the French. In that same year Sabrevoir de Carrie resigned his position as an officer in the French army to be a fur trader among the Indians. He married Glory-of-the-Morning, sister of the head chief of the Winnebagoes. Since he was a white man, their offspring took the clan of the mother and therefore were in line for the chief's position. Their son, Spoon Decorah, became chief of the tribe as did many of his descendants. The tribe held council with the French at Quebec or Montreal in 1739, 1740, 1741, and 1742.\textsuperscript{17}

When the French and Indian War began in 1754, the Winnebagoes were solidly aligned with the French. Fur traders had freely intermarried with the Indians, helping further to tie the tribe's economic stability with New France. Governor General Vandreal appointed Charles de Longlaid to lead the French and the Indian forces in the Northwest. It was under his leadership that one hundred

\textsuperscript{16}Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 191-96.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 98.
Winnebago warriors took part in the defeat of Braddock's army near Fort Duquesne in 1755. They were present at the great council of Indian talks with Montcalm at Lake George and participated in the massacre of Fort William Henry in 1757. Winnebagoes were also participants in the battle which terminated in the famous fall of Quebec in 1759. After the defeat and the withdrawal of the French from America, the Winnebagoes swore loyalty to the British at a council led by Lieutenant James Gorrell at Fort Green Bay in 1762.  

The Winnebagoes proved to be as faithful to the British as they had been to the French. Although intermarriage was rare, the tribe traded and fought with their new partners whenever they were needed. They initially proved their sincerity and ability by aiding in the defeat of Pontiac's forces a year after their mutual aid pact was signed at Green Bay.

Slightly more than a decade later the colonies revolted from Britain, and the American Revolutionary War spread as far west as the Mississippi River. Charles de Longlaid, who led the Winnebagoes during the French and Indian War, was now an officer in the British army. Utilizing his experience, the British assigned him to that same duty.  

\[18\] Ibid., p. 99.
\[19\] Ibid., p. 100.
The Winnebagoes were consistently loyal and actively supported the British throughout the war. They served under their white officer in the army of Burgoyne during the three pronged attack toward Albany but withdrew before Burgoyne's defeat in October of 1777. They later participated in several skirmishes including the massacre of St. Louis. Charles de Longlaid led them on a march toward Vincennes, but they turned back upon receiving word that Hamilton had surrendered the fort to George Rogers Clark in February of 1779. In July of the following year, the Winnebagoes, along with other tribes, intercepted American supplies along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers.20

In 1783 the Treaty of Paris, which concluded the Revolutionary War, stipulated that all of the area south of the Great Lakes was to go to the United States. Because of disputes between the two countries, the British garrisons not only continued to occupy the forts in that area but gave comfort and security to the English fur traders who operated among those tribes.21 Annually gifts were given to the Winnebagoes at the forts or through the traders in order to maintain their loyalty. Every encouragement was

given the Indian to resist the American advancement westward, and, at the same time, they were led to believe that they could count on the British as allies.

Frontier wars erupted between the Indians and the American settlers as a result of the British policy. The United States sent out a force under General Harmar in 1790 and another under General St. Clair in 1791, but both met humiliating defeats. In a determined third effort, Anthony Wayne with a well drilled force of several thousand troops invaded the Indian country. The Indians, counting on British support, attacked Wayne and were decisively defeated in the battle of "Fallen Timbers" August 20, 1794. The Winnebagoes, disheartened because of the loss and disappointed in the British failure to assist them, returned to Wisconsin. This marked another temporary abandonment of active opposition to American advancement in the West.

The initiation of resistance to the white man's invasion came from another source late in the fall of 1810. Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, and his brother the Prophet started a movement to unify the Indian tribes in order to permanently dam the onrushing tide of settlers. The Winnebagoes joined in the coalition and during the winter of 1810-

1811 caused the near starvation of several traders by an agreement not to sell meat to any whites.23

In April, 1811, Winnebago warriors led by Chief Four Legs and Naw Kaw joined the tribes which congregated at the village of the Prophet in the Wabash Valley. It was there that over 1,000 Indian warriors were forced to retreat by William Henry Harrison in the battle of Tippecanoe on November 11, 1811.24 The Winnebagoes were again defeated in a unified Indian attempt to stay the American advance. They returned to Wisconsin for a temporary lull in their fight against United States territorial expansion.

Robert Dickson, the major agent of the British operating in the Lakes region, was with the Winnebagoes in 1811. His duty was to distribute presents from the king to the Indians in their hunting grounds, keeping them friendly to England. This was especially appreciated because owing to a great drought during the summer, the game moved northward and left the tribe in dire need of food. Dickson remained that winter and distributed among the Indians his entire stock of rations, which he had purchased for $10,000 dollars in Montreal. In the spring he left for Canada and faithfully

23Lawson, op. cit., p. 102.
promised to return with more provisions. Dickson reported to his superiors that the Indians were ready to march against the Americans in case of war.25

At this early date frontiersmen were settling around Galena, which was in an area containing large deposits of lead. This invasion of Winnebago territory increased the intensity of bitterness toward Americans. Rolling Thunder led one hundred warriors against the settlement of George Hunt, whose encampment was eight miles above Galena. Two Americans who were captured were "riddled" with bullets, scalped, their bodies torn limb from limb, their flesh stripped from their bones and thrown into the trees.26 The hatred toward the United States had little chance to subside, for in a few months war was to break out between the United States and Britain.

The War of 1812 was anxiously acclaimed by all of the participants. The British wished to regain the rich fur area of the West. The Americans wanted to clear the frontier of unfriendly Indians and satisfy their thirst for land. The Indians felt that finally they would rid


26Bruce E. Mahan, Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier (Iowa City: Athens Press, 1926), p. 42.
themselves of the American settlers who were driving off the game for the hunt and then devouring the land.

The Indians of the Great Lakes region met with the English on July 7, 1812, at which time they were given gifts and were propagandized. They then agreed to fight together in the coming war. The Winnebagoes were to follow Robert Dickson, who was made colonel in the British army.27

The terms of the agreement between the two parties were definite. The tribes were to be armed with British manufactured guns, knives, and tomahawks. Some of the Indian leaders would be provided with British uniforms. For the Indians' share in the fighting, they were to receive all of the public property in the United States trading houses, which included blankets, guns, rifles, tobacco, etc.28 The scene was set for the ensuing struggle.

It would be difficult to locate all of the battles that the Winnebagoes took part in, but they were specifically mentioned as participants in numerous conflicts. They were active during 1812 in the capture of Fort Mackinac, the massacre at Fort Dearborn, the surrender of Detroit

27Parker, op. cit., p. 125.

and the attack on Fort Madison. The following year they took part in the attack at Sandusky, the capture of Fort Stephenson, and the Indian defeat at the Thames. At the famous battle of the Thames the Winnebago chief Karrymaune was at the side of Tecumseh when the great Indian leader was fatally shot. In the closing year of the war, the Winnebagoes took part in the capture of Prairie du Chien, Fort Shelby, and the defeat at Credit Island. After more than two years of war, on December 24, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was signed, and the war was concluded.

The chiefs who participated in the war, including Peal, One Eyed Decorah, Bird Spirit, Wild Cut, Walking Turtle, and Black Wolf, led their warriors back to Wisconsin. This was the last major fight against the Americans in which the Winnebagoes participated. It introduced a new era in the tribe's history with the United States, which was one of treaty, loss of land, agitation, treaty, loss of land, and so forth and so on.

The immediate policy of the United States was to solidify Indian allegiance to the United States. In July,

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29 Parker, op. cit., p. 126; Mahan, op. cit., p. 46; Lawson, op. cit., p. 102.
30 Lawson, op. cit., p. 151.
31 Mahan, op. cit., pp. 55, 60.
1815, a council was held at "Portage de Sioux" on the Missouri after the Treaty of Ghent. The Winnebagoes refused to send delegates and let it be known that they were opposed to any military establishments on the Mississippi River. The commissioners thought that it was due to the influence of the British, and it was a possibility since the British continued to send annual gifts to the Winnebagoes until 1820.32

A second council was held at St. Louis on May 18, 1816, at which a portion of the tribe was represented. The treaty confirmed that the Winnebagoes had the right to the lands of the lead region. The Winnebagoes, in turn, established friendly relations with the United States, placing themselves under the American government and no other nation. They further promised not to give aid to any other part of the tribe until they had made peace.33

The tribal attitude toward the Americans had undergone little change by 1822, at which time it was reported to the government that no other tribe seemed to possess so much jealousy of the whites and such reluctance to have intercourse with them. The report also stated that the Winnebago land contained a large number of springs, lakes,


ponds, and rivers with an abundance of fish. It was noted that the rich soil of the Winnebago territory produced a variety of grain. The tribe was described as industrious, frugal, and temperate. Another report of the same period stated that drunkenness was not so common among them as among other tribes. They were said to have more courage and national character than any tribe in the Northwest and were not fond of mixing blood with the whites. The Winnebagoes were depicted as living in the midst of plenty, a proud nation, resenting the invasion of their land, which they considered as a threat to their security.

The trespass upon Indian land by United States citizens was the most significant reason for friction between the United States and the Winnebago nations. This encroachment upon their country by large numbers of permanent white settlers was a new problem for the Winnebagoes, but one which every tribe that happened to be in front of the tidal wave of American expansion faced, fought, and lost. The initial attraction to this area was not the great amount of rich rolling land nor the abundance of

34 Jackson, op. cit., p. 219.

water supply but the lead mines located between the Rock and Mississippi Rivers.

The large scale exploitation of the lead mines in Winnebago territory began in the early 1820's. Colonel James Johnson of Kentucky started excavations at the present site of Galena in 1811. He, by some manner, obtained a claim in the Treaty of 1816 to a strip of land five leagues square which included some lead mines. By 1819 several traders and miners were located at the site on the Fever River, Johnson being among them. For Johnson the mining undertaking was a success, and in 1822 he brought efficient tools, trained men, slaves, and military guards. The next year Doctor Moses Meeker brought in workers from Cincinnati, and within the year the rights of the mining lessors were ignored and independent operators rushed in. One hundred people were mining the Fever River diggings by 1825.3

With the invasion of the white man upon Indian land and also with constant frictions between their neighboring tribes, a need for definite boundaries was obvious. Until that time borders were indefinite and were defined by "a half day's march," "about a day's paddle in a canoe," and "the point where the woods come out into the meadows."

Governor Lewis Cass called for the chiefs of the tribes to meet and draw up a treaty. In order to establish boundaries among the tribes as well as to confirm peace between the Indians and the United States, the Treaty of Prairie du Chien was resolved in August, 1825. Eight tribes signed the treaty while five thousand warriors looked on. This agreement concluded that the Winnebago boundary line would include most of southwest Wisconsin and a section of northern Illinois. An accurate location can be seen on page forty-eight.

The peace retired inter-tribal agitation, but the friction with the white man continued. One year after the treaty was signed, there were one thousand inhabitants at the mines; and by 1828 the area contained ten thousand people. This growing population aroused the hostility of the Winnebagoes, which caused anxiety among the whites.

The tension increased on both sides until it was climaxed by a Winnebago uprising which was later known as the Winnebago War of 1827. The immediate cause of hostilities was based upon heresay. There was a rumor that the English and Americans anticipated a war in the spring.

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37Lawson, op. cit., p. 105.
38Kappler, op. cit., pp. 177, 179.
FIGURE 2
WINNEBAGO LAND LOCATED IN THE TERRITORY OF
WISCONSIN AND THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
AFTER THE TREATY OF 1825
Another report was that the Americans were afraid of hostilities with the tribe and abandoned Fort Crawford, which in reality was unfit of occupancy. This evacuation of troops to Fort Snelling left the area relatively unprotected. Two Winnebago prisoners were taken with them when they evacuated the post, and false information reached the tribe by way of the Sioux that the two captives had been turned over to the Chippewa and put to death.

To Red Bird, a chief of the Winnebagoes, fell the obligation to "take meat" or to avenge their death. To do this, he had to take scalps of the enemy. He, We Kau, and Buffalo Calf went out to accomplish their mission. They went to the home of a half-breed, Registre Gagnier, and killed him and his hired man. We Kau reentered the cabin and scalped an eleven month old child and left her under the bed for dead. Mrs. Gagnier and her son escaped and spread the word of an Indian uprising. On the same day the keelboat "Oliver H. Perry" was attacked by other members of the tribe at Bad Axe above Prairie du Chien. They killed two and wounded four of the sixteen crewmen. When the keelboat reached Prairie du Chien, the news of the attack

[Footnotes]

40 Mahan, op. cit., p. 103.
41 Snelby, op. cit., p. 144.
42 Mahan, op. cit., p. 106.
added to the fears of the settlers. 43

Organized defensive action was immediately taken. The inhabitants of the community and its surrounding area had a meeting, activated a militia, moved into Fort Crawford, and sent two riders to Fort Snelling for help. 44

News of the violence spread and caused an active response from Fort Snelling to St. Louis, from the entire west coast of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. The Galena area was panic stricken. Chicago was in mortal fear that the Pottawattomi would join the uprising. The man most responsible for calming the people as well as organizing them was Lewis Cass. He then mustered military support from St. Louis, Fort Snelling, and Fort Howard, which stopped the uprising in its infancy and made the Winnebago War a mild incident. 45

With the arrival of the military, the Winnebagoes realized the hopelessness of their situation, surrendered, and agreed to turn over the men responsible for the uprising. Red Bird, over six feet tall, presented himself in the full dignity and dress of a chief of the tribe. We Kau submitted to the Americans at the same time, and within a week four


more of the leaders were handed over. 46

The surrender paved the way for the attempted completion of another treaty. The council was called to negotiate the lead mine area away from the Winnebagoes, but so few of the chiefs participated that the treaty could not be accepted as valid. The trouble over the lead mine area continued.

The miners located themselves on land belonging to the Winnebagoes by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, and their trespass caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the tribe. 47 A treaty was concluded with the United States government at Green Bay in 1828 in which the Winnebagoes refused any reduction of the lead ore area, and the original boundary line was again reemphasized. It was agreed that:

If any white person shall cross the line herein described... for any purpose whatever, Indians shall not interfere nor molest such persons but... the proper measures for their removal shall be referred to the President of the United States. 48

The Indians did make a plea to the government stating:

There are a great many Americans on our land, working it without permission.... Tell our great Father to stop it: to reach out his long arm and draw them back. 49

46 Ibid., p. 115.
The reactions of government officials to the pleas of the Indians were unfavorable. Governor Edward's attitude toward the Indian was to "get rid of them all." His successor, Governor Cass, reported that:

The country... is more valuable to us than to them... affording inexhaustable supplies of lead. We think it is highly necessary that the Indian title to it should be extinguished.50

The war department and their official report believed that the Winnebagoes were ignorant of the United States strength. They felt that it would be advisable to "enlighten" these Indians by sponsoring a visit of the chiefs to Washington, D. C. so that they would realize how feeble they were.51

The first major land cession by the Winnebagoes was in the Treaty of 1829. Approximately one third of their land, which included the rich lead deposits, was relinquished. In payment, the United States agreed to distribute eighteen thousand dollars to the Winnebagoes annually for thirty years. Fifty barrels of salt were to be provided annually for the same period of time. Thirty thousand dollars in goods and three thousand pounds of precious tobacco were to

50Ibid.
be distributed "immediately." The series of major treaties concerning the diminishing of Winnebago land had begun.

The government's policy of mass Indian evacuation was established through the Indian Removal Act of 1830. President Jackson was quoted as stating, "I have long viewed treaties with the Indians an absurdity not to be reconciled to the principles of our government." Later the Supreme Court issued its decision of Worcester vs. Georgia in 1832 declaring that:

A weak nation in order to provide for its safety may place itself under the protection of one more powerful, without stripping itself of its rights of government, and ceasing to be a state. Jackson was reported to have said in disagreement, "John Marshall had made his decision; now let him enforce it." Indian policy continued to be established under such prejudice along with ignorance of the conditions on the frontier. In spite of Jackson's personal feelings, the policy of making treaties with Indian "dependent nations" continued.

52Kappler, op. cit., p. 215.
54Ibid.
55Hicks, op. cit., p. 399.
The next major treaty signed by the Winnebagoes was in 1832 following another Indian clash. The Black Hawk War, fought between the Sauk and Fox and the United States in the year 1832, soon involved the Winnebagoes who were located in the vicinity of the action. Black Hawk, a Sauk chieftain, was forced to the west side of the Mississippi River by gross intrusion of his land by white settlers after the planting season. His followers were starving and consequently returned to the east side of the river for food. The ever suspicious whites sent out the alarm that the Sauk had returned to fight and had formed an alliance with other Indian nations. This resulted in an emergency action by the settlers and the army in raising military units made up of green recruits. Twice during the "war," once before any conflict had begun and once near the conclusion of the episode, the Sauk tried to surrender, but the inexperienced troops fired upon the white flag. The concluding action in August of 1832 at Bad Axe River was a massacre of the Indians in which only one hundred fifty of the original one thousand starving men, women, and children survived.56

Throughout the engagement the Winnebagoes were sympathetic to Black Hawk and his followers. The Winnebagoes were criticized for being spies for the Sauk and Fox during

56Billington, op. cit., pp. 299-300.
the entire campaign. They also were accused of giving their rations, which were dealt out to "friendly nations," directly to the Sauk camp.

The Winnebagoes were of service to the United States also. They were called upon as intermediaries between the two nations, which resulted in the successful return of two white girl captives. A number of the tribe served as scouts for the United States army. The Winnebagoes were relatively neutral in the campaign but were decisively affected by the treaty following the action.57

The Treaty of Fort Armstrong was concluded September 15, 1832, at Rock Island by commissioners General Winfield Scott and General John Reynold. The Winnebagoes were forced to give up all of their land south and east of the Wisconsin River and the Fox River at Green Bay in return for a tract in Iowa which was, by treaty, neutral ground between the Sauk and Fox and the Sioux tribes. The land was to be held by the Winnebagoes "as other Indian lands are held." It continued to state that since the country which was ceded by the Winnebagoes was more extensive and valuable, the United States would pay the Winnebagoes ten thousand dollars annually for twenty-seven years and would also provide for the establishment and maintenance

of a school for the same period of time. Teachers of agriculture as well as of academic courses were to be employed. The usual provision of a large amount of tobacco was added to the agreement. 58

The date for the evacuation for the Winnebagoes from the portion of their homeland that not only provided for their means of support but also contained strong cultural and religious symbols was June 1, 1833. The Winnebagoes were truly absorbed in the United States policy of "Indian Removal," having been legally dispossessed of their land after two centuries of contact with the white man.

This marked the start of a period, for a portion of the tribe, of stubborn resistance to removal and repeated visitations of their homeland, no matter what the treaties stipulated; for the other portion it meant a period of approximately thirty-one years of migration to five reservations located in four different states. Those who adhered to the treaties and relocated themselves eventually became known as the Nebraska Winnebagoes.

58 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

WINNEBAGO REMOVAL

In the span of years which included the movement of the Winnebagoes from Wisconsin to Nebraska, an attempt was constantly made by the government to "civilize" the tribe while it continued to place the nation, time and again, in an area outside of the tidal wave of the white settler's westward expansion.

Representative Everett, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, reported at the very onset, in 1834, that "the present policy of the government in respect to Indians is to civilize them."\(^1\) Secretary of War Lewis Cass endorsed this statement with his own during the same year, "...to promote their improvement and civilization... the leading principle...of our legislation."\(^2\)

The years 1834 through 1865 were a period during which academic and industrial schools were started, buildings erected and abandoned as the Indians moved from one location to another. The period was marked by starvation, and forced removal was repeated in the displacement of the tribe from Winnebago territory in Wisconsin to Neutral

\(^1\)James C. Malin, *Indian Policy and Westward Expansion* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1921), p. 19.

Ground, Iowa; Long Prairie, Minnesota; Blue Earth, Minnesota; Crow Creek, South Dakota; and finally Winnebago Reservation, Nebraska. The pattern was the same; only the location changed. On each emplacement the attempt at civilizing the Indians continued.

By the early 1830's the Winnebagoes believed that little was to be gained by adopting the religion and customs of the whites. Mrs. Kinzie quotes the Winnebagoes as saying:

'Look at them,' they say, 'always toiling and striving...always wearing a brow of care...shut up in houses...afraid of the wind and deprived of the comforts of life! We, on the contrary, live a life of freedom and happiness. We hunt and fish and pass our time pleasantly in the open woods and prairies. If we are hungry, we take some game; or, if we do not find that, we can go without. If our enemies trouble us, we can kill them, and there is no more said about it. What should we gain by changing ourselves into white men?'

This viewpoint was prevalent as the tribe was gradually being forced from their habitat. It was under this atmosphere that the first Winnebago school was established.

The first move by the government to promote education among the Winnebagoes was in the treaty of 1832 between the tribe and the United States. It stipulated that a school was to be constructed for them in the vicin-

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Mrs. John H. Kinzie, Wau-Bun (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1901), p. 266; Mrs. Kinzie was the wife of an agent for the Winnebago Indians.
nity of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and an expenditure of
not more than three thousand dollars per year for twenty-
seven years was to be made for its support. The government
was to lodge, board, and clothe the students.4

A contract for the construction of a new school
was made in 1834, and the following year a two story stone
structure was located on the Yellow River in Iowa, six miles
up the stream from the Mississippi and ten miles from
Prairie du Chien. This school lay adjacent to a small rich
prairie which was employed for farming operations. Presi-
dent Jackson appointed the Reverend David Lowry, a Presby-
terian minister, as superintendent of the institution.5

The students were tutored by the Reverend Lowry and
his wife Mary Ann. The enrollment consisted of only six
pupils when the school was inspected by Indian Agent Joseph
M. Street on April 30th. In May three new pupils enrolled
to increase the number to nine.6

The poor attendance at the Yellow River Winnebago
Indian School was of some concern to the whites in the area.

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4 Charles J. Kapoler, (comp. and ed.), Indian Affairs

5 Publius V. Lawson, "The Winnebago Tribe", The
Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. VI, (Milwaukee, Wisc., July
1907), p. 112.

6 Bruce E. Mahan, Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier
The *Northern Gazette* and the *Galena Advertiser* of April 2, 1836, complained bitterly of such a waste of money in educating nine Winnebago pupils. The censure of the newspapers was part of a pattern of discontent with their Indian neighbors.  

One of the major reasons for the poor enrollment was that most of the Winnebagoes were still on the east side of the Mississippi River. They were reluctant to move to "Neutral Ground" for fear of retaliation by the Sioux or the Sauk and Fox. These tribes insisted that the neutral territory between the two tribes was, by treaty, not to be assigned to any other Indian nation. Chief Wabesha of the Sioux stated that before he would consent to the area being occupied by the Winnebagoes he should be paid additional annuities. There were contradictory statements by witnesses who were present when the treaty establishing the territory was made.

Mr. Joseph Rollette and Mr. Hercules L. Dausman, of the American Fur Company, along with two others, corroborated Wabesha's contention although some questioned their motives in doing so. It was said that they were anxious to obtain the annuities which would be paid to the Sioux, and

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8Senate Doc. No. 215, 24th Cong., 1st Sess.
for the same reason, they wanted the Winnebagoes in the immediate vicinity. In the past, within a few hours after the Winnebagoes received their annual payment, the traders had all the money; and the Indian, in return, had only a small amount of goods. The Indians were often in worse condition after having received their treaty payment because the bartering usually was climaxed by disgraceful orgies in which several Indians would be killed in drunken fights.9

The plight of the Winnebagoes was increased by the limited area from which they could maintain their subsistence. They were afraid to move to Neutral Ground, and they were illegally located south of the Wisconsin River. The only alternative was to move north of the Wisconsin River, which was "a sterile, barren region, almost destitute of game and very unfavorable to any of the products raised by the Indians."10 It was not long before most of the tribe had filtered back to their familiar grounds.

The Winnebagoes had lost their strength to retaliate by force against their unsatisfactory conditions. In 1836 they were weakened even more extensively by an epi-

9Ibid.
10Ibid.
demic of small pox in which one fourth of the tribe died.\textsuperscript{11} The Indians, under the circumstances, took what food was available and killed some of the settler's cattle and hogs. Homeless, they were driven from place to place, and some of the young men were known to have been whipped by the white men.\textsuperscript{12} The braves who had once supported themselves by hunting, traded off their guns and blankets and were reduced to begging. It was suggested that the most desirable situation would be arrived at if the Winnebagoes were removed from the white man's vicinity.\textsuperscript{13}

A treaty was made with the tribe in November of 1837 in which all of their land east of the Mississippi was ceded. They were to move to Neutral Ground within eight months and relinquish the right to occupy the eastern twenty miles of the new territory except for hunting.\textsuperscript{14}

The Winnebagoes reluctantly moved to Iowa within the vicinity of their government school. In December of 1837 the school roster grew to forty-one pupils, fifteen boys and twenty-six girls. Eleven of these pupils boarded

\textsuperscript{11}House Report No. 2503, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess.


\textsuperscript{13}Senate Doc. No. 215, 24th Cong., 1st Sess.

\textsuperscript{14}Kappler, op. cit., p. 367.
and roomed at the school, but the rest returned home each day with rations of pork, salt, and meal. Clothing was also furnished for all who were enrolled. With the increase in attendance, it was necessary to add two teachers to the staff. The following year there was a slight drop in enrollment, but the number retained was the maximum that the appropriations would allow them to hold. There was also a shortage of room. 15

The progress of the pupils was not as rapid as was desired by the staff. The two main obstacles were the ignorance of the English language on the part of the pupils and the lack of cooperation on the part of the parents. The latter caused disciplinary problems and irregular attendance.

By December of 1839 the enrollment rose to seventy-nine pupils, forty-three boys and thirty-six girls. Due to this increase, an additional building was constructed. In July of that year the Reverend Lowry became the Sub-Agent, and John Thomas was chosen the new Superintendent. Three new instructors were appointed, which resulted in an entirely new staff for the school. 16

The accomplishments of the students in 1840 indica-

15 Mahan, op. cit., p. 214.
16 Minerva and Lucy Brunson and Nancy McDowell replaced Joseph and Evelyn Mills.
ted that they had competent instruction and that the young Indians had the ability to adjust to formal education. Several pupils could spell words of three to four syllables. The girls' sewing classes produced all of the clothing which was required by the pupils. Two prominent citizens of Prairie du Chien, B. W. Brisband and J. H. Lockwood, visited the school and reported that they had "never seen a more orderly or ambitious school even of the white children." The visitors went on to say that "they were astonished at the progress made by the children."¹⁷

Many Winnebagoes were influenced to return to Wisconsin by the whites who wanted to defraud them of their annuities. For the Indian it was a return to his prior village location because of homesickness and discontent with his new location. The movement was of such proportions that the state legislature proposed a memorial to the United States Congress for the Winnebago removal. In January of 1839 Governor Dodge asked for four companies of dragoons for their forceful dislodgment. Dodge's plan was put into effect in the spring of 1840 by General Atkinson and two regiments of United States Infantry.¹⁸

¹⁷Mahan, op. cit., p. 216.

In that same year the white men were making it a general practice of purchasing guns, horses, provisions, and goods from the Winnebagoes in exchange for whiskey. They sold the same articles back at exorbitant prices when the Indians received their annuities. The tribe degenerated to the point that there were thirty-nine reported murdered in drunken brawls in fourteen months.\(^{19}\)

The tribe was moved away from the Mississippi River deeper into their Iowa reservations in October, 1840, because of the undesirable influence of the white men upon them. This policy also terminated the operation of the second school of the Winnebagoes. The teachers were dismissed and the school buildings were sold.\(^{20}\)

A third school opened in the fall of 1841. It was located in Iowa on the Turkey River, four and one-half miles from Fort Atkinson. A farm was immediately established by government employees who plowed one thousand five hundred acres of land and put four hundred fifty acres under cultivation.\(^{21}\) The school and agency officials could not induce the Winnebagoes to give any serious attention to agri-

\(^{19}\) Van der Zee, op. cit., pp. 329-30.

\(^{20}\) Mahan, op. cit., p. 217.

culture even though the major effort to "civilize" them was directed toward interesting them in the cultivation of the soil. The men held to the practice which had been established for centuries, that it was degrading for a man to farm. The braves were willing to let the agency plow the fields and women cultivate them.\textsuperscript{22} The braves sought to supply most of their wants from nature's storehouse by fishing and hunting. Most of the children desired no academic teacher, only the Great Spirit.\textsuperscript{23}

The attempt to teach the Winnebagoes to raise livestock met with similar resistance. The Indians killed the chickens, hogs, milk cows, or oxen whenever they were hungry or for the mere pleasure of a simulated hunt. The garrison was necessary to guard the agency animals.\textsuperscript{24}

The principal of the school reported that due to the dread of restraint, irregularity of attendance, and general ignorance of the English language, it was "impossible to keep two people in the same degree of advancement."\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{footnotes}
\item Van der Zee, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 339, 341.
\item Thomas P. Christiansen, \textit{The Iowa Indian, A Brief History} (Iowa City: Athens Press, 1954), p. 69.
\item Letter from David Lowry to Henry Dodge, January 11, 1841, \textit{The Boyd Letter File} (Winnebago Indian Agency, Winnebago, Nebraska).
\item Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1, 28th Cong., 1st Sess.
\end{footnotes}
The academic courses provided were reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and the construction of sentences. The girls, when weary of study turned to sewing. The sewing class produced sixty-five shirts, fifty pantaloons, sixty gowns, eight coats, and over thirty miscellaneous items in a three month period. Boys not old enough to attend school were allowed to work on the farm from one to two hours a day.

The academic education of the Winnebagoes showed some progress although the Reverend Lowry had much criticism of the textbooks. The volumes used were the same as those found in the average white school and were not conducive to the Indian's best learning. Subjects mentioned in the assignments were common to the white children but were unknown to the Indian. The English language was a foreign tongue, and therefore the texts were difficult to understand. The geographies introduced foreign countries and areas which held little interest for the Indian child but ignored their immediate surroundings. Lowry wanted books which would be better fit for Winnebago education. Lowry did not continue with these demands because he was

26 Swisher, op. cit., p. 262.
27 ibid., p. 345.
transferred to be Indian agent for the Sauk.

Sub-Agent James McGregor took office in 1844. Personal difficulties arose between McGregor and Superintendent Seymour of the school. Later that year McGregor discharged the entire staff. The reasons he gave for their dismissal were that "the teachers exercised no moral influence over the Indians and that the instructors were incompetent to discharge their duties."

McGregor recommended the appointment of Reverend Joseph Cretin, a Catholic priest of Dubuque, as principal. A strenuous effort on the part of Cretin's friends was made to secure his appointment. Seymour protested to Governor Chambers. Major Dearborn and other officers at Fort Atkinson sent testimonials in Seymour's behalf. As a result, the teachers were returned to their positions.

The next year Father Cretin requested permission to establish a mission school in the area but was refused on the grounds that it was too close to the government institution.

In 1846 the Reverend Lowry returned as Superintendent. He established shopwork as part of the boys' train-

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29 Mahan, op. cit., p. 233.

30 Ibid.
and added cooking and knitting to the sewing classes for the girls. The academic work also went exceedingly well with the utilization of a variety of text books.\(^{31}\) These are shown on the illustration on page seventy. There were forty students who could write with a legible hand. The enrollment of the school rose to two hundred and forty-nine, which was then the largest obtained in their history. This was contrasted with the one hundred and sixty-six, which was reported by the outgoing superintendent.\(^{32}\) The Reverend Lowry "no longer doubted the practicability of educating the Winnebagoes."\(^{33}\)

At the height of this confidence in the school, pressures were being imposed to remove the Winnebagoes from Neutral Ground. The Iowa legislature made a formal request for the tribe's relocation since the representative's constituents were very unhappy with the Indians as neighbors.\(^{34}\) The Indian philosophy of letting tomorrow take care of itself resulted in their lacking all but immediate necessities. The tribe, therefore, continued to be vulnerable to whiskey sellers, which caused them to maintain a course of

\(^{31}\) Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.

\(^{32}\) Ibid.

\(^{33}\) Mahan, op. cit., p. 234.

\(^{34}\) House Report No. 324, 29th Cong., 1st Sess.


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degradation. A final reason for a change of location was that Neutral Ground, although fertile, was open and timberless country compared to their forest home and consequently caused difficulty and dissatisfaction among the tribe.

In October, 1846, the Winnebagoes ceded "all claims to land," and a site was purchased for them at Long Prairie, north of the St. Peters and west of the Mississippi Rivers in what is now central Minnesota. The exact location can be seen on the illustration on page seventy-two. It was to be not less than eight hundred thousand acres and was to be "suitable to their habits, wants, and wishes." In May, 1848, the Winnebago school in Iowa was brought to an end with the removal of the tribe to Long Prairie, Minnesota.

Henry M. Rice, who was known and trusted by the Winnebagoes, made a contract with the government to move the tribe to their new home. He hired four half-breeds to visit the different camp sites of the tribe, which were spread over Iowa and Wisconsin. He paid them a commission

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37 Margaret W. Koenig, Tuberculosis Among the Nebraska Winnebago (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1921), p. 2.
38 Kappler, op. cit., p. 427.
39 Henry M. Rice charged a rate of seventy dollars per head and was later accused of profiting three times the cost of the move.
FIGURE 3

WINNEBAGO RESERVATIONS AT LONG PRAIRIE
AND BLUE EARTH
per head for the number that they induced to relocate. The Winnebagoes were reluctant to leave because the land selected was again located between two warring tribes, the Sioux and the Chippewa. They also were being influenced to stay by the traders and whiskey dealers who were anxious for them to be located in the immediate vicinity. Only one half of the tribe was moved to Long Prairie.40

Upon their arrival the Winnebagoes found that there had been few provisions made for maintaining them, and they were compelled to seek subsistence by hunting. The little seed that was planted was destroyed by the frost.

The winter of 1849 was severe, and it was difficult for the tribe to cope with their new environment. Many of the tribe came down with scurvy and other ailments. By the end of the winter, many had returned to Wisconsin.

The Reverend Lowry reported that the new school at Long Prairie was opened January 29, 1849, and closed May 26 of the same year.41 At the beginning there was opposition to the school, which was caused by the dissatisfaction over the new reservation. The ill feeling was increased by traders who had an influence over the Indians but were unsympathetic to their progress.

40 Van der Zee, op. cit., p. 334.
The resistance was partially counteracted by increasing the rations which the pupil received for attending school. The attendance was increased to seventy pupils, but funds ran out and the school was closed.

In 1850 a Dubuque newspaper charged that Long Prairie was "unfit for the inhabittance of man." The Winnebagoes found that the game was not as plentiful, the soil was not as fertile, and the climate was more inhospitable than any other place that they had lived. Several hundred of the tribe returned to Wisconsin and begged for subsistence from the settlers. If they were refused, it was not uncommon for them to slaughter a beef or steal some other property. The reactions to these actions brought about a roundup of the Indians and a forceful removal to Long Prairie. The Winnebagoes felt that after they had reluctantly given up their home, the government had little consideration for them and did not intend to permit them to remain permanently anywhere. The tribe was in this frame of mind when the new Indian school was established.

Reverend Joseph Cretin, now Bishop of St. Paul, concluded a contract with the government to operate a board-

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43 Lawson, op. cit., p. 114.
ing school for the Winnebagoes. The signing of the agree-
ment on January 1, 1853, was nine years after his original
attempt to obtain this school at the Yellow River in Iowa.
It was with great anticipation that he appointed Reverend
Canan Francis de Vivaldi the superintendent and two Sisters
of St. Joseph the teachers.45

The problem of obtaining good attendance was iden-
tical to that experienced by the Reverend Lowry five years
before. There was a lack of cooperation on the part of the
parents and a corrupting influence by some of the whiskey
sellers and fur traders. Vivaldi resorted to the same
measures as the Reverend Lowry had used. Food allocations
that were given to the students were increased, and atten-
dance grew to a daily average of forty-three.46

The daily schedule included a five hour day. In
the vocational program, emphasis was placed upon sewing and
farming. The farm consisted of seventeen acres. The major
objective was to interest the Indians in becoming farmers,
but they continued to manifest little enthusiasm for agri-
culture.

Vivaldi recommended that they should continue to be

45 Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle
46 Ibid.
taught the mechanical arts. He also emphasized the necessity of changing their attitude toward labor so that they would look upon it as a duty and not a degradation. This same point had been made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1838 and the Winnebago Indian Agent in 1851.47 Although some of Vivaldi's programs had merit, the school was given up by the church as a financial failure after two years of operation.48

In 1855 the Winnebago Indians were moved again, but this time it was to the rich rolling land of the Blue Earth Reservation. This new home, consisting of only eighteen square miles, was located ten miles from Mankato, Minnesota, near the Soer River.49 The exact location is shown on page seventy-two.

The Indians were satisfied with their new possession because it was similar to the land they had held in Wisconsin. Finally the Winnebagoes felt that they had found a permanent home. The treaty stipulated that the head of each family or any single person over twenty-one could have a reasonable amount of land, not over eighty acres, allotted

49Kappler, op. cit., p. 318.
to them. The patents for the land exempted it from taxation, sale, or forfeiture for the protection of the Indian. The land would not be theirs without restrictions until fifteen years had passed and then only upon the discretion of the President of the United States. The only members of the tribe that would receive their eighty acres with clear title would be the half-breeds.50

A meeting was held by the citizens to protest the Indian invasion of their community. The Winnebagoes' condition improved in the face of neighborhood jealousies. There was some drunkenness on the part of the Winnebagoes and a few wandered back to Wisconsin, but generally the tribe was quiet and peaceful.51 For the first time in their history, the Winnebagoes were inclined toward farming.

In order to realize the allotment pattern established by the treaty of 1855, houses, barns, livestock, and farm implements were needed. After unsuccessfully requesting funds from the Federal government, they entered into the treaty of 1859. By this agreement they sacrificed the eastern half of their reservation as a method of obtaining

50Ibid.

the necessary equipment.\textsuperscript{52}

The conditions of the school improved along with the general status of the tribe. The enrollment increased, and the school farm progressed. Amidst this period of great enthusiasm, the school was closed in 1860 as a result of the withdrawal of government support. The twenty-seven years of school annuities made in the old treaties had expired, and no provision for schooling was made in any of the current agreements with the tribe.\textsuperscript{53}

Agent Saint A. D. Balcombe reported in 1862 that a "manual labor school" was needed on a broad basis so as to "insure permanent benefit" to the people. He requested that a fund sufficient to establish such a school on a prosperous basis be immediately devoted to this end. It was a "necessity."\textsuperscript{54} These suggestions were ignored.

In that same year, 1862, the Sioux of Minnesota started a major uprising. The Winnebagoes took no part in the action and, in fact, offered their services to punish the Sioux. After peace was again established, the frightened inhabitants of the state insisted upon the removal of all

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52}Kappler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 598.
\item \textsuperscript{53}Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.
\item \textsuperscript{54}Department of Interior, \textit{Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs} (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 64.
\end{itemize}
Indians from Minnesota. This was brought about by a special act of Congress which designated Crow Creek near Pierre, South Dakota as their future reservation.\(^5\) The exact location is shown on page eighty.

The Winnebagoes were hurried from their homes in 1863, almost without previous notice. They were told that they would receive a tract of land at least equal in extent and quality to that which they were leaving. Their guns were taken from them as were their agricultural, blacksmith, and carpenter tools.\(^6\)

They were huddled on steamboats, taken down the Mississippi, up the Missouri, to the Crow Creek Agency in South Dakota.\(^7\) In all, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five Winnebagoes left along with the Sioux. In the heat of summer they were transferred in overcrowded conditions, always being kept below deck. They were fed hard bread and pork that much of the time was not cooked. Sickness such as diarrhea and fevers developed, and sixteen died without attention or medical supplies. As a result of the trip, one hundred and fifty had died at the rate

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\(^6\)Ibid., p. 3.

FIGURE 4

CROW CREEK RESERVATION-1864
of two or three a day after they arrived at Crow Creek. The Winnebago's new reservation at Crow Creek was ten miles wide and twenty miles long and divided from the Sioux, who had sworn to annihilate them, by Soldiers Creek. A drought had made the ground so hard that it was difficult to find a plow strong enough to break it. The only timber was some knotted and diseased cottonwood. The Missouri River channel was so changeable and the banks so low that a settlement could not be made within one-half mile of the river. There was very little small game, fish, or wild fruit.

The conditions at the reservation did not improve. Unfertile land and frequent droughts provided little possibility of successfully raising a crop. The soil yielded no food for the Winnebagoes during their entire stay at Crow Creek. No clothing had been issued to the tribe since 1862, and they suffered for want of proper apparel.

The rations provided for them consisted of chipped beef or soup, which was alternated each day. The beef was black and decomposed since it was slaughtered in January.

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60 Jackson, op. cit., pp. 232-33, 235.
61 Ibid.
and stored in the snow for six months. The soup contained all of the organs of the animal including the entrails. The contents of the entrails could be smelled from a distance; the Indians found evidence of it on the bottom of the bowls after the meal. 63

Even though the area was so inhospitable, a school building was among the first to be constructed. It was twenty-two by forty feet, one story, twelve feet high with siding of wide lumber running vertically. 64

The Crow Creek school was not open for the full year because of the restlessness of the tribe. In 1864 the school was opened under the direction of two full blooded Indians, Bradford S. Porter and Elizabeth Humphrey. 65 The emphasis of the school was on teaching the English language to the Indians. A farm program was not started because of the poor soil, and the sewing program was not taught since material was not available. There was little hope of much advancement in the civilizing of the Indians at the school.

After little more than a year, the tribe was reduced from a prosperous condition to one of starvation. They went to points where army expeditions had camped and

63 Ibid., pp. 137-38.
64 House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess.
65 Ibid.
looked for kernels of corn that had been left by the horses. They also would pick up dead mules and horses left by the military and eat them. Many of their women were compelled to prostitute themselves in order to obtain something to eat. 66

The conditions became so unbearable that the tribe made plans to escape. They realized that nothing would grow on the reservation; and if they stayed, they would eventually starve or die of disease. They clandestinely cut down trees, made canoes, and slipped down the river in spite of the military guards and sought refuge with the Omahas in northeast Nebraska. 67

This mass movement of the Winnebagoes from Crow Creek to the Omaha reservation was the only time that they were not relocated to a new home by force or as a result of a treaty. Within a period of thirty years the nation's real estate had dwindled from a large tract of valuable property to a small area of little worth. The Winnebagoes, who had once been a proud and stubborn people, were now a group of disorganized, homeless beggars. The Omahas took pity upon them and shared their land with the refugees.

66 Mannedpenny, op. cit., p. 139.
67 Brown, op. cit., p. 344.
CHAPTER V

EARLY PERIOD IN NEBRASKA

The Winnebagoes' early history in Nebraska from 1864 to 1910 was one in which the tribe, having reached its lowest ebb, attained unprecedented prosperity. It was a period that brought about a variety of schools, individual land allotments, and a return of tribal pride. The Indian children were enrolled in school with the whites by 1910, but the major problem of the Indian agent was still the matter of "civilizing" the Winnebagoes.

The goal in educating the Winnebagoes was to have them function independently in the white man's world. They had arrived at the Omaha reservation in small destitute bands over a period of nine months until, by the end of 1864, the entire tribe was located in Nebraska.1 Many were afflicted with tuberculosis, syphilis, and other diseases. They had a habit, which persisted for several years, of looking for dead animals for food.2 The attitude of the tribe was that no pledge made by the white man

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2Margaret W. Koenig, Tuberculosis Among the Nebraska Winnebago (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1921), p. 30.
to the Indian needed to be carried out. The need for a reservation which could accommodate them was immediate.

A treaty was made in March of 1865 which provided that they would receive land of the same nature and size as they had occupied in Minnesota. The northern third of the Omaha reservation was purchased as the new Winnebago reserve. They were to be given guns, horses, cows, oxen, and farm implements. The government was to build agency buildings, including a school. The boundary lines of this new home encompassed an area seven miles wide and twenty-four miles long, having an abundance of water and timber. It was located twenty miles south of Sioux City, Iowa, and eighty miles north of Omaha, Nebraska, bordering the Missouri River. The exact location can be seen on the map on page eighty-six. The first step had been taken toward establishing some stability for the tribe.

There were some indications that the tribe was striving for a higher standard. One hundred men had met their obligation as warriors and had joined the northern army during the Civil War. Another and more significant indication was evidenced by a petition to Congress signed

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4Irown, op. cit., p. 373; One half of them served in Co. C and D of the Nebraska Volunteers.
FIGURE 5
THE NEBRASKA WINNEBAGO RESERVATION
by thirty-eight chiefs and head men praying for "a school for our children...to read and write and work like white people." The initiation of formal education for the tribe in Nebraska came shortly thereafter.

The schools for the Winnebagoes were introduced in rapid succession. The first was erected by Bradford Porter with the assistance of a Winnebago named Charles Prophet. It was completed in 1866 and classes were started the following year. This building was difficult to heat as it was made of green lumber and poorly constructed. Another school was put into operation by 1869. Although enthusiasm for the white man's education subsided, as indicated by the indifference shown by the older people and by poor attendance records, a third school was started in 1871.

Even though the enrollment was small, the Winnebago student showed a potential for academic learning. There were approximately two hundred forty-five children of school age on the reservation, and an average attendance of seventy-seven was recorded. The curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and geography. One

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6 Bradford Porter was one of the two full blooded Indians who taught the Winnebagoes in South Dakota.

principal reported that "the natural talents evinced by the Indian children indicate an equality with those of our race." The judgment was made in a classroom atmosphere since there was no farm program in the school.

Their interest in agriculture, however, was negligible. The first year on the reservation they cut prematurely a good crop of barley and sold it for hay to the cavalry. The little work done in the fields was accomplished by the women. The men still were devoted to the old life of hunting and traveling. The Indians received most of their subsistence from the government.

Anticipation of the motivating result of ownership and the assurance of permanency of the location were the main reasons for the allotment of 1871. As a preliminary step, a census had been taken in 1869, and the official count was one thousand three hundred thirty-five. There were thirteen bands or families recorded. The groups led by Big Bear, Little DeCarie, Young Prophet, and Grey Wolf included approximately one half of the tribe's popu-

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9Brown, op. cit., p. 349.
11For an explanation of a band see page eight.
lation. By the end of 1871 the allotment of the land was nearly completed. The patents contained provisions against sale, attachments, and taxation. The head of every family received an eighty acre plot of land, and proportional tracts were given to orphans and single adults. In all, four hundred twenty allotments were made, and these later became known as the "Leming Allotment."

The satisfaction of the tribe was obvious when they ignored the old system of selecting chiefs for the tribe and held a democratic election. All of the older men who had been chiefs in the tribe were defeated, and the younger men took over. The term of office for the elected chiefs was one year. As a result of the three year delay in the issuing of the government patents for the land, the optimism of the tribe declined; and all of the older men regained their positions.

Although the enthusiasm of the Winnebagoes had waned, the tribe made progress. The dress of the people had changed and resembled that of the whites. The men started working for the farmers in the area during the harvest, and the town of Winnebago became a workers' pool for day labor.

12 Jackson, op. cit., p. 242; Information from Mrs.  Dan Herrick, Lease Clerk at Winnebago Indian Agency.

13 Jackson, op. cit., p. 243.

The Winnebago Indian Agent, Howard White, recognized the need for an industrial school and was instrumental in one being opened at the end of 1873. The building was brick, three stories high, and was built at a cost of twenty thousand dollars. The first day the institution opened, there were twenty-one pupils (twelve boys and nine girls). By the end of the year the attendance had increased to fifty-two (twenty-seven boys and twenty-five girls). The next year another brick building, two stories high, forty by twenty-five feet, was added to accommodate a laundry and a work shop. The farm operation included an area of fifty-three acres which was used for corn, oats, and wheat. The staff consisted of a superintendent, matron, nurse, teacher-farmer, seamstress, cook and laundress. The school accommodated eighty pupils, forty of each sex.

The old chiefs who had regained their positions in the election used their influence in keeping the children from attending schools. The agent stated, "It was almost impossible to get the students to the schoolhouse."

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15 Jackson, op. cit., p. 249.
17 House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 42nd Cong., 3rd Sess; Teachers were Lucy A. Lamb, Caroline Thomas, and Mary Bradley.
18 House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess.
schools countered this move by issuing three pounds of flour per week to the parents of the pupils who attended class for that current period.\textsuperscript{19}

Opposition to the schools continued. The adults of the tribe were in agreement with their chiefs. The boarding school maintained an average attendance of fifty-five, which was only sixty-five per cent of its capacity. The total average attendance in the country school was fifty-eight. One of the day schools was forced to close after being in session for only two weeks. The two remaining day schools were open for four and for six and one-half months, respectively.\textsuperscript{20}

The boarding school held classes for eight and one-half months. The children were quick to learn, and those students who attended regularly advanced as rapidly as whites. The programs of cooking and sewing for the girls, and shop and farming for the boys were continued.\textsuperscript{21}

The pattern of closing Winnebago schools after they had been established was consistent. Section five of the Appropriations Act of 1875 stated that an agency could not

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{20}House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess.

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
spend over ten thousand dollars per year on personnel. As a result, all of the staff of the school had to be relieved of their positions; and the school, shops, and mill had to be closed March 4, 1876. For the children the two years following the close of the boarding school was a period of slight sporadic attendance in the small day schools. Most of the gain made by the industrial school was lost.22

The tribal attitude toward the whites was one of distrust. Men from the surrounding areas were continually plotting to deprive them of their possessions. Winnebagoes from Wisconsin had been forced into box cars and shipped approximately four hundred miles to the reservation.23 This treatment was a reminder of the abuses which the tribe had suffered over the last half century.

In spite of the opposition, the government reopened the boarding school in 1878. The attendance was still a major problem. There were five hundred seventy-two of the tribe who fell between the ages of six and seventeen years of age, and less than one fourth of that number were enrolled in school. There were several reasons for this situation. One was the great distance of the schools from some of the homes, but the main reason was the persistent


23 Jackson, op. cit., p. 244.
indifference of the parents caused by the lack of the realization of the advantages of an education.\textsuperscript{24}

Agent White recommended that more schools be built so as to make school attendance convenient. He also recommended that a compulsory educational program be put in force.\textsuperscript{25} Three years later Arthur Edwards, agent for the Winnebagoes, repeated the same request.\textsuperscript{26} Compulsory school attendance was not authorized for a decade, and then it was difficult to enforce.

There was also a lack of interest in a farm program. Agricultural education for the tribe was initiated in Nebraska within the first year of their landing. Since that time the instruction was constant, and in 1871 the Laming Allotment was issued. The government provided all of the necessary means in order that a farming attempt would be successful. After seventeen years, in 1881, Agent Arthur Edwards reported that of the one hundred and thirty thousand acres of land on the reservation, the Indians were cultivating only two thousand five hundred of it. There

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24}Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissions, A Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 103.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Ibid.\textsuperscript{.}
\item \textsuperscript{26}Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior for the Year Ending June 30, 1881, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882, p. 81.
\end{itemize}
were 125,000 acres of the reservation that was unimproved and unoccupied.  

Two years later Agent Wilkinson concluded that the Winnebagoes had a "natural indifference to farming". He continued to describe them as "lithe of frame, active in mind and body, skillful as a laborer and with something of the incipient artisan in his flexible fingers". Wilkinson added that "these Indians are industrious, and their value as laborers is known to the people living near the reservation". He concluded by saying:

They as a tribe prefer to be day laborers rather than farmers. Seed time and harvest are too far apart for them, and they prefer the quicker return of the laborer, even at the expense of greater profit.  

As a follow-up to his report, Wilkinson made a strong plea for "small workshops to be fitted up".

Within four years after Wilkinson's report, the Federal government passed the Dawes Severalty Act. This legislation allotted each Indian a tract of land for his personal ownership. United States citizenship was also granted to the Indian upon receipt of his property. It was hoped by this move that the Federal government would

\[27\text{Ibid.}\]

eliminate the Indian reservations and along with it the Indian problem. 29

Special Agent Jesse F. Warner was sent to Winnebago to distribute the reservation in accordance with law. The head of a family received 160 acres, and all single people under eighteen received forty acres. Both single people over eighteen and orphans under eighteen received eighty acres. All of the land assigned was to be held in trust by the government for twenty-five years. 30 The allocation was completed in 1889 after 76,400 acres had been allotted. 31 In consideration of the Dawes Act, the Nebraska legislature organized the reservation into a county. 32

There were some legal difficulties which arose as a result of the allotment. The problem as to whether reservation criminal cases would appear in state or Federal court was of constant consideration, and many cases were found to be of concurrent jurisdiction. The rule that generally was followed was that the government had control


31Statement by Mrs. Dan Merrick, Lease Clerk at Winnebago Indian Agency, personal interview.

32Thurston County.
over land that it held in trust and all others became a state responsibility.

The trusts patents were on file with the government, and in a short time the allotments were in disorder. In organizing the records it was discovered that at times when the Indian names were too long and difficult, the Indians were given the patent under a white man's name.33 As a result of this practice, 200 allotments were cancelled since the Indian dropped the name imposed upon him and the agency did not have the Indian name on file.

Two years after the Dawes allotments had been given, the United States government passed legislation which permitted general leasing of Indian property under governmental supervision. Upon investigation, it was discovered that a company had illegally leased and subleased a large amount of land from individual Indians. The investigation reached such proportions that a committee of five United States Congressmen came to the reservation for a personal accounting.34

The conclusion to the inquiry was that the Flournoy

33 Names such as Smith, Brown, Cleveland, Lincoln, Grant, and Sheridan.

34 Senate Doc. No. 79, 54th Cong., 1st Sess.
Company, with the help of two licensed reservation traders and the agent's brother-in-law, illegally obtained control over a vast amount of Winnebago land. The Flournoy Company held 37,000 acres of land or approximately one-third of the entire reservation. They rented it at an average of sixteen and one-half cents an acre and subleased it to a farmer for one to three dollars an acre, who in turn realized five to eight dollars an acre. Then evictions were being enforced by agent Captain Beck of the Winnebago agency, the Flournoy Company officials sent their men to Omaha to buy rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition. In spite of this, there was no firing from either side.

The investigation concluded without taking any legal action against any parties other than the cancellation of the illegal leases. Captain Beck was instructed to proceed with the agency guardianship of the Indian land according to law. The agency traders were found guilty of cooperating with the Flournoy Company, selling whiskey to the Indians, and prostituting Indian squaws. In spite of this, they were allowed to do business as usual. John Ashford, one of the traders mentioned, through his consistent dealings

35 The Flournoy Company officials were John S. Leamon, John P. Meyers, and A. W. Turner.

36 Senate Doc. No. 79, 54th Cong., 1st Sess.
with the Indians, amassed one of the largest land holdings in the area, which was later called "Ashford's Ranch". The importance for the Indian to protect himself from the invading white man seemed to necessitate a more thorough education.

The schools on the reservation continued to follow the same pattern as in the past, which was the building of an active program only to have it destroyed by some unforeseen obstacle. Agent Jesse Warner praised the progress made by the students and especially noted their skill when he stated that "they compare favorably with white mechanics anywhere." The same agent complained that his competent teachers were being released to make room for political appointees. A fire destroyed the school in 1893 and again in 1898, after the agents reported good attendance and progress in the classroom and the trades. A change in the policy of the United States government to transfer the emphasis from the boarding school caused the issuance

37 Ibid.; This ranch was owned by his son in 1956.


in 1908 of an order to discontinue the government operated school at Winnebago. The Dutch Reformed Mission took over the boarding school at that time.

The education of the tribe to function effectively in a white man's world became a more critical problem. The agency records were rectified, and each Indian received the revenue from his land. The increased amount of income allowed him to purchase all of the necessities and many of the luxuries available. He only had to wait for the "rent money." White opportunists lent money to the Indians on their possessions and foreclosed on the mortgages when the Indian failed to repay the loan.

The Winnebagoes, although they exerted no effort, were becoming prosperous. This was a blow to the education of the tribe. It prompted the old philosophy of living only for the moment and not worrying about the future.

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41 Statement by Mrs. A. A. Alberts, wife and assistant to Reverend A. A. Alberts of the Dutch Reformed Mission, personal interview.


They also fell into the habit of depending upon the agency for support when temporarily in need.

It was easy for the Indian to purchase whiskey; and, as a result, his morality and health declined. Excessive drinking was so common that the town of Homer, neighboring the reservation had to close its bars. Bootleggers began working among the Indians. Disease and crime increased to such an extent that the tribe became noted for its "immoral practices."44

Seeing the dilemma caused by the Dawes Act of 1887, the United States Congress passed the Burke Act of 1906. It withheld United States citizenship from the Indians until they received their patents in fee simple and declared it illegal to sell liquor to any Indian who was not a citizen. Another stipulation allowed the twenty-five year period of trust to be shortened, providing the individual was found sufficiently adjusted to the white man's civilization.45

The Winnebagoes had little difficulty obtaining liquor from the bootleggers, and the possibility of the Indian's receiving the patent in fee simple served to create

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pressure upon the Indian and the agent. White opportunists constantly schemed to develop a plan to take the land away from the Indian. In reality, the Burke Act did little to better the conditions of the Winnebagoes.

The marriage relations of the tribe were so lax that it was very difficult to trace the descent of property. They ignored the state laws and married by Indian tradition. Although many were faithful to their vows, it was not uncommon to find that in a few months couples had changed companions and homes with the explanation that they were not compatible. These people were of a new generation and were beginning to slip away from old traditions.

A new religion was introduced to the Nebraska Winnebagoes in 1904. It utilized the mescale bean or peyote, which was a dried variety of cactus found in northern Mexico. The religion was based on the beliefs of the Medicine Lodge and the Christian religions. When peyote was taken orally or as a liquid after stewing, the user of the bean fell into a stupor and had visions "by the aid of the Holy Ghost." This religion was later given the name of the Native American Church.

The government felt that the environment on the reservation contained too many obstacles for the Indian students. It contracted off reservation private boarding schools to educate the future leaders of the tribe. They were specialized schools in Indian vocational training. Those attended by the Winnebagoes were at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Hampton, Virginia; Houghton, Iowa; and Genoa, Nebraska. These schools entered into a contract with the government to educate the Indian at an agreed upon rate of tuition and subsistence.48

The method of obtaining students was to have "round ups" with the "drummers" seeking out the students. In the fall the schools would send out men to enroll Indians from the various tribes.49 The Indian signed up for a three year period. If he paid for his own transportation, he could return at any time; but if the school paid the way, he was obligated to stay the entire term.50

An example of these institutions was Hampton, Virginia. The age limit for enrollment was twenty. One half of the school day was spent in the academic classroom, and

48Statement by Louis Armell, highly respected elderly Indian in the tribe and an alumnus of Haskell Institute, personal interview.


50Armell, op. cit.
the other half was in vocational training. There were three divisions in the academic work before advancement was made into the normal school. The detailed requirements can be seen on page one hundred four. During the harvest season the "outing system" was used. This practice was one in which the students went north to spend the summers as hired hands on farms throughout the East. They were very popular with the farmers and were in demand.

The student stayed in a building which was called the "wigwam." The building was clean and maintained by the Indians. They administered their own discipline, which was set up along military lines with the leader being called "Lieutenant." The school faculty had to intervene at times since the pupils were prone to be too harsh in giving punishment for misdemeanors.

The Winnebago Indian Agent complained that the cream of the tribe was being taken off the reservation by these institutions and this worked a hardship on the Winnebago boarding school. The average age of the students at the school dropped to eleven and one-half years.

A common complaint of the off-reservation schools was that the returning students did nothing to raise the

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51 Fey and McNickle, op. cit., p. 110.
52 Arnell, op. cit.
3rd Division (no knowledge of English or books)

First aim to teach language
Reading, Spelling, Writing, and Arithmetic

1st and 2nd Divisions

Courses
English, Geography and Arithmetic

Normal School

Arithmetic
Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division of Fractions, Addition and Subtraction of Decimals

Geography - Guyot, Geographic Reader
Form & Motions of the Earth, Diversities of Climate & Soil, Principle Rivers

Reading - Davis, Barnes, and Harper, A Reader
Clear Enunciation & Comprehension

Physiology - Blaisdell, Our Bodies and How We Live
Practical Hygiene, Effects of Alcohol & Tobacco, Prevention of Consumption, Study of the Skeleton

History - Montgomery, The Beginners America
United States History

English - Southworth and Goddard, First Lessons in English
Complete Sentences, Writing in Geography, History and Physiology, Transposing Poetry into Prose, Reproducing Sentences, Writing Letters

Vocations - Boys - Janitor, Farmer, Harness Maker, Painter, Blacksmith, Carpenter, Machinist, Shoe Repair
Girls - Sewing, Cooking, Housekeeping

FIGURE 6
CURRICULUM AT HAMPTON INSTITUTION-1894

standards of the tribe. The fault lay in the fact that there were no positions available on the reservation for these students to utilize their education. The influence of the tribe and the lack of employment caused them to fall back into their old culture.\footnote{Loring Benson Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), p. 194; Statement by Alex Peayers, Indian carpenter of the Catholic Mission, personal interview.} In reality, these students were unjustly criticized for in later years they became the leaders of the tribe.\footnote{In 1957 ten out of the twelve members of the Winnebago Indian Council were educated in off-reservation schools.}

The peak enrollment in these schools was reached in the first decade of the twentieth century. The number of students in attendance dropped to a minimum after 1910, when there was a definite shift to the public schools.

The white man's world had begun to break the hard crust of resistance that the tribe had maintained against the "civilized" life. The Winnebagoes had been educated in boarding schools and had increased contact with the white man. A new generation was not living on the reserve. They introduced a new religion which contained a part of Christianity and started attending the same school as the whites. The door was open for the adjustment which was desired by the government, adjustment to the white man's society.
CHAPTER VI

THE CURRENT PERIOD

The public school, a new type of education for the Indian youth, was to provide instruction for most of them in the current period. The Winnebagoes, in 1910, had received eighty years of formal education by the United States. They had been the object of several pieces of national legislation. It was the governmental goal that the Indian be absorbed into the civilization that surrounded him with as little difficulty as possible. The major instrument in achieving the desired end was to be, as always, the school.

The Dutch Reformed Mission served as a transitional institution in the shift to the public schools. It started its instruction after the government boarding school was discontinued. The same program of academic and vocational courses was carried on.¹

Many of the off-reservation students returned to the public school by 1912. There were about four hundred fifty young people on the reservation who knew how to read and write. All of them wore modern dress of the white man and had had daily contact with them. They were ready to

¹Statement by Mrs. A. A. Alberts, wife and assistant of the Reverend A. A. Alberts of the Dutch Reform Mission, personal interview; The Mission School carried on a farm program until 1941.
be educated with the whites.²

The first to attend the public school was the half-breeds and the others followed. When the Indians were allotted land, changing their legal status, they were placed under the laws of the state; and therefore their education became a state responsibility.³ Regardless of what government assumed the responsibility for their education, the ultimate goal desired for the Indian depended upon locating him on his allotment.

The contour of the reservation was ideal for the life that the Winnebago wished to lead. For several miles back from the river in the eastern section, the terrain was broken by hills with heavy timber and many open spaces. This unallotted tribal land was where most of the Indians chose to live. The western two-thirds of the reservation was rolling country with very few trees. It was largely occupied by whites who held the land either by lease or by purchase. The Winnebagoes had little regard for their allotment until it was cherished by white men who would


provide them with an immediate income. 4

The eastern part of the reserve was in great demand by the whites. The climate and soil made it a very productive corn area. All of the land was fenced and the area had a network of section roads leading to a major state route. The land was only a short distance from the markets of both Sioux City and Omaha. The custom of the whites was to purchase a tract and then lease the adjoining allotments. 5

Many Winnebagoes were anxious to turn their land into something that they actually desired. Car dealers would take the Indian into Sioux City or Omaha, teach him to drive, and tell him, "you get a patent and I'll get you a car." This pattern followed through for all things that seemed important to the Indian at the moment. They did not feel the need for support "as long as there was food enough in his hands to satisfy his immediate hunger." 6

The policy toward issuing patents was lax. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells took the approach toward land patents in fee simple as:

5Ibid., pp. 198, 200, 205.
6Ibid., p. 203.
It means the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen. It means reduced appropriations...the beginning of the end of the Indian problem.

Agent Kneale stated that the government's method for determining whether the Indian was ready to receive his patent or not was

...if an Indian could speak a little English...wore their hair short...garbed in the approved habiliments of civilization...and put up a plausible story, the Bureau could see no reason for denying his patent.

Most of the Winnebagoes met these prerequisites.8

The surplus money was spent without discretion.

Many owned automobiles and drove to Sioux City, where they would find a variety of diversions. The result, over a period of time, led to poor health with eighty-five per cent of the tribe contracting venereal diseases, ten per cent having tuberculosis, and fifty per cent trachoma.

The only force for the raising of their morality was the mission school.9

The Dutch Reformed Mission, in 1920, held Sunday school and maintained a boarding school. Enrollment was

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8 Kneale, op. cit., pp. 221-22.

one hundred five and ninety-two, respectively. The boarding school provided for the first six grades and had adequate teachers, but it was an isolated society and had little effect on the tribe.\textsuperscript{10}

The Saint Augustine Mission, which started in 1911, was located just north of Winnebago. It was a girls' school with provisions for educating them through the eighth grade.\textsuperscript{11} It also had little if any influence upon the tribe.

The public school had sixty Indians on the rolls who were taught the same as any white child. By 1921 eight hundred could speak English and seven hundred could write. The average Winnebago went to the seventh grade. Because of the undesirable influence at home, it did not take long for the students to fall back into all of the undesirable practices of the tribe.\textsuperscript{12}

The medicine lodge was still strong and was followed by fifty per cent of the tribe. The peyote group had the rest except for a few Christians. The old custom hung on. Men smoked and women and children chewed tobacco. The old

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., pp. 203-204.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 204.

\textsuperscript{12}Margaret W. Koenig, \textit{Tuberculosis Among the Nebraska Winnebago} (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1921), pp. 9, 15, 39.
Indian burial ceremonies were adhered to. As many as thirty Indian dances a year were held which seemed to have a demoralizing effect on the tribe.\textsuperscript{13}

An attempt was made to reestablish the Winnebagoes on their land in the early twenties by building a home on each allotment. Most of the houses contained from two to three rooms, but those for the chiefs had from five to six rooms. This plan proved unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{14}

The nationwide depression in agriculture which occurred in 1922 and continued for twenty years had its affect on the Indians also. The income of the tribe dropped and the conditions of the tribe changed from prosperity to poverty. The average per capita annual income for the Winnebagoes in 1928 was one hundred ninety-four dollars.\textsuperscript{15} They were poor, uneducated, and untrained.

The Merian study of 1928, an important study made by Johns Hopkins University, criticized the education of the tribe as not meeting the individual's "abilities and interests." Vocational training was suggested through the long attempted area of agriculture. The "educational task"


\textsuperscript{14}Koenig, op. cit., p. 32.

\textsuperscript{15}Lewis Merian et al., The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), p. 455.
included health, property control, and education.\textsuperscript{16}

Still maintaining in 1920 that the school was the solution to the problem of the Winnebagoes, the Indian department and the state of Nebraska both declared the necessity of the Indian's attending the public school. This plea was supported by an allowance to the school for the number of Indians enrolled. It was upon this suggestion and the pressure of finances that the Reverend G. A. Watermulder of the Dutch Reformed Mission closed his school and sent his students to town for their education.\textsuperscript{17}

The government wanted to establish a sense of responsibility and independence within the tribe and allowed them to create a self-governing body. The Wheeler-Howard Act was passed in February of 1934 which, if the Winnebagoes voted to adopt the provisions, would allow the tribe to incorporate and elect their own council. The officials of the tribe would have varied duties, such as the leasing of tribal land, granting emergency loans to members of the tribe, and approving loans to Indians who wished to go to school. Almost all of the decisions were subject to the

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\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 113, 384, 755.
\end{flushright}
review by the agent and the President of the United States. The tribe adopted the provisions of the act in 1936.

The Johnson-O'Mally Act was passed in order to give aid to those who were assisting in the advancement of Indians. Upon its ratification in 1934, it provided funds for the support of Indian education. It was under this legislation that financial payments were received from the government by the public school, which is pictured on page one hundred twenty-two.

In the academic and political areas, advancement was being made in 1940 even though the economic conditions of the tribe were poor. Many were on the county relief rolls receiving old age pensions or Aid to Dependent Children. Up to ninety per cent of the tribe lived in frame houses, most of them having no plumbing or electricity. Their land holdings had diminished from one hundred thirty thousand to thirty-four thousand acres. The conditions of the tribe were still poor in 1950 according to the standards of their white neighbors, but some progress had been made. A number of Indians were moving out of the country area into the surrounding villages and towns, and

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18 Fey and McNickle, op. cit., p. 196.
19 Ibid., p. 102.
20 Statistical Files for 1941, Winnebago Indian Agency.
then gradually to centers where employment was available.
Of those that were employed off the reservation, eighty
per cent were manual laborers working in packing houses, on
construction projects, or for the railroad. Others obtained
employment such as teaching, barbering, and clerical work.
The average annual family income from all sources for those
left on the reservation was nine hundred to one thousand
dollars. There were five hundred sixty-three families living
in three hundred thirty-eight houses. It was estimated that
from fifty to sixty per cent of the people were inadequately
clothed. It would be difficult to determine whether the
move off the reservation was a result of the progress made
through their education in the school or that some realized
the economic necessity of doing so. If the latter was the
case, that realization was progress in the Indian's thinking.

The voluntary movement from the reservation by the
Winnebagoes continued, and by 1956 there were four hundred
thirty-one Winnebago families living in twenty-four states.
Most of them were centered around Sioux City, Iowa; Omaha,
Nebraska; Albert Lee, Minnesota; and Chicago, Illinois.
They usually moved to areas in which they had some family
established.

22 Welfare Office Files, Winnebago Indian Agency.
The government introduced the Indian Relocation Program in Winnebago in July of 1956. This office, shown on page one hundred twenty-two, was located in the town of Winnebago. Their objective was to place young Indians in large cities so that they would learn a trade and be absorbed into that society. The age limit for the voluntary program was thirty-five, and the average size family desired was three and one half. After the application, physical, and acceptance, the family was furnished with a one-way ticket to the city selected for them. Jobs, housing, and the first four weeks of subsistence were provided for them. An allowance for clothing, furniture, and for shipping personal possessions was made available. Twenty-one families left the reservation and none had returned. The director of the operation in Winnebago said that the program was successful. He also indicated that if any difficulty arose after any Indian had withdrawn from the program, his case would be the concern of the welfare authorities of that city.

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23 The cities of San Jose, Oakland, San Francisco, Cleveland, Denver, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Dallas were used for relocation centers.

24 Fey and McNickle, op. cit., p. 150; Statement by Mr. Edwin Demery, Director of the Relocation Program for the Winnebago Indian Reservation, personal interview.

25 Statement by Mr. Edwin Demery, Director of the Relocation Program for the Winnebago Reservation, personal interview.
In contrast to the young, active movement of relocation, the influence of the old Indian culture was still found on the reservation. There were very few old members of the Medicine Lodge living in 1960. It was difficult to determine the number in the Native American Church or Peyote religion since most of the tribe had been members of the mescale bean society at one time or another. Some did not feel it contradictory to attend both the Christian and the Peyote services. The peyote symbolized a sacrament, representing the actual change to the flesh and blood of Christ. The nausea after taking the drug was believed to be the spirits removing the evil of sin and the lethargy and contentment that followed was a result of a pure soul.  

The burial according to Indian law and ritual was still held for four days and nights. Veterans of World War II and the Korean War sat all night and told of their exploits in order to assist the soul of the deceased to heaven. The members of the "friend clan" took care of the funeral arrangements.

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26 Statement by Joe Brown, one of the elder leaders of the Peyote religion, personal interview.

27 Statement by John Littlewolfe, repeated member of the Winnebago Indian Council, personal interview; For an explanation of "friend clan", see page 20.
Marriage laws were very lax. When couples were reprimanded for not going through the legal ceremony, the reply was that they had married "Indian style." Most of the young people knew very little of the old Indian culture. The grandmother usually took care of the first child; and after the second the woman settled down to make a home with the help of Aid to Dependent Children relief. It was noted that there were also many people who were very respectful of their marriage obligations.  

Every August the tribe held one of its most important gatherings in order to honor the spirits. In the current period it was called a "pow-wow" and was made with primary consideration for the whites. The date was set for his convenience so that the daily receipts from admissions would be most beneficial. Each dancer was paid five dollars an evening and additional prize money was given to the best performer.  

The decorations used ignored the old Indian markings to denote accounts of bravery but stressed color and design. The symbols for war honors could have been worn because Little Priest, who died of  

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28 Statement by Sam Rivin, influential merchant on the reservation for over thirty years, personal interview.  

29 Statement by Joe Brown, Winnebago Indian Council Member and committeeman for pow-wow celebrations, personal interview.
wounds during the Civil War, gave this right to all of the brave after his time. The older Indians held the honor of being the drummers during the dances but later taught the young members of the tribe. After the ceremonies for the public were over, the tribe held its private celebration. The participants in their various capacities are shown in the illustration on page one hundred nineteen.

The excessive use of liquor on the reservation still persisted. The citizens would give a dollar for a carton of cigarettes in order that the Indian might accumulate two dollars to buy a seventy-five cent bottle of muscatelle wine. This situation ceased to exist when the Nebraska legislature passed a bill legalizing the sale of liquor to Indians, but the amount of liquor consumed by the tribe did not diminish. The arresting of drunks kept the town marshall, who was the sole source of law enforcement, busy at the jail, as shown on page one hundred thirty-four.31

30 Statement by Frank Beaver, president of Winnebago Indian Council and a historian for the tribe, personal interview.

31 Statement by Sam Rivin, influential merchant on the reservation for over thirty years, personal interview.
subsistence of prisoners. Indians constituted one third of
the population of Thurston County. The county sheriff
refused all prisoners from Winnebago except those who had
committed major crimes. The town could not afford to keep
prisoners overnight because of payroll and food costs. All
Indians convicted and fined for petty crimes were mustered
in the morning, cleaned the highway through the town for the
day, and were discharged for the night. This was repeated
until the fine was paid for. Three Winnebagoes working
off their fines are shown on page one hundred thirty-four.

The dependency of the people upon their allotments
had diminished because of heirship. There were some allot­
ments that had one hundred heirs to a forty acre tract of
land. Some heirs waited for years for their share to
amount to one dollar, the minimum amount sent from the
agency. There were still a few large land holdings, but
the issuance of patents continued.

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32 State Aid for County Law Enforcement Curtailed in
Nebraska, A Report Prepared by the Institute of Indian
Studies No. 10 ( Vermillion: State University of South Dakota,

33 Statement by Clarence Bentz, Winnebago Nebraska
town marshall, personal interview.

34 Statement by Angella Littlebeaver, repeated member
of the Winnebago Indian Council, personal interview.
Federal government policy in the fifties was one of attempted termination of Federal supervision of the Indians. It had been lenient in the issuance of patents in fee simple.\textsuperscript{35} The Winnebago Indian Agency was to have been closed and moved to the area office in Aberdeen, South Dakota but was saved by political pressure from local white men. The State of Nebraska refused to accept responsibility for the health of the Indians, so it was turned over to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States.\textsuperscript{36}

The tribal council attempted to solve the various problems of the tribe. In order to be more effective politically and to cooperate in the problems at hand, the tribe joined an intertribal council with the Santee Sioux and the Omaha. They discussed methods of raising money for the tribe, educating the young and the old, improving law enforcement on the reservation, improving health conditions within the tribe, and influencing Indian legislation. They were handicapped by the loss of many of the young leaders of the tribe who had volunteered for the vocational training in the relocation program.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35}Fey and McNickle, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{36}Statement by Sam Rivin, influential merchant on the reservation for over thirty years, personal interview.

\textsuperscript{37}Statement by Angella Littlebeaver, repeated member of the Winnebago Indian Council, personal interview.
The only vocational training offered in Winnebago in 1960 was at the Saint Augustine Catholic Indian Mission. The mission expanded for a girls' school to a coeducational program in 1942. Their expansion was made possible by donations from Catholic communities throughout the nation. New dormitories, illustrated on page one hundred twenty-three, were built and three hundred sixty acres of farm land were acquired. The school provided an education through the eighth grade with vocational training for the older children by the utilization of the farm. Father Frank Haulsman, the director of the mission, felt that the Winnebagoes were not potential farmers, but wanted to instill the habit of work in the children as well as to give some support to the institution. The school provided for the continuation of the children's education in the succeeding school.38

The Catholic children were eligible to go to Marty, South Dakota, to graduate from high school upon their promotion from Saint Augustine Mission. Most of the parents were reluctant to send their children away from home, and, as a result, these students were transferred to the public

38 Statement by Sister Mary Cyrilla, principal of the Saint Augustine Mission School, personal interview.
New Dormitory at Saint Augustine Mission

Winnebago Public School

Relocation Office

Town of Winnebago

FIGURE 8

WINNEBAGO SCHOOLS AND RELOCATION OFFICE
school. There were no Winnebagoes at Marty in 1956. 39

A Federal off-reservation vocational school was located in Flandreau, South Dakota. The curriculum included baking, brick laying, and carpentering for the boys and learning to be a waitress, sewing, cooking, and housekeeping for the girls. The school was so crowded that they would admit only Winnebagoes of parents who were on relief or if one of the parents were deceased. Even with these restrictions, sixteen of the tribe were enrolled in the school in 1956. 40

Another outstate government Indian school which accepted Winnebagoes was located at Whapeton, North Dakota. An eighth grade education was provided there. It was exclusive in that it took only children from families with social problems, such as broken homes, alcoholic parents, et cetera. The enrollment in 1956 included six Winnebagoes. 41

Haskell Institute, which was supported by the United States government, offered one of the most complete educational

39Ibid.; Statement by Angella Littlebeaver, repeated member of the Winnebago Indian Council, personal interview.

40Statement by Mrs. A. A. Alberts, wife and assistant of the Reverend A. A. Alberts of the Dutch Reformed Mission, personal interview; Statement by Mr. J. Bartlet, Winnebago Agency Educational Officer, personal interview.

41Ibid.
programs, having both vocational and academic courses. It allowed Winnebagoes to enter only if there was no school available in the district in which they lived. Since this prerequisite did not apply to any of the Winnebagoes, the institute was closed to them.

The public school of Winnebago carried the real burden of the education of the tribe. There was no vocational education provided in the school program in 1960, and the curriculum was very limited in comparison with urban school systems of that day. The most advanced mathematic course provided was algebra, and the only course beyond general science was biology. Other than providing two years of home economics, there was nothing to indicate that there had been any additions to the curriculum for the Indian who constituted seventy per cent of the school enrollment.\(^4\) The curriculum was very similar to the general courses offered in many small town in the state of Nebraska as is shown on page one hundred twenty-seven.

Under the Johnson-O'Mally Act tuition, meals, and transportation for most of the Indian students was paid by the Federal government. It accounted for three fourths of the schools' operating costs. The board of education of

\(^4\) Winnebago School Records; Statement by Mr. J. Bartlet, Winnebago Agency Educational Officer, personal interview.
Winnebago received about one hundred thousand dollars, directly or indirectly, as a result of Federal aid in 1956. It was broken down to one dollar thirty-two cents for tuition, twenty cents for lunch, and twenty-three cents for transportation per day for each Indian. Additional aid was given in the form of surplus food commodities. This support was based on a school term of one hundred seventy-six days. 43

The total number of pupils enrolled in 1956 in the Winnebago public school was three hundred seventy. The staff consisted of sixteen teachers, five in the high school and eleven in the grades. A majority of those enrolled were Indians, and the drop-outs in the high school were high. This was easily seen in the chart as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the drop-outs occurred when the youths reached the age of sixteen. A study of the causes of drop-outs was made by the school superintendent, Mr. F. A. Schweitzer, and the results are shown on page one hundred
9th Grade

General Mathematics
English I
Home Economics
General Science

10th Grade

World History
English II
Typing
Algebra

11th Grade

Bookkeeping and General Business or Geometry
English III
American History
Biology

12th Grade

Home Economics
or Mechanical Drawing
Shorthand or Hygiene
English IV
World Problems

Extra-curricular------------------------Band, Chorus, and Pep Club

FIGURE 9

CURRICULUM OF THE WINNEBAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL IN 1956

Winnebago Public High School Files, Winnebago, Nebraska
twenty-nine. It revealed that the major reasons for drop-outs were the lack of interest, families moving, and broken homes. These were the usual reasons for drop-outs in most schools, but indifference to education, loose marriage laws, and constant moving were especially prevalent among the Winnebagoes. The chart also indicated that the intelligence quotient of the Winnebagoes was low, but that was true in the case of most drop-outs. Both the superintendent of the public school and the educational officer at the Indian Agency were definite in stating that the intelligence of the Winnebagoes was approximately the same as the whites; lack of application seemed to be the main problem for the Indian.

The chart on page one hundred thirty further emphasized the drop-out problem. It showed the relationship in percentage of Winnebagoes who graduated in comparison with the record made by the whites in the same class. It not only established the difference in the drop-out rate, but it also showed that usually there were some Winnebagoes who, in spite of obstacles, graduated from high school. This was a class of Indians who the government felt needed encouragement to continue their education.

The loans and grants available for aid to the Indians at the college level varied with the tribe. The general prerequisite for such assistance was a 2 or C average
TABLE II

WINNEBAGO DROP-OUTS FROM 1949-1956 OF THOSE WHO WERE IN HIGH SCHOOL ONE SEMESTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OVER 16</th>
<th>MOVED</th>
<th>BROKEN</th>
<th>ORPHANS</th>
<th>TO GOV'T.</th>
<th>CORRECTIONAL</th>
<th>PREGNANT</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOSS OF</td>
<td>AWAY</td>
<td>HOMES</td>
<td></td>
<td>SCHOOLS</td>
<td>INSTITUTIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTEREST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVE. IQ</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information from study made by Mr. F. A. Schweitzer, superintendent of Winnebago Public School.
TABLE III

FIGURES SHOWING DROP-OUTS FOLLOWING THE SAME CLASSES THROUGH THE WINNEBAGO SCHOOLS FOR THE GRADUATING CLASSES 1951-1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Class Graduated</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
<th>Percent of Winn. in Graduating Class</th>
<th>Percent of Winn. in same class when in Elem. School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind. Wh.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>3 13</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>7 8</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>0 7</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2 14</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1 13</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2 11</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information from teacher records and graduate files of Winnebago Public School.
in the student's high school record. The Winnebago was eligible for a five hundred dollar per year loan from the government for four years. The student was expected, if possible, to start repaying the government six months after graduation. The tribal council also had money available to help Winnebago students attending college. There were also a number of colleges and universities that gave special scholarships for which the Winnebago was eligible. Foundation grants such as the John Hay Whitney Foundation Opportunity Fellowships were also available. Very few of the Winnebagoes have taken advantage of these opportunities because of the lack of a desire to proceed to college, lack of initiative to apply, and lack of knowledge of their existence.

Although the opportunity for advancement seemed available, in 1960 many of the Nebraska reservation Indians were still living in the old three room house like the one illustrated on page one hundred thirty-three. Some of the homes did not have plumbing or electricity, and a few cared little to better their conditions.

In contrast, in the same year one half of the tribe

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46 Amanda H. Finley, *Higher Education Aids for Indian Young People: A Report Prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Riverside: United States Department of Interior, 1956)*, pp. 6-10, 11-14; Statement by Mr. J. Bartlet, Educational Officer at the Winnebago Indian Agency, personal interview.
was successful in making the transition to modern society. Many had moved to communities that had few Indians in the vicinity in order to be accepted on an equal footing without racial prejudice. The success of these Indians was usually overlooked, and the emphasis was placed upon the problem of the reservation Indian.

The emphasis on the reservation was to keep the Winnebago in school so that he would be taught the white man's way of life. Most of the students attended school until the age of sixteen. The old Indian culture was gone, and the tribe was either in a transitional religion or else had already turned to Christianity. The people, aside from a handful of old men, knew little of Winnebago history or traditions. The community was one in which there was a large degree of people living a marginal existence with a special desire to hang on to Indian tradition for identity and self-respect. In the transferring of the leaders from the community, the government had consequently left a large residue of Indians who needed motivation and direction. The problem of educating these Indians to adjust to the modern society was pressing.
TABLE IV

RECORD OF NON-RESIDENT WINNEBAGO INDIANS IN 1956

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>FAMILIES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chicago)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sioux City)</td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td>(193)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Albert Lee)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Twin Cities)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Omaha)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(South Sioux City)</td>
<td>(15)&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td>(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington D. C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Black River Falls)</td>
<td>(11)&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total            | 431      | 878     |

Information taken from Welfare Office, Winnebago Indian Agency.
FIGURE 10

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND INDIAN DWELLINGS
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The history of the education of the Winnebagoes reviewed the attempts made in encouraging the tribe to live as white men. It necessitated the understanding of the Indian culture that had continued to influence the tribe. A history allowed better realization of the attitudes that prevailed and the trends that took place.

The first contact with the Jesuits, the relations with the French, and final contact with the English were friendly and based on economic cooperation. There was no attempt to change the way of life of the Indian nor remove him from his land. It was the American that inflicted these changes upon him.

Through most of the past record of the Winnebagoes, the tribe had been a proud, stubborn people. In the early history they were happy, prosperous, and content. The white man arrived on the scene to improve himself economically. At first, the American's main concern was to woo the tribe away from any allegiance to foreign powers. The next step was to make definite boundaries and limit the Indians' control of valuable land. Weakened by disease, restriction, and whiskey, the Winnebagoes were easily moved from place to place whenever their land was desirable to the whites.

The Winnebagoes, who at one time had owned about
one third of the present state of Wisconsin and a section of Illinois, were finally settled on a piece of land twenty-four miles long and seven miles wide in what is now north-east Nebraska. Even a considerable amount of this land was purchased from the Indian after it had been issued to them in fee simple. The land held by the Winnebagoes in 1962 amounted to less than one-fourth of the original reservation in Nebraska and was held by the splintered ownership of several generations of heirs.

Throughout the last one hundred and twenty-five years the major objective of the Federal government has been to induce the Indian to accept the white man's way of life. The policy never deviated; the school was the device used. To speak English, learn to value material possessions, be concerned about the future and assume his responsibilities through farming were the objectives pressed upon the Indian time and time again.

In programing the education of the tribe, it seemed the argument used was that since the land was available, farming was the chief means of livelihood in the community, and the Indians were accustomed to outdoor life, farming would be the logical occupation for the Indians. The problem was that, with changing administrations and lack of understanding of the culture of the tribe, the same misconceptions and mistakes were repeated. A few years ago
a member of the Nebraska Legislature contacted the principal of the Winnebago school and suggested that agricultural training be given with the idea of having the Indians become farmers.

The Indians seemed to be adept in trades such as carpentry and mechanics and were willing to work at a job which provided an immediate income. Suggestions for a trade school were made repeatedly and whenever attempted proved successful.

In the light of past experience it would seem that a good trade school is needed. The lack of interest in the education given in the school might have resulted from its failure to provide a higher standard of living. It might be more effective to educate the child in a trade rather than wait to have the child become a family provider that is in dire need of assistance and transfer him with burdensome responsibilities to a strange city and hope for success. If this plan were only partially successful, it would result in ultimate financial saving for the Federal, state, and county governments. It is through the education of the youth, who constitute fifty-two per cent of the reservation that the salvation of the Winnebagoes lies.
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D. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Alberts, Mrs. A. A., wife and assistant of the Reverend of the Dutch Reform Mission.

Armell, Louis, highly respected elderly Indian in the tribe and an alumnus of Haskell Institute.

Bartlet, J., Winnebago Agency Educational Officer.

Beaver, Frank, president of Winnebago Indian Council and a historian for the tribe.

Bents, Clarence, Winnebago, Nebraska town marshall.

Brown, Joe, Winnebago Indian Council member, committeeman for pow-wow celebration, and elderly leader of the Peyote religion.

Lemery, Edwin, director of the relocation program for the Winnebago Indian Reservation.

Littlebeaver, Angela, repeated member of the Winnebago Indian Council.

Littlewolfe, John, officer of the Winnebago Indian Council.

Peayers, Alex, Indian carpenter of the Catholic Mission.

Pina, Bernette, college educated Winnebago Indian.

Rivin, Sam, influential merchant on the reservation for over thirty years.