

RAMSEY COUNTY

History

A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society

*The St. Paul Camera Club
Celebrates Its 125th
Anniversary*

Bob Muschewske

Spring 2018

Volume 53, Number 1

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Charles and Elaine Eastman: Their Years in St. Paul, 1893–1898

Teresa Swanson, Sydney Beane, and William Beane, page 3



When Dr. Charles A. Eastman and his wife, Elaine Goodale Eastman, right, left the Lakota reservation in South Dakota and relocated to St. Paul in 1893, they chose a place where Charles had deep ancestral roots as can be seen in this excerpt from Joseph Nicollet's 1843 map of the Hydrographic Basin of the Upper Mississippi. Nicollet labelled the area where the Mississippi River meets the Minnesota River MDEWAKANTON COUNTRY. It is also known to Dakota as Bdote, the place "where two waters come together." Barely discernible on the map are the locations of Fort Snelling, St. Anthony Falls, the lakes of Minneapolis, and Carver's Cave, sites that today are in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The photos of Charles and Elaine Eastman are courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; map courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

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RAMSEY COUNTY History

Volume 53, Number 1

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THE MISSION STATEMENT OF THE RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON JANUARY 25, 2016:

Preserving our past, informing our present, inspiring our future

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Publication of Ramsey County History is supported in part by a gift from Clara M. Claussen and Frieda H. Claussen in memory of Henry H. Cowie Jr. and by a contribution from the late Reuel D. Harmon

A Message from the Editorial Board

In the 1890s, St. Paul was a burgeoning city. Dr. Charles Eastman and his wife, Elaine Goodale, arrived from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where Eastman had served as a doctor. Eastman had been to medical school in Boston but was brought up in the traditional Dakota way. Teresa Swanson, Sydney Beane, and William Beane recount how, during several years spent in St. Paul, Eastman wrote and published a number of culturally accurate Dakota stories in the national press. About the same time the Eastmans lived in the city, ground was broken on the impressive Federal Courts Building, now Landmark Center. Bob Roscoe shares how, through patient maneuvering, cultural leaders in St. Paul managed to save it from the wrecking ball in the 1970s and preserve it for, among other uses, RCHS’s own offices and Research Center! And members of the St. Paul Camera Club, which was organized in 1893, may have taken photographs of that building as it went up over the city. Camera Club and RCHS board member Bob Muschewske tells us the history of this group, which reflected growing interest in this art form and still encourages it today.

Anne Cowie
Chair, Editorial Board

Charles and Elaine Eastman: Their Years in St. Paul, 1893–1898

Teresa Swanson, Sydney Beane, and William Beane

WEDDED TO A SIOUX INDIAN

The child poet of sky farm becomes Mrs. Eastman

One of the most picturesque weddings of the season was that which occurred yesterday noon of Miss Elaine Goodale, eldest daughter of Henry Sterling Goodale, and Dr. Charles Eastman, a Sioux Indian, whose only white ancestor was a grandfather on his mother's side. The ceremony took place in the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street. The friends of the young couple nearly filled the church, but besides these there were present a large number of persons who were attracted by curiosity.¹

The married life of Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman (*Ohiyesa*) and Elaine Goodale began on June 18, 1891. That they were considered a power couple is evidenced by their guest list.² The *New York Sun's* description of their nuptials also reflects how uncommon it was for an Indian man to marry a white woman, especially one so well known. In a noteworthy twist, their lives were mirror images in the seven years prior to meeting: Charles was immersed in the world of white people while Elaine was immersed in the *Dakota*. During that time, they were also developing personal outlooks that eventually brought them together. Lastly, those seven years, many of which occurred while they were living in St. Paul, forged the arc of their lives.

Theirs was a whirlwind romance and engagement that played out against the backdrop of the heart-breaking and avoidable massacre at Wounded Knee near Pine Ridge, South Dakota. That they were both present during this historic tragedy is important for understanding each of them and the significance of how their lives found recovery in St. Paul.³ Equally remarkable, however, is how two young people, from such disparate backgrounds, found each other at all.

Ohiyesa's Story

Ohiyesa was born on February 18, 1858, at a time of transition for Dakota people.⁴ Treaties forced his family to leave their home near present-day Minneapolis and move to the Lower Sioux Agency in Redwood County, Minnesota.⁵ Ohiyesa was the great-grandson of an important leader, *Mahpiya Wicasta* (Cloud Man) and the last child born to *Wakanhdiota* (Many Lightnings) and *Wakanthankawin* (Goddess, the daughter of Seth Eastman and Stands Sacred). Ohiyesa's mother died after giving birth and he was raised by his *uncida* (grandmother).

In 1862, when Ohiyesa was four-years old, his Dakota *oyate* (relatives), unable to sustain themselves on the land allotted, and following continual delays in annuity payments required to stave off starvation, revolted against the U.S. government in what is known as the Dakota War of 1862.⁶ Ohiyesa's father, *Wakanhdiota*, was wounded in the final battle at Wood Lake. Pursued by U.S. Army soldiers, a party of Dakota, including Ohiyesa's family, fled to Canada. Many, including *Wakanhdiota* and his son, *Hinhan Duta* (Red Owl, later baptized John Eastman) were captured and returned to Fort Snelling.

Ohiyesa remained in Canada with his *uncida*, was adopted by his uncle, *Phezuta Wahan* (Mysterious Medicine), and was raised traditionally. They assumed they would never see *Wakanhdiota* or *Hinhan Duta* again. But when Ohiyesa was fifteen-years old, his father, who had embraced Christianity in prison and been baptized Jacob Eastman, made his way to Canada to reclaim him. He brought Ohiyesa to the Dakota community in which he lived at Flandreau, South Dakota. At the request of his father, Ohiyesa was baptized and took the name Charles Alexander Eastman.

This youth, who did not speak English, or read and write in his native language, spent the next sixteen years in American schools. His education in the white world began at the Santee Normal School on the Santee Sioux Reservation in Nebraska.⁷ Many mentors, both Native and white



Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman in about 1920. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Gibbs Farm and the Ohiyesa Connection

Following a tragic accident suffered by her mother, Jane Debow (Gibbs), who was then a young girl, moved from western New York with a missionary family and lived at Lake Harriet (1835–1839) in what is now Minneapolis. There she befriended Dakota living at *Bde Maka Ska*, especially Winona, Mahpiya Wicasta's

granddaughter and Ohiyesa's mother. She learned to speak Dakota and gained familiarity with Dakota lifeways.

In 1849 Jane married Heman Gibbs in Illinois and the young couple decided to settle in Minnesota, where they purchased farmland north of St. Paul in Rose Township. A distinctive fea-

ture of the 160 acres of land they acquired was a Dakota trail that ran in a northeasterly direction away from the Mississippi River. Jane reunited with Mahpiya Wicasta in 1849 when he and his people crossed the farm while en route northward to harvest wild rice. This kinship undergirds the Dakota interpretation at Gibbs Farm today.

men, observed his intellect. He received support from numerous sponsors as he attended Beloit College in Wisconsin and subsequently completed a Bachelor of Science at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire.⁸

During these years there were serious problems facing American Indians. Charles chose medicine as a field of study, for as he later wrote, "A high ideal of duty was placed before me, and I was doubly armed in my original purpose to make my education of service to my race."⁹ This principle guided him for the rest of his life. He earned his medical degree at the Boston School of Medicine and on November 1, 1890, Dr. Charles A. Eastman was appointed as a U.S. government physician at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It was there that he met Elaine Goodale.

Elaine's Story

Elaine's path to Pine Ridge was also a long and unlikely journey.¹⁰ Raised at Sky Farm, her father's estate in the Berkshires of western Massachusetts, she grew to adulthood in a home where charity and a Protestant ethic were embraced. Although Elaine's parents came from old New England families, their circumstances were modest, and her schooling was done at home.¹¹

Mother would not send us to the district school a mile or so away, and we had regular lessons at home. She was an accomplished woman of the era, with a taste for wide and varied reading which never failed, and I am glad to say implanted in us a genuine love of

knowledge. An artist friend appeared at odd times to instruct us in botany and sketching, and one summer a visiting clergyman gave us lessons in Greek. Our education was overwhelmingly literary and humanistic. I was introduced to Shakespeare at the age of eleven and not long after to The Marble Faun, The Mill on the Floss, and David Copperfield—each a milestone! Long evenings are remembered in association with Gibbon and Macaulay.¹²

Elaine (born 1863) could read by the age of three and began writing shortly thereafter. Soon, she and her younger sister, Dora, were writing poetry together. Elaine and Dora were first published in 1877 when *St. Nicholas Magazine* issued six of their poems. The Goodale Sisters, as they became known, were well-received by the general audience and critics. Two years later, *Apple Blossoms: Verses of Two Children* was published by Putnam; Elaine was fourteen.¹³

As with Charles, Elaine's fifteenth year brought someone into her life who influenced her future and altered her outlook. Years later she wrote, "a gallant figure on horseback abruptly draws rein at the door of Sky Farm cottage and is received with unusual warmth by both parents."¹⁴ General Samuel Armstrong entered Elaine's life and they remained close until he died in 1893. Armstrong established the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia, following the Civil War. This school, designed for African American youth, combined educational and manual instruction.¹⁵

The Goodale family fortunes began to wane and her parents' marriage suffered; her father sold the beloved Sky Farm and Elaine's parents separated. Lacking funds for college, Elaine took a position at Hampton Institute in 1883 in the newly formed Indian Division. After one year of teaching, she expressed an interest in visiting Dakota Territory where she could witness life there firsthand.

This trip west reinforced Elaine's desire to teach at a site in the Dakotas; as with Charles, Elaine hoped to make service to Indians her focus. After Elaine made her case, the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved her transfer;



Elaine Goodale shortly before her marriage to Charles Eastman in 1891. Photo courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.



Elaine Goodale learned how to use a camera during her years in South Dakota. She probably took this photograph of Lakota schoolchildren and their adult teachers, rear left, in the early 1890s when she was teaching there. Photo courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

she spent the next three years teaching at White River Camp in the Lower Brulé Agency. Described as a good and dedicated teacher, Elaine became a part of the community. She made efforts to learn the Dakota language and was close to the families with whom she interacted. Several years later, she was named as the first Supervisor of Education in the two Dakotas, where in the autumn of 1890, Elaine made her way to the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Charles and Elaine Meet

Elaine Goodale encountered Dr. Charles Eastman in the fall of 1890. Both professed it had been love at first sight; they were engaged to be married within a few weeks. Charles proposed to Elaine under the agency Christmas tree they had decorated together. But the romance between them unfolded against the backdrop of a tragic, emotionally charged event that deeply affected them.

The Ghost Dance movement began in the 1870s in response to long-time mistreatment by the U.S. government of Indians across the West. It included ceremonial cleansing, prayer, and dance. Many white observers, including factions

in the army, were consumed by anxiety and fear.¹⁶ Elaine had camped on the edge of such dances; she later wrote “none of the missionaries, speaking the language and knowing the temper of the people as they did, had the least fear of an uprising. We who loved them moved among them as freely and with as much confidence as ever.”¹⁷ Nevertheless throughout the fall of 1890, tensions grew.

Finally, on December 29, 1890, the U.S. Army’s 7th Cavalry surrounded a band of Ghost Dancers led by Chief Big Foot near Wounded Knee Creek. A fight broke out between an Indian and a U.S. soldier and a shot was fired. This triggered a brutal massacre in which an estimated three hundred Indians were killed.

In the aftermath, clergy and others assisted Charles in efforts to care for the injured. Elaine, working alongside Charles, comforted terrified women and children packed into the mission house and church. In the following days, Charles led a group of Lakota men to locate possible survivors. They discovered women and children who had been mowed down by the Hotchkiss guns.¹⁸ The events of Wounded Knee were horrific to Elaine and Charles. They

gave accounts of what they witnessed. Charles wrote, “it took all of my nerve to keep my composure in the face of this spectacle.”¹⁹ Today, their reports are considered credible, but at the time, they were censured for their writing, which was published in New York newspapers.²⁰ For Charles, the atrocities at Wounded Knee were deeply disturbing and caused a crisis of confidence; this first-in-a-series of watershed moments caused him to question the reservation system, fostered a lack of trust in the U.S. government, and generated qualms about men holding positions of power and influence in a society that claimed to be civilized.

Two Lives Merge

During January and February, activities at Pine Ridge got back to normal. Charles and Elaine began to plan their wedding and honeymoon. Elaine resigned her position in March and travelled east to make final preparations. The New York newspapers reported the details of their wedding:

It was a few minutes past the hour set for the ceremony when the bride arrived at the church with her father. . . . Before her walked the ushers, Messrs. George Hiram Hitchcock, Edward L. Williamson, Reddington M. Dayton, J.J.V. Van Santvoord, and the two bridesmaids, Miss Dora Read Goodale and Miss Rose Sterling Goodale, sisters of the bride. . . .

The bride was met at the chancel steps by the dark-skinned bridegroom. . . . He was attended by his best man, Dr. Crane F. Roxbury, Mass. It was a very simple ceremony, and in less than fifteen minutes after the bride entered the church she, with her husband, were on their way to the home of her father, . . . where a wedding breakfast was served to a few relatives and intimate friends of the couple.

Dr. and Mrs. Eastman were assisted in receiving by Mrs. Goodale, the bride’s mother, who was attired in a toilet of gray silk and velvet. Among the guests at the house were Mr. and Mrs. Moncure D. Conway, Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge, Mr. Charles G. Whiting, Mr. and Mrs. John Ward Stimson, Mr. A. S. Friesell, Mrs. Allea Wellington



Photographers Trager and Kuhn took this gruesome photo of U.S. Army soldiers putting Lakota dead into a common grave at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, about January 17, 1891. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Hollins, Miss J.V. Van Santvoord, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Elliot of Boston, Mrs. W. B. Neitel, Miss Kate Sanborn, Mrs. Winton, aunt of the bride, and the Rev. Dr. Lyman of Brooklyn.²¹

Although this account reflects a lovely event with many influential friends and supporters of Charles and Elaine in attendance, behind the scenes their union was met with mixed emotions by her family. Elaine's mother and brother were against Elaine marrying an Indian and almost boycotted the wedding. Her sisters were dubious but eventually supported Elaine.

Months earlier, as family objections became known, Charles wrote to Elaine's sister, Rose, "I love her dearly. We are compatibly well corresponded in many ways. We have many common ideas, desires and purpose. It seems rather hasty but the fact we knew each other's purpose and objects of life provided opportunities of closer acquaintance and when this was gained, a spontaneous reply and love came on both sides."²² To be sure, this was a challenging start to their marriage. Charles's support from prominent people in the white world was steadfast. The response by Elaine's family, based

solely on his race, had to have been a blow.

Following the wedding, the couple spent six weeks visiting schoolmates of Charles in Boston where several receptions were held in their honor; honeymooning in the Berkshires; and finally returning to South Dakota through Canada by train. They stopped at Charles's family home in Flandreau, South Dakota. Jacob had passed away, but Elaine received a warm reception by his brother, John, and his family.

Back at Pine Ridge

Returning to Pine Ridge, Charles and Elaine settled in. He continued as physician at the agency and she began her role as wife and soon-to-be mother. Their first child, Dora Winona was born on May 31, 1892. In his pamphlet, "Christian Work Among the Dakota Indians," Samuel C. Gilman reports meeting Charles at Pine Ridge and that "a little girl had lately come into the home, and now claimed the mother-heart more than all these," referring to Elaine's literary and missionary work, temporarily on hold.²³

But an ugly situation at Pine Ridge disrupted the young couple's life and

challenged both of them. In 1891, the federal government awarded \$100,000 to the people of Pine Ridge Reservation as reparations for the suffering caused by the Wounded Knee Massacre. Charles then discovered the disbursement agent was cheating people out of portions of their payments. This launched a months-long battle between Charles and the agent at the center of the controversy. Eventually, the dispute came to the attention of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. Even Elaine became entangled when she wrote letters to eastern newspapers, her fallback position when situations became untenable.

The Wounded Knee Massacre followed by the struggle over disbursements were events fraught with injustice. Charles and Elaine stood up for what they believed and reflect early examples of their budding activism. In the end, Charles was forced to resign or take another assignment. Both Charles and Elaine fiercely held to their principles in situations like this, and on January 26, 1893, Charles, refusing to compromise, resigned his position. Unemployed and unable to remain at Pine Ridge, they decided to move to St. Paul, Minnesota.²⁴

The Move to St. Paul

Filled with ambivalence about their experiences at Pine Ridge, the Eastman family arrived in St. Paul in February 1893. They were saying goodbye to close allies, both Native and white, and leaving their first home together. Long before Charles attended college, he had embraced the idea of serving his people. Elaine too had spent years committed to work she believed was a means to bettering Lakota lives. Now, relocating to St. Paul must have raised doubts about their commitment to those fundamental goals.

For the time being, however, the St. Paul move also permitted the young couple to remove themselves from a difficult situation at Pine Ridge, and more generally, from the government's Indian policies and the reservation system. In a very real sense, they needed time to revive their spirits.

Charles was not raised on a reservation. He grew up immersed in traditional

Mahpiya Wicasta and Bde Maka Ska

Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) was a nineteenth century *Bdewakanton* leader. He established a unique Dakota village on the shores of Lake Calhoun in 1829. Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the U.S. government's Indian Agent at Fort Snelling, married Wakanthakawin (Stands Sacred), a daughter of Mahpiya Wicasta. With this newly formed kinship relationship, Talliaferro supported and encouraged his father-in-law to establish this village, known in Dakota as *Heyate Otunwe* ("village at the side" of the lake).

Mahpiya Wicasta's *oyate* (people) welcomed missionaries, who established the first schools in current-day Minneapolis. The village was multi-ethnic and included children whose fathers were fur traders, military officers, and government agents who married women of the village according to Dakota custom.

While serving Cloud Man Village first as farmers and later as missionaries, Gideon and Samuel Pond developed the first Dakota written language materials. For a time, Jane Debow, the child from New York who would later marry Heman Gibbs and establish Gibbs Farm north of St. Paul, was a member of this community. Generations later, Ohiyesa, a great-grandson of Mahpiya Wicasta, brought this village to life with his stories. Ohiyesa stayed connected to the Twin Cities and in October 1930, he met with the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board and shared stories of Dakota history in the area, including those about Mahpiya Wicasta and his village.

A Ten-Year Journey

On July 18, 2008, at the kickoff of the Minneapolis Sesquicentennial, Mayor R. T. Rybak and Minneapolis councilmembers invited Sydney Beane, a Dakota descendant of Mahpiya Wicasta, to lead a prayer ceremony

and speak about his village. This sparked interest in research focusing on Dakota history in the area, including Mahpiya Wicasta's Village. An exploration committee created a Cloud Man's Village presentation; throughout the following year, members of the committee worked diligently to educate neighborhood groups, including a presentation at the Minneapolis Central Library. Building on this initiative, the Bakken Museum developed a Charles Alexander Eastman exhibit focusing on his life as a medical doctor and naturalist, as well as his family connection to Cloud Man's Village and Lake Calhoun.

One of the many ideas considered was a historic designation for Cloud Man's Village, including a name change for Lake Calhoun. John C. Calhoun, who was the U. S. Secretary of War at the time Fort Snelling was built, advocated maintaining the institution of slavery throughout his career. Calhoun's views have been identified by some historians as helping to fuel the Civil War. He also drafted the American Indian Removal Act, which called for the removal of American Indians from their traditional homelands. Although he never was known to have visited Minnesota, Lake Calhoun was named in his honor.

Over time, there were discussions and petitions aimed at removing Calhoun's name from the lake; without an agreed upon name alternative, this idea never came to fruition. Proposing a Dakota name was the goal, but it became apparent that extensive historical documentation and an information campaign focusing on knowledge of Dakota history in this area were necessary.

In 2007, the Two Rivers Community Development Corporation was formed. This nonprofit organization was established to research Dakota lands and stories in Minnesota and it advocated for Native involvement in the devel-

opment of places in the Dakota *makocce* (homeland), including the Fort Snelling Reserve Area. A meeting with the Indian Land Tenure Foundation (ILTF) in Little Canada, Minn. led to the Dakota Land Research Project, which funded archival and oral interviews in 2008–2009.

Two Rivers CDC subsequently selected Syd Beane to be Project Director for the study; Gwen Westerman led oral interviews and Bruce White directed archival research. Other contributors included Sheldon Wolfchild, Erin Griffin, Thomas Shaw, Kate Beane, Howard Vogel, and Glen Wasicuna. Additional funding provided by the Minnesota Arts and Cultural Heritage Fund administered by the Minnesota Historical Society made possible the production of a book based upon the project's interviews and research.

In 2012 the Minnesota Historical Society Press published *Mni Sota Makocce: The Land of the Dakota*, which was awarded Minnesota History Book of the Year. This well-researched book depicts a rich history of Dakota land, place names, and stories. It provides a respectful and historical grounding for places like Cloud Man's Village and reinforced the recommendation of Bde Maka Ska (White Banks Lake) as a Dakota name for Lake Calhoun.

As part of the Calhoun/Harriet Lakes Area Master Planning process conducted by the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board (MPRB), the Board included a two-year community engagement process with a twenty-six member Community Advisory Committee (CAC) and Racial Equity Subcommittee. Carly Bad Heart Bull (J.D.) and Kate Beane (Ph.D.), twin daughters of Syd Beane and descendants of Mahpiya Wicasta, were selected by commissioners of the MPRB to lead discussions and recommendations for recognizing Cloud Man's Village and restoring the name Bde Maka Ska. *continued on page 8*

On May 3, 2017, the Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board unanimously approved the CAC recommendations as important elements of the new master plan. The recognition of Cloud Man's Village and Dakota presence in the area included a partnership with the City of Minneapolis Art Commission to include public art and

memorial space in honor of Cloud Man's Village and Dakota people at the lake. Project installation is slated for 2018.

Carly Bad Heart Bull and Kate Beane and others have tirelessly lent their voices to efforts on behalf of the CAC, MPRB, and two grassroots organizing groups, Parks and Power and

Voices for Racial Justice. The support for the name change to Bde Maka Ska grew with each public hearing. On November 28, 2017, in a historic move, the Hennepin County Board approved the name change from Lake Calhoun to Bde Maka Ska. The DNR approval followed on January 18, 2018, making the name official in Minnesota.

ways during his youth in Canada and then moved to Flandreau, where his relatives and members of the community in which they lived were homesteaders. When he began working as a physician at Pine Ridge, this was his first work experience on a reservation, a defined federal community. The impact of the reservation system was felt by both Elaine and Charles. Years later he wrote:

I took up residence in St. Paul where I could be near the Indians and yet not on the reservation, for I think I am like my father, I do not like reservations. I think the whole system is wrong and the average Indian agent is only in office for the salary and would rather have on the reservation dumb animals than the intelligent men. They are easier to manage. My father never lived on a reservation after the celebrated Sioux Outbreak, but owned his own farm and cultivated it.²⁵

Charles also thought of the move as coming out of exile and returning home. Minnesota was his *makoce* (homeland); his great-grandfather, Mahpiya Wicasta had established a village at Bde Maka Ska (Lake Calhoun) in 1827. This was the birthplace of his grandparents, mother, father and siblings.

There were other considerations as well: Charles and Elaine had limited contacts in St. Paul; they had a new baby and precarious finances; Charles planned to open a medical practice which presented additional challenges; and they were moving to a big city.

They had spent time at schools located in cities, but they were students, engrossed in pursuit of an education, living in dormitories. Neither had fully experienced city life. St. Paul in 1893 was a hustling-bustling, big and ethnically di-

verse city. The population had exploded in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. In 1880, it boasted 41,478 residents; that number more than tripled in the next decade and in 1895, the population was 140,292. More than one third, 48,686 were foreign-born, giving St. Paul a distinctly ethnic flavor.²⁶

Establishing a Medical Practice

A St. Paul medical practice would provide income, allow Charles to stay in his chosen field, and give them time to consider their next step, but establishing such a practice in the 1890s was not easy. Just as there was a population boom, so too there was an increasing number of physicians in St. Paul; this number had reached 154 by 1889.²⁷ Additionally, in 1887, Minnesota had become the first state to require an examination by a Board of Examiners to obtain a medical license. Although only half of the forty-five men attempting the assessment in 1893 passed, Charles did well on the three-day examination.

Their first home in St. Paul was a rented, furnished flat at 227 East Tenth Street, which also served as Charles's office.²⁸ To build his practice, he joined medical associations in the Twin Cities, which subsequently led to offers from area doctors for Charles to join them as an "Indian doctor" or assist in the development of "Indian medicine" within their practices.²⁹ Charles declined these offers, but they added to his growing disenchantment about white society's values. At the same time, he was also gaining a reputation as an Indian advocate and was asked to speak at the World's

Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

Despite the upheaval at Pine Ridge, Charles and Elaine regretted their hasty decision to resign rather than take another assignment. From the time they left Pine Ridge, Charles received appeals from colleagues urging his return. He mounted a campaign to resume his medical work at a Sioux Agency. He wrote numerous letters to associates expressing his desire to return. These supporters included men like Senators Jefferson Kyle and Richard Pettigrew of South Dakota and Charles Howard, editor of *Farm, Field and Fireside*, some of whom he had known for years. They passed his desires on to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but for the time being, Charles had to be patient.

A Writing Career Begins

Once in St. Paul, Charles and Elaine had the luxury of time to get to know one another better. They shared events of their lives, and he told his life in the form of stories to Elaine and Dora. In the Dakota language, there is a word, *wakanheza*, which means "sacred being;" another translation is "child." Consistent with Dakota tradition, he would have spoken to his infant daughter as a sacred being who could understand his stories. But in their telling, Charles was equally communicating with Elaine about his early years. These stories were depictions of Dakota culture as viewed through the lens of Charles's life. They provided her with deeper understanding of what he most valued.

For Dakota, there exists an enduring tradition of storytelling. Narratives, created, recounted and stored in the

collective memory define perspective. Each tale relates important events or knowledge of generations past. Stories exist for everything; every detail of life on earth is tied to a story, and often the message is linked to a virtuous way of behavior. These stories, and the art of recounting them, lay at the core of being Dakota.

Elaine had been published in *St. Nicholas Magazine* and its founding editor, Mary Mapes Dodge, was a long-time friend who had attended Charles and Elaine's wedding. Under her leadership, the magazine set high standards and included a range of articles. Author Paul Rosta reports, "Mary Mapes Dodge, the author of *Hans Brinker*, counted many writers and artists among her friends and got them to write and draw for her magazine. *St. Nicholas* published storytellers, poets, and illustrators such as Tennyson, Longfellow, Kipling, Whittier, Twain, William Dean Howells, Louisa May Alcott, William Cullen Bryant, Bret Harte, L. Frank Baum, Jack London, A.A. Milne, Frederic Remington, Howard Pyle, and Jacob Riis."³⁰

Previously, the writing that Charles

and Elaine had done came out of their shared political experiences at Pine Ridge. Now, they arranged for a series of articles focusing on Dakota lifeways, written by Charles and edited by Elaine, to be published in *St. Nicholas Magazine* from November 1893 through May 1894.³¹ These stories recounted Charles's youth and provided readers an understanding of Dakota traditions. Because of the simplicity in which these stories are written, biographers and literary critics have often mentioned them in passing, and they relegated them to the genre of children's stories. The stories that came from the collaboration of Charles and Elaine deserve, however, serious in-depth examination; a careful reading provides a rare glimpse of Dakota ways written as a first-hand account.

Recollections of the Wild Life

The compilation that Charles and Elaine published in *St. Nicholas Magazine* was entitled "Recollections of the Wild Life;" each article had a subheading. In the initial article, "Hakada, The Pitiful Last," an important ideal is revealed:

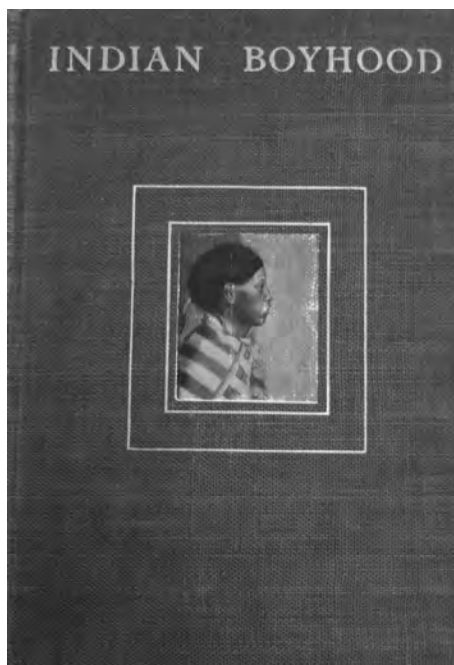
But we can say for the children of uncivilized nations . . . what they receive coming direct from Nature—the greatest school-mistress of all. . . the Indian children were keen to follow her instructions and derived from her the principles of a true and noble life according to the understanding of our people.³²

Charles revealed Dakota principles which continued to underscore his writings. Here for example, he focused on the role nature played for the Dakota oiyate. Only then did he shift to include details of his life experiences as a youth. In each article, beginning with descriptions of his birth, he grounded his experiences in a narrative of traditional ways. Examples in that first issue include naming practices; the importance of the cradle board in child-rearing; women's roles; diet; and legends.³³

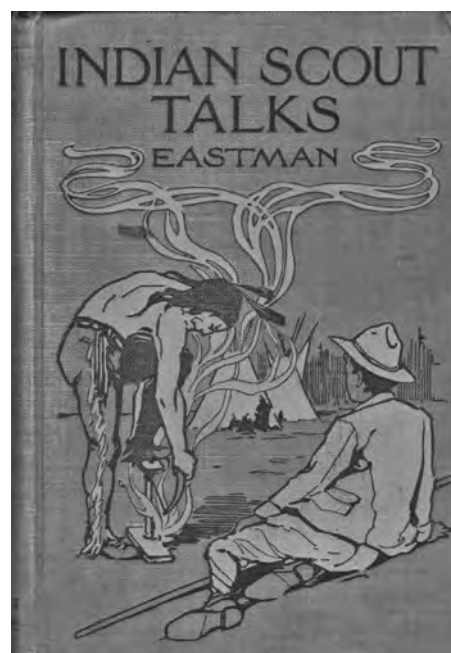
The January issue, "Early Hardships," focused on the difficulties Charles and his family endured. These included being forced to flee their homeland and resettle in Canada following the Dakota War,

as well as his separation from his father and brothers. Like the first, this article includes a discourse of Dakota values. His description of the travois used for moving was compared to modes of "civilized vehicles." But the reader also hears of a "patient and clannish people whose love for one another is stronger than that of any civilized people;" a people who rarely suffered from disease, are truthful and generous.³⁴ Charles continued this theme in successive articles entitled "Games and Sports," "An Indian Boy's Training," and "The Boy Hunter."³⁵ The final article, published in May 1894 provided something of a departure.

In that last installment of "Recollections of the Wild Life" entitled "First Impressions of Civilization," Charles disclosed Dakota beliefs imparted to him while growing up. He related that white men were called "Big Knives." His description of the "Fire-Boat-Walks-on-Mountains" (trains), with a "thunderbird on board, for he frequently gave a usual war-whoop" (train whistle), served as a depiction of a "race whose power bordered on the supernatural." References such as family size (generally far fewer offspring in Dakota families) and construction of permanent



New York publisher McClure, Phillips & Co. released Charles Eastman's book, *Indian Boyhood*, in 1902. E.L. Blusenschein provided the illustrations that appear on the front cover and the book's interior pages. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.



Charles Eastman published *Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls* in 1914. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Charles Eastman and the Boy Scouts of Minnesota

As Field Director of the International YMCA in the early 1900s, Charles Eastman worked with both Ernest Thompson Seton, a founder of the Boy Scouts, and Luther Gulick, a founder of the Camp Fire Girls. The YMCA served as gathering and planning place for both of these nature-related movements. Early YMCA leaders, including James Naismith, who invented the game of basketball, were originally from Canada and had backgrounds as medical doctors and naturalists much like Charles. In 1914 Eastman published *Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls*. Over the years however, his contributions to scouting have largely been forgotten.

From 2006–2011, Syd Beane served on the Fort Snelling Upper Post Development Committee with John Andrews, Scout Executive/CEO of the Northern Star Council, one of the largest councils in the United States. Beane urged Andrews to consider memorializing Charles Eastman for



Sculptor Susan Norris created this clay model for the bronze statue of Ohiyesa playing stickball (LaCrosse) that she is making for the Northern Star Council Leadership Center and Base Camp, Boy Scouts of America, at Fort Snelling. Photo courtesy of the Northern Star Council, Boy Scouts of America.

his involvement with the Boy Scouts. Intrigued by this idea, Andrews enlisted Syd and his daughter, Kate Beane, to develop a project honoring Charles. This work has taken the form of a statute and room that will be elements of the new Northern Star Council Leadership Center and Base Camp facility at Fort Snelling. The sculpture will depict a young boy playing LaCrosse (stickball), because after his village won a lacrosse match against neighboring rivals, Charles, the celebrated player of the day, received his name, Ohiyesa (winner).

The Boy Scouts of America had a contractual agreement with Susan Norris of New Mexico to serve as their official national artist/sculptor. She recently completed a sculpture of Ernest Thompson Seton and gladly accepted the offer to work in collaboration on the Ohiyesa bronze. The statue is expected to be dedicated when the Leadership Center opens in the fall of 2018.

houses (compared to moveable tipi for Dakota) demonstrate real and perceived differences between the lives of the two races.

Included in this entry, he wrote of Dakota-held beliefs which demonstrate the deeply rooted cultural divide Charles was forced to navigate each day as he lived and worked among white people:

- a heartless nation that kept slaves, people whom they had painted black to tell them apart from free men;
- the greatest object of their lives is the acquisition of possessions—to be rich;
- their great men make a feast and invite many, but when the feast is over the guests are required to pay for what they have eaten; and
- the Great Chief (president) had allowed slaves in one part of the country and not in another; so there was

jealousy, and they had to fight it out (Civil War).³⁶

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, most “factual” accounts of Dakota or other Indians were penned by missionaries or U.S. government personnel. They were infused with misconceptions and bias. Popular fiction that dealt with Indians was written by Euro-American authors who often held unflattering or sensationalized views of Indians.

In contrast, the Eastman stories are vastly different from these widely available reports and fiction and they are valuable on many levels. They are among the first published accounts that lent agency to Native people. Charles’s documentation saved important narratives at the core of Dakota ways for future generations. These initial articles, later incorporated into *An Indian Boyhood* (1902), were the dawn of the public writing ca-

reer of Charles and Elaine Eastman that would span decades.³⁷ In addition it was another step in the development of their lifelong advocacy of Indian rights.

Bald Eagle Lake

Elaine gave birth to Irene, their second child, on February 24, 1894. Shortly after the birth she wrote to her sister, Rose, “I am sitting wrapped in a blanket and intend to get dressed tomorrow. You write that I am doing beautifully! I had a pretty hard time of it and am thankful to be through the ordeal.” She did have a nurse and “Dora’s Papa is with her constantly,” but their lives were now filled with the energy of a toddler and a new infant.³⁸ Like many others, they chose to spend their summers away from the hot and dirty city, with the stench of horse manure heavy in the atmosphere. They moved to Bald Eagle Lake in White Bear Township that first summer.



This photo from 1897 shows what a typical summer cottage at Bald Eagle Lake looked like. The woman and child on the bench are unidentified. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Just north of St. Paul, the lake was a summer retreat in the 1890s. There were resort hotels and cottages for rent, especially along the eastern shore where the present-day Bald-Eagle-Otter Lakes Regional Park boat access is located. By 1901, the lake had seventy-five cottages. A newspaper headline touted: “Bald Eagle Lake rapidly grows in favor with St. Paul people as one of the most charming and accessible of summer resorts. The lake is one of the most picturesque in the state. Not very large, but very irregular in its shore line, it is full of pretty bays.”³⁹

The Northern Pacific Railway ran between St. Paul and White Bear, making transportation an easy undertaking. Visitors came with horse-drawn wagons and carts loaded with provisions as well. Bald Eagle Island, the only landmass in the lake, was a central part of summer life in the area. The following sums up the history of the island:

- Indians camped upon its spiny back to harvest wild rice.
- Fishermen trolled its sandbar to catch perch and crappies.
- Children swam to it as a rite of passage into adulthood.

Campers pitched tents on it to sleep under the stars.

Picnickers laid checkered blankets upon its emerald surface.

Sweethearts embraced in the velvet shade of its trees.⁴⁰

Drawn by the relaxed and natural setting of the lake, the Eastman family spent most summers there during their years in St. Paul. They enjoyed the beauty of wildlife and the scenery most likely reminded them of their youth. They shared this love with their young children. It also provided an atmosphere that was conducive for writing. Charles’s niece visited the lake and wrote, “he was to have spent most of the day alone writing, but would come swimming with the children around four in the afternoon. The evenings were spent with [me] reading Charles’s handwriting out loud so his wife could type up the manuscript.”⁴¹

Because they choose to spend the summers at the lake, they were forced to find new housing upon returning to the city. In 1895 they lived at Lyons Court near downtown. Once they knew the area better, they moved further from the city’s hub and rented near the present-day Summit Hill neighborhood, first at 102

North St. Albans in 1896 and then at 783 Holly Avenue in 1897.⁴² These flats better suited a young family (a third daughter, Virginia was born on November 3, 1896), especially as a drastic change in Charles’s employment meant Elaine would be alone with the children for long stretches of time.

YMCA

John Eastman, Charles’s older brother, was a Presbyterian minister at the First Presbyterian Church in Flandreau, South Dakota, from 1876—1906. Charles’s father, Jacob Eastman, along with twenty-four other Dakota families, had moved from Nebraska to Flandreau in 1869, became homesteaders there, and founded the church.

In 1879, in response to the young men of the parish, John and Thomas Wakeman, the son of Little Crow, organized a Young Man’s Association based on the Gospel and shaped on principles of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). This was the first YMCA branch started by Indians; and from that time until 1891, new groups were added in the West each year.⁴³ These early units were recognized by the YMCA in 1885 and given the official title of Sioux Young Men’s Christian Association.⁴⁴

Charles K. Ober, the Field Secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA, recognized that leadership was needed in the Sioux YMCA. Ober pursued Charles for such a role. He initially declined the offer hoping to build his medical practice or take another position as a reservation doctor. Recognizing this might be an unexpected means of working with and positively influencing the lives of those living on reservations, Charles changed his mind and on June 1, 1894, accepted a three-year position as the Indian Secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA.⁴⁵

While living at Pine Ridge, Charles had witnessed first-hand how the reservation system stripped Native Americans of their traditional beliefs, but he had adopted Christianity at Flandreau because it fit with his Dakota beliefs. Now by embracing the values of the YMCA, he hoped he might take steps toward solving some of the issues facing the Dakota community.

Ohiyesa: The Soul of an Indian *Documentary Film*

In this film, Kate Beane, a young Dakota scholar working on her Ph.D., examines the parallels between her life and that of her famous relative Ohiyesa (Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman), who lived from 1858 to 1939. Her narrative of his remarkable story, for the first time told from the Eastman Dakota family perspective, is a quest to understand the legacy of the man she calls grandfather, while exploring her own life journey.

Support for this moving and noteworthy documentary came from many individuals, organizations, and sources. The production team was led by Sydney Beane, executive pro-

ducer/producer. Syd and Kate Beane recruited Christian Berg (producer of *Dakota Conflict* [1993] and *Seth Eastman: Painting the Dakota* [2002] for Twin Cities Public TV) to serve as writer and director of the film's initial, short concept film, *Ohiyesa: The Soul of an Indian*. John Whitehead and Stephanie Mosher, former producers with TPT, served on the production team. Post-production assistance was provided by Jesse Heinzen, producer/director; Julianna Olsen, producer/writer; and Chad Knudson, editor, from the Minnesota Historical Society Media Services. Vision Maker Media and the Corporation for Public

Broadcasting provided major funding for producing the film contracting with Dakota Eastman Productions. The Minnesota Historical Society and the Minnesota State Arts and Cultural Heritage Fund also provided funding.

Ultimately, this unique story is shared because of the generous Eastman family spirit. Many members of the family lent their voices to this production, most notably, Syd Beane; his brother, William Beane; and Syd's twin daughters, Kate Beane and Carly Bad Heart Bull. Minnesota Public Television expects to release *Ohiyesa: The Soul of an Indian* in June 2018.

In his first month in his new position, Charles visited thirty YMCA associations. His January 1895 report confirms additional visits to Cherry Creek Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brulé, Crow Creek, and Flandreau during the previous November-December period. These trips were difficult overland journeys. This frenetic pace continued throughout the three-plus years he worked for the YMCA.

On the home front in St. Paul, the

Eastman family had to deal with his absence. On September 12, 1894, Elaine wrote to Rose, "It is a long time since I heard from you—am I the delinquent one? I have scarcely written to anybody this summer, except the doctor. We correspond almost daily when he is away. It has been a hard summer—I miss him so dreadfully, and we have all felt the heat, staying right in the city all summer."⁴⁶ Not only was Charles gone a lot during those first months, but the family did not

relocate to their beloved Bald Eagle Lake that summer.

On behalf of the YMCA, Charles spent time organizing associations, teaching the Bible, and identifying leaders. He pushed for and established summer camps as a way of training and providing recreation for young men; these camps continue to serve as a model for the YMCA today. From time to time, Elaine joined Charles on the road, especially at conventions. This young couple, who were financially hard pressed, believed in the goals of the YMCA and donated \$300 of their own money to the organization. In short, the YMCA espoused a philosophy they could both embrace.⁴⁷

The YMCA also allowed Charles to incorporate theories emphasizing healthy living, exercise, and the benefits of outdoor activity. He held the opinion that the Christian faith might offer a solution to the deteriorating and abhorrent conditions which Indians living on reservations faced. On May 16, 1895, he addressed a YMCA convention where he stated, "I sometimes forget my color when I stand before audiences. And then I sometimes wish we were color blind; how much easier it would be for us to do Christian work. It is only through the young men that we can save the Indian Race and the Young Men's Christian Association can



In his Native dress, Charles Eastman spent time with a gathering of Boys Scouts in the Chicago area in about 1930. Photo courtesy of the Northern Star Council, Boy Scouts of America.



Charles Eastman photographed near Minnesota's Lake Minnetonka in 1927. Edward A. Bromley photo. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

be made a great power in their behalf if it is rightly fostered.”⁴⁸

Farewell to St. Paul

In 1897, Charles's brother John and others began to urge him to consider a move to Washington, D.C., to lobby on behalf of the Santee Sioux. Battles over long-standing claims concerning the restoration of annuities for the Lower Sioux Santee were at the center of this call to action.⁴⁹ Charles was eventually convinced to take on this responsibility for

his people. And so, in the summer of 1898, Charles, Elaine, and their children made the move to Washington, thus ending their years in St. Paul.

Charles Eastman was first, last, and always Dakota. His culture, background, traditions were grounded in Dakota lifeways. English was his second language. He embraced those Euro-American institutions like Christianity that were consistent with his Dakota ways. He went through the American education system and attained credentials he needed to

help his people. Elaine Goodale Eastman assisted, supported, and guided her husband. She shared his goals and fought alongside him throughout the troubles at Pine Ridge. The years spent in St. Paul were also challenging, and as with any period of change, at times unsettling. But during the five years they spent in Charles's makece, they added two children to their family, collaborated on Charles's writing career, and began to use their voices for a larger purpose

Epilogue

Charles and Elaine Eastman had three more children: Charles A. Eastman II (Ohiyesa), 1898; Eleanor Eastman, 1901; and Florence Bascom Eastman, 1903. They published eleven books and many articles over the next decade. Charles is considered one of the first Indian authors to write American history from a Native point of view. Elaine and Charles worked together at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1899; and returned to Crow Creek Reservation in 1900–1901, where once again Charles worked as a reservation doctor. In 1915, they opened a summer camp for boys and girls in New Hampshire, which operated for several years.

Charles was involved in many undertakings. He was an eloquent advocate



An undated photo of Elaine Goodale Eastman. Photo courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

for Indians, and like all important figures, the course of his life was affected by the times in which he lived. He travelled widely as an orator during a period when most accounts of the Indian past were romanticized and often misunderstood. He represented North American Indians at the first Universal Congress of Races in London in 1911. He served as Indian Inspector under President Calvin Coolidge (1921–1923) and worked with the Boy Scouts of America as writer, speaker, camp director, and National Councilman.

After twenty years of marriage, Charles and Elaine Eastman separated and while there has been much speculation as to the reasons, both remained publicly silent on the subject. Charles Eastman died on January 8, 1939, at the age of eighty-one; Elaine Goodale Eastman died December 22, 1953, at the age of ninety. Neither of them ever again resided in St. Paul, but the few years they spent there gave Charles and Elaine a new course that gave them a way to serve the Dakota and to voice their commitment to the Native traditions they deeply valued.

Teresa Swanson is a public historian and for ten years was the manager of the Ramsey County Historical Society's Gibbs Farm. During her tenure there, the Society developed its Dakota interpretation to complement the existing Pioneer interpretation at the farm. Sydney Beane and William Beane are members of the Flandreau Santee Sioux tribe and are direct descendants of Mahpiya Wicasta. Sydney Beane is currently a documentary film producer and William Beane is a tribal historian.

Endnotes

1. "Wedded to a Sioux Indian," *New York Sun*, June 19, 1891, p.5.

2. *Ibid.*

3. For descriptions of the Wounded Knee Massacre see Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014) and Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

4. Much of what is known of Charles Eastman's early years is autobiographical. See Charles A. Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1977) and Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Boyhood* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971).

5. See Dakota Nation: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, *The Compilation of the Treaties, Agreements and Selected Proceedings of the Treaties of the Tribes and Bands of the Sioux Nation* (Washington: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1973).

Gwen Westerman and Bruce White, *Mini Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012).

6. There are many Dakota War sources. For a recent discussion, see *Mini Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*.

7. For early thought on Indian schools, see Mary B. Hatch Riggs and Rueben Dorian, *The Beginnings of Santee Normal Training School Founded by Dr. and Mrs. A.L. Riggs* (Santee, Neb.: Santee N.T.S. Press, 1928). For contextual sources see Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839–1893* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1999) and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "'Training the Hand, the Head, and the Heart': Indian Education at Hampton Institute," *Minnesota History* 51:3 (Fall 1988): 82–98.

8. Dartmouth College was established in 1769 by Eleazar Wheelock to educate Indians in Christianity and the English culture. By the time Eastman attended, Dartmouth was secularized and admitted Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans.

9. *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*.

10. As with Charles, much of what is known about Elaine Goodale's early years is autobiographical. See Kay Graber, ed., *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1885–91*. (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

11. *Ibid.*, 3.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 8–15. Much has been written about Elaine Goodale Eastman. See her biography by Theodore D. Sargent, *The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

14. *Sister to the Sioux*, p. 16.

15. Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt, *The Red Man's Moses* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935). See also *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890 and Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre*.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Graber, 145.

18. *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, 112. The Hotchkiss gun was invented in 1872. Mounted on a light carriage so that it could accompany a troop of cavalry, the gun had five revolving barrels capable of firing 68 rounds a minute with a range of 2,000 yards.

19. *Ibid.*, 114.

20. *Ibid.*, 163.

21. "Wedded to a Sioux Indian."

22. Letter from Charles Eastman at the Pine Ridge Agency to Rose [Goodale], dated 1/20/90, in the private collection of William Beane.

23. S. C. Gilman, *The Dakota Indians* (Indianapolis: Carlton and Hollenbeck Printers, 1894), 6 in YMCA, Box 1, Folder 1, Kautz Family Papers, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

24. Sargent, 53–56.

25. "A Notable Indian's Work," *New York Times*, April 7, 1895.

26. Fourth Decennial Census, State of Minnesota, June 1, 1895, Tables 5 and 8.

27. C.C. Andrews, *History of St. Paul, Minn.* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Co., 1890), 308–9.

28. R.L. Polk & Co., *St. Paul City Directory*, 1894.

29. *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, 136–38.

30. Paul Rosta, "The Magazine that Taught Faulkner, Fitzgerald and Millay How to Write," *American Heritage* 37 (Dec. 1985): 1.

31. Charles is cited as the author on all the books he published, but he credits Elaine as his "companion in thought and work" in the dedication. See, for example, Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa), *The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911; reprint edition, Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

32. Charles Alexander Eastman, "Recollections of the Wild Life," *St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine* (November 1893): 129.

33. *Ibid.* 129–31.

34. Charles Alexander Eastman, "Recollections of the Wild Life," *St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine* (January 1894): 226–28.

35. *Ibid.*, (February 1894): 306–08; (March 1894): 437–40; (April 1894): 513–15.

36. *Ibid.*, (May 1894): 607–611.

37. *Indian Boyhood*, 3–86 and 239–247.

38. Elaine Goodale Eastman to Rose G. Dayton, undated letter, box 3, folder 5, Eastman-Goodale-Dayton Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Mass.

39. "One of Minnesota's Beauty Spots," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, June 16, 1901, p. 24.

40. Catherine Carey, *White Bear: A History* (White Bear, Minn.: White Bear Township, 2008), 94.

41. Remembrance of an Interview with Mrs. Grace Moore in Flandreau on March 12, 1971, in the possession of William Beane.

42. R.L. Polk & Co., *St. Paul City Directory*, 1895, 1896, and 1897.

43. YMCA, Box 2, File: Word Carrier, April–May 1886, p. 1, Kautz Family Papers, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

44. YMCA, Box 1, Comp. of Hist. Materials c. 1890–97, "The New Indian Secretary," *Young Men's Era*, 13 December 1894, p. 1, Kautz Family Papers, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

45. Letter written by Charles A. Eastman, January 10, 1895, in YMCA, Box 1, Comp. of Hist. Materials c. 1890–97, Kautz Family Papers, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

46. Elaine Goodale Eastman to Rose G. Dayton, letter dated September 12, 1894, Box 3, Folder 5, Eastman-Goodale-Dayton Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Mass.

47. His pay was recorded as \$2,000 and was raised in part by Rev. John Paul Egbert, the minister at Hope Presbyterian Church in St. Paul, who had become acquainted with Charles and Elaine during their years in the city.

48. "Young Men's Era," no. 20, May 16, 1895, YMCA, Box 1, Comp. of Hist. Materials c. 1890–97, Kautz Family Papers, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

49. *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, 152–59.

R.C.H.S.

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Published by the Ramsey County Historical Society
323 Landmark Center
75 West Fifth Street
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102

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The monumental architecture of Landmark Center's granite façade along Market Street provides a complementary background to the colorful garden at the nearby Saint Paul Hotel. Photograph courtesy of Landmark Center. For more on how the Old Federal Courts Building and Post Office became Landmark Center, see Bob Roscoe's article beginning on page 22.