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EPISCOPAL MISSIONARIES ON THE SANTEE AND YANKTON RESERVATIONS

CROSS-CULTURAL COLLABORATION AND PRESIDENT GRANT'S PEACE POLICY

DAVID S. TRASK

Nineteenth-century Indian policy in the United States stood at the crossroads of conflicting American ideals. One abiding challenge was the need to reconcile the collision between citizen land hunger and national calls for the humane treatment of Native Americans stemming from the beliefs that all people are created equal and have eternal souls. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the nation deferred the

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conflict between westward-moving citizens and national sensitivities by relocating Native Americans westward, away from the major flows of settlers. The second half of that century brought Americans face to face with the reality that there were no longer enough isolated places to stash American Indians. Furthermore, a cost-conscious nation decided that it was cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them, even though feeding Native Americans cut against the national belief that people should stand on their own rather than be dependent on others for their material needs. An added feature in the policy mix was the widespread belief that "savage" Indians could not play a major role in creating their own futures.¹

GRANT'S PEACE POLICY

President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy, announced in 1869, attempted to resolve contradictions between national culture and Indian policy by "civilizing" and Christianizing Native Americans through the efforts of missionaries. This approach would also circumvent the graft and corruption of what many portrayed as an organized "Indian ring," which preyed on Indian annuities

to expand the wealth of agents and others connected to the flow of money and goods intended to benefit Indians.²

Although Grant's plan initially relied on Quaker missionaries, by the early 1870s the plan expanded to include a number of denominations. By placing individual Christian groups in charge of each reservation, reformers hoped that religious benevolence could achieve what Indian agents pursuing their own pecuniary interests could not. The plan anticipated the day when Indians such as the Santee and Yankton Sioux would shed their tribal, cultural identities and fade into American society as citizens imbued with the same goals and values as the nation's Protestant majority. This moment would also mark the end of the need for a national Indian policy to maintain reservations that excluded white settlement. Grant's plan had enough benevolence to please the "friends of the Indian" along with a projected outcome that would suit expansionistic settlers.³

The national plan to "civilize" Indians through the efforts of missionaries did not work out as projected, although it did enable some denominations to gain a lasting entree into the reservation worlds of many tribes. The Episcopal Church in Dakota Territory gained enduring access to many of the Sioux reservations of Dakota Territory in 1872, even as the authority of all denominations over Indian policy was eroding. Traditional actors in Indian administration—Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of the Interior, and the U.S. Army—slowly reasserted their dominance. They neutralized the efforts of missionaries to maintain their central influence in the transformation of Indians into citizens.

Episcopal work among the Sioux was also undermined on the reservations by the Native Americans themselves. These mission "charges" used their roles as clergy-in-training and members of a men's guild to influence church actions in a variety of ways, including the removal of problematic clergy. A few also served as leaders of tribal bands. They formalized their position by the creation of the Planting Society in 1873, an organization they renamed the Brotherhood of Christian Unity in 1883. Although this group appeared to

work as culture brokers, they were not neutral, as the term is defined by Margaret Szasz, in their relationships with whites and Indians.⁴

THE RESERVATION SETTING

This is not a story of missionary piety and dutiful converts. Except for the Yankton, all the participants in the Episcopal attempt to implement the Peace Policy were new arrivals. They all came to the Dakota-Nebraska border from somewhere else and needed to establish their places in this new world as well as define their relations to one another. The missionaries could be a help or a hindrance in this effort.

As a result of the treaty of 1858, the Yankton people lived on the northeastern bank of the Missouri River at the point where the river ceases to provide the boundary between Nebraska and Dakota Territory and enters fully into South Dakota. They lived on a remnant of their traditional territory, which once had included the entire southeastern quadrant of present-day South Dakota. The Santee lived across the river and downstream from the Yankton, fully within the state of Nebraska.⁵ They were recent arrivals plunked down on this new-to-them reservation after a series of dislocations that began with the Minnesota Outbreak of 1862. A constant presence in their trek was entrepreneurial Episcopal missionary Samuel D. Hinman, a protégé of the well-known Indian reformer Episcopal bishop Henry Whipple of Minnesota. Hinman's work with the Santee from the early 1860s onward had been made possible by his freelancing ability to attract financial contributions from a network of wealthy easterners interested in Indians.

The Episcopal Church was represented in several ways during the early collaborations of this period. Initially represented by Samuel Hinman, the role of the church was confined to two independent missions on the Missouri River. In late 1872 the church expanded its responsibility to include most Indian missions in Dakota Territory when it developed missions on five Sioux reservations while taking direct control of its missions at Santee and Yankton. At this point the national denomination made its full and formal

entrance to mission work in Dakota Territory. It selected Bishop William H. Hare to lead their new missionary field, which they called the Niobrara Jurisdiction. Hare chose to administer his responsibilities from Greenwood on the Yankton Reservation rather than the more developed mission community at Santee.

These events placed the Santee and Yankton Indians at a very complicated set of cultural intersections. Considered among the more peaceful Sioux Indians by the early 1870s, they were physically located between recently established white settlements to their east and the still unconquered Teton Sioux who ranged westward on the Great Plains from the Missouri River to the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming. Those Santee and Yankton inclined to adopt Christianity were caught between two missionaries, Hare and Hinman, who eventually came into conflict with each other. The founders of the Planting Society, formed within the first year of the arrival of Bishop Hare, were often of combined Indian and European ancestry dating to the period of French dominance of the fur trade along the Missouri. Accepted as fellow members of the Yankton and Santee people, those of mixed ancestry were ideally placed to collaborate, or to seem to collaborate, with all parties along the Missouri River.⁶

HISTORIANS, MISSIONARIES, INDIANS, AND THE PEACE POLICY

Most historical analyses of Grant's Peace Policy have evaluated it within the context of national Indian policy as a moment of failure to advance Native Americans along the path to "civilization" and the end of separate Indian cultures. From this perspective historians have focused on conflicts among policymakers. This storyline addresses battles between eastern and western politicians; "friends of the Indian" and bureaucrats; the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate; or the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior.⁷ In these historical analyses, including works on missionary efforts, Indians most often appear as largely ignored bystanders in the struggle over their own futures.

Recent historians are challenging that silence.

Studies of Native Americans as agents shaping their own worlds or creating their own blends of culture are becoming common. These perspectives, including those on the efforts of missionaries, underscore the importance of including local, face-to-face relationships in the development of fuller understandings of Native American options to protect or promote their own interests. National policy was not a one-way street leading out of Washington, DC; it was more complicated than that.

Two studies suggest the flavor of these newer approaches. Philip Deloria offers typologies for understanding Native American experiences, including the latter nineteenth century, which identify cross-cultural relationships as critical for understanding Indian successes in establishing their own worlds. Deloria's essay, "From Nation to Neighborhood," points to Indian intention to create enclaves for themselves in the face of national policies intended "to kill the Indian to save the man." Julian Go's history of early twentieth-century American colonization of the Philippines suggests a connection between American Indian policy and broader studies of colonialism. He found that Filipinos and by implication, Native Americans, were not helpless clay in the hands of national policymakers—or resident missionaries. He identifies the Philippine policy as a misadventure in "developmental benevolence." This occurred because of the myopic vision of imperial administrators who believed that coerced changes to local values and practices would benefit colonized people in the long run. In this setting, according to Go, patron-client relationships between local American bureaucrats and Filipinos were more important than the provisions of policy in determining what actually happened on the ground.⁸ Robert Galler validates the observations of Deloria and Go in his analysis of the ability of the Yanktonai (not to be confused with the Yankton) at Crow Creek Agency to work with, against, or around Indian agents and Episcopal missionaries to promote the interests of their people. For example, they embraced English-language instruction as a necessary skill to promote the interests of their own community, not to facilitate

the missionary goal of incorporating the Sioux into American culture.⁹

While Native Americans were actively pursuing their own goals in the face of Peace Policy objectives, missionary awareness of these efforts was not as high as the clergy thought it was. Harvey Markowitz demonstrates how a local community of Sicangu Lakota (a subdivision of the Tetons) analogized the doctrines of Roman Catholicism to fit into their own preexisting worldview. While this was contrary to what the missionaries intended, clerical reliance on translators and their own initial rudimentary language skills meant that they did not fully know what the Sicangu took from what they were taught. The clergy likely would not have known that the Native Americans were largely retaining their traditional views.¹⁰

The recognition of Native American agency is also growing among scholars who focus on missionary work. David Howlett's overview of new studies in religious history shows that historians are moving beyond the view from the mission house window to incorporate Indian perspectives and experiences.¹¹ However, some studies of Native American experience continue to situate the story within the context of the traditional mission narrative of the dissemination and adoption of Christian ideals and behavior. Bonnie Sue Lewis's examination of the growing reliance of Presbyterians on Native clergy in Indian mission work portrays these clergy as more effective than white missionaries in achieving the denomination's goals. Significantly, she does not claim that the indigenous clergy added any perspectives from their own culture to the message of the mission.¹²

My study of missionaries to the Santee and Yankton addresses the intricacies and submerged aspects of cross-cultural collaboration in a setting where Indian agents and Episcopal missionaries thought they possessed a monopoly on influence. This assumption made it easy for the governmental and denominational representatives to assume they understood the long-term needs of Native Americans better than the Indians themselves. The unnoticed dimension of this interaction was the ability of the Santee and neighboring Yankton to use their knowledge of and relationships with two competing Episcopal missionaries to

modify the world the conquerors brought to their lands. The Native Americans achieved their goals while seeming to collaborate with "their" missionaries by modifying the government's plans for them through the creation of a dual-purpose men's guild. Although the group ostensibly operated within the confines of missionary goals, it also had all the traits of a sodality, a type of organization that anthropologists see as a routine creation in Native American life. The traits of a sodality are discussed below in direct relation to the creation of the Planting Society.

CONVOCATION AND COLLABORATION

The prelude to the expansion of the mission outreach to the Sioux by the Episcopal Church under the Peace Policy occurred at a two-day meeting in October 1870. Those in attendance praised the efforts of the current missionaries and called upon the national church to ask them to lead the church's initiative. Following the meeting, the participants printed a record of the Niobrara Convocation, which presented the church's two local clergy as effective collaborators across cultures; nothing in the report hinted at the possibility that Native Americans might have concerns in addition to or contrary to the points raised at the convocation.

The constitution and bylaws for the Niobrara Jurisdiction present the fruits of local discussions held in the expectation of the entry of the Episcopal Church into Dakota Territory. The printed report of the meeting was circulated widely to influential audiences that included eastern churchmen and national policymakers. The journal of the two-day session presented the mission community in idealized terms that suggested that the Santee and Yankton people were already well down the road toward the goals envisioned by reformers. The Santee and Yankton communities expressed their willingness to join in the missionary effort to reach all the Sioux in the upper Great Plains.¹³ The report suggests that all parties at the meeting were actually, as well as figuratively, on the same page.

Convocations are standard fare in the Episcopal Church. They provide periodic opportunities

for clergy and laypeople in a specific geographic setting to discuss common concerns. The organization of the Niobrara Convocation provides an excellent example of a general collaborative effort in pursuit of a common goal. From a more analytical perspective, however, the convocation is transformed from a durable, unambiguous partnership into a single moment in the long-term interplay of relationships among peoples working out separate but inextricably interrelated destinies in the presence of one another along the Missouri River. Collaboration was always necessary but never as straightforward as the statement on the Niobrara Convocation suggests.

In this essay I use the term "collaboration" in three ways. One definition refers to people working together on a joint endeavor. Missionaries saw their work with Native Americans from this perspective; indeed, the Episcopal Church included a pathway for selected Indians over time to achieve full clerical status comparable to white missionaries. A second definition regards collaboration as treasonous cooperation with an invader of one's home territory. This is the definition directed at Native Americans who worked with missionaries or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, presumably against the traditional practices of their people.¹⁴ A third definition results from turning the second definition on its head. In this case collaboration becomes working with the conquerors to gain the knowledge and trust needed to undermine the efforts of the invaders, missionaries in this case, to create a home for traditional practices and values within the emerging, white-dominated world.

The collaboration present in the announcement of the Niobrara Convocation had two general functions. First, it addressed the relationships and announced goals of the people actually involved in the discussions. Second, it was intended to appeal to two outside audiences whose support was critical to the new organization: the leaders of President Grant's Indian policy and the mission committee of the national Episcopal Church. Although partnership with both groups was needed, neither entity was directly represented at the Niobrara River meeting.

The path of all the participants in the forma-

tion of the convocation began with the United States–Dakota War of 1862.¹⁵ The prelude to and prosecution of that war triggered the search for a new national Indian policy, which culminated in the creation of President Grant's policy. The war itself shattered Santee social organization and led to their removal to a new reservation along the Missouri River in the mid-1860s. Rev. Samuel D. Hinman built on his previous ties to the Santee during the 1862 war to become the leading white church voice at the 1870 convocation. The Yankton people had just initiated a relationship with the Episcopal Church. Both tribes were placed under agents who advocated assigning their charges to individual land allotments and opening their remaining land to pioneer settlement.¹⁶

THE 1862 MINNESOTA WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Santee needs triggered the Minnesota Outbreak of 1862. Their lives were at least partially dependent on a flow of treaty goods and annuities promised by Washington in exchange for a large cession of Santee land for white settlement. Under the deal, the Santee had also been required to relocate to two small reserves along the Minnesota River in the western part of that state. Unfortunately, Congress often delayed passing the appropriations needed to finance the nation's treaty obligations. In an era of tribal starvation, this pattern magnified the misery experienced by the Santee; some tribal members responded with attacks on neighboring white farmers and residents of nearby towns. After some initial successes of Santee war parties, white Minnesotans retaliated against warlike and peaceful Santee alike. In the end, 400 to 800 whites were killed along with about 150 Santees.¹⁷

Santee misery continued. After the war they were scattered across the West. Some fled to Dakota Territory or Canada, many were confined at Fort Snelling near St. Paul, while others were sent to prisons outside Minnesota. Wives and children of the imprisoned were removed to the Crow Creek Reservation along the Missouri River in what is now central South Dakota to await the release of their incarcerated relatives. In 1866

the Crow Creek group walked down the Missouri River to its juncture with the Niobrara River to reunite with their newly released relatives. Together in 1866, they began efforts to re-coalesce as a tribe.¹⁸

President Grant's Peace Policy grew out of lessons learned in the wake of the Minnesota Outbreak. In that war the military was required to suppress a bloody but avoidable war over promised but undelivered rations. Reformers came to believe that the field personnel as well as Congress comprised an "Indian ring" that exacerbated relations with Native Americans in the pursuit of personal profit. White retaliation during the outbreak demonstrated the deep hostility felt by settlers toward their previously peaceful Indian neighbors. Summary trials at the end of the conflict assigned the death penalty indiscriminately to guilty and innocent Santees. Rt. Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple, Minnesota's Episcopal bishop, described the injustices of the trials in a letter to President Abraham Lincoln, who subsequently commuted the sentences of the vast majority of the 303 "guilty." White wrath also spurred calls for the removal of all Minnesota Indians to Dakota Territory and the diversion of promised Santee treaty payments to reimburse the damage claims of the settlers.¹⁹ The issues of the Minnesota war were not unique to that setting. The hostility directed at Native Americans in 1862 was repeated in the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 in Colorado while Red Cloud underscored the effort and high costs needed to defeat Native Americans along the Bozeman Trail.²⁰

A third consequence of the 1862 war was the transformation of Samuel D. Hinman from a local protégé of Minnesota's influential Bishop Henry Whipple to an emerging national figure among Indian reformers. An orphan from Connecticut, he began conducting Sunday services while a student at Whipple's Faribault, Minnesota, seminary where he immersed himself in the lives of the Santee people. His growing closeness with them was reflected in the willingness of individual Santee to facilitate his escape during the 1862 outbreak. He also accompanied a group of them to their confinement at Fort Snelling and later wintered with relatives of Santee prisoners

during their interim stay at the Crow Creek Reservation. Upon their arrival at their final destination along the Niobrara River, Samuel Hinman began the development of a new mission in parallel with Santee efforts to rebuild their world.²¹

By 1870 Hinman's activities extended well beyond his base of operations on the Santee Reservation. He worked periodically as an interpreter for governmental commissions to Sioux Indians beginning in 1867; he was also emerging as a national figure in the Indian work of the Episcopal Church through his mission reports and requests for financial support for his work.²² In the late 1860s his mission added a new unit for the Yankton people residing on their own reservation across the Missouri River from the Santee agency. Although guaranteed possession of their remnant, reservation lands by the treaty of 1858, this land was under constant pressure from whites who wanted to settle in the area.²³ In reaction the Yankton sent a request for a missionary to Samuel Hinman who obtained financial support for the effort from his network of eastern supporters. William Welsh, a wealthy Philadelphia Episcopalian with interests in Indian affairs as well as the blossoming career of Reverend Hinman, financed the new mission. Welsh was one of Hinman's major eastern supporters; he served briefly as one of the first members of the Board of Indian Commissioners to oversee the operation of the church-led reservations before resigning for lack of full authority on June 29, 1869.²⁴

Hinman designated one of his native Santee clergy, Paul Mazekute, to serve the Yankton people while he looked for a white clergyman to lead the new mission. Joseph Cook, a missionary from Cheyenne, Wyoming, joined Hinman's staff in 1869 to work directly with the Yankton. The combination of the Santee and Yankton missions cemented the Episcopal claim for a leading role with the Sioux throughout Dakota Territory under the Peace Policy. The Yankton request for a missionary suggested Hinman's influence was growing among the Sioux. The trials and tribulations of the Santee and the impoverished condition of the Yankton made them ideal prospects for Grant's program of civilization and Christianization.

THE NIOBRARA CONVOCATION

The formation of the Niobrara Convocation represented the effort of the Episcopal Church to advance its reputation as a worthy mediator between the white and Indian worlds. According to convocation records, Rev. Samuel D. Hinman led the meetings at the request of Rt. Rev. Robert Clarkson, Bishop of Nebraska and what was called, at that moment, "the Indian jurisdiction." The discussions occurred in the Santee Reservation home of Chief Joseph Wabashaw at the Episcopal Mission of the Most Merciful Savior on the banks of the Missouri River.²⁵

The meeting was collaborative and inclusive but also hierarchical. Participants included the two white clergy working on the Santee and Yankton Reservations, three Indian clergy, four Indian catechists, and two lay representatives from each of the church's mission congregations. In addition, each band served by a chapel was allowed a representative, while the five Yankton headmen present at the convocation were invited to sit in, as was a representative of the Ponca tribe. Major leadership roles for this collaboration were assigned to white clergy; the organization petitioned Bishop Clarkson to name the two whites present at the meeting, Samuel Hinman and Joseph Cook, as "reverend deans" for their work on the Santee and Yankton Reservations, respectively. The group also requested that Samuel Hinman be named archdeacon over the Niobrara Jurisdiction.²⁶

The published proceedings include numerous instances that suggest that the Santee and Yankton were fully ready accept President Grant's reforms and become willing clay ready to be molded in the ways of the white world. Abraham Wamasnasu proposed that "if they [Indians] can be saved, it must be by learning the ways and religion of the whites" while catechist Andrew Namduca resolved that "it is impossible for a people to be thoroughly civilized until they are brought under law." Thomas Kicosmani, another catechist, added that "the lands of all the tribes should be surveyed, divided and given to the Indians in severalty." Native clergyman Rev. Paul Mazekute (Santee) asserted, in a blow to Indian agent lead-

ership, that "in our opinion the Christian law of love is far stronger [than civil law], and that most of the dissensions among our people can be healed by kind and godly advice from the Clergy and Christian people."²⁷ The minutes do not distinguish between Yankton and Santee voices in the presentation of resolutions.

Other provisions suggested Indian rejection of those traditional cultural norms regarded as heathen by whites. The institution of marriage received special attention. Samuel Hinman stated that clergy should not "recognize any divorce unless granted for the cause of adultery; and even then not to consent to the [subsequent] marriage of the guilty party." Mazekute added that "polygamy is forbidden" and that if a polygamous man sought baptism he must choose among his wives the one whom he would marry in the church. Another resolution urged that Indians adopt the Christian standard of marriage holding that the man was the head of the household; if adopted, this proposal would end the expectation that husbands would live in the homes of their mothers-in-law rather than on their own. Finally, Andrew Wamasnasu moved that any sorcerer or anyone who invites such a person into their home should be suspended from Holy Communion.²⁸

The founders of the Niobrara Convocation also claimed the responsibility to extend their mission work in the upper Great Plains. Using the scriptural image of ministers as "fishers of men" (Mark 1:17), Chief Joseph Wabashaw resolved "[t]hat it is the duty of the Clergy and Mission, and of all the Christian Indians, to give all their strength and time until the net [of the fisherman] can be drawn around . . . the whole Dakota People."²⁹

Concluding resolutions of thanks skillfully tied the creation of the convocation to a number of outsiders interested in the work of Samuel Hinman. Thanks were offered to the newly identified dean of the Niobrara, Samuel Hinman, and his immediate superior at that moment, Robert Clarkson, the bishop of Nebraska. Special thanks were directed to William Welsh, the Philadelphia Indian reformer who largely financed Hinman's Santee Mission, and Minnesota bishop Henry B. Whipple, Hinman's long-standing clerical spon-

sor. With an eye toward Washington the Niobrara group thanked President Grant for his interest in the welfare of Indians, his determination to eradicate the abuses of the past, and his success for ensuring that Indian annuities arrive on time and intact.³⁰

On its surface the creation of the Niobrara Convocation represented cross-cultural collaboration. The concluding document appeared to be written by a group of people working together to achieve common goals. Native Americans expressed support for both the value of Christianity and the acceptability of impending government policies. They seemingly embraced the leadership of the white clergy, valued the support of white outsiders who were known to many of them personally, and valued the role of President Grant in their lives. And they indicated the willingness to become missionaries to other Dakotas.

THE PROBLEM WITH SAMUEL HINMAN

Although the Niobrara Convocation may have helped the national Episcopal Church advance its status in the Indian reform movement, there were other dynamics at work at the local level. The meeting at Chief Wabashaw's home concealed the conflicting, private agendas of Rev. Samuel Hinman and "his" Indians. After the proclamations of the 1870 meeting, Hinman pursued his personal goals, while there is no evidence of Native Americans doing anything other than following along. Hinman looked forward to his selection as bishop of the Niobrara as the culmination of his drive toward national stature comparable to that of his mentors, Bishop Whipple and philanthropist William Welsh. In the meantime Hinman needed to demonstrate his effectiveness as a shepherd guiding his "charges" toward "civilization" and Christianity while appearing disinterested in his possible elevation to bishop. Hinman's needs were, at best, contrary to any hopes that the Santee and Yankton might have had to ameliorate the impact of the American presence in their environs by turning the dynamics of the Peace Policy to their advantage.

The Niobrara agreement did not include any provisions representing what Steven Sabol has

identified as "adaptive strategies." These strategies are frequently pursued by people laboring under the terms of a colonial setting such as the American reservation system. Their purpose is to offset the worst impacts of government policy or to pursue positive changes in the system. There were no resolutions that clearly reflected support for anything directly tied to the particular interests of Indians. The motion having the best chance to keep the tribe together was made by the secretary of the convocation, Joseph Cook, who was the white missionary at Yankton Agency. If "Hinman's Indians" hoped to find wiggle room for their interests within the framework of the Niobrara Convocation, they would be disappointed until the Episcopal Church selected an "outsider" to lead their missions.³¹

The ability to exploit openings in the Niobrara negotiations was largely unavailable to the Sioux under the leadership of Samuel Hinman. His financial support came from eastern benefactors who were captivated by his stories of selfless service to helpless, needy Indians huddled in their tipis.³² He would have had little interest in supporting or allowing the resistance implicit in "adaptive strategies" whenever they appeared to undercut his own plans. In fact, if Hinman were elected bishop of Niobrara, he would become a more influential advocate of the national Indian policies embedded in the Niobrara Convocation agreement as well as a more powerful presence on the reservations.

The Hinman relationship had many liabilities in the eyes of the Santee. He had not been their unstinting friend and advocate. Although he had been a constant companion of the Santee since 1862 and knew their language and culture, he was not a neutral culture broker.³³ As the trial record of his 1882 libel suit against Bishop Hare, discussed below, indicates, his ultimate loyalties were to the white community or to himself.

The Santee and Yankton also had likely directed a wary eye toward Hinman's reservation presence since 1862. According to Mary Graves, a long-term housemother of Saint Mary's Boarding School and worker at the Santee Mission, Hinman's success with the Santee people was grounded on special knowledge dating from the 1862

war. He knew which Santee had killed whites in that conflict and which had not—and they knew he knew. Even eight years after the war and its mass executions, Santee men could imagine reprisal for past deeds if they incurred Hinman's wrath.³⁴

Hinman's loyalties lay with the government and the settlers. From the late 1860s onward, he frequently left the reservation for extended time periods to interpret for commissions investigating Indian living conditions or to negotiate treaty revisions including land cessions on behalf of the federal government.³⁵ These activities were also strategically located in the territorial and national white communities. His attractiveness included fluency in the Dakota language, knowledge of Sioux culture, and convenient location along the Missouri River, the major transportation artery in the transition zone between white settlements and Indian lands. His proximity to Yankton, the capital of Dakota Territory, placed him close to territorial politicians in an era when a primary political goal was to lobby for more land to be opened for settlement. Finally, his many friendships among white settlers could assure easterners that he was ultimately on their side. The memory of Hinman's loyalty to the U.S. government over and above any bonds to Native Americans extended well into the twentieth century; Hinman was mentioned negatively in a memoir of the American Indian Movement's occupation of the Wounded Knee battlefield, which occurred in 1973, almost one hundred years after the events related to the creation of the Planting Society.³⁶

BISHOP HARE AND THE CREATION OF THE PLANTING SOCIETY

Samuel Hinman suffered a major setback in late 1872; he was not elected bishop of Niobrara. In a rejection of Hinman's past mission work, a national meeting of Episcopal bishops selected William Hobart Hare to direct the denomination's expanding network of Indian missions. Indeed, Hinman's mentor, Bishop Whipple, nominated Hare for the post.

The new bishop had been the secretary for the denomination's committee on foreign missions

and had turned down an earlier election to a bishopric in Africa. Where Hinman appeared in Minnesota out of the blue as a twenty-year-old orphan from Connecticut, Hare was a well-placed Philadelphian whose maternal grandfather, John H. Hobart, had been an influential bishop with experience in Indian work. Hinman was now expected to work with and through a man who had a world of connections but no background in Native American culture.³⁷

It was the practice of the Episcopal Church to announce only the person elected to office. Proceedings were secret. For this reason the rationale for the selection of Hare beyond his strong eastern ties is not known nor are the positive or negative estimates of Hinman, the only other nominee in the close election. The voting results leaked out almost immediately. Subsequent reports of the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions emphasize the importance of proper moral behavior in a bishop. They believed that bishops have "a higher degree of moral power" than other clergy and that a missionary bishop must be able to unify his clergy around his leadership.³⁸ Could this have been a factor in the vote? Did the voting bishops have moral reservations about Hinman? Once Bishop Hare arrived in Dakota Territory he quickly encountered reports of Hinman dalliances with Indian women.

Hare's arrival also marked a new chapter for the Santee in their recovery from the disaster of the U.S.-Dakota War. Not connected to the events or personal networks of 1862, Hare also did not have preexisting ties to local white settlers or the military. Still, the relationship did not represent an immediate fresh start for the Sioux. The bishop was not physically available to meet with members of his Santee congregations because he lived upriver on the Yankton Reservation. In addition, Hare required a translator for any meetings with Native Americans. Although Joseph Cook, resident white missionary on the Yankton Reservation, was a capable translator, he was also well known as a close friend of Reverend Hinman. When Hare ventured to Santee, Hinman himself served as translator. Thus Indians could not meet freely with their potential ally. Furthermore, a rebuffed Hinman began empha-

sizing his title of presbyter over the Santee missions, a claim that he felt made him equal rather than subordinate to the organizational status of Bishop Hare.³⁹

The Yankton and Santee, operating in concert in 1873, turned to a traditional form of Sioux organization, what is generically known as a sodality, to create the adaptive strategy that had eluded them in the creation of the Niobrara Convocation. This type of organization, according to anthropologists, appears most often in societies where most personal relationships are based on kinship. In this context, according to Guy Gibbon, a sodality stretches across political and family bonds, has a defined organizational structure, excludes some people, and has a common purpose and a sense of pride and belonging. A sodality is especially effective for addressing problems or interests that cannot be met effectively within individual kin structures.⁴⁰

Within the year of Hare's arrival in Greenwood, three young Native American men collaborated in the creation of an informal organization they called The Planting Society. Ten years later it was renamed the Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Although the two titles suggest support for the goals of American Indian policy—civilization and Christianization—the organization provided a space for emerging leaders to collaborate with one another without white clergy always present. Like the founders of the Niobrara Deanery, the men were residents of the Santee and Yankton Reservations; unlike the 1870 collaborators, there were no Euro-Americans among the founders or promoters of the association. In addition the founders was very young; their ages ranged from nineteen to twenty-one. White clergy saw the group as a guild designed to supplement their work; Bishop Hare was unaware of the organization until 1876.

Contrary to missionary hopes for these theology students, the Planting Society was not a club to further the goals of the Peace Policy for the wholesale adoption of the values of white society. The founders regarded their organization as a brotherhood club. The Planting Society combined Christian values with traditional Dakota charitable responsibilities for poor and neglected

members of the tribe or band. The organization was similar to the Big Bellies formed by Sitting Bull, which had also been formed for charitable purposes. The organization suited the needs of this younger generation of Santee and Yankton by emphasizing the importance of inherited values. Membership grew quickly.⁴¹

Tribal unity was also a concern. The society addressed the fragmentation of Native American life caused by disagreement over how best to respond to the pressure to "civilize," to deal with the fragmentation of society from denominational competition, and to reconcile their familiar understandings of the spirit world with the teachings of Christianity. They did not portray their heritage as an inventory of items to be surrendered along the path toward civilization. Where missionaries saw Indian culture as a savage lifestyle to be eradicated, the founders regarded the ideals of their ancestors as good but incomplete because previous generations lacked knowledge about Jesus. They were alarmed that the messengers of Jesus created divisions among Indian people by insisting that membership in a particular church was a lifelong commitment. Missionaries scorned those who moved back and forth among several denominations. On the Yankton and Santee Reservations the Episcopal Church faced an abiding challenge from Congregational and Presbyterian missions. In contrast, the Brotherhood of Christian Unity welcomed converts to members of different Christian denominations to their combination of Christianity and Indian unity.⁴²

The founders of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity were leading young men of the Yankton and Santee tribes drawn from the "friendly Indians" who lived near agencies and forts; they were engaged in farming and held jobs such as carpenters and blacksmiths.⁴³ One of the founders was Philip Deloria. According to missionary writings the sixteen-year-old Deloria was brought to Rev. Joseph Cook in 1870 for religious instruction at the behest of his mixed-blood father, Frank (or Francois) Deloria, known to the Yankton as Saswe. This moment was hailed by missionaries as proof of the appeal and promise of the mission effort and was immediately trumpeted nationally in the missionary press.⁴⁴ The ebullient

Joseph Cook did not know that Frank Deloria had brought his son to the mission in compliance with his traditional vision quest, which bound the Deloria family to adopt Christianity for four generations. Another explanation for Philip's conversion, also unknown to the clerics, is that Philip's father pointed him toward the church in order to access its political power for the benefit of the tribe.⁴⁵ But, despite the hopes for the Indian-only Planting Society, Samuel Hinman remained a barrier to the success of the society.

CONFLICT BETWEEN BISHOP AND PRESBYTER

Almost immediately after his arrival, Bishop Hare began establishing missions on all the reservations in Dakota Territory assigned to the Episcopal Church. This included hiring clergy and staff, building churches and mission houses, and establishing the day and boarding schools needed to carry out the twin goals of civilization and Christianization. His absences left Hinman unhindered on the Santee Reservation and highly influential in the work with the Yankton. While initially Hare was likely grateful to be able to focus on mission building, he was dogged by tales of Hinman's liaisons with Indian women. The worst story held that the failing health of the presbyter's wife was caused by a "loathsome disease" (syphilis), which she allegedly contracted from her husband, who got it from an Indian woman. Hinman denied all these stories and endured several clerical investigations into his reported immorality. Mary Hinman died in 1876.⁴⁶ When asked by a white neighbor why the many accusations against him never seemed to stick, Hinman said he was always exonerated because the witnesses against him were Indians.⁴⁷

Analysts of the Hare-Hinman relationship have always had to address the issue of lying, which lay at the core of nineteenth-century white understandings of the nature of Native Americans. There are two ways of addressing this issue. Was Hinman guilty of the charges of immorality but evaded responsibility because white observers did not believe Indian witnesses? Or was he innocent but victimized by Indians with a penchant

for making up stories about whites? The latter claim predominated in the white community, in part because honesty was seen as a Christian trait whereas "heathens" were "natural" liars.⁴⁸

Notwithstanding the frontier and Victorian prejudices of the era, Bishop Hare believed Native American claims and declined to reemploy Samuel Hinman from 1878 onward because his behavior was not a proper role model for Indians. Bishop Hare's message to his board terminating Hinman was acquired by the deposed cleric who reprinted it along with his rebuttal. Hare's charges included the names of his Indian cleric informers and their specific charges while Hinman argues for the absurdity of each of Hare's claims. The conflict led to a libel trial filed by Presbyter Hinman against Bishop Hare, held in New York City, the organizational home of the national Episcopal Church. The story got daily coverage in the *New York Times* and other *East Coast* papers. Hinman won his suit in 1882 but Hare won a new trial on appeal in 1887 because of numerous judicial errors during the trial. At the urging of mutual friends, the adversaries grudgingly agreed to a written reconciliation.⁴⁹

The "reconciliation" continued Hare's ban on Hinman's presence on the Santee and Yankton Reservations, where it was feared he could meddle in the operations of Bishop Hare. Was this a victory for justice or an example of the power of a convenient fiction shared by Bishop Hare and some Native Americans? The removal of Reverend Hinman from the Niobrara Jurisdiction eliminated the person who represented an obstacle to the separate goals pursued by the bishop and by the Santee and Yankton people.

The libel trial record places the bishop and the Native Americans in agreement on Hinman's guilt while local white witnesses sided with Hinman.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the stories that reached Hare's ears were from Indians. While it is impossible to prove if the stories were true, it is certain that the stories provided Hare with the rationale needed to end his ongoing difficulties with Hinman. It is also clear that the acceptance of the stories as true also eliminated an obstacle to the initiatives of the Planting Society.⁵¹

A recent article by Joshua Piker raises the pos-

sibility that Hare and the Indians were mutually complicit in advancing a story that both knew to be untrue. Piker's convincing analysis from the colonial era demonstrates that British and Creek Indian leaders crossed a cultural divide to present a common story about a minor Creek leader which both knew to be a lie. This action enabled both sets of leaders to stabilize their holds on power, one in a colony, the other in a tribe. This suggests the possibility that Hinman was innocent but that the members of the new Indian society disseminated a story they knew would be helpful to Hare, who chose to accept it as true to solidify his hold on his missionary jurisdiction.⁵²

The banishment of Hinman helped advance the influence of the Planting Society on the reservations of South Dakota. The organization became a meeting ground for Native American clergy and assumed a key role in the leadership of Indian Episcopalians. Subsequent political developments in South Dakota facilitated this growth. The 1883 national political decision to move the capital of Dakota Territory from Yankton to Bismarck triggered the action of residents from "southern Dakota" to begin a statehood movement for their half of Dakota Territory. In response to this effort, the Episcopal Church expanded Bishop Hare's jurisdiction to include white communities in his pastoral responsibilities. To meet this change, the bishop moved his "see" from Greenwood to Sioux Falls in 1883 to better serve white as well as Indian communities and to enjoy the benefits of living in a larger community.⁵³ At this point Bishop Hare's former Niobrara Jurisdiction became one of three deaneries in the territory and divided the attention of the bishop. It was at this moment that the Planting Society changed its name to the Brotherhood for Christian Unity and likely gained greater autonomy over its own affairs. By the end of the century its leaders were known as the "Big Four," and they played a key role in influencing the work of the Episcopal Church in what became known as the Niobrara (Indian) Deanery. Founder Philip Deloria, one of the "Big Four" Indian clergy leaders in the deanery, came to be regarded as one of the spiritual leaders of Indian Episcopalians.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

The chain of events, from starvation and military intervention in 1862 through cultural convalescence along the Missouri River to the collaboration associated with the Niobrara Convocation and beyond, supports David Lindenfeld's interpretation of the development of Sioux Christianity. He argues that the Sioux assimilated the alien contents of Christianity while conserving many indigenous religious forms.⁵⁵ The Santee and Yankton people may have taken this path because they lived along the Missouri River immediately adjacent to white settlements and under the eyes of folks wanting to establish homesteads or extend existing farms onto their remaining treaty lands. There was the world of settler colonialism, the constant possibility of military intervention from nearby Fort Randall, and the challenges of the nation's capitalist economy that saw the Indian trade and treaty annuities as profit centers and Indian lands as future pioneer settlements.

In the face of these pressures the Santee and Yankton had a couple of advantages that enabled them to construct elements of a modified culture in the near vicinity of the white community. One advantage lay in the mind of missionaries who were certain that their charges were destined to change from American Indians to Indian Americans, a people of American habits and Christian values. This viewpoint led them to devalue or overlook the ideals, concerns, and perspectives of their indigenous parishioners. After all, they expected that none of these experiences would last into the future. This attitude also led people like Bishop Hare to decline to learn the Dakota language because he believed that the use of that language would wane over time. He also felt that he could not master all the variant dialects of the language. If the Sioux sang Christian hymns and prayed in unison from the Dakota language prayer book, he could feel his missions were creating Indian Americans. He was not equipped to look beyond the outward signs of conversion and interpersonal behavior to see what inner meanings his new churchmen ascribed to the Christian belief system. He would not likely be aware of any blending of Indian practices with Christian be-



FIG. 1. These Episcopal clergymen were the founders in 1873 of the Planting Society, which was later renamed the Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Known as the “Big Four,” they were influential to the end of their lives in voicing Native American perspectives within the reservation missions and white hierarchy of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota. In this 1925 photograph taken during the Niobrara Convocation, they symbolically stand between those on the left whose dress connects them to westernized ranch life and, on the right, the tipis of traditional life, which housed the Indian attendees during the meetings. Members of the Yankton and Santee tribes, the Big Four are, from left to right, Baptiste Lambert, Luke Walker, Philip Deloria, and Amos Ross. Courtesy of the Center for Western Studies, Augustana College.

liefs. This fact also created space for the development of Sioux Christianity.

Collaboration played a central role in the lives of all of the participants in this story. The creation of the Niobrara Convocation provided some semblance of white-Indian partnership, advanced President Grant’s Indian policy, propelled the Episcopal Church toward its major role in Native American missions, and placed Samuel Hinman at the doorstep of national prominence. The Santee and Yankton need to advance an Indian agenda led to a successful collaboration, the Planting Society (Brotherhood of Christian Unity). The reports of Indian Christians led Bishop Hare to dismiss a man who represented the common obstacle to the career of the bishop and to the cultural goals of the Native Americans. The subsequent libel trial found Hinman’s opponents allied against him behind the truth or fable of his personal behavior.

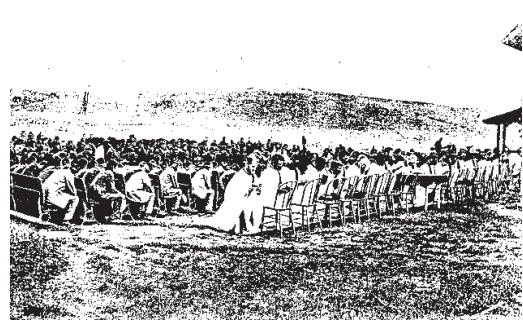


FIG. 2. This image of outdoor church services during the Niobrara Convocation was frequently used by Bishop Hare in reports to national church leaders and potential donors to show the success of his efforts to create Indian Episcopalians. The regimentation of worship and the anonymity of the Indian clergy extended to the original cutline of the photo, which read in part, “Bishop Hare kneels at the table. On his right the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth are Indian clergymen, three being absent.” Courtesy of the Archives of the Episcopal Church.

POSTSCRIPT

The Brotherhood of Christianity Unity operated into the middle of the twentieth century. Its key founder, Philip Deloria, is one of only three Americans represented on the reredos of the high altar of the National Cathedral of the Episcopal Church in Washington, DC.⁵⁶

Immediately after the 1882 trial Bishop Hare welcomed Herbert Welsh and Henry Pancoast to tour some of the Indian missions of the Episcopal Church. Welsh, the nephew of Hinman benefactor William Welsh, and Pancoast would soon found the Indian Rights Association, which would continue as a major voice on Native American issues into the twentieth century. Hare, a contributor at these and other meetings, became known as one of this new group, the latest iteration of “friends of the Indians.”⁵⁷

Samuel Hinman returned to Minnesota in the midst of the appeals process to work as a teacher at Bishop Whipple’s mission to some Santee remnants who had stayed on or returned to their former lands. He regained his full rights to work as a minister in 1887 according to the terms of

his reconciliation agreement with Bishop Hare. Three years later, at age fifty, Hinman died and was buried at Birch Coulee near the site of his original mission to the Santees. The cause of his death is not stated. The annual meeting of the Niobrara Convocation continues to the present.

NOTES

1. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1870), 202. Hereafter abbreviated as ARCIA. For a recent summary of the policy challenges of the mid-nineteenth century, see Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005), 228–36.
2. ARCIA 1870, 10.
3. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 30–71.
4. Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, *That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859–1976* (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), 13–16; Margaret Connell Szasz, introduction to *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. M. Szasz, 3–20 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).
5. Although popularly known as the Sioux in historical accounts, the Santees and Yanktons identified themselves as part of the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Tribal Fires). The name Santee refers to the four tribal fires that speak Dakota—the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton. To their west, in modern-day western Minnesota and eastern South Dakota, were the Yankton (also Dakota speakers) and the Yanktonai (speakers of the Nakota dialect). The seventh tribal fire, the Teton, lay west of the Missouri River; they speak Lakota. These dialects are mutually intelligible. Guy Gibbon, *The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota Nations* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 2, 187–88.
6. Sneve, *They May Have Life*.
7. Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis*, 25–29.
8. Philip Deloria, “From Nation to Neighborhood: Land, Policy, Culture, Colonialism, and Empire in U.S.-Indian Relations” in *The Cultural Turn in U.S. History*, ed. J. Cook, L. Glickman and M. O’Malley, 343–83 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 343–83; Julian Go, “Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines” in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines*, ed. J. Go and A. Foster, 12–14 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
9. Robert Galler, “Tribal Decision-Making and Intercultural Relations: Crow Creek Agency, 1863–1885,” *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* 3 (Spring 2002): 95–112.
10. Harvey Markowitz, “Converting the Rosebud Sicangu Lakota Catholicism in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 32 (Winter 2012): 3–23.
11. David Howlett, “Historians on Defining Hegemony in Missionary–Native Relations,” *Fides et Historia* 37 (2005): 17–24.
12. Bonnie Sue Lewis, *Creating Christian Indians: Native Clergy in the Presbyterian Church* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), xi–xii.
13. *The Journal, Constitution and By-Laws of the Convocation of the Niobrara* (Yankton, Dakota Territory: Mission Press, 1870); Domestic Missions, Publications, Folder D-M, Indians, General, Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, TX (hereafter cited as Niobrara Convocation).
14. “Collaboration,” Dictionary.com, *Collins English Dictionary*, complete and unabridged 10th ed., HarperCollins Publishers, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/collaboration>, (accessed January 26, 2012).
15. Roy Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 109–32.
16. ARCIA 1870, 213, 234.
17. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, 133–54.
18. Ibid., 155–66.
19. Ibid., 398–401.
20. For Sand Creek, see Robert Utley, *The Indian Frontier in the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 86–94; for Red Cloud’s War, 99–106.
21. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, 158–63.
22. *Journal of the Rev. S. D. Hinman, Missionary to the Santee Sioux Indians and Taopi by Bishop Whipple* (Philadelphia: McCall and Stanly, Printers, 1869).
23. Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 108–9.
24. Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis*, 37–38.
25. Niobrara Convocation, 3.
26. Ibid., 4–5.
27. Ibid., 11–13.
28. Ibid., 7–8.
29. Ibid., 7.
30. Ibid., 14.
31. “Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization: ‘The Touch of Civilisation’ on the Sioux and Kazakhs,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43 (2012): 49–51.
32. *Journal of the Rev. S. D. Hinman*, 8, 10–11.
33. Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds*.

34. Mary Graves to Elizabeth Biddle, n.d., Elizabeth Biddle Papers, Archives of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College. The letter is unsigned, but the handwriting matches Mary Graves's signed letters in the same folder.
35. Grant K. Anderson, "Samuel D. Hinman and the Opening of the Black Hills," *Nebraska History* 60 (1979): 520-42.
36. Robert Burnette and John Koster, *The Road to Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), 56.
37. M. A. deW. Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1911), ch. 1.
38. Appendix, *Board of Missions 40th Annual Report* (1875), 4; *Board of Missions 39th Annual Report* (1874), *Third Annual Report of the Indian Commission to the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions*, 17. All in Archives of the National Episcopal Church, Austin, TX.
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40. Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 127-30.
41. Vine Deloria Jr., *Singing for a Spirit: A Portrait of the Dakota Sioux* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000), 49-54.
42. Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 13-16.
43. Ibid., 13.
44. *Spirit of Missions*, February 1871, 59-62.
45. The vision is discussed in Vine Deloria Jr., *Singing for a Spirit*, 6-37; for the political value of church ties, see Philip Deloria, "Vine V. Deloria, Sr.," in *The New Warriors: Native American Leaders since 1900*, ed. R. D. Edmunds, 80-81 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).
46. Trask, "The Presbyterian vs. the Bishop."
47. "Mr. Hinman's Character," *New York Times*, March 31, 1882.
48. John Kucich, *The Power of Lies: Transgression in Victorian Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 31.
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50. Trask, "The Presbyterian vs. the Bishop," 205.
51. Ibid., 206-7.
52. Joshua Piker, "Lying Together: The Imperial Implications of Cross-Cultural Untruths," *American Historical Review* 116 (October 2011): 964-86.
53. Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, 123.
54. Vine Deloria Jr., *Singing for a Spirit*, 84.
55. David Lindenfeld, "The Varieties of Sioux Christianity, 1860-1980, in International Perspective," *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007): 300-302.
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57. William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years 1882-1904* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 1-10.