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## SIBLEY'S WINNEBAGO PRISONERS DECONSTRUCTING RACE AND RECOVERING KINSHIP IN THE DAKOTA WAR OF 1862

LINDA M. WAGGONER

The people of the Blue Earth Valley are enraptured.—The winter of their discontent is passed, and glorious spring returns. To the civilized world, we send salutations of peace. The fated hour has come to a fated race. Henceforth the tramp of the pagan shall no more be heard within our borders. All “good,” “noble,” “brave,” “devilish,” are gone.

*Winona Daily Republican*, May 23, 1863

On October 21, 1862, two months following the first violent outbreak of the U.S. and Dakota War, Alonzo J. Edgerton, captain of Company B of the Tenth Minnesota Regiment, pursued “quite a young looking Indian” after he was spot-

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ted crossing the Blue Earth River headed toward the Winnebago Indian Agency, twelve miles east of Mankato in Blue Earth County.<sup>1</sup> Unarmed and riding bareback, Edgerton’s suspect was not a Dakota warrior on the lam but a Ho-Chunk Indian trying to return home. Nothing but a dirty rag covered his head, while his pierced ear lobes flashed a pair of shiny brass clock wheels. Maznopinka, as he was called, or He-who-wears-the-iron-necklace, was noticeably weary from his nine-day journey.<sup>2</sup> His hair was shorn and ash smeared his youthful face, indicating he was, as a newspaper later reported, “in mourning for the death of some relative.”

What is unusual about Maznopinka, however, is not how he appeared the day of his capture, but that his name survives at all. Approximately thirteen Ho-Chunk men (commonly known as Winnebago) were indicted for joining the Dakota (commonly known as the eastern Sioux) in the attacks against Euro-Americans who had

settled in the Minnesota River valley northwest of the Winnebago Agency.<sup>3</sup> However, only two of their stories remain, Edgerton's summary of his examination of Maznopinka and the testimony of "O-ton-ka-ton-ka" (strikeout intended), which is numbered case 13 of the 392 cases General Henry Hastings Sibley's military tribunal tried between September 28 and November 5, 1862.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after violence erupted, Governor Alexander Ramsey appointed Sibley, Minnesota's first governor, colonel of the state militia. The day after Sibley began hearing cases, he was promoted to brigadier general of the State Volunteers. General Sibley's tribunal convicted 323 war crimes, and of those, 303 men faced execution.<sup>5</sup> Sibley planned to hang the condemned immediately to appease Minnesota's frantic citizens, but President Abraham Lincoln, weary of violence after a year of civil war, interceded and reduced the death penalty count to thirty-nine, with one man receiving a stay of execution at the last minute. Consequently, thirty-eight Dakota men were hanged in Mankato the day after Christmas in 1862, while the rest, including Maznopinka, benefited from Lincoln's mercy. Still, Maznopinka remained confined in a Mankato prison with the 200-plus others who escaped execution. In the spring of 1863, a few like "O-ton-ka-ton-ka" were let go, but Maznopinka and the rest were shipped to a facility near Davenport, Iowa, where they were again imprisoned.

For 150 years, commentators and historians have explored what ignited the violence. Not surprisingly, the "Sioux uprising" or "Sioux outbreak," as it was usually called, followed four years of broken treaty promises. By the summer of 1862, a crop failure had left many Dakota starving, so when traders refused to extend them credit while their annuities (money, food, and supplies) sat undelivered in a warehouse, despair turned to rage. But these conditions do not explain the Ho-Chunk's involvement, although they too suffered over many years from broken treaties and starvation.

The U.S. and Dakota War was not just a primal scene for Minnesota people. In the decade that followed the conflict, the fate of the Ho-

Chunk as one people was irrevocably disjoined. A great many lost their lives, others withdrew their tribal allegiance, and the remainder divided in two, joining either what is known today as the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska or the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk Nation. Why did thirteen Ho-Chunk men, including Maznopinka, appear to join the Dakota? Who were these individuals? And finally, how were racial tropes employed to represent them to the public in order to banish all Indians from Minnesota? These long-neglected questions, whether or not they can be thoroughly answered, deserve our attention.

Historians know little about how the Ho-Chunk became embroiled in the war. In fact, Edgerton's examination of Maznopinka is archived in a Wisconsin library. Although many have studied Sibley's nearly 400 tribunal records, few have given O-ton-ka-ton-ka's testimony much concern.<sup>6</sup> Trial transcripts for the other Ho-Chunk suspects have not come to light—if they were recorded at all. Only biased newspaper reports remain to lend a glimpse of these proceedings, which were administered by Sibley at Camp Lincoln, just outside Mankato, beginning on November 11 and ending three days later. Because of the scant documentation, some historians claim that all the Ho-Chunk suspects were acquitted, but one was certainly not.<sup>7</sup> Maznopinka may have escaped execution, but he remained a prisoner of the United States; for how long, no one remembers.

#### RACE AND KINSHIP

By 1862 the notion of race, though unstable, overdetermined U.S. policies of settler colonialism.<sup>8</sup> If the majority of Minnesota's Euro-American population did not harbor racism toward the Dakota and Ho-Chunk before the war, it certainly did after. Evolutionary theory proposed that mankind had progressed from savagery to barbarity to civilization. This appealed to the sensibilities of "civilized" Christian citizens, who believed, conveniently, that indigenous people occupied the lowest rung of the ladder. But the "Indian question" remained: could they ascend?<sup>9</sup>

Manifest destiny from sea to shining sea was the reward for a revised Anglo-Saxonism, which

crowned “whites” the superior race by projecting negative qualities upon minority “Others.”<sup>10</sup> However, deconstructing racial representations of Indians as “savages” during the Civil War and Indian Wars era does not just reveal an Other for whites, but also an Other for blacks.<sup>11</sup> To justify slavery, African Americans were rendered innately servile and dependent. To justify the necessity of “removals” and isolated reservations, American Indians, even if “noble,” loomed wild and untamable but, conversely, needing their Great Father’s protection. These social constructions and racial tropes enabled policies aimed at inhibiting individual agency in the body politic.<sup>12</sup>

As one scholar notes, “nations provoke fantasy.”<sup>13</sup> Consequently, citizens inherit a “national imaginary,” a collective netherworld where simplistic racial stereotypes—opposed images of “us” and “them”—circulate freely. Unfortunately, these relentless fantasies obfuscate the rich ethnic heritage of our national landscape, including, of course, Minnesota in 1862. Blacks and whites, forbidden to marry, created children nonetheless. For example, their progeny, like Isaac Terrill, the head of a Ho-Chunk family, inhabited Minnesota. On the other hand, the union of Indians and whites (and some blacks) perpetuated the Great Lakes fur trade. Euro-Canadian and Americans married indigenous women in great numbers, whether in the church, courthouse, or by “Indian custom.”

Gary Clayton Anderson has explored the kinship ties that bound Dakota people to each other and to their multiethnic kin during the war.<sup>14</sup> The Dakota themselves, also known as the Santee Sioux, were made up of the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton branches, which, Anderson found, participated in varying degrees in the conflict. From the perspective of Minnesota’s indigenous people, kinship alliances, no matter with whom, entailed complex social obligations that could easily transgress ethnicity and the mythic notion of race, not to mention competing war zones. Kinship ties, invisibly anchored by wives, mothers, and sisters, were a significant factor in how the U.S. and Dakota War played out from beginning to end.

#### HO-CHUNK ORIGINS AND EXOGAMY

The lack of known documentation about the Ho-Chunk in the war is not surprising. Minnesota had only been their home since 1848. Prior to the removal era, the population spanned from the Red Banks of Lake Michigan near Green Bay, Wisconsin, to the Mississippi River west, and south into northern Illinois.<sup>15</sup> Like the Dakota, the Ho-Chunk are a Siouan people, closely related to the Otoe, Iowa, and Missouri, who speak a language derivative of theirs. Their name, in fact, means “big voice” (*ho*, voice, and *chunk*, big) or “people of the parent speech.” Many ethnologists believe Ho-Chunk ancestors made the second of four Siouan migrations from the southeastern United States to the western shore of Lake Michigan.<sup>16</sup> However, Ho-Chunk oral tradition maintains that the people originated at Red Banks, where they first encountered the French in 1634.

The population suffered extreme decimation in the early eighteenth century during the French and Fox Wars.<sup>17</sup> As a result, the Ho-Chunk intermarried extensively with their primarily Algonquin neighbors, like the Menominee, who called them Winnebago, a term that refers to the stagnant water at Red Banks. They also commonly married Pottawatomie, Ojibwa, and Ottawa in the north, Sauk and Fox (who themselves were intermarried) in the south, and Dakota in the west. Ho-Chunk women also married French Canadians who came to Wisconsin to trade for furs.

By the early nineteenth century, Ho-Chunk claimed a large “métis” (“mixed”) population, as did of their indigenous neighbors. Traders from Canada (French, British, Scotch, and Hessian) as well as from the United States stayed on to nurture these families or left them to the Ho-Chunks’ care.<sup>18</sup> In 1838 a judge described the typical trader in Wisconsin:

Habit has made the Indian country his home and created a charm or acquiescence in that mode of life. Some connect themselves with the native females, and have children, and appear to have as much affection for them as though their mothers were white. This family cannot carry into civilized life; hence they are doomed to Indian country.<sup>19</sup>



The prominent and prolific Decora family (originally "De Carrie") claimed descent from the earliest known French Canadian fur trader and the sister of a Ho-Chunk chief he married. Their sons headed a line of civil chiefs, who characteristically chose peace over war. Great Lakes Métis children, like the early Decoras, were often influenced, if not converted, by the "black robes" who roamed the wilderness. They spoke a French patois along with their mother's native tongue, and perhaps Chippewa, the lingua franca of the fur trade.<sup>20</sup> Some found employment as traders or interpreters in the fur trade and often served as mediators in times of strife. But these children lost their usefulness when the fur trade waned, and Indian removals dictated their destinies. They still served as Indian agency employees, but their perceived racial ambiguity and dual allegiance were less an asset and more a threat by 1862. Notably, Maznopinka's examination states he was a member of the Winnebago agency's "civilized band." Sixty Métis families, including Decora descendants, made up this band, whose members became better known as "Winnebago half-breeds."<sup>21</sup>

#### MAZNOPINKA'S EXAMINATION

At the end of August, Governor Ramsey ordered Edgerton and his troops to the Winnebago Agency to contain potential "dissidents." When he arrived, he found Winnebago agent St. Andre D. Balcombe distraught over the "critical situation."<sup>22</sup> Many members of the civilized band, who lived in secluded areas of the reservation, had taken refuge in Mankato Township. On August 28 Edgerton wrote to Ramsey:

I arrived here with my company of 100 men on the 25th inst., and found great alarm existing here among the whites and half-breeds. At the urgent solicitation of Major Balcombe, I rested a few hours and dispatched a messenger to Colonel Sibley, giving him an account of the excitement and fear at this place.<sup>23</sup>

When Maznopinka made his way home nearly two months later, Balcombe sent for the government-appointed chief of the agency, Baptiste La-



FIG. 1. Baptiste (Lasallier), Winnebago chief, with Indian agent Charles H. Mix and an Indian supply merchant from New York, c. 1860. From the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

sallier. Lasallier was a Pottawatomie-Ho-Chunk Métis, a member of the civilized band, and perhaps a relative of Maznopinka's. Edgerton directed Lasallier to "arrest the Indian and deliver him over."<sup>24</sup> Known as "a friend to the whites," Lasallier complied (Fig. 1). Edgerton asked Maznopinka where he had been and why. The summary of his examination, as follows, reveals that Maznopinka, barely a man, intended to investigate (and perhaps avenge) the suspected death of a family member well before the war began.

[Maznopinka] got here three days ago . . . Went up in the Spring [of 1862] before the other Indians (Winnebago) went up—Was at the [Big Stone] Lake when the attack was made at the [Redwood] Agency. Has not been at the Agency any time this Summer—The reason he went up there was because he heard that the Sioux had killed one of his relations—Saw no Whites while he was up there—Belongs to the civilized

band—Is about 18 years old—Has never been up there before—Rode a sorrel horse down—Stole it at the Lake from the Sioux—had no saddle—Had no wepons [sic] when he came down . . . Saw no Winnebagoes up there except Shining Horn, he is the man he went up there to see—Thinks Shining Horn would like to come home—Shininghorn [sic] had nothing to do with the murder of the Whites. Shininghorn's wife is Sioux—Shining Horn moved up there two years ago.<sup>25</sup>

Edgerton knew that Dakota warriors with their leader Chief Little Crow had retreated to Big Stone Lake to avoid capture. It is unclear whether Maznopinka believed Shining Horn, who was a Ho-Chunk, had been murdered, but his concern for his relations, even if it arose before the war, certainly did not make him immune to suspicion. Several other young men from the civilized band and husbands of the band's women were off fighting in the Civil War, but many of those left behind joined forces to subdue the Dakota warriors. If Maznopinka had been at Big Stone Lake, he was at risk. Dakota warriors took a large number of their own Métis kin as hostages or pressured them to join the attacks. The Dakota also expected assistance from the Ho-Chunk aid, as will be seen. Maznopinka might have joined Dakota warriors, whether he chose to or not.

#### FARMER INDIANS, TRADITIONAL NATIVES, AND TREATIES

Another issue that crossed tribal lines was the federal governments attempt to turn traditional Native men into farmers. In societies like the Dakota and Ho-Chunk, farming was the women's domain. Sioux (Dakota) agent Thomas J. Galbraith found himself chastised after the war for providing more annuity issues to his charges who took up farming. He defended his policy, explaining that "the regular issues were made to the farmer Indians in payment for their labor," which included "making rails, getting out and hauling to the mill saw-logs for their individual use, and in taking care of their families and stock."<sup>26</sup> Still, many believed his favoritism led to the "uprising."

Farming was also highly encouraged on the Winnebago reservation. In July 1859 the U.S. Indian commissioner, William P. Dole, instructed his newly appointed Winnebago agent, Charles H. Mix (Balcombe's predecessor), to "pay particular attention to the agricultural improvement of these Indians."<sup>27</sup> The following year, the Ho-Chunk signed a treaty agreeing to sell the western two-thirds of their reservation in exchange for eighty acres of farmland per family head allotted in severalty. There were 650 heads of families eligible for allotments. Like the Dakota farmers, individuals of the civilized band were particularly interested in acquiring their parcels.<sup>28</sup> And like the Dakota traditionalists, followers of the hereditary thunderbird-clan chief, Coming Thunder Winneshiek, not only viewed farming as women's work but well knew it was the government's means to colonize them.

Winneshiek grew suspect of treaties with land exchanges. In 1816 his people signed their first "peace treaty" with the United States. An 1829 treaty relegated them to a designated area within Wisconsin and bestowed land grants to Métis children ("being descendants of said Indians"). Unlike the treaty of 1816, it came as a consequence of the Winnebago Red Bird War of 1827—a hyperbolic misnomer if ever there was one.<sup>29</sup> Next, an 1832 treaty stripped them of their southern lands primarily so squatters could continue mining the Ho-Chunk's ancestral lead mines without incident. The participation of a few warriors, including a teenaged Winneshiek, in the Black Hawk War ostensibly justified the removal. Winneshiek's involvement was grounded in kinship, as his maternal grandfather was a Sauk man and his maternal uncle, White Cloud (known as "the Winnebago Prophet"), was Black Hawk's principal spokesperson.<sup>30</sup> The Ho-Chunk's avuncular kinship system imparts a close relationship between a mother's son and her brother that entails obligations on both sides.

Concerned for their "welfare," the government invited a Ho-Chunk delegation to Washington, DC, in 1837. The visit ended with a treaty that completely removed the Ho-Chunk from their homeland. Some claimed they were plied with liquor, but worse, the delegates were unau-

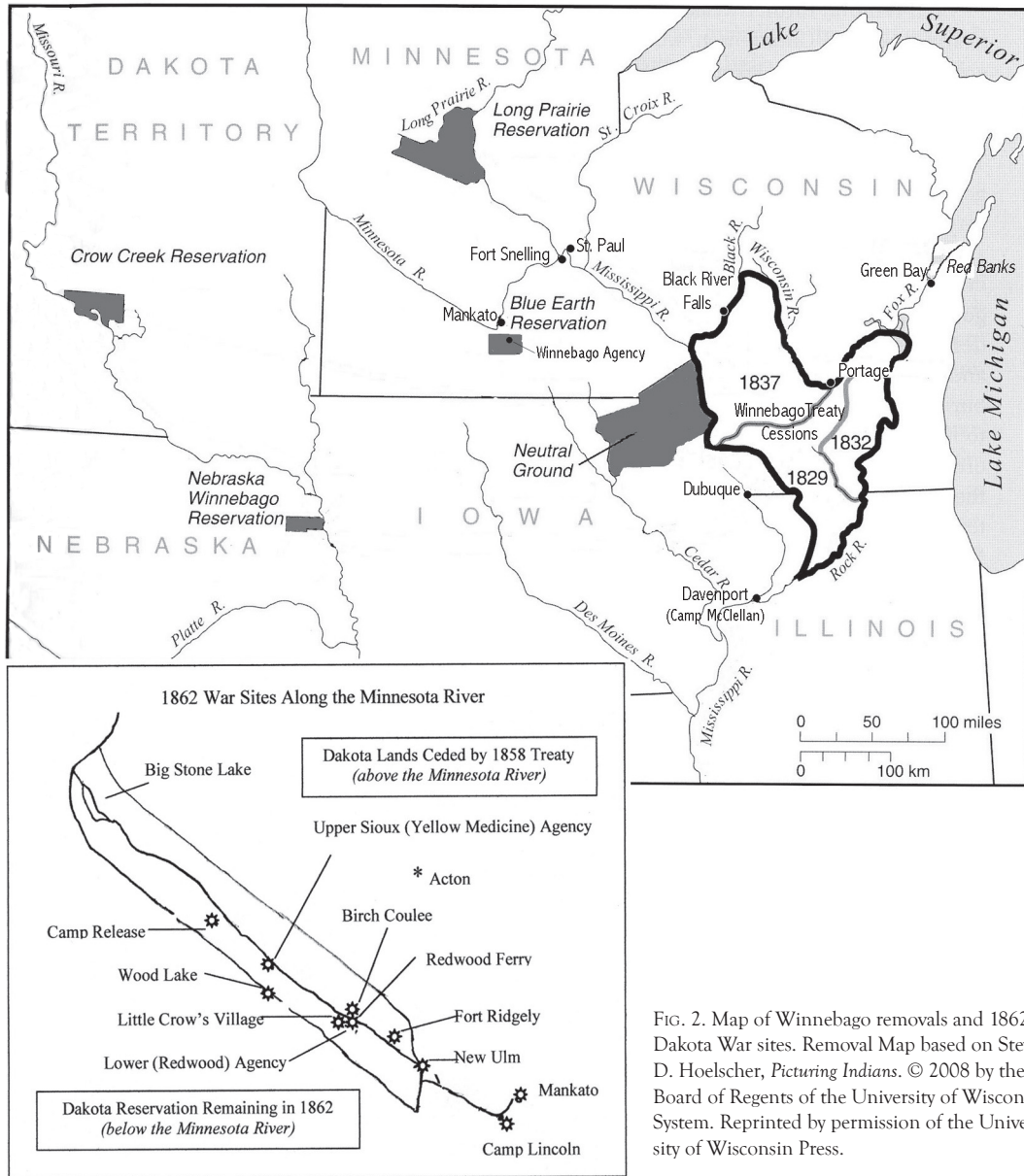


FIG. 2. Map of Winnebago removals and 1862 Dakota War sites. Removal Map based on Steven D. Hoelscher, *Picturing Indians*. © 2008 by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System. Reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.

thorized by the Ho-Chunk to do anything more than protect their land.<sup>31</sup> Several leaders and their followers refused to “remove,” and over the following decades, many more returned to Wisconsin to join them.<sup>32</sup> The fraudulent treaty of 1837 initiated the tear the U.S. and Dakota War ripped apart.

In 1848 the treaty-abiding faction removed to Iowa and then to Long Prairie, Minnesota Territory. Both locations proved uninhabitable due to violent conflicts with their indigenous neighbors, but removals, in fact, caused many more deaths. In 1855 the Ho-Chunk traded Long Prairie for the Blue Earth reservation. At last many found

a place they wanted to call home (Fig. 2). Understandably, Winneshiek did not support the 1859 treaty. He vehemently opposed selling off so much of the reservation and attempted to block allotment surveys.<sup>33</sup> Winneshiek led the traditional Ho-Chunk—or “blanket Indians” as they came to be called. He “was strictly a pagan,” as one Ho-Chunk observed, and “did not believe in the white man’s way.” Although he was “shrewd, wise, and stubborn,” he was also “free-hearted to everybody,” and “no person ever left or entered the chief’s great lodge without receiving.”<sup>34</sup> In May 1859, when northern Indian superintendent William J. Cullen (afterward replaced by Clark W. Thompson) tried to bestow a chiefs’ medal upon Winneshiek (a typical gimmick on the part of officials to affirm loyalty to the United States by “honoring” the chief they sought to influence), he refused it and “refused to apologize.”<sup>35</sup> Consequently, Cullen deposed and replaced him with Lasallier, who had previously only served as a “bread chief.”<sup>36</sup>

That November, Winneshiek complained that annuities for his family were withheld and that Cullen had not called him to council when, as head chief, it was his right and obligation to attend. “But when I heard of it, I went in and he [Cullen] told me I was not wanted, for me to take care of the women and children.” Winneshiek confronted Cullen with a rhetorical question that alluded to the treaty of 1837: “Was he trying to send certain men of his own as chiefs to Washington to sell our land?”<sup>37</sup>

#### DECLINING RECIPROCITY

Traditional Ho-Chunk endured the same deteriorating relationship with Euro-Americans that Anderson describes as the Dakota experience: “Political forums became corrupted, social kinship networks were neglected, and economic subsistence patterns were co-opted.”<sup>38</sup> Winneshiek found his people similarly betrayed. He and his followers consistently refused to embrace farming or dress in citizens’ clothing. Consequently, the division between his “blanket Indians” and the civilized band also widened, just as it widened for

the Dakota traditionalists and the farmers. Divide and conquer seemed to be the government’s aim.

When Anderson unraveled the tangled causes for the war, he found a declining practice of “reciprocity” at its core. By the 1860s, the paradigm of American agrarianism severely undermined the reciprocal relationship between Euro-Americans and Minnesota’s Natives. Government policy not only challenged gender roles, it promoted individualism at the expense of communal values. When traditional Dakota witnessed farming kin receiving more goods and favors, they knew they were being coerced to change the foundation of their beliefs. According to Anderson, the war erupted, ultimately, because

a substantial number of Sioux men concluded that the white man had abandoned, seemingly forever, the obligations and promises of assistance that formed the basis for the Dakota communal existence and all relations with the people. Revenge through war, even though a futile gesture, was the only response to such a betrayal.<sup>39</sup>

Further, Anderson refutes a commonly held myth that the primary cause of the attack on the employees of the Redwood Agency, also known as the Lower Sioux Agency, was revenge spurred by hunger. When annuities were not forthcoming, one of the agency traders, Andrew J. Myrick, who himself was married to a Dakota woman, denied Dakota men credit for provisions to tide them over.<sup>40</sup> Myrick responded to the men’s plea with “let them eat grass” and perhaps, as some claimed, “let them eat their own dung.” Legend has it Dakota warriors took Myrick’s life as their first act of revolution, leaving him beheaded and his mouth stuffed with grass. But like the French Revolution, the conflict was not fueled by simply hunger. “Myrick’s insulting refusal to extend credit struck at the core of reciprocity,” Anderson astutely concludes.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Myrick’s corpse clearly expressed his failure to uphold values integral to the survival of Native society. It was found shot with arrows, stabbed in the chest with a scythe, and his head elsewhere. It’s not certain, according to Anderson, however, if anything was actually stuffed in his mouth.



## THE DIE WAS CAST FOR WAR

The violence began with “accidental outrage” before the attack on the Redwood Agency.<sup>42</sup> According to Galbraith, “the die was cast” on Sunday, August 17, in Acton, Minnesota. “Four young men from Shakopee’s band at the Lower Sioux Agency . . . part of a hunting party composed of fourteen,” he wrote his superior, “obtained whiskey, became intoxicated, and killed six persons, including a man named Jones, from whom it is alleged they obtained the whiskey.”<sup>43</sup> The tone of Galbraith’s account of the event, relayed one month after the executions of the thirty-eight Dakota prisoners, is notably defensive. However, his analysis of the war’s deeper causes (though framed in the day’s racist evolutionary theory) rings true. He explained that the Dakota’s frustration over the government’s broken promises of the Traverse des Sioux Treaty of 1858, which ceded much of the Minnesota River valley, had grown full bore. He also acknowledged the growing resentment over favors granted to Dakota farmers. Galbraith explained that though the Acton murders were “the immediate, exciting cause of the outbreak,” they were merely “the spark which ignited the train leading to the magazine in which, for more than ten years, had been accumulating the combustibles of discontent, dissatisfaction, and premeditated devilment, and which, on Monday morning following, exploded with such fearful and terrific violence.”<sup>44</sup>

In the early hours of August 18, Chief Little Crow, after hearing from the young men who set off the Acton “spark,” worried that his people would all be punished for the deeds of a few. With an ominous sense of dread, he reluctantly agreed to condone and lead what he knew would be a “hopeless war against the whites.”<sup>45</sup> That morning, warriors from the sacred Soldiers Lodge attacked the Redwood Agency, killing over twenty people, most of them agency employees, or like Myrick, in the Indian trade. More warriors joined the force and galvanized to attack other Minnesota River settlements. While non-Natives fled for safety, so did many Dakota Métis, who were being targeted as hostages.<sup>46</sup> As Anderson and Alan Woolworth explain: “The fighting last-

ed six weeks and took the lives of nearly five hundred whites, mostly civilians, and an unknown but substantial number of Indians.”<sup>47</sup>

Joseph Campbell, a Dakota-Scotch Métis who served as an interpreter for Galbraith, played a prominent role in negotiations between his relative, Little Crow, and Colonel Sibley. Sibley, a partner in the American Fur Trade Company in the 1830s, already had a decades-long history working and socializing with the Métis progeny of the fur trade.<sup>48</sup> After the battle of Birch Coulee in early September, he requested Little Crow to “send me one of your halfbreeds” to negotiate the Dakota’s surrender.<sup>49</sup> At the Winnebago Agency, Ho-Chunk Métis interpreter Peter Manaige also served as a go-between during wartime. Manaige was a prominent member of the civilized band descended from the Decora family, and in fact shared with Joseph Campbell’s mother the same French Canadian father.<sup>50</sup>

At the war’s outbreak Campbell resided with his wife and children at the Redwood Agency, where his mother, Margaret Patoile (Manaige’s half-sister), and her second husband, Francis Patoile, lived. Years later, Campbell’s daughter, Cecelia Campbell Stay, recalled the fateful day when she, not quite fourteen, witnessed the “massacre.”<sup>51</sup> That day, her father, who was supposed to be clerking at Myrick’s store, vanished. Although warriors killed Patoile, who was away from the agency for the day, Campbell finally appeared, having been rescued. Stay contended, by “good Indians.” The next day, Stay’s entire family, including her newly widowed grandmother, was taken hostage to Little Crow’s Village. They were left unharmed under Little Crow’s protection, but he nonetheless ordered them to dress in Dakota clothing.

Following the attack, the *Mankato Independent* offered its readers assurance:

There need be no apprehension felt of danger from the Winnebagoes. They are quiet and loyal, but badly scared. The whites fleeing the country has tended to inspire a belief among them that they were likely to be deserted and left at the mercy of the Sioux, and some even meditated joining the panic stricken hosts, and skedaddling for a safer locality.<sup>52</sup>

Two weeks before the violence, however, the *Independent* had reported, "A party of Winnebagoes passed through Mankato to visit the Sioux" during their annuity payment. "They were fantastically arrayed—Little Priest, Yellow Banks and the Son of Winneshiek among them."<sup>53</sup> The visit may have been strictly for pleasure, but it later became a cause for alarm, particularly with regard to Little Priest. In the 1840s Little Priest succeeded his father (who signed the 1837 treaty). Although he signed 1859 treaty, he seemed to be a firm supporter of Winneshiek.<sup>54</sup>

According to some accounts, Little Crow expected the Ho-Chunk to send their families to him and then "attack and destroy Mankato," while his men took Fort Ridgley and New Ulm. Finally, combining forces, they would "wipe out all the white settlements in Minnesota Valley."<sup>55</sup> Years later, Big Eagle, a Dakota imprisoned for his participation in the violence, clarified this theory: "it was believed that the men who had enlisted last [in the Union army] had all left the state and that before help could be sent the Indians could clean out the country, and that the Winnebagoes, and even the Chippewas, could assist the Sioux."<sup>56</sup>

Ho-Chunk Little Decora, chief of a large band at Blue Earth, later recounted that he had been approached four days before the violence erupted. One of the Dakota chiefs appeared at his village, he said, and "proposed an alliance with him against the whites." Decora promised the chief he would call a council with his chiefs, but once he did, he earnestly urged them not to align with the Dakota. He also informed Agent Balcombe of "the designs of the Sioux."<sup>57</sup>

#### LITTLE PRIEST AND SIBLEY'S WINNEBAGO PRISONERS

By September 15, 1862, as Balcombe completed his quarterly report to the Indian commissioner, it was dawning on him that a threat to the Winnebago's security was imminent. In an attempt to stave off the inevitable, his report highlighted the tribe's "loyalty," albeit a few "restless ones" who might be "inclined to join with the Sioux and participate in the excitement of a war party."

"In my last annual report," he wrote, "I informed the department of a dissatisfaction on the part of 'Win-no-sheek' [Winneshiek] and others, who were originally opposed to the making of this treaty [of 1859], and afterwards to having its provisions carried into effect," and "I expressed a belief that, after an elapse of time for reflection and consultation, they would be more than willing to become participants in the benefits to be derived under the treaty."<sup>58</sup> He implored the commissioner to consider his "request that the stipulations of the treaty be carried into effect immediately," because the "tribe was now a unit." But it was too late. Even though Superintendent Thompson had requested that the Indian commissioner send Balcombe a portion of the congressional appropriation for allotment improvements, Governor Ramsey informed the disbursing agent that "the permanent location of the Winnebago reservation in our midst" was in jeopardy. "[I]n consequence of the recent Indian outrages in the state and the highly excited condition of our public mind in relation to the same," he qualified, "that for the present, you promptly and positively suspend any expenditures under the appropriation."<sup>59</sup>

After a serious battle at Birch Coulee on September 2, the public's suspicion that Ho-Chunks were involved in the violence hardened. Commander Sibley left a note for Chief Little Crow on a stick at the battlegrounds: "If Little Crow has any proposition to make me let him send a half-breed to me and he shall be protected in and out of my camp."<sup>60</sup> On September 7 "half-breed" Campbell sent Little Crow's reply with a list of grievances. He also relayed Little Crow's words: "So I want you to let the Governor Ramsey know this I have great many prisoner women and children[,] it aint all our fault[,] the Winnebagoes was in the engagement, two of them was killed."<sup>61</sup>

Emboldened by the letter, Mankato politician John J. Porter introduced a "memorial" to Minnesota's Legislature "praying for the immediate removal of the Winnebagoes from their reservation in this county, beyond the borders of the State."<sup>62</sup> Most local officials supported Porter, including legislator and former Winnebago trader Henry M. Rice.<sup>63</sup> The fact that Rice had fathered two

children with a Ho-Chunk woman in the 1840s (and was now married to an upstanding lady of St. Paul) did not appear to deter his position.<sup>64</sup>

On September 28 Sibley began conducting his military tribunal at Camp Release, located 150 miles northwest of the Winnebago Agency. Camp Release became the official surrender point, where the captives and “friendly” Dakotas gathered for protection. Two days later, Sibley wrote to Major General John Pope that “the work of the military commission still continues,” “Indians are arrested daily,” and Little Crow was on the run, having retreated to Big Stone Lake.<sup>65</sup> He added that the Dakota captives consisted of “100 of pure white blood” and 150 or more “half-breeds.” He assured Pope that the hostile Dakota were contained, at least south of the camp, and there should be “no further danger to the settlements.” He also notified him: “I have evidence that Little Priest and part of his band of Winnebagoes participated in the hostilities at New Ulm and elsewhere.”<sup>66</sup>

The next week Pope contacted his superior:

Sibley reports he has positive proof that numbers of the Winnebagoes, under their principal chief, were engaged in the recent outrages with the Sioux. I wish authority to disarm the Winnebagoes. The population in [the] neighborhood of [the] Winnebago reservation [are] greatly alarmed and leaving [their] farms.<sup>67</sup>

Little Priest was certainly not the principal chief, but Pope’s news spread like wildfire. Mankato’s *Record* seized on the accusation, which was bolstered by a reporter’s conversation with a Ho-Chunk Métis of the civilized band who had spoken to witnesses for the trial of Ho-Chunk O-ton-ka-ton-ka.<sup>68</sup> The same issue also featured a local farmer’s account that stated he caught Little Priest “on the old trail from New-Ulm” carrying the rifle of a recently murdered German. The farmer said he disarmed Little Priest, who explained he purchased the gun from former Winnebago trader, Asa White. White denied Little Priest’s claim.

Suddenly, pandemonium struck the Winnebago agency (Fig. 3). Twenty-five Ho-Chunk men, allegedly “armed with clubs and bows and arrows”

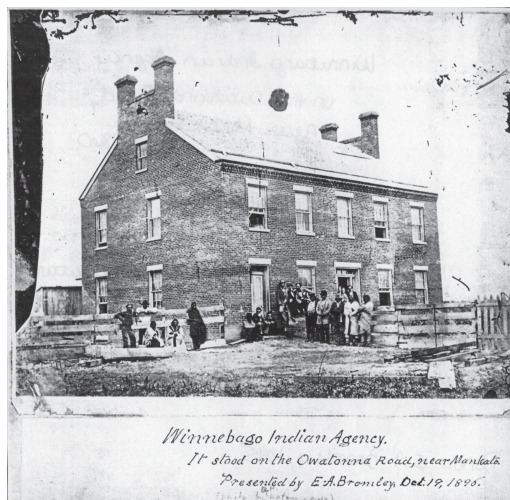


FIG. 3. Winnebago Indian Agency, St. Clair, Minnesota, c. 1860. From the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

and accompanied by interpreter Manaige, tried to “arrest” three Euro-American husbands of civilized band members.<sup>69</sup> They rounded up the first man, Harvey Peterson, and charged him with admitting “out loud” that the Ho-Chunk were involved in the war and that Little Priest harbored a Dakota man in his village on the reservation. The second husband, Aaron Foyles, married to Manaige’s first cousin, was left alone because his family was sick.

Asa White was the third suspect. Along with Foyles, he was charged with “being favorable to the removal of the Winnebagoes,” which was not far-fetched. White, respected by prominent men in Mankato for his prowess, had been a long-time licensed Indian trader for the Ho-Chunk, and in fact started in the trade at La Crosse, Wisconsin, with Andrew Myrick’s brother, Nathan Myrick.<sup>70</sup> In 1861 the newly appointed Agent Balcombe had denied White’s annual application for a trading license, either to favor cronies or to break up White and another Winnebago trader’s long-time monopoly. After White’s appeals to the superintendent of Indian affairs were disregarded, Balcombe suddenly found himself charged with stealing annuity provisions by residents of the reservation, including Little Priest, Lasallier, some of Manaige’s family, and White’s



wife.<sup>71</sup> Since White served as a witness for the affidavits of those charging him, and Balcombe seemed to adequately address the charges made against him, the superintendent of Indian affairs stood by Balcombe.

Balcombe may certainly have supported White's "arrest," but perhaps White's first offense was not backing up Little Priest's alibi about the rifle.<sup>72</sup> A more compelling reason for suspecting White of talking out of school, however, was his friendly relationship to the editors of Mankato's *Record* and *Independent* as well as his friendship with none other than John J. Porter, the author of the congressional memorial to remove the Winnebagoes. The memorial appeared in the *Record* concurrently with the article about the arrests at the agency.<sup>73</sup>

Having barely emerged from the charge of fraud leveled against him by White and his compatriots, Balcombe came off in the *Record* as a desperate character. Its editor accused him of instigating the "outrageous arrests."

These Indians are organized into a company, styled 'soldiers,' of which Red Legs is Captain.<sup>74</sup> Some are armed with rifles, and others with shot guns, bows and arrows, and clubs. They say that they were instructed by the agent to arrest all white men on the reservation who have said that the Winnebagoes are implicated with the Sioux in murdering the whites, and make them retract or punish them for it.<sup>75</sup>

Although the editor admitted the story might not be an exact portrayal of events, he firmly declared, "The policy of organizing armed bodies of Indians by their agent at this time is dangerous to the safety of the whites, and highly censurable. We call the attention of Gen. Pope to the above outrages."<sup>76</sup>

To Mankato's citizenry, appropriating a soldier's lodge and taking hostages whose loyalty was in question, like the Dakota had done, was, if in fact true, akin to an admission of the Winnebago's guilt. Although the report didn't say if White was "arrested," it did say Peterson "escaped" while the Winnebago "engaged in drumming and dancing," the code for "war dance." Of course, the report's incendiary tone deflected

the event's serious significance for the Ho-Chunk and their agent.

The same issue also jacked up the original story from the *Independent* about the "fantastically arrayed" party of Little Priest that left Mankato two weeks before the Redwood Agency attack. Now they had been "half-naked and painted," incessantly "drumming and whooping." "These Indians were at the Sioux Agency at the time of the outbreak," the report reminded readers. "Shortly after the first murders were committed, some of them returned home. They stopped at the houses of white settlers living on the Blue Earth, told of the murders, and advised them to flee, as the Sioux were coming down to murder them." Even so, the writer concluded, it was the "firm belief of our people that a portion of the Winnebago tribe has been and even now is engaged with the Sioux in murdering and plundering the white settlers."

#### *Sibley's Winnebago Prisoners*

Nearly a decade after the war, Chief Little Decora expressed hurt that his loyalty and that of the majority of the Ho-Chunk not only went unrewarded but was punished, owing to the transgressions of a few. "Only thirteen of the Winnebagoes were engaged in that massacre," he lamented, "while large numbers of them assisted in defending the place and prevented its being taken."<sup>77</sup> Where he got the number thirteen is unknown, but from all sources it appears to be close to if not exactly the number of Ho-Chunk men suspected of joining the Dakota.

On October 15, Sibley alerted General Pope, "In case you bring the Winnebagoes up to witness the punishment of the guilty Sioux, I would suggest that several of Little Priest's band, with the chief himself, are obnoxious of the same charges. I believe I have the names produced in the evidence of seven of that band who are implicated."<sup>78</sup> The next day Balcombe called a council and indicted the suspects.<sup>79</sup> Wisconsin soldiers escorted the prisoners from the Winnebago Agency to Fort Snelling, located on a Mississippi River bluff eighty-seven miles from the agency. The first full-blown news report of the arrest appeared in the *Record* on October 18, but the event



FIG. 4. Little Priest (sitting) and Henry Decora of Company A, Omaha Scouts, Nebraska, c. 1865. Courtesy of the Ho-Chunk Historical Society, Winnebago, Nebraska.

was curiously downplayed. When they “stopped to lunch,” the soldiers “generously shared the contents of their haversacks with their hungry prisoners,” which apparently numbered eleven, three of whom were identified as the “only son of Win-ne-shek,” “a half-breed Sioux,” and Little Priest (Fig. 4). Three unidentified witnesses and an unidentified interpreter also accompanied the group. A few prisoners “took advantage of this delay to paint their faces,” the report continued, among them the “chief attraction,” Little Priest, who was now described picturesquely as “a brave, resolute looking Indian.”<sup>80</sup>

Today the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska commemorates Little Priest for his bravery, heroism, and medicinal powers, both in the name of their annual powwow and in their tribal college.<sup>81</sup> However, his bravery fighting the *Lakota* Sioux in the Great Plains later in 1865 and 1866 is celebrated, not his connection to the U.S. and Da-

kota War. Big Eagle (mentioned earlier) claimed Little Priest was with him at the battle of the Redwood Ferry and at the first battle of New Ulm. Another Dakota “mixed-blood,” George Quinn, also stated Little Priest was at the battle of Fort Ridgley.<sup>82</sup> Mankato’s *Record* further reported that Little Priest was at both the Redwood Ferry and the Redwood Agency attacks and claimed, more damningly, that “after a Sioux had shot Mr. Andrew Myrick, Little Priest rushed up and stabbed him with a knife.”<sup>83</sup>

Six months following the war, Campbell recalled that on the day of the Redwood Agency attack, he spotted “a party of painted Winnebagoes.” Afterward, he “recognized Little Priest and nine or ten other Winnebagoes carrying goods from Myrick’s store,” including “a piece of fine blue cloth.”<sup>84</sup> Although Campbell did not witness Little Priest killing Myrick, Little Crow told Campbell that when he tried to save Myrick’s life (because he was a friend), “Little Priest was too quick for him and with his companions shot him with a volley of arrows dead.”<sup>85</sup> Witnesses questioned by Sibley’s military tribunal offered a different account. They claimed “some Winnebagoes charged arrows at [Myrick] *without effect* [my emphasis], but just as he reached the thicket, a Sioux shot him with his gun and brought him to the ground, where he was found days afterwards . . . with a scythe and many arrows sticking in his body.”<sup>86</sup> How trustworthy was Little Crow? In his annual report, Balcombe wrote,

In consequence of a threat made by the Sioux, immediately upon their outbreak, that they (the Sioux) would exterminate the Winnebago unless they joined them in a raid against the white people, the Winnebago have lived in fear of an attack from the Sioux, and have almost daily implored me for protection.<sup>87</sup>

Newspaper reports identified at most six suspects: Little Priest, Maznopinka, “Young Prophet,” “son of Prophet,” “a half-breed Sioux,” “Yellow Banks,” and “the only son of Winneshiek.” Yellow Banks was exonerated even before the Winnebago trials at Camp Lincoln, and Winneshiek had more than one son, as did his father of the same name. In the 1920s Wisconsin Ho-

Chunk John Blackhawk also provided the names of six suspects, apparently gleaned from oral tradition. They were Kokoshayka (Pig), Hounk honska (Little Priest), Weerokanaka (Leader), Hounka (Chieftain, a son of chief Winneshiek), Waseca (Pine), and Musanpinika [Maznopinka] (Wearer of Metal Necklace).<sup>88</sup> All but Kokoshayka can be accounted for in tribal records, but only Little Priest, Hounka, and Maznopinka can be matched to the local newspaper reports.

Fortunately, O-ton-ka-ton-ka, case number 13 of Sibley's tribunal, gave authorities a complete or nearly complete list of the Ho-Chunk men who were arrested, apart from Maznopinka.<sup>89</sup> Unfortunately, the individual names are difficult to decipher. The testimony itself, however, is fairly clear. Charged with participating "in a raid against the inhabitants of New Ulm" around August 18, O-ton-ka-ton-ka stated he "intermarried with the Sioux" and had been living with them and was present at the outbreak, "but having no arms took no part in it." He also claimed, as Maznopinka stated, that he wanted to return to the Winnebago agency, but couldn't leave his wife and two children.

The man identified in newspapers as "the son of old Chief Prophet" was certainly O-ton-ka-ton-ka. Old Chief Prophet's known sons were Young Prophet (who succeeded him as chief at Blue Earth after his death in 1859), Joseph Prophet, and Hochunkhutteka ("Big Ho-Chunk"). In the Dakota language, "O-tonka" and "Ho-tonka" are phonetically the same word and mean "big" (tonka) "voice" (O or Ho). But the phrase also refers to the Ho-Chunk people. Therefore, the crossed out "ton-ka" in O-ton-ka-ton-ka would have changed "Ho-Chunk" to "Big Ho-Chunk," and he was Chief Prophet's son.<sup>90</sup>

Big Ho-Chunk was commonly called "Big Winnebago." According to his sister, Mrs. Lone Woman Greywolf: "Big Winnebago married a Santee Sioux woman while the Winnebagoes were living at Mankato."<sup>91</sup> "[W]hen the Winnebagoes moved . . . to Crow Creek, S.D. they went together and when the Winnebagoes again moved from Crow Creek," they went to the Nebraska reservation together. She also said Big Winnebago and his wife had a son who died

young and a daughter Wehunkaw (second-born daughter), born about 1861, who became Mrs. Elizabeth Frazier.<sup>92</sup>

During Sibley's hearing, Big Winnebago stated he believed he was brought up on charges, "I suppose through the accusations of the Sioux because I am Winnebago." Big Winnebago also testified that (approximately) twelve Ho-Chunk men were in the war zone. However, the trial recorder not only Dakota-ized the suspects' names, as he did with "O-ton-ka-ton-ka," but used dashes, hyphens, and equal signs erratically both to separate syllables and to distinguish one name from another.

All the nine Winnebago were there (Red Wood) O-ko-ni-kah or Little Chief was there—Waschasta—Etappe[?] Chestna—Ha—Kak Ky—Wa = ze = kah—fired at whites. I saw them with my eyes. . . . HunKah, the brother of Hah-ya-Ka-Kay—[Sen-che-wau-cho-kah], the son of Home no kah, a chief, a big fat fellow . . . were at the first outbreak at Red Wood. Two were killed at New Ulm. I saw three of them fire at whites and I heard the rest did. . . . [Also] Wedu-kon-ni-kah and Kay-nuk-kah [and a man from] Ke-na-hut-e-kah's band.<sup>93</sup>

Merging O-ton-ka-ton-ka's testimony with Blackhawk's list, local histories, historian's notes, newspaper reports, and Winnebago tribal records, however, eleven to thirteen Ho-Chunk individuals emerge, more or less, as Sibley's prisoners:

1. Maznopinka
  2. Big Winnebago
  3. Little Priest
  4. Hounka, the *brother* of Chief Coming Thunder Winneshiek<sup>94</sup>
  5. We-du-kon-ni-kah
  6. Wa-ze-kah (or "Pine")
  7. A member of Conno-hutte-kaw's band<sup>95</sup>
  8. Sinch-ah-cho-kaw<sup>96</sup>
  9. Wauk-stch-ihe-see-kaw
  10. Yellowbanks (who was let go before Camp Lincoln)
- and perhaps:
11. Che-nah-zi-gah ("Standing Buffalo"), otherwise known as David McCluskey.<sup>97</sup>
  12. Kokoshayka (Pig)

13. Weerokanaka (Leader). Numbers 12 and 13 could be alternative names for two already listed.<sup>98</sup>

Four of these suspects were clearly related to the Dakota through wives and mothers. As already mentioned, Big Winnebago was married to a Dakota woman, but his mother was also Dakota. Little Priest's brother, Grey Wolf, was married to Big Winnebago's half-sister, Lone Woman.<sup>99</sup> Maznopinka's statement to Edgerton revealed his family tie to Shining Horn (or Haytashashaka), also married to a Dakota woman.<sup>100</sup> Shining Horn was also Winneshiek's brother-in-law, according to Blackhawk, linking Winneshiek's brother, Hounka, to the Dakota.<sup>101</sup> In addition, Big Eagle may have been the father of one of Lallier's nephews.<sup>102</sup>

A few of the suspects can be identified in terms of their clan, which also dictated obligations of "reciprocity." For example, Little Priest and Maznopinka both belonged to the bear clan, whose role in Winnebago society included "regulation of the hunt, broad disciplinary powers, and carrying into effect the orders of the Thunderbird clan chief," which at this time was Winneshiek.<sup>103</sup>

#### THE TRIALS AT CAMP LINCOLN AND THE MANKATO EXECUTION

When Balcombe attempted to convince government officials his Winnebago charges were mostly innocent, Superintendent Thompson responded by publicly voicing his support for their removal.<sup>104</sup> In agreement, *Mankato Record's* editor blasted the concerns of local farmers for fretting they'd "lose a market for agricultural surpluses" if the Winnebagos were removed. One historian explains that "John C. Wise, the fiery editor of *The Mankato Record*, launched an 'extermination or removal' campaign directed not at the Sioux alone, but also at the peaceful Winnebago Indians."<sup>105</sup> He certainly did. In highfalutin evolutionist rhetoric that lumped the Dakota and Ho-Chunk in a tidy threat, Wise challenged President Lincoln:

Winnebago gold, piled high, cannot offset the atrocities of the past two months, or reconcile

the remnant of our population to again confidently place ourselves at the mercy of the savages. They must either leave the country or we will. Our rich and fertile prairies must either be the abode of thrift, industry and wealth, or the hunting ground of a barbarous and worthless race. Which shall it be, Mr. President?<sup>106</sup>

Meanwhile, Sibley and his primary witness, Big Winnebago, arrived at Camp Lincoln, where the other Ho-Chunk prisoners had already been delivered. Balcombe hoped to "introduce attorneys to plead the cause of the Indians," but Sibley "respectfully" refused his request, emphasizing he was conducting *military* trials.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately, Asa White's earlier charge of fraud combined with Wise's influence left Balcombe virtually alienated in the local white community. It is no wonder that following his career as Winnebago agent, he purchased Nebraska's *Omaha Record* and became its editor.<sup>108</sup>

Trials began on Sunday, November 11. Despite Balcombe's efforts, most of the public had already convicted the prisoners.<sup>109</sup> Wise characterized Maznopinka as a "pretended 'good Indian,'" who participated in one battle, "and rode on the same horse" as the Dakota witness who testified against him. "We believe that their very presence at the massacres is sufficient cause to hang them," he declared.<sup>110</sup>

At eleven o'clock Wednesday evening, all those on trial, except Maznopinka and Big Winnebago, were released. "If the prisoners were innocent, as decided by the military court, they should have been delivered at the agency in daylight," Wise scolded, "and not turned loose at midnight in our very midst."<sup>111</sup> A mob had already murdered two Dakota prisoners as they were transported to Mankato, so understandably, Sibley exercised caution. His judgment only fueled Wise's fury.

When they were arrested, a guard of twenty-five men escorted them in safety through our streets, without the slightest resistance on the part of our citizens. Then the general impression was, that they were all guilty. They have been tried and acquitted, and it is not reasonable to presume, that our people would be as likely to attack them now, as before the trial!<sup>112</sup>



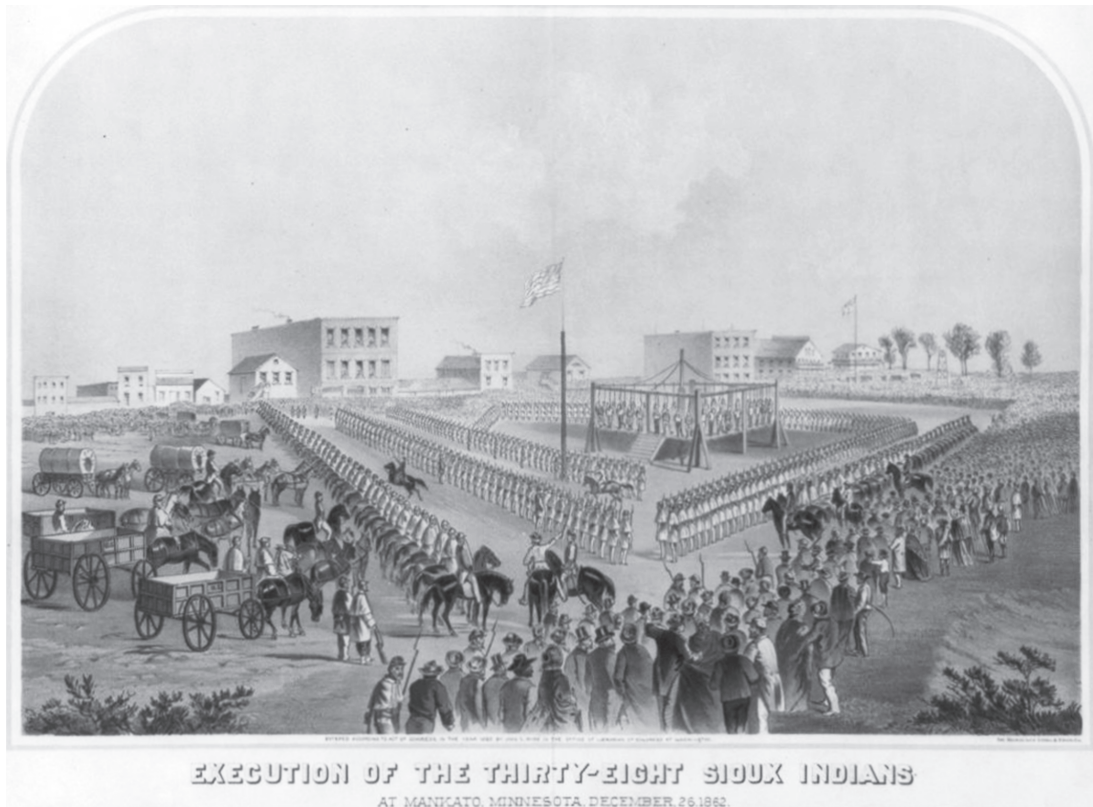


FIG. 5. Hanging of the Dakota prisoners in Mankato, Minnesota, December 26, 1862.  
Library of Congress, Public Domain: LC-USZ62-193.

Astutely, Wise prepared the battleground for civilization's victory. The prisoners may have been set free, but the cool, calm, and highly superior citizenry of Mankato were ready and armed with Anglo-Saxon fortitude and rightful indignation. Wise helped them to gain the high ground, where they would rid the land of all Indians—guilty not just by association, but by virtue of their essentially savage nature.

On December 16 Porter's memorial was introduced to Congress. Meanwhile, due to the haste of the Sibley's tribunals, lack of evidence, particularly regarding the exaggerated counts of the rape of Euro-American women, and with the urging of Minnesota clergy, President Lincoln, after investigating the trial transcripts, commuted the death sentence of all but thirty-nine prisoners. Minnesota's citizens were outraged!<sup>113</sup> Protestant missionaries attended to the salvation of those on death

row, while on Christmas, a Catholic priest baptized several of the condemned, including Joseph Campbell's younger brother, Baptiste.<sup>114</sup> One prisoner gained reprieve, but on the next day, at 10:15 a.m., thirty-eight Dakota men died in the largest mass execution in American history (Fig. 5).

"The bodies were then cut down . . . and under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Marshall, were taken to the grave prepared for them among the willows on the sand-bar nearly in front of the town," reported St. Paul's *Pioneer Press*. The dead were "deposited in one grave, thirty feet in length by twelve in width, and four feet deep, being laid on the bottom in two rows with their feet together, and their heads to the outside. They were simply covered with their blankets, and the earth thrown over them."<sup>115</sup>

Maznopinka and the remaining prisoners "were kept close in the quarters, where they

were chained and not permitted to witness the executions." According to one local, "few Indians were present at the execution and not many half-breeds either," except for Lasallier.<sup>116</sup> He was "dressed in white men's clothes" and "appeared deeply interested in all the proceedings." He was not the only one "deeply interested." When darkness fell that evening, several doctors, including famed Mayo Clinic founder William J. Mayo, dug up the graves for anatomy studies.<sup>117</sup>

The next day Sibley wrote President Lincoln, assuring him, "Everything went off quietly and the other prisoners are well secured." A log building was constructed to keep the rest of the prisoners out of harm's way from revenge seekers. A prison roster dated January 12, 1863, lists two (and only two) Winnebago men among the Dakota prisoners. They were Big Winnebago, "acquitted, but held as a witness," and Maznopinka, found guilty of "murder and outrages."<sup>118</sup> Big Winnebago looked forward to his release, while Maznopinka prepared himself for a new prison.

Meanwhile, a vigilante group called "Knights of the Forest" held secret meetings to ensure momentum impelled their righteous cause. On February 21, to the Knights' jubilation, the state legislature passed its bill for the Winnebago's removal.<sup>119</sup> The primary justification, as expressed in Porter's memorial (and later by Wise's editorial), was not participation in the violence, but the Winnebago's alleged failure as farmers! "[T]hese savages are located in the midst of our country, inferior perhaps to no other in the State for fertility and agricultural productions, within three miles of the Minnesota river, on a fertile, agricultural tract of country, which their idle dispositions will ever prevent them from improving."<sup>120</sup>

One historian concluded, "It is difficult to separate fear and prejudice from the economic motive behind the settlers' demands."<sup>121</sup> More accurately, blatant racism justified dispossession and sanctioned a land grab. Porter's memorial stated that to

live adjacent to those savages after humanity itself had been so outraged by the recent unutterable atrocities committed by *their* race [my emphasis] upon the defenseless and

unsuspecting inhabitants of our country, is more than can reasonably be expected from a people who have lost all confidence in Indian integrity or Indians professions of friendship.

On April 21, under cover of darkness to protect them from lynch mobs, the Mankato prisoners were loaded onto a steamship. The forty-eight acquitted men disembarked at Fort Snelling and joined about 1,700 Dakota, mostly women, children, and elders, waiting on Pike Island to be exiled to South Dakota.<sup>122</sup> Big Winnebago probably reunited with his wife and children at this time, leaving young Maznopinka as the last Ho-Chunk prisoner. He and the rest of the Dakota prisoners continued down the Mississippi River to Camp McClellan (later called Camp Kearney) near Davenport, Iowa. They arrived "four days later and [were] transferred to their quarters without incident."<sup>123</sup>

#### REMOVAL FROM BLUE EARTH

On May 2, the governor's brother, Justice C. Ramsey, was "appointed agent to receive the Winnebagoes in Mankato."<sup>124</sup> The same day, in a last-ditch effort to hold onto the lands they had been allotted the year before, about forty members of the civilized band rushed to a local courthouse in the hopes the judge would naturalize them. A local citizen, Marcus Moore, apparently convinced them "to make application," but even though the court was in session, the judge refused to take their applications.<sup>125</sup> No sympathy remained for "good Indians," even those dressed in citizen's clothes, and Moore was immediately arrested for his efforts.

On Tuesday, May 5, Little Priest led 100 Ho-Chunk to Mankato's newly assembled Camp Porter (named for John Porter).<sup>126</sup> Afterward, he returned to the reservation for his family. Groups continued to straggle into town from the agency, until their numbers swelled to more than 1,000. On May 7 and 8, in a desperate attempt to renounce ties to the Dakota, a few Ho-Chunk men murdered three Dakota men. The killers were described as an unnamed man who "lived on the Missouri [river]," "a nephew of Lasallier," and

"a party among whom was Little Chief" (Little Priest).<sup>127</sup> The newspaper reported, almost gleefully, that one Ho-Chunk man "paraded up and down Front Street . . . with the tongue of the last Indian killed fastened on a pole." The victim, married to a Ho-Chunk woman, was killed after he left the Winnebago reservation.<sup>128</sup>

Blackhawk offered an oral history of these murders. In the winter following the war, Winneshiek and his band stayed at Kanee-horjura ("where fish abounds," perhaps Rice Lake). Two "Sioux emissaries" sought an "interview" with him, but to remain "at peace with the whites," Winneshiek and his council decided to "turn the men to" White Snake (leader of the "war clan"), who killed them. "In reprisal," the Dakota killed Winneshiek's brother-in-law, Shining Horn. The death of Shining Horn, which Maznopinka had feared, led the Ho-Chunk in turn to kill the Dakota husband of one of their own.<sup>129</sup>

One local later claimed that members of Lasallier's "band" (probably the band for which he had been bread chief) were responsible for the murder of a Dakota chief, whose head "was flung upon a pole, and paraded around the streets" as a show of fidelity to the whites.<sup>130</sup> He said Lasallier was not directly involved in the murder, but since he was "loyal to the government authorities; and always on the side of law and order," he felt "no sympathy with those who had so cruelly murdered white settlers." A newspaper report concurred that Lasallier's nephew, "Joe Tebo, took part in the attack," but two of Lasallier's nephews went by that name, so it is not clear which one was involved.<sup>131</sup> More confusing is that one of Lasallier's nephews "died at Camp Porter May 9." He was wrapped in a shroud, placed in a coffin, and buried the next day "at request of the chief like whitemen."<sup>132</sup> According to tribal records, both Joe Tebos lived much longer.

An official informed Indian commissioner Dole that "the Winnebagoes were incited to the act, thinking it would propitiate them in the kind regard of their Great Father at Washington, and, as a consequence, that they would be permitted to remain in Minnesota."<sup>133</sup> He assured the commissioner that that there had been "little difficulty in obtaining their consent to remove; that the

most prominent of the chiefs, although loth [sic] to leave their improvements, readily acquiesced as a matter of necessity for the protection of their people." However, he added, Lasallier and another chief, "who had been diligent and industrious in making good houses and planting for a crop . . . shed tears on taking leave of the representatives of their labor."<sup>134</sup> Obviously, it wasn't simply wasted labor that moved them to tears.

The U.S. and Dakota War drastically changed the ethnic face of Minnesota. Family ties that had been established for more than a century were violently torn from their roots. Thousands of Dakota and Ho-Chunk people—whether "good," "noble," "brave," or "devilish"—were banished to Usher's Landing at Crow Creek, South Dakota, near Fort Thompson. Although the Ho-Chunk experienced removals for three decades, this one, propelled by greed, revenge, and mass hysteria, marked the most harrowing journey into exile they had ever known. Wise could not have been crueler. "[O]ver 1,000 Winnebago Indians and half-breeds flocked into town and encamped . . . near the river," he wrote, "all ready to embark for their new fields of Eden."<sup>135</sup> The "precious freight of Aborigines . . . left here quite cheerfully," he coldly observed, "singing one of their wild Indian refrains." However, even Mankato's more progressive *Independent* congratulated its readers "on their safe deliverance from the presence of these lazy, shiftless Winnebagoes" and their "half-breed" relations.<sup>136</sup> "The good time coming for this county has now come, and we can all sing with a good will, 'Glory! glory! Hallelujah!' for the result. Good bye forever to the Winnebagoes!" The same edition advertised the sale of "valuable Winnebago trust lands," now improved with "the representatives of the [Ho-Chunk's] labor."<sup>137</sup>

The Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers were low, so the steamers overburdened with human cargo hit several snags on the way to their destination. Finally the Ho-Chunk landed at Fort Snelling. After disembarking for a short time, the people crowded back on the steamships and resumed their journey down the Mississippi River, passing Davenport, Iowa, where their kinsman, Maznopinka, endured imprisonment. As one man later described the journey:



I went on a steamboat at Mankato, Minnesota, to go to Crow Creek; there were about eleven hundred of the Winnebagoes on the boat, and we went to Hannibal, Missouri, and there crossed by railroad to St. Joseph, and there got on the West Wind and went up the Missouri river to Crow Creek, where we arrived June 10.<sup>138</sup>

However, Chief Winneshiek and hundreds of his followers resisted removal. Sibley ordered Edgerton, whose force remained at the agency, to retrieve Winneshiek's band at Rice Lake, about ten miles northeast of the agency. Edgerton recalled that Winneshiek "had quite a following of the bravest warriors," who "defied the Government's order to remove to the Missouri [river]."<sup>139</sup> "The chief was a fine orator," observed Edgerton, "and made a very effective speech, full of pathos, telling of the wrongs he and his tribe had suffered at the hands of those in charge of their affairs." Winneshiek lamented that Blue Earth County "was the home given him by his Great Father and here some of his relatives and children were buried." He showed Edgerton a worn, autographed letter he had received from former president Andrew Jackson "certifying his bravery and fidelity to the whites," and he "begged that he might be permitted to end the balance of his days amid the graves of his children and relatives."<sup>140</sup> Eventually, Edgerton managed to convince the chief, "still a friend of the whites," to surrender without use of force. Winneshiek and his followers returned to the reservation, and the next day awaited the steamers at Camp Porter.

When they arrived at Fort Snelling, Winneshiek and Chief Waukonhaga Decorah (Little Decorah's uncle) visited Sibley, requesting that he plead their case to President Lincoln (Fig. 6). Sibley complied by sending a letter to the assistant adjutant general of the Northwest Headquarters expressing their key concerns.<sup>141</sup> These were, first, that they had "religiously observed" all their treaty obligations; second, they believed Indian agents thwarted the government's attempt to observe its obligations in return; third, there was no cause to remove them from their government-given reservation and send them to "a strange" and "perhaps hostile" place; fourth, Winneshiek hoped to ex-



FIG. 6. Waukonhaga Decorah (seated second from left) and Coming Thunder Winneshiek (seated third from left), Fort Snelling, Minnesota, May 1863. Hennepin County Library, Minnesota.

change land donated in 1848 by Dakota chief Wabasha for land in Wisconsin where they could live out their days; and finally, they promised to obey "their Great Father the President" but prayed he would "grant them sufficient military protection in the new and dangerous locality."<sup>142</sup>

Winneshiek and his band arrived at Crow Creek on June 24. They found themselves in a forsaken, barren land with no resemblance to the reservation they had been promised.<sup>143</sup> A "400-square-foot stockade" that housed their new agency was all that separated them from the Dakota (whom they feared might retaliate, though most of the warriors were imprisoned). They were also warned that soldiers would shoot them if they tried to escape. Provided with meager and even rotten provisions slopped in a cattle trough, depending on inadequate shelter, undrinkable water, and no way to attain additional food, a large percentage of the Ho-Chunk at Crow Creek died from starvation, exposure, and illness.<sup>144</sup>

By the next year, the Ho-Chunk who survived escaped in dugout canoes downriver to northeastern Nebraska, where they found the Omaha reservation and its people sympathetic to their plight. Some also returned to Wisconsin, but many from the civilized band quickly made their way back to Blue Earth County. The commissioner of Indian affairs permitted Lasallier and "his family to re-



River, Little Priest died a hero on the new Nebraska reservation. Oral tradition says he appeared as a grizzly bear just before he died.<sup>151</sup>

Big Winnebago, his two children, and his Dakota wife also settled on the reservation. She died in 1868 and his son a year later. He lived another forty-three years. In August 1911 he died on the Santee Sioux reservation in Nebraska at the home of his Ho-Chunk-Dakota daughter, Elizabeth Frazier.<sup>152</sup>

Maznopinka's fate is yet unknown. Blackhawk believed he "died in confinement," though his name is unrecognizable among the list of those who died at the prison at Camp Kearney, or the twenty-six pardoned by President Lincoln in August 1864, or the remaining 177 surviving prisoners that President Andrew Johnson ordered released and sent to their new reservation at Santee, Nebraska, on April 10, 1866.<sup>153</sup> Is it possible he survived his imprisonment?

In the 1950s, Mary Smith Bigfire, an elderly granddaughter of Waukonhaga Decorah, relayed a strangely familiar story she'd heard as a child. In 1866 her Ho-Chunk mother found herself and her infant stranded in "Sioux country" after her Lakota husband had been killed at Powder River. Ho-Chunk men were sent to fetch her, but they proved unwilling or cowardly.<sup>154</sup> Finally, an uncle of Mary's mother with a reputation for being a "great hero" took on the task. Shortly thereafter he returned Mary's mother and her baby safely home to the Nebraska reservation. Mary identified her great uncle only as "He-who-wears-the-steel-necklace." Iron or steel and the bear clan name, Maznopinka, is the same—and an uncommon one for the Ho-Chunk. If, indeed, Maznopinka survived imprisonment, he emerged still strong, still brave, still tending to his family, and undefeated by those who attempted to define and banish his "fated race."

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ter, and our chair and organizer, Elaine Nelson. I'd also like to thank my dear friend, David Lee Smith, tribal historian for the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska, for his continuing support.

#### NOTES

1. My choice of the term "U.S. and Dakota War" comes from Carol Chomsky, "The United States-Dakota War Trials: A Study in Military Injustice," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 1 (November 1990): 13-98.

2. Indian names in this article are usually represented as they appear in documents.

3. I use the proper name "Ho-Chunk" when writing about the people themselves.

4. Some scholars state that 393 were tried, but the trial documents end at case 392. It is unclear if Maznopinka's unnumbered and separately tried case is counted in the former number. The documents can be found in "Trial transcripts, 1862," M262, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul (henceforth MHS).

5. Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1976), 69. This number was reduced from 307.

6. John Isch was one exception, but he surmised incorrectly that potentially four tribunal cases belonged to Winnebago individuals. Only case 13, his "O-tonka-hum-ba," which he incorrectly transcribed, was in his words "clearly Winnebago." Isch, "Winnebago Trials," in "Guilty as Charged: The 1862-1864 Military Commission Trials of the Dakota: Including the Trial Transcripts and Commentary" (manuscript copy, copyright 2010, MHS), no page numbers.

7. Examples are William E. Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota of the Sioux and Winnebago Indians," *Minnesota History Magazine*, December 1963, 353-64; and Rhoda Gilman, *Henry Hastings Sibley: Divided Heart* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004), 189.

8. On race and settler colonialism, see Robert J. C. Young, "Colonialism" and "Imperialism," in *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2004), 15-43; and Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies" in *Haunted by Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 23-67.

9. See Robert E. Beider, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1986).

10. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA:



Harvard University Press, 1981); and Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Race* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

11. Deconstruction theory maintains that meaning resides in words (and concepts, etc.) only when we distinguish their difference from other words, and this difference or *différance*, is always “deferred.” Jacques Derrida, “Différance,” in *Margins of Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 3–27.

12. See Jacqueline Fear-Segal, “Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism,” *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 323–41. See also Linda M. Waggoner, *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 31–37.

13. Lauren Berlant, *The Anatomy of a National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1. See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

14. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650–1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

15. Nancy O. Lurie, “Winnebago,” in *Handbook of North American Indians* 15, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 690–707.

16. David Lee Smith, *Winnebago Tribal History* (self-published, copyright 1996). See also Paul Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

17. Smith, *Winnebago Tribal History*, 20–24.

18. For an analysis of the term “métis,” see Jennifer S. H. Brown and Jacqueline Peterson, introduction to *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Brown and Peterson (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001). For a discussion of why the term is contested for non-Canadians, see Chris Andersen, “From Nation to Population: The Radicalization of ‘Métis’ in the Canadian Census,” *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 2 (April 2008): 347–68. See also Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed., *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009).

19. J. H. Lockwood, “Execution of Treaty with the Winnebagoes,” Doc. No. 229, U.S. Congress, House and Senate Documents and Reports, Serial Set, 25th Congress, 3d session. For a recent history of men in the fur trade, see Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyager World: Travelers and Traders in North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

20. Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 5, 9–10.

21. For histories of these families, see Linda M. Waggoner, “Neither White Men Nor Indians”: *Affidavits from the Winnebago Mixed-Blood Claim Commissions, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 1838–1839* (Roseville, MN: Park Books, 2002). My twenty-year study of these families was inspired by Jacqueline Peterson’s PhD dissertation, “The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1830” (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981). Unfortunately, space limits citing all my sources, an abundance of tribal records I have collected over the years.

22. “Statement of A. J. Edgerton,” Thomas Hughes Papers, 1855–1946, SMHC Manuscript Collection 101, Southern Minnesota Historical Center (henceforth THP).

23. Minnesota Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars: 1861–1865*, (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Company, 1890), 1:705, 1:740, 2:209 (googlebooks.com).

24. *Mankato Record*, October 25, 1862. All Minnesota newspapers cited can be found in the MHS microfilm collection.

25. “Edgerton, A. J., Report, 1862,” File 1862, October 21, Box 166, Folder 33, Wisconsin State Historical Society Library-Archives, Madison.

26. Report of Dakota Agent Galbraith, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863* (henceforth RPCIA), 268 (googlebooks.com).

27. Chas Henry Mix, Letter, P2347, MHS.

28. Julie Hiller Schraeder, *The Heritage of Blue Earth County* (Dallas: Curtis Media Corporation, 1990), 100. See also Mark Diedrich, ed., *Winnebago Chiefs: Winnebago Leadership in the Era of Crisis* (Rochester, MN: Coyote Books, 2001) and *Winnebago Oratory: Great Moments in the Recorded Speech of the Hochungra, 1742–1887* (Rochester, MN: Coyote Books, 1991).

29. For an early account, see Thomas L. McKenney, “The Winnebago War,” in *Wisconsin Historical Collections* 5 (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1907), 178–204.

30. Diedrich, *Winnebago Chiefs*, 79–93, 135.

31. Waggoner, “Neither White Men Nor Indians,” 101–15.

32. Lurie, “Winnebago,” 690–707.

33. Diedrich, *Winnebago Chiefs*, 141.

34. Charles Philip Hexom, “Chief Winneshiek,” in *Indian History of Winneshiek County* (Decorah, IA: A. K. Bailey and Son, 1913), no page numbers.

35. Diedrich, *Winnebago Chiefs*, 141.

36. A “bread chief” collects annuities for his band.

37. Diedrich, *Winnebago Chiefs*, 141.

38. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 259.

39. Ibid., 260.
40. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 19, 185.
41. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 258. Also see Anderson's "Myrick's Insult: A Fresh Look at Myth and Reality," *Minnesota History* 48 (Spring 1983): 198–206.
42. Lieutenant Governor Ignatious Donneley to Governor Alexander Ramsey, No. 2, "History of the Indian War," August 29, 1862, *RPCIA 1862*, 2.
43. Galbraith to Clark W. Thompson, No. 144, *RPCIA 1863*, 266.
44. Ibid.
45. See Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986).
46. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 6.
47. Ibid., 1.
48. Gilman, *Henry Hastings Sibley*, 20–46.
49. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 44–52.
50. For the Campbell family, see John S. Wozniak, *Contact, Negotiation, and Conflict: An Ethnohistory of the Eastern Dakota, 1819–1839* (Washington, DC: University Press of America). Peter's father (my third great-grandfather) and an unknown Menominee woman were the parents of Margaret Campbell Patoille; see n. 21.
51. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 137.
52. *Mankato Independent Weekly*, August 29, 1862.
53. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.
54. Thomas Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1969), 147–58, and "Notes on the Winnebago," 1855–1862, THP.
55. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.
56. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 24.
57. Cox to Grant, September 6, 1871, M234, R943, RG75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter NARA-DC).
58. No. 9, Balcombe's Report, *RPCIA 1862*, 92–93. Balcombe was appointed agent in March 1861, Executive Journal, March 23, 1861, *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America (1858–1861)* 11 (Washington: Government Printing Office), 335.
59. Balcombe to Thompson, May 15, 1862, frame 693; Thompson to Mix, August 18, 1862, frame 691; Mix to Smith, August 25, 1862, frame 579; and Ramsey to Smith, August 30, 1862, frames 583–584, M234, R935, RG75, NARA-DC.
60. Lucius F. Hubbard and Return I. Holcombe, *Minnesota in Three Centuries: 1655–1908* (Mankato: Publishing Society of Minnesota, 1908, googlebooks.com), 3:395.
61. Ibid., 396.
62. *Mankato Record*, September 12, 1862.
63. Ibid., October 4, 1862.
64. *Daily Advocate*, February 11, 1894, Newark, OH (newspaperarchives.com); and "Notes on the Winnebagoes," THP.
65. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 2:259.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 2:264.
68. *Mankato Record*, October 4, 1862.
69. Ibid. In 1861 the Ho-Chunk established a reservation judicial system and jail. "Winnebago File," John A. Willard, Folder 2, Blue Earth County Historical Society, Mankato (henceforth BECHS).
70. A descendent of White's shared her family history documents relating to White and Myrick's early partnership.
71. Trader Henry Foster initiated the charge against Balcombe. "Notes in Examination of Charges Against Agt. Balcombe in Paper Marked 'Winnebago T. 398, March 1862,'" BECHS; the documentation is also scattered throughout M234, R935, RG75, NARA-DC.
72. White and the agency physician organized a rifle company in the summer of 1859. *Mankato Independent* (issue unknown).
73. Porter's sterling character reference for White is filed with the charges against Balcombe. Porter's letter for Asa White, M234 R935, frames 421–422, RG75, NARA-DC.
74. Red Legs, known as "a great chief in his time," died in Nebraska in 1909, *Winnebago Chieftain*, December 24, 1909, Nebraska State Historical Society.
75. *Mankato Record*, October 4, 1862.
76. Ibid.
77. Cox to Grant, September 6, 1871, NARA-DC.
78. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 2:279.
79. *Winona Daily Republican*, October 23, 1862.
80. *Mankato Record*, October 18, 1862.
81. Grey Wolf initiated the "Home Coming" powwow in 1866 to commemorate his brother.
82. Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 149, 158.
83. *Mankato Record*, November 15, 1862.
84. Ibid., February 21, 1863.
85. *Mankato Record*, February 21, 1863.
86. *Winona Daily Republican*, November 19, 1862, <http://activepaper.olivesoftware.com>.
87. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (1885 rev. ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 228–29.

88. John Blackhawk to Thomas Hughes, June 3, 1921, THP.

89. Case No. 13, O-ton-ka-ton-ka, "Trial transcripts, 1862," MHS.

90. Big Winnebago was identified in newspapers as "the son of Prophet" and misidentified as "Young Prophet." Thomas Hughes noted: "Oct. 1862—Prophet has three sons—all now living—one by a Winnebago Squaw, is a chief at the Agency: one is in Wisconsin and the third is or was a prisoner with Col. Sibley charged with murdering white people at the Sioux Agency." "Notes on the Winnebago," 6, THP. Isch thought case number 13 belonged to "the son of Old Chief Prophet, who fought in the Black Hawk War." Understandably, he confused Old Chief (Long Nose) Prophet with Winneshiek's uncle, Winnebago Prophet (White Cloud), *Guilty as Charged*. See also "Decedent Big Winnebago," Winnebago Heirship Records, R92, RG75, NARA-Central Plains, Kansas City. He appears as "Ezekial Prophet" in the 1871 Learning Allotments, "Land allotments, death dates, family histories, n.d.," RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

91. Although her Dakota name is not recorded, the Ho-Chunk called her "Oc see ah gah" (third-born daughter).

92. Decedent Mrs. Grey Wolf, 1911, R92, 147–92, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

93. "Trial transcripts, 1862," Case No. 13. "Etappe" or "átappe" is not a Ho-Chunk name. It might be attached to the name before or after it.

94. Hounka was likely Coming Thunder Winneshiek's brother, not son. Winneshiek's father, who died in 1848, was Chief Mawaragah Winneshiek. He had four sons, only two of whom were well known: Coming Thunder, the eldest, and Short Wing. His other sons were probably Hounka or "Hoon kaw" and Ben Winneshiek. Coming Thunder in turn had three sons whose English names were John, George, and Little Winneshiek. Hughes thought that George might have been Hounka, but I disagree, because he was too young. The 1857 annuity rolls (101) show the following consecutive heads of family: Nau he Kaw [or fourth-born son, probably Ben Winneshiek]; Win-noshik [Coming Thunder]; Hoon Kaw; Wau sho pe we kaw [Coming Thunder's mother]. Hau kaw kaw [or third-born son, who was probably "Ha-ya-ka-kay," brother of "Hoon kaw," otherwise known as Short Wing], Receipt Roll Winnebago 1857, Box 5, Winnebago Agency, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

95. Ho-Chunk Oliver Lamere stated, "John Co-no or Co-no-hutta-kaw" (big first-born son), died in Nebraska but "kept a store while the Indians were in Minnesota." Notes on the Winnebago, THP.

96. "436. Sinch ah cho kaw" and "398. Hay o me kaw" (chief "Lies in the Hill") also appear on the 1857 Winnebago annuity roll. Wau ze hau Kaw ("Pine") and Sinch ah wau cho Kaw appear on the 1863 Winnebago annuity roll, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

97. David McCluskey fought with Little Priest in later battles. See n. 151.

98. "Weerokanaka," or "Wirukananga" (he who is in control) is a buffalo clan name. Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*, 198.

99. "Decedent Mrs. Grey Wolf," "Decedent Big Winnebago," and "Land allotments, death dates, family histories, n.d.," RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

100. Shining Horn and family appear on the 1857 annuity roll, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

101. Hazel Eyes and Waraschwinkaw were two of Winneshiek's wives at this time. "Estate of Queen Thunder," 211 (from Wittenberg Records), R91, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

102. Lasallier's sister, Chonewinkaw, "married a Sioux Indian named Big Eagle or Cha-wa-shep-hut-te-kaw and by him had one child, a son, who was My Soul Tiebault," born in the 1840s. "My Soul Tebo Estate," July 18, 1912, R94, RG75, NARA-Central Plains.

103. Smith, *Winnebago Tribal History*, 38. See Lurie, "A Check List of Treaty Signers by Clan Affiliation," *Journal of the Wisconsin Indians Research Institute* 2 (June 1966): 58.

104. *Mankato Record*, October 25, 1862.

105. Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota," 353. See also Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Removal of the Winnebago," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 21 (1924): 23–29, and Chuck Lewis, "Removing the Winnebago: A Tale of Frontier Journalism," in *Minnesota's Heritage: Panorama of the Dakota Conflict*, ed. Mary Bakeman, Issue 3 (Roseville, 2011), 64–87.

106. *Mankato Record*, October 12, 1862.

107. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1862.

108. *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society* 5 (Lincoln, NE: Jacob North and Co. Printers, 1902), 42–43 (googlebooks.com).

109. Chomsky thought the Dakota were condemned on less evidence than what appeared in the newspaper coverage for the Ho-Chunk, "The United States Dakota War: A Study in Military Justice," 27n83.

110. *Mankato Record*, November 15, 1862.

111. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1862.

112. *Ibid.*

113. See "Lincoln's Message" and correspondence, "Trial Transcripts, 1862," MHS. Regarding the rape of white women, I thank my fellow panelist, Emily Wardrop, for her insightful presentation "The Symbol of the Captive White Woman in the Dakota War."

114. "Records of St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Mankato," December 1863, copies from the German Bohemian Society, New Ulm, MN.

115. *Pioneer Press* coverage from folder 3, "The Dakota Conflict Trials."

116. Brown, ed., *History of Cottonwood and Watonwan Counties Minnesota* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen and Co., 1916), 369.

117. Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 75.

118. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Entry 173, List of Indians in prison at Mankato (January 12, 1863) in "Trial transcripts, 1862," MHS. Maznopinka appears last on the list without a case number and the only one noted as Winnebago.

119. Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota," 354; and "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

120. *Mankato Record*, October 4, 1862.

121. Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota," 353.

122. One missionary declared, "[F]ifteen hundred women and children were left helpless, to be tossed hither and thither for four years, stung by reproach and pinched by want." "Thomas Smith Williamson, MD," in *American Heroes on Mission Fields: Brief Missionary Biographies*, ed. Hiram Collins Haydn (New York: American Tract Society, 1894), 131–39 (googlebooks.com).

123. "Quad City Memories," Special Collections, Davenport Public Library, <http://www.qcmemory.org/Default.aspx?PageId=267>.

124. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

125. Moore is listed on the 1860 and 1865 censuses for Vivian, Waseca County.

126. Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, 139.

127. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

128. Ibid.

129. Blackhawk to Hughes, June 3, 1920, THP.

130. Daniel Buck, *Indian Outbreaks* (self-published, copyright 1904), 25–26 (googlebooks.com).

131. *Mankato Record*, May 9, 1863.

132. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

133. No. 155, Mix to Dole, May 29, 1863, RPCIA 1863.

134. No. 154, Ibid., May 23, 1862.

135. Winnebago Relocation, Notebooks 1, 2, and 3, THP.

136. *Mankato Independent*, May 15, 1863.

137. Ibid.

138. Bradford Porter, October 3, 1865, in *The Reports of the Committees of the Senate of the United States: 2nd session 39th Congress, 1866–67* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 419 (googlebooks.com); and Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 80.

139. "Statement of Judge A. J. Edgerton," THP.

140. Ibid.

141. Sibley to Major R. O. Selfridge, M234, R936, frames 495–496, RG75, NARA-DC.

142. Winneshiek made another appeal to the president on August 7. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

143. For the harsh conditions found on arrival at Crow Creek, see "Letter from the Winnebago Agency," *Mankato Independent*, July 14, 1863.

144. See Lurie, "The Winnebago."

145. "Notes on the Winnebago," THP.

146. Ibid., Blackhawk to Hughes.

147. On April 30, 1864, Robert Furnas held a council with the Ho-Chunk on the Omaha reservation at which Winneshiek and Short Wing made statements. Robert W. Furnas Papers, Roll 1, December 1864–September 1872, MF 3158 #893, Winnebago Historical Society.

148. Hughes claimed Winneshiek remained on the Nebraska reservation until 1872 and died shortly thereafter. *Indian Chiefs*, 182. Other accounts imply he died closer to the fall of 1864. Hexom, "Chief Winneshiek."

149. The Ho-Chunk in Wisconsin were forcibly taken to Nebraska in 1874, but many who had settled in Nebraska, including Little Decora, returned to Wisconsin.

150. Diedrich, *Winnebago Chiefs*, 159.

151. Rita Cohn and W. Lynn Montel, compilers, "David Lee Smith," in *Always a People: Oral Histories of Contemporary Woodland Indians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 206. See David McCluskey's pictograph of the 1866 battle site, Manuscript 5967, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, <http://sirir-archives.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?uri=full=3100001~!75397!0>.

152. "Decedent Mrs. Grey Wolf" and "Decedent Big Winnebago," RG75, NARA–Central Plains.

153. Several convicted Dakota men's names began with "maz" or "mas," also the Dakota word for iron. Blackhawk may have confused Maznopinka with Dakota prisoner "Mazanicuta" (case number 50), who died in the Mankato prison on January 1863. Prisoner List, "Trial Transcripts, 1862." See *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:325 (googlebooks.com); "Quad City Memories"; and Marion P. Satterlee's *Outbreak and Massacre by the Dakota Indians of Minnesota in 1862*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2009), 97–102. For the original lists of prisoners, see <http://www.acesgenealogy.com/native/kearney/page1.htm>.

154. Richard P. Werbner's interview of Mary Smith Big Fire, Series 2-1, General Notes and Manuscripts, Winnebago Indians, Paul Radin Papers, Raynor Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI.