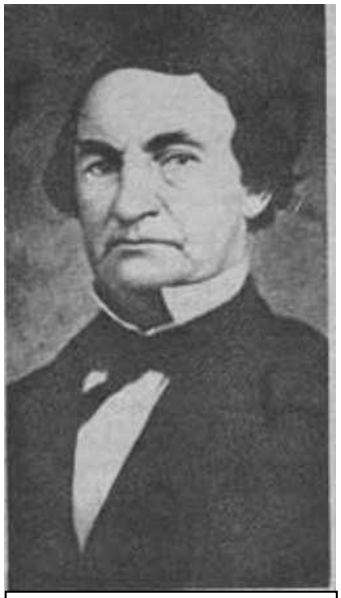
THE FALLS HISTORY PROJECT 2011

BRF IN 1875: SPAULDING AND THE REMOVAL EPISODE



JACOB SPAULDING

1810-1876

YELLOWTHUNDER

c. 1774-1874

WAUKON DECORAH

c. 1780-1868

OLD WINNESHIEK

c. 1827-1887

PREFACE TO THE 2011 PROJECT

Perhaps no topic proves as complex for history students as the story of race relations. The 10th edition of the Falls History Project finds us once again foraging around in the latter years of the 19th century and, more specifically, exploring an episode that helps us better appreciate a tragic moment in Ho-chunk history, and the surprising involvement of Jacob Spaulding and other Euro-Americans in that story. First some background.

When easterners first ventured into the Black River Valley in 1819, they encountered the Ho-chunk people, a tribe that at one time laid claim to the northern third of Illinois and southern third of Wisconsin. Like other regional tribes, the Ho-chunk were forced to deal with a succession of powerful European political entities, first the French, then the British, and ultimately the upstart Americans who broke from British rule. They first signed a treaty of "peace and friendship" with the US government in 1816. As was often the case, negotiation with the government led to both inter and intra-tribal factionalizing – a confusing scenario that, in the case of the Ho-chunk, forever changed their history. Encroachment by Euro-American settlers on Ho-chunk land began in earnest in the 1820s with the advent of lead-mining south of Prairie du Chien. Land cession treaties signed in 1829 and 1832 led to removal efforts aimed at inducing the Ho-chunk to relocate in an area west of the Mississippi in Iowa (the so-called "Neutral Ground"). Meanwhile, the government continued to press the tribe to cede their remaining lands in Wisconsin, pressure that eventually led to the Treaty of 1837.

According to anthropologist and historian Nancy Lurie, the tribe refused to sell more land and, in the summer of 1837, accepted an invitation to send a delegation to Washington to meet with representatives of President Van Buren. Because they were determined to keep their land, the tribe sent a delegation of 20 men who had no authority to sign a treaty of cession. Upon their arrival in Washington, the US government immediately pressured the delegates to cede their remaining Wisconsin land. According to later accounts, they believed they would not be allowed to return home if they did not sign the treaty. Further, they signed the document with the assurance that they would have eight "years" before having to leave Wisconsin, when in reality the treaty read eight "months," a deliberate deception later admitted by the interpreter. The disastrous Treaty of 1837 led to a permanent split in the Ho-chunk tribe. The "treaty-abiding faction" believed it best to move and "make the best of a bad bargain." The "non-abiding faction," led by Yellow Thunder and Dandy, refused to leave and, for the next 27 years, fought a series of removals.

The land cession of 1837 opened the door for further incursions into this region, and it was at that moment that Jacob Spaulding, along with a party of second-wave New Englanders, left Prairie du Chien and headed north on the Mississippi to La Crosse. From there, it was a 40-mile northwestern journey on the black-colored tributary that brought them into the area later known as Black River Falls. These Yankees, of course, encountered the Ho-chunk people who referred to this place as Niosawani'eeja, literally "where the water disappears." Not surprisingly, early encounters were tension-filled, each group wary of the other. It was at the falls that Spaulding and his companions built a saw mill and began to envision their future as lumber barons. For the next 37 years, Spaulding left his mark on the city and surrounding region in myriad ways.

2011 RESEARCH FOCUS

Native and Euro-Americans have coexisted in this community for 172 years, a fact that is often lost on local residents. This relationship has evolved within the great changes our nation and state have endured over seven generations and, of course, continues to evolve in the early years of the 21st century. As mentioned earlier, our research in 2011 focuses on a slice of Black River history that seems to have fallen, at least for the most part, beneath the radar screen of local residents. The story of the Ho-chunk removals, and especially the final removal attempt in 1873-74 at the hands of the US government, is a defining, albeit tragic, moment for the our local native residents, many of whom are descendants of people who experienced the removal attempt firsthand. It is a story of loss and survival, vulnerability and resilience. What follows are four threads of the story.

In Part 1 Erick Conrad, this year's senior Falls History Project intern, explores the life of Jacob Spaulding, whose story provides a window into our city's earliest history. Drawing from a variety of sources, Conrad focuses on the role that Spaulding and his son, Dudley, played in establishing Black River Falls.

Part 2 is an interview with Anna Rae Funmaker, the granddaughter of two men who were young boys during the removal of 1873-74, John Davis and George Funmaker, Sr. Our interview with Funmaker is the 39th that we have conducted since starting the FHP in 2002 and provides invaluable insight into the removal story and how it continues to be a defining moment in Ho-chunk history.

In Part 3 we further explore the relationship Spaulding forged with Ho-chunk people over his four decades in Black River by providing an interpretive account of his funeral in late January 1876. Attended by nearly 1000 people from across the state, including 40 Ho-chunk men who sat in a prominent place in Freeman's Hall, Spaulding's funeral illuminates the relatively unexplored story of non-native people who fought to resist the period's tragic removals.

Finally, Part 4 is a speech delivered by my grandfather, T.M. Rykken, who served as a missionary and teacher at the Bethany Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, from 1920-30. I've included the speech for two reasons. First, church missions such as Bethany illustrate one response by Euro-Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to the vulnerable situation that native people faced in the post-treaty period. Second, Rykken describes the impact of the removals in the first portion of the speech, information he likely received from people who had experienced it. The inclusion of the removal story within the context of his other remarks illustrates the role that missionaries played in informing the public about the plight of a vulnerable people. On a personal note, we discovered while doing the research that Anna Rae's father, Jim Funmaker, was a student at Bethany at the time my grandfather was there, a circular connection that added meaning to the project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As has been the case with our previous projects, it is our intention to both uncover and interpret the history of this place to achieve a better understanding of who we are. We thank Anna Rae Funmaker for her wonderful contribution this year and for the advice she has offered concerning the inclusion of Native American history in our curriculum. She joins 38 other local residents

that comprise our growing oral history archive. In addition, we thank several people who helped us with our research. Anthropologist Nancy Lurie of Milwaukee, as she has done several times before, provided valuable insight on the story of the Ho-chunk people and especially the removal episode; Professor Grant Arndt of Northern Iowa University put us on to a seemingly obscure thesis authored in 1985 by Dr. Larry Onsager that explores the Ho-chunk removals and resistance during the late 19th century; Dr. Onsager, now of Andrews University in Michigan, graciously corresponded with us concerning his thesis and allowed us to copy it for inclusion in our archive; Mary Woods of the Jackson County History Room at our local library, who has been with us for the duration of the FHP, continually helping us with local research; Erick Conrad, our 11th FHP intern, whose interest and enthusiasm for the topic proved invaluable. Erick joins our growing cast of history students whose contributions will benefit future students at BRFHS. Finally, thanks to my daughter, Kathryn Rykken Schweitz, who applied her excellent editing skills to the final project.

Paul Rykken
Falls History Project Advisor
July 2011

Note Concerning the Front Page Photographs

Pictures of Jacob Spaulding are difficult to find. This particular photograph was retrieved from the following website that chronicles the history of west central Wisconsin and was part of an article by Jean Anderson from a 1976 special edition of the Eau Claire Leader Telegram.

http://www.usgennet.org/usa/wi/county/eauclaire/history/ourstory/vol1/spaulding.html

The Native leaders pictured were contemporaries of Spaulding who played prominent roles in resisting removal for decades. Yellow Thunder (Wa-kun-cha-koo-kah) and Waukon Decorah (Wau-kon-haw-kaw) traveled with the delegation to Washington, DC in 1837 and signed the controversial treaty. Old Winneshiek also resisted removal, and we know that he and Spaulding met concerning the government's actions during this period. These photographs can be retrieved at the following sites:

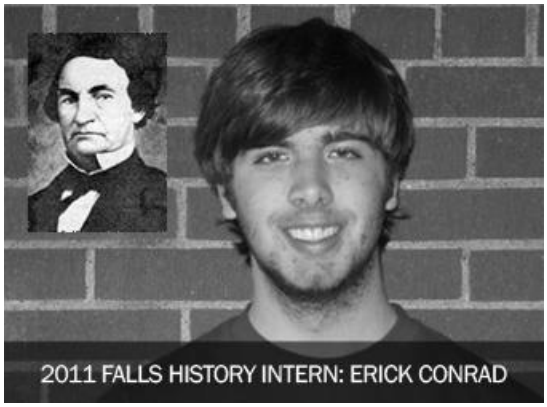
Yellow Thunder: http://wvls.lib.wi.us/ClarkCounty/clark/history/Indians1.htm

Old Winneshiek:
http://amertribes.proboards.com/index.cgi?board=eastern&action=display&thread=505

Waukon Decorah: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waukon_Decorah

CHAPTER 1: JACOB SPAULDING'S ROLE IN EARLY BLACK RIVER HISTORY

Jacob Spaulding is considered the founder of Black River Falls. Born in Massachusetts in 1810, Spaulding moved to New York, and later Illinois, where he worked as a millwright and bridge builder, among other things. When he came to the Black River Valley in 1839, he brought great optimism and much energy to the frontier region. His story is of great importance to the region due to his many contributions to the community in its earliest period. His relationship with the region's Ho-chunk people is also an important part of his story and will be briefly explored as a part of this research.[1]



White settlers came to the Black River area as early as 1819, but it wasn't until August of 1839 that an expedition headed by Andrew Woods, whom Spaulding was working for at the time, settled in the Black River Valley. This came after a controversial land cession by the Ho-chunk people in 1837, a treaty that, in some respects, divided the tribe. Due to the abundance of timber in the region, many mills were constructed to harvest the trees along the river. Control of the original sawmill remained under the control of Woods. However, there were conflicts between Woods and Spaulding over land claims. After being ejected by Woods, Spaulding sought legal help in reclaiming his possession as joint tenant. Spaulding later drove Woods out of the valley by buying out the lumber business. In 1842, the Mormons moved north into the Black River valley from Nauvoo, Illinois, in search of lumber. Many settled on Spaulding's land, which, in turn, created tension, and Spaulding managed to drive the Mormons from the area at gunpoint. They later returned, however, with a proposition to purchase the mill, to which Spaulding agreed. The lumber business remained in Mormon control until 1842, when Joseph

[1]To avoid confusion we will use the term "Ho-chunk" throughout the paper, although the term "Winnebago" would have been used at the time. Since 1994, the Ho-chunk people of Wisconsin have utilized this name because of its traditional meaning
(Hochungra Wazijaci meaning "people of the big voice of the woods"). The faction of the tribe that lives in Nebraska, however, retains the use of "Winnebago," which literally means "people of the stinky water," a name ascribed to them by neighboring Algonquian tribes in the region of Green Bay.

Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was killed. The Mormons dispersed from the area, and the ownership of the lumber business returned to Spaulding.[2]

From 1844-46, Spaulding helped expand the community. As the population of Black River increased, Spaulding built what came to be known as the “Shanghai House,” a hotel on the river. This wondrous structure was a masterpiece of design and finish and became the most prominent building along the river at the time. The opening of the hotel was a well-attended gala with people coming from all over the region to celebrate with dancing and partying.

This early period of development challenged settlers in many ways. In 1847, a massive flood struck the valley, something that would recur throughout Black River’s history. Nearly all the mills constructed along the river at the time were swept away, although the Spaulding dam held against the 1847 flood. As Spaulding led the effort to rebuild the community, the Methodist Episcopal Church was built and is considered to be the first official church in the region. Construction of the first school house was also completed after the mills were rebuilt. In fact, education was one of Spaulding’s first concerns for area people. Spaulding’s interest in education was also shared by his son, Dudley. Both believed that education was important for the community’s youth. Calvin R. Johnson of Massachusetts was the first teacher, being paid $12 a month by Spaulding. Fourteen pupils attended the school at the year’s start. Johnson eventually left Black River to serve during the Mexican War but later returned.

In 1849, Spaulding was commissioned to help construct a state road connecting Black River Falls and Eau Claire to Hudson and Prairie du Chien. Prairie du Chien and Hudson were large settlements at the time. The connection of the two cities definitely reshaped Black River Falls and Spaulding’s lumber industry. Since many logs were shipped via the Black River, now it was possible to ship them by road as well.

[2]Spaulding was familiar with the Mormons due to interactions with them prior to coming to Wisconsin. His family had moved to Warsaw, Illinois, a neighboring community to Nauvoo, at roughly the same time that Smith and his followers had arrived from New York.

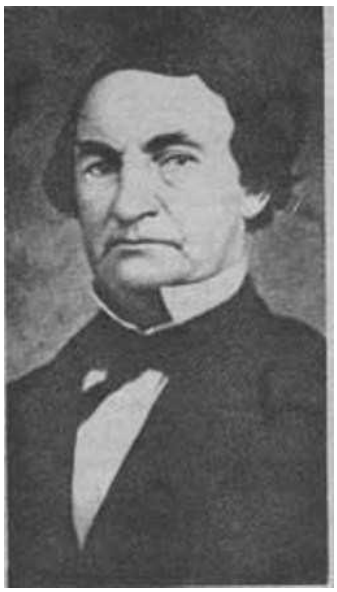
Throughout the 1850s, Black River Falls grew into a thriving village. In 1850, the first post office was established. In 1853, the region of Jackson County was separated from La Crosse County and Black River Falls named as county seat. In 1855, Black River's first newspaper, the Badger State Banner, began distribution. In 1860, another tragedy struck the growing village. Nearly the entire business district burned in a fire that started in the bowling alley. It was during this same year that Spaulding gave possession of all of his land and business to his only son, Dudley. The transfer of Spaulding's possessions to Dudley included Spaulding's farmland, small businesses, and some of the lumber industry. Dudley was 26 years old at the time but eventually became a noted businessman in his own right. Jacob Spaulding was 50 years old at the time of this transaction.[3]

From that point on, Dudley became the most prominent businessman in Black River Falls. During his time, he continued to develop the community like his father had done. He enlarged and improved the sawmill and constructed a grist mill, sash factory, and grocery store, among other things. In 1866, Black River Falls was incorporated as a village, and, in 1868, the Western Wisconsin Railway established a line through the small river town.

Jacob Spaulding's Later Years

Though Dudley Spaulding had taken over his father's business endeavors, Jacob Spaulding did not completely leave the scene. In his last years, he became increasingly active in fighting the removal of the Ho-chunk people from Wisconsin. His actions sparked many conflicts with the state and other regional leaders as the removal of 1873 – 74 neared. Although many non-natives hoped the Ho-chunk would be removed to Nebraska, a number of them including Spaulding, were against the removal and sought another option. According to Lawrence Onsager, several things motivated the desire by many in the region and state for the removal of the native

[3]Although not mentioned here, Black River Falls underwent fairly dramatic changes during the American Civil War. Over 400 men from Jackson County served in the Union Army during the War. Levi Miles, FHP Intern during the 2009-10 school year explored the story of Company G of the 10th Wisconsin Infantry and his work offers excellent insight on how the War impacted our region.



people.[4] The Ho-chunk and Euro-American population of Wisconsin had a history of conflict. Many people continued to have a lingering fear of native people because of memories of the massacre of hundreds of whites in Minnesota by the Sioux in 1862. Some blamed the Ho-chunk due to the fact that some tribal members had been removed to Minnesota and were wrongly associated with the episode. Disputes with cranberry growers of the area caused tension as well. Lastly, prejudice against the Ho-chunk in general played a role. Many non-native people perceived them as lazy and considered them inferior because of cultural differences. In short, many Euro-American settlers in the region believed there were more benefits to the removal than problems.[5]

At the same time, many reasons existed to resist removal. Many understood that elders and children would die because of the rough journey they would encounter, and this, in fact, did happen. The combination of unsanitary conditions, lack of food and shelter, and the constant raids by the Sioux killed many Winnebago in Nebraska. Religion played a role as well. Ho-chunk people wanted to live on their ancestor's land. Nebraska was a far and distant land and held no attraction. Others, like Spaulding, simply viewed the removals as an unjust act upon the native tribes.

The roots of Spaulding's affection for the Ho-chunk people remain somewhat unclear. What we do know, however, is that he had invaluable relations with some of the local tribal members. Spaulding saw them as industrious, and it is evident that he hired some to work for him in the lumbering business. Along with another prominent Black Riverian, William T. Price, Spaulding represented the Ho-chunk quite often in legal matters. Ho-chunk leaders apparently

[4]Dr. Lawrence Onsager wrote a Master's thesis in 1985 documenting the story of Ho-chunk removals from the 1837 Treaty through 1873-74. His thesis was a gold-mine for our research on this topic. His account of Spaulding's role is well-documented, although Spaulding's precise motivations remain somewhat of a mystery.

[5]It should also be noted that some in the non-native community believed that removal would actually be beneficial to the Ho-chunk people because they would be able to farm in Nebraska, enabling them to be lifted from poverty. This was a familiar refrain during the 19th Century removals, i.e. the removing the native people would be "good for them."

sought counsel from Spaulding. Spaulding's relationship with the native people led to him acquiring the nickname "Uncle Jake" by some in the tribe.

Beyond these personal relationships with the Ho-chunk, Spaulding led the white opposition force, whose main goal was to delay removal until after Congress met for their next session. Spaulding and his followers knew that the Ho-chunk would accept becoming citizens and individual land owners instead of facing removal. The government, however, did not show much support for that approach. Members of the Ho-chunk community, for example, had asked for land near Black River Falls but were denied. In August 1873, Spaulding visited Governor Washburn in Madison and suggested the Winnebago have a reservation on the east end of Jackson County, but Washburn showed no support for the idea.

In spite of Spaulding's efforts to stop the removal, military preparations for forced removal continued. In this atmosphere, opposition to the removal continued to increase. A fair amount of the opposition actually came from Black River Falls, where some residents began to organize resistance against the military. Not everyone in the community was behind Spaulding however. Eustace Brockway, for example, a state assemblyman in 1872 and the founder of Brockway, worked for the removal of the Ho-chunk. At one point, Brockway was sent to induce the Ho-chunk into leaving. He managed to sway two headmen and thirty-five warriors to comply.

In 1873 and 1874, the Ho-chunk were forcibly removed to Nebraska. Spaulding continued to show his support for the Ho-chunk by traveling to Nebraska and speaking with the tribal members there. He found the Ho-chunk in very poor condition due to the fact that the government did not supply them with everything promised. Problems with annuity payments and shortages of basic survival essentials such as blankets existed. Also, the scarcity of timber and game made it difficult for the Ho-chunk to build shelter or find food. After witnessing the difficulties the Ho-chunk went through in Nebraska, Spaulding traveled to Washington DC to fight for homesteads. While there, Spaulding managed to select homesteads under the

[6]Spaulding's funeral is dealt with in more depth in a later portion of this year's project.

Homestead Laws. The portion of land selected was the same portion Spaulding had suggested to Governor Washburn.

Upon returning from Washington in January of 1876, Spaulding made an excursion to Worcester, Wisconsin, where he met with some native people "on business" and on the evening of January 23, died. His body was returned to Black River, and his funeral took place several days later at Freeman's Hall. It was estimated that over 1,000 people attended the funeral service, including 40 Ho-chunk men who came to pay their last respects to Spaulding. According to newspaper accounts of this dramatic event, the Ho-chunk mourners sat in the front rows and, in fact, led the funeral procession to the city cemetery.[6]

Jacob Spaulding's life coincided with the frontier history of the United States. Thirty-seven of his sixty-six years were spent in the Black River Valley, and he left an indelible mark on the region and, more specifically, the community of Black River Falls. His story was typical of the experience of "old stock" New Englanders who moved west for a fresh start in an unknown wilderness. His story was also more complex due to his interactions with Mormon people at a critical moment in their history and Native American people who eventually viewed him as a friend. Those aspects of his story have yet to be more fully explored.

COMMENTARY ON SOURCES ON SPAULDING

As is often the case with local history, sources on Jacob Spaulding's life are scattered and fragmented. To our knowledge, he left no journals or diaries that would provide a firsthand account of his travels or experiences. The story of his involvement with resisting removal is documented in Mark Wyman's The Wisconsin Frontier (Indiana University Press, 1998). A.D. Polleys' Stories of Pioneer, Days in the Black River Valley (Melrose, Wisconsin, 1948) contains valuable information about the founding of the community and Spaulding's role. A term paper completed by UW-Stout student Nancy Nehring in 1961 ("A Gone With The Wind Story of Jackson County") contains valuable information about Spaulding gleaned from local papers and is available at the Jackson County History Room at the Black River Falls Public Library. "A History of Black River Falls to 1840," originally compiled by Minnie Jones Taylor and later edited by Lawrence Jones in 1968, is also part of the History Room collection and captures some obscure local history. An unpublished thesis from 1925 by UW-Madison student Richard Lewis Canuteson, "The Lumbering Industry of the Black River," is an excellent and detailed source on the early lumbering enterprise in west central Wisconsin. The most valuable source we uncovered during the research, however, is an unpublished thesis completed by Lawrence Onsager in 1985, "The Removal of the Winnebago Indians From Wisconsin in 1873-74" (Loma Linda University, 1985). Onsager's research is thorough and raises questions for further research regarding the non-native involvement in resisting the removals. I was able to correspond with Dr. Onsager during the research, and he has allowed the reproduction of the 290-page document; a copy is now available at the History Room. Finally, as with many of our projects, we utilized local newspaper archives that are available on microfiche at the History Room.

[7]My reference here is to a cynical quote attributed to Napoleon Bonaparte: "What is history, but a fable agreed upon?"

CHAPTER 2: ANNA RAE FUNMAKER INTERVIEW

Interviewer: Paul Rykken, Falls History Project Advisor: 8 December 2010

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

Anna Rae Funmaker was born in 1936 in Tomah, Wisconsin. Though not raised traditionally, her first language was Ho-chunk, and she first learned English while attending school at the Mission seven miles east of Black River Falls. After graduating high school in Alma Center, Wisconsin, in 1954, she attended UW-La Crosse for a year and a half before enlisting in the Air Force for three years. Her educational journey continued later in her life in California, where she earned a degree in Anthropology. Anna Rae has been active in assisting us with curriculum development and brings a wealth of knowledge of Ho-chunk culture and history into the process.

Part of the focus of the 2011 Falls History Project has been on the last of the removals the Ho-chunk people experienced in 1873-74. Both of Anna Rae's grandfathers, John Davis and George Funmaker, Sr., were young boys that actually experienced the removals and were able to pass along their stories to their grandchildren, including Anna Rae. In addition to that connection, Anna Rae's father, Jim Funmaker, was a student at the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, during the early 1920s at the same time that my grandfather, T.M. Rykken, was serving as a pastor and teacher there.

Rykken: What I want to do to start off, Anna Rae, is just to ask you a couple things about some of your background. Do you have a Ho-chunk name?

Funmaker: Yes, I have a bear clan name. My father was a Bear Clan. And my name is Hii Coiga which happens to be the "fur of the bear." And I was named at a feast and you have to be walking when you get named . . . like one and two. And so I got that name and for years I used to ask my sister for her name. I mean we're not supposed to do that, but her name was The Soldier and since I was in the service I thought that name fits me better than it fits her. And so we teased each other quite a bit about that and my father must of got tired of listening, asking for the name, and The Soldier (Manapeiga), and he finally told me what my name was. I quit asking for my sister's name. It happened to be, the name I have, happens to be the first bear clan woman's name. So I just quit after that because I didn't know that I had such a, a very good name.

Rykken: And you were born you told me in 1936?

Funmaker: Yes.

Rykken: Were you born in Black River Falls?

Funmaker: No, I was born at the Tomah Indian Hospital before it became the Veteran's Hospital and my brother and I were born there he was older than I was. August 20th 1936 at 4:00 in the afternoon -- they said it was one of the hottest summers and probably was one of the hottest afternoons.

Rykken: And your father was Jim and who was your mother?

Funmaker: My mother's name was Nancy Davis. She was from the Eagle Clan, she was from the upper clan and my dad was a lower clan and that's the way they considered a good marriage and her name was Maaxiorajeiga which means Travel in the Clouds.

Rykken: That's a beautiful name.

Funmaker: It is and it was good that way and she went to school in Neillsville and she went to school in Tomah – the Tomah Indian School. My dad went to school, I think he said he went to school in Tomah and then he went on to Wittenberg, or from Wittenberg on to Tomah.

Rykken: Did he talk about Wittenberg much? Do you remember much about it?

Funmaker: He said he liked it there, and actually he wanted to, I think they took him out of there and he didn't like that. He wanted to go to school there and finish his schooling there, but they were coming out of Winona so there was a lot of travelling and he really liked the Wittenberg area. But like I said, he came out of Winona, Trempealeau, and up the Trempealeau River because they did all their hunting and trapping by the river so they traveled a river and they travelled that river.

Rykken: Were you raised traditionally, or were you raised to speak English?

Funmaker: I was raised speaking Ho-chunk, but I was not raised traditionally. Not at the mission. We were in that part where the church was and that's where my former couple of years were, because I was there until I was 11, in that area, in that house. And, no, the language we spoke, Indian all the way through.

Rykken: So your first language was Ho-chunk?

Funmaker: Yes.

Rykken: And when did you begin to learn English?

Funmaker: I learned English when I was in the first grade. I started with the Dick and Jane series and I didn't really speak well, or understand until I was like in the third grade. Then I became an avid reader. I could read and understand and comprehend, they always used that word comprehend, that's what I did. But it took me three years of Dick and Jane and all those. I enjoyed it. I liked it, but actually we were moving a lot at that time because, that was in 1942, when I started, and I started at the Indian mission school. All Indians, all Ho-chunk, so nothing but Ho-chunks so that left us with a lot of our traditions intact. A lot of it, and I think we probably one of the only Indian communities maybe in the state of Wisconsin that had that.

Rykken: That's interesting. Who was the teacher there at that time?

Funmaker: Well my teacher was Mrs. Olson.

Rykken: Emma Olson?

Funmaker: Yes and she was very good -- very positive and then from what I understand she had finished with her teaching and then they asked her to teach out there at the time and so she

did. And she knew students and she knew she probably right up on the culture because she made us very positive thinkers that way.

Rykken: That's great.

Funmaker: She knew how to teach us, anyway for me she did. We didn't know anything about art. We didn't know anything about music, but like I said Dick and Jane and she would bring in a newspaper every morning and show us the news of that newspaper. Nobody else, I've never seen anybody else do that, but she put a lot of extra work, I think, into teaching and she probably was the best teacher that we could have had at that time. She was a teacher. I mean you know when people are in their professions you can tell.

Rykken: Sure, she knew what she was doing.

Funmaker: Right.

Rykken: She was there a long time; in fact she was there until the school closed. I've talked to other Ho-chunk people and I guess one question I have about that was were you able to use your language at school, or did you speak English at school only?

Funmaker: No, I don't remember of her ever saying that we couldn't speak it. I think she just let both go, but I don't know maybe other people remember something else, but at the time I was going I could speak English and then I guess we went outside for recess, or something and we would probably speak Indian out there.

Rykken: My grandmother was of Norwegian background and she used to tell me before she died, which was a number of years ago, but that when she was a little girl in America if she spoke Norwegian at school they would punish her to get them to learn English, and it was kind of interesting to listen to her about that and she really didn't speak Norwegian that much even though she could, but a little bit of a parallel there maybe.

Funmaker: I was surprised when I heard that. I heard somebody else saying that and I thought we were the only ones who didn't, but then other groups I didn't realize had to speak English.

Rykken: I think they thought it was the way to make the kids be American, to get rid of their own culture that they were carrying with them, but it's too bad in way when you think about it.

Funmaker: I think their culture should be left the way it was because at the time I think it was the second list that we have that was 1834. They only had 4,400 Ho-chunks and this was what they were trying to get rid of, and I couldn't believe once I was starting to read it, and I thought, there's only 4,000 and here they are they're just marching them to the removals. They were just going all over the place with only 4,000. That was, I couldn't believe that.

Rykken: I'm going to just ask you a couple of other background questions and then I want to get in to some of the other things, but where did you end up going to high school?

Funmaker: I wound up in Alma Center, Lincoln High School, in 1954.

Rykken: Okay, and then you went on..?

Funmaker: I went on to college. UW-La Crosse in 1954 in the fall and I got in without programs like I did with grades and top 75% or something like that. And I didn't realize that was quite a something until much, much later.

Rykken: It was unique that you were doing that.

Funmaker: At that time, but then I thought we were regular people, and things were being done. That's what I thought anyways, so there was nothing spectacular about it for us anyway.

Rykken: What did you study at UW-La Crosse?

Funmaker: I was going into a two year program called the Two-Year Rule Education. We went three semesters of school and then you took one semester of practice teaching in a rural school. And that's what I went in for but I got as far as the three semester, and I didn't have a car, and so I couldn't go, and it was in the winter, January, and so there I missed out on being a teacher.

Rykken: So what did you do next?

Funmaker: I went into the service. I was in the United States Air Force. I was in there for three years and I was in supply, grown up in supply, and I went to technical school at Francis E. Warren. Then my permanent party I was down at Kansas City, Missouri. He called it Grand View Air Force Base at the time, but they changed it maybe a year, or two, to call it Richards – Gebaur Air Force Base.

Rykken: Did you enjoy the service?

Funmaker: I did, as a matter of fact, because you were in there with a bunch of women that kind of thought like you. They were out there doing their thing and…

Rykken: People from all over the country came to that place.

Funmaker: Right. I think my best friends were from the south though I couldn't believe that, and once I got to thinking, somebody was from South Carolina; somebody was from Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Tennessee. I had some friends from maybe New York and North Dakota and Iowa, but they were all southern people and I was thinking, "What in the world…" Afterwards, you think about things, and I was thinking, "How did I get in touch with these people?" because they were my friends.

Rykken: We interviewed Myrle Thompson for one of our projects and she had quite an experience in the military, which is pretty interesting. She was involved with cryptography and some of that and I'm sure you've talked to her, or you know her.

Funmaker: Yes, I know her and she talks about cryptography and she was in a Rome air force depot and actually there are a lot of sports in the service so that's where I got to learn organized sports and I was glad about that, because in my life time, at least I got to play sports.

Rykken: What did you do? What sport?

Funmaker: I was in basketball and I was in softball, and I swam. When I was in softball I was a catcher, so I wanted to be first string. Those positions were open, nobody else wanted them, so I said I'll take them.

Rykken: Terrific. I also know that you went on for some further college later. Is that correct?

Funmaker: Yes. Much, much later.

Rykken: And then that was later in your life?

Funmaker: Right.

Rykken: And that also involved graduate school?

Funmaker: Right.

Rykken: And that was down in Southwest United States, right?

Funmaker: No, that was in California.

Rykken: What were you studying at that time?

Funmaker: I was trying to find a good major besides just education. So I just kept going with a Sociology major one year, or philosophy, psychology, and finally I had all these classes and I still didn't have a major and didn't want to lose these classes so I finally had enough of it and I asked the counselor, "I don't want to lose any of these classes," and they said "Okay." This is the only thing that's left, and that was anthropology, so it fit.

Rykken: So anthropology became a focus?

Funmaker: Right. Not because I thought of it. It was because of all the classes I was trying and trying to figure out a major.

Rykken: You must have really enjoyed learning.

Funmaker: That's what I'm saying. At the time I had children. I had a sick one so I went to psychology, and I went into sociology, and I was trying to figure out how I was going to raise my child. That was quite the trip, I think, but learning is, I think, good; very, very good, for me anyway. It keeps the mind occupied.

Rykken: It sure seems like it. Well, you've been helping us with this project and this infusion of what we're trying to do a better job at in the curriculum. I've been recently doing quite a bit of research on the removals, and that's the thing I was really hopeful about maybe asking you a few questions. I want to get kind of a perspective from you because I'm reading about it. Have you ever heard of a guy named Lawrence Onsager?

Funmaker: I have his master's thesis.

Rykken: You do?

Funmaker: Yes.

Rykken: I'm using that. I'm reading that right now.

Funmaker: And that was the last removal ’73-74.

Rykken: I’m really impressed with his research. I’m learning things in there that I never knew. I actually emailed with him the other day.

Funmaker: Oh, that’s good.

Rykken: He’s over in Michigan and I’m working with him right now and I’m also working with the guy down in Iowa State and I’m also working with Nancy Lurie. And I’m trying to put all of this information together, but you’re a valuable resource for me right now and I just want to ask you a few questions about it. Here is my first question. After studying this for a while, I feel like this story is so important, and we’ve been missing it in our schools and I want to ask you in your opinion is this story as important as I know it is for Ho-chunk people? Is it a big part of their pain? I guess I’m not sure how I’d ask this question exactly. Is it something that Ho-chunk people are well aware of?

Funmaker: No they’re not. It’s been forgotten. It’s too painful to remember. So people just shut it out of their minds because that’s like 40 years of being moved around.

Rykken: It’s a horrible story.

Funmaker: I didn’t know about it until I went to school. I didn’t know about it until I came back here. Once, I did know about it, then I didn’t want to study it because I knew I would be mad. All the way through, my emotions would just be up in the air all the time.

Rykken: I guess one question I have is, were your parents raised by people who actually would have experienced that?

Funmaker: Yes. Both of them did.

Rykken: Did you ever hear about it from that angle?

Funmaker: I heard from my mother’s father. He was a boy when that last removal, ’74, ’73.

Rykken: December of ’73 and January of ‘74?

Funmaker: Yes, 1873, and he went with his mother. He was John Davis, my mother’s father. My father’s father was George Funmaker Sr., and he was a boy too at the time and they went with their mother. This guy, George Funmaker Sr., they removed him over there by Trempealeau. They were having a feast and the soldiers came and they took them and the only thing that he carried with him, I hear, was his ice skates. He was skating. There was a little pond where they were having a feast and that’s where they got them. So, they have that train over there by Winona, so that’s where they were kept. He went that way, whereas my mother’s father went by boat I believe, but it was strange because I didn’t really realize what my mother’s father wasn’t right in there because I heard more about my father’s father. It was quite an experience and they went up the Missouri River and then the other ones took the railroad. It was always, it seemed like when they were getting, herding them up, or catching them someplace, then it was always like the weather in December and January.

Rykken: Cold?

Funmaker: Unbelievable. And that's the way they did us. What were they trying to say that they're good? Now I don't think so. I mean it might have been the fledgling government, but they should have at least thought of the women and children that were starving, cold, and they have diseases among them. They gave us blankets that had small pox on them, and they could have decimated some of our numbers with that too. So there are a lot of things that we know about the governments, or the people that are trying to say that they were doing the right thing for us without even asking us.

Rykken: Right, exactly.

Funmaker: And we've been here for years -- thousands of years. And we were here and we tested all the stuff. All the rules and regulations that we know and they said we were tested. We don't have to go back and test them. We know that this is right.

Rykken: Let me back up from that then and one of the things I've learned and I'm getting it clear in my own mind. The treaty of 1837 is a treaty that was very controversial and there was a segment of Winnebago/Ho-chunk people who never accepted that treaty.

Funmaker: No.

Rykken: Because they felt that back then the men that had gone to Washington didn't have the authority to sign over land, for one thing. So there was always a group that, they would call them in this paper, I'm reading, call them the treaty of abiding Ho-Chunk versus those that weren't. To me that seems like a really important moment where things got divided with the tribe because the group that went was treaty abiding ended up being kind of removed, and this other group kept resisting and coming back. Am I getting that history right?

Funmaker: I think so. The treaty abiding are the ones that wound up in the reservations.

Rykken: Exactly. Down in Nebraska?

Funmaker: Right. While the other ones were coming back to Wisconsin all the time. The ones that are considered Nebraska's tribe considered after a while considered the Wisconsin tribe intruders. Divide and Conquer. They did it.

Rykken: That's the thing I'm really intrigued about. Do you have, for example, relatives in Nebraska? I'm assuming you do.

Funmaker: I probably do because I do have land over there, but it was from the people that stayed back there.

Rykken: They kept trying to convince the group in Wisconsin that this certain land down there that they were going to give them was kind of this wonderful place and then they would go down and get really conflicting words about it, whether it was even good land.

Funmaker: Well that's what they kept saying, but then they were probably right because the ones who did go down and see the land, they didn't like it because we're used to gardening up here. You couldn't do that because they gave you the bottom from even some of the family's area. They said that we could not live down at the bottom of the river bottoms and that where they were putting them. So one of the families here says "I have land in Wisconsin, and that's

where we'll go." And so they've been here since, but the people that are here kind of refer to them as Nebraska's, and they aren't because they came back to where they were living. It's unbelievable.

Rykken: It is. The other thing that keeps coming out to me and I think is so important, and again I'm a history teacher, so I'm trying to figure out how to do this. I get out of this story that these people were very resilient to people. The ones that would continue to try to come back -- the ones that were resisting the removal. It's amazing they survived.

Funmaker: Well if you had been in a place where generations upon generations, and you know the place, that's what I was looking at even the map, and I would think that if I lived in a place with ground where you can garden, and you have a lot of animals around, that's it. This was where you better go. You know the ones who know the territory, you know the families, you know where each one is, and you can't get any better than that. There is one group of people that nobody even writes about, and they think they're so good, and those are the messengers. One group of people, they're the ones they send out to carry messages all over the place. One of the elders before he died says, "We knew what was going on all over the United States," we were sending our messages out. We knew what was in Florida. We knew they had alligators down there. We knew what was going on Louisiana. We knew what was going on in the East. As I said, these people think they're so smart and here they are they can't figure out that the messenger was the one that was connecting everything.

Rykken: How did they do that?

Funmaker: They'd send runners to us.

Rykken: Runners?

Funmaker: Yes.

Rykken: I've heard that before. I lived for a number of years out in North Dakota. The Lakota and the other tribes there talked a lot about the runners. The runners would go around from village to village. I was always kind of fascinated by that because there was an Indian school out in North Dakota that was just a phenomenal school in cross country every year. They would win the state title and all these runners make me always think about that. Kind of a history value to it, but I guess I have one other question about the removals in 1873 and '74. I'm doing some research right now on Jacob Spaulding. That's sort of the guy with the original plan here in Black River, and what I'm finding in there is that there were people in this area that were trying to help move the native people into the state. They were fighting their own government kind of. I wasn't aware of this.

Funmaker: No there was a lot of people that were doing that. Even Portage, I think there was a lawyer there that was helping the Ho-chunks out by writing his letters to Congress, or the President, and I think there were a lot of people doing that.

Rykken: This surprised me because I've lived in Black River Falls and I've never heard that. I never heard that story. Did you ever hear that from anybody else in the tribe, or did you ever hear about people who were non-native that were actually involved in trying to resist?

Funmaker: No, because like I said we were just interested in the day to day things. We weren't involved with whatever the grown-ups were doing. I used to come to Black River with my mom and dad and we always had a car because my dad always worked. So we traveled a lot because of that car and then there were hunters and trappers and so we'd wind up in La Crosse along the Mississippi, and he was a smith finisher. He was doing jobs and because of that we weren't involved and they weren't telling us. The only person, maybe, that would know something about my dad too, would be the Funmaker side, would be this Schnur, it's a woman, she was a Schnur. She's old now.

Rykken: Reizinger?

Funmaker: Yea, her.

Rykken: Is she still living?

Funmaker: I think so, I'm not sure. I haven't seen her obituary.

Rykken: Does she have a little history? You'd think she'd have some history.

Funmaker: I think she would have a lot of history because I was supposed to talk with her, and I took her when my dad died to the wake and because she was a good friend . . . but she would know pretty much that area too and I think of my dad and her family were friends -- Really good friends. Her brothers would speak Winnebago. Unbelievable. They would be teasing the Indian girls and they'd be sitting there talking Winnebago.

Rykken: I went to school in Black River from 1962 -72 and then I moved and I went to high school in a different place, but one of the kids I would used to play ball with was Jim Funmaker. He was a year older than me, I'm 53, so what relationship between…

Funmaker: Junior. Jim Funmaker Jr. He's my half-brother.

Rykken: Half-brother?

Funmaker: Because my dad had 6 in the first family, then he had 10 in the next.

Rykken: I see.

Funmaker: With a set of twins.

Rykken: He actually would have been Jim's son. Where is he? Do you know?

Funmaker: He's in Minneapolis.

Rykken: He was the guy I used to play ball with and he was a really good basketball player.

Funmaker: We had good sports people, they just weren't put on the teams.

Rykken: That's a whole other issue.

Funmaker: And now they want things. They had a lot of good sports people.

Rykken: I remember that, I really do. I want to ask you this, and again, I really trust your wisdom because basically I know things I just can't know myself. What do you think has been most

missing in our schools as far as the understanding of native culture? What do you think we're missing the most? What should we be trying to restore?

Funmaker: Just communicating I would think. I know I'm different and I don't mind that because everybody is different, they all talk different. Communicate and everybody is like everybody else and that's what we keep saying. Why did they do this? Why is it? And it's communication I think, a lot of it. It's a good thing, "Hey. I'm different." There's a lot of things that I would do that you wouldn't even understand. And why? Why? I don't want to tell you why. It's none of your business really.

Rykken: Get rid of all the judging.

Funmaker: Right. Hey, they're doing this and somebody might come along say no they're not supposed to be doing that, but that's none of their business either because they're not the expert.

Rykken: How do you think we should handle the removal story in our history classes?

Funmaker: I think it should just be taught the way it is.

Rykken: Taught for what it was.

Funmaker: Right. Get it out there. It's just like I said for the Ho-chunk it's more painful. They just soon forget it and why forget it? It's something that happened to us and the young ones ought to know; that's what these people did in the past. This is why you're giving your 18 year old money. Earn it. These people did. The ones in the past had done that for you. If it wasn't for them coming back to Wisconsin we wouldn't be sitting here.

Rykken: That's the thing that keeps getting me is this determination to come back and I just find that I'm so impressed with that. It's a heroic story even though it's a tragic story at the same time.

Funmaker: Yes but you have to realize you live in a place for thousands of years and you're moving around and what hasn't been written either, is the culture of the Ho-Chunk which involves everything. We're talking birds, bees, the ground, trees, everything.

Rykken: Very holistic.

Funmaker: Right and that's what the Winnebago was involved in and nobody has really written a good story about that, because we're tied to everything and that's what my dad used to say too. If the creator made it, the creator does not make bad things. Pretty simple and he's right. So who comes along and says, "That's bad, that's bad." It was real simple. To me it was real simple.

Rykken: I agree with you.

Funmaker: If he made it then…

Rykken: You need to respect it.

Funmaker: If you believe that, I don't think we'd be in such a big climate disaster as we are now.

Rykken: One of the things I was thinking when I was doing this too was, is the removal story kind of similar to the African American people in slavery?

Funmaker: I have no idea about that about the slavery part because I have a whole other thinking about Africa, or the Middle East. We're talking the cradle of civilization and the war that has been a part of civilization for thousands of years. And why are they still warring? I can't believe that.

Rykken: Amazing isn't it? I have a son over there in Iraq right now. He's in the army.

Funmaker: I have grandsons over there. I have granddaughters over there.

Rykken: So you kind of know what the feeling there is -- nervousness about that. He's a helicopter pilot, so anyway do you think it's similar to, another story that kind of came through to me when I was studying this. It seems if you talk to Jewish people, that's an important part of who they are. That that happened to them. I feel when I talk to my Ho-chunk students, even though my students don't think about it, but it's something that is important to understand about the Ho-chunk people. That they went through that.

Funmaker: Well 40 years of it. Only 4,000. If you look at the numbers I think they're just…

Rykken: …Unbelievable. I agree.

Funmaker: And we're still here and we've been, upon reading things, sometimes we're extinct, but I just got through reading those and oh my gosh. We're extinct. So now we're 7,000 and like I said 1834 there were only 4,000.

Rykken: Amazing. Like they say, the resilience of it.

Funmaker: If people really thought, you know sat down and thought about it, they would come up with a whole different ways of thinking of what you do with humanity. We weren't really these people we thought because they weren't like we were. We could do this to them. Just like you say with the blacks, or the holocaust.

Rykken: One of the things I've found too that I'm doing some work on this right now is that Jacob Spaulding. He died in 1876 and they had a huge funeral downtown and there were over 1,000 people there. In the front row of the funeral were 40 Ho-chunk men. I have asked some people I know in Black River that know a lot of Black River history, and I think that's an important fact. And I'm not trying to read back in history, but it seems to me at that time that's an amazing fact that 40 Ho-chunk men were at that funeral and that they in fact led the reception which was written in the newspaper, they led the reception of his funeral.

Funmaker: Probably. He must have been a good guy, or those 40 guys wouldn't have shown up.

Rykken: I think it's a fascinating part of the history that's been lost.

Funmaker: Right because nobody really wants to go into it. It's not there for him to see of what a friend he was just like the Schnur woman.

Rykken: What do you think about the attempt to save the language? Do you think it can work?

Funmaker: I think it can work, but I think you have to be immersed. That's what we were at the mission at the time I was growing up because nobody from here, from the town of Black River, would've lived there. We were all by ourselves. We were isolated. We were sheltered. There was nothing that was expected of us here. So they just left us alone.

Rykken: Do you think it would've been better if the school out there would've been kept open?

Funmaker: I think so.

Rykken: It seems like right now that would have been really smart, because all the kids could've had their cultural grounding.

Funmaker: Right that's what I think about it a lot. We were at home, we lived in two different worlds right there. At home was totally different than when we went to school. There was a good thing. Maybe we couldn't explain it, but at school you learned all kinds of things. At home, it was home, mom and dad.

Rykken: You were getting a lot of cultural…

Funmaker:…right at home. You didn't get it at school, but you got it at home. So I believe that.

Rykken: You also said Emma Olson was someone that apparently must have appreciated that.

Funmaker: She understood everything because a lot of her kids graduated from high school. So she taught maybe what to look for, or how to study, or what kind of interests you had. There were a lot of people that were in band. There was music and that didn't happen elsewhere, but she was good.

Rykken: Well, I guess I'll just ask you maybe one more question and then you can add anything you want to the end. What do you think the legacy of removal was for the Ho-Chunk? I want to hear this from someone with a different perspective.

Funmaker: Like you said it's the resilience of the people and maybe because of the different bands of people, there were bands all over. Families maybe, 5, 6, 7 families made up a band and maybe that's how they were saved from having to be in the large group and sent off.

Rykken: That's an interesting point. I hadn't thought of that -- the fact that they were spread out.

Funmaker: Right and I think that's how they were able to come back to Wisconsin. Those are the ones that said "We're not going."

Rykken: That was a unique situation because the Ho-chunk ended up being this group in Wisconsin who do not have a contiguous land base.

Funmaker: But they knew their country. If you stay one place for five years, okay, the resources are gone and you move on. Stay there another five years and then make your rounds back to the same place again.

Rykken: That's a really interesting point. I hadn't thought of that. That whole division thing is maybe safe now.

Funmaker: Right.

Rykken: So maybe not having the reservation almost was an advantage. Maybe that's going too far for me to say.

Funmaker: What's that? Say it again.

Rykken: Was it an advantage to them not to be on a reservation?

Funmaker: Probably during that time. You got to remember that they were almost wiped out by the Illinois and they were rockin' at that time.

Rykken: They had a lot of land.

Funmaker: Right and there warriors weren't there. The women had to go and find their male counterparts and revive the tribe. Then 4 or 5 generations later this thing happens.

Rykken: It's a fascinating story. It's amazing.

Funmaker: I asked somebody, "You know I've got film. Can we do an hour documentary?" The young guy said, "No you can't. You've got to have a __." I didn't even think about that. I thought I could put it all in one documentary . . . but that's what I got told so I said, "Okay." Predictable, but the bands, you have to take those into consideration. Like I said they were just there for the resources. We were happy and we also got food, so food was number 1. We weren't materialists. We didn't have the stuff that's going on right now. So they were grateful for that and then they were moving. It wasn't boring; there was always something to do. They sell a lot of land and I think they saw a lot of different things that were happening to the animals and maybe the plants. Our area is like the Trempealeau. The Trempealeau River was where we were doing a lot of hunting and trapping as the Funmaker family.

Rykken: I'm learning a lot in that Onsager, he does a pretty good job at pointing that out. I'm real impressed with what he wrote. It's kind of obscure almost. You have to hunt for this thing to find it.

Funmaker: A lot of people have written about the Ho-chunk, I'll tell you that. I think a lot of people were.

Rykken: I feel like it's the interest. Like there is more information coming as its starting to get researched more.

Funmaker: I think we're getting our own writers too. I think there's one up in Iowa now that's writing on the removals because he said there's so much too to write about. Turkey River and then they went up to the one I really don't know is Long Prairie and that was short.

Rykken: In Minnesota?

Funmaker: Yes.

Rykken: I didn't know the kind of tragic way that the Ho-Chunk got connected into the Sioux uprising. That's a whole other thing. That was a mistake and they ended up gaining a price for that too, which was sort of an incident.

Funmaker: Right. My dad always said there were two Winnebago that were hung for this. We were trying to find that too and said, "Oh," a story here. So we do know who the Sioux guys are because we researched that, but the Winnebago I think there were two or three that were hung with them and we had the pictures and the names I think. Unbelievable. If the students really knew what the Winnebago has gone through, then they wouldn't be doing all this stuff. You know, getting into trouble, and researching.

Rykken: That's something I'm really thanking you again. You've helped us a lot in the last few months and we're getting good help from others in the Nation. We just need to keep working on this. It's a slow process, but we're getting at it.

Funmaker: Finally.

Rykken: It's working.

Funmaker: Yea, because I'm getting old and I'm saying, "I'm getting too old for this."

Rykken: Well, thank you very much.

Funmaker: Well, thank you for asking and I had it set out, but I didn't bring my . . .

Rykken: This was good and I'm hoping like I said, I'll have the tape, and I'll have a transcript, and I'll make sure that you, if you'd like a copy, then I would be happy to make one for you.

Funmaker: Yea.

Rykken: Would you like that?

Funmaker: Yea, might as well for my kids and my grandkids.

Rykken: You bet. We'll be sure to get you a copy.

CHAPTER 3: SPAULDING'S FUNERAL

Introduction

The premise for this research is that we are defined by stories. I base that on years of oral history work starting with my senior thesis as a history major at Concordia College in the 1970s. My sense is that stories are singularly important for people who have been the object of oppression at the hands of those in political power. Having worked in this area of Wisconsin for over 20 years, I have become convinced that the removal stories of the 19th century were defining moments for the Ho-chunk people and remain central to their identity nearly a century and a half later. Further, I would argue that the memories attached to the removals, especially the 1873-74 episodes, impact contemporary perceptions of the political power structure within which they must operate. The past, as always, carries on. The role of Jacob Spaulding in all this, of course, broadens the story and challenges the standard perceptions we have of this time period. I have been sincerely surprised by how little attention the role of non-native people in resisting the removal efforts receives in our history books, and I see it as an unfortunate omission.

Our response to the stories of our past, and particularly the stories of people different from us, is important. Particularly, when it comes to race relations, it seems to me that members of the non-native community tend to fall somewhere within the following continuum when it comes to perceptions of the American Indian story. For some, the story is missed altogether due to their disinterest in history in general and a lack of appreciation for its relevance in their lives. Their perceptions of native people come primarily through media images and impressions received growing up in a culturally mixed community. Further, the evolution and impact of gaming tends to shade their lenses when it comes to the local native residents. They live with a narrative that native people have been on the receiving end of much federal help – help they perhaps resent, either for not having received it themselves or because of the capitalistic mentality prevalent in our society. Their ahistorical view provides no context for wider understanding. A second group has some sense of history but essentially argues that native people need to "get over it" - events from long ago should not drive current perceptions, the past is past, and yes, wrongs were committed, but there is nothing we can do about it now. Their semi-historical view lacks depth, and they lack appreciation for the power of memory, particularly as it relates to this story. They suffer from not knowing what they don't know. Interestingly, they may believe that memory is an extremely powerful motivator in their own family, their own story, but they do not transfer that to native people. A third group appreciates history on a deeper level and, therefore, comes at this with greater empathy for the native experience. Of all the by-products associated with authentic education in history, empathy for those different from us is perhaps the most important for citizens in a democratic-republic. Contemporary events must be framed within the context of the past. We dare not oversimplify that context, or we run the risk of reducing history to a "fable agreed upon."[7]

Paul S Rykken

Part 1: In Search of Spaulding

"It takes a thousand voices to tell a single story."

Native American Proverb

Puzzled looks greeted me at the off-handed mention of his name. Though they had taken many a drive across the ridge named for him on the western edge of town, Jacob Spaulding, it seems, was a complete mystery to my students. They would have much to say about Abraham Lincoln or John Kennedy but knew nothing about Spaulding. This gap illustrates something important about their ahistorical world -- after all, it is not surprising that teenagers would have little time for seemingly mundane stories about the place they plan to leave someday. But having taught history in Black River for over 20 years, it is clear to me that knowledge of Spaulding's story remains fragmented and lost on most residents of the small city he founded.

The name Spaulding evokes memories of a simpler time for me. Riding my bike over that ridge was a liberating adventure for a young boy growing up in the 1960s. After working my way up the eastern slope and cruising the top, I would fly to the bottom of that dramatic hill, winding my way through the gorgeous pastures of the Kenyon Valley. The old men of my youth talked about Spaulding, though I was never crystal clear on the details of his importance. And then there were the Spaulding twins, Mary and Jane, granddaughters of Jacob, referred to as "spinsters" – an odd word that seems to have faded from our modern vocabulary. Born in 1874, they were old women when I saw them. Along with my elderly neighbors, the Emerson "girls," and their pals, the Oday sisters, the twins were a connection to another century. These iconic elders were old Black River, born and raised in a tough lumber town, young girls who attended school together, took road trips to Chicago, and shared memories and secrets far beyond my grasp. Someone told me the twins were "world travelers," something that sounded exotic to a nine year old. Nearly as exotic as the stories Sylvia and Aggie, the Emerson sisters, shared with me about herding sheep in the grove, that section of town near the river, so named for the beautiful trees swept away in the raging waters of the 1911 flood. Or the trip their father and brother made seeking gold in the Klondike Rush of 1898, never to be heard from again. To my young imagination, these women stepped right out of a time machine. And then there were those red bricks of what was originally known as Union High School, built in 1871. Somewhere I learned that those bricks came from the Spaulding Brick Yard, located on the site of what is today the southern edge of our local golf course. For four years in the early 1960s, I attended elementary school at the old Union school, and those bricks formed part of the mosaic of my young life. Carved-in names whispered to us from the past and reminded my schoolmates and me that we were simply the most recent occupants of a building that echoed the history of our town. Old people who sat next to us in church learned to read in the same rooms, played recess-time kickball on the same playgrounds, and charged down the same fire escapes that we did. Such are the connections one makes in a small town.

So who was this character, and why does his story matter? Exploring local history starts from the premise that who we were has much to do with who we become, and Spaulding looms large

from that perspective. His biography reads like a chapter from a James Fennimore Cooper novel. Born in 1810 in Massachusetts, less than 30 years after the American Revolution, Jacob Spaulding represented the eighth generation of an English family that first arrived in New England in 1619. He was the sixth of nine children born to Jeremiah and Wealthy Bennett Spaulding. Their story mirrored the growth and westward movement of the rising nation. Coming of age in the confident, post-war "era of Good Feeling," Spaulding's formative years flowed within the emerging frontier, the spiritual energy of the Second Great Awakening, and the increasing removal of native people from their traditional lands, forces that dramatically impacted his life. When Spaulding was twenty years old, he moved with his parents to Saratoga County, New York, and three years later married Nancy Jane Stickney, the first of his three wives.[8] In 1836, Jeremiah and Wealthy Spaulding, along with other family members, including Jacob, Nancy, and their two-year-old son Dudley, moved to Hancock County in western Illinois. Joining thousands who traveled west in the Northwest Territory during Jackson's presidency, the second wave New Englanders were unwitting beneficiaries of Indian removal policies aggressively pursued by Jackson and the War Department. The restless Spauldings settled in Warsaw, a Mississippi River community, and began their second fresh start in six years. At roughly the same moment, Joseph Smith led a band of Mormon believers from New York into Hancock County, settling in Commerce, Illinois, later renamed Nauvoo. Warsaw ultimately became a hot-bed of anti-Mormonism when Thomas Coke Sharp, the son of a Methodist preacher from New Jersey, purchased the Warsaw Signal and began his campaign against the Latter Day Saints. This would not be the last time that Spaulding's life intersected with the Mormons.[9]

It was from Warsaw that Jacob Spaulding ventured north into the newly established Wisconsin Territory in search of timber. Arriving in Prairie du Chien in the early summer of 1839, Spaulding joined a party of 17 men who took a steamer up the Mississippi to LaCrosse where they navigated a series of bayous known as French Island, ultimately making their way 39 miles north and west on what the French called the River Noire, owing to its black color. Traveling by keel-boat, they arrived at the falls of the Black River, the place native people called Niosawani'eeja (Nee-oh-xah-wah-nee-ay-jah) – literally "where the water disappears." Though not the first non-native people to venture into west-central Wisconsin, Spaulding and his companions, lured by the magnificent white pines and potential for water-powered mills, intended to settle and thrive. Staking claims on land that only two years earlier had been ceded to the U.S. government by the Winnebago (now Ho-chunk) people in a controversial and divisive treaty, these Euro-Americans were the first drops of a tidal wave that ultimately

[8]Spaulding's marriage to Nancy Jane Stickney lasted from 1833 until her death in 1849. They had two children – Dudley, born in 1834 in Saratoga County, New York, and Mary Jane, born in 1841 in Black River Falls. Mary Jane holds the distinction of being the first white child born in Black River. Spaulding's second marriage was to Lucinda B. Tyler of Hebron, Connecticut and lasted from 1852 until her death in 1868. They had one daughter, Angeline Loranine, born in 1854. His third marriage was to Eliza Von Scoyke, widow of his brother David. They were married for seven years, from 1869 until Jacob's death in 1876. His three wives are buried with him in Riverside Cemetery in Black River Falls.

[9]Spaulding sparred with Mormon lumberman in the early 1840s over land and timber claims in the Black River Valley, ultimately selling his mill to them. It is probable that he had encounters with Mormon people while living in Warsaw and we know that Spaulding was in the region of Nauvoo at the time of the murder of Joseph Smith, a fact he relayed to the Mormon leaders in Jackson County. A thesis completed in 1925 by Richard Lewis Canuteson of UW-Madison, provides a good overview of the early days of the lumber enterprise in the region (The Lumbering Industry of the Black River). A copy is available at the Jackson County History Room at the Black River Falls Public Library. Mark Wyman's The Wisconsin Frontier (Indiana University Press, 1998) provides an excellent history of logging in Wisconsin during this early period.

transformed the soon-to-be "Old" Northwest frontier.[10]

Part 2: Spaulding, the Elder

Spaulding met hardships and dangers as though they were but pastimes, and by the aid of his strong arm and unconquerable will, navigated again and again as occasion demanded, his keel boat, loaded with supplies, up the waters of the Mississippi and Black Rivers.

-- Calvin R. Johnson writing in 1869[11]

Spaulding's initial foray into the region was tenuous at best, and it is amazing that he and his fellow travelers even survived. Their initial encounters with native people, for example, were understandably tense. From the Ho-chunk perspective, Spaulding and the other Euro-Americans represented a potential threat to their survival. In addition, early land disputes between Spaulding and Andrew and Robert Wood, members of the party that arrived from Illinois in 1839, lingered for years in the Crawford County courts, ultimately being resolved in Spaulding's favor in 1857. Spaulding would spend 37 years in and around the Black River Valley making his mark as a lumberman, keel-boat operator, millwright, businessman, surveyor, justice of the peace, and real estate agent. His story, though unique, rings familiar with hundreds of similar stories throughout the upper Midwest during the 1840s and beyond.

Underneath this predictable story, however, lies a bit of a mystery. While foraging around in the archives of local papers, I stumbled upon Spaulding's obituary from January 1876. For local historians, obituaries are rich with history – ironically enough, they breathe life into the dry bones of the past. Indeed, in Spaulding's case, the accounts of his death and funeral speak volumes about his life in Wisconsin. Over 1000 people gathered at Freeman's Hall on a cold January day to pay their respects to the famous old pioneer. Among the mourners, and seated in the front rows of the packed hall, were John St. Cyr, a native language interpreter, and 40 Ho-chunk men who ultimately marched at the head of the dramatic funeral procession to the city cemetery.[12] Their presence at Freeman's Hall at an event of this magnitude is nothing short of extraordinary and opens the door to a lost chapter in Spaulding's life.

Jacob Spaulding died of apoplexy while visiting Worcester, Wisconsin, in late January of 1876. He was in Worcester to transact some business with native people in the north central region of the state, although the nature of his business with them remains unclear. What is certain, however, is that Spaulding spent the last years of his life dedicated to the cause of resisting the removal of Ho-chunk people from Wisconsin. In 1860, at age 50, Spaulding transferred most of his considerable business enterprises to his son, Dudley.[13] The exact nature of his work and business dealings for the remaining 16 years of his life is hard to discern, but, by

[10]The Winnebago Tribe originally referred to themselves as Hochungra and today are called Ho-chunk in Wisconsin, although the band of the tribe that ultimately settled in Nebraska retains the Winnebago name. To avoid confusion, I will use Ho-chunk throughout the remainder of the document.

[11]Jacob Spaulding established the first school in Black River Falls in 1847 and Calvin R. Johnson of Massachusetts was the first teacher hired. A few short months into the opening, Johnson left for service in the Mexican War, returning later to teach. He obviously had great admiration for Spaulding.

[12]Spaulding's lengthy obituary and was printed in the Milwaukee Sentinel of 26 January 1876. Portions of it are included as an appendix to this account.

[13]The story of Dudley Spaulding is rich and complex. Born in New York in 1834, he spent 60 years in Black River Falls. He ultimately overshadowed his father in terms of the breadth and depth of his imprint on the city of Black River Falls. The younger Spaulding died in 1900.

the early 1870s, he was deeply involved in resisting the removal of Ho-chunk people from Wisconsin, an epic battle that eventually broke his health.

From his first arrival in the region in 1839, Spaulding's story ran roughly parallel to the bitter conflicts between the Ho-chunk people and the various government entities that sought their removal from Wisconsin. As early as the 1820s, the Ho-chunk dealt with land loss at the hands of an increasing stream of Euro-Americans moving onto the frontier. Two years prior to Spaulding's arrival, the Ho-chunk signed their fourth n a series of treaties with the US government, a controversial agreement that led to a split in the tribe.[14] Between 1837 and 1874, one faction of the tribe honored the treaty, while another faction refused, based on the belief that they had been deceived in the negotiation process. The abiding faction agreed to a series of devastating removals from the state, while the non-abiding group resisted the removals for 37 years and remained as fugitives in defiance of authority.[15] Though scattered in several areas of the state, many resistors congregated in Jackson County where they pursued a semi-nomadic life that included interactions with Euro-American settlers. It was natural that Spaulding and other residents of the village of Black River Falls developed relationships with the Ho-chunk people, connections that ultimately led to his vigorous actions in opposition to removal.

The story of that opposition has as its backdrop the incidents surrounding the Sioux Uprising of 1862 in neighboring Minnesota and the hysteria that gripped Wisconsinites based on isolated incidents of violence and rumors that spread like wildfire among the settlers.[16] Throughout the Civil War period and beyond, tensions increased, and, by 1870, the calls for removal of the Ho-chunk people to Nebraska were being heard loud and clear in both Madison and Washington, DC. The Nebraska option stemmed from a treaty signed in 1865 between the Ho-chunk and President Lincoln, stipulating that all Ho-chunk people ultimately be moved to a Nebraska reservation. Those that remained in Wisconsin, however, were forthright in their opposition and, as they had done before, argued vehemently against removal.[17] They enlisted the help of attorneys and civic leaders to help represent them at meetings with government officials. It was within this context that Spaulding assumed a leading role in opposition to the removal. Joining forces with Henry Lee, a Portage attorney, Horace Beach of Prairie du Chien, and William Price, a prominent Black River Falls politician and civic leader, Spaulding sought to delay the removal through a variety of tactics. Beginning in 1873, he met directly with Governor Washburn, wrote letters to President Grant, enlisted support among county residents for non-removal in the form of written petitions presented to the Wisconsin Legislature and US Congress, traveled to Washington, DC to meet directly with leaders, and made trips to Nebraska to inspect the region, ultimately concluding that it was unfit for the Ho-chunk. In his role as agitator, Spaulding hoped to secure a reservation for the Ho-chunk people within Wisconsin, a goal never realized. It is clear, however, that he was largely responsible for convincing authorities to allow Wisconsin Ho-chunk to be eligible for homesteads, thereby enabling them to remain in the state. Removal

[14]The Ho-chunk signed eleven treaties with the US Government between 1816 and 1865. For a full text of the treaties, go to: http://www.ho-chunknation.com/?PageId=819.

[15]As has been cited earlier within this document, Lawrence Onsager's Thesis from 1985, The Removal of the Winnebago Indians from Wisconsin in 1873-74, provides a detailed account of complex story referenced here. A copy of his work is available at the Jackson County History Room located at the Black River Falls Public Library.

[16]One such incident was the so-called "Salter Affair" that occurred near New Lisbon in July of 1863. The gruesome murder of Emma Salter at the hands of two Indian men led to revenge killings and the arrest of many Ho-chunk men, including Chief Dandy who long had resisted removal from Wisconsin. The incident led to calls for removal of the Ho-chunk, by force if necessary. Lawrence Onsager provides an excellent account of the Salter Affair in his thesis from 1985 (p. 103ff.).

[17]We have a written record of a statement by Chief Winneshiek to Governor Lucius Fairchild (of Civil War fame) in which he argues the Ho-chunk case for remaining in Wisconsin. See Appendix B for the full statement.

efforts ultimately proved to be a dismal failure. The resilience of the Ho-chunk people, their tough stubbornness in the face of powerful opposition, coupled with efforts on their behalf by men such as Spaulding, eventually caused the government to stop their efforts at removal.

Concluding Commentary: "Through a glass, darkly . . ."

I am poor, and need money badly, but captain, you never saw money enough to induce me to be false to my Indian friends.[18]

--Spaulding addressing a government agent in 1874

Historians attempt to provide a "reasoned reconstruction" of the past.[19] The distance between what actually happened and our preserved memory of it is arguably vast and complex. In the case of Spaulding and the story of the Ho-chunk removal of 1873-74, my sense is that we are seeing only a dimly lit version of events. So often throughout this research, I hoped to find that "missing link" that would explain his actions regarding the plight of the Ho-chunk people. His extraordinary efforts, at least on the surface, speak for themselves but leave us wondering. Why did he take on this cause? What motivated him to dedicate so much time and effort to resisting the juggernaut of government-led removal efforts?

One way to understand Spaulding is to place him in the context of the early to mid-19th century spiritual movement known as the Second Great Awakening and the post-Civil War debates surrounding race in America. Born in 1810, his most famous contemporaries were Abraham Lincoln, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Susan B. Anthony – members of the so-called Transcendental Generation, idealistic young people who came of age during a spiritual awakening and reached their elder years fighting moral battles against perceived injustices.[20] Humanitarian reformers spoke out against Indian removal policies from the very start, and for those that wish to minimize the impact of the removals or apologize for those that engineered them, non-native dissenters like Spaulding stubbornly stand in the way. Though I could find no clear evidence of religious conviction on his part, it is worth noting that a Universalist clergyman presided over his funeral. The Universalist Church had its roots in New York in the early years of the 19th Century and was clearly associated with social reform movements of the period. The commentary offered by J. M. Gatchell, the Universalist minister that eulogized Spaulding, clearly reflected an interest in social justice on Spaulding's part.[21] In addition, during the last years of Spaulding's life, the nation witnessed contentious debates about the citizenship of black people stemming from the Civil War. The correlation between the Black and Native American experiences was not lost on northern Congressmen in "Jim Crow" America. In fact, some who spoke against the Ho-chunk removal in Wisconsin had been active in the abolitionist movement prior to the Civil War.[22]

[18]This quote is attributed to Jacob Spaulding in response to a government agent's request that he assist authorities in convincing the Ho-chunk to agree to their removal to Nebraska. The quote appears in a variety of sources, including Wyman's The Wisconsin Frontier.

[19]In the introduction to his book, Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War (2002), historian David Blight provides an excellent analysis of the confluence of history and memory. I'm drawing on his analysis here.

[20]William Strauss and Neil Howe wrote Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584-2069 in 1991. For an excellent summary of their research, and particularly a description of the Transcendental Generation, consult The *TimePage*, a site developed by Bill Murray: http://www.timepage.org/time.html.

[21]Note the obituaries of Jacob Spaulding, Appendix C. It is evident that the writer uses paternalistic and, in some cases, racist language when describing the Indian people, not unusual for the time period. Nevertheless, the attention given to their presence at the ceremony and the description of Spaulding's relationship with them is unique.

[22]Lawrence Onsager recounts an exchange on the floor of the US Senate from January of 1873 that illustrates the confluence of the Black experience in the South and the Native experience in Wisconsin, p. 141-142.

At the risk of ascribing such grandiose motives to Spaulding, an alternate explanation may be much simpler and more personal. We learn in his various obituaries that native people, in fact, saved his life on more than one occasion, although no details are offered. This seems entirely plausible based on the dangers men like Spaulding faced as they came into the Black River Valley in the late 1830s. They were, after all, in unknown and formidable territory, and we can only imagine the difficulties they faced. Spaulding apparently felt a deep sense of gratitude for the help he had received in those early years from native residents. Further, we have clear evidence that Spaulding associated with Ho-chunk people, including them as traveling companions on trips to Washington, DC and inviting them into his home.[23] Such personal connections were reflected in his willingness to circulate petitions among county residents in support of the Ho-chunk people during the 1870s removal crisis. He faced intense criticism by state and local officials due to his persistent agitation on their behalf, yet apparently had the credibility to sway hundreds of local residents to offer their support for the native people. At one point, in fact, federal and military authorities became quite concerned about citizens in Black River Falls who were organizing armed resistance to the removal.[24]

Finally, throughout this research I have been wary of over-romanticizing Spaulding's role in fighting for the right of Ho-chunk people to stay in Wisconsin. It is tempting to apply 21st century sensibilities concerning race relations to a long-ago pioneer and community founder; yet, I am left with that image of 40 Ho-chunk men leading that impressive funeral procession up the hill in 1876. Their powerful presence within the story captures a part of our past that seems to have been hidden from view, that of native and white people coexisting, albeit tenuously, in and around frontier communities. It is an American story worth preserving.

[23]In Minnie Jones Taylor's History of Black River Falls to 1940, the author suggests that Chief Winneshiek ("Old Winneshiek"), Betsy Thunder and her husband "Big Nose," referred to Spaulding as "Uncle Jake" and were guests in his home. Taylor's short account is available at the Jackson County History Room at the Black River Falls Public Library.

[24]Onsager, p. 226-227.

APPENDIX A: DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE REMOVAL EPISODE OF 1873-74

The story of the Ho-chunk removal and attempted relocation in 1873-74 is long and complex. Included here are excerpts from the local paper (the Badger State Banner) related to that episode. They are in chronological order to capture the story line. The ultimate order for the 1873 removal came from William Tecumseh of Civil War fame, who was the Commanding General of the US Army during this period.

"It is probable that the Winnebago Indians will be removed from Wisconsin next spring . . . We bid them good-bye in advance with pleasure – When they are removed it should be so far that they will never come back to trouble us in the future. You might as well try to civilize the pine trees as these same Winnebagoes."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 4 January 1873

"Capt. Hunt and F.A. Moore, Indian Commissioners, held a council with the Winnebagoes at Sparta on Friday of last week. There were eighty of the Indians present at the council, and a majority were opposed to being removed to a reservation in the far west. The Indians who have been to examine that country were not satisfied, and think it is too far away from the white settlements, and muskrats too scarce, and other Indians too plenty. Capt. Hunt informed the Indians that the government had determined upon their removal to a reservation, and that whether force would be used or not depended upon their submission or opposition to the policy of the government . . . The people in this region are generally in favor of their removal, and, if necessary, they should be forced to go. They are of no earthly use here except to steal and beg from their white neighbors, and the country would be better off for their removal."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 7 June 1873

"Last Tuesday Messrs. Moore and Hunt, Commissioners for the removal of the Winnebago Indians to their reservation in the far west, held another council with the Indians on Tuesday of this week six miles east of Sparta. It did not result satisfactorily to the Indians, who are determined not to leave their haunts in this region. They claim that the country is hot and unhealthy where their reservation is located, and will all die off in a short time. This is only an excuse not to go there. The country is said, by those who have been there, to be one of the best and healthiest locations in the Western Territories. Gov. Washburn was present, who made a speech to the Indians, and told them they must go, and that they were mistaken in regard to the country and climate to which the government was going to send them. The Indians asked for more time to consider the matter, which was finally granted them. Two Winnebagoes will go to Washington in a few days to see if the President will not permit them to remain in Wisconsin, and give them a reservation on the headwaters of the Black River. The people in this region will make objections to such a move and will insist upon the speedy removal to the reservation assigned them."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 14 June 1873

"The removal of the Winnebago Indians is exciting the people of this region considerably of late . . . That they should be removed to a reservation by themselves nearly all agree, but some persons believe that the government has no authority or right to compel them to go . . . At the council held near Sparta on the 10th, some remarkable things were said by Gov. Washburn, who speech was characterized by an unfeeling determination to drive them off. Black Hawk said to the Gov: 'You are not our Great Father but our brother,' then speaking of the delegation which visited Washington last winter to confer with the government about the removal, Black Hawk said: 'The Great Father told them no soldiers would be sent to drive them off, and that they need not leave the State unless they chose to.' Gov. Washburn told them 'the Great Father had said no such thing, and unless he talked differently he did not want to hear him.'

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 5 July 1873

"At the Council held with the Winnebago Indians in Monroe County last week, E.P. Smith, Indian Commissioner, was present and told the Indians that they must go to their reservation in Nebraska. Some of the Indians declared they would not go, and left the council in a huff. About one hundred of them, however, signified their willingness to remove to the reservation, and Capt. Hunt started with them this week. The balance of the tribe in this region will be looked after in a short time, and those who refuse to leave will probably be compelled to remove with the rest. They are only a nuisance to the whites in this part of the country, and it would be better for them to go where the government can supply their wants and take good care of them."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 26 July 1873

"Capt. C.A. Hunt and F.A. Moore, special Indian Commissioners, have returned from Nebraska, where they recently took about one hundred Winnebago Indians to the reservation assigned them by the government. The Indians already located there are desirous that their Wisconsin relatives should join them in that region. The three leading Chiefs of that tribe – Little Decorah, Gray Wolf and Little Thunder – have returned to this State for the purpose of urging the band of Winnebagoes remaining in Wisconsin to go to the reservation in Nebraska at once, as it will be better for them to remove where they can receive their annuities and the government can supply all their wants. It is expected that another detachment of these Indians will leave for Nebraska some time during the present month, and all will go the coming fall."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 9 August 1873

"The United States troops captured seventy-five Winnebago Indians at Leroy, Juneau County, early last Tuesday morning, and they will be sent to Nebraska forthwith. This makes 175 captured since Friday last week. At this rate, the Indians will soon be picked up and removed to their reservation. The Government means business, and it would be better for the Indians to give themselves up at once. Our friend Jacob Spaulding was in Washington last week interceding with the government to give the Winnebagoes a reservation in this and the adjoining counties, but his mission is in vain it appears."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 27 December 1873.

"It is well known to most of our readers that the Winnebago Indians in this part of the state are to be removed to a reservation prepared for them in Nebraska, and it is also generally understood that the Indians refused to go voluntarily . . . About two weeks ago a small company of United States soldiers commenced picking up the Indians along the line of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, and we learn that these soldiers have already succeeded in securing nearly 200 of these straggling red men . . . Some of our citizens are making an effort to secure the Indians a reservation in this State, and others think it is wrong to hunt the Indians down with soldiers and remove them by force.

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 3 January 1874

"A petition has been sent to Congress setting forth that the Indians have been greatly wronged under color of the United States by removal, that life has been destroyed, and the tribe deprived of liberty and property . . . These petitions and stories of cruel treatment by removing the Indians where they can be properly cared for and educated are generally circulated by men who desire to have them remain where they ca n sell whiskey or other articles, and fleece them out of what little money they may happen to have. Nine-tenths of the people in northwestern Wisconsin favor their removal, and we are foolish enough to think the wishes of the majority should prevail in such matters."

Editorial: Badger State Banner. 7 February 1874

"The citizens of Necedah, Juneau County, recently held a public meeting, at which a long string of resolutions were passed relating to the Winnebago Indians, a large number of whom have located in that vicinity since their return from Nebraska. To show the nature of this meeting we publish the following resolutions passed at that time . . .

Resolved, that the presence of these Indians in our midst is prejudicial in the highest degree to the welfare of the settlers, and detrimental to the improvement and settlement of this part of the State.

Resolved, That we will use all lawful and proper means to cause their removal from our midst, and hereby notify all persons concerned that we recognize the right of no man or set of men to encourage these roving vagabonds to trespass upon our rights as citizens, and

Resolved, The in our opinion, those who advise and encourage these Indians to remain here, do so from selfish desire to promote their material interests by the sale of whisky at enormous profits and the purchase of their pelts, paying only nominal prices in cheap goods at triple prices, and that these miscreants are the Indians worst enemies.

Resolved, that after thirty days from the publication of these resolutions, we will proceed to regulate this matter in the most expeditious manner."

Editorial Commentary: Badger State Banner. 14 November 1874

"It will be remembered by our readers that last week we stated that, upon the recommendation of Indian Commissioner E.P. Smith, a move was on foo t to make the Winnebago Indians of this State citizens by act of Congress this winter. Jacob Spaulding of this village, is the head of the movement for this part of the State, and a large number of these Indians will meet here on Tuesday of next week for the purpose of taking the preliminary steps to that end. The mode proposed is to memorialize Congress, through our Legislature, to pass a law making them citizens, and also at the same time giving 80 acres of land to be selected in the eastern part of this county or counties east of this. We believe there will be no objections made by citizens of this region, as it is already well known that the plan of keeping them on a reservation has proved a failure. Most of the Indians have expressed a desire to become citizens and say they will cultivate farms for themselves if allowed to obtain land the same as white men.

After making sundry recommendations to Congress for the benefit of the Indians, now partially civilized, the Indian Commissioner uses the following language: 'The third class, composed of Indians who, without violence to the term, may be called civilized, is most numerous. All of them have been greatly assisted in attaining this condition by the direct and long-continued religious teachings and influences of missionaries. They need some form of civil government, and the inauguration of a process through which they may cease to be Indians by becoming American citizens . . . In conclusion, I desire to reiterate my conviction of the entire feasibility of Indian civilization, and that the difficulty of its problem is not so inherent in the race, character, and disposition of the Indian, great as these obstacles are, as in his anomalous relation to the government, and in his surroundings, affected by the influences of white people.'"

Editorial and Commentary: Badger State Banner. 5 December 1874

The following excerpt comes from Mark Wyman's book, The Wisconsin Frontier (1998), and provides some illuminating commentary on the role of non-native people in our area who assisted the Ho-chunk in their resistance to removal:

"The Winnebago's' return in 1874 initially angered many whites . . . But during this debate something else happened, something that pointed to a transformation taking place within Wisconsin. Many white persons – and not just clergymen or fur traders – were beginning to defend the Indians, speaking for their right to remain in the state, urging that citizenship be granted; these critics even challenged the government's authority to force removal . . . It was part of a national development, for defenders of the Indians were becoming numerous and outspoken in many areas, sometimes revealing a belief in the 'noble Indian,' at other times seeking to bring Indians within the guarantees of American liberty . . . Reasons for Wisconsin whites' growing defense of the Indians are not entirely clear today, and may well have included (as was charged) an interest in tapping into tribal annuity payments. But it seems likely that less mercenary reasons were involved as well in the Winnebago controversy, when some 1000 citizens of Jackson, Clark, and Columbia counties petitioned the Legislature opposing removal and calling for the return of Winnebago's who had been snared by the Army."

APPENDIX B: STATEMENT FROM WINNESHIEK TO GOVERNOR FAIRCHILD (1870)

"I want to stay in Wisconsin and pick huckleberries. Got land here. Want to stay here trade and keep store. My brother has died here, this old man want to live here till he goes to the other world. Everywhere else is miserable country. My grandfather has been all over the country. He has seen it . . . he tells his children here is the best country to stay in and the place for Indian to die and lay bones with his father . . . I speak for myself and for all Wisconsin Indians. We want to stay here and we shall do no harm to any one. We want to stay in Wisconsin woods. I want Govr Fairchild to see this which I have spoken and you have written. I ask him to help these poor Indians to stay in the land which is their home. This Company and the Indians of Wisconsin don't like to go to the Territory. There it is sickly – a miserable country – the little Children all die. Every family loses its little Children. This is the reason we don't like to go there, but wish to stay here where the Children can live. My father and chief. We take care of ourselves. Some of my men have been around the state. They hear that the Great Father in Washington was going to move us away. I am afraid. My people are afraid and so, I come to see Govr Fairchild. Some of your people like me well. They trade with me. They tell me that they hear I am going away that I am going to be moved away. They counsel me that I shall come to the Govr and ask him to let me stay."

APPENDIX C: THE SPAULDING OBITUARIES

The following obituaries were published in the Badger State Banner and the Wisconsin Independent.

"Last Monday forenoon the citizens of this village were struck with surprise and sorrow at the announcement that Jacob Spaulding, a pioneer settler of this place, and who has resided here for over 35 years, died suddenly of apoplexy, at Worcester, Chippewa County . . . The disease that terminated the life of Mr. Spaulding was probably brought on by over taxing his strength by a journey to Washington, from which he had only returned last week . . . We understand that his object in going to Worcester was to transact some business with the Indians, to whom he was ever a father and a firm friend. Probably there was no man in northwestern Wisconsin who had so many acquaintances and friends as Mr. Spaulding. He was filled with kindness and humanity for all the human family. The body of Mr. Spaulding was brought here from Worcester on Tuesday night, and his funeral was held in Freeman's Hall on Thursday. The funeral was the largest ever held in this village, and the large hall could not hold all the people in attendance. The funeral was conducted under the direction of the officers of the Masonic Lodge of this village, of which the body of the deceased was an old and honored member. Rev. J.M Gatchell, pastor of the Universalist Church, preached an eloquent and very appropriate sermon at the funeral . . . Some forty Winnebago Indians attended the funeral in a body and marched to the grave at the head of the procession."

(Badger State Banner. 29 January 1876)

THE FUNERAL SERVICES OF THE LATE JACOB SPAULDING

"Yesterday the body of the late Jacob Spaulding, pioneer settler of Northwest Wisconsin, was conveyed to its last resting place, and interred under the peculiarly impressive ceremonies of the Masonic order, to which he had belonged for many years. Freeman's Hall, where the purely religious funeral ceremonies were conducted by the Rev. J. M. Getchell, Universalist minister, whose church the deceased attended, assisted by all the other resident clergymen, was packed to its utmost capacity, estimated to have contained, sitting and standing, at least one thousand persons, while as many more were unable to gain admittance.

A very interesting feature of the occasion was the presence of some forty male Winnebago Indians, who occupied prominent seats in the hall, and were under the immediate supervision of John St. Cyr, their interpreter, and, outside of the immediate family circle of the deceased, there were probably no sincerer mourners than these half-civilized Indians. The life of the deceased, in the early settlement days, was saved by individuals of the tribe, and ever since, up to the time of the sudden death of Mr. Spaulding, they had, through good as well as evil report, a steadfast and reliable friend in 'Uncle Jake;' in fact, when hungry, he fed them, and naked, he clothed them, advised them in trouble, and at the time of his death had nearly or quite secured to them for present use, a moiety from the reserve fund belonging to them now in the hands of the government, and it was a noticeable fact, that as the sad faced Indians, one by one, filed past all that was mortal of their great white chief, the rigid muscles on some of the faces relaxed and gave evident signs of a weakness that the nature and education of an Indian teaches him to avoid in the presence of whites.

The address of the eloquent preacher was founded upon these words, 'If a man die, shall he live again?' and his thousand hearers listened with wrapt attention to his handling of the subject, and his concluding words to the Indians (a portion of whom understood English), the members of the Masonic fraternity, the friends and near relatives were affecting and appropriate.

In forming the procession to the cemetery, the Indians had the advance, marching in two ranks, and keeping excellent time, then followed the silver cornet band, which furnished grand music for the occasion, then came about sixty-five members of the Masonic fraternity, followed by the hearse, in the rear of which came the relatives, friends, and acquaintances of the deceased; in all forming a procession nearly or quite a half mile in length, and the most imposing ever witnessed in our village.

At the grace, W.S. Darrow, Esq. P.M. of Black River Lodge No. 74, of F.&A.M., conducted the concluding ceremonies of the order in his usual, impressive manner, and in that connection, we may observe that Mr. Darrow may possibly have his equal, but no superior in his manner of rendering the solemn burial service of the order as found in its ritual.

The ceremonies were concluded by the reading of the following resolutions by Hon. C.C. Pope:

'Whereas, In the ordinary course of events connected with human existence, the spirit of Bro. Jacob Spaulding, the pioneer settler of the Black River Valley, a mason of good standing for many years, of irreproachable life and character, a favorite in the family circle, beloved by children, and everywhere respected by adults of his acquaintance, the constant, unwavering friend of the poor Indians for nearly forty years, oftimes the only one they had when white

friends were sorely needed, has been suddenly called upon to cross the dark river, and enter as we hope and trust, upon a better and happier existence than falls to the lot of human kind upon earth, and where, in times to come, he will be ready in that pleasant spirit land, to welcome home his children, and childrens' children, relatives, and friends of the mystic tie to pleasures unspeakable and full of joy.

Therefore, Resolved, That in the death of Bro. Jacob Spaulding, the state has lost one of its pioneers; society, a valued and prominent member; his family, a kind father, and the great fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, a devoted brother; and the Indians have lost a friend as true to them as the cord to the bow. In fact, the high, the low, the rich, the poor, the young, and the old, the white man and the red man all mingled their tears over the loss of their common friend.

Resolved, That standing here in this silent city of the dead, and around the grave of our venerable brother, we cannot fail to acknowledge the universal dominion of death. But we cannot look upon death as an enemy of mankind, but as a kind messenger sent from our Supreme Grand Master to summon us from the trials and tribulations of human existence to that grand celestial lodge above, where sorrow and mourning are unknown.

Resolved, That we extend to the friends and relatives of the deceased our most heartfelt sympathy and condolence in this hour of their sorrow, and commend them to the care of that just God, who doeth all things well.

Resolved, That the Secretary of Black River Lodge furnish to the family of the deceased a copy of these resolutions; and that he spread the same at length upon the records of the Lodge.'"

(Wisconsin Independent, 2 February 1876)

PART 4: MISSIONARY WORK AMONG NATIVE PEOPLE IN WISCONSIN

Speech by T.M. Rykken, Christian Missionary (c. 1927-28)

Paul S Rykken

CONTEXT

The work of Norwegian Lutheran missionaries in Wisconsin came at a time when American Indian people had weathered enormous hardships at the hands of the US government. The Bethany Mission in Wittenberg was originally established in 1884 as a home for orphans but evolved into a boarding school and working farm. For 70 years, various institutions operated the mission, and, from 1918-33, it was entirely under the control of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

The general boarding school experience, of course, raises crucial questions about the role that white institutions played in the native children's education. Generally speaking, schools like the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, particularly their attempt to strip native people of their cultures and language – to "civilize them" – were a negative chapter in the story of white-native relations, an assertion borne out by the growing volume of literature on the subject. Nevertheless, marked differences existed between the government-sponsored schools and those that were church-based, and the story is complex and nuanced. Having spoken with Ho-chunk people who attended Bethany (or the children of those that did), it is clear that many people saw their time there in a positive light. Dr. Betty Ann Bergland of UW-River Falls contends that Bethany was unique in many respects during this period. The following passage comes from her recent essay exploring the role of the Women's Missionary Federation at Bethany:

The Bethany Indian Mission is distinguished in three important ways. First, the mission was established and staffed by first- and second-generation immigrants, themselves marginalized within the nation-state and part of a relatively small, immigrant church. They shaped neither Indian nor racial policy; however, because they were white and European, they benefited directly and indirectly from these policies. Second, they were settlers and colonists occupying the land. Unlike the missionaries sent to China, Africa, or India, those at Bethany were not sojourners in a foreign land but settlers, displacing those whom they would convert and Americanize. Third, the Bethany Indian Mission was not a product of New England missionary societies or European efforts to Christianize Indians; rather, it emerged organically as a few immigrants saw vulnerable people in their midst. As a consequence of these distinctive features of the mission, its workers developed contradictory and ambiguous relationships with the Indians, with the nation, and with empire. As immigrants and settler colonists adopted the language and culture of the American nation and empire, they, the foreign, helped make Wisconsin Indians, the indigenous, aliens in their own land. As they Americanized Indians and helped facilitate federal policies, they made the occupied lands what they called their western home. Yet the missionaries also served as mediators between policies effected by governmental bodies and vulnerable Wisconsin tribes and families.[25]

[25]Bergland, Betty Ann. "Settler Colonists, 'Christian Citizenship,' and the Women's Missionary Federation at the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, 1884-1934." Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960 (Duke University Press, 2010).

T.M. Rykken is pictured here with Ho-chunk and Oneida students at Bethany Mission in 1922.

Born in 1895 in Willmar, Minnesota, Thorvald Rykken was the son of Norwegian immigrants who first arrived in America in 1868. He attended public schools in New London, Minnesota and went on to Augsburg College in Minneapolis in 1916-17. Rykken was ordained into the Lutheran ministry after attending Luther Seminary in St. Paul from 1918-20. He was called to missionary work, which, at the time, meant working in either the home or international mission field. Domestic missionaries worked among native people in the lower 48 states or the Alaskan Territory. Rykken served as pastor and teacher at the Bethany Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, from 1920-30, working primarily with Ho-chunk and Oneida people. Upon leaving Wittenberg, he accepted a call to a four-point parish in Petersburg, North Dakota, serving there until his death in 1945. As part of his duties at Bethany, Rykken often spoke to groups about the work of the mission, seeking financial help for the work being done there. The following speech, delivered at a church gathering in the Wittenberg area, is part history lesson, part sermon, and part update on work being done at Bethany.[26] Rykken's language reflects the time in which it was given, and one hears echoes of the "muscular Christianity" movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[27] The references in the early portion of the speech to the Ho-chunk removal of 1873-74 indicate that Rykken had communicated with elders in the tribe about this horrible episode from their (somewhat) recent history.[28] His sympathy for their experience at the government's hands was not widespread among non-native people, but certainly some in the white community spoke out and agitated for the rights of native people.[29]

[26]Rykken published a Souvenir Pamphlet of the Bethany Indian Mission (Minneapolis, 1922), a short tract detailing the Bethany's history. This pamphlet was recently added to the National Museum of the American Indian Library, part of the Smithsonian's collection in Washington, D.C.

[27]Neil Howe and William Strauss provide an excellent framework for understanding what is often referred to as the Third Great Awakening of America's religious history (1886-1908) in their book Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584-2069 (New York, 1991). It was this spiritual awakening that spurred a flood of missionary work both in America and across the globe.

[28]An excellent overview of the Ho-chunk experience can be found at Indian Country Wisconsin, a web project sponsored by the Milwaukee Public Museum: http://www.mpm.edu/wirp/icw-52.html. An additional source that is excellent for an overview of native people in Wisconsin is Nancy Lurie's Wisconsin Indians (Madison, 2002). It is my contention that the removals of 1873-74 remain a defining experience for Ho-chunk people, verified by interviews with descendents of removal victims. Anthropologist Nancy Lurie, who has done extensive research on the Ho-chunk people for decades, confirmed this view in recent correspondence.

[29]Historian Mark Wyman provides an excellent summary of this effort by non-native people in his book The Wisconsin Frontier (Indiana University Press, 1998). Particularly notable were the efforts of Jacob Spaulding of Black River Falls, as recounted in Chapter 9 of Wyman's book.

BETHANY INDIAN MISSION

WITTENBERG, WISCONSIN

Dear Christian Friends:

"Laborers together with God."[30]

What a blessed privilege that we have in being laborers together with God. "Even as the Father hath sent me, so send I you."[31] It was a great commission that Jesus gave his disciples just prior to His leaving the earth with His visible presence: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you . . "[32]

It was this commission of Christ which spurred our early Christian friends of years ago in our own beloved church, to establish missions among those sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. It was the same commission which made the late Rev. E.J. Homme zealous for bringing light to the benighted Indians, in the vicinity of Wittenberg, Wis. where he was establishing a home for orphans back in 1884.[33] Thus the mission of our church among the Indians had its beginning.

The early history of Bethany Indian Mission shows us that it was no small task to get a start. The Winnebago Indians, among whom the work was first begun, and among whom it even now is mainly carried on, were quite averse to any contact with the whites. Really, the white man's attitude to the Indians in general tended to make them skeptical over against all approachings of the whites. But the treatment the Winnebagoes of Wisconsin had received made them particularly averse. Perhaps some of you are unacquainted with the treatment given them. Permit me, therefore, to narrate the cruel manner in which they were handled. They dwelt on fertile lands near Oshkosh, some also in the fertile Trempealeau Valley. Reports were made to Washington, no doubt truthful, that the Winnebagoes were troubling the white settlers. It was nothing short of natural if they did, as the whites gradually encroached upon them, taking away from them their hunting grounds. In 1872 Congress made an appropriation for the removal of the Winnebago. And in 1873 the Wisconsin Winnebago were forcibly removed to their Nebraska reservation – but many of them returned to the State (Blue Book, 1925, pages 81-82). Some of the old Indians now living in the vicinity of Wittenberg recall this terrible deal.[34] Under a pretext of friendliness, the Winnebago were invited to Madison for a grand celebration. Some few chiefs, without authority of the tribe, had entered into an agreement with the Government, selling the fertile lands for 10 cents an acre. While the Indians who had arrived at Madison, whole families and member of families, were enjoying their feast, the soldiers suddenly rounded them up as they would cattle, boarded them on box cars and shipped them bodily to Nebraska.

[30]I Corinthians 3:9.
[31]John 20:21.
[32]Matthew 28:19.
[33]E.J. Homme, a pastor in the Norwegian Lutheran Church, founded Wittenberg in 1879 and named the village for the German university town in which Martin Luther launched the Reformation in 1517.
[34]Kathleen Tigerman has edited a fine volume called Wisconsin Indian Literature: Anthology of Native Voices (University of Wisconsin Press, 2006) that offers first-person accounts of the 1873-74 removals from Winneshiek, Shaking Earth Caramani, Big Hawk, and Black Hawk. Native people who were 60 years old or beyond at the time Rykken arrived would clearly have had living memories of the removals. His work at Bethany often involved visiting local native people in their homes. A comprehensive analysis of the history surrounding the removals of 1873-74 was done by Lawrence W. Onsager in a 1985 thesis titled The Removal of the Winnebago Indians From Wisconsin in 1873-74. Onsager's research is compelling and sheds further light on the role that non-native people played during this period in attempting to stop the removal. His thesis is available at the History Room of the Black River Falls Public Library in Black River Falls, Wisconsin.

the way. Thus the Winnebago were back in the State. The Government procured lands for them in certain settlements, stony, swampy farms of 40 acres.

For white men then to come and offer to establish a school for these people was something that they were greatly averse to. Who can blame them? How did they know, but what they might be tricked again.

Thus, the first few years, 1884-1886, in the existence of the Bethany Indian Mission were years of slow progress, especially in getting the parents to consent to sending their children to school, and then again also, in keeping them after they once had entered. Mr. Morstad, who was the first missionary, had three Winnebago children, and these would run away each night.[35] Finally, he had to solicit children of other tribes, until little by little the Winnebagoes began to have confidence in him. It was not until need drove them, that they were willing to have their children enroll. And even at that stage, the parents did not want any religious instruction to be given their children. Just reading and writing. They, themselves, would tend to the child's religious need.[36]

However, the Gospel of Christ, and the love evinced by the workers in the field, finally conquered. What was accomplished at the Mission from 1884-1893 by way of baptisms and confirmation classes we have no record of. But, that some of the hardest work was done in this period we may well realize. Rev. T. Larson was past and Supt. Axel Jacobson, Supt. at present, was called as teacher in 1888, and considering all primitive methods of heating and lighting, etc. it is a wonder people could be found who would toil as they did. Our records show that classes have been baptized and classes confirmed each year from 1893 to the present time.

The Gospel of Christ has again proven to be the greatest civilizing agency – also among the Indians. Now, for years, the Bethany Mission has been beloved by the Indians. The fame of it is widespread among all Wisconsin Indians of all tribes. Children come from far and near, some as far away as 200 miles, who enter in the fall, and who do not see their parents again until spring. And applications are sent now, many more applying for admittance than we are in position to admit. "Bethany" is a very appropriate name for our Mission. It was at Bethany Jesus loved to stay with His friends, and Mary sat at Jesus' feet. So Bethany Mission is a place where Jesus is guest at all times. The children of the woods who had never heard of Jesus, here have sat at His feet and received the blessed truths leading them to faith in Him.[37] It is His Word and Will that rules. Religious classes are organized early each school year, from primary to eighth grade, together with confirmation class, and also Bible class for those confirmed the year or two before. Devotions are conducted morning and evening in the school chapel. The Lutheran Hymnary is used exclusively. Regular services are conducted in the church every Sunday and on church festivals.

A church was built in the settlement at Wittenberg in 1917. Here regular services are also held each Sunday. Several of those who have been confirmed at the Mission reside in this vicinity, and also a few of the old Indians who have never attended school. Some of these older ones have received instruction for baptism by means of an interpreter, and not so few baptized the past few years. There are some candidates at the present time. A Ladies Aid has been

[35]Erik Morstad was born in Norway in 1860 and arrived in the United States in 1876. His early years at Bethany Mission are recounted in an excellent article written by his son that can be accessed at the Norwegian-American Historical Association website: http://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume27/vol27_7.htm.

[36]This statement by Rykken indicates missionaries viewed the native people as religious or spiritual. The use of the word "heathen" to describe them refers to the fact that the American Indians did not believe in the Christian, Jewish, or Islamic faith – or the God of the Bible.

[37]The reference to the "children of the woods" is noteworthy. The Winnebago (now Ho-chunk in Wisconsin) referred to themselves as Hochungra Wazijaci, meaning "people of the big voice of the woods."

organized among the Winnebago women, and regular meetings are held each month. This society is a member of the W. M. Federation.[38] Small money contributions are sent to our Treasurer every year. A few statistics of the Mission might be in order. If time had permitted, yearly statistics would no doubt have been enlightening, but suffice it to say that from 1893 to 1927, 466 have received baptism, and 237 have been confirmed.[39] Of these not a few have already passed on to their heavenly reward. Some have continued school work, and are now holding good positions, while the greater number are employed in the cities and some residing on farms. We have assurances from many of these that they have remained faithful followers of their Savior.

This photograph is of the 1921 confirmation class at Bethany Mission. T.M. Rykken is seated in the middle. (Source: Shawano Wisconsin GenWeb Project)

There is one feature of our work among the Indians which has troubled us a great deal – and that is that we have not been able to carry on follow-up work with those who have been confirmed here. Had we begun years ago, I do not doubt but what we could have had congregations in certain of these settlements by this time. At present the German Lutheran S. Mo. are going after this work very zealously, and for the spiritual welfare of our confirmands, we cannot but rejoice, although it were better, could we who already know these people so well be on hand to church them.[40]

We have not yet arrived at getting any ordained Indians to carry on missionary work. We have a couple of boys at the Mission now who appear very promising, and it is to be hoped that in due time they may be sent to our Seminary. This would, no doubt, greatly enhance the work.

[38]The reference here is to the Women's Missionary Federation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church. Dr. Betty Ann Bergland provides an excellent analysis of the WMF and particularly its connection to the work being done at Bethany Mission in the article cited earlier (note footnote 1).

[39]The Shawano GenWeb Project is an excellent source for information concerning Bethany Mission, including an enrollment list from 1921. The Project can be accessed at: http://wigenweb.org/shawano/BethanyIndianMission.html.

[40]Rykken's reference to the German Lutheran Church of Southern Missouri warrants some explanation. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod was formed in 1847 by German-American immigrants and had a significant outreach to Native American people in Wisconsin. Doctrinal differences separated a variety of Lutheran Churches during this period. For an excellent overview of the history of Lutheranism, to: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lutheran.

Besides there are Indians or other tribes who are still without the Gospel, and to whom we ought really to be light bearers. Requests for taking up missionary work have come from the Standing Rock Res. in North Dakota. The total population of Indians in America is some 344,000. And of these some 80,000 are still heathen entirely. There is indeed field enough for many workers. If the present situation in China continues, could we not send some of the returning missionaries to do mission work among our heathen here at home?[41]

Permit me, on behalf of the Winnebago and Oneida Indians, to thank you for your loving services in rendering financial support, and also for your intercessory prayers. Thanks for donations of clothing and shoes. We have been enabled to ameliorate great physical distress among many these past years due to these splendid gifts. May God reward you, and may you not grow weary in well doing but continue give this noble assistance. Thanks also to the many L.A. for the assistance given us in disposing hundreds, yes, thousands of Indian baskets.[42] This has given break to many who otherwise would have starved.[43] While we should be moved to do much more for our poor Indians, we are in the meantime doing with God's help all we can in our Mission at Wittenberg. The fruits are evident. God's Word is still mighty.

We realize anew the truth of his own word, Is. 55, 10-11: "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater, so shall my word that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." In the great white throng which St. John was privileged to see, "out of every nation and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands," Indians are also standing![44] Praise be to God!

[41]It is estimated that 8000 Christian missionaries were in China by 1925. Rykken's reference to "the present situation" in China most likely refers to the ongoing political unrest that emerged with the May 4th Movement of 1919. The desire to root out foreign influence from China extended to Christian missionaries as agents of cultural imperialism. For background on Protestant mission work in China, go to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protestant_missions_in_China_1807%E2%80%931953. An excellent source for a more specific view of the work of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in China was published in 1919 (White Unto Harvest: A Survey of the Lutheran United Mission) and can be accessed at http://books.google.com/books?id=V2gMAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA28&lpg=PA28&dq=norwegian+lutheran+church+and+foreign+missions&source=bl&ots=IKfZ_0pKs2&sig=b5Rayu5F1ncnBwRGabtQnqGpqxE&hl=en&ei=UpdOTevQBYSq8AaMvIn2Dg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=5&ved=0CCcQ6AEwBDgK#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[42] "L.A." refers to Ladies Aid, an organization that played a prominent role in the Norwegian Lutheran Church and highlighted the central role that women played within the denomination.

[43]The role that basket-making played at Bethany was an important aspect of the Mission's history. For an excellent overview of this tradition among the Ho-chunk people, consult the following website sponsored by the Mississippi Valley Archaeology Center and the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse: http://www.uwlax.edu/mvac/knowledge/artists.htm#Containers.

[44] Revelation 7:9.

"O God of God! O Light of Light! Thou Prince of Peace, Thou King of kings, To Thee, where angels know no night, The song of praise forever rings: To Him who sits upon the throne, The Lamb once slain for sinful men, Be honor, might; all by Him won; Glory and praise! Amen. Amen.[45]

T. M. Rykken

Basket-weaving is deeply imbedded in Ho-chunk tradition. Baskets of this type were produced at Bethany Mission.

Note Concerning Document Annotation

Paul Rykken teaches history at Black River Falls High School and is the grandson of T.M. Rykken. Rykken's father, T.A. Rykken, was born at the Bethany Mission in July of 1924 while his father was serving there. The document is transcribed from a copy of the original speech, believed to have been given in 1927 or 1928. Thanks to Kathryn Rykken Schweitz, great-granddaughter of T.M. Rykken for her help with editing the contextual background and annotations.

[45]This is the first verse of the hymn, "O God of God! O Light of Light" by John Julian (1839-1913) and first appeared in Congregational Hymns in 1884. The opening line is a reference to the Nicene Creed, one of the central tenets of Lutheran beliefs.