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# Marie Baldwin, Racism, and the Society of American Indians

*Tadeusz Lewandowski*

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Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin (French/Ojibwa; 1863–1952), a lawyer, activist, and clerk at the US Office of Indian Affairs, is often mentioned in scholarly accounts of the Society of American Indians (SAI).[1] Other more prominent Progressive-era Native reformers have garnered greater attention, however, such as writer and activist Gertrude Bonnin (Yankton Dakota); activist Laura Cornelius Kellogg (Wisconsin Oneida); physician Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai); museum director Arthur C. Parker (Seneca); educator Henry Roe Cloud (Ho-Chunk/Winnebago); Catholic priest Philip Gordon (Ojibwa); educator Chauncey Yellow Robe (Sicangu Lakota); and writer and physician Charles Eastman (Santee Dakota).[2] Only one article focusing on Baldwin and her contributions to the society's intertribal activism has ever been published, Cathleen D. Cahill's "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin: Indigenizing the Federal Indian Service." Appearing in a combined issue of *American Indian Quarterly* and *Studies in American Indian Literatures* devoted exclusively to the SAI, Cahill's 2013 article remains the most detailed examination of Baldwin's life and work to date.

Cahill points out that recounting Baldwin's life involves considerable difficulty. Though her work for women's suffrage is fairly well-documented, Baldwin left no substantial writings and her letters from the SAI Papers number very few in comparison to the voluminous correspondence of Parker or Bonnin. Cahill nonetheless demonstrates how Baldwin asserted her Indigenous identity within the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), while she also manifested her belief in gender equality through her work with the SAI. Cahill also suggests that Baldwin, who served as treasurer of

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the organization, suffered "disappointment and disillusionment" as a result of attacks from SAI "radicals" such as Carlos Montezuma and Philip Gordon. Cahill contends that what ultimately drove Baldwin from the society was their collective condemnation of Indigenous employees in the Indian Service as disloyal.[3]

Despite Cahill's admirable research, much is missing from her rendering of Baldwin's association with the SAI. A fuller account revealing her work habits, conflicts, and incendiary comments on race provides a much less flattering portrait. Moreover, correspondence reveals that Baldwin's brief tenure as the most visible female member of the SAI ended because of personal animosities and her avoidance of her duties as treasurer. Baldwin's personal history is of particular interest, however, because of her views on African Americans. In late 1914, she began an openly racist campaign among key SAI members to ban African Americans from reservations and the OIA in general, lest improperly educated Natives begin to "consider the negro equal to the Indian and white."[4]

This fact begs a different interpretation of Cahill's subtitle, "Indigenizing the Federal Indian Service," but more important is the larger question of how those in the SAI viewed African Americans during the Progressive era in the United States—when racism was backed by social Darwinist theory, Jim Crow predominated in the South, and informal segregation predominated in the North and West. Little work along these lines has been done since Hazel Hertzberg's 1971 groundbreaking study of the SAI, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*. Lucy Maddox's *Citizen Indians*, as well as Cristina Stanciu's recent article, "Americanization on Native Terms," have investigated the SAI's stances on African Americans, the views of Arthur C. Parker in particular.[5] Baldwin's open racism may therefore act as a point of departure for future research along these lines.

## Becoming Marie Baldwin

Marie Louise Bottineau was born in 1863, in Pembina, North Dakota, to a family that had long played mediator between Euro-American and Native peoples.[6] Her Métis grandfather, Pierre Bottineau (1817–1895), came from a line of French Huguenots who had settled in Boston. As a teenager, Bottineau traveled to the Northwest, where he married an Ojibwa known as "The Clear Sky Woman" and became instrumental in settling towns throughout present-day Minnesota and North Dakota. A polyglot, Bottineau was fluent in several European and Native languages, often serving as diplomat in treaty negotiations on behalf of the US government in its attempts to establish hegemony in the region. By the time of his death at age seventy-eight, he had achieved considerable fame as a frontiersman and guide, though in later years he took to farming.[7]

Pierre Bottineau's son and Marie Baldwin's father, Jean Baptiste Bottineau (1837–1911), was no less illustrious. Born in St. Anthony Falls, now Minneapolis, he studied law before opening a successful practice and serving as justice of the peace. In his forties, he married Marie Reinville, who would bear Marie a year after the wedding. As the first-born daughter, Marie Bottineau grew up witnessing her father's struggles



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to aid his Turtle Mountain Band of Ojibwe, whose chief, Little Shell III, had asked him to represent the tribe before the US government. This was a matter of some urgency. The settler-colonialist regime perpetuated by the US government had, by the late nineteenth century, divested the Turtle Mountain Band of their traditional lands. Under an 1863 treaty, the Ojibwa and Métis in the Pembina hills and Turtle Mountain area of the Dakotas had been assured almost a million and one-half acres. A subsequent struggle for proper recognition of the band's homeland and the increasing encroachment of white squatters threatened their territorial integrity and ability to sustain themselves.

In 1882, the US Secretary of Interior officially opened lands set aside in the 1863 treaty for white settlement. That same year, President Arthur created a reservation encompassing a mere twenty-four-by-thirty-two square miles for those at Turtle Mountain. Compensation for the remaining lands was not forthcoming. When it did arrive, the sum fell far short of expectations. Seeking redress, Little Shell charged Jean Baptiste Bottineau with fighting the 1892 "Ten-Cent Treaty," which paid the Turtle Mountain Ojibwe just a fraction of their land's worth and failed to provide a reservation with enough lands for allotment. Bottineau's diligent advocacy on behalf of the Turtle Mountain Band made him many enemies within the Office of Indian Affairs. The agent at Turtle Mountain eventually banned him from the reservation under threat of arrest.

In the early 1890s, Bottineau, a committed Catholic, moved with his family to Washington, DC, to continue his fight for Turtle Mountain land claims. While testifying before Congress and seeking legal redress within the court system, he became a promoter of assimilation for American Indians through educational opportunity. In 1904, the US government settled with the Turtle Mountain Band at highly disadvantageous terms for the latter. Bottineau, still hoping to extract some justice from Washington, died six years later at age seventy-four, very ill, but still immersed in his work.[8] Marie later described her father as "a man of great force of character, of superior intellectual ability and of a broad humanitarian spirit," who was "generous to a fault." This was certainly true. Bottineau expended so many of his personal resources on representing the Turtle Mountain Band that by his death, much of the life's fortune he had accumulated was gone.[9] Having grown up assisting her father in his fight for the Turtle Mountain Band, Marie Baldwin, despite her privileged upbringing, well understood the structure of settler colonialism, the dangers of opposing Washington, and the need to offer aid to her beleaguered kin.[10]

Considering how she idolized her father and understood his concerns, it is little wonder that Baldwin ultimately pursued both law and Native activism. Although few details are known about her formative years, she spent her adolescence and teens attending a rather isolated, female Catholic boarding school in St. Paul, St. Joseph's Academy, after which she enrolled in another Catholic institution in far-away Winnipeg, St. John's Ladies College. After graduation, she returned to Minneapolis in order to assist her father in his legal practice.[11] In 1887, about age twenty-four, Marie made a brief, unhappy marriage to a white businessman, Fred S. Baldwin.[12] Why she kept his name is not known. Freed from her husband, Marie followed her father to Washington, DC, where, as in Minneapolis, she performed the role of legal clerk.[13]



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In 1904 (the same year Congress settled with the Turtle Mountain Band), Theodore Roosevelt appointed Baldwin to a temporary post as copyist in the Office of Indian Affairs.[14] As a result of what one can only assume was prejudice, her salary was set at the lowest end of the scale, $900 a year. For a person with her work experience, education, and fluency in Ojibwa, this was a slight; still, Baldwin now became the most highly paid Indigenous woman in the Indian Service.[15] Then-Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones was delighted by the value she brought to the OIA, both her "Indian blood" and "extensive experience in important and intricate Indian business."[16] Cahill suggests that Baldwin, by then age forty, may have put up with the low pay believing that her position in government could help other Native people navigate assimilation.

After several years as a clerk with the Indian Office, Baldwin was drawn slowly into the growing Indian rights movement. In 1909, 1910, and 1912, she made trips to the annual autumn Lake Mohonk conferences organized by the Quaker-led Indian Rights Association (IRA), or Friends of the Indian, founded in 1882.[17] The Indian Office, in a gesture supportive of Baldwin's interest in the Friends' assimilationist program, paid her travel and incidental expenses.[18] During this period Baldwin became known to other prominent American Indians seeking reform, such as New York Museum archaeologist Arthur C. Parker, a regular attendee at Mohonk.[19] In Washington, she befriended future SAI members such as J. N. B. Hewlett of the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology, and Indian Service employees Gabe Parker (Choctaw) and Charles Daganett (Peoria).[20] Baldwin also began regular trips to commencement exercises at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Pennsylvania, though in this case the Indian Office insisted she bear "all expenses incurred" herself.[21] Baldwin's presence at Carlisle may have aimed to convince those in the student body of the assimilationist project, demonstrating that Indians could effectively "make it" as successful members of white society.[22] When at the school, she spent time with the Winnebago/French artist Angel De Cora, who oversaw the arts program and, like Baldwin, would become one of the more distinguished members of the SAI.[23]

This was a crucial time for Baldwin. In October of 1911, the year her beloved father died, the Society of American Indians (originally the American Indian Association) held its first national conference in Columbus, Ohio. Carlos Montezuma, Charles Eastman, and a white sociology professor at Ohio State University, Fayette Avery McKenzie, had been working toward this end for some time, having called an initial meeting in April attended by four other prominent Natives: Laura Cornelius Kellogg, Omaha lawyer Thomas Sloan, Peoria Indian Office employment supervisor Charles Dagenett, and Oglala Lakota chief Henry Standing Bear. Baldwin was invited to join the second acting Temporary Executive Committee of the new organization, a clear indication of her prominence in reform circles.[24]

## Baldwin and the Society's Beginnings

As one of the first Native-operated, intertribal endeavors aimed at political agitation, the SAI sought to foster "self-help" within the Indigenous population through

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"race consciousness and a race leadership."[25] This deployment of the word *race* was important in several ways. In 1909, prominent African Americans had founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an event that helped convince McKenzie that the time had come to establish the SAI. Both associations challenged ingrained racial prejudices within American society that had existed long before the nation's founding. W. E. B. DuBois, who helped launch the NAACP, became an early associate member in the SAI, signifying the solidarity he felt with Native peoples.[26] Need for such solidarity was obvious. The Progressive era, despite its enlightened veneer, was an intensely racist period. Immigration from Asia and Southern and Eastern Europe stoked fears of "race suicide" among white Protestants and led to strict US government immigration quotas, while Jim Crow law and informal segregation were legitimated by the pseudo-scientific discourses of Social Darwinism and eugenics.

Furthermore, officialdom perpetuated these racist hierarchies. In 1911, the year the SAI was founded, the US Government Printing House published Daniel Folkmar's *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, which divided humanity into five racial categories: Caucasian (White), Mongolian (Yellow), Ethiopian (Black), Malay (Brown), and American Indian (Red). "Aryans," a subset of the white race, reigned supreme. Folkmar's placement of "negroes" at the bottom of his painstakingly constructed racial hierarchy is reflected in another contemporary racial theorist's contention that Black people were "for the most part like grownup children, and should be treated as such."[27] American Indians rate little consideration in Folkmar's *Dictionary*: their short entry, which speculates about a likely relation to "Mongolians," takes up less than a single page.[28] Within the milieu of the Progressive era's "racialized social system," to borrow a term from Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, it is not surprising that the leaders of the Society of American Indians saw "racial pride" as an essential element of their platform.[29]

SAI leaders, mostly successful professionals educated in white-run boarding schools, sought to distinguish themselves as a "race" equal to any atop the prevailing hierarchy by excelling in white society, arguing vigorously that other Indians, if given a chance, would reach the heights of any white man. While assimilation into American society was a key goal, SAI founders nonetheless insisted that the "Indian has certain contributions of value to offer our government and our people."[30] Adjustment to new circumstances did not denote a surrender of the values that came with their defining racial identity. The virtues of the Indian race had to be preserved. Marie Baldwin fully supported the SAI's perspective of racial pride and renewal, and her move into activism was accompanied by a striking decision that signaled her seriousness concerning Native rights. In 1912, nearing age fifty, she followed in her father's footsteps by commencing studies at Washington College of Law, an originally all-female institution and hub of suffragist activity.[31] This interest in women's rights informed her primary contribution to the SAI founding conference in Columbus, Ohio, in October 1911—a speech on Native and settler gender roles.

Partha Chatterjee has noted how often women have been treated as those who "also took active part in nationalist struggle" for Native rights, rather than as separate subjects with a distinctive perspective.[32] Baldwin, living at a time when women,

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and Native women in particular, suffered from considerable restriction and general assumptions of their inferiority, undoubtedly had a distinctive and valuable outlook. On the second day in Columbus, she presented a paper on "Modern Home Making and the Indian Woman" during a panel on "Industrial Problems" that included Laura Cornelius Kellogg.[33] Her 3,000-word speech discusses Native domesticity and criticizes Euro-America's patriarchal society from a gendered, Native perspective and stresses the vital roles that women had played in pre-contact societies. She then looks to the future, suggesting the need to modify Native practices to fit new conditions. Baldwin's paper extols Native women and asserts that they held equal place alongside Native men. She implicitly criticizes Victorian-era gender constructs, employing information on Native societies as a didactic tool to undercut patriarchal assumptions, demonstrate the worth of Indigenous women, and address how gender inequality was structured into American life.[34]

Countering white judgements of Native gender relations, "Modern Home Making and the Indian Woman" describes the Indian woman as "a most magnificent savage and barbarian" who embodies the "noble" spirit of motherhood. Due to respect for her contributions to the health of the tribe in realms that included food cultivation and gathering, garment making, and childbearing, the Indian woman often found herself "on absolute equality with her sons and brothers," sometimes performing "executive functions" and establishing matriarchal institutions that made her "supreme in the choice of her ruler." As a result, the division of labor that prevailed in Native societies did not create the consequent inequality among the sexes found in Euro-American culture. Labor was instead "equitable," meaning that "erroneous and misleading beliefs" that Native women were "the abject slave and drudge of the men of her tribe" amounted to little but "inaccurate observation" on the part of whites. Quite the contrary: Native women, "being domestic, industrious, unselfish, [and] provident," were accomplished artists whose handicrafts remain "unsurpassed by the art of the women of other races."[35]

These qualities, Baldwin asserts, made the American Indian woman highly adaptable to modern domestic practices, even when faced with the challenges inherent in the "novel surroundings which have unsolicited been brought to her door by peoples of the eastern hemisphere." Now deprived of the independence, self-governance, and customs of the past, the Indian woman had to "change her motives and ideals in life and so adjust herself [to] secure welfare and happiness." Baldwin saw this imperative in racial terms, stressing that the Native woman's transformation was nothing less than the "duty and obligation to her race." Still, whites and Natives should be considered on the same racial—if not technological—plane, because "the American Indian woman as a homemaker is *at least* the equal of her white sister" (emphasis added).[36]

Despite its attack on patriarchy and racial inequality, Baldwin's remarks in Columbus express a conservative vision of American Indian womanhood anchored in (or overlapping with) the nineteenth-century culture of domesticity and "true womanhood," and its belief in separate male/female spheres of action. Her view is easily understandable considering the historical period, and her religious education. While Baldwin's defense of the roles women played in Indigenous societies and her critique of sexual inequality in Euro-American society were admirable, her prescriptions for



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the future amounted to little more than a generalized call for adaptation to Victorian home life. In contrast, Laura Cornelius Kellogg, speaking in the same session, offered a more coherent vision for the future that respected the communal Indian past and looked forward to a model of economic independence through "industrial villages" on reservations, which would produce a bounty for all.[37] Baldwin's vision of a society that respected matriarchal authority in the context of the home appeared less sweeping in comparison. Perhaps she realized as much herself: not long after, paeans to domesticity vanished from her writings and public statements.[38]

Baldwin's stated conservativism regarding gender roles certainly did not preclude her from fruitful membership in the SAI. After Columbus, she quickly became an active force as part of the General Committee,[39] exchanging letters with SAI secretary-treasurer Arthur C. Parker on various matters.[40] Parker expressed enthusiasm for Baldwin's initial efforts, calling her a "reliable lady" with "the real spirit of hustle within" her. He very quickly came to depend on Baldwin for favors, such as the loan of a typewriter and assistance in planning and organizing society conferences.[41] After the SAI's second annual meeting in Columbus, Baldwin and Parker's correspondence intensified. The Society had opened a headquarters in Washington, DC, just across the street from the Indian Office. Baldwin, who lived nearby, performed SAI work there and received her correspondence from Parker.[42] Parker wrote her of the trials the society faced, clearly indicating that her advice and work was valued.[43] At times, he indicated that his messages were "personal and confidential."[44]

By the autumn of 1913, Baldwin had carved out an important place for herself in the society. She put whatever time and energy she could into promoting Indian rights under its auspices, seeking new SAI members and aiding with the organization's *Quarterly Journal*.[45] Still, Baldwin was in a difficult position, caught in the nexus of four obligations that pulled her in divergent directions. There was her job at the Office of Indian Affairs, her loyalty to the society, her growing involvement with the suffrage movement, and her law studies, which precluded her from attending the third annual SAI conference in Denver in October, 1913.[46] That year, at the behest of Parker, Laura Cornelius Kellogg, the other prominent woman in the SAI, found herself ejected for allegedly "dancing almost in the nude for the benefit of Indian people."[47] Kellogg's scandalous departure left Baldwin as the most influential woman in the SAI. How she attempted to wield her influence was regrettable.

## Baldwin's Racism and Continued Rise in the SAI

Not long after the 1913 Denver meeting, Baldwin wrote Parker in a fury: "There is one subject that needs stirring up and I believe the Society of American Indians should do the stirring," she announced. The pressing matter was "negro employees in the Indian Service," and the immediate imperative to expel them. Baldwin went on to explain her concerns. First, the "Indian does not know the negro." Lacking such knowledge, it was impossible "to judge as to how he should treat and act with the negro in order that the negro can be kept in his place." Even worse, Indians on reservations were expected "to treat the negro with the same consideration and equality that is accorded the white or



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Indian employee." This was a dangerous precedent because it could convince unwitting Indians to draw the wrong conclusion, and "consider the negro equal to the Indian and white." There were also other strong reasons for banning African Americans. "Again, how many capable Indians—both men and women are kept out of the Service because there are no vacancies?" Baldwin asked. "Is it not more right and just that the Indian should be employed instead of the negro? The Indians of Florida were made to take their slaves with them when moved to Indian Territory. There the negro was set free. There are enough Indians with negro blood in their veins now."

Baldwin knew that such views would be controversial within the SAI. She admitted that several SAI members would vociferously disagree, Carlisle founder and long-time promoter of racial equality Richard Henry Pratt among them.[48] Pratt, who condemned any prejudice based on color, had even been one of the early popularizers of the term "racism" in the early 1890s.[49] Nonetheless, convinced that "the negro" was both "immoral" and "dangerous," Baldwin vowed to make her protest to the Indian Office alone if need be. Underlining the importance of the issue, she begged Parker to consider the following: "Think of this and grind your teeth! A negro *physician* is employed at one Indian reservation and at a *number* of places are negro bosses over boys and girls" (emphases in original). Baldwin added in closing: "Have just jotted down a few thoughts hurriedly. Please let me hear from you on the subject and please also forward this letter to Mr. Coolidge and ask him to write me on the subject." The request suggests that she felt Sherman Coolidge (Arapahoe), an Episcopal priest and SAI president, was possibly sympathetic to her opinions. Baldwin also believed that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which oversaw schools and missionaries on many Indian reservations, might aid her cause.[50]

Linda Waggoner, apparently the only scholar to comment on Baldwin's racism, characterizes the above letter as informed by "middle class, Euro-American phobia, and fear of miscegenation."[51] Baldwin's horror at the idea of "a negro physician" touching Indian children and references to "immorality" appear to support this view. What direct experience Baldwin had with African Americans is unclear, but she had evidently absorbed negative stereotypes like those so famously depicted in W. D. Griffith's 1915 Klan epic *The Birth of a Nation*. The prevailing racial structure of the US social system generally made sense to Baldwin—with one big exception. While she assumed the norm of white superiority, she broke with the idea that the Indian should be denied proper status among those atop the hierarchy. Baldwin's answer to fears of race mixing with African Americans, however, was the same as her white counterparts: segregation. Only such a measure could ensure the Indian's racial purity.[52] Regardless of the precise origins of Baldwin's views, W. E. B. DuBois would have been disappointed.

Though Baldwin had asked for Parker's thoughts on the perceived outrages of African Americans in the Indian Service, any specific response he gave is not on record in the SAI Papers.[53] His essay of a few years later, however, "Problems of Race Assimilation in America" (1916), sheds light on his views. Indeed, here Parker demonstrates that he largely agrees with Baldwin's segregationist sentiments and is not offended by her ideas, writing of African Americans' "darky habits" and "race qualities of servility and imitativeness."[54] In addition, Parker continued to praise Baldwin.



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"Good work Ojibway," he writes in one letter, calling her "an inspiration." Parker also continued to rely on her in society endeavors such as the *Quarterly Journal* when, as he puts it, "we are in a state of financial chaos."[55]

It may have been fortuitous, then, that Baldwin did not attend the Denver conference in 1913. Had her contribution been an elaboration on her letter to Parker, some among the SAI membership would have seconded her sentiments publicly. As it happened, Baldwin's nascent campaign for an Indian Service purged of African Americans never materialized. Nonetheless, it is surprising that Baldwin espoused racial exclusion in the Indian Office as her signature crusade within the SAI, particularly in light of her outside activities. In 1913, she became deeply engaged in the women's suffrage movement, marching on Pennsylvania Avenue before the White House as part of a group of female lawyers. This march was a risky undertaking, though the women gained sympathy from the larger public when they braved the shouts and harassment of counter-protesters.[56] Given this activism, one wonders why Baldwin did not raise the issue of supporting women's suffrage with SAI leadership rather than pursuing her anxieties about African Americans in the OIA. Baldwin continued to rise in the society. In 1914, the SAI held its fourth annual conference in Madison, Wisconsin, where Baldwin supported a petition to President Wilson to establish a "Memorial Committee," which would enlighten him on the need for Indian representation in the federal government. In a smashing triumph, the society secured a meeting with Wilson for December of that year.[57] Baldwin was not only present, but the only woman to speak, a measure of her status. At the event's closing, she was elected chair of the SAI board of trustees.[58]

Baldwin later wrote to a fellow society member that though the meeting with Wilson was a "distinct success," it should not "be taken as the real gage of influence." In reality, the situation on reservations remained "acute," with little hope of amelioration.[59] By then, Baldwin boasted a newly minted law degree, received in 1914.[60] Upon her graduation, she declared to the press that "the Indian women were among the first suffragists," and that "the white man needs to be educated to the Indian," rather than the other way around. Such messages were ones Baldwin did her best to promulgate during these years, whether at SAI gatherings or the 1914 Minnesota State Fair, where she exhibited Native handicrafts and argued, again in racial terms, that "the Indian woman can compete with the woman of any race in any industry if she but will."[61] In the summer of 1915, Baldwin took time off from work at the Indian Office, traveling to the Northwest to speak with Indians about the SAI.[62] Her trip came in the run-up to the fifth annual society conference in Lawrence, Kansas. Parker, ever-supportive, provided advice on what information to convey to potential members. He also mentioned that Baldwin would be "pleased to know that we have gained the membership of Mrs. Bonnin," whom he called "one of the best writers the Sioux ever produced."[63] Gertrude Bonnin's arrival would, in a few short years, lead to Baldwin's bitter exit from the organization she had helped found.

Regardless of coming troubles, at the Lawrence conference Baldwin gained the recognition she deserved for her hard work in the SAI thus far. On the final day of voting, she was elected treasurer, probably an attempt to stem the financial "chaos"



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Parker had spoken of earlier. Baldwin's accounting and organizational skills, honed at the OIA, were now required to improve the society's operations. Parker stayed on as secretary.[64] Despite Baldwin's personal successes, the Lawrence conference exposed growing tensions within the SAI. Carlos Montezuma delivered a speech denouncing the OIA in which he insisted it be immediately liquidated. Most members shied away from such a radical step, save an SAI newcomer, Philip Gordon, the first Indian Catholic priest ordained in the United States. As a fellow Catholic and Ojibwa, he formed a friendly acquaintance with Baldwin.[65]

Soon after returning home from Kansas, Parker informed Baldwin of her new duties as treasurer. The list of obligations and tasks in the letter is daunting—so daunting that it is hard to imagine how Parker simultaneously held the posts of SAI secretary-treasurer and his position at the New York State Museum in Albany. He charges Baldwin with collecting dues, subscriptions, donations, paying bills, and monitoring funds that came into and out of the SAI, all to be recorded with receipts. She was to report her activity to the SAI Executive Council in detailed statements. These were not her only responsibilities. Parker's list goes on for another paragraph, after which he remarks: "If there are further duties devolving upon your office I shall notify you."[66]

These tasks would have been a challenge for a full-time worker, let alone one with other employment. Parker complained to the membership that the SAI desperately needed a paid secretary to be effective. It was untenable for him, or anyone, "to work all day to make a living and then work and plan most of the night for the Society."[67] As the new treasurer Baldwin was now in this precise position. Due to a lack of funds and proper staffing, in 1915 the SAI was at a critical juncture. Its agenda could not be put forth properly to the government or the public.

This internal situation only worsened at SAI's sixth annual conference in September 1916, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. There Baldwin, with her dual responsibilities to the Indian Office and the Society, uncomfortably found herself a focus of attention. On the second day, Carlos Montezuma invited controversy by declaring "Indian employees in the service of the Indian Bureau could not be loyal to the Indian race and to their real interests."[68] Certain that wardship on reservations encouraged demoralization and hobbled assimilation, he had been publicly advocating the abolishment of the Office of Indian Affairs since the Lawrence gathering in 1915.[69] After a brief row involving SAI President Sherman Coolidge, who disagreed, Philip Gordon spoke up. Insensitively disregarding his friend Baldwin, he declared that Indians who worked for the OIA could neither "be loyal to this Society" nor "take a step so he can get rid of the Indian Bureau."

The sweeping declaration invited rebuke, and Baldwin responded ably. Calling herself "one of those Government clerks that my brothers have been speaking of today," she countered Gordon's claims, stating that she felt no pressure to support the Indian Office despite being an employee. Moreover, she maintained, abolishment was flawed and ultimately reckless because many Indians on reservations were "not ready now to be put out in the world to take care of themselves." Cooperation with the government and concentrated action to improve the prospects of those under wardship would



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create conditions so that someday there would be "no need of an Indian Bureau." This goal was one all could responsibly support. Gertrude Bonnin, whose husband was in the service, seconded Baldwin's sentiments.[70] This would be the first and last instance of solidarity between the two.

At the closing of the Cedar Rapids conference, those present began referring to Gordon and Montezuma as the "radicals."[71] Baldwin, in agreement that eventually the Indian Office had to go, remained on friendly terms with both. Despite the row, there was no lingering hostility and no personal offense taken. She continued her correspondence with Gordon, in particular. One of his letters relates the activities of an African American man masquerading as an Ojibwa on their reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota, which must have infuriated Baldwin.[72] Baldwin garnered positive press coverage in Iowa. The *Cedar Rapids Gazette* praises her for becoming a lawyer, explaining that she took up the study of law "to be of assistance to her people," and also quotes her as saying there was "no reason why women should not enjoy equal suffrage."[73]

In the SAI conference vote, Baldwin retained her position as treasurer and Parker was elected SAI president, while Gertrude Bonnin took over as secretary.[74] While Baldwin and Bonnin were both Catholic women born in the Dakotas and educated at boarding schools, they were very different.

## Fall from Grace

Baldwin's childhood was stable and privileged; Bonnin's was not. Born to an impoverished mother on the Yankton Reservation in 1876, she never saw her white father. Bonnin spent her childhood at boarding schools subject to the charity of others, but through intelligence and willpower eventually managed a string of successes working as a writer, musician, and orator among East coast society. Loyal to her roots and critical of Indian assimilation, she returned to South Dakota in 1901 to care for her aging mother, then spent approximately fifteen years in Utah with her husband Raymond on the Uintah & Ouray reservation, doing her best to aid the resident Ute Indians.[75]

Her work for the SAI exhibited this determination. Parker was delighted. In her demanding role as treasurer, it seems that Baldwin could not keep up. When Bonnin commenced her work as secretary in December 1916, she immediately became angered at Baldwin's unresponsiveness. Requests for materials and vital information went ignored, making it impossible to proceed effectively.[76] Bonnin complained to Parker that Baldwin was simply "uninterested" and that it was a "mistake" to reelect her.[77] Parker was unwilling to disavow Baldwin, but correspondence indicates he was secretly unhappy with the slow execution of her duties.[78] Matters worsened when in the spring of 1917, Bonnin and her family moved to Washington, DC, in order to further her SAI activism.[79] Baldwin extended every courtesy, including a gift of maple sugar. In early June, when Bonnin summarily informed Baldwin that the SAI headquarters would be moved to her own apartment and that the SAI would foot the bill, an incensed Baldwin wrote Parker expressing "shock" at such "high handed" actions and insisting that Bonnin be denied a new office and the funds to cover it. Curiously,



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Baldwin admits that she no longer wants to be treasurer and will only stay on to preclude "putting altogether too much power and authority in one person."[80]

Yet, she did not make any further effort to see to her duties, and out of frustration, Bonnin began opening Baldwin's correspondence and completing her work. When Baldwin discovered what Bonnin had done, she invoked her law degree and vaguely threatened to sue. Gertrude Bonnin's spouse Raymond then interceded, telephoning to explain that he and his wife would suffer no such intimidations.[81] In addition, Bonnin launched a full attack on her colleague by letter, denouncing Baldwin to Parker for wasting money, lacking dedication, shirking her duties, and perhaps even being an Indian Office spy.[82] Parker was moved by Bonnin's entreaties and his own anger at Baldwin's inactivity, and not long after agreed to fund Bonnin's apartment.[83]

Parker's decision can be seen as Baldwin's effective exit from the SAI. From this point in time, she refuses to provide Bonnin with any information on the organization's finances and stops answering Parker's letters. He writes her, in vain, letters that now only involve SAI business.[84] Baldwin then loses a set of important SAI documents from her coat pocket and Parker becomes terse, demanding as tactfully as possible that she fulfill her duties as treasurer. In January 1918, he explains that the society is "losing ground" because of her dawdling and that if the work is too "arduous," he will have it done elsewhere. The letter also reveals his suspicion that Baldwin had lost a $50 Liberty Bond.[85] In August 1918, Parker wrote his last letter to Baldwin. It states that her recalcitrance was "bringing weakness to the society and reproach to the race."[86]

Baldwin probably further remained as SAI treasurer because of Parker's reluctance to replace her and America's intervention in World War I, which prompted his decision to cancel the 1917 SAI conference.[87] In September 1918, however, when the annual conference did take place in Pierre, South Dakota, Bonnin organized it almost exclusively.[88] Parker was busy with his museum work in Albany and did not attend.[89] Baldwin also stayed home and made no attempt to retain her post as treasurer. Bonnin was elected to the dual post of secretary-treasurer and almost immediately appointed herself editor of the SAI's *American Indian Magazine*.[90] Baldwin responded by retaining the treasurer's records,[91] and even months later she was also impeding work by withholding SAI funds.[92] A potential career in Indian rights activism defined by an emphasis on women's suffrage and equality was unfortunately ending.

## Conclusion

Baldwin apparently left no explanation for why she stopped performing her work as SAI treasurer. Research reveals, however, that in July 1914 she had received a promotion as well as a pay raise at the Office of Indian Affairs.[93] It is possible that she now had new and growing responsibilities that reduced the time she was able to devote to the society. Or perhaps she had simply become complacent. Regardless, it is clear that Baldwin's "disappointment and disillusionment" with the SAI stemmed not from the "radicals" advocating OIA abolition—Montezuma and Gordon—but rather from Parker's refusal to support her in the struggle with Bonnin. His decision in Bonnin's favor was certainly a personal blow to Baldwin's enthusiasm for working in an



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organization that did not seem to respect her past contributions. After her departure from the SAI Baldwin's activism came to an end. One of her last efforts to promote Indian cultures occurred in 1929, when she arranged an exhibition of her Native art collection at the Office of the Interior. She retired from the OIA three years later, in 1932. In 1949, she relocated to California.[94] A few years later, in 1952, age eighty-eight, Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin died of a cerebral hemorrhage.[95]

Cahill writes that Baldwin's contributions to Native and women's rights activism featured "a celebration of indigenous tradition, history, and culture," while emphasizing the importance of women in both Indigenous and Euro-American societies. She also notes how Baldwin bucked assimilationist conventions by asserting her Native identity within the Office of Indian Affairs. Ultimately, Baldwin may have done her most beneficial work within the OIA system while supervising federal contracts and reservation authorities, thereby possibly curbing corruption.[96] A harder look at Baldwin's career in Native activism reveals that her role in the Society of American Indians was not always constructive and that her virulently racist views were—or at least should have been—out of step with the SAI's progressive character. Yet Baldwin was hardly the only SAI member to express racist attitudes toward African Americans.

Indeed, though she was not as thoroughgoing a racist as Baldwin, Gertrude Bonnin too was in sympathy with Baldwin's racism and often expressed the opinion that African Americans were inferior. In a typical statement, Bonnin once declared to Parker that the Indian's "strength of character and nobility has been admitted verbally to be far superior to the Colored race."[97] Likewise, in a letter to her family Bonnin describes a trip to Salt Lake City: she encounters "seedy" whites everywhere and the sight of African Americans wearing moccasins on the train disgusts her. With some surprise, Bonnin then remarks that "perhaps these black folks were no worse than some of the dirty whites."[98]

More examples of racism against African Americans from SAI leaders are easily found. Charles D. Carter (Chickasaw), US representative from Oklahoma and an SAI member, once denounced the policy of sending Indian children to the Hampton Institute in Virginia, which had been founded for former slaves. Forcing them to live in "social equality with an inferior race," he protested, was an insult to the Indian's "self-respect." Thomas Sloan, who became SAI president in 1919, likewise admitted fears that miscegenation could occur at Hampton, though he suggested that Indian students were likely too proud to succumb to any such temptation.[99]

To date, scholars have produced many studies on the Society of American Indians exploring the concepts of Indian racial difference that circulated within the organization. New investigations into the society's stance on African Americans could yield a richer and fuller portrait of Red Progressivism, albeit one potentially not altogether flattering. While this examination of Baldwin's tenure in the Society presents a narrative less congratulatory than Cahill's, it is not an attempt to discount the contributions Baldwin made to the organization or to Indian activism in general. Instead, telling the full story of Marie Baldwin, her racism, and the Society of American Indians points to the difficulty historians sometimes experience in parsing out what we admire in complex historical figures, and what we would prefer to ignore. Her story likewise



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demonstrates the many fissures within the SAI, the challenges of running a growing organization with part-time volunteer workers, and the trials they faced as a diverse group of strong, sometime clashing personalities, with differing perspectives on how best to promote Native rights. Profound differences that plagued the SAI in the late 1910s include the practice of the Peyote Religion, which led to the organization's end in 1923, and the issue of OIA abolition.[100] Ultimately, the views of Baldwin and others regarding African Americans not only reflect the era's racism, but also point us toward new research that could deepen our understanding of a residue that America has yet to eliminate: the spectrum of races found in Progressive-era racial hierarchies.

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## Notes

1. See, for instance, Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan Indian Movements* (Syracuse University Press, 1971), 99, 127, 137, 148, 153, 171; Tadeusz Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power: The Life and Legacy of Zitkala-Ša* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 96, 111, 120–22, 130, 132; Linda M. *Waggoner, Firelight: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 181–82, 194, 198–200, 205, 222–23, 240–41, 243, 250, 257.

2. Works on these figures include: *Laura Cornelius Kellogg: Our Democracy and the American Indian and Other Works*, ed. Kristina Ackley and Cristina Stanciu (Syracuse University Press, 2015); Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Tadeusz Lewandowski, *Ojibwe, Activist, Priest: The Life of Father Philip Bergin Gordon, Tibishkogijik* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019); Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power;* David W. Messer, *Chauncey Yellow Robe: A Biography of the American Indian Educator, Ca. 1870–1930* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2019); David W. Messer, *Henry Roe Cloud: A Biography* (New York: Hamilton Books, 2009); Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Joy Porter, *To Be Indian: The Life of Iroquois-Seneca Arthur Caswell Parker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Renya K. Ramirez, *Standing Up to Colonial Power: The Lives of Henry Roe and Elizabeth Bender Cloud* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma, MD, A Yavapai American Hero: The Life and Times of an American Indian, 1866–1923* (Portland: Arnica Publishing, 2005); and Raymond Wilson, *Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

3. Cathleen D. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin: Indigenizing the Federal Indian Service," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 and *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no 3, "The Society of American Indians and Its Legacies" (2013): 68, 82, https://doi.org/10.5250/studamerindilite.25.2.0065. The only repository of primary sources relating to Baldwin (aside from the *Papers of the Society of American Indians*, ed. John W. Larner (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986), microfilm edition), hereafter cited as "SAI Papers," appears to be her rather unrevelatory Office of Indian Affairs Personnel File, available from the National Records Center in St. Louis, Missouri.

4. Marie Baldwin to Artur C. Parker, November 18, 1913, SAI Papers.

5. Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (Syracuse University Press, 1971), 158–59, 165; Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 75–76; Cristina Stanciu, "Americanization on Native Terms: The

Society of American Indians, Citizenship Debates, and Tropes of 'Racial Difference,'" *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 128, 133–35, https://doi.org/10.5749/natiindistudj.6.1.0111.

6. See Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri.

7. "Biographical Sketch of Pierre Bottineau," *Compendium of History and Biography of Central and Northern Minnesota* (Chicago: G. A. Ogle & Company, 1904), 144.

8. See Lawrence Barkwell, "Jean Baptiste Bottineau (1837–1911)," http://www.metismuseum.ca/media/db/11974; Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69, 83n1; David Miller, et al., *The History of the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana, 1800—2000* (Poplar: Fort Peck Community College; Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2008), 179; Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882–1905," *North Dakota History* 51, no. 1 (1984): 14–37; "Turtle Mountain Band of Pembina Chippewa Indians," Senate Document No. 154, 55th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, DC: US Government Printing House, 1898). Barkwell, director of Métis Heritage and History Research at the Louis Riel Institute in Winnipeg, Canada, compiled information on Jean Baptiste Bottineau that was in part supplied by Marie Baldwin. See citation in endnote 9 below.

9. See Marie Baldwin, "Jean Baptiste Bottineau (1837–1911), http://www.metismuseum.ca/media/db/11974. Baldwin and Barkwell give conflicting dates for the marriage of J. B. Bottineau and Marie Reinville. Barkwell records the date as May 3, 1857 and Baldwin as November 17, 1862. Baldwin also discusses how her parents produced two other daughters, Lillian Ann and Alvina Clementa (the latter of whom died in infancy), and how her father lost his first fortune of $80,000 (over one million in today's terms) in the mid-1860s through bad investments in the fur trade.

10. For discussions of the "structure" of settler-colonialist regimes and "enduring indigeneity," see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409, https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "'A Structure, Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," *Emergent Critical Analytics for Alternative Humanities* 5, no. 1 (2016), https://csalateral.org/issue/5-1/forum-alt-humanities-settler-colonialism-enduring-indigeneity-kauanui/.

11. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69.

12. See "Social Happenings," *Saint Paul Daily Globe*, June 5, 1887, 10.

13. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69.

14. "Executive Order," February 17, 1904; Acting secretary of the Department of the Interior to Baldwin, September 2, 1901, Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center.

15. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69–70. Also see William A. Jones (commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Ethan A. Hitchcock (secretary of the Interior), August 24, 1904, Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center.

16. Jones to Hitchcock, February 10, 1904, Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center.

17. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 70–71. Also see Porter, *To Be Indian*, 225n1.

18.

See, for instance, Education Purchase C1.196781, November 12, 1909; Education Purchase C1.196929, December 9, 1909, Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center.

19. Porter, *To Be Indian*, 111, 118, 122.

20. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 72.

21. See Acting commissioner of Indian Affairs to Baldwin, May 4, 1912; Acting commissioner of Indian Affairs to Baldwin, April 1, 1912; and Cato Sells (commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Baldwin, May 19, 1917, Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center. The phrase "with the understanding that all expenses incurred are to be borne by yourself" appears in the May 4 letter.

22. This assumption also appears in Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 71.

23. Waggoner, *Firelight*, 181–82.



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24. "Minutes of the American Indian Association," 1911, SAI Papers; Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma, MD,* 333–37.

25. See D. Anthony Tyeeme Clark, "At the Headwaters of a Twentieth-Century 'Indian Political Agenda': Rethinking the Origins of the Society of American Indians," in *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900*, ed. Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 71, 76–84. Clark records that several other Native-run groups were formed in the early twentieth century, the Brotherhood of North American Indians and the Indian Memorial Association among them. Also see Steven Crum, "Almost Invisible: The Brotherhood of North American Indians (1911) and the League of North American Indians (1935)," *Wíčazo Ša Review* 21, no. 1 (2006): 43–59.

26. Christopher L. Nicholson, "To *Advance* a *Race*: A *Historical Analysis* of the *Intersection* of *Personal Belief, Industrial Philanthropy* and *Black Liberal Arts Higher Education* in *Fayette* McKenzie's *Presidency* at *Fisk University, 1915–1925," PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2011,* 62–63.

27. Thomas Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton University Press, 2017), xxi, 121, 152.

28. Daniel Folkmar, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing House, 1911), 77–78.

29. See Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation." *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 3 (June 1997): 465–80, https://doi.org/10.2307/2657316.

30. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 37.

31. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 65, 73.

32. For a brief discussion of Chatterjee see Frederick E. Hoxie, "Denouncing America's Destiny," *Cultural and Social History* 9, no. 4 (2012): 563–64, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2752/147800412X13434063754526.

33. Program of the American Indian Association, 1911, SAI Papers.

34. For the theoretical subtext of this analysis see Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1,053–60, https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376.

35. Marie L. Baldwin, "Modern Home Making and the Indian Woman," *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington, DC: 1912), 58–67.

36. Ibid.

37. Laura M. Cornelius, "Industrial Organization for the Indian," *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington, DC: 1912), 43–55.

38. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 73.

39. "Statement of Purpose," 1912, SAI Papers.

40. See, for instance, Parker to Baldwin, February 21, 1912, SAI Papers. The letter discusses the forthcoming conference proceedings from the Columbus meeting. Baldwin had sent Parker a photograph of her father for inclusion in the publication.

41. Parker to Baldwin, September 7, 1912, SAI Papers.

42. See Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 75; Parker to Baldwin, November 9, 1912, SAI Papers. Parker asked Baldwin to recruit members and collect membership fees.

43. See Parker to Baldwin, November 1, 1912, SAI Papers.

44. Parker to Baldwin, November 9, 1912, SAI Papers.

45. Baldwin to Parker, September 6, 1913; Parker to Baldwin, September 19, 1913, SAI Papers.

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46. Baldwin to Parker, September 6, 1913, SAI Papers. Baldwin could not participate in the 1913 Denver conference because she had two law exams. She nonetheless hoped that the conference would be a "glorious success."

47. See Maddox, *Citizen Indians*, 193. The quotation is taken from a letter by Parker to J. N. B. Hewitt, dated August 30, 1913.

48. Baldwin to Parker, November 18, 1913, SAI Papers.

49. *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Philadelphia: 1893), 134.

50. Baldwin to Parker, November 18, 1913, SAI Papers.

51. Waggoner, *Firelight*, 220.

52. For some theoretical insight into Baldwin's behavior and views, see Bonilla-Silva, "Rethinking Racism," 465, 469, 474, 475–77. Bonilla-Silva discusses how within racialized social systems the ideological structure determines negative racial stereotypes and create racial hierarchies. Drawing on Bonilla-Silva, we see how Baldwin considered the subjugation of African Americans normal and her views rational, based on the interests of Indians and whites alike. She met perceived threats to this order with virulence.

53. Baldwin to Parker, November 18, 1913, SAI Papers.

54. See Maddox, *Indian Citizens*, 75; *Waggoner*, *Firelight*, 199.

55. Parker to Baldwin, August 25, 1914, SAI Papers.

56. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 74.

57. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 126–28.

58. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 76. Baldwin's speech was entitled "What the Indian Woman Has to Say for Her Race."

59. Baldwin to S. A. R. Brown, January 20, 1915, SAI Papers.

60. Baldwin, "Jean Baptiste Bottineau (1837–1911)."

61. Quoted in Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 74–78.

62. See Parker to Baldwin, August 24, 1915, SAI Papers.

63. See Parker to Baldwin, August 24, 1915, SAI Papers. This letter is addressed to Baldwin, who was then receiving her mail in Chicago. Parker refers to her "journey" and lists eleven talking points to enumerate to potential SAI members, whom he calls "old Indians."

64. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 137.

65. Philip Gordon to Parker, January 8, 1915; Parker to Gordon, May 18, 1915, SAI Papers.

66. Parker to Baldwin, October 18, 1915, SAI Papers.

67. Parker to Fellow Member, April 1916, SAI Papers.

68. "Open Debate on the Loyalty of Indian Employees in the Indian Service," *American Indian Magazine* 3, no. 4 (Fall 1916): 252–56.

69. Carlos Montezuma, "Let My People Go," *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 4, no. 1 (January–March 1916): 32–33.

70. "Open Debate on the Loyalty of Indian Employees in the Indian Service," 252–56.

71. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 147.

72. Philip Gordon to Marie Baldwin, May 2, 1917, SAI Papers. No evidence exits that Baldwin bore Montezuma any ill-will after Cedar Rapids.

73. "Newspaper Comment: Leading Indian Suffragist," *American Indian Magazine* 3–4 (1916–16): 268–69.

74. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 153.

75. Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power*, 11–13, 48, 50–64, 107.

76. Bonnin to Parker, December 7, 1916, SAI Papers.

77. Bonnin to Parker, December 21, 1916. SAI Papers.

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78. Parker to Baldwin, February 27, 1917, SAI Papers.

79. Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power,* 119.

80. Baldwin to Parker, June 2, 1917, SAI Papers. Baldwin even tried to prejudice Parker against Bonnin, intimating disingenuously that Bonnin had reached out to Laura Cornelius Kellogg, whom Parker had famously ejected from the Society for alleged immorality: "I heard at Carlisle that the SAI is trying to be nice to Mrs. Kellogg. She told this to her cousin who is head nurse and in charge of the hospital at Carlisle Indian School. Mrs. Bonnin asked me soon after she came to Washington, where Mrs. Kellogg is. Can it be that these two things combined mean something?" Also see Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 75.

81. Bonnin to Richard Henry Pratt, September 4, 1917, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

82. Bonnin to Parker, June 2, 1917, SAI Papers.

83. Bonnin to Parker, ca September 1917, SAI Papers.

84. See Parker to Bonnin, September 14, 1917; Parker to Baldwin, October 2, 1917, SAI Papers. Parker begins the letter: "It is so long since I have heard from you I fear you will have to search your memory to recall me. However, I shall trust to your Indian powers of recollection."

85. Parker to Baldwin, January 26, 1918, SAI Papers.

86. Parker to Baldwin, August 27, 1918, SAI Papers.

87. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 172.

88. Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power,* 130.

89. Parker to Bonnin, July 11, 1918, SAI Papers.

90. See Bonnin to Parker, October 3, 1918, SAI Papers.

91. Bonnin to Gordon, October 14, 1918, Montezuma Papers.

92. Bonnin to Montezuma, December 6, 1918, Montezuma Papers.

93. "Service Record Card," Baldwin Personnel File, National Records Center.

94. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 82.

95. Waggoner, *Firelight,* 304n42.

96. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 68, 71, 82.

97. Bonnin to Parker, November 23, 1917, SAI Papers.

98. See Julianne Newmark, "Pluralism, Place, and Gertrude Bonnin's Counternativism from Utah to Washington, D.C.," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (2012): 345, https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.36.3.0318.

99. Waggoner, *Firelight,* 197–99.

100. Thomas Constantine Maroukis, "The Peyote Controversy and the Demise of the Society of American Indians," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 and *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3, "The Society of American Indians and Its Legacies" (2013): 159–80, https://doi.org/10.5250/studamerindilite.25.2.0161.

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