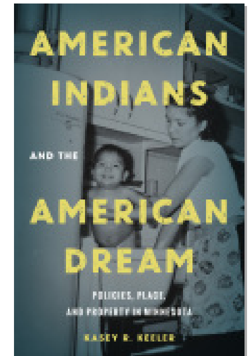
# Chapter 1. Land of Loss and Survival: The Homestead Act of 1862 and the U.S.-Dakota War

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# 1

# LAND OF LOSS AND SURVIVAL
## THE HOMESTEAD ACT OF 1862 AND THE U.S.–DAKOTA WAR

> The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State. . . . They must be regarded and treated as outlaws. If any shall escape extinction, the wretched remnant must be driven beyond our borders and our frontier garrisoned with force sufficient to ever prevent their return.
>
> —GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, September 9, 1862

> [The Homestead Act] is one of the most successful endeavors in American history, causing the great land rush to the Wild West. . . . Abraham Lincoln's Homestead Act empowered people, it freed people from the burden of poverty. It freed them to control their own destinies, to create their own opportunities, and live the vision of the American dream.
>
> —PRESIDENT GEORGE H. W. BUSH, November 28, 1990

In 1788, Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ, a Bdewákhaŋthuŋ Dakota woman, was born near the confluence of the Mnísota Wakpá (Minnesota River) and Wakpá Tháŋka (Mississippi River). Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ—or Runs for Huckleberries Woman, as her name translates—married Mázasagye (Iron Cane) and had several children together, including their son Thaópi (His Many Wounds). Only a handful of Euro-American explorers had passed through the area when Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ was a young girl, growing up at Kap'óža, today known as Little Crow's or Kaposia village, along



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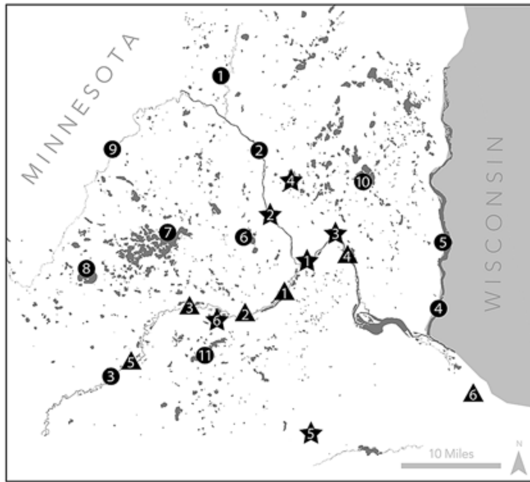
Wakpá Tháŋka, just south of present-day downtown Saint Paul. During the early nineteenth century, over four hundred Dakota people lived at Kap'óža, a well-developed village with frame buildings, large bark homes, established methods of food preservation, and well-tuned labor and social systems based on gender roles. The Bdewákhaŋthuŋ community who lived here remained at this village site and nearby areas along the Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka until 1851. Through the 1851 Treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux, signed just days prior, near present-day Saint Peter, Minnesota, the Bdewákhaŋthuŋ, Waȟpékhute, Sisíthuŋ, and Waȟpéthuŋ bands of Dakota were forced to leave their homelands. As a result of these treaties, Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ and her family, along with other Dakota, were removed to a reservation near the Lower Sioux Indian Agency, located near present-day Morton, Minnesota, in 1853.

One decade later, in the summer of 1862, Thaópi, who was born at Kap'óža, spoke out in opposition to the simmering U.S.–Dakota War. During the war, Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ cared for many of the non-Native settler women and children who were captured by the Dakota, and Thaópi worked to protect captives. Both Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ and Thaópi were perceived to be assimilated by the non-Native settler community, a classification that likely spared their family from death during the war and the brutalities inflicted on Dakota during the forced removal by settlers, military, and government officials. In fact, Thaópi received a certificate of commendation from Henry Sibley, a clear indication that he was considered by many non-Natives to be a civilized man. After the war, Thaópi's family was allowed to remain in the state on land owned by Alexander Faribault, south of the Twin Cities. Eventually Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ and her husband would make their way back to the area of her birth and early life, near Saint Paul. It is here that Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ, today more commonly recognized in historical writing and local lore as Old Bets or Old Betsy, and her family would face the rapid influx of non-Native settlers to the region head-on.[1] As Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ, Thaópi, and their family remind us, despite the history of removal and exile of Dakota, Ojibwe, and Ho-Chunk people throughout the nineteenth century, Native people remained in what was to soon become the Twin Cities. The story of Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ and Thaópi underscores the resiliency of Indigenous people in Minnesota Territory and, later, the state of Minnesota throughout the nineteenth century—a story that is

often lost, forgotten, untold, and hidden under the violence of removal, war, and exile across a place long known as Mnísota Makhóčhe.

This family narrative represents the hundreds, and eventually thousands, of Native people who would not be left behind or excluded from the swift development and growth of towns, cities, and suburbs along the Mnísota Wakpá, Wakpá Tháŋka, Ókhižu Wakpá (Saint Croix River), and Wakpá Wakháŋ (Rum River) valleys during the final decades of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. In fact, despite the well-worn narratives of colonization, war, and dispossession, handfuls and pockets of Dakota and Ojibwe were able to remain in their traditional homelands, and they continued to claim and reclaim the ever-changing landscape as their own. This chapter focuses on the crucial years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the aftermath of the U.S.–Dakota War unraveled and gave way to sweeping transfers of land through the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railway Act, and the Morrill Act, all of 1862. Taken together, the war and federally subsidized land transfers worked in tandem to remake Indian places into white settler communities. It is this time period, between 1862 and the first decade of the twentieth century, that witnessed the supposed founding of a plethora of new, non-Native villages as more and more Indian land was stripped from tribal hands and opened up for settlement and development. Therefore, during this relatively early temporal window, the nascent suburbanization of the Twin Cities began. It is also in this region, the Twin Cities, where non-Native settlers reimagined and remade Indian places as their own, as they literally and figuratively inscribed their names across place, through the process of "firsting and lasting."[2] Yet the remaking of place by non-Native settlers would not diminish the centrality of place and belonging for Native people.

The suburbs of Minneapolis and Saint Paul have lengthy and well-documented Indigenous histories that have long been ignored, overlooked, and written over by dominant society—white settler community members and scholars alike. Ojibwe historian Jean O'Brien affirms this when she reminds us that the written narrative, through place-based histories, has significantly contributed to the erasure of American Indian people from place.[3] In fact, the written record has maintained a near exclusive focus on non-Native settlers, to the exclusion of Native people and other people of color. Indigenous histories and claims to space, as




**Wičhóthi - Villages**

1 Thitháŋka Thaŋnína
"Penichon Village"
2 Oháŋska
"Black Dog Village"
3 Thíŋta Othúŋwe
"Shakopee Village"
4 Kap'óža
"Little Crow Village"
5 Wiyáka Othídaŋ
"Sandbar Village"
6 Ȟemníčhaŋ
"Red Wing Village"

**Ohé Wakháŋ - Sacred Places**

1 Bdóte
Creation Origin Site
2 Owámniyomni
"St. Anthony Falls"
3 Wakháŋ Thípi
"Carver Cave"
4 Bdé Wakháŋthuŋ
"Long Lake" - 1700s Village
5 Íŋyaŋ Bosdáta
"Castle Rock"
6 Makhá Yušóša
"Boiling Springs"

**Bdé k'a Wakpá - Lakes and Rivers**

1 Wakpá Wakháŋ
"Rum River"
2 Wakpá Tháŋka
"Mississippi River"
3 Mnísota Wakpá
"Minnesota River"
4 Ókhižu Wakpá
"St. Croix River"
5 Hoǧáŋ Waŋké Kiŋ
"St. Croix Lake"
6 Bdé Makhá Ská
"Bde Maka Ska"
7 Mní Iá Tháŋka
"Lake Minnetonka"
8 Bdé Wakhóniya
"Lake Waconia"
9 Khaŋǧí Wakpá
"Crow River"
10 Mathó Bdé
"White Bear Lake"
11 Bdé Mayá Thó
"Prior Lake"

Map 2. Dakota places located throughout the Twin Cities, with place-names and English translations. Map by Katherine Koehler with Dakota places and place-names by Dawí Huhá Máza.

simple or complex as they may be, have been disrupted, erased, and, in many cases, denied by those who write history.

The assaults on Indian people, particularly those in Minnesota, throughout the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century have been well documented. However, the profound ability of American Indian people to remain present in and return to Indian places throughout southern Minnesota has remained largely ignored in popular and scholarly writings. Often, these Indian people worked as farmers

and laborers while others relied on more traditional sources of livelihood, including fishing, hunting, trapping, and mitten and moccasin making, all the while adapting to a changing environment and living alongside increasing numbers of white settler families. While considerable forces worked to break apart American Indian communities, including military campaigns like the U.S.–Dakota War and the exile that resulted, a forced program of assimilation, and the denial of treaty rights, many Indian individuals and families remained together, working and often living in intergenerational homes. The movement of Indian people, as observed in census data, from and across Indian places like Kap'óža and into spaces that were becoming increasingly white, like Saint Paul, suggests a level of mobility among Indian people that has been ignored during this period. The presence of Indian people in southern Minnesota from such areas as Canada and Maine, in tandem with Dakota and Ojibwe peoples' continuous presence in the face of dispossession, removal, war, and exile, forces us to reconsider what an Indian place truly is.

Indeed, Native people have always lived across the entirety of Mnísota Makhóčhe. Of the Dakota who were able to remain in the state after the U.S.–Dakota War, many were protected and sheltered by white Christian families. Other Dakotas, including those who had served as scouts for the United States Army during and after the war, were allowed to stay on land owned by Henry Sibley in Mendota and on land owned by Bishop Henry Whipple and Alexander Faribault in what would become Faribault, Minnesota.[4] Yet many more Dakota were able to remain in the state, some by hiding or passing as white, and still others remained who put distance between themselves and the Mnísota Wakpá valley, often more supposedly assimilated Dakota. The survival of Dakota people in their homelands after removal, war, and exile in addition to the simultaneous and dramatic influx of non-Native settlers and their continued expansion, through policies like the Homestead Act, underscores the reality that these spaces within and around the Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka valleys were, and remained, inherently Indian places despite the numerous forces that have worked to remake the region.

This chapter begins with a brief and basic overview of the lead-up to the U.S.–Dakota War. Then, I shift focus to the aftermath of the war, which very much continues to reverberate across the landscape today.

I consider the ways the U.S.–Dakota War was representative of the more expansive federal Indian policies of this era, policies that centered on military violence, conquest, and Indigenous dispossession. Next, I examine the ways federal policies, specifically the Homestead Act of 1862, worked as a tool to promote and advance Native dispossession across not only Minnesota but the whole western portion of the United States, across portions of the U.S. South, the Midwest, and Alaska. It is my contention that the Homestead Act must be viewed as a precursor to more familiar housing policies that took shape during the twentieth century. In many ways, the Homestead Act has grounded subsequent housing policies that have largely centered on access to homes and homeownership for some, but not all, based on race. Indeed, the Homestead Act was a significant land-based policy that opened vast swaths of Native land across the U.S. West to non-Native, overwhelmingly white settlers who hoped to claim land and build homes on the seemingly open prairie. Together, the Homestead Act and the U.S.–Dakota War must be considered federal policies that, though managed from Washington, were carried out on the ground in Minnesota. The efforts and results of each were to sever Native ties to land while simultaneously allowing for, encouraging, and supporting white settlement across Minnesota. This chapter ends with resistance. I center the many ways and many Native people who remained in the Twin Cities despite the efforts of policy makers, settlers, and military campaigns to remove them. To do so, I offer a close reading of local, place-based histories and a detailed analysis of U.S. Census data to reveal the complex interplay of Indigenous dispossession, first through the U.S.–Dakota War and then through the Homestead Act, and the multilayered stories of Native presence across Indian places that we now know as the Twin Cities.

## Treaties, Land Loss, and the U.S.–Dakota War

By the mid-nineteenth century, the landscape and demography of Minnesota were undergoing dramatic change. The unparalleled settlement of non-Native persons on land made available by treaty with Native nations coincided with the removal of thousands of Ojibwe and Dakota people from the southern and central regions of Minnesota Territory. Eventually, as was the case for thousands of Dakota people, removal would

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tragically turn to exile. Though the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862 has received much local attention, and rightly so, we must not overlook what was unfolding during the first half of the same century. To make sense of the magnitude of the U.S.–Dakota War and the ensuing exile, we must have a solid understanding of the events that led up to the spring and summer of 1862 along Mnísota Wakpá, and we must be able to place it within a larger, national narrative. To not consider the significance of this larger and longer history is to deny the dispossession and ongoing colonial violence that is settler colonialism.

Though European explorers, missionaries, fur trappers, and traders had long traversed Mnísota Makhóčhe during the eighteenth century, tracing the shores of Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka, few would establish long-term settlement in the region. This changed in 1805 when Zebulon Pike, an agent of the U.S. Army, arrived at the confluence of Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka. Pike's supposed major accomplishment here was his treaty negotiation that secured approximately one hundred thousand acres of land, above the river bluffs, for construction of a military fort. Though this marked the first treaty in what is now known as Minnesota, this transaction remains contested as the treaty was not authorized prior to the arrangement, nor did it receive official presidential proclamation by President Thomas Jefferson.[5] Construction on Fort Saint Anthony, as it remained until 1825 when its name was changed to Fort Snelling, began in 1820 and was completed under the direction of Colonel Josiah Snelling in 1825.[6] Occupying the bluff that overlooks the confluence of the two rivers, Fort Snelling was the westernmost fort on the settler frontier at the time of its construction. This military fort was geographically significant as it was a way for the federal government to regulate not only the fur trade, a booming multi-million-dollar business at the time, but also American Indian bodies. In addition to the military fort, an Indian agency was also constructed—Saint Peters Indian Agency, located just outside the fort's stone walls. The first Indian agent at Fort Snelling, Lawrence Taliaferro, was stationed there between 1820 and 1839. Taliaferro served as the diplomatic face of the federal government in interactions with local Dakota and Ojibwe.

It is no coincidence that the same year construction on the fort was complete, the Treaty of Prairie du Chien was negotiated and signed

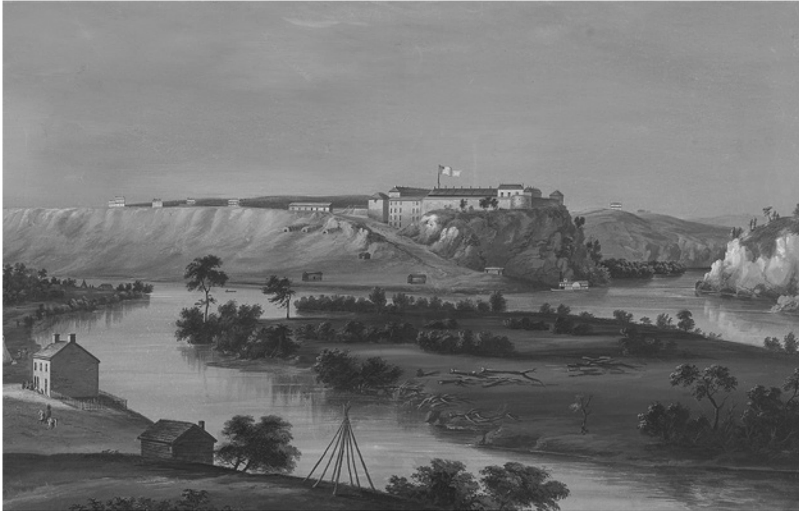

Figure 2. View of Fort Snelling, looking north, from the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers (near the present-day Sibley Historic Site). Painting by John Caspar Wild, circa 1844. Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.

just downriver from Fort Snelling. This 1825 treaty set boundaries on tribal land long held by Dakota, Ojibwe, Menominee, Ho-Chunk, Sac and Fox, Iowa, Potawatomi, and Odawa as homelands in a federal effort to further regulate Native space and the movement of Native bodies. Then, twelve years later, in July 1837, Ojibwe from across the region convened at Fort Snelling for the purpose of yet another treaty negotiation. Here, they would cede over twelve million acres of their land between Wakpá Tháŋka and Ókhižu Wakpá. Only two months later, in September 1837, a delegation of Bdewákhaŋthuŋ Dakota traveled to Washington, D.C., where they too were coerced into a treaty that relinquished their triangle of land between Wakpá Tháŋka and Ókhižu Wakpá. These treaties of 1837 were soon followed by the Treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux, both of 1851, when the Dakota ceded virtually all of their land that covered the entire southern portion of Mnísota Makhóčhe to the federal government. It was also during this time frame that the Ojibwe in this region were removed to designated reservation lands in the northern tier of the state. The federal government's efforts to remove Native people from the southern half of Minnesota were made nearly

complete when the Dakota were removed to a small tract of reservation land in the western portion of the state.[7]

It is to this backdrop of dramatic and rapid land loss, largely coercive in nature and based on one-sided, heavy-handed treaties that many tribes felt pressured into, that the U.S.–Dakota War unfolded. The history of the U.S.–Dakota War has been well examined, especially over the last decade and a half, by Dakota scholars and community members who have sought to write and right the historical narrative from an inclusive and Dakota perspective.[8] Rather, my focus here is the years and decades that followed the war and the violent separation of so many Indian people, Dakota, Ojibwe, and Ho-Chunk, from their homes and tribal lands. In the immediate aftershock of the U.S.–Dakota War, Indian policy in Minnesota changed dramatically and rapidly. Noncombatant Dakota women, children, and elders were force-marched along Mnísota Wakpá from the western and southern portions of the state to the river bottoms just below Fort Snelling, at Pike Island, during the fall of 1862. Approximately 1,600 Dakota were held in rudimentary stockades between November 1862 and May 1863 under the watchful eye of the military stationed above at Fort Snelling. Approximately one-quarter of those who arrived at Fort Snelling that fall did not survive the military concentration camp they were held in. Meanwhile, Dakota men who remained in the region were immediately rounded up by military and settlers alike. Over 390 civilian Dakota men were placed on military trial for war crimes. When their rapid-succession sham trials were complete, some lasting only minutes, 303 Dakota men, who were convicted for participation in the war based on shoddy evidence and unreliable witness testimony, were sentenced to death by hanging. Then, in the midst of the Civil War and half a continent away, President Abraham Lincoln was called on to review the trial transcripts. In doing so, he single-handedly reduced the number to be sentenced to death, while simultaneously giving his full knowledge, permission, and the go-ahead for thirty-nine Dakota men to be hanged. On December 26, 1862, thirty-eight Dakota men were hanged at Mankato. One of the convicted men was granted a last-minute reprieve just moments prior, sparing his life. This remains the largest mass execution in U.S. history. The brutality and death would not end here.

Swift action against the Dakota and other Indian people in Minnesota would continue. On February 16, 1863, Congress passed legislation

Map 3. Locations of Mankato, Fort Snelling, and Pike Island, where Dakota survivors of the U.S.–Dakota War were force-marched following the war. Map by Katherine Koehler.

to "abrogate and annul" all treaties that had been made with Dakota in Minnesota. The act stated the following as justification for termination of all Dakota treaties within Minnesota: "Aforesaid bands of Indians made an unprovoked, aggressive, and most savage war upon the United States, and massacred a large number of men, women, and children within the State of Minnesota, and destroyed and damaged a large amount of property, and thereby have forfeited all just claims to the said moneys and annuities to the United States."[9] This treaty abrogation included the elimination of Dakota reservation lands within the state. Soon after, on February 21, 1863, the Ho-Chunk were also dealt the war's

Figure 3. One of the few remaining photographs of the concentration camp just below Fort Snelling that held Dakota survivors of the U.S.–Dakota War. Photograph by Benjamin Franklin Upton; image created by Edward A. Bromley. Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.

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aftershocks as Congress passed the Act for the Removal of the Winnebago Indians and for the Sale of Their Reservation in Minnesota for Their Benefit.[10] This even though the Winnebago, today more accurately known as the Ho-Chunk, did not participate in the U.S.–Dakota War. Yet their neutrality did not spare them their land in Minnesota, and in April 1863, the Ho-Chunk were notified that they were being moved to Crow Creek in South Dakota. One month later, in May 1863, under military escort, the Ho-Chunk were removed from their reservation in southern Minnesota along the Mnísota Wakpá to a new parcel of land in South Dakota. Over five hundred Ho-Chunk died during this forced removal and relocation.

The removal of Ho-Chunk from the state of Minnesota coincided with the Act for the Removal of the Sisseton, Wahpaton, Medawakanton, and Wahpakoota Bands of Sioux or Dakota Indians and for the Disposition of Their Lands in Minnesota and Dakota on March 3, 1863.[11] Then, in May 1863, the Dakota women, children, and elders who had been held at Fort Snelling over the winter were forced to leave their

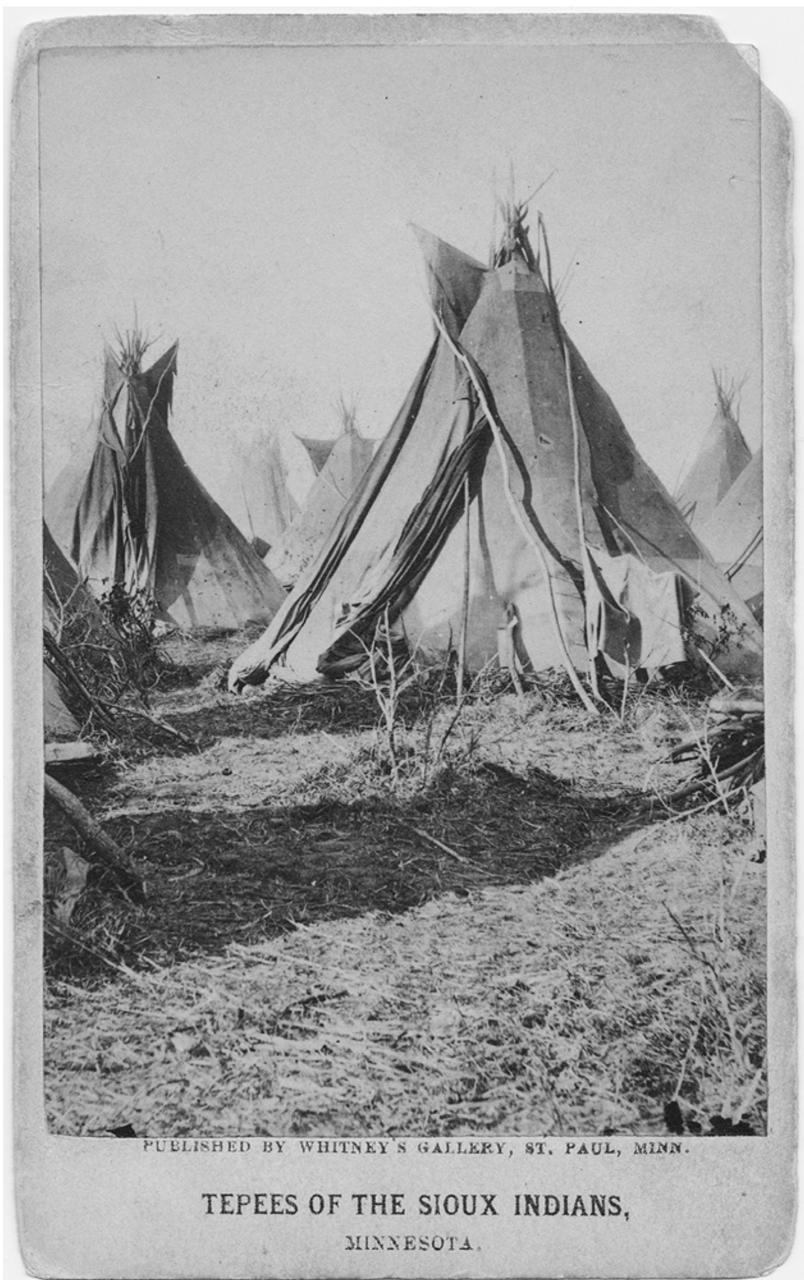


Figure 4. Photograph of Dakota tipis within the concentration camp that held Dakota survivors of the U.S.–Dakota War during the winter of 1862–63. Photograph by Whitney's Gallery. Courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.

homelands for Crow Creek. Large boats transported the Dakota women, children, and elders down Wakpá Tháŋka and then up the Missouri River to what became their new reservation. The Dakota men who had been held as prisoners over the winter also left the state of Minnesota in the spring of 1863. These 265 Dakota men were similarly loaded onto steamers and transported to Camp McClellan in Davenport, Iowa. Dakota men and women were not reunited as families and communities for four years. Together, these actions and policies of elimination and exile allowed for continued and unbridled non-Native settlement across what has long been Dakota homelands. The U.S.–Dakota War has since come to mark the violent stripping of Native bodies from their homelands. Though we must trace and examine a longer history of Indigenous dispossession in this region through treaties, the war and exile remind us of the violence of settler colonialism, past and present. Indeed, it was settlers and politicians alike who claimed land that was not theirs for the taking.

## 1862: The Homestead Act, the Morrill Act, and the Pacific Railway Act

The U.S.–Dakota War and exile did not exist in a vacuum. Rather, at the national level and in addition to the Civil War, there was much policy change and development that was largely intended to fund war efforts and to extend the reach of the Union. This includes the Homestead Act, signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862, only weeks before the outset of violence on the Minnesota prairie. The Homestead Act is widely accepted and recognized as pivotal legislation that opened millions of acres of land across the western half of the United States, virtually for free, for white settlement. In addition to the Homestead Act, additional major land redistribution programs—the Pacific Railway Act and the Morrill Act—were passed within weeks of one another, each with a similar objective. Significantly and revealingly, each of these three major land programs were funded with so-called public land with the objective to redistribute this land as a means of generating financial resources for a financially struggling nation at war, a nation that continued to push westward expansion and freedom for some but not all.[12]

Not long after the Homestead Act became official policy, President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Pacific Railway Act on July 1, 1862, "to promote settlement and to boost construction of railways and telegraph lines."[13] A means of U.S. expansionism, the Pacific Railway Act authorized land grants to the Union Pacific Railroad, running west from the Missouri River, and the Central Pacific Railroad, running east from Sacramento, in their efforts to complete a transcontinental railroad. The act, which relied virtually entirely on public land, "granted the railroads public lands in alternate sections along their routes upon completion of a specified number of miles," as well as a two-hundred-foot right-of-way from the side of the track.[14] Additionally, the act allowed the railroads to take lumber and stone, as natural resources, from lands within the public land domain along the tracks. In the ensuing years, subsequent railroad acts were passed, and, in total, over 174 million acres of public domain lands were transferred to large railroad companies for their right-of-way access. By May 1869, the transcontinental railroad was complete, bringing the East and West Coasts together. The railroad was now a vehicle to move bodies and ideologies of civilization, assimilation, and development.

Only one day after the Pacific Railway Act became law, the Morrill Act was passed on July 2, 1862. The Morrill Act, sponsored by Senator Justin Morrill of Vermont, transferred millions of acres of public domain lands to colleges and universities that have become known as land-grant institutions. The act granted each state thirty thousand acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress. Each of the fifty states, as well as Washington, D.C., soon became recipients of the Morrill Act land grants to establish new colleges and universities. Additionally, the Morrill Act has subsequently been used across U.S. territorial possessions such as Guam, American Samoa, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Northern Mariana Islands to establish land-grant institutions. The College of Micronesia was also established with Morrill Act funding. The land that was used to fund the land-grant system was the very same land that tribal nations and Indigenous peoples had all too recently been dispossessed of, from coast to coast. It was this land, stolen land, that would go on to fund institutions of higher education and establish university and college endowments, to the tune of billions of dollars over the next century and a half. In part, the Morrill Act stated:

> That all moneys derived from the sale of lands aforesaid by the States to which the land are appropriated, and from the sales of land scrip hereinbefore provided for, shall be invested in stocks of the United States . . . not yielding less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks; and that money so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished . . . to the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be . . . to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.[15]

In sum, the Morrill Act acquired so-called public land via land seizure and treaty from 245 tribal nations across the United States.[16] In Minnesota, over 1.2 million acres of Dakota land was distributed under the Morrill Act. An additional 53,738 acres of Ojibwe land in Minnesota was used for Morrill Act land parcels.[17] The University of Minnesota benefited from 94,631 acres of Native land and earned over $579,000 by land sales, a return on investment 251 times greater than the $2,309 paid for said land.[18]

The aims of the Morrill Act, to fund colleges and universities, must not be overlooked. From the passage above, drawn directly from the Morrill Act legislation, we know that beyond the sale of public land to fund institutions of higher education, the specific intent of those colleges and universities was to "teach such branches of learning as related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."[19] Of course, agriculture and agricultural education had long been cornerstones of the assimilationists, objectives of federal Indian policy. Therefore, the Morrill Act, established and sustained on Indian dispossession, is ironic in the most unfortunate of ways. Euro-American systems of land use and management, including agriculture, had been forced upon tribal communities and individual Indian people as markers of assimilation, as prerequisites for participation in new, supposedly American civic life. Yet, when desire for land grew and non-Native settlement expanded, these same Native people would be dispossessed of their land through legal and manipulative means and removed to smaller and smaller reservations, where the same pressures of agricultural production remained under the watchful gaze of

Bureau of Indian Affairs agents. It was this same land, once transferred out of Indian hands, that was now considered public land—land that Native bodies had only recently been stripped from—that helped fund the creation and maintenance of colleges and universities to teach agriculture as a valuable trade for the benefit of predominantly white students. Native students would not be given this opportunity; rather, this opportunity was closed off from them as they were removed to reservations. Educational opportunities for non-Natives were built off the backs of American Indians.[20] Taken together, the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railway Act, and the Morrill Act—each passed within weeks of one another during the Civil War as outstretched arms of Indigenous dispossession—mark the first time anywhere in the world a nation so thoroughly and broadly committed to such scale the resources (land and money) for the purpose of settlement and higher education.[21]

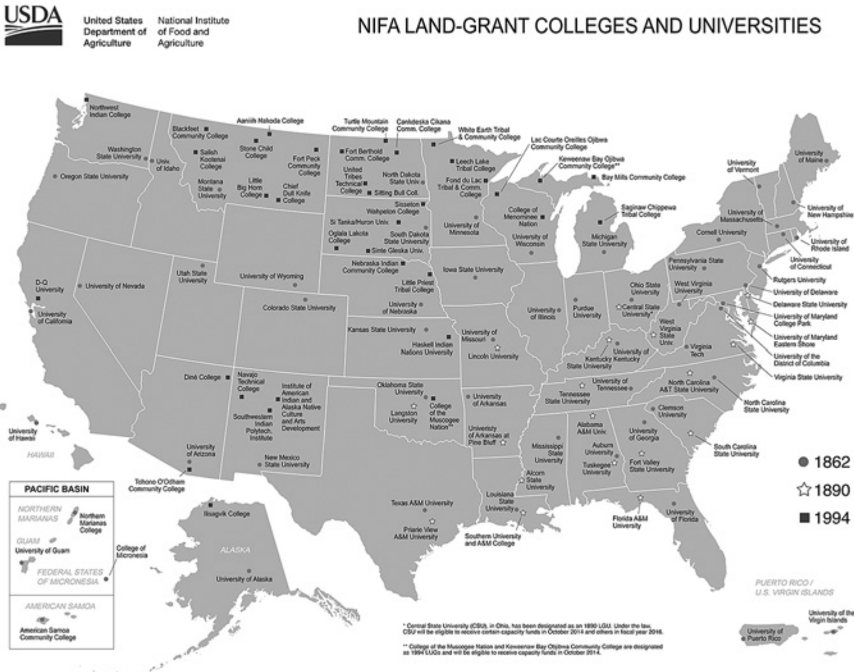


Figure 5. Locations of land-grant universities, funded through the 1862 Morrill Act, throughout the United States. Courtesy of U.S. Department of Agriculture.

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Together the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railway Act, and the Morrill Act were in many ways the federal government's response to the American public's calls to open so-called public domain lands for purposes of settlement, development, and U.S. expansion. More precisely, the Homestead Act declared:

> That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such . . . who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall . . . be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands . . . at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre.[22]

Indeed, since the United States had achieved independence less than one hundred years prior, its land area had grown vastly from 512 million acres to over 2 billion acres.[23] Land had long been a commodity, and its monetary value and necessity for settlement and expansion purposes only increased during the 1860s when the young nation was at war. The Homestead Act served a relatively simple purpose—to allow would-be settlers a chance to claim land as their own. The act allowed citizens and immigrants who sought U.S. citizenship, ages twenty-one and over, the opportunity to settle up to 160 acres of land, provided they live on it as a "homestead" for a set number of years (generally five), build a home on and farm the land ("proving up" the land), and pay minimal processing fees. Interestingly, despite a heavy reliance on citizenship, the Homestead Act did not lay out stipulations around race.[24]

Yet, in reality, the Homestead Act contributed to the dispossession of millions of acres of land that tribal nations, from coast to coast, had already lost to dubious treaty negotiations and encroaching settlers. In Minnesota, as the aftermath of the U.S.–Dakota War made clear, Native bodies would not stand in the way of white settlement, and the Homestead Act simply could not exist without the dispossession of Native peoples. The Homestead Act, which existed as a land-based federal policy until 1974 (1986 in Alaska), ushered in white settlement; those settlers, or homesteaders, went on to claim approximately 270 million

acres of land across thirty states. During the Homestead Act's 123 years of existence, four million land claims were made, with over 50 percent of homesteaders proving successful. In Minnesota, there were over eighty-five thousand homesteads, representing a total of nearly 10.4 million acres of land. In total, homestead settlers in Minnesota claimed and took as their own 20 percent of the state's entire land base. This is significantly more than Minnesota's neighbors to the south and east (in Wisconsin 3.1 million acres and in Iowa 900,000 acres were settled under the Homestead Act). However, to the west of Minnesota, even more public land was usurped by eager settlers, with 17.4 million acres claimed under the Homestead Act in North Dakota and 15.6 million acres settled in South Dakota.[25]

The Homestead Act has become a defining piece of land-based legislation, outlining what settlement, landownership, and housing should and would look like, and who it was available to, for decades and centuries to come. In fact, the Homestead Act must be considered an early housing policy, a federal policy that set the tone for federal housing programs and policies that were to come. As such, these policies dictated who had access to land and property, who had access to financial resources, including mortgages, who had access to single-family dwellings, and who had access to homeownership. It is here, then, that we must look to understand the complexity and entanglement of property or landownership and whiteness or race, a theme that runs through the entirety of this book, as it is represented and revealed in the Homestead Act.

If we consider the Homestead Act as an early federal housing policy, we are able to peel back the layers to look at the relationship between so-called civilization, property or landownership (commonly understood as settlement), housing, and citizenship as they existed in the 1860s. Civilization and assimilation had long been objectives of federal Indian policy. When Thomas Jefferson exalted the supposed virtues of private property and farming nearly a century prior, efforts had long been made to push Euro-American agriculture on American Indian people. Those who acquiesced to these efforts were deemed civilized, some even acquiring U.S. citizenship along the way. For those who resisted or were removed before such efforts could be made, their land—tribal homelands—was almost always in jeopardy. A prime example of this is the Removal Act

in the Southeast and the designation of the Five Civilized Tribes. Citizenship hinged on assimilation and agriculture, with those deemed more assimilated or civilized able to hold onto their land longer. The Homestead Act made clear the linkage between landownership and citizenship. The act was initially only available to U.S. citizens and immigrants, primarily from Europe, who sought U.S. citizenship and desired to establish a home. At the same time, very few Native people had access to U.S. citizenship, as citizenship was closely tied to American Indians' degree of assimilation. Throughout the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, citizenship was granted to American Indian individuals primarily on a piecemeal and individual basis, largely revolving around their degree of perceived assimilation. It was not until 1924 that the Indian Citizenship Act was passed and U.S. citizenship theoretically became available to all American Indian people.[26] Therefore, the Homestead Act was largely closed off to Native peoples as noncitizens.[27] It was the precise disenfranchisement of American Indian people that allowed for the settlement of public lands—once Indian lands—through the Homestead Act. In essence, and as a double standard, American Indians had to prove they were "American enough" through assimilation to keep or own land while immigrants were given land and the ability to claim "Americanness" by working the (Indian) land and building a home on the government's dime.

Not only was access to the Homestead Act limited by citizenship status, but it also reaffirmed and cemented the relationship between citizenship and property (land) ownership. If we consider the basics of the Homestead Act as who has control or access to land, the federal government deliberately excluded some while including others. American Indians, who were not yet U.S. citizens, were closed off from individual property or landownership through the Homestead Act. American Indians, as noncitizens, were also read as nonwhite and as not capable of owning or managing land, as revealed in the decades-long efforts of assimilation policies and land-based policies designed to strip them of their land—including such policies as the Homestead Act and Allotment. Indeed, the General Allotment Act, only twenty-five years after the Homestead Act, in many ways mirrored the Homestead Act. For American Indian people, Allotment policy was promoted as a way to offer individual parcels of land to Native people with the promise of

eventual U.S. citizenship so long as the Indian allottee could maintain or prove up their allotment. Just like the Homestead Act, Allotment offered 160-acre parcels of land to American Indian adult male heads of household for establishing a home and for agricultural purposes. And unfortunately, just like the Homestead Act, Allotment had the same devastating effects of breaking up tribal land bases while directly contributing to the loss of tribal trust land on reservations.[28] It was the Homestead Act then, where we witness the ways that whiteness hinges on property and the ways property is thus a tool to regulate identity. As Indigenous studies scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson affirms, "white propriety rights were cemented in law through the appropriation of Native American lands and the subsequent enslavement of Africans. . . . As a form of property, whiteness accumulates capital and social appreciation as white people are recognized within the law primarily as property-owning subjects. As such, they are heavily invested in the nation being a white possession."[29] Indeed, the Homestead Act was a mechanism to regulate who had access to land or private property and U.S. identity or belonging.

The citizenship and racial dynamics of the Homestead Act run deep. When the act was passed in the summer of 1862 and signed into law by President Lincoln, it was not the first time the bill had been introduced and explored by Congress. Just three years prior, President James Buchanan vetoed the same bill during his presidency. At the time, Buchanan, who represented the view of many white southerners, feared the Homestead Act would be used to settle lands by those who opposed slavery, already a contentious and long-simmering issue.[30] Indeed, as the Civil War unraveled, the Homestead Act became a means to expand (white) settlement across the nation, thereby securing an antislavery, pro-Union base. Once the Civil War ended, the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 theoretically granted freedmen and freedwomen access to the Homestead Act as well. Though Black people went on to successfully homestead in every state, they did so at significantly lower rates than their white counterparts. Approximately 3,500 Black people successfully claimed land under the Homestead Act, for a total of 650,000 acres.[31] Then, in 1898, the Homestead Act was opened to Asian Americans who were born in the United States, a direct result of the Supreme Court birthright case *United States v. Wong Kim*

*Ark.* However, despite these cases, the Homestead Act remained largely exclusionary.

Less explored than the property and racial dynamics of the Homestead Act are the ways the act worked as an early housing policy. Yet, when closely examined, it becomes clear that the Homestead Act established precedent linking homeownership and citizenship. As discussed above, citizenship has, in many ways, served as a stand-in for race, specifically in thinking about who had access to citizenship and who had access to the Homestead Act. With this in mind, the actual legislation of the Homestead Act made clear that those who claimed a homestead were required to build a residence on their parcel of land. Section 2 of the 1862 Homestead Act states, "for his or her exclusive benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation."[32] Here, we need to consider what "actual settlement" was to mean at the time. By looking to a later section of the act, we are provided more guidance. The act required the homesteader to file an affidavit to change "his or her residence" and to not leave the homestead plot for more than six months at one time.[33] With this information, we know that homesteaders were expected to build a residence or, as we commonly understand today, a home, a place to provide long-term shelter, a place that one returns to.

The act expected would-be homesteaders to prove up the land not only by agricultural or farming means but by building a home on the land and making it their primary and permanent residence. Thus, the Homestead Act provided what many have described as "free land" to build a house and attain homeownership. This is in sharp contrast to the available options for American Indians at the time, who were largely confined to reservations, where the land is held in trust, and with virtually no financial support or incentive for home construction. Though we do know that many American Indians would build family homes on reservation land, those homes did not come with the guarantee of property ownership the way the Homestead Act did. It is precisely the trust status of reservation land that has historically and significantly limited property ownership and homeownership that operates in opposition to the Homestead Act's guarantee of land and house as property.[34] In this way, American Indians were further excluded from the possibility of becoming homeowners on homesteaded land—land that we know today

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is tied to the accumulation of generational wealth. The Homestead Act was not simply about settling land and claiming it as your own; it was about making that land your home.

## Remaining and Returning: Indian Presence in Indian Places

Despite expansive federal Indian policies of the mid- to late nineteenth century, much of which centered on military violence, conquest, and Indigenous dispossession, we know American Indian people sought out creative ways and fought to remain in their homelands, despite what the historical narrative tells us. Though significant land-based federal policies, like the Homestead Act, worked as tools to promote and advance Native dispossession across places like Minnesota to overwhelmingly white settlers, we must remember the Indian people who remained across this landscape. Here, I transition to examine primary-source local histories and federal census data to reveal the Indian people who remained across this landscape, participating in the processes of change, despite policies that specifically worked to remove them.

If focus is given to modes of transportation linking places, self-sufficient economies, and an intentionally arranged residential living pattern as markers of a metropolitan and even suburban environment, then certainly the Dakota and Ojibwe were the first suburbanites in this region, and their stories must not be overlooked and ignored for the larger and more dominant narratives of white settlement. The stories of these Indian people—those who remained in an ever-changing environment, rendered invisible and incomplete by the forces of colonialism, including war, exile, and rapid non-Native settlement—highlight the complexity of a continuous Indian presence, over time, in Indian places that were rapidly reimagined as a white, suburban Twin Cities. Though Indigenous place-names became Americanized and non-Native settlement increased, Dakota, Ojibwe, and other Native people, as well as their families and descendants, who were forced from the southern half of Minnesota, returned, remembered, and reclaimed the land that they have always called home, Mnísota Makhóčhe. The end of this chapter is about those Indian people who remained and returned to an ever-changing landscape, pushing back against and challenging state and federal policies.

Though popular and dominant historical narratives continuously tell us of the "vanishing Indian," Native people were active participants and residents in the development of the Twin Cities as we know them today. Yet, perhaps more significant and revealing than the mere presence of American Indian people on early census documents is that the places where they were located were seemingly, or outwardly perceived to be, white towns and cities. However, when I peel back the layers to reveal Indian peoples' residential, familial, and work patterns, we see that Indian people continued to live as neighbors to one another and that many Indian families also lived in the same place or town for decades. The Indian people who lived in these constantly changing places were employed; some worked as farmers and laborers, while others adjusted to capitalism and found work in industrial jobs. Perhaps even more remarkable are the Indian people whose occupations reflected more traditional sources of income during this era of dramatic assimilation efforts. Those who worked as hunters, fishermen, trappers, and even mitten and moccasin makers did so in an increasingly capitalistic environment, when their land and resources for traditional rounds and sustenance-base activities were also rapidly depleted and shifted hands to new owners. Yet it was this variety of reliable income sources that, according to census record, afforded American Indian individuals and their families to live in "fixed" and "civilized" dwellings, just as their new white neighbors.[35]

In addition to census data, local place-based histories offer a glimpse into the lives of American Indian people in the Twin Cities at the turn of the twentieth century. Edward D. Neill is only one example of a regional place-based history writer of Minnesota. Born in 1823, Neill served as a chancellor at the University of Minnesota and as president of Macalester College in Saint Paul; he was also a Presbyterian minister, serving as a chaplain to Minnesota soldiers during the Civil War. As a scholar, Neill regarded himself as a historian, particularly of colonial America, and gathered an extensive archival collection, including various so-called artifacts and resources on American Indians as well as correspondence with numerous political figures.[36]

Neill wrote a flurry of county-based histories during the 1880s, many of which are considered the first such histories of place; his histories include Washington, Hennepin, Ramsey, and Dakota Counties.[37] Perhaps unsurprisingly, these primary-source, place-based histories obscure

Native histories and claims to space by superseding them with a Euro-American history and claims to space through the process of firsting.[38] Yet the writing of Neill and other white males is representative of scholarly and popular writings of place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in their descriptions of Indian people. In the creation of such narratives, these texts claim to tell an official history and thereby further contribute to the firsting discourse as they work to assert their own nativity to the land itself. It is here that I push back against these erasure narratives that have long been told and retold. Instead, I juxtapose these written narratives alongside census data to document Native people who remained in the region despite federal and state policies that sought to remove them.

Today the suburban bluffs of Mendota overlook both Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka, just across from Fort Snelling, an area long known by the Dakota as Bdóte. It is much smaller both geographically and in terms of population than neighboring Mendota Heights. Mendota is home to the Sibley Historic Site, what was once the American Fur Company post during the fur trade era of the nineteenth century, right along Mnísota Wakpá.[39] The city of Mendota prides itself on its history as beginning "in 1805 when President Thomas Jefferson sent Lt. Zebulon Pike to the upper Mississippi to acquire a site for a fort."[40] Though the American history of Mendota may have begun in 1805 with the signing of a treaty, the Indian history and presence certainly did not end. According to local historical records and common place-based historical narratives, Dakota people have lived in and around Mendota since at least the eighteenth century. However, Dakota oral histories and archaeological evidence suggest an Indigenous presence much earlier. Archaeological evidence, gathered from the Sibley Historic Site at Mendota, documents human habitation of the area during the "Paleoindian, Archaic, Woodland, Late Precontact, Contact and Historic" periods, with over 61,000 items collected, confirming Dakota oral histories.[41] It was in this same area that Euro-American explorers arrived during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and began to transcribe *Bdóte,* the Dakota name for the area that surrounds the mouth of Mnísota Wakpá, to English as *Mendota.* The entirety of Bdóte includes numerous Dakota sacred sites, such as Oȟéyawahe (Pilot Knob), Wakháŋ Thípi (Carver's Cave), and Mní Owe Sni (Coldwater Spring).[42] These Dakota

places increasingly came under American colonial control during the early to mid-nineteenth century as forces of colonialism spread west.

In 1881, Neill wrote of Mendota in his *History of Dakota County* as the site of the first settlement in what is now the state of Minnesota with the "first inhabitation" by "a half-breed Sioux, by the name of Duncan Campbell" in 1826.[43] He recalls that though the area was once inhabited by "Sioux," it "only assumed importance after the building of Fort Snelling" and that its name was "formed from the Sioux word 'mdo-te,' which signifies the junction of two rivers."[44] In Neill's own description of Mendota, he at once confirms an Indian past and presence,

Map 4. Locations of the suburbs discussed in this chapter, each located along riverways. Map by Katherine Koehler.

particularly through Háza Íŋyaŋke Wiŋ, the Dakota woman born there in 1788, the same woman who opens this chapter. Though Neill portrays her as the "last Indian," census data certainly contradicts this claim.[45] The 1880 U.S. Census documented at least twenty Indian people who lived in Mendota, the same geographic area Neill claims is virtually absent of Indian people in 1881.

Not only have Indian people always been present at Mendota, they also actively engaged with the changing economies and worked to maintain cultural ties. According to census records, the Indian people who lived in Mendota at the turn of the twentieth century were involved in various forms of labor, work that varied from keeping house and working as laborers to those who earned money making mittens, hunting, and tanning hides. Importantly, Indian people in Mendota lived as neighbors in homes located next to each other; this is significant because it shows that the American Indian people here were able to maintain community bonds as neighbors. In 1900 and 1910, the Indian people who lived in Mendota included Dakota and Ojibwe people who lived in "fixed," "civilized" dwellings just as their white neighbors.

Shakopee, located along the southern shore of Mnísota Wakpá just before it curves north toward Saint Paul, is home to seven burial mounds, including those in Memorial Park, some dating back two thousand years. Originally home to twenty-nine burial mounds, the burial sites of the Dakota people at this Indian place were gradually destroyed over time as roads and parking lots were constructed and housing and commercial development ensued. The name *Shakopee* is an Anglicization of the name of the Dakota leader Šákpe. Šákpe's village was located along Mnísota Wakpá, near present-day Shakopee, and was known as Thíŋta Othúŋwe or Shakopee Village. It has long been an area where Dakota gathered to play lacrosse against one another and often against neighboring tribes. Šákpe's village on Mnísota Wakpá had "the largest population in the mid-nineteenth century" of Bdewákhaŋthuŋ Dakota people.[46] It was here that in 1842 the "first steamboat came down the river" and Oliver and Harriet Faribault, a mixed-blood fur-trading family, built a log cabin. During the 1840s, Samuel Pond, a missionary, established himself in the area. It was not long before the 1851 Treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux opened this land for non-Native settlement and the Dakota who lived here and called this place home were removed. Only a few

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years later, in 1854, the white village of Shakopee was platted and grew rapidly; it was incorporated for the first time in 1857.[47]

In local histories, Shakopee has been written about as a notorious battle site between the Dakota and Ojibwe, as "the largest village of Med-day-wah-kawn-twawn-Sioux," as a site where early traders and missionaries were located, as "the county seat, [and] the site of a Sioux village which was ruled by a hereditary line of chiefs, bearing the name of Shakpay or Shakopee (six)," and as a village passed through on a mail route following Indian trails.[48] Although these written narratives describe a significant Indian presence in Shakopee, many of these accounts end in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet census data from the late nineteenth century picks up where the written record ends to reflect a sizable Indian population in Shakopee, even after the U.S.–Dakota War. Though only eight Indian people were documented in census records as residing within the town of Shakopee in 1875, by 1880 that number had grown to exceed thirty people across seven familial households. Almost all the married Indian women were neighbors and worked keeping house in 1880.[49]

Interestingly, the Dakota who were recorded in the 1900 census were absent from Shakopee when the enumerator came through. The census record, recorded by enumerator Henry C. Schroder states, "Owing to the fact that the above indians left town a few days before the above date the information is not complete which was gotten from the neighbors."[50] We are left to speculate as to why the "above indians" were absent. The census enumeration form is dated June 26, 1900; perhaps the family recently left town to participate in tribal ceremonies, which often occur in the summer months, or to contribute to the summer's seasonal round activities of fishing and gathering, or even to partake in a community event or visit relatives. That the information, documented on official census forms was gathered from neighbors, who are also Indian, is also revealing. The information provided by the neighbors suggests they knew their Indian neighbors well—they were able to tell the enumerator whether they could read or write, that they were all "ration Indians," their places of birth, and each family member's blood quantum, a very personal matter; perhaps they were even kin or extended family.[51] Further, the information provided describes a single household that was a multigenerational family of seven. Interestingly, this family was not

present in census records for Shakopee in 1875, 1880, or 1885, though this does not mean they were not there—simply that they were not recorded as Indian.

Though certain Indian places, like Mendota and Shakopee, were able to maintain a distinct Native population, not all Indian places are as easy to identify and define in historical narratives and census records between 1875 and 1910. Landscapes have been altered, place-names have changed time and again, and settlers eventually became suburbanites. Before Bloomington was founded, it was home to at least two Dakota villages, Thitháŋka Thaŋnína (Penichon Village) and Oháŋska (Black Dog Village).[52] Dakota burial mounds continue to dot this landscape four miles upriver from Fort Snelling, overlooking Mnísota Wakpá, known as the Bloomington Ferry Mound Group. However, in Edward D. Neill's Hennepin County history he describes "Peter Quinn [as] the first white man to settle and cultivate the soil of the town [of Bloomington]. He was an Indian farmer, in accordance with the treaty with the Indians."[53] In this brief statement Neill emphasizes the whiteness and masculinity of the first settler: "Peter Quinn was the first white man." This of course fails to consider the prior occupation of Dakota people. As an "Indian farmer," Peter Quinn was hired by the U.S. government in 1843 to teach the Dakota in the area Euro-American farming techniques. Similarly, Neill later points out "[the] first school in the township [of Bloomington] was at the Dakota Mission. . . . Though organized for the Indians, some white children of early settlers attended."[54] Again, though Neill draws the reader's attention to the whiteness of the first and early settlers of Bloomington, he simultaneously confirms a prior Indigenous presence.

While Neill alludes to and sidesteps a Dakota presence in Bloomington throughout the mid- and late nineteenth century, U.S. Census data affirms an Indigenous presence. A territorial census from 1875 documents at least eighteen Indian people living in Bloomington across three neighboring households; by 1880 there were four separate Indian households. Like Mendota, the Indian residents of Bloomington worked as laborers, farmers, and home keepers. In 1880 Alice Lawrence (age six) and Henry Lawrence (age seven), likely cousins, were both described as "scholars." Another Indian girl, named Hannah (age fourteen), was also described as a scholar. The Indian residents of Bloomington in the

late nineteenth century were families who lived as neighbors, next door to one another, and often resided in the city for several decades. Interestingly, several of the Indian people who lived in Bloomington during the late nineteenth century maintained their Dakota names, which were recorded in census data. On June 16, 1880, the enumerator recorded four Indian families; members of two of these families used their Dakota names. A widowed Apulakewin (spelled Aputakewrie on the 1875 census) was seventy-five years old and headed a household of her children, including daughter Sakemazawin. One of Apulakewin's neighbors was Wadata Lawrence (simply listed as Wadata on the 1875 census), also a widowed head of household.

West of Bloomington is Eden Prairie, a Dakota place whose southern border is formed by Mnísota Wakpá. The description Neill offers of Eden Prairie echoes that of Bloomington, particularly as he continues the practice of firsting. Even as he does this, Neill again reaffirms an Indian presence in the area as he states, "the first claim on the north part of the prairie, immediately after the treaty [of 1851] was made with the [Dakotas]."[55] In essence, this acknowledges the Dakota ties to place and their residence in (and around) Eden Prairie prior to white settlement and presumably after the removal treaty of 1851. Neill follows up with an interesting narrative of an incident that occurred on May 27, 1858, shortly after the town was formed: "A fearful Indian battle was fought, which was witnessed by several of the settlers. It took place between the old enemies, the Sioux and the Chippewas."[56] This passage simultaneously confirms an Indian presence in Eden Prairie after removal while also casting American Indians as savage through the rhetoric of "battle" and "enemies" at war. Despite the narrative portrayal of Dakota and Ojibwe in this instance, what is significant is that both were present at Eden Prairie after the Treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux, signed in 1851, sought to remove Indian people from this landscape to the western fringe of Minnesota Territory. Here, Neill's use of language reveals common stereotypes of the period, often drawing on stereotypes of American Indians as hyperviolent and aggressive rather than expressing empathy or recognizing the history of intertribal violence; for example, Neill states that "the Chippewas formed an ambush" and "though inferior in numbers, [the Sioux] fought with characteristic vigor and desperation."[57] Yet, his writing also offers valuable evidence of Dakota people

present in Eden Prairie and nearby localities, including Shakopee, in the mid-nineteenth century.

Where Neill's written history ends, census data makes clear there was a lengthy presence of Indian people in Eden Prairie at least through the turn of the twentieth century. In 1880 there were at least twenty-seven Indian people who lived across seven home groups clustered together in Eden Prairie, including the Bluestones and Otherdays. Several of the Native male heads of household worked as farmers. Each of the Indian homes in Eden Prairie was owned by their Indian occupants in 1900 and 1910. Of the families recorded in census materials, the most common occupation of male heads of household was farming. The youngest Indian resident of Eden Prairie was a newborn baby boy, only one month old. All the Indian residents of Eden Prairie documented in the census were born in Minnesota; this is crucial when thinking about the exile of Dakota people from the state. The fact that individuals in their mid- to late teens were born in Minnesota signifies that some of these families likely never left the state after the U.S.–Dakota War and resulting exile.

The Indian presence in southern Minnesota, though continuous, has often been overshadowed and concealed by dominant Euro-American histories, making it difficult for the untrained eye to locate American Indian people. Larger non-Native communities often masked the less numerous presence of Indian people in Minnesota during these difficult years. Though the Indian presence at Minnetonka and Anoka at the turn of the century differs dramatically from those previously described, their Indian presence is perhaps a sad reminder of colonialism and land loss. Located west of Minneapolis, Minnetonka, which originates in the Dakota name for the body of water Mní Iá Tháŋka, became a resort and tourist destination for wealthy white settlers. Scores of white visitors flocked to the shores of Mní Iá Tháŋka throughout the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. In fact, white settlers began arriving as early as 1852, just one year after the Treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux opened the region for settlement. These early settlers likely encountered Dakota regularly since "[the] Indian chief, Little Six, and his band of braves, camped at Wayzata Bay, near the present site of Wayzata village during the winter of 1853, returning

every winter following the outbreak of the Sioux of 1862. . . . Little Six was considered an exemplary Indian, who was cleanly, manly, and brave."[58] This descriptive passage in Neill's text emphasizes the presence of Dakota people at Mní Iá Tháŋka, including areas today that are considered parts of suburban Minnetonka and Wayzata, both before the U.S.–Dakota War and after. During the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Mní Iá Tháŋka continued to gain popularity as a tourist and resort destination for the wealthy. Perhaps it is ironic, then, that during the late nineteenth century, Minnetonka, an Indian place of increasing white affluence, also became the home of the Hennepin County Poor House. Census records show that in 1880 an Indian woman named Lizzie Radcliffe resided at the Hennepin County Poor House, unfortunately described, and remembered, only as an Indian and as a "pauper."

Wakpá Wakháŋ (Rum River), which flows out of the southern corner of Mille Lacs Lake in central Minnesota, twists and turns its way south until it empties into Wakpá Tháŋka at Anoka. The name *Anoka* stems from the Dakota word *Anúŋkha* and loosely translates to "on both of something." Both the Dakota and Ojibwe resided in this area prior to any white settlement. It was this benefit of being on two major rivers that also drew early white settlers to Anoka for exploration, commerce, and homesteading. Published in 1905, Albert M. Goodrich describes "the last battle in Minnesota between the Sioux and Chippeway tribes" as approximately 150 Ojibwe made their way down Wakpá Wakháŋ to Anúŋkha.[59] "Here they held a war dance on the east side of Rum river. . . . The white boys turned out in large numbers to view the spectacle as if it had been a circus performance, little thinking in what deadly earnest the Indians were."[60] This battle, which Goodrich richly describes, is more than one decade after the 1837 treaties with the Dakota and Ojibwe that were to effectively remove them from this area.

As in numerous other Indian places, Indian people continued to reside in Anoka throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although Anoka was a place the Dakota and Ojibwe traveled to and through, and occasionally camped in for lengthier periods, in 1880 Anoka was home to an Indian woman named Hattie Worchester. She was recorded in the census as being the wife of a white male head of the

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household. More interesting, however, Hattie Worchester is recorded as an Indian who was born in Minnesota, yet her parents were both born in Maine. In 1880 the census did not record tribal affiliation, but considering that both of Hattie Worchester's parents were born in Maine, she most likely was not Dakota or Ojibwe. This case represents an interesting and important example of the direction Indian affairs was headed in Minnesota as Indian people from across the country began to call Minnesota and, more specifically, the Twin Cities home.

When the Dakota, Ojibwe, and Ho-Chunk were forcibly removed from their tribal homelands and reservations in the central and southern portion of Mnísota Makhóčhe during the mid-nineteenth century, they often also vanished from the historical narrative of the state and local histories. These historical erasures have been clouded and overshadowed by the significance of the U.S.–Dakota War and the dramatic influx of non-Native settlers to the same areas. In fact, Minnesota saw exponential population growth ahead of and leading up to the years of the U.S.–Dakota War and the Homestead Act. In 1860, two years after Minnesota statehood, the population of Minnesota grew exponentially by over 2,700 percent from the first federal census conducted in the territory in 1850. This dramatic growth in a white settler population also coincides with a declining American Indian population.

| *Year* | *Population* |
|---|---|
| 1850 | 6,077 |
| 1860 | 172,073 |
| 1870 | 439,706 |
| 1880 | 780,773 |
| 1890 | 1,310,283 |
| 1900 | 1,751,394 |
| 1910 | 2,075,708 |

Figure 6. Minnesota's population growth during the second half of the nineteenth century was dramatic. Between 1850 and 1910, the non-Native population grew by more than 34,000 percent.

Yet, as this chapter shows, despite the increasing numbers of non-Native settlers across the Twin Cities region, American Indian people have always been present, even as their traditional homes and the landscape around them rapidly changed and settlers quickly outnumbered Indian people. The Dakota origin story places their point of entry into this world at the mouth of Mnísota Wakpá, and ample evidence exists that demonstrates the significance of both Mnísota Wakpá and Wakpá Tháŋka for trade and economic purposes between Indian people and later between Indian people and Europeans. Likewise, archaeological and written accounts of early European explorers from the seventeenth century onward document Dakota and Ojibwe villages throughout what is considered today to be suburban Minneapolis and Saint Paul. The survival and endurance of Indian people, particularly the Dakota, to continuously live in Indian places during times of vast and rapid dispossession, removal, war, exile, and increasing settlement throughout the late nineteenth century is nothing short of remarkable. And, as I contend, both local county histories and census records offer an opportunity to rethink suburban places and first residents. More, the seemingly inevitable erasure of Indian people from suburban places becomes preventable and fixable. As Coll Thrush contends, Indian people adapted, as they always had: they chose to "stay near traditional territories and make a go of it. . . . They and their homes would remain important landmarks for indigenous people."[61]

This story of American Indian land loss and survival across Mnísota Makhóčhe must also be situated among a context that engages with federal policies to better understand that what happened to American Indians here was similarly happening to Native people across much of the country. In this way, Minnesota is a microcosm to better understand such federal-level land-based policies as the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railway Act, and the Morrill Act. These three policies in tandem with the U.S.–Dakota War, all of which occurred midway through 1862, are a marker of sorts of dispossession and yet simultaneous and remarkable American Indian survival and revival. By looking at the evidence shared here, we see a more complete and accurate history; we see the ways so-called public land has been framed, used, and remembered. We are also then forced to think about the irreconcilability of place and place-making for American Indian people and settlers. While the U.S.–Dakota War

led to Dakota exile, the opening of land for settlement, and the expansion of the Homestead Act across the state, the places non-Native settlers created would not and did not diminish the value and meaning of home for the Dakota and Ojibwe. Instead, we see a dialectic, an ongoing push and pull of sorts, between the world the policies created, the ones settlers made, and the one American Indian people have always known and continue to know.