

# NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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Prepared for  
**The City of Minneapolis Department of  
Community Planning & Economic Development**

Prepared by  
**Two Pines Resource Group, LLC**

FINAL  
July 2016

**Cover Image**

*Indian Tepees on the Site of Bridge Square with the John H. Stevens House, 1852*  
Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (Neg. No. 583)

*Minneapolis Pow Wow, 1951*  
Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (Neg. No. 35609)

Minneapolis American Indian Center  
1530 E Franklin Avenue

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Prepared for  
City of Minneapolis  
Department of Community Planning  
and Economic Development  
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## FOREWORD

For millennia, Native people have called the region of Minneapolis home. Today, members of more than 36 tribal communities reside within the city. It is the goal of this project to provide a preservation context for the Native American experience in Minneapolis. Given the limitations of the project, it is possible in this document to convey only with the broadest of brush strokes the complexity of this history.

As this historic context was developed to provide a framework for evaluating historic resources particular emphasis is placed on the identification of places, buildings, structures, people, and events that illustrate Native American life within Minneapolis. The documentation and preservation of heritage resources will provide future generations with a connection to the rich cultural heritage of the city.

We would like to extend our gratitude to the following individuals for taking the time to speak with us and share their memories and experiences: Herb Sam, Richard White, Kate Beane, Carly Bad Heart Bull, Art Owen, Frank Paro, Nick Boswell, Carl Fransen, Jacque Wilson, Barb Benjamin-Robertson, LeMoine LaPointe, Sheldon Wolfchild, and Gertrude Buckanaga. The authors regret that the project schedule did not provide time for additional interviews and we acknowledge that there are community members who have other experiences within Minneapolis that should also be recorded.

The authors would also like to thank everyone who attended the public meetings to share their thoughts and provide feedback on the project. We appreciate All My Relations Gallery, the Minneapolis American Indian Center, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe Urban Office, and the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center for hosting the public meetings. We would also like to thank Pow Wow Grounds for catering the public meetings, for allowing us to host informal interviews in their space, and for keeping us well-caffeinated.

Two Pines wishes to thank Christine McDonald, Native American Community Specialist, for facilitating the project's public meetings and for scheduling gatherings with community members, and John Smoley, Senior Planner, for his grant administration and project oversight.

Undoubtedly, given the time constraints of this project there are heritage sites and aspects of the Native American community's history that have been inadvertently omitted. It is hoped that these contexts will continue to be expanded upon as additional resources are identified as well as augmented with traditional knowledge and oral histories shared by community members.

This report is dedicated to the American Indian people of Minneapolis past, present, and future.

Pidamaya yo                      Miigwech

Eva B. Terrell  
Michelle M. Terrell

Two Pines Resource Group, LLC

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## CHAPTER 1 . INTRODUCTION

This Native American historic context study for the City of Minneapolis' Heritage Preservation Commission was prepared by Two Pine Resource Group in 2016. A companion reconnaissance level survey supplement was also completed (Terrell and Terrell 2016). This historic context study addresses cultural resources within the city that reflect thousands of years of Native American heritage including traditional cultural places, archaeological sites, and buildings. The timeframe for this context extends from the first human occupation of the region approximately 12,000 years ago to the close of the twentieth-century.

The primary purpose of the historic context study is to provide a framework for evaluating historic resources associated with the city's Native American community. The development of this historic context also provides an opportunity to document and make more widely known the Native American heritage of Minneapolis. The protection and preservation of the tribal heritage of Minneapolis will provide future generations of Native people with a connection to the rich cultural heritage of the city. It is hoped that these contexts will continue to be expanded upon and augmented with traditional knowledge and oral histories shared by regional tribal members.

### STUDY BOUNDARIES

The study area for the Native American context statement is the corporate boundaries of the City of Minneapolis, which is located within Hennepin County, Minnesota and encompasses 58.4 square miles, or 37,380 acres (Figure 1). However, this study acknowledges that significant elements of the indigenous cultural landscape are located on the border of, or just beyond, the city's corporate limits and hence these contexts include significant historical events and places beyond the city limits that inform our understanding of the community's American Indian heritage.

### SOURCES

The objective of this project was to form a Native American historic context which identifies potential historical places, buildings, people, and events within the City of Minneapolis that exemplify its Native American heritage. Data on documented properties was sought in the records of the Minneapolis Heritage Preservation Commission, the Minnesota Historical Society, the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the Office of the State Archaeologist (OSA), while information on potential properties was gathered through an intensive literature search using primary and secondary documentary resources. Much has been written on the Native American history of Minneapolis and the urban Indian experience. Prior to this study, several researchers had gathered together records, information, and sources that contributed greatly to the completion of this work. Information gathering sessions were also held with community members in the context of individual and public meetings (Appendix A). The following videos were also shared with and viewed by Two Pines staff during the course of this project.

- "Indians Today: We Speak of Ourselves" (WCCO, aired April 20, 1982)
- Franklin Avenue: Past, Present, Future (NACDI, Elizabeth Day [editor], 2009)
- Star Dreamers: The Mdewakantonwan Dakota of Minnesota" (38 Plus 2 Productions 2011)
- "The Doctrine of Discovery: Unmasking the Domination Code" (38 Plus 2 Productions 2015)

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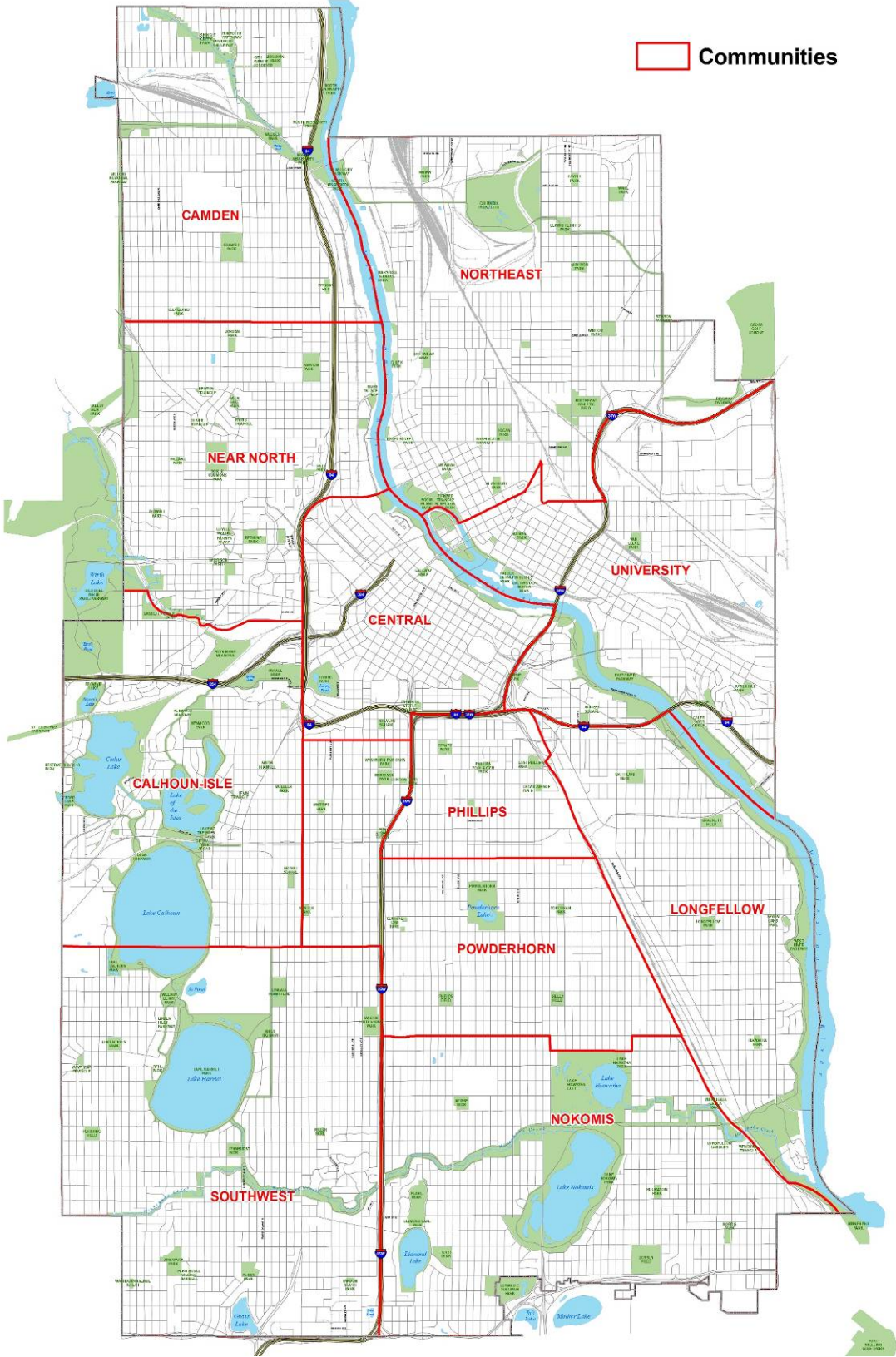


FIGURE 1. CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS MAP

## **PROPERTY TYPES**

The following types of historic properties may be associated with Native American cultural heritage in Minneapolis.

### ***SACRED SITE***

A Sacred Site is defined as “any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site (Executive Order 13007, May 24, 1996). This formal definition applies to sacred sites on Federal land identified by tribal authorities, but the term “sacred site” is also often used to describe places of traditional cultural importance.

### ***TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY***

A Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) is a property/resource that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places based on its associations with the cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, lifeways, arts, crafts, or social institutions of a living community.

### ***ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE***

An Ethnographic Landscape is a cultural landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that the associated people define as heritage resources.

### ***BUILDING***

A building is defined as a place created principally to shelter any form of human activity. Examples include a house, barn, church, hotel, or similar construction.

### ***STRUCTURE***

A structure is defined as a functional construction made for purposes other than creating human shelter. Examples include a bridge, a dam, a gazebo, or a highway.

### ***OBJECT***

Objects are small-scale constructions associated with a specific place such as a historic monument, a fountain, or a boundary marker.

### ***SITE***

A site is a location that possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value regardless of the presence or condition of any existing structure. A site can be the location of a significant event, a pre-contact or post-contact occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished.

## **INTEGRITY**

To be eligible for local designation, the City of Minneapolis' Heritage Preservation Regulations require properties be significant within a given context and retain their integrity. The City of Minneapolis' seven aspects of integrity mirror those of the National Register of Historic Places (Location, Design, Setting, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association). In order to be eligible for historic designation a property must retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

## **SIGNIFICANCE**

The City of Minneapolis divides the four National Register criteria into seven local significance criteria. They are:

- 1) The property is associated with significant events or with periods that exemplify broad patterns of cultural, political, economic or social history.
- 2) The property is associated with the lives of significant persons or groups.
- 3) The property contains or is associated with distinctive elements of city or neighborhood identity.
- 4) The property embodies the distinctive characteristics of an architectural or engineering type or style, or method of construction.
- 5) The property exemplifies a landscape design or development pattern distinguished by innovation, rarity, uniqueness or quality of design or detail.
- 6) The property exemplifies works of master builders, engineers, designers, artists, craftsmen or architects.
- 7) The property has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The Minneapolis Preservation ordinance does not expressly prohibit designation of properties of any age, but properties less than 35 years old shall only be evaluated if they meet National Register of Historic Places Criteria Consideration G (properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years).

## CHAPTER 2 . THE INDIGENOUS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF MINNEAPOLIS

The contexts presented in this report are principally arranged chronologically, however, there are places and landscape features within Minneapolis that are imbued with a cultural significance that transcends time. This chapter is devoted to those features that form the underlying fabric of Minneapolis' indigenous cultural landscape – the places that reflect and embody the continued Native American presence within the city. While the study area for this project is the area of Minneapolis, it should be acknowledged that there is interconnectedness between traditional cultural properties within the metro area that extends beyond the city's limits.

### A PLACE OF POWER

At the heart of Minneapolis' existence is the power of water. As the “Mill City,” Minneapolis acknowledges a heritage built on having harnessed the power of the falls to become the “Flour Milling Capital of the World.” However, the region's Native American residents recognized the power of the falls long before the first mill was ever constructed (MNHS Neg. No. 259) (Figure 2). That power was not only in the falls, but in the water itself. Water is equated with life and considered to be a sacred natural element by virtue of its inherent bond with “mother earth” and its connection to all living things (Eastman 1911:14; Terrell et al. 2006:59).



**FIGURE 2. THE FALLS AS THEY APPEARED CIRCA 1848**

*(PAINTING BY HENRY LEWIS. MNHS, NEG. NO. 259)*

The river that powers Minneapolis begins as a small stream in the northern forests of Mni Sota Makoce (the land where the waters are so clear that they reflect the clouds) (Westerman and White 2012:13). With each winding mile of its southward journey, this stream increases in size as its waters are joined by those of tributary creeks and rivers. To the Dakota it is known as Haha Wakpa and to the Ojibwe as Misi Ziibi, from which is derived its common name, the Mississippi River (Figure 3; Appendix B and C). Within the heart of Minneapolis, the nature of this river dramatically changes as it plunges over the falls into a steeply-sided gorge carved over millennia by glacial meltwaters and the upriver retreat of the falls themselves (see Chapter 3). The thundering of this, the largest and only natural major waterfall on the Mississippi River, could be heard more than 10 miles away (Carver 1778:66). The Dakota call this dynamic place, Owamniyomni - “whirlpool” or Haha - “curling waters / waterfall” (Riggs 1992:160; Westerman and White 2012:26); while in Ojibwe it is Gakaabika,<sup>1</sup> - “severed rock” or Gichi Gakaabika – “great severed rock” (Anfinson 1989:19; Durand 1994:68).<sup>2</sup> Together these names describe the original appearance of the falls where the river cascaded over a limestone shelf and dropped 30 to 40 feet into the swirling whirlpools and broken rock below.

Glimpses of the significance of the falls to Native people and their traditions associated with this location are captured in the texts of EuroAmerican explorers. In 1680 while portaging around the falls, Hennepin observed that the group of five or six Dakota men that were in the lead of their party had stopped and that one of them had climbed an oak tree “opposite the great fall” to offer a robe trimmed with porcupine quills “as a sacrifice to the falls.” This offering was accompanied by a prayer for safe travels, a successful buffalo hunt, and victory over their enemies (Winchell 1910:381-382). In November of 1766, a “young prince of the Winnebago Indians” (Ho-Chunk) accompanied Jonathan Carver to the falls. Upon reaching an overlook near the falls, he made an offering into the waters of his pipe, tobacco, and adornments that he was wearing in recognition that this was a place where the Creator resided and of whom he asked protection during their travels. Before leaving the falls, they together smoked Carver’s pipe to honor the “Great Spirit” (Carver 1778:66-68). A large cavern of iron beneath the falls is one of the dwelling places of the Unktehi, a spirit that inhabits the water (Riggs 1869:62).

Also associated with the falls is the story of Anpetu Sapawin (Clouded Day) (Pond 1986:180). As told by Wazikute to Stephen Long, unbeknownst to Ampato Sapa her husband had taken a second wife despite her requests that he not do so. When she learned of his secret, she took their two children and returned to her parents with whom she lived that winter (Long 1978:73-75).

In the spring as they were returning laded with peltries, she & her children occupied a canoe by themselves. On arriving near the Falls of St. Anthony, she lingered by the way till the rest had all landed a little above [the] shoot. She then painted herself & children paddled her canoe immediately in to the suck of the rapids, & commenced singing her death song, in which she recounted the happy scenes she had pass thro’ when she enjoyed the undivided affection of her husband and wretchedness in

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<sup>1</sup> Recorded in the nineteenth century as “Kakabika Irara,” which was translated as “severed rock, curling water” (Warner and Foote 1882:275).

<sup>2</sup> Other recorded names for the falls in Dakota are Owahmenah – “falling water” and Haha Tanka – “big waterfall”; and in Ojibwe Kichi Kakabika (Gichi Gakaabika) – “the great severed rock” (Anfinson 2003:118).



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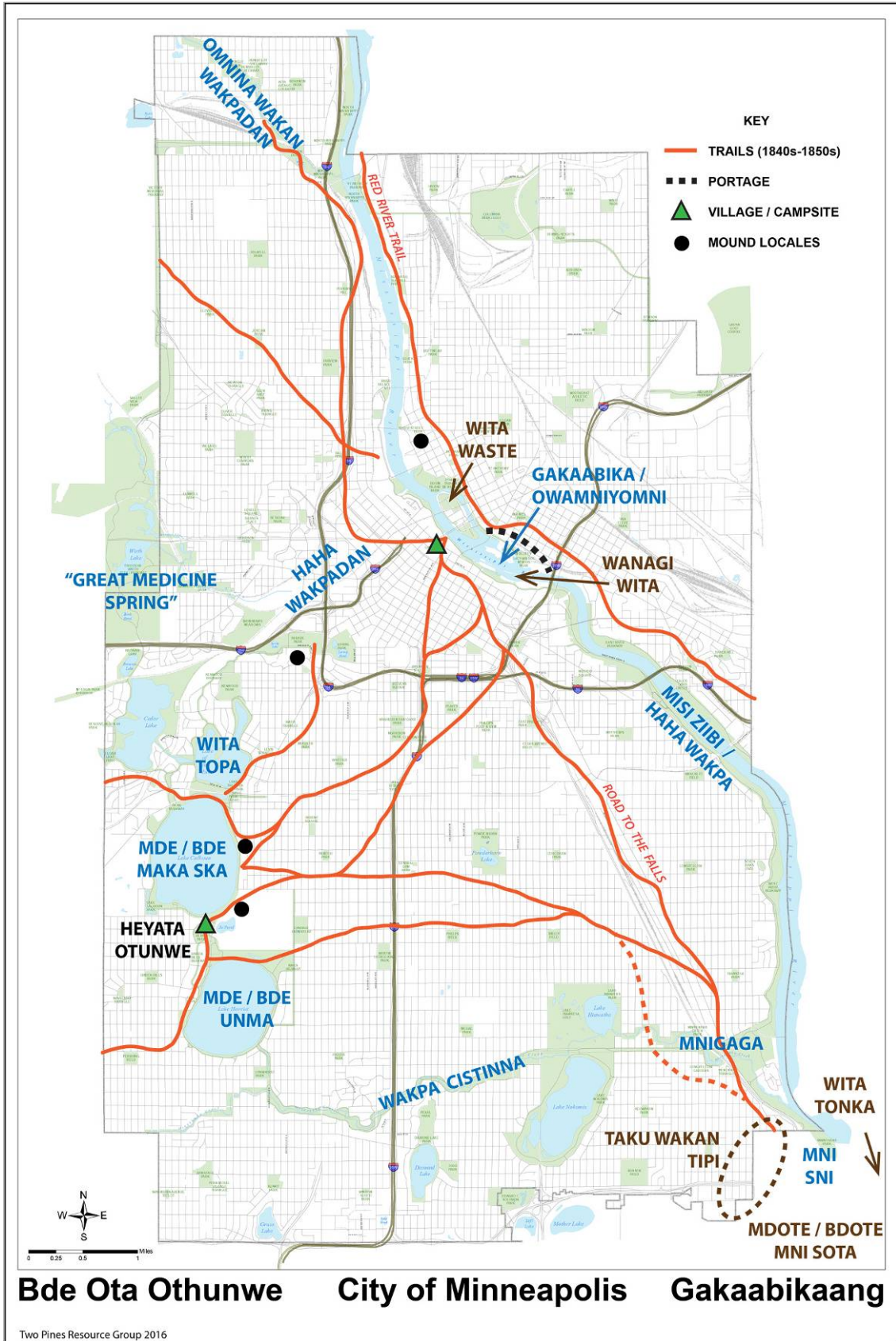


FIGURE 3. DAKOTA AND OJIBWE PLACE NAMES IN MINNEAPOLIS

which she was involved by his inconsistency.... She continued her course till she was born head long down the roaring cataract and instantly dashed to pieces on the rocks below. No traces of herself & children or the boat were ever found afterwards (Long 1978:75).

It has been written that their spirits appear on occasion in the early morning mists below the falls and that Wanagi Wita (Spirit Island) beneath the falls takes its name from this event (Anfinson 1989:19; Durand 1994:68). Wanagi Wita was also a place where eagles gathered. Jonathan Carver writes, "At a little distance below the Falls stands a small island, of about an acre and half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, every branch of which, able to support the weight, was full of eagles nests" (Carver 1778:71).<sup>3</sup>

Beginning in the late 1840s, the river and the falls were modified to facilitate the use of hydropower. Dams were constructed to channel and backup the river's water into millponds from which the water was diverted into sluiceways and canals that powered mills on both the east and west sides of the river. The limestone structure of the falls, which had already begun to suffer from the impact of log drives on the river, declined further during this period as the manipulation of the water flow exposed the limestone of the central portion of the falls to freeze-thaw cycles that fractured the stone further. In 1866, the west side Minneapolis Milling Company constructed a wooden slide, or apron, in hopes of keeping the falls from further collapse, but it was washed away in an 1867 flood. Then in 1869 disaster struck when a tunnel that was being excavated beneath the falls to improve water power to Nicollet Island collapsed. The force of the river created a destructive whirlpool around the opening into the tunnel and attempts to stabilize the falls by filling the opening and the tunnel were not successful. In the end, the Army Corps of Engineers constructed an artificial falls consisting of a wall of concrete extending across the face of the falls to prevent their further retreat, built dams, aprons, and sluiceways to control water flow and river traffic, and filled all the various tunnels and voids beneath the limestone with gravel (Kane 1987:63-71; Anfinson 2003:127-129). Through the Corps' efforts, the falls were stabilized by 1880 and saved for milling, but their appearance was forever altered. Despite these changes, a Dakota interviewee indicated that while the falls no longer resemble their natural state, the point in the river where the falls are located retains its cultural significance.

## A PLACE OF ORIGIN

Located just beyond the southeast limits of the city of Minneapolis is Mdote Mni Sota – the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. While the Dakota word mdote (or bdote)<sup>4</sup> refers generally to any place where there is a meeting of waters, Mdote also refers to the region around this particular confluence or Mdote Mni Sota (Riggs 1992:313). Mdewakanton Dakota consider that the "mouth of the Minnesota River (Watpa Minisota) lies immediately over the centre of the earth and under the centre of the heavens" (Pond 1851). The cultural importance of the Mdote area is reflected in the number of known and named Dakota cultural properties located in the vicinity of the

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<sup>3</sup> Wanagi Wita (Spirit Island) was quarried for limestone about 1900 and removed entirely when the Upper St. Anthony Lock and Dam was built in the early 1960s.

<sup>4</sup> In historical documents and transcripts of interviews with Dakota elders, the Mdote spelling and pronunciation is used, whereas Bdote has been used more frequently in recent years. Like the words "mde" and "bde" for "lake", these words reflect regional language variations between Eastern (mde) and Western (bde) Dakota (Oneroad and Skinner 2003:22 fn40).

confluence (e.g., Oheyawahe; Taku Wakan Tipi; Wita Tanka; and Wita Wakan). Concentrated around Mdote are Dakota sacred landmarks, ceremonial gathering spots, habitation sites, and burials. Significant events in Dakota history also took place within Mdote, including treaty signings and the incarceration of Dakota people during the U.S.-Dakota War (Terrell 2003a:81-82; Terrell et al. 2006:).

In one Otokaheys Woyakapi (creation story), the region of Mdote is the place of origin of the Mdewakanton Dakota. As recorded in an early account of the Eastern Dakota written in French about 1820 (Ames 1980:201):

..the first Sciou and the first woman of their tribe came out of the earth,  
which brought them forth on a prairie below St. Anthony Falls...

As relayed by Chris Mato Nunpa in his article on the Dakota of Minnesota, it is at the confluence of Mdote Mini Sota that the Dakota first appeared as spirit beings from the stars (Cavender 1988:13). During the traditional cultural property study of Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring) Gary Cavender, a Dakota elder and key cultural expert, who had related this tradition in the past (Cavender 1999), provided the following testimony (Terrell et al. 2006:58):

There are seven groups of Dakota [Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton]. There are seven stars in the constellation of Orion. We are the spirit beings from the constellation of Orion and those seven stars. This whole area [Mdote] is important to us because this is where we first came as spirit beings - to the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. We spread out from there becoming human beings as we spread out from there.

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The water from Coldwater Springs comes out from underneath the land and so some of the spirit beings that arrived went into the water and they appeared on earth here and so became Dakotahs. That is the connection there.

## **A PLACE OF NEUTRALITY**

While there is no doubt that the area of Minneapolis forms part of the Dakota homeland, the confluence of the region's two major rivers, or transportation corridors may have also been afforded some aspect of neutrality. In the fall of 1700, Le Sueur, who had established a post on the Blue Earth River near its junction with the Minnesota River (near present day Mankato), was met by a party of nine Mdewakanton Dakota who told him that his current location was not desirable because it would cause those that wished to come to the post to cross into the territory of the Western Dakota and to "be exposed to be cut off by their enemies coming up or going down these rivers [the Minnesota and Blue Earth], which are narrow, and that if he intended to take pity on them, he must settle on the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the mouth of the St. Peter's river, where the Ayavois [Iowas], the Otoctatas [Otoes], and the Scioux [sic] [Dakota] could come as well as they" (Thwaites 1902:186; Wedel 1974:166). From 1820-1853, the St. Peters Indian Agency and its tribal council house, where both Dakota and Ojibwe people met was also located at the confluence adjacent to Fort Snelling.

## **ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS**

By definition, an ethnographic landscape is a collection of related natural and cultural resources that an associated people defined as heritage resources. Examples of the types of features that may be present in an ethnographic landscape include ceremonial sites; settlements; geological features; and plant communities. This section highlights some of the features present within that portion of the Native American cultural landscape bounded by the City of Minneapolis' corporate limits.

### ***LANDFORMS***

Distinctive topographic landforms are often significant features of an indigenous cultural landscape. High points and bluff tops, like Oheyawahi / Pilot Knob in Mendota Heights, may serve as landmarks, gathering places, burial places, and ceremonial grounds (Terrell 2003a; White and Woolworth 2003).

Taku Wakan Tip / Morgan's Mound, a large hill or glacial ridge, is an example of a culturally significant landform that is partially located within the city boundary of Minneapolis (Ollendorf and Anderson 2004) (see Figure 3). This sacredness of this place to the Dakota is conveyed in its very name, Taku Wakan Tipi, which is to say the dwelling place of Taku Wakan (that which is mysterious/sacred), a name that has been translated in EuroAmerican texts as "the dwelling place of the Gods" or "God's House" (Pond 1889:220; Pond 1986[1908]:108-109; Eastman 1849:210). Like other places around Mdote, Taku Wakan Tipi is associated with the Unktehi, who resides under the bluff (Eastman 1849:210; Pond 1852a). While translated through a EuroAmerican viewpoint and understanding, Mary Eastman wrote (1849:210):

Unktahe, the god of the waters, is much revered by the Dahcotahs. Morgan's bluff, near Fort Snelling, is called "God's house" by the Dahcotahs; they say it is the residence of Unktahe, and under the hill is a subterranean passage, through which they say the water-god passes when he enters the St. Peter's [Minnesota River].

Unktehi is more to the Dakota, though, than a dweller of water places; the Unktehi has "existed since the beginning of time" and is "the connection between the human, the plants, and the animal world, and the philosophy was that he always lies underneath the earth, and all things grow from him, such as trees, the roots, the plants, the waters, everything" (Campbell 2000:38-39). The Unktehi is also not associated with, or limited to, one particular place (Terrell et al. 2006:61). At the foot of Taku Wakan Tipi is Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring), which descends the bluff to the Mississippi River. Like the underground tunnel that Eastman was told of, Mni Sni and its flowing waters provide a passageway for the Unktehi (Terrell et al. 2006:61-62). Together Taku Wakan tipi, Mni Sni, Oheyawahe, and the other features around Mdote are interconnected and form part of a larger whole.

Today, Taku Wakan Tipi no longer resembles the prairie-covered height from which the surrounding countryside could be viewed in all directions (Eastman 1849:2). Portions of the hill were graded and it is now covered in part by homes and the Minneapolis Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital. However, when driving on Highway 62, which passes through Taku Wakan Tipi, the sensation of climbing up and over this hill is still quite noticeable, particularly between 42<sup>nd</sup> Ave S and 46<sup>th</sup> Ave S. Despite these

alterations and changes, this place is considered to still be sacred because it was sacred to Dakota ancestors (Ollendorf and Anderson:2004:F-4).

### **LAKES**

Minneapolis is the “City of Lakes” or in Dakota, “Bde Ota Othunwe.” One Dakota community member shared that each lake is imbued with its own spirit and that they are each relatives to each other so that to say that the translation of Bde Unma / Lake Harriet is “the other lake” it is not to say that it is “another” lake, but rather it is to say that it is the other relative or part of Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun. This interrelatedness extends throughout the city’s chain of lakes and beyond.

### **SPRINGS**

Numerous natural springs are present within the city of Minneapolis particularly along the Mississippi River gorge and in the region of Theodore Wirth Park (Brick 1997). Springs are held by Dakota people to have significance beyond being a place where water can be found. Locations where springs have been created are considered places of sacredness and healing, because spring water is considered to be inherently pure because it comes directly out of the ground and continually renews itself (Terrell et al. 2006:60). Because spring water renews itself, it is considered to have the ability to renew the user and hence it has healing properties. For this reason, and its purity, springs are the traditional source of water for medicine and ceremonies (Terrell et al. 2006:60). Other springs, like National Register-listed Maka Yusota (Boiling Springs), near Shakopee, are revered for associations with other cultural traditions (Anfinson 2002). An ethnographic resource study has been previously completed for Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring), which is located just beyond the southeast limits of the city (Terrell et al. 2006). That study concluded that the spring was a culturally significant resource for its association with Mdote and as a natural spring (many of which have been destroyed or which are no longer accessible), which is an integral component of traditional cultural practices that require the use of pure spring water (Terrell et al. 2006:ii).

Another spring proximate to the Minneapolis city boundary that was traditionally used by Dakota people is the “Great Medicine Spring” as it is referred to in EuroAmerican documents. John Stevens wrote of the spring (Stevens 1890:163):

They [Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and Tacanku Waste’s (Good Road)] had great faith in the healing virtues of the water of a spring at Owen Keegan’s claim, which they would come all the way from Redwood and Yellow Medicine to bathe in, and drink of.

Another source places the spring on “the land of Mr. Wales” (Winchell 1877:200). Keegan’s initial claim was for the entirety of the southwest quarter of Section 20, which encompasses Wirth Lake. According to an 1873 map, D. Wales owned the south half of the southwest quarter of the section (Wright 1873). There are several natural springs in this area, which is contained within Wirth Park, and of this spring it is said that “it bubbles out of the foot of a hill (Chicago and North Western Railway Company 1882:86). While this location is not technically within the city boundary, it is overseen by the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board. While the traditional use of the Great Medicine Spring is documented, as reiterated by a Dakota community member, no one spring should be considered more significant than any other.

### ***EARTHWORKS / BURIALS***

Many traditional earthworks and burial places located within Minneapolis have been obscured by past development. During the late 1800s, earthworks / burial mounds were recorded in the vicinity of Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun; Lowry Hill, and in northeast Minneapolis (Winchell 1911:223, 260; Site 21HEai on file at SHPO; Anfinson 1989:20) (see Figure 3). However, given the early and intensive development of Minneapolis prior to the period during which mounds were documented, it should be assumed that other mound locations are present in the city. Reported historical period burials include the grave of Sandy Lake Ojibwe leader Babiizigindibe, who was “buried above the Falls of St. Anthony (in present-day Minneapolis) in accordance with Ojibwe war custom, sitting up and facing west” (Treuer 2011:43).

Today, state laws protect burials from unauthorized disturbance. Burials are protected under the Minnesota Private Cemeteries Act (MS 307.08), which affords all human remains and burials of 50 years of age or older that are located outside of platted, recorded, or identified cemeteries protection from unauthorized disturbance. Per the act, “The Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Transportation, and all other state agencies and local governmental units whose activities may be affected, shall cooperate with the state archaeologist and the Indian Affairs Council to carry out the provisions of this section” (M.S. 307.08, subd. 9).

### ***TRAILS***

Original General Land Office (GLO) survey maps made in the 1840s and 1850s record the principal trails and roads in use within Minneapolis prior to intensive EuroAmerican settlement (see Figure 3). These maps and the earlier sketch maps made by Samuel Pond (1834) (Figure 4) and Lawrence Taliaferro (1835) (Figure 5) document the same general triangular pattern of trails and roads connecting the falls with Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun and Mdote / Fort Snelling (Pond 1893:46; Taliaferro 1835). Another trail to the east of Wita Topa / Lake of the Isles connects Bde Maka Ska with Haha Wakpadan / Bassett’s Creek, which would offer a waterway connection to a point in the river above the falls. Both Pond and Taliaferro’s maps indicate two crossings of Wakpa Cistinna / Minnehaha Creek, the westernmost of which was not documented on the GLO maps (dashed line on Figure 3). (The Red River Trail to the east of the river was an oxcart trail developed in the mid 1840s to connect St. Paul with the Red River Colony [Gilman et al. 1979:9-10, 55-56]). Of note is the fact that the road between the falls and Mdote / Fort Snelling is the precursor to the Hiawatha Avenue corridor and that a trail between Bde Maka Ska and the river crossed East Franklin Avenue near 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Ave South.

While not recorded on these maps, it has been suggested that the Winchell Trail along the west bank of the Mississippi River between Franklin Avenue and Minnehaha Park, which was constructed between 1912 and 1915, and further transformed during the 1930s, may have followed the path of a Native American trail (Board of Park Commissioners 1915:55; Wirth 1945:159-165; Stark and Terrell 2001:10-11).

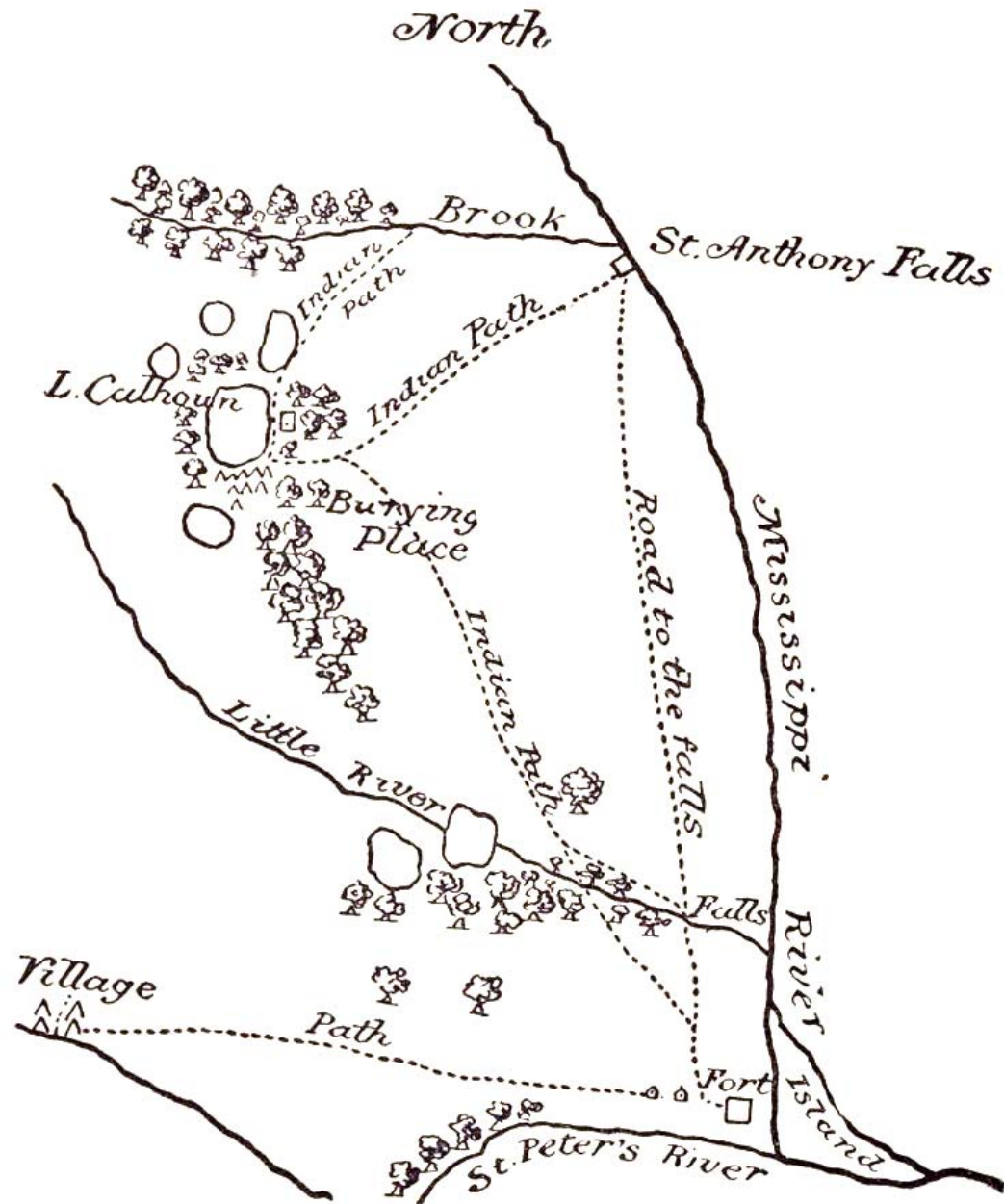


FIGURE 4. PUBLISHED VERSION OF SAMUEL POND'S 1834 MAP

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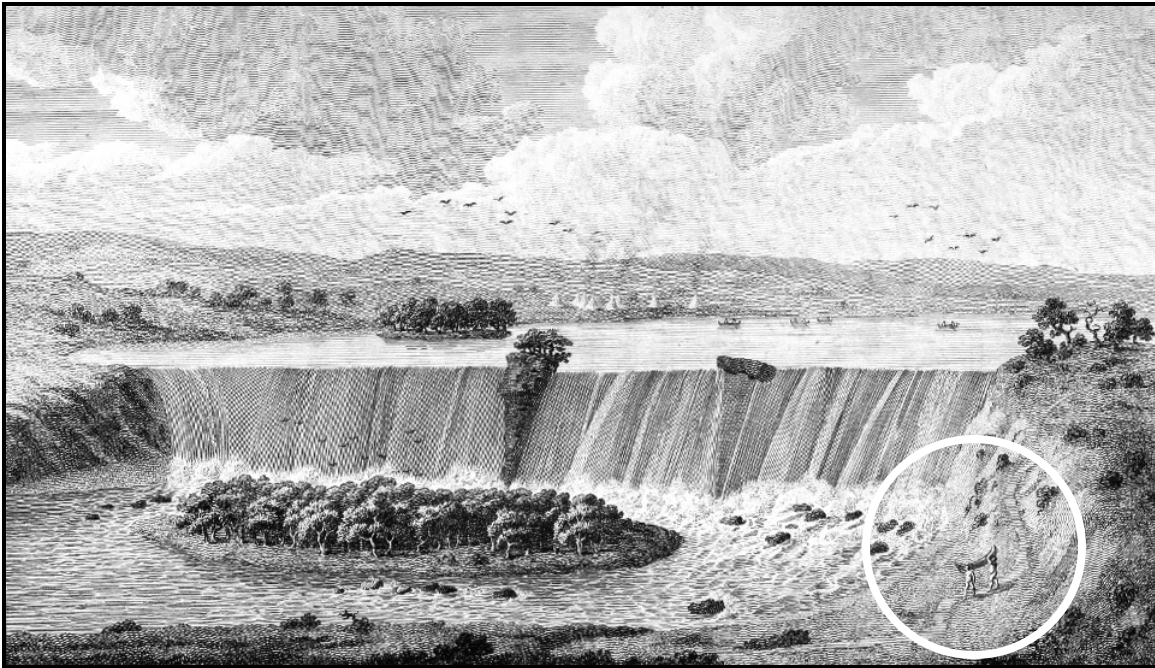


FIGURE 5. A SKETCH MAP BY INDIAN AGENT LAWRENCE TALIAFERRO, 1835

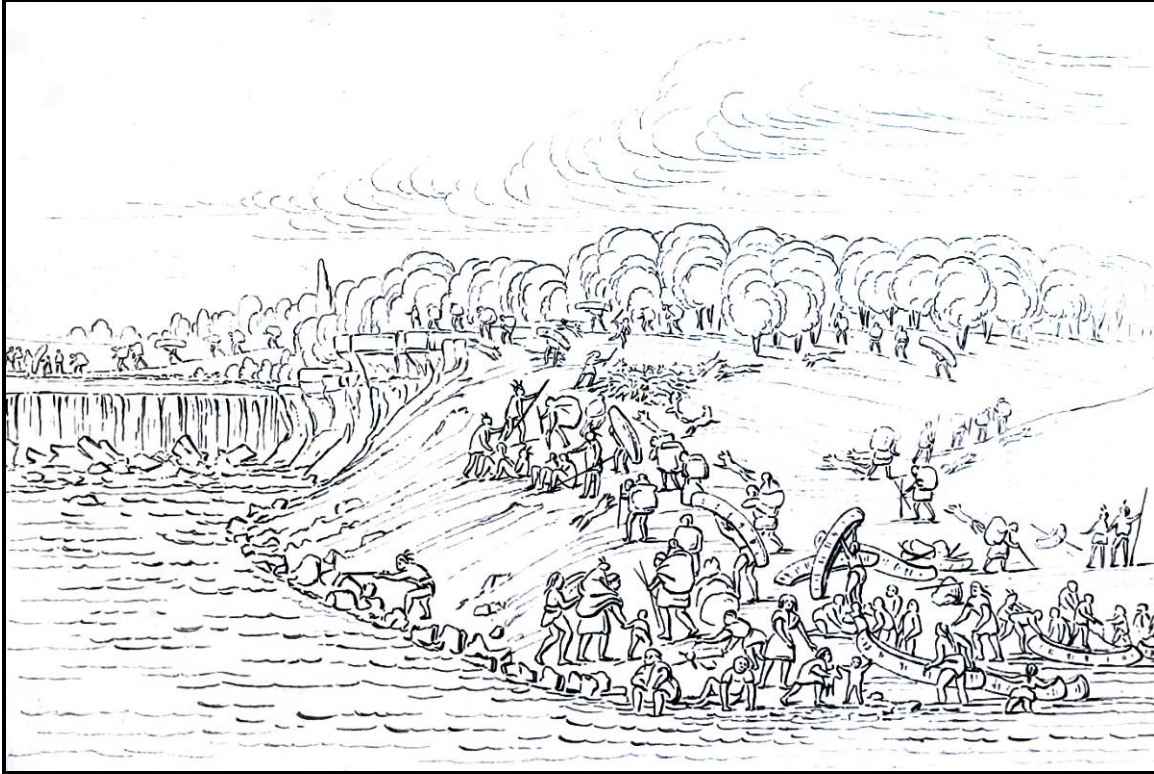


**PORTAGES**

During the period when water routes were the primary means of long-distance travel, portages were important landscape features. Canoes and their cargo were carried along these overland paths in order to avoid obstacles, or to shorten the journey between two navigable bodies of water. The principal portage route within Minneapolis was the one that was necessary to bypass the falls of Gakaabika / Owamniyomni (Figure 6). This portage was located on the east bank of the river and was estimated by Pike to be 260 poles (0.8 miles) long (Schoolcraft 1821:291). Explorer Stephen H. Long mapped the portage route in 1817 (Long 1978:72). In 1835, artist George Catlin documented the use of the portage by Ojibwe families returning north after a council meeting at Fort Snelling (Figure 7). According to Catlin, from the south the portage was made by “running all their canoes into an eddy below the Fall, and as near as they could get by paddling; when all were landed, and every thing taken out of the canoes, and with them carried by the women, around the Fall, and a half mile or so above, where the canoes were put into the water again” (Catlin 1842:138). Catlin’s illustration suggests the south end of the portage was located on the lowland near where the steam plant is now located, and this is how it is interpreted on an historic marker. Another source suggests the portage began at the site of a later ferry crossing known as “Cheever’s Landing” near the University of Minnesota East River Flats (Winchell 1911:589). The river’s water level and the force of the flow over the falls, likely influenced how close landings were made below the foot of the falls (Schoolcraft 1821:291).



**FIGURE 6. THE PORTAGE AROUND THE FALLS (CIRCLED) IN A 1788 ENGRAVING BY M. A. ROOKER (CARVER 1788:68 OP.)**



**FIGURE 7. OJIBWE USING THE PORTAGE AROUND THE FALLS IN 1835 (CATLIN 1842:138)**

### **CAVES**

Several Dakota community members mentioned the presence of caves within Minneapolis that are of traditional cultural significance. Specific locations of these caves were not disclosed, although caves “under the Civic [Convention] Center” and tunnel mouths near the Franklin Avenue bridge were mentioned by one Dakota community member. As described by Dakota elder, Chris Leith, in 2002 during the traditional cultural property evaluation of Wakan Tipi / Carver’s Cave in St. Paul, “caves, in and of themselves, are sacred places because they allow one to enter simultaneously into the earth and darkness. Darkness is linked to both birth and death, which in turn are linked to Grandmother Earth” (Terrell 2003b:36). Caves may also be used for ceremonies and feature petroglyphs, springs, or other features associated with traditional practices. Wakan Tipi, for example, which features a lake and flowing spring, is also associated with the Unktehi, a powerful water spirit (Terrell 2003b:36; Westerman and White 2012:17).

### **OBJECTS**

During the course of this study, no small-scale features related to the city’s Native American heritage were identified in either the literature or by community members, however, that does not mean resources of this type are not present within the city. An example of a significant heritage site that would be classified as an “object,” of which similar examples exist within the metro area and across the state, is the Inyan Sa (Red Rock) located in present-day Newport, Minnesota. These traditional cultural properties are associated with the presence of glacial erratic boulders (Pond 1986 [1908]:87, 89; Dorsey 1894:445-448).

### ***PLANT RESOURCES***

Prior to EuroAmerican settlement, Minneapolis was covered by a mix of oak savanna and tall grass prairie (Marchner 1974). In addition to being a source of edible resources, native plant communities have traditional non-food, medicinal, and ceremonial uses. Historically, Wita Waste / Nicollet Island was covered with sugar maples and the women of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and Tacanku Waste's (Good Road) villages tapped the trees for sugar during the spring sap run (Holcombe and Bingham 1914:63). John Stevens also records that even after their removal to the Minnesota River valley reservations, members of Mahpiya Wicasta and Tacanku Waste's bands would "leave the Agency in the fall for the purpose of gathering the cranberries that grew on the marshes in the neighborhood of Minneapolis" (Stevens 1890:163).

During the course of this study no current native plant communities within Minneapolis were identified in the literature or by community members as being utilized by the city's Native residents. However, that does not mean that plant resources are not being used. In 2005, during the traditional cultural property evaluation of Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring), Dakota interviewees acknowledged that certain medicinal plants are present only in the unique environment provided by natural springs and their surroundings (Terrell et al. 2006:62).

### ***MINERAL RESOURCES***

Clays were used by both the Dakota and Ojibwe not only for making pottery, but also for body painting and dyeing (Zedeño et al. 2001:77). In 1820, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft recorded that at the falls of "Owah-Megah" / St. Anthony Falls, the Dakota gathered a "brownish red" clay that was used for painting canoes and baskets. According to Schoolcraft the clay was collected "at the east side of the river, close under the sheet of the principal column of water" and was "an aluminous substance very much mixed with iron pyrites in a state of decomposition, and penetrated with vegetable juices. It is found in a crevice about ten feet below the water" (Schoolcraft 1821:291).

### **ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES**

Ethnographic resources and traditional cultural properties are the principal property types associated with this context. These types of resources do not have addresses, are rarely documented on maps, and often have no overt features or characteristics that would allow them to be readily identified as significant features.

To date, a National Register eligibility assessment of one Traditional Cultural Property has been completed within Minneapolis. The landform of Taku Wakan Tipi / Morgan's Mound, which is partially located within the city boundary, was evaluated in 2004 (Ollendorf and Anderson 2004) (see Figure 3). The study concluded that while the landform may no longer retain sufficient integrity to be individually eligible for listing on the National Register, it should re-evaluated as a potential contributing element within a discontinuous National Register Historic District centered on Mdote (Ollendorf and Anderson 2004:27-28).

While some types of properties are discussed in this report section, it should be noted that due to the cultural sensitivity of some resources, information on specific places may not have been shared with the report authors. Furthermore, the identification of sacred sites and traditional cultural places is the jurisdiction of tribes and tribal cultural

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authorities. Because these most traditional and sensitive of sites are the least likely to be readily recognized, planners should be aware that work anywhere in the City may have an impact on traditional cultural places, particularly, as one Dakota community member noted, in areas that remain undeveloped or are adjacent to areas that are still in a natural state. For example, tribal consultation should occur prior to a project being undertaken that will impact a cave (even natural caves that have been modified) or in the event that a cave is inadvertently discovered during the course of a project to ensure that it is not a traditional cultural property. Only through tribal consultation can these types of sites be identified.

## CHAPTER 3 . FIRST PEOPLE OF THE MINNEAPOLIS AREA

From the remains of campsites marked by fragments of stone tools and pottery to earthen burial mounds, the lives of the first Native Americans to reside in the Minneapolis area are reflected on the landscape and in the archaeological record. Artifacts, which some elders consider to be gifts from the ancestors, provide tangible connections with these past inhabitants and offer a means of learning about their lives (Figure 8). While over 60 archaeological sites have thus far been identified within the boundaries of Minneapolis, the majority of these sites are associated with the city's industrial heritage. To date, less than 15 Native American heritage archaeological sites have been recorded within the city and an additional seven site leads<sup>5</sup> reported. While development has destroyed or obscured many features associated with the initial Native American occupants of Minneapolis such as mounds, earthworks, habitation sites, and traditional cultural properties, archaeological and cultural resource investigations have demonstrated the continued preservation of heritage sites particularly near the Mississippi River, its tributary streams, and the chain of lakes (Figure 9).

When discussing the tribal ancestors that first occupied the Minneapolis area, archaeologists divide the past into three different periods or cultural traditions:

- Paleoindian (c. 11,200 – c. 7500 B.C.)
- Archaic (c. 7500 – c. 500 B.C.)
- Woodland (1000 B. C. – A.D. 1750)

These traditions are primarily defined by innovations visible in the archaeological record such as changes in the types of tools and style of pottery that people used, as well as variations in subsistence patterns (e.g., hunting, gathering, and cultivation) that occurred

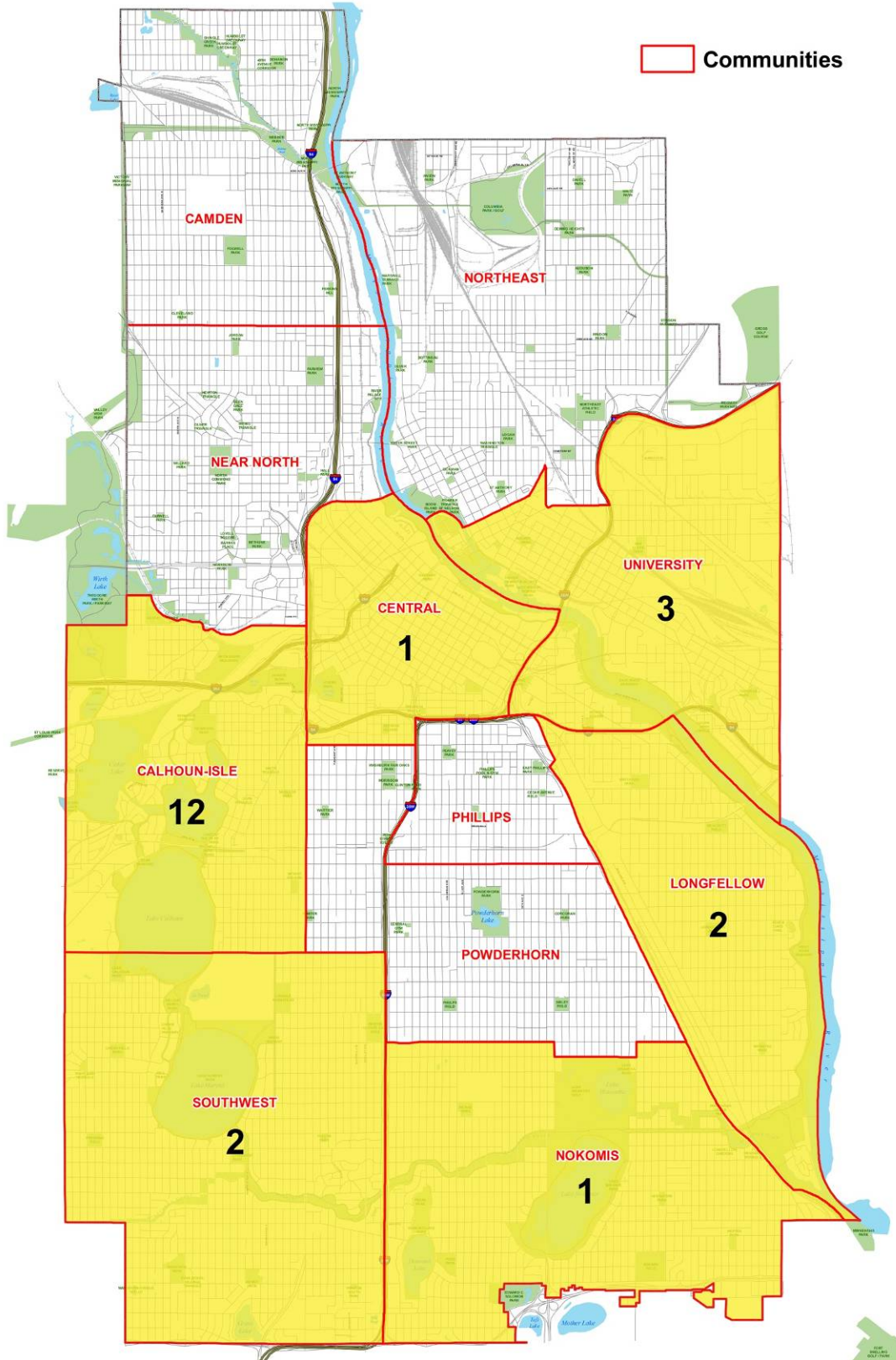


**FIGURE 8. PROJECTILE POINT FROM WITA WASTE / NICOLLET ISLAND (21-HE-373)**

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<sup>5</sup> A site lead is the reported location of a potential archaeological resource that has not been verified by a professional archaeologist. Site leads are assigned letter designations rather than site numbers and are hence commonly referred to as “alpha” sites.

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**FIGURE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWN AND REPORTED NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROPERTIES**

in response to a transforming landscape. It should be noted that the cultural traditions described in this chapter provide only a general overview of Minnesota's first 12,000 years of human occupation. From the perspective of archaeologists, our understanding of the cultural history of Minnesota prior to approximately 2,000 years ago is largely undeveloped because few archaeological sites from these earlier periods have been identified; however, traditional knowledge and oral histories provide other ways of learning about the past.

## **PALEOINDIAN TRADITION (C. 11,200 – C. 7500 B.C.)**

The earliest archaeological evidence for human habitation within what is now Minneapolis is associated with the Paleoindian Tradition, which is the initial era of human occupation in Minnesota. Some 14,000 years ago the retreat of the Wisconsin Glaciation allowed humans to enter the region for the first time (Buhta et al. 2011:30). The Native American people of the Paleoindian Tradition were highly mobile hunters and gatherers. Through the boreal forest and across the grasslands that then covered the region, they pursued herds of large game, including mastodon, bison, and woodland caribou, as well as a variety of smaller animals. During this period the region's occupants used large, finely-crafted lanceolate ("leaf shaped") stone projectile points as spear tips and knives. As they traveled, probably in small bands, they obtained and transported, sometimes for hundreds of miles, the lithic raw materials needed to make these distinctive stone tools (Dobbs 1990a:56).

These first people occupied a landscape that was still dramatically changing. A melt-water infused post-glacial Mississippi River was in the process of creating the river's current gorge through present-day Minneapolis. At Mdote/Bdote, this ancestral Mississippi joined the torrential floodwaters of Glacial River Warren, which had begun carving the Minnesota River valley through the plains about 11,000 years ago. Near present-day St. Paul, a massive thundering waterfall formed where the combined force of these two rivers scoured out the soft material that had in-filled an earlier pre-glacial valley of the Mississippi River (Madigan 2003:33; Ojakangas 2009:282). At the River Warren Falls, the action of the river, which flowed atop a resistant layer of Platteville Limestone, wore away at the softer underlying St. Peter Sandstone until the shelf of limestone was undercut to the point of collapse. In this way, the waterfall progressed upstream a few feet each year. Within another pre-glacial valley of the Mississippi River, giant blocks of glacial ice would melt to form the Minneapolis chain of lakes. These changes and continued shifts in the climate also impacted the area's vegetation so that by about 9,500 years ago the Minneapolis area was no longer covered in boreal forest, but rather was on the border between an expanse of coniferous pine forest to the north and deciduous oak-elm forest to the south (Gibbon 2012:38-43).

Statewide, archaeological evidence from the Paleoindian Tradition is generally sparse, in part because a mobile way of life did not result in concentrations of artifacts like those associated with long-term occupations, and also because much of the land surface that was occupied during this period has since been buried beneath thick deposits of sediment and more recent soils. Paleoindian Tradition archaeological sites that have been found include temporary campsites, animal butchering locations, and places where stone tools were made. Sites from the Paleoindian Tradition are identified by the presence of lanceolate points, which are divided into two groups: those that are fluted, or grooved (Clovis and Folsom points), and those that are non-fluted (Plano). Chipped-

stone axes and adzes, large “turtleback” scraping tools, and trihedral blades used for a variety of tasks are also characteristic of the Paleoindian period.

The Paleoindian Tradition is commonly divided into Early and Late stages. Sites dating to the Early Paleoindian period (11,200 to 10,500 B.C.), when fluted Clovis and Folsom spear points were in use, are scarce and largely limited to the discovery of single spear points without any associated features or artifacts (Gibbon 2012:48-49). While sites dating to the Late Paleoindian stage, between 10,500 and 7500 B.C., are more prevalent throughout Minnesota, they likewise consist mostly of surface-collected Plano spear points; therefore little information is known about life during this time period (Dobbs 1990a; Gibbon 2012:50, 52). To date, a single findspot (21HEy) within the boundary of Minneapolis has produced a possible Early Paleoindian artifact. This site consists of a single fluted projectile point referred to as the “Washington Avenue Bridge Clovis.” This point was reportedly discovered in 1941 along the upper bank of the Mississippi River to the south of the Washington Avenue Bridge near the University of Minnesota campus (Steinbring 1974:64). This site location has not been confirmed by archaeologists (Higginbottom 1996). This point is now in the holdings of the Koochiching County Historical Society (Buhta et al. 2011:38). Based on previously documented sites in the region, Paleoindian sites are most likely to be found on glacial beach ridges and/or in proximity to major drainages and inland lakes. Within the City of Minneapolis, sites of this era should be anticipated along the upper bluffs of the Mississippi River channel and around inland lakes associated with ancient drainages.

## **ARCHAIC PERIOD (C. 7500 – C. 500 B.C.)**

About 9,000 years ago, the region that is now Minnesota continued to experience dramatic environmental changes. Warmer temperatures and decreased precipitation resulted in much of the state being covered by an expanse of prairie interspersed with large lakes and swiftly-flowing rivers fed by glacial runoff (Gibbon et al. 2002:10). These environmental changes contributed to the extinction of the large mammals of the Ice Age and their replacement by our current group of animals including white-tailed deer, moose, and bear among others (Gibbon 2012:43-44). Bison also flourished as the prairie continued to expand eastward (Anfinson 1997:35). In response to this transforming landscape and the variety of game, fish, and plant resources now present, changes also took place in the lives of the people of the region. Referred to as the Archaic period, this era is marked by an increase in the diversity of tool types, raw materials, and local resources being used by Native Americans. The large lanceolate projectile points of the Paleoindian Tradition were replaced by smaller, notched and stemmed stone points for hunting game, while the use of groundstone tools for processing plant material increased. Other implements introduced during the Archaic period included atlatl darts and tools made of bone and native copper. Because of an increased ability to depend on regional resources within an increasingly stable environment, people of the Archaic period became less nomadic and established longer-term seasonal camps with temporary structures and associated storage pits.

Due to the use of resources available within particular regions, Archaic-tradition artifact assemblages demonstrate more regional cultural variations than do Paleoindian sites. For this reason, four distinct Archaic contexts have been identified in Minnesota: Shield Archaic, Lake-Forest Archaic, Prairie Archaic, and Eastern Archaic. During the Archaic period, the Minneapolis area was on the border between the expanse of prairie to the west of the Mississippi River utilized by people of the Prairie Archaic, and the deciduous



forest biome to the east and southeast associated with the people of the Eastern Archaic. While much remains to be learned about both complexes, the archaeological evidence that has been gathered to date indicates that bison hunting played a significant role in the way life of the people of the Prairie Archaic (Dobbs 1990a:92). Artifacts found at Prairie Archaic sites includes projectile points, hafted knives, end and side scrapers, choppers, utilized lithic flakes, and, to a limited extent, groundstone tools (Dobbs 1990a:92). Conversely, Eastern Archaic sites show a reliance on deer as well as aquatic (fish, clams, and mussels) and plant (tree nuts) resources. Eastern Archaic sites typically contain a wide variety of projectile point styles and a preponderance of groundstone tools including axes, mauls, and gouges (Dobbs 1990a:97).

About 4900 B.C., the climate shifted once again to one that was cooler and wetter and which brought about a distinct late Archaic phase. This transition led to the establishment, by about 1200 B.C., of the state's present mix of prairie and forest biomes (Anfinson 1997:42; Gibbon 2012:72-73). In this new environment, the herds of buffalo moved westward, but the shallow prairie lakes, which were previously prone to being seasonal, were nearly always present. While bison continued to be an important part of the subsistence cycle of the late Archaic, the people within the central and northern portion of what is now Minnesota, including Minneapolis, developed a lake oriented habitation pattern that relied more on deer and increasingly took advantage of aquatic resources such as fish and wild rice (Dobbs 1990a; Gibbon 2012:88). Habitation sites of this period are typically located along rivers or on islands and peninsulas of lakes (Dobbs 1990a; Anfinson 1997:42).

In the immediate Minneapolis area, environmental data suggests that much of the present city was covered by prairie during the initial Archaic period, but transitioned to a mixture of prairie and oak savannah during the late Archaic. The Mississippi River flowed through this region within a wide shallow valley like that north of the present Plymouth Avenue Bridge, while the chain of lakes and the tributary streams of the Mississippi River interrupted an otherwise gently rolling landscape. The falls themselves were still downstream from their present location. During the Archaic period, about 5,000 years ago, the great River Warren falls split into two waterfalls as it reached the confluence at Mdote/Mendota (Madigan 2003:34). While the falls that proceeded up the Minnesota River valley eventually collapsed into a series of rapids, the falls on the Mississippi continued to progress north up the river valley spawning smaller waterfalls as it undercut the valleys of its tributaries, including Minnehaha Falls. By the close of the Archaic Period (about 2,500 years ago), the falls on the Mississippi River had progressed north to a point near the present Lake Street-Marshall Avenue Bridge.

To date three archaeological sites with a definitive Archaic period component have been recorded within Minneapolis. These sites, which are located proximate to one another and near the city's chain of lakes, are 21HE312, 21HE313, and 21HE314. These sites were identified as being associated with the Archaic period on the basis of the style of the projectile points recovered; the preponderance and types of lithic artifacts present (including cobble tools); and the lack of associated pottery sherds. Other aceramic lithic scatters documented within the city limits may also date to the Archaic period, but they lack diagnostic artifacts that would allow them to be authoritatively associated with this era.

## **WOODLAND TRADITION (C. 1000 B.C. – A.D. 1750)**

As the climate of the state continued to stabilize, the region's inhabitants began to use the resources available to them in an increasing variety of ways. Hunting and gathering, which had been the primary means of subsistence, was supplemented by a seasonal round that took advantage of seasonally available and locally abundant fish, game, and plant resources (Arzigian 2008:57). In central and southern Minnesota, the period was also marked by the introduction of domesticated plants such as squash, gourds, and beans. The presence of more reliable food sources, led to the adoption of an increasingly sedentary lifestyle as evidenced in the long-term or reoccurring seasonal occupation of village sites. Tied to this increased environmental stability and regional settlement patterns were the advent of ceramic technology and the construction of earthen mounds. These changes occurred in Minnesota between approximately 3,000 and 900 years ago. It should be noted that these innovations were not adopted in all areas of the state at the same time or necessarily together.

Woodland sites are more frequently documented by Minnesota archaeologists because they are more widely distributed and not usually as deeply buried as Paleoindian and Archaic sites. The presence of ceramics and distinct tool types also allows these sites to be more readily assigned to a particular tradition than non-diagnostic lithic scatters. Consequently, a relative abundance of Woodland-period artifacts has enabled archaeologists to develop a chronological framework consisting of an Early and Middle (Initial) (ca. 1000 B.C.–A.D. 500) and Late (Terminal) (ca. A.D. 500-1750) Woodland periods, and to assign Woodland sites to distinct traditions. Those Woodland traditions that are likely to be most evident in the Minneapolis area include the Southeast Minnesota Early Woodland Complex (500 –200 B.C.); the Havana-Related Complex of the Middle Woodland (200 B.C. – A.D. 200/300); the Central Minnesota Transitional Woodland Complex (A.D. 300-1000); and the Southeast Minnesota Late Woodland Complex (A.D. 500-1150) (Arzigian 2008).

### Southeast Minnesota Early Woodland Complex (500 – 200 B.C.)

The diagnostic artifact type for the Southeast Minnesota Early Woodland Complex is La Moille Thick ceramics. The five sites in Minnesota that have produced this ware type are located within riverine settings in the southeastern and south-central portions of the state. Three of the sites are situated along the Mississippi River, but not north of St. Paul. It has been suggested that these sites "might reflect the gradual nature of the transition between Archaic and Woodland in this region" (Arzigian 2008:30-34).

### Havana-Related Complex of the Middle Woodland (200 B.C. – A.D. 200/300)

The Havana-Related Complex dates to the Middle Woodland (ca. 200 B.C. – A.D. 200/300) in central and eastern Minnesota (Arzigian 2008). This period is marked by the presence of northern Havana Hopewell ceramic and burial mound traditions that originated in the Illinois River valley (Dobbs 1990a:130). The exchange of cultural concepts between Minnesota's Havana-related cultures and the Havana Hopewell is likely tied to an extensive trade network that focused on the transfer of raw materials from one region to another (Dobbs 1990a:130). Havana-related sites have a strong association with the Mississippi and St. Croix river valleys and inland lakes (Arzigian 2008:36, 41).

Central Minnesota Transitional Woodland Complex (A.D. 300-1000)

This context marks the transition between the Middle and Late Woodland cultures in central Minnesota that occurred about A.D. 300–1000 (Arzigian 2008:85). Ceramics encompassed by this complex include St. Croix wares, followed slightly later in time by Onamia wares. Projectile points associated with this complex include triangular points and small, side-notched points. Important subsistence resources included deer, along with beaver, bear, bison, and other small mammals, and to a lesser degree fish. Evidenced during this period is a shift towards a seasonal round subsistence strategy (Gibbon and Hohman-Caine 1976). Sites of this era are associated with lakes and stream outlets.

Southeast Minnesota Late Woodland Complex (A.D. 500-1150)

The Southeast Minnesota Late Woodland Complex is associated with populations that continued to hunt, gather, and fish, but which also began growing crops towards the end of the period. Effigy and other mounds are typical of this period, as are cord-impressed ceramics and true triangular bow-and-arrow projectile points. Sites are found along terraces and bluffs associated with the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and west to the Blue Earth River valley (Arzigian 2008:93).

While due to the presence of pottery, more archaeological sites within Minneapolis can be assigned to the Woodland period than to the previous Paleoindian and Archaic periods, our understanding of the lives of Native American people who lived in the Minneapolis area during the Woodland period is still limited. To date no Woodland period sites within the city have undergone an intensive archaeological investigation, and the six sites (21HE117, 21HE313, 21HE314, 21HE315, 21HE342, and 21HE386) that have produced pottery fragments have produced a combined total of less than 30 sherds of which most were non-diagnostic body sherds. The few sherds that exhibited decoration or rim shapes indicate only that the Minneapolis area was occupied from the Initial through Terminal Woodland periods. Also likely associated with the Woodland period are three locations (21HE<sub>x</sub>, 21HE<sub>z</sub>, and 21HE<sub>ai</sub>) where mounds were observed within the boundary of Minneapolis during the nineteenth century. As mound construction began during the Woodland period, these earthworks likely originated during this period. Due to development since their documentation, earthworks are no longer visible at these three locations. It should also be noted that because the recording of earthworks within Minnesota did not occur until after the development of the Minneapolis area had begun in earnest, the three documented locations do not likely reflect all the mound groups present within the city's boundaries.

## **ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES**

The principal property type associated with this period is archaeological sites. To date, 15 Native American heritage archaeological sites have been recorded within the city and an additional seven site leads reported (Table 2). Most of these sites have not undergone archaeological investigations sufficient to determine whether they are eligible for local historical designation or for listing in the National Register. However, past studies of sites 21HE312, 21HE313, and 21HE314 indicate that they contain significant archaeological evidence and well-preserved deposits to meet the criteria for historical designation (Harrison 2000:ii).

MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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**TABLE 1. MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROPERTIES**

Property ID No. (PID)	SHPO No.	Address	Property Type	Association
None	21-HE-117	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Woodland
None	21-HE-312	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Archaic
None	21-HE-313	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Archaic / Woodland
None	21-HE-314	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Archaic / Woodland
None	21-HE-315	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Woodland
None	21-HE-342	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Woodland
None	21-HE-343	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-373	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-386	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Woodland
None	21-HE-391	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-394	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-409	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-411	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-412	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Indeterminate
None	21-HE-w	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Reported artifact finds
None	21-HE-x	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Mound Locale / Woodland (probable)
None	21-HE-y	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Paleoindian
None	21-HE-z	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Mound Locale / Woodland (probable)
None	21-HE-ae	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Reported artifact finds
None	21-HE-af	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Reported artifact finds
None	21-HE-ai	Restricted*	Site (Archaeological)	Mound Locale / Woodland (probable)

*\*The location of archaeological sites is not provided in public documents in order to protect these sensitive resources from unauthorized disturbance.*

Due to the limited number of Native American heritage archaeological sites thus far identified within the city, all such sites have the potential to contribute to our understanding of the lives of these first people of the Minneapolis area. However, single artifact findspots typically have limited information potential and generally do not meet the standards for historical designation. Archaeological sites with good integrity, and particularly undisturbed, stratified sites, have the potential to provide significant information about the material culture and lives of Minneapolis' first residents, including where they lived, what they ate, and changes that took place in their culture and way of life over time. Therefore, well-preserved Native American heritage archaeological sites would be potentially historically significant for their ability to yield information important to our understanding of this era (NRHP Criterion D; HPC Criterion 7).

## **CHAPTER 4 . FROM CONTACT TO EXILE (1680-1863)**

Long before direct contact with EuroAmerican explorers occurred in the late 1600s, the Native people of the Minneapolis region had already begun to experience profound changes in their way of life. Many tribes suffered significant mortality as foreign disease spread across the continent well in advance of direct contact. Increased inter-tribal territorial disputes and warfare also resulted in loss of life as a wave of displaced populations that began on the east coast pushed westward forcing relocated Native groups to in turn dislocate other Native American tribes from their traditional lands. Over the ensuing centuries these losses continued. After 1805, the Dakota homeland encompassing present-day Minneapolis was increasingly eroded by treaties and encroached upon by EuroAmerican settlers. When an 1851 treaty opened the west side of the Mississippi River to settlement, the Dakota people who lived in the Minneapolis area were relocated to a reservation in the Minnesota River Valley. Ten short years later in the wake of the U.S.-Dakota War many of the same individuals were forcibly returned and incarcerated below Fort Snelling at Mdote. At this place of origin, their journey of exile began.

### **MNI SOTA MAKOCE: LAND OF THE DAKOTA**

From an archaeological perspective, the transition between the Woodland Period and the Native people that lived in the region of Minneapolis during the era of initial contact with EuroAmericans is still poorly understood. Some archaeological sites in southern Minnesota have been tentatively connected to the Bah Kho-je (Ioway) and the Otoe (Dobbs 1990a:187). Mdewakanton Dakota told of “having expelled the Iowas from the country bordering on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers” and “having driven the Iowas from southern Minnesota” (Pond 1986 [1908]:174; Pond 1872:114). By the late 1600s, Santee (Isányathi) or Eastern Dakota people resided across the greater portion of what would become northern and central Minnesota, including the Minneapolis area (Wedel 1986; Dobbs 1990b:25). The prairie region, in the west and southwest portions of the state, was occupied by the Teton (Thíthunwan) and the Yankton and Yanktonai (Iháŋkthunwan) or Western Dakota (Wedel 1974:157). While further north, the Assiniboine and Cree controlled much of the region to the west/northwest of Lake Superior (Gibbon et al. 2002).

From the mid-1600s through mid-1800s, shifts in the geographic arrangement of Native American groups within Minnesota continued due largely to the gradual movement of the Ojibwe into the region and the simultaneous shift of Dakota lifeways from the woodlands of northern Minnesota to the prairies and plains of the south and western portions of the state. Oral traditions tell of an Ojibwe migration that began at the Atlantic Seaboard and proceeded westward through the Great Lakes region (Sultzman 2000). The westward movement of the Ojibwe was motivated in part by the fur trade with the French and when the beaver population declined in the La Pointe region of northern Wisconsin, it is said that Ojibwe bands radiated “inland, westward and southward towards the beautiful lakes and streams which form the tributaries of the Wisconsin, Chippewa, and St. Croix rivers, and along the south coast of the Great Lake to its utmost extremity, and from thence even inland unto the headwaters of the Mississippi”(Warren 1984 [1885]:126). At the end of this migration, Ojibwe people found the prophesied manoomin, the “food that grows on water” or wild rice. By the early 1800s, “the Mississippi Headwaters and most of the lake-forest region of Minnesota was occupied and controlled by [Ojibwe] people”

(Dobbs 1990b:47) and “the Eastern Dakota were established at a series of villages along the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers” (Dobbs 1990b:34). Meanwhile, Western Dakota groups traveled widely across the prairie lands between the upper-Mississippi and Missouri rivers as they pursued a lifeway to which buffalo were central (Michlovich 1985; Dobbs 1990b:33, 40) (Figure 10). The Santee or Eastern Dakota are divided into four sub-divisions: Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Sisseton. Prior to the treaty period, the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute communities lived principally along the lower Mississippi River and the eastern portions of the Minnesota River valley, while Wahpeton and Sisseton communities resided within the western Minnesota River valley and around the larger prairie lakes of southwest and west-central Minnesota. The villages of the river valleys and lakes were semi-permanent communities. Here the inhabitants of the village would reside while tending crops, fishing, and living off the resources of the river valleys and lakes. From these villages the Dakota would depart to pursue game, such as deer and buffalo; and to gather other seasonal resources, such as maple syrup (Pond 1986 [1908]:4; 26-31, 44, 53).

Dakota communities are associated with their summer village locations within the Minnesota and Mississippi river valleys. Early EuroAmerican explorers navigating the rivers of the region frequently noted the presence of these villages as they encountered them along their routes. While a Dakota village was not recorded at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers from the early nineteenth century on, oral histories and the documentary record make reference to an “old village” that formerly occupied the confluence. This village is referred to as Ti Tanka Tanina; Tetankantane; or Titankatatinna — the “large old village,” and is said to have been the initial village of the Mdewakanton Dakota in the confluence area (Durand 1994:92; Ollendorf and Anderson



**FIGURE 10. BUFFALO HUNT, c. 1847**

*(Seth Eastman, MNHS Neg. No. 12949)*

2004:10). This village is said to have consisted of 400 or more lodges and is described as being made up of the bands of Wabasha, Red Wing, and Little Crow, prior to those groups splitting off to form separate villages further down the Mississippi River (Anderson 1984:74, 79; Durand 1994:92-93). EuroAmerican documentation of the original location of Ti Tanka Tanina is limited. Nicollet Perrot placed the Dakota at the mouth of the Minnesota River in 1689, although it is uncertain if he is referring to a village site or simply the occupation of the region around the river's mouth. However, Delisle notes in 1702 that the village of Touchouacsinton "was no longer at the river mouth," indicating that at some point in time it was at the confluence and had since removed (Wedel 1974:166). No additional eighteenth-century documentation of the Dakota occupation of the confluence area is available until Jonathan Carver's explorations. The journals of Carver do not indicate a village at the confluence in November of 1766, but Carver did not encounter any villages along the river until he arrived at a large seasonal encampment of Dakota near present day Belle Plaine. The following spring, Carver was met at "the juncture of the Mississippi and [Minnesota] rivers by 'part of two or three bands of the Naudowessee [Dakota] and a number of chiefs both of the plains and river bands' that he had invited to meet him there" (Parker 1976:116). When Zebulon Pike arrives in 1805, he records the Dakota villages Wabasha, Red Wing, and Little Crow, indicating that if the "large old village" of Ti Tanka Tanina was indeed a composite of these bands, it had broken up by that time into several smaller villages.

## **THE TRADITIONAL SEASONAL ROUND**

During this period, the lives of both Dakota and Ojibwe families followed a well-defined annual pattern, or traditional seasonal round, that optimized their use of the types of fish, game and plant resources locally abundant at different times of the year. As the snows melted and the sap began to run, Native families would leave their winter camps and travel to their sugar-making grounds. Here they would tap trees, collect sap in birch bark containers, and boil the sap down into sugar that was packed into birch bark storage baskets (Pond 1986 [1908]:53-54). Fishing, first on frozen lakes and then in flowing streams, also occurred during this time of year (Pond 1986 [1908]:30-31; White 2007:77, 110-112). The activities of this season would provide the families with a supply of sugar, often packed in birch-bark containers, as well as dried fish (White 2007:110). During the summer Dakota bands gathered in large groups at semi-permanent village sites located along the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers and inland lakes, likewise Ojibwe bands gathered at their traditional summer encampments on the shores of northern Minnesota lakes (Figure 11). Here they would plant gardens and fish, build canoes, prepare hides, and weave mats of bulrush, cedar bark, and cattails (White 2007:117-126). Summer was also a time for gathering available medicinal plants and picking berries, which were dried and stored for later use (White 2007:117, 127). Dakota people also harvested tipsinah (prairie turnips) and water lily roots (Pond 1986[1908]:28). As fall approached, families would go to their wild-rice fields. The wild rice that they harvested together with the crops from the summer gardens would supply their family in the coming months (Pond 1986 [1908]:29; White 2007:132). As the lakes froze and the snow came, Native families moved to winter camp sites. Winter was a time of hunting and trapping, and the butchering and drying of meat so camps were located in the woods near the game (White 2007:137; Pond 1986 [1908]:4). Winter housing had to be portable so that the camp could readily move to areas where game was available. Ojibwe winter homes were covered in bark and insulated with woven mats; while the Dakota occupied tipis covered in dressed buffalo hide (White 2007:126 Pond 1986 [1908]:38-39).



**FIGURE 11. DAKOTA SUMMER VILLAGE, C. 1847**

*(Seth Eastman, MNHS Neg. No. 12700)*

## **CONTACT**

Europeans first entered the region of Minnesota during the 1660s, when two Frenchmen, Sieur des Groseilliers and Sieur de Radisson, explored the Lake Superior region. Over the next hundred years, the French continued to explore the far regions of the state, setting up a network of forts and fur trade posts along major waterways and at large bodies of water (Gibbon et al. 2002:12). Extensive trading systems developed and by 1678 the Dakota of Minnesota were trading with merchants in Quebec and Montreal. The introduction of EuroAmerican cultures and technologies greatly impacted the lifeways of Native Americans. Hunting for subsistence became largely replaced by hunting for trade, and through trade many indigenous manufacturing materials, such as stone and pottery, were replaced with European materials, including glass, porcelain, brass, and iron. The first recorded EuroAmerican visitors to the area that is now Minneapolis were in the company of Father Louis Hennepin, who arrived at the falls in 1680. Upon viewing the falls, Hennepin named them after his patron saint, St. Anthony of Padua. Subsequent EuroAmerican explorers, who were drawn to see the falls included Pierre-Charles LeSueur in 1691 and Jonathan Carver in 1766.

In 1762, France ceded lands west of the Mississippi River to Spain, and in the following year, transferred ownership of the remainder of most of its territory in North America to the British. Additionally, although French and Spanish traders continued to construct settlements, including St. Louis and Prairie du Chien, into the 1770s, the British soon controlled most of the fur trade in the region west of Lake Superior through the establishment of the North West Company in 1783 (Dobbs 1990b:71). However, beginning that same year, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris at the end of the American Revolutionary War, the United States took control of that portion of present-



day Minnesota east of the Mississippi River and its headwaters. Twenty years later, the United States' acquisition from France of the Louisiana Purchase led to American jurisdiction of that portion west of the river as well. Initially, these distant actions had very little direct impact on the governance of the region that was still very much Dakota and Ojibwe territory. The most evident outcome of these negotiations to the region's Native people was that the people with whom they traded had transitioned from being French, to British, to American. Through subsequent expeditions by Zebulon Pike (1805 to 1807), as well as the establishment of a military presence at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers in 1819, the U.S. began to exert control over the land that is now Minnesota (Gibbon et al. 2002:12).

## THE FUR TRADE

At the heart of the culture-exchange of the contact era was the economy of the fur trade. Trading posts were not only places where Native people and Euro-Americans interacted, but many traders were themselves of Native heritage or had Native family members. The locations of trading posts were often associated with nearby villages or temporary camps of those who came to trade (Figure 12). There are no trading posts that have been historically documented within the corporate boundaries of Minneapolis (Nute 1930). The nearest trading posts were those situated at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. The earliest of these was a c.1810 British post established on Wita Tanka / Pike Island (Nute 1930:376). Although no longer British territory, these traders took advantage of the lack of a permanent American presence to conduct trade

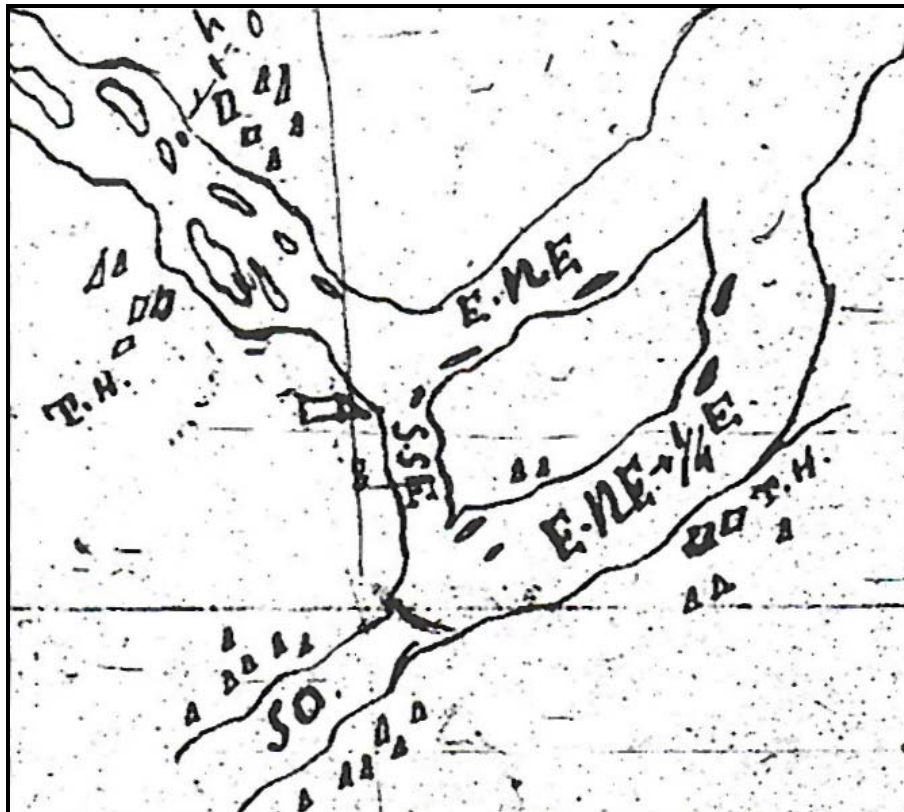


FIGURE 12. THE MDOE / BDOE AREA ON JOSEPH NICOLLET'S 1837 SKETCH MAP

at the confluence. Only after the 1815 conclusion of the War of 1812 did the American Fur Company establish control of the region's fur trade. In tandem with the establishment of Fort Snelling, Jean-Baptiste Faribault established a trading post on Pike Island perhaps re-occupying the earlier British post. Soon thereafter, the American Fur Company established a permanent post on the east bank of the river opposite the fort at what would become Mendota. Faribault eventually relocated to that site as well which became the regional depot for trade with the Dakota. During the 1830s, Benjamin Baker, an independent trader, also operated a trading post on the west side of the confluence near Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring) (Pond 1986[1908]:23). The locations of these trading houses together with the Native campsites around them and nearby villages on the Minnesota River are indicated on a sketch map prepared by Joseph Nicollet in 1837 (the American Fur Company and Baker's post are labeled "T.H.") (see Figure 12). The advantages of the confluence for trade coupled with the impediment that the falls presented to river travel explains the absence of trading posts within the Minneapolis area.

## **FORT SNELLING AND THE ST. PETER INDIAN AGENCY**

The aforementioned difficulty in controlling the fur trade was one of the primary motivations behind the construction of Fort Snelling and the St. Peter Indian Agency at Mdote/Bdote. As summarized by Clouse and Steiner (1998:vi-vii): "Built between 1820 and 1825, Fort Snelling's clear initial objectives were to control the principle avenues of communication, provide support for the Indian Agency by sustaining a threat through armed force, maintain peace among the inhabitants of the region, and prevent settlement of whites in what was Indian territory. These combined objectives of the Indian Agency and military were so commerce oriented they appear almost single-minded in nature: they were to control the avenues of the fur trade, keep out foreign fur traders, keep Indians from conflict with each other so that they would continue to provide the labor force for the fur trade, and keep whites from interfering with Indians so they could engage in the acquisition of furs (Clouse 1996)."

As the frontier moved west the fort was sold in 1858, but was reactivated in 1861 during the Civil War. Growth in the fort during this period is witnessed through the construction of a number of temporary buildings to house training functions. The fort continued to expand during the late 1800s, particularly during the 1870s and 1880s, when Fort Snelling became the headquarters of the U.S. military's Department of the Dakota from which campaigns against American Indian nations in the western United States were staged and supplied. The fort continued to be active through the Spanish-American War, the Philippine-American War, World War I, and World War II. The fort was closed for a second time in October 1946.

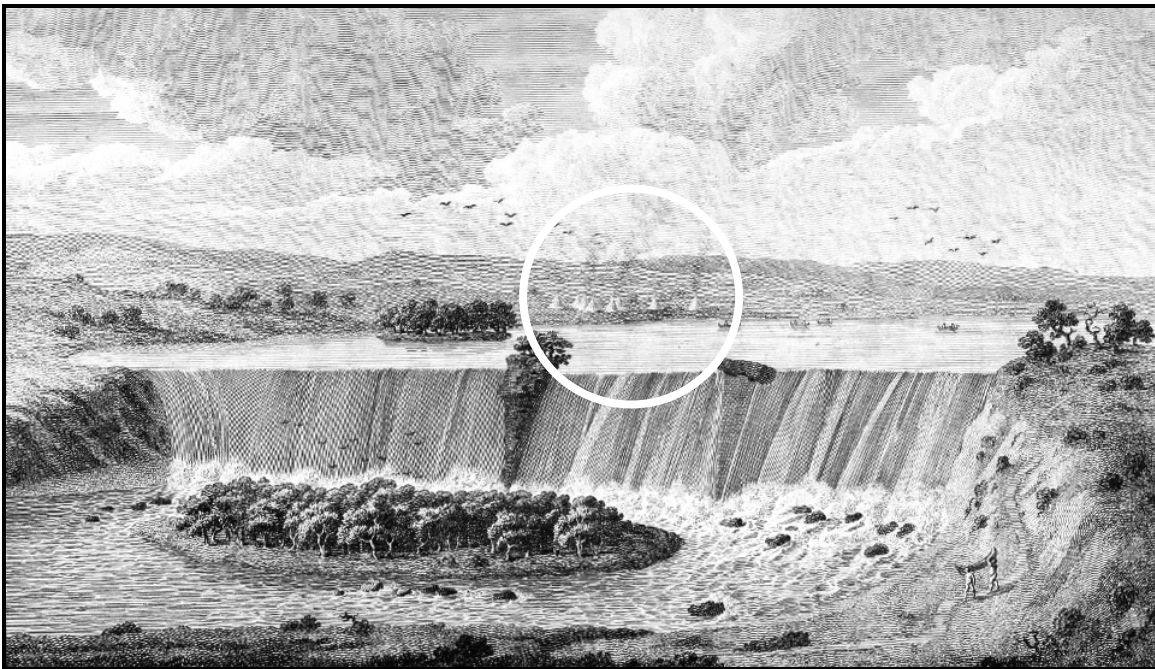
While Fort Snelling and the former site of the St. Peter Indian Agency are not located within present-day Minneapolis, the presence of these institutions had a direct impact and far-reaching effect upon the lives of Native people living in the region and beyond. That portion of the city located west of the Mississippi River, south of the mouth of Bassett's Creek, and east of the Chain of Lakes was within the fort's military reserve. In support of the fort, a sawmill was constructed in 1821 on the west side of the falls and two years later it was joined by a grist mill (Anfinson 1989:20). These government mills were the first permanent structures at the falls and they foreshadowed the growth of "the Mill City" in a matter of decades.

## DAKOTA PRESENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS

During this period, there were two principal Dakota habitation sites located within the Minneapolis area. One was the village at Bde Maka Ska (Lake Calhoun) under the leadership of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and the other was a seasonal campsite near the falls, which is often associated with Tacanku Waste (Good Road), although Mahpiya Wicasta also camped there at times. From 1829 through 1839, the village of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) was located at Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun, while Tacanku Waste's (Good Road) principal village was located at the mouth of Nine Mile Creek in Bloomington. Describing Minneapolis in late April 1849, John Stevens wrote (Stevens 1890:21):

“We were particularly charmed with the lay of the land on the west bank of the Falls – which the present sit of Minneapolis includes. A few Indians belonging to Good Road's band had their tepees up, and were living temporarily in them, in the oak-openings on the hill a little west of the landing of the old ferry.”

Historically, nearby Wita Waste / Nicollet Island was covered with sugar maples and it is probable that these members of Tacanku Waste's band were camped near the falls to collect sap and process sugar (Holcombe and Bingham 1914:63). While April would seem late for such activities, the spring of 1849 was unusually cold. The referenced hill may be the rise that is still evident near the intersection of North 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue and North 4<sup>th</sup> Street in downtown. The plate of the falls included in Carver's 1788 account of his travels includes a village at this location, although the accuracy of the etching is unclear given that Carver does not mention a village at the falls (Carver 1788:68 op.) (Figure 13).



**FIGURE 13. A VILLAGE ABOVE THE FALLS (CIRCLED) IN A 1788 ENGRAVING**

Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) was not a hereditary Mdewakanton chief but rather his leadership role came about through a life decision. According to Samuel Pond, Mahpiya Wicasta was part of a hunting party that was engulfed by a blizzard while on the open plains in the region of the Missouri River. As he waited out the storm literally drifted over with snow, Mahpiya Wicasta decided that, should he live, he would accept Agent Lawrence Taliaferro's offer to plant at Lake Calhoun (Pond 1986[1908]:10). In the fall of 1829, a group of families started a new village at Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun (Westerman and White 2012:250fn xviii). As noted earlier in this chapter, the Dakota already cultivated and harvested a variety of plants including "a small kind of corn that ripened early" (Pond 1986[1908]:27). But unlike the EuroAmerican model in which planting and harvesting was considered the work of men, in Dakota culture women tended the gardens. Taking up farming at Bde Maka Ska differed principally from Dakota tradition in the reliance on crops as the primary form of subsistence and in the concept of men as farmers. Taliaferro, who provided assistance in the form of seed and tools, dubbed the colony "Eatonville" in honor of John Eaton the U.S. Secretary of War. In Dakota the village was known as Heyata Otunwe, "the village at the back" or "the village at the side" (Durand 1994:22; Beane 2012). The translation recorded in Nicollet is "the village of the end" (Nicollet 1993:255). In 1834, Indian Agent Lawrence Taliaferro persuaded the newly arrived Christian missionary brothers Samuel and Gideon Pond to live at Bde Maka Ska assisting the Dakota with their farming while running their mission. Here they learned Dakota and began work on the first Dakota alphabet and language texts.

According to Gideon Pond, the Dakota village was on the site of present-day Lakewood Cemetery, while the log cabin that he and his brother constructed was on a knoll on the east side of Bde Maka Ska upon which the Pavilion Hotel was later constructed (Atwater 1893a:25) (Figure 14). In 1835, Gideon Pond assisted the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the construction of a house on the west shore of Bde Unma / Lake Harriet to serve as a school. During the winter of 1835-36, Mahpiya Wicasta's children attended the school, and it also served as a boarding school for a few "half-breed" daughters of white fathers (Pond 1940a:30; Atwater 1893a:25; Bean 1989:30). After Stevens arrival, the Ponds were often absent from the lake going on hunts with the Dakota to learn the language; in the instance of Gideon working at Lac qui Parle from 1836-39; or in Samuel's case returning to Connecticut during the winter of 1836-37 to get his preaching license (Pond 1940a:31; 1940b:158). When Gideon returned to the lake in 1839, Stevens left for Wabasha (Pond 1940b:167).

Also present at Bde Maka Ska were families associated with Kahboka (the Drifter), who in 1829 was described as the second chief of the Black Dog band (Westerman and White 2012:143). Samuel Pond wrote:

When we first went to Lake Calhoun the village was small and all acknowledged Mapriwecaxta as chief, but, in consequence of our going there, they gathered in from other villages, so that in a short time the number was great increased, and among others an old man named Karboka who claimed to be a chief came bringing a good many with him.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In his notes from his 1838-1839 expeditions, Nicollet records both "Marhpi wichashta" and "Karbomboke" as chiefs of "Rheatan ottonwe" (Nicollet 1993:255).



**FIGURE 14. MAP OF THE DAKOTA VILLAGE AND THE POND AND STEVENS MISSIONS**

*(Detail from a Map Drawn by Indian Agent Lawrence Taliaferro in 1835)*

This influx of members of other bands may account for an 1837 account that references the bands of “Bad Hail” and “Eagle Head” at “Lake Calhoun” together with “Good Road” (Holcombe 1908:163).<sup>7</sup> The community grew from approximately 135 Dakota in 1834 to 207 (72 men, 54 women, 81 children) in 1839 (Anfinson 2003:68; White and White 1998:38). In 1839, Mahpiya Wicasta’s band left Bde Maka Ska out of fear of retaliation for hostilities against the Ojibwe (Pond 1940:167).<sup>8</sup> So dire was the threat that the Ponds dismantled their log cabin to create a defensive breastwork for the Dakota (Pond 1940:24). Fort Snelling’s commander, Major Plympton took advantage of the unrest to remove the Dakota from the military reserve (he also leveled the cabins of EuroAmerican squatters on the reserve in 1840)(Pond 1940b:167). Plympton wanted Mahpiya Wicasta’s band to move to the Credit River, but they selected a location in the Minnesota River Valley near Tacanku Waste’s (Good Road) village, and the Pond brothers started a new mission nearby that they called “Oak Grove” (Pond 1940b:168; Birk 1993:3).

Tacanku Waste (Good Road) was the leader of Dakota village that was alternately referred to as Pinichon’s village or Tetankatane (“old village”) indicating its connection to the original Dakota village at the confluence, although by the first part of the nineteenth century it was located near where Iyutapi Napcinwanka / Nine Mile Creek joins the

<sup>7</sup> Wasu Wicastasni (Bad Hail) and Huyapa (Eagle Head) were head men of the bands of Maza Hota (Gray Iron) and Sakpe (the Six), respectively. Huyapa broke off to form his own village (Pond 1986 [1908]:6-7).

<sup>8</sup> The followers of Kahboka (the Drifter) relocated closer to the fort and in 1841, he and his son were killed by Ojibwe between Fort Snelling and Camp Cold Water (Pond 1893:150, 152-153)

Minnesota River in present-day Bloomington (Terrell et al. 2006:38). Tacanku Waste (Good Road) became the chief of Titanka Tanina (ancient village) in 1833 after the death of his father, Wanyagya Inazin (He Sees Standing Up), who was also known as “Le fils de Penichon” (the son of Penichon) (Durand 1994:93). In 1839 the village had a population of 186 (62 men, 34 women, 90 children) (White and White 1998:38). Tacanku Waste died in 1854 at the Redwood Agency and his son Mankato became chief. Mankato was killed during the U.S.-Dakota War at the Battle of Wood Lake.

## **TREATIES: THE PATH TO REMOVAL**

Fourteen major land cession treaties, and some smaller agreements, would eventually be signed by the Ojibwe and Dakota in Minnesota. The treaties described above, and others, ultimately resulted in the nearly complete exile of the Dakota people from the confluence area. The three treaties described below, and others, ultimately resulted in the removal of Dakota people from the Minneapolis area and their eventual exile from Minnesota.<sup>9</sup>

- Treaty with the Sioux, 1805
- Treaty with the Sioux, 1837
- Treaty with the Sioux, 1851

### ***TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, 1805***

After the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike was sent to explore the upper Mississippi River and secure the site of a military post through a treaty with the Dakota. Pike arrived at the island that would come to bear his name on Saturday, September 21, 1805. Over the following day, the Dakota of the region arrived and encamped on the island with Pike’s men (Pike 1810:25). At noon on Monday, September 23, a council was held beneath a “bower or shade” constructed from sails “on the beach” (Pike 1810:25). Pike’s objective was to secure land around the confluence including the Falls of St. Anthony for the establishment of a military post as well as to broker a peace between the Dakota and Ojibwe. In the text of the treaty, the land granted is described as “nine miles square at the mouth of the river St. Croix, also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters, up the Mississippi, to include the falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river” (Kappler 1904:1031). A value was not assigned at the time of the treaty, but Pike estimated the value of the approximately 100,000 acres granted “equal to \$200,000” (Pike 1810:25). The Senate entered the amount of \$2,000. Although the only signatories to Pike’s grant were Petit Corbeau (Little Crow) and the Fils de Pinchow (signed as Way Aga Enogee) he records that Dakota leaders Le Grand Partisan, L’Original Leve, Le Demi Douzen, Le Beccasse, and Le Bouef que Marche were also present. It has been suggested that these two leaders were the only signers of the treaty because it was recognized by the other Dakota present that the lands within the grant were claimed by their villages (Foster 1854; Jackson 1966:n246). Pike’s expedition remained on the island through September 25<sup>th</sup> on which day they continued their journey up the Mississippi River. Although ratified by the United State Senate on April 16, 1808, the 1805 Treaty with the Sioux was never proclaimed by the President. Nonetheless, this treaty was understood to be in effect at the time that the construction of Fort Snelling began.

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<sup>9</sup> The legal names of the treaties use the term “Sioux” to refer to the Dakota. For the full text of these treaties, please see the University of Oklahoma’s Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties website (<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/index.htm>).

The area of Minneapolis encompassed by the 1805 military reserve is that portion of the city located west of the Mississippi River, south of the mouth of Bassett's Creek (also called Nine Mile Creek), and east of the "Chain of Lakes" with the line of the reserve cutting through the center of Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun and then passing to the west of Bde Unma /Lake Harriet).

### ***TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, 1837***

The year 1837 marked the beginning of a series of treaties between and Dakota and Ojibwe tribes and the U.S. Government that resulted in the loss of tribal territory to the east of the Mississippi River and below the mouth of the Crow Wing River. Through this treaty, which was signed in Washington, D.C., the Mdewakanton Dakota ceded their land between Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, ostensibly in exchange for annuities to be received for 20 years. This treaty opened that portion of Minneapolis to the east of the Mississippi River to settlement leading to the development of the east side of the falls and the creation of St. Anthony.

### ***TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, 1851***

The remaining Dakota lands within Minnesota, including all that portion of Minneapolis west of the Mississippi River, were lost to the United States through treaties signed in 1851 between the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands at Traverse des Sioux and the companion treaty with the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands signed at Mendota.<sup>10</sup> The terms of the 1851 treaties were greatly influenced by the interests of the traders who fraudulently benefited from large payments paid directly to them instead of to the Dakota (Westerman and White 2012:190-192). As a result of the treaties, the Santee Dakota in Minnesota were assigned to a reservation along the Minnesota River valley.<sup>11</sup> Initially, the tract of land reserved for the Dakota by the 1851 treaty was 20 miles wide (10 miles to either side of the Minnesota River) and stretched along the river approximately 150 miles from Lake Traverse on the north to Little Rock Creek in western Nicollet County on the south. This reservation was divided at the river's junction with Yellow Medicine River and Hawk Creek into upper and lower portions. The upper reservation was assigned to the Wahpeton and Sisseton or "Upper Sioux," and the lower reservation to the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands or "Lower Sioux." Two agencies were eventually constructed to serve both portions of the reservation, the Upper Sioux Agency (or Yellow Medicine Agency) near present-day Granite Falls, and the Lower Sioux Agency (or Redwood Agency) near Morton, Minnesota. The bands of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and Tacanku Waste (Good Road) were relocated to the Lower Sioux Agency.

## **REMOVAL**

With the ratification of the 1851 treaties, relocation of Dakota bands began in the fall of 1853 even though the reservations had not yet been fully prepared for their arrival. By 1855, most Dakota in Minnesota had been relocated, however, for much of the 1850s, due to poor conditions on the reservations and a general lack of assistance and provisions, Dakota people continued to return to their traditional lands outside the

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<sup>10</sup> For an analysis of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and its translation into the Dakota language see Westerman and White 2012:173-179.

<sup>11</sup> The U.S. Senate eliminated the language that called for the creation of the Minnesota River valley reservations, and called for other lands to be selected instead. Only through the intervention of President Fillmore were Dakota people allowed to settle on the original reserve.

reservation in order to hunt and harvest food (Westerman and White 2012:198). Members of the bands of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and Tacanku Waste (Good Road) returned to the Minneapolis area to visit traditional springs and gather cranberries (Stevens 1890:163)(Figure 15). According to Stevens, those visits that occurred after 1851 were of a short duration in comparison to earlier years when hundreds would come to the falls (Stevens 1890:163). One of these visits was documented in 1852 in the frequently reproduced image of teepees in the vicinity of Bridge Square with the Stevens house in the background (MNHS Neg. No. 583) (Figure 16).

After their removal to the reservation along the Minnesota River in 1853, the Mdewakanton bands of Mahpiya Wicasta and Tacanku Waste were located near each other to the east of the Lower Sioux Agency (Curtiss-Wedge 1916:102). During the reservation period, the leaders of these groups transitioned. Although Mahpiya Wicasta was still alive he had passed the leadership of the band to Wasuhyahidan (Traveling Hail/Passing Hail), and Mankato, son of Tacanku Waste, became the leader of the Tetankatane band after his father's death in 1854. In 1858, while living at the Redwood Agency, Mahpiya Wicasta's great-grandson Hakadah (later Ohiyesa)/Charles Eastman was born to his granddaughter Wakantakawin, who died from complications of the birth (Bean 1989).



**FIGURE 15. DAKOTA MEN AT MNIGAGA / MINNEHAHA FALLS, 1857**

*(Photograph by Benjamin Upton. MNHS, Neg. No. 37331)*





**FIGURE 16. TEPEES IN THE AREA OF MINNEAPOLIS' BRIDGE SQUARE WITH THE JOHN STEVENS HOUSE IN THE BACKGROUND, 1852**

*(MNHS, NEG. No. 583)*

## **U.S.-DAKOTA WAR AND EXILE**

Eleven years after the treaties of 1851 and the subsequent removal of the Dakota to the Minnesota River valley, the situation on the reservations had become intolerable. In 1858, the reservations established along the Minnesota River were halved when the U.S. Government negotiated for the lands to the north of the river as well. A delegation of Dakota representatives from the Upper and Lower bands, along with traders, missionaries, and interpreters, traveled to Washington for negotiation of the treaties. The 1858 treaties not only resulted in a decrease in the acreage of the reservation to just a 10-mile strip of land on the south side of the river, but the provisions also left at the discretion of the U.S. Government how best to expend the tribes' annuities, intensified the acculturation process, and sought to ameliorate the lack of adequate provisioning of the reservations by allotting land for the Dakota to farm (Prucha 1984:439; Anderson 1986:89). The assignment of parcels of land for farming to heads of families and individuals served to break up the Dakota community system by emphasizing the individual (Prucha 1984:439). With these treaties increased pressure was also placed on Dakota men cutting their hair, the wearing of EuroAmerican attire, and participation in plow-based agriculture (Riggs 1865:124). The level to which these governmental policies and their outward physical trappings were resisted or accepted led to increased polarization within the Dakota communities confined to the reservation. Furthermore, dependence on the U.S. Government in the form of annuities and the EuroAmerican farming model for the yielding of adequate resources resulted in frustration and desperation for many Dakota throughout the reservation period.

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During the summer of 1862, incidents occurred at both the Upper and Lower Sioux Agencies which evidenced rising tensions (Anderson 1986:121-123,127-129). Unfulfilled treaty obligations, including the failure of the U.S. Government to provide promised annuities, together with the poor and exploitive business dealings by traders, and extensive crop failures and widespread starvation were contributing factors to the eruption of the U.S.-Dakota War. In a letter to Colonel Sibley written on September 7, 1862, Little Crow stated the cause of the war (State of Minnesota 1863:444):

For what reason we have commenced this war I will tell you, it is on account of Maj. Gilbrait we made a treaty with the Government a big for what little we do get and then cant get it till our children was dieing with hunger – it is with the traders that commence mr a. J. myrrick told the Indians that they would eat grass or their own dung. Then mr Forbes told the lower Sioux that [they] were not men then Robert he was working with his friends how to defraud us of our money, if the young braves have push the white men I have done this myself. So I want you to let the Governor Ramsey know this.<sup>12</sup>

Robert Hakewaste (1901:358-359) testified:

...they didn't give us food as they promised – the agent did not give us food as he promised – and also at that time there was a soldiers' lodge formed that was to secure from those people who tried to get credit, because the traders were going to give credit for the money that we had – our trust money- and they were going to receive a payment from the Government if we took the trade, and this soldiers' lodge was formed to guard against that – anyone who was going to take credit from these traders-and when this was known the traders told us that, because of this soldiers' lodge and preventing credit, they were not going to give us any credit and were going to eat grass. We were in a starving condition and desperate state of mind.

After a hunting party became embroiled in an event on August 17, 1862 that resulted in settlers being killed near Acton in Meeker County, the Mdewakanton soldiers' lodge appealed to Taoyateduta (His Red Nation, also known as Little Crow, a Mdewakanton chief and principal Dakota leader) to wage a war against the United States. Despite the opposition to war voiced by some, the first organized assault took place the following day, August 18, when the Lower Sioux Agency was attacked. At the same time, other parties of warriors attacked neighboring settlements and later that day routed the 5<sup>th</sup> Minnesota Infantry at the Redwood Ferry crossing opposite the Agency. On August 19, word of the hostilities reached Governor Alexander Ramsey in St. Paul. The Governor put Henry Hastings Sibley, a long time trader and the state's first governor, in command of a military campaign against the Dakota. The conflict lasted for approximately six weeks, resulted in the loss of many lives on both sides, and caused a large-scale evacuation of EuroAmerican settlers across southwestern Minnesota.

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas J. Galbraith was the government agent at the Lower Sioux Agency. Andrew J. Myrick, William H. Forbes, and Louis Robert were all traders at the Lower Sioux Agency.

As the war progressed, the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands abandoned their villages on the lower reservation and moved up river. Eventually all of the Dakota settled in two camps near the junction of the Chippewa River and the Minnesota River. One camp favored an end to the fighting while the other sought to continue the war. After Dakota forces were defeated at the Battle of Wood Lake on September 23, many Dakota participants chose to flee to the plains. On September 26<sup>th</sup>, near present-day Montevideo at "Camp Release" Sibley's army accepted the capitulation of the remaining Dakota (many of whom had not participated in the hostilities). Sibley's forces remained for a time at Camp Release gathering up additional Dakota who had surrendered and starting hasty military trials which were concluded at the Lower Sioux Agency in late October and early November. Between September 28 and November 5, 392 prisoners were tried; 303 were sentenced to death; and 16 were given prison terms. Those who had been sentenced were marched to a prison camp in Mankato, while approximately 1,700 Dakota men, women and children were marched to Fort Snelling to be placed in a stockade on the river flats below Fort Snelling. Both groups were attacked by mobs of angry citizens along their routes. Through the intercession of Bishop Henry B. Whipple and others, President Abraham Lincoln reduced the number of Dakota sentenced to 39. On December 26, 1862, 38 Dakota men (one had received a reprieve) were hung at Mankato in the largest mass-execution in U.S. history. In the spring of 1863, the Dakota held at Mankato and Fort Snelling were exiled from the state, the former to a prison in Davenport, Iowa and the latter to a reservation at Crow Creek. Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) was not among them having died that winter in the camp at Fort Snelling (Hughes 1927:30; Bean 1989:29; Monjeau-Marz 2006:132).<sup>13</sup>

## **ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES**

### ***ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES***

The principal property type associated with this period is archaeological sites. To date, no Native American heritage archaeological sites associated with this period have been formally recorded within the city, although a dugout canoe found during the excavation of the foundation of the Minneapolis Mill in 1890 is likely Dakota in origin (Anfinson 1989:20). Due to this lack of recorded resources, any contact-period Native American archaeological sites have the potential to augment oral and written histories about Dakota life in Minneapolis during this era. Archaeological sites have the potential to shed light on where Dakota people lived and what resources they were using. Within Minneapolis, sites from this period would be anticipated near Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun and Bde Unma / Lake Harriet as well as near the falls. Portage routes, inland lakes and streams, and locations where specific resources were gathered would also be locations from this era with archaeological potential. For example maple syrup processing camps on Wita Waste / Nicollet Island (Holcombe and Bingham 1914:63). The contact period is synonymous with cultural change and archaeological data can also provide insight into how and when culture and lifeways may have changed, or resisted change, in response to the geographic movement of native groups, the presence of EuroAmericans, and the introduction of trade goods. Well-preserved Native American heritage archaeological sites that can speak to these aspects of the contact period are significant and potentially eligible for listing in the National Register (NRHP Criterion D; HPC Criterion 7). At the time of the completion of this study, a report on recent

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<sup>13</sup> In 2012, the City of Minneapolis passed a resolution "Recognizing the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 and Declaring 2012-2103 the Year of the Dakota in Minneapolis." (Appendix D).

archaeological investigations of the location of Mahpiya Wicasta's (Cloud Man) village was not yet available. Remains of the missions of the Pond brothers or Stevens would also be potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under NRHP Criterion A / HPC Criterion 1 as Dakota missions and for their association with the documentation of the Dakota language.

### ***BURIALS / CEMETERIES***

A single grave disturbed during construction in 2004/2005 is thought to be a burial within the original c.1851-1857 St. Anthony of Padua Cemetery (21HE349) located along the riverfront in northeast Minneapolis. The individual exhibited indicators of Native American heritage, which is consistent with the Métis heritage of the congregation (Atwater 1893b:960; Minnesota Archaeological Site Form, 21HE349, on file at SHPO).

Burials are protected under the Minnesota Private Cemeteries Act (MS 307.08), which affords all human remains and burials of 50 years of age or older that are located outside of platted, recorded, or identified cemeteries protection from unauthorized disturbance. Per the act, "The Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Transportation, and all other state agencies and local governmental units whose activities may be affected, shall cooperate with the state archaeologist and the Indian Affairs Council to carry out the provisions of this section" (M.S. 307.08, subd. 9).

### ***BUILDINGS***

The 1849 John H. Stevens House (4901 Minnehaha Avenue) is a contributing resource to the Minnehaha Historic District (National designation – 1969; Local designation – 1986). Originally constructed in what is now downtown Minneapolis, the house was moved twice before ultimately being relocated to the park in 1896. As the first permitted house on the west side of the river, from which Stevens operated a ferry where Hennepin Avenue now crosses, the Greek-revival house often served as a meeting space. In describing his home Stevens (1890:29) wrote:

Little Crow, Good Road, Gray Eagle, Shakopee, and other Dakota chiefs, held consultation with the government agents, Major Richard Murphy and Major McLean,<sup>14</sup> in that house; while the Winnebagoes, when residents of the upper country, seemed to think they had a pre-emption right on their old down-country friend, when making portage around the Falls. Hole-in-the-Day and his Chippewa braves frequently dropped in.

Given these councils, the house should also be considered significant within the Minneapolis Native American Context (NRHP Criterion A / HPC Criterion 1).

### ***SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS***

Properties associated with Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) and/or Tacanku Waste (Good Road) and exhibiting good integrity should be considered potentially eligible for listing in the National Register (NRHP Criterion B; HPC Criterion 2). At the time of the completion of this study, a report on recent archaeological investigations of the location of Mahpiya Wicasta's (Cloud Man) village was not yet available.

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<sup>14</sup> Richard Murphy (1848-1849) and Nathaniel McLean (1850-1853) were agents of the St. Peters Agency.

## **CHAPTER 5 . FORCED ASSIMILATION TO REORGANIZATION (1863-1951)**

While assimilation and acculturation have long been a foundation of United States American Indian policy, during the first half of the nineteenth century a paternalistic approach motivated largely by the economy of the fur trade governed interactions with tribes in Minnesota. With the decline of the fur trade and pressure from EuroAmerican settlement increasing, U.S. American Indian policy shifted during the second half of the nineteenth century. Earlier land treaties often allowed for continued access and use of ceded land by tribes, and also recognized land areas reserved by sovereign, self-governed tribal nations for their exclusive use (reservations). These land areas were often isolated or removed from areas of EuroAmerican settlement. However, during the late 1800s the federal government implemented a new policy of forced assimilation. According to the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 no new treaties were to be entered into with tribes, stating that “hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledge or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty.” While this act did not invalidate existing treaties, the subsequent General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 eroded those reservations that were established by past treaties. By the first decades of the twentieth century, the failures of the federal government’s administration of tribal interests had become apparent. A reform movement led by progressive organizations, including those formed by American Indians, ushered in a new era of American Indian policy. This chapter examines how these changes in American Indian policy impacted the experiences of Minneapolis’ late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Native American residents and how the city’s Native community responded to these government policies.

### **UNITED STATES INDIAN ASSIMILIATION POLICY**

Integral to the federal government’s American Indian policy of the late 1800s was the premise that assimilated Native Americans would not be reliant on government administration. Economic motivators including a reduction in the expense of government tribal oversight coupled with the ability to open up additional land to EuroAmerican settlement were certainly principal motivators behind the Dawes Act of 1887. Other proponents of the act were motivated by humanitarian concerns. Reports of rampant poverty and deplorable living conditions on the reservations indicated to these supporters of the Dawes Act that the Office of Indian Affairs had failed to care for the reservation populations as obligated by the treaties. In light of the apparent failure of the government-controlled reservation system, they were of the opinion that the Native American population of the United States might be better served by their individual independence.

#### ***THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT OF 1887 (DAWES ACT)***

The General Allotment Act of 1887, more commonly referred to as the Dawes Act was the principal legislation of the forced assimilation policy. It was amended in 1891, 1898 (Curtis Act), and 1906 (Burke Act). Minnesota’s Ojibwe communities were subject to the Nelson Act of 1889, which sought to consolidate the state’s Native population on the White Earth Indian Reservation. In response to the documentation of poverty and poor living conditions on reservations, these acts sought to break up tribally-controlled reservation lands by granting smaller land allotments to individuals. This system was

predicated on the belief that land ownership would lead to self-sufficiency through farming or ranching, which would in turn further American Indian assimilation by breaking up the tribal social system and freeing tribal communities from government administration. Acceptance of an allotment also came with U.S. citizenship.<sup>15</sup> Looking to the Homestead Act of 1862, which had encouraged EuroAmerican settlement of 160-acre parcels, the selection of 160 acre parcels by heads of families, and smaller amounts by single persons, and minors was enacted. Allotted lands were subject to taxation. Tribal members had four years to select their parcel or it would be assigned to them. However, nationwide most reservation land was non-productive land that was too poor to support subsistence agriculture or other land-based economies, particularly in allotments of 160 acres or less. The need to increase land area available for EuroAmerican settlement was also a prime motivator behind the Dawes Act. Once the land area necessary for allotment was calculated, any additional tribal land area was in excess of that needed for allotment to tribal members was considered eligible for sale by the federal government to non-Native Americans. As a result of the Dawes Act approximately 65% of the acreage that was once tribal trust land in the United States was no longer owned by Native people in 1934.

### ***COURT OF INDIAN OFFENSES, 1883***

The federal government's forced assimilation policy was not just about dissolving tribal lands and the family ties and social networks inherent in tribal community life, but it also actively sought to extinguish "uncivilized" aspects of Native American culture. For example, in 1883, the Courts of Indian Offenses were established (Indian Bureau 1884:86-91). These reservation courts were overseen by three Native American judges (members of the reservation's Indian Police force), who were tasked with enforcing the rules established by the Indian Bureau. Among the punishable offenses set forth in the 1884 Regulations of the Indian Department were traditional practices such as "the 'sun-dance,' the 'scalp-dance,' the 'war-dance,' and all other so-called feasts assimilating thereto" as well as the "usual practices of so-called 'medicine-men'" (Indian Bureau 1884:89-90). In a 1921 Office of Indian Affairs Circular (No. 1665) then Commissioner Charles Burke clarified that not all forms of "Indian dancing" were prohibited, but reiterated that "the sun-dance and other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies" were punishable offenses. These prohibitions against the practice of American Indian spiritual traditions were in effect until the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act restored the right of Native people to practice their religion once again on tribal lands.

### ***BOARDING SCHOOLS***

Another significant arm of the federal government's assimilation program was the establishment of boarding schools for American Indian children. Efforts to educate Native children in EuroAmerican style schools had begun with Christian mission schools prior to or during the initial reservation period. For example, Jedediah Stevens with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ran a boarding school on the west side of Bde Unma / Lake Harriet from 1835-39. During the 1870s a new model of off-reservation boarding schools was adopted beginning with the first federally-funded, all-Native American school: the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879-1918) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. During its nearly 40-year history, over 10,000 Native children

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<sup>15</sup> The 1906 amendment (The Burke Act) allowed the government to force on tribal members the acceptance of a land allotment and U.S. Citizenship.

representing approximately 140 tribes from across the United States were sent to the school, and more “Sioux” (1,126) and “Chippewa” (998) students were sent there than any other tribal groups (Landis 2016). These schools immersed American Indian children in EuroAmerican culture beginning upon their arrival with the changing of their very names, the cutting of their hair, and the wearing of uniforms or American clothing styles. Based on the racist notion that EuroAmerican culture was superior, attendees were forbidden from speaking their language, observing cultural practices, or performing any activities defined as “Indian.” The boarding school system was predicated on the fact that Native American children had the same capacity for learning as EuroAmerican children, and that once educated they would become integrated members of American society no longer dependent on the government or the reservation system. In an era when conditions on the reservations were abysmal, boarding schools were often presented to Native families as a means of taking care of their children in the face of economic hardship. Using the Carlisle model, the Bureau of Indian Affairs established 26 boarding schools across the United States, while other groups including religious groups, also continued to run private schools for Native children. Among the boarding schools to which Minneapolis’ Native American residents have ties are:<sup>16</sup>

Carlisle Industrial Indian School, Pennsylvania (1879-1918)  
Morris Industrial School for Indians, Minnesota (1887-1909)<sup>17</sup>  
Pipestone Indian School, Minnesota (1892-1953)  
Flandreau Indian School, South Dakota (1892-present)  
Wahpeton Indian School, South Dakota (1908-1966)  
Hayward Indian School, Wisconsin (1901-1934)

Many of the leaders within the Minneapolis Native American Indian community have a boarding school background and many were in school together. Boarding school attendees speak of maintaining contact with fellow school attendees with whom they share a brotherhood and sisterhood. They also share mixed views on the boarding school experience. Discussion of a sense of home, favorite teachers, and swimming in the Pipestone quarry, are tempered by recollections of discipline, occasions of running away, and a system that “made you ashamed to be an Indian.”

## **THE DAKOTA EXPERIENCE IN MINNESOTA, POST-1850-1951**

In the aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, most of the Minnesota’s Dakota population was forcibly removed from the state. However, small groups of Dakota remained, often on lands that were owned by private benefactors. Also, Dakota who had aided white settlers and/or subsequently joined the army as scouts were allowed to remain in the state, though many later chose to relocate to the reservations where their extended families had been sent. Other Dakota defied the government and left their assigned reservations to return to their homelands in Minnesota. Some purchased land to farm. Because they chose to live outside the reservation, these returnees were initially not eligible for government benefits. Nonetheless, the population of Dakota in Minnesota continued to increase (Table 2). During the late 1880s, at the same time that the Dawes Act was seeking to break up tribal lands, Bishop Whipple and government agents were able to secure government funds to purchase lands for these Dakota

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<sup>16</sup> This is not a complete list of all of the boarding schools in Minnesota, or boarding schools which may have been attended by Minneapolis residents, but ones that were mentioned in either documents or oral interviews.

<sup>17</sup> This school was a Catholic boarding school (1887-1896) before being run by the Office of Indian Affairs.

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communities. The U.S. Government allotted small parcels of land to Dakota people that had gathered at Birch Coulee, Shakopee, Prior Lake, and Prairie Island. These lands were expanded upon and are now the Lower Sioux Indian Community, Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota Community, and Prairie Island Indian Community. A similar process occurred near Granite Falls, which resulted in the purchase of land for the Upper Sioux Indian Community in 1938 (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:22-23).

**TABLE 2. DAKOTA POPULATION IN MINNESOTA, 1870-1970<sup>18</sup>**

Year	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
<b>Hennepin County</b>	32	71	40	48	27	45	199	172	505	2,391	6,722
<b>State Total</b>	176	349	497	541	661	360	876	871	1,558	3,933	10,327
<b>% of Total</b>	18%	20%	8%	9%	4%	12%	23%	20%	32%	61%	65%

### THE OJIBWE EXPERIENCE IN MINNESOTA, POST-1850-1951

Although Minnesota’s Ojibwe communities avoided major military conflict with the U.S. Government, they too were increasingly pressured by encroaching EuroAmerican settlement to sign a series of land cession treaties between 1837 and 1904 that resulted in the creation of reservations. Efforts to consolidate the Ojibwe communities began in the 1860s with attempts to relocate the Mississippi bands to the White Earth Indian Reservation. Those who chose to resist location, like the Dakota returnees, did not receive the full government support promised by the treaties. Under the previously mentioned Nelson Act of 1889, efforts were renewed during the allotment period to consolidate the state’s Native population on the White Earth Indian Reservation. However, due to continued resistance, an amendment to the act permitted tribal members to select allotments within their current reservations and also allowed the Red Lake Reservation to not be subject to allotments.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, while consolidation largely failed, the allotment process still proved detrimental to Minnesota’s Ojibwe communities. A lack of arable land, unfulfilled promises of agricultural training, and the flooding of Ojibwe rice beds and traditional lands by dam projects led individuals to sell off their tribal allotments to EuroAmerican settlers; “excess” lands were sold off and the funds held in trust distributed through per capita payments (Figure 17); while unallotted lands initially held by the tribes also found their way into non-tribal ownership often through fraudulent means (Olson and Wilson 1984:81-82). As a result, the land base of the state’s Ojibwe reservations was significantly eroded during the late 1800s and early 1900s (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:22-23). Although the White Earth Reservation consolidation plan was not fully implemented, the legacy of land allotments under the Dawes Act is still evident today in Minnesota’s Ojibwe reservations.

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<sup>18</sup> Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:21. American Indian populations are often underreported in census records due to factors such as the movement of families, distrust of census takers, and variable reporting of racial identity.

<sup>19</sup> Red Lake continues to be held in common tribal ownership and is closed to outside settlement (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:26).





**FIGURE 17. PHOTO CAPTIONED “OJIBWE INDIANS RECEIVING GOVERNMENT CHECKS, MINNEAPOLIS,” JANUARY 1, 1931**

*(Pictured receiving her check is Mrs. Gertrude Gurneau of White Earth. MNHS, Neg. No. 23384)*

## **THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS (1911-1923)**

The education system that was meant to lead to the assimilation of Native Americans resulted in the formation of the first national American Indian rights organization created by and for American Indians. A likely wholly unanticipated outcome of non-reservation boarding schools, like the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, was the creation of lifelong inter-tribal relationships among students. The government’s American Indian education reform produced a cohort of American Indians, who went on to become prominent professionals in a wide array of fields including medicine, law, education, and the ministry. These boarding school survivors capitalized on their leadership skills and their national cohort network to form the Society of American Indians (SAI) in 1911. The leaders of the organization called themselves “Red Progressives” and based on their own life experiences they emphasized the improvement of the condition of Native American life through education, government action and public awareness. The first annual meeting of the SAI was intentionally held on the campus of Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio on Columbus Day in order to emphasize the dawning of a new era for American Indians. The primary goal of this Pan-Indian national organization was U.S. citizenship for all Native Americans, but aspects of the SAI also questioned the future of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the reservation system. Given the condition of reservation life under the BIA, which was “constituted in part by political appointees with little or no previous knowledge of Indian affairs and further composed of a large part by poorly and often incompetent white men,” SIA members felt that Native Americans would be better served by becoming full citizens no longer under the oversight of the BIA (*MMT 1919d*). The SAI held annual meetings, published an American Indian literary journal, and advocated for the creation of an “American Indian Day.”

Among initial founders and leaders of the SAI was Ohiyesa (Dr. Charles Eastman), great-grandson of Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man), leader of the Bde Maka Ska / Lake Calhoun village. He was president of the SAI in May of 1919 when he lectured in the Little Theatre at the University of Minnesota on the failures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (*Minneapolis Morning Tribune [MMT]* 1919a).<sup>20</sup> Foreshadowing the self-determination movement of the 1960s, Eastman said, "The administration [BIA], set up while the race was serving an apprenticeship to civilization has become a mal-administration that in another generation will make the Indians absolute anarchists." This speech was preparatory to the SAI holding its annual meeting at the University of Minnesota and the St. James Hotel (razed) in Minneapolis on October 2-4 of that year (*MMT* 1919b; 1919c; 1919d). Although Eastman resided in St. Paul for a time during the 1890s, he never lived in Minneapolis having been born in 1858 at the Redwood Agency after the removal, nonetheless when the SAI met in Minneapolis he was said to claim Minneapolis as his home, his mother having been born "near the site of the present pavilion at Lake Harriet" (*MMT* 1919c).

### **MINNEAPOLIS CHAPTER OF THE SAI**

After the national convention of the SAI met in Minneapolis, a local chapter was formed and held their first organizational meeting on the evening of October 23, 1919. Held at the St. James Hotel (c.1916-c.1963, razed) the first meeting was attended by 50 Native residents of the city. The Calhoun Commercial Club<sup>21</sup> was also used for chapter meetings (*The Tomahawk* 1920). In May 1920, SAI members and Yankton tribal members staged a play in the West High School auditorium (razed) to raise funds for the SAI (*MMT* 1920b). Officers elected at the first meeting were (*MMT* 1919e):

Dr. Oscar DeForest Davis, President  
V. P. Beaulieu, Vice President  
Mrs. M. Buffalo, Vice President on Education  
Anton Buffalo, Vice President on Legislations  
Dewitt Hare, Secretary-Treasurer  
Anderson Cash, Chairman of the Executive Committee  
David LaFramboise, Chairman of the Entertainment Committee

On the occasion of their first meeting, Dewitt Hare was quoted as saying, "There is a general movement within American Indian circles to advocate the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, and to attain recognition as a people fit to be full-fledged citizens of the United States. We believe that the Indian has not been justly treated, and we are going about in an orderly way to obtain a hearing on the question of the American Indian. It may sound strange to say this in the United States, but the fact of the matter is the Indian is seeking to obtain freedom" (*MMT* 1919f). A frequently quoted spokesman of the Minneapolis SAI chapter and the organization's Secretary-Treasurer, Dewitt Hare / Mato Cigala was a Yankton tribal member, who went to Washington D.C. as a delegate representing the reservation in an allotment matter (Joint Commission 1914:539-541) (Figure 18). Mr. Hare was described as a "musician, printer, farmer, dry orator, author, and baseball pitcher," and playwright of "The Indian of Yesterday and Today," which was staged by SAI members and Yankton tribal members in the West High School auditorium to raise funds for the SAI (*MMT* 1916; 1920). In

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<sup>20</sup> Dr. Charles Eastman was president of the SAI for one year (1918-1919) (Olson and Wilson 1984:95).

<sup>21</sup> Calhoun Building, 711 W Lake Street.



**FIGURE 18. MINNEAPOLIS RESIDENT DEWITT HARE, 1915 (L) AND 1914 (R)**

*(Library of Congress: LC-B2- 3918-5; Ancestry.com: YanktonSiouxTribe)*

1916, Mr. Hare was invited to serve as the sergeant-at-arms when the Prohibition national convention came to St. Paul in July of that year (*MMT* 1916).<sup>22</sup>

### ***AMERICAN INDIAN DAY***

As early as 1915, the Society for American Indians advocated for the adoption of an “American Indian Day” to recognize the significant contributions and accomplishments of Native Americans. At their annual gathering that year in Lawrence, Kansas, the Society’s president Rev. Sherman Coolidge issued a proclamation declaring the second Saturday of each May as American Indian Day. In May of 1916, the state of New York declared the first such official day to be observed by a state. While other state’s adopted similar days, it was not until the Bicentennial Year of 1976, that a federal observance occurred. In that year, the U.S. Congress authorized President Gerald Ford to proclaim a week in October as Native American Awareness Week (Presidential Proclamation 4468, October 8, 1976). A decade later, in 1986, Congress requested the President to proclaim an “American Indian Week” in November (Presidential Proclamation 5577). In 1990, Congress requested that the month of November be designated “National American Indian Heritage Month” (Presidential Proclamation 6230). Since 1990, Congress and the President have issued annual proclamations designating November as “National American Indian Heritage Month.” In Minnesota, American Indian week was first celebrated in 1969 during the first week of May, and in 1983 was expanded to the entire month (Carter 2002; City of Minneapolis 2003).

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<sup>22</sup> Of relevance to the discussion of the accuracy of Native American population counts based on census records, Mr. Hare and his wife and children are identified as “white” in the Federal Population Census. The principal Hare family residence (c.1920-1922), which was located at 3628 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue South (razed), has been replaced by a new home constructed in 2002.

## WORLD WAR I (1917-1918)

Because much of the Native American population was not yet granted U.S. citizenship, many Natives were not eligible for the draft during World War I. However, Native men were still required to register and draft boards were established on reservations by the Indian Office. Available World War I draft registration cards provide insights into where Native American families were living in Minneapolis during the early twentieth century and the type of work at which they were employed. A search of draft cards of Minneapolis residents identified on their draft cards as “Indian” (whether whole or part) returned 23 men for which addresses were given (Table 3). The distribution of the addresses of these draft registrants illustrates that they lived in all portions of the city (Figure 19). During this period, American Indians living within Minneapolis had come to the city independently in search of work. As a result, their choice of where to live was often dictated by their place of employment and/or availability of housing in their price range resulting in a dispersed population and not a centralized American Indian neighborhood (Shoemaker 1988:435).

An estimated 10,000 Native Americans served during the war as either draftees, who had obtained citizenship prior to the war, or as volunteers. During World War I and subsequent wars of the twentieth century, Native American soldiers served as individuals within racially integrated units. In 1919, Congress passed the American Indian Citizenship Act, which allowed honorably discharged World War I veterans to apply for and be granted citizenship if they desired. This act did not automatically confer citizenship to veterans, but allowed them the option to apply for citizenship.

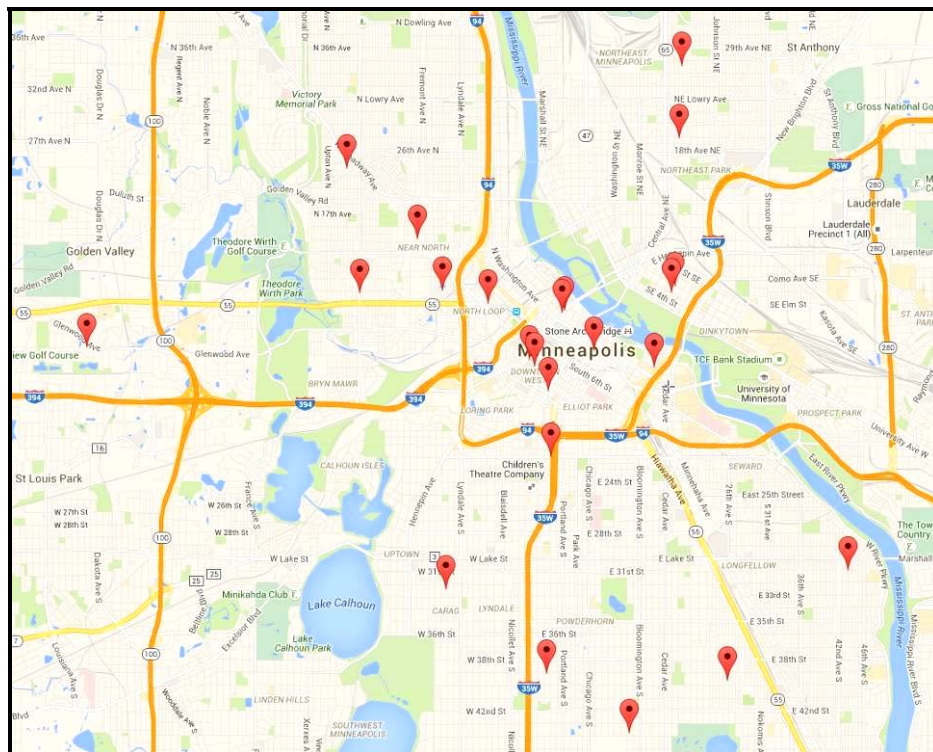


FIGURE 19. RESIDENCES OF AMERICAN INDIAN WORLD WAR I DRAFT REGISTRANTS

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**TABLE 3. NATIVE AMERICAN WORLD WAR I DRAFT REGISTRANTS IN MINNEAPOLIS**

Name	Address	Employer - Occupation	Birthdate
Frederick Bender	Landour Hotel (822 Nicollet Ave)	State Mutual Life - Insurance	19 Apr 1894
Antone William Buffalo, Jr.	409 E. Franklin Ave	Flour City Ornamental Iron Co. - Mechanic	14 Sep 1877
Joseph Peter Buffalo	2015 4 <sup>th</sup> Ave S	H S Christian Co. (automobiles) - Bookkeeper	10 May 1883
Robert Francis Buffalo	1015 3 <sup>rd</sup> Ave S	Twin City Rapid Transit Co. – Automobile Mechanic	6 May 1885
Wonga Harry Cornell	548 6 <sup>th</sup> Ave N	Exide Battery Co. – Battery man	3 June 1880
Jefferson M Couch	3905 Clinton S	Great Northern Railway - Checker	11 Apr 1894
Theodore Desentelle	2315 Walton Place	Laborer for Father	1 June 1896
Charles Edward Drew	St James Hotel (12-14 N 2 <sup>nd</sup> )	Harvesting for Ed Mahan	31 May 1882
Joe Gilman	3218 Bryant S	Minneapolis Auto Laundry Co. - Salesman	8 Feb 1892
William Henry Green	1312 2 <sup>nd</sup> St S	Minneapolis Steel and Machinery Co. - Laborer	3 Mar 1874
John L. Gulick	37 8 <sup>th</sup> So	New Palace Café - Cook	16 Feb 1888
DeWitt Hare	1018 19 <sup>th</sup> Ave NE	Lecturer	Oct 1880
Frederic Johnson	3101 43 <sup>rd</sup> Ave S	Minnesota Steel & Machinery Co. - Laborer	29 Sep 1882
James Leonard Kiley	114 Hennepin Ave	Potter-Gilmore(?) Co. - Woodsmen	24 May 1883
James Garfield Kindness	508 3 <sup>rd</sup> St N	Elks Club - Poultry Dresser	1 Feb 1884
Samuel Hugh King	2730 Taylor St NE	Soo Line Railroad – Locomotive Engineer	16 Mar 1886
John LaBatte	4345 14 <sup>th</sup> Ave S	Ford Motor Co. - Laborer	2 Sep 1873
Albert Wilfred LaSart	725 Western Ave	Farmwork for O. G. Ellestad	13 June 1899
Raymond Francis McCreary	907 8 <sup>th</sup> Ave S	W. S. Knott Co. – Leather Worker	23 May 1892
Jerry Joseph Pero	U.S. Hotel	St. Thomas Academy - Student	6 Mar 1899
Paul Herman Radtke	1410 Girard Ave N	None	5 Feb 1893
Victor Swanson	3940 26 <sup>th</sup> Ave S	City Water Works - Carpenter	4 Oct 1876
Jerry Vader	546 6 <sup>th</sup> Ave N	J. A. Withers (?) - Teamster	13 Dec 1891

BE IT ENACTED . . . that every American Indian who served in the Military or Naval Establishments of the United States during the war against the Imperial German Government, and who has received or who hereafter receive an honorable discharge, if not now a citizen and if he so desires, shall, on proof of such discharge and after proper identification before a court of competent jurisdiction, and without other examination except as prescribed by said court, be granted full citizenship with all the privileges pertaining thereto, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the property rights, individuals or tribal, of any such Indian or his interest in tribal or other Indian property.

(Approved November 6, 1919; U.S. Statutes at Large, 41, 350)

## AN ERA OF REFORM

For much of the first quarter of the twentieth century organizations like the Society for American Indians and the American Indian Defense Association had fought for citizenship for Native Americans, the return of tribal lands, and the overturning of legislation that infringed upon the civil and religious rights of Native people. By the 1920s, these efforts coupled with changes in public opinion and that of Congress toward more liberal and inclusive views of Native American culture resulted in changes in the U.S. Government's American Indian policy (Figure 20).



**FIGURE 20. NATIVE AMERICAN DELEGATION WITH MINNEAPOLIS MAYOR GEORGE LEACH ON THE COURTHOUSE STEPS, C. 1925**

*(MNHS, Neg. No. 8088-A)*

### ***THE SNYDER ACT, 1921***

Approved on November 2, 1921, the Snyder Act authorized the Bureau of Indian Affairs to expend moneys that Congress might appropriate for the benefit, care, and assistance of Indians across the United States including funds for education, health cares, water supplies and irrigation, and other aspects of tribal infrastructure (Public Law 67-85).

### ***THE INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ACT OF 1924***

Unlike the rest of the population, U.S. citizenship for Native Americans was not conferred through either their place of birth or through naturalization. Instead, citizenship was granted on the trappings of assimilation including whether an individual had taken an allotment of land under the 1887 Dawes Act, or as noted in the last section, through military service. However, in 1924, the work of the Society of American Indians came to fruition with the signing of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and house of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all non citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: Provided That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property.

(Approved June 2, 1924; U.S. Statutes at Large, 43, 253)

While the earlier 1919 citizenship act had given veterans the option to become a citizen, the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 conferred citizenship automatically on all Native Americans that had not yet been recognized as citizens. While not all states granted voting rights on the basis of the Indian Citizenship Act, Minnesota did recognize the right of the state's Native American residents to vote on the basis of the law (Treuer 2010:60).<sup>23</sup> However, some considered citizenship, within the context of the period's assimilation policy, to be one more way in which Native people were being forcibly brought into the country's mainstream.

### ***THE MERIAM REPORT OF 1928***

No history of the Native American experience within the first half of the twentieth century is complete without mention of the Meriam Report. The report, "*The Problem of Indian Administration*," which was commissioned by the Institute for Government Research (later the Brookings Institution), examined the social and economic status of American Indians under the federal government's allotment and assimilation policies. Often referred to simply as "The Meriam Report," because it was prepared under the direction of Lewis Meriam, the report's findings and recommendations in the areas of health, education, economic conditions, family and community life, and other areas concluded that federal Indian policy had been ineffective, underfunded and resulted in deplorable living conditions (Institute for Government Research 1928). The Meriam Report laid the foundation for continued reform of American Indian policy and many of its recommendations were incorporated into the Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934.

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<sup>23</sup> Prior to 1924, Minnesota had allowed only those Native Americans to vote who had given up tribal ties and assumed a "civilized" life per the Dawes Act of 1887 (Deloria and Lytle 1983:223)..

## **REORGANIZATION**

In response to the Merriam Report and the actions of reformers, in 1934, the United States government reversed its legislated assimilation policy. After nearly 50 years it was clear that the General Allotment Act had failed. The Merriam Report demonstrated how the assimilation system coupled with the corrupt actions of individuals had been detrimental to Native Americans. As a result, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934 often considered the “Indian New Deal,” a companion piece to other New Deal legislation of the era. The IRA ended allotment, recognized tribal self-government (albeit limited), restored religious freedoms, allowed for the buyback of former reservation lands, and provided funds for economic enterprises and education.

### ***THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1934***

With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, Congress terminated the allotment process and brought about a new era in American Indian policy. Often referred to as the “Indian New Deal,” this law was passed in the midst of a series of progressive relief, recovery, and reform laws and programs enacted in the 1930s. In addition to ending the allotment of Indian lands, the IRA restored the ownership of “surplus lands” to the tribes; prohibited the sale of designated “Indian lands” whether individually-owned or otherwise to anyone other than a tribe; and authorized the U.S. government to acquire lands on behalf of tribes. Tribes were required to form tribal councils based on EuroAmerican government models in order to participate. For this reason and others, not all tribal communities embraced the Indian Reorganization Act. However, in Minnesota, with the exception of Red Lake, which remained independent, all of the Ojibwe and Dakota reservations existing at that time voted to organize and formed tribal councils or business committees (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:26-27). Six of Minnesota’s Ojibwe tribes, also formed the unified Minnesota Chippewa Tribe.

### ***INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND INDIAN CULTURE (CIRCULAR 2970), 1934***

In 1934, new BIA Commissioner (1933-1945), John Collier, a social worker who was among the founders of the American Indian Defense Association, issued Circular 2970 which called for restoration of religious freedoms and an end to government interference in matters of American Indian culture. The document stated in part that:

No interference with Indian religious life or expression will hereafter be tolerated. The cultural history of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group. And it is desirable that Indians be bilingual – fluent and literate in the English language, and fluent in their vital, beautiful, and efficient native languages. --- The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored. (U.S. Department of the Interior 1934:90)

### ***JOHNSON-O’MALLEY ACT, 1934***

A companion act to the IRA, the Johnson-O’Malley Act offered states subsidized funding and other resources to be used to improve education, medical attention, and other services to Native Americans. The purpose of the act was to offset the costs to public schools, hospitals, and other institutions in order to make available and encourage the use of these programs by Native people not living on reservations or residing in rural areas. Between 1934 and 1941, only four states took advantage of the program and



among those that did difficulties often arose when state education officials balked at perceived federal interference in their classes and programs. It was only in Minnesota that the program had any traction, because the state's education department made a concerted effort to work cooperatively with the BIA's Education Division (Olson and Wilson 1984:114-115).

## **ASSIMILATION TO REORGANIZATION IN MINNEAPOLIS**

By the turn of the century, and particularly after World War I, both returning Dakota and Ojibwe people were moving back and forth from the reservations to Duluth and the Twin Cities in search of economic opportunities in urban areas. Educated Native people who migrated to the Twin Cities pursuing careers after the 1880s and into the early twentieth century often found substantial financial security. Many found work in a variety of occupations such as milling, manufacturing, professional services, business, and the railroads. World War I military registration cards speak to the varied occupations Native people were engaged in (see Table 3). On the heels of the Citizen Act of 1924, when all Native people were finally granted full United States citizenship, the Meriam Report was undertaken. This nationwide survey published in 1928, detailing the living conditions of American Indians, found that while new arrivals to the metro area were experiencing the typical immigrant issues of low quality housing and jobs, more established Native Americans in the Twin Cities were mostly middle class, living in good housing in stable neighborhoods, and many of them owned their own homes (Meriam 1928; Shoemaker 1988).

While the Meriam report was undertaken with the prejudice that success was defined by how well the "Indian" had forsaken a tribal identity and adapted to "White society" the observations that were reported as "failures" give us a glimpse into the social and cultural resiliency Native people maintained. While observing that many Native people had adopted the outer trappings of "white" society such as clothing styles, housing, and recreational pursuits, the Meriam report went on to decry that they insisted on continuing to claim their Native heritage, even if the familial tie was distant. For example, it was observed that Native Americans still primarily socialized and associated with other Native people. Of course, rather than being a failing, what this highlights is that, while Native Americans may have been financially assimilated into the middle class, they were not socially integrated. Furthermore and perhaps, most importantly, this observation demonstrates that despite assimilation efforts and separation, Native people still valued their tribal identity, and sought to maintain ties to their homes and extended families on the reservations (Meriam 1928; Report to Governor's Interracial Committee 1947; Shoemaker 1988).

Indeed, early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Native cultural and service organizations were being organized within the Twin Cities for the benefit of preserving cultural identity, even in the face of an assimilated lifestyle. The urban environment presented the same challenges to maintaining tribal identity and economic survival to all Native people living in the urban area. Therefore, two types of groups arose, "Pan-Indian" groups with a focus on addressing larger social and legal issues confronting urban Native people, and the other were social groups aligned along tribal identities (American Indian Association and Teepee Order; Minnesota Wigwam Indian Welfare Society; Twin Cities Chippewa Council; Twin Cities Indian Association; Twin Cities Indian Republican Club; the Sak-kah-tay Club; and the Society of American Indians)(Shoemaker 1988). The latter sought to maintain language, and cultural practices even while living in the city. So, while tribal cultural identity was being maintained, through Ojibwe and Dakota organizations, for the

purpose of legal and social advocacy in confronting issues brought on by the dominant culture, the urban Native American began adopting the admittedly alien, yet unifying, identifier, “Indian” for cooperative organizations. This adoption of the dominant culture’s term was not entirely a concession to the dominant norm, but Native people found it was useful to deploy as it reflected that multiple groups faced the same concerns, and were united in advocating for Native issues, especially in the face of the assimilation and termination policies of the Federal government. These formal and informal social groups typified the “Pan-Indian” movement which took hold in the early twentieth century and laid the groundwork for later organizations like the Upper Midwest American Indian Center and the American Indian Movement. However, most if not all members of the global groups, also maintained membership in tribal affiliated associations that reflected their personal heritage (Shoemaker 1988) (Figure 21).

Movement away from the reservations and into metro areas was further fueled by the outbreak of World War II. During the war (1941-1945), approximately 25,000 Native American men and 800 women served in the U.S. military (Child and White 2009:198). Entry into the service resulted in an unprecedented departure of Native men from the reservations, and as it did for so many Americans, participation in the war effort on the home front also meant moving to urban areas in search of jobs (Child and White 2009:197). Experiences away from the reservation, either in the service or through war-related jobs, led to the pursuit of new opportunities. While only hundreds of American Indians lived in the Twin Cities before the war, during the war the population of Native people in the metro area grew into the thousands (Shoemaker 1988). Many of those who came to the Twin Cities during the war chose to remain, although opportunities in the post-war years were more limited (Figure 22). Still, they found a variety of jobs, both skilled and unskilled, in the city’s mills, factories, and offices (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:28; Child and White 2009:205). For example, Ojibwe veteran William Amyotte “went to trade school on the G.I. Bill for a year, married a nurse he had met in an Iowa army hospital... bought a house in Minneapolis on a G.I. loan” and took a job with General Mills (Child and White 2009:205).

Ironically, it was partly the “evidence” of urban success presented in the Meriam Report and by veterans that was taken as a demonstration that self-assimilated Native Americans were enjoying a quality of life not attainable, presumably, on the reservations. This finding precipitated the push for various reformations, and reorganizations of the administration of the reservation system which eventually led to the Relocation and Termination policies of the 1950s. The Federal government concluded that simply being confined to reservations was the major challenge to the economic security and well-being of the Native people. It was naively assumed that if they were encouraged to follow the example of the self-urbanized, economically assimilated Indians through pursuit of an education and relocation to areas where jobs were available, the “problem of the Indian” could be solved.



**FIGURE 21. POW WOW AT BDE MAKA SKA / LAKE CALHOUN, JULY 23, 1951**  
*(Photographs by Monroe P. Killy. MNHS, Neg. No. 35609 and 35619)*



**FIGURE 22. AMERICAN INDIANS LIVING IN MINNEAPOLIS IN 1946**

*(These images are part of a series of photographs documenting housing conditions in Minneapolis in 1946. MNHS, Neg. No. 9629 and 9630)*

## **ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES**

### ***BUILDINGS***

The principal property type associated with this period (1863-1952) is buildings associated with organizations (American Indian Association and Tepee Order; Minnesota Wigwam Indian Welfare Society; Twin Cities Chippewa Council; Twin Cities Indian Association; Twin Cities Indian Republican Club; the Sak-kah-tay Club; and the Society of American Indians) or events associated with the significant historical trends of this era. Buildings associated with significant individuals within the Native American community during this period, such as Society of American Indians leadership or other key individuals from this period including Amabel Bulin; Frederick Peake; George Peake; Emily Peake; Archie Libby; William Madison; and Warren Cash may also be potentially eligible for local designation or listing on the National Register (Shoemaker 1988). However, many of the meeting spaces linked with the activities of the Minneapolis Native American community during this period were community halls, civic buildings, or rental properties that are not strongly associated with the movement.

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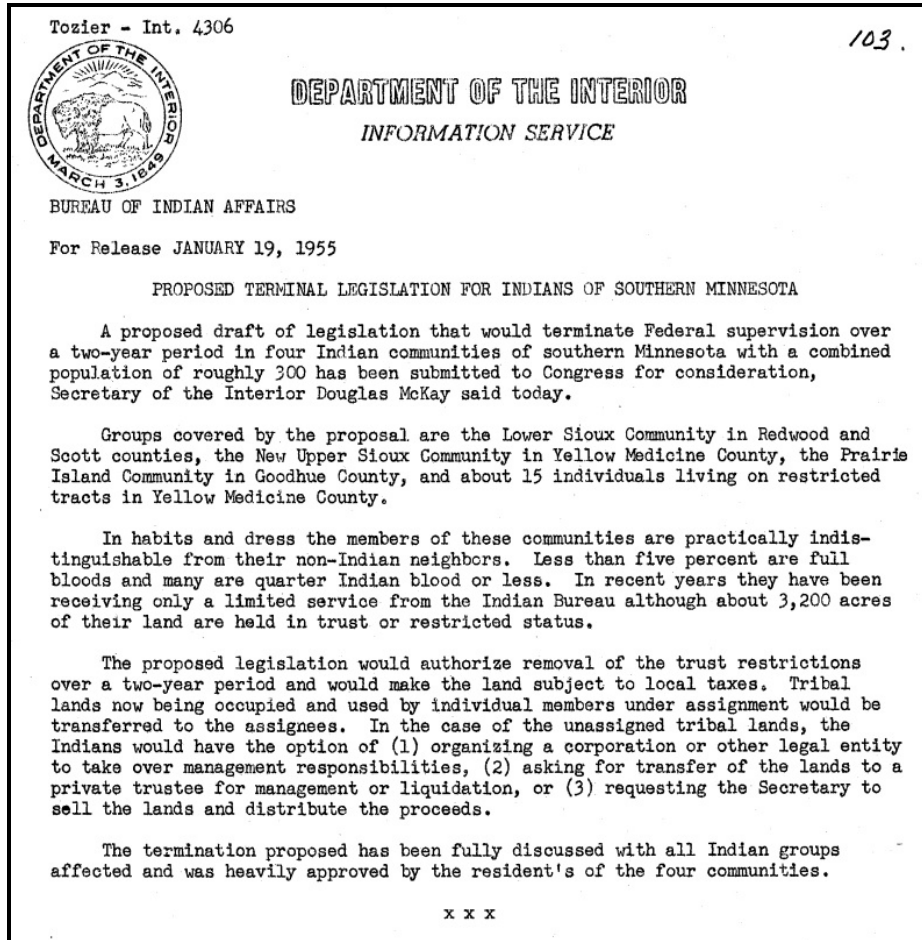
## **CHAPTER 6 . TERMINATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION (1952-2000)**

While the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act and other reform laws of the 1920s and 1930s restored many individual and tribal rights, the administration and oversight of tribal communities by the U.S. Government's Bureau of Indian Affairs, as it was officially renamed in 1948, continued to be problematic. As it had been raised decades earlier by the Society of American Indians and other "Red Progressives," the idea of limiting the role of the BIA once again came to the fore in the 1950s. In the interest of removing the need for government administration, the concept of tribal termination was conceived. By terminating Indian tribes, their reservations, and their associated federal support services, the federal government's obligations to the tribes would cease and the BIA would become obsolete. Conceived of at the same time was a relocation program for American Indians that encouraged Native people to leave the reservations and relocate to urban areas. Together, termination and relocation were the new American Indian assimilation policy of the 1950s. While Minnesota's tribal communities avoided termination, and neither Minneapolis or St. Paul were designated official relocation cities, a local voluntary relocation program together with opportunities for work in urban areas, led to a new wave of American Indians moving to Minneapolis. This chapter examines how termination and relocation led to the rise of the Native American Self-Determination movement in the heart of Minneapolis.

### **TERMINATION**

During the early 1950s, the U.S. Government yet again altered its American Indian policy ushering in the era of termination. In the 1940s the Hoover Commission had begun exploring the divestment of the federal government of any responsibility for American Indians. The goals of the federal termination policy were nearly identical to those of the General Allotment Act of 1887 (Dawes Act): termination policy would assimilate Native Americans into mainstream society, eliminate their dependence on what had been documented as a failed bureaucracy; and thereby reduce the cost to the government of providing services to Native people. Beginning in the 1940s a series of laws began to erode tribal sovereignty. Then, in 1953, through House Concurrent Resolution (HCR) 108, the federal government began a formal policy of termination ending, with or without consent, the United States' recognition of some tribal governments, tribal lands, and the government's obligations to terminated reservation communities. Under HCR 108, the federal government began unilaterally terminating tribes starting in California, Florida, New York, and Texas. Also in 1953, some states, including Minnesota (although not on Red Lake), were also allowed to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction within reservations through the passage of Public Law 280 (Deloria and Lytle 1983:19). Between 1953 and 1964 over 100 tribes were terminated. While none of Minnesota's tribal communities were terminated, the state's Dakota communities came close to being terminated in 1955 (Figure 23). However, due to opposition from both tribal members and state representatives, the bill never reached the Senate floor for a vote. As a federal policy, termination was short lived. In 1958, it was announced that the federal government would no longer terminate tribes without their consent, and in 1970, President Richard Nixon asked Congress to "expressly renounce, repudiate, and repeal the termination policy," which it did through House Concurrent Resolution 363, although it wasn't until 1988 that HCR 108 was formally abandoned (Deloria and Lytle 1983:20). Many of the tribes which were terminated have since regained their status as

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**FIGURE 23. PROPOSED TERMINATION OF MINNESOTA DAKOTA COMMUNITIES MEMO**

federally-recognized sovereign nations. However, the effects of the termination era and, in particular, its companion relocation policy had lasting impacts on the Native American population in Minneapolis.

## RELOCATION

In 1952, the BIA expanded a relocation policy initially devised for the Hopi and Navajo tribes to all American Indians. Through this arm of the termination movement, the federal government encouraged American Indians to leave their reservations, relocate to urban areas, pursue vocational training, and become integrated into the general population. Assistance in the form of help with transportation and moving expenses, living expenses up to four weeks, and limited vocational training was dependent on moving to an officially designated relocation city where jobs were expected to be available (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1956).<sup>24</sup> Across the country, local offices staffed by relocation workers provided information on relocation to tribal members and assisted them in moving to designated cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, Denver, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Dallas (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955; Native American Public Telecommunications 2006). As described by Childs and

<sup>24</sup> The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 formalized the vocational training aspects of the relocation program.



White (2009:204), “Relocation offered American Indians over the age of 18 a hand in seeking urban employment, a bus or train ticket, and, sometimes, basic toiletries and domestic goods—including the ubiquitous alarm clock—once they arrived at their destination.” However, unlike those who moved independently to the Twin Cities during the first part of the twentieth century and found themselves integrated into the city (in part because of their boarding school backgrounds), the arrivals during the 1950s found it hard to get employment, were openly discriminated against, and often had cultural and rural life experiences that made it difficult to adjust to life in the city (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:28-29). Yet, between 1952 and 1960, more than 31,000 American Indians nationwide moved to urban areas with the assistance of relocation services and an estimated 70 percent remained in the cities (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1960). It is estimated that during the 1950s an additional 30,000 American Indians relocated to urban areas on their own without the assistance of the federal relocation program (Native American Public Telecommunications 2006).

While Minneapolis was not designated an official relocation city, the city’s BIA office opened an employment placement program, and other public and private agencies within the Twin Cities also sponsored smaller-scale relocation assistance programs (Davis 2013:23). The experiences of those who chose to accept relocation varied. Roberta McKenzie, who was accepted into the relocation program in the early 1950s through the BIA’s Minneapolis relocation office, found work as a medical secretary at the University of Minnesota. She shared her experience in Child and White (2009:205):

And then we went to see the BIA agent and he gave us money to ride the bus. They had streetcars then. We looked around for apartments. And as soon as we found one, we notified him and he went there and got some money to pay our rent until we got paid. They would pay our rent and give us food. But see, I had to go a whole month, because the state just paid every two weeks on 15<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup>. But it works out so well.

During information gathering sessions held for this project, community members shared how they or their family’s journey to the city often began with a bus ticket to Minneapolis and promises of work that often could not be found. Illustrating the trials of this period, an Ojibwe community member shared their experience of coming down to the city with their mother and siblings in 1961. While their mother looked for work during the day, the kids went to school. At night, they stayed in empty apartments or abandoned buildings until another Native family took them in. Still unable to find work, the family walked north on Lyndale Avenue out of the city and eventually hitch-hiked back to the reservation. There they were left with their aunts, while their mother returned to the city. Once she found work as a hotel housekeeper at the Curtis and Leamington hotels, their mother sent for them. The family lived in an apartment at East 15<sup>th</sup> Street and Chicago Avenue South that was rented by the week

The long-term effect of the urban relocation program was the creation of a consolidated urban American Indian population disconnected from their tribal communities. While under-reporting of Native Americans in census records is a known issue, the increase in the Native population for Minneapolis from a reported 145 individuals in 1940, to over 2,000 in 1960, and more than 5,800 in 1970, conveys the significant population growth that occurred during this period (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:29). Actual population numbers were likely much higher. For example, a University of Minnesota research team estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 American Indians resided in Minneapolis

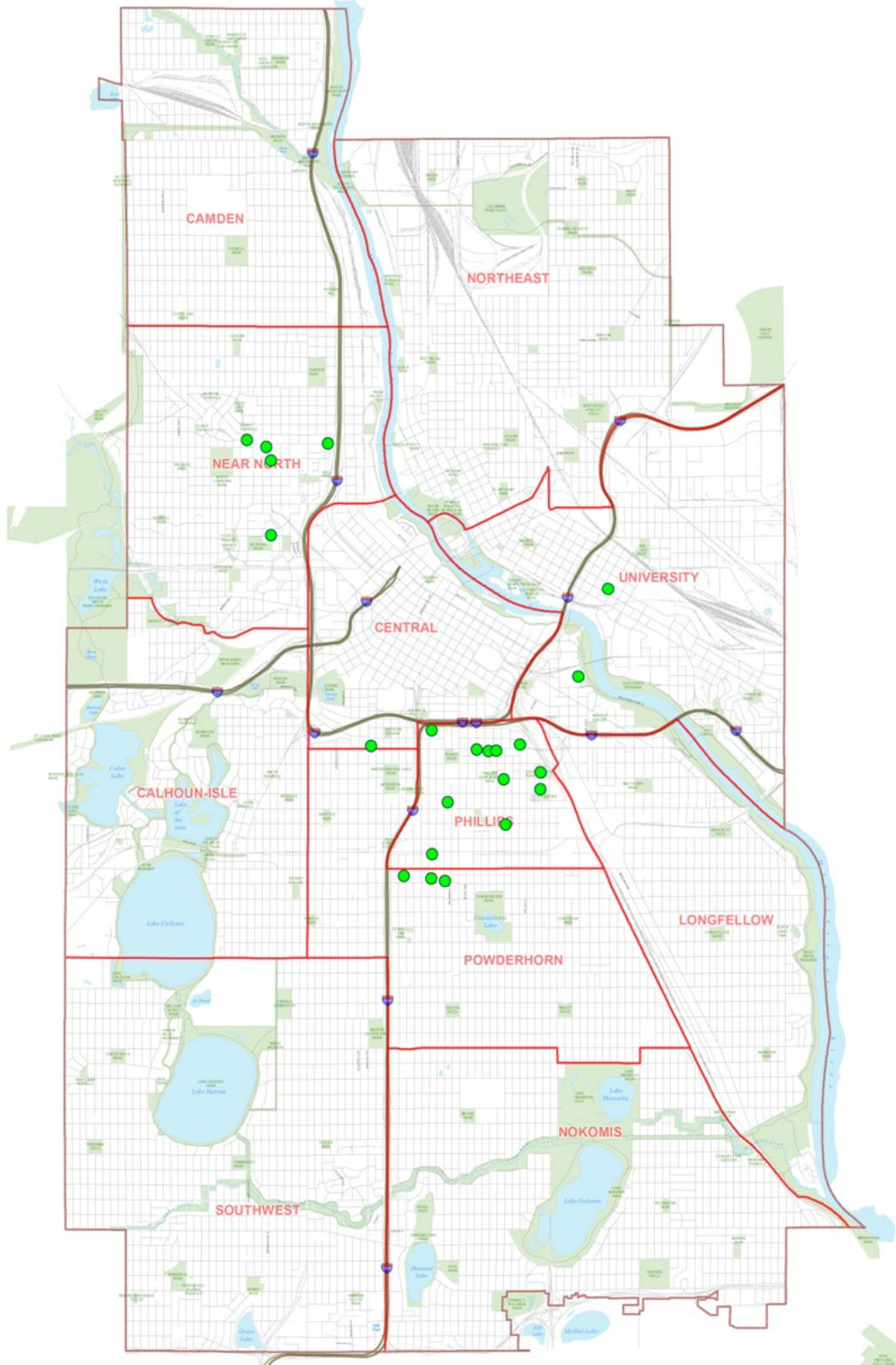
in 1969, while a 1975 study suggested that two-thirds of the estimated 18,600 Native American residing in the Twin Cities lived in Minneapolis, which would be a population of about 12,400 (Borchert and Gustafson 1980:200; Davis 2013:23). Many of those who came to the city during this period were Ojibwe from northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, and they tended to live either on the near south or near north sides of the city's downtown (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:29) (Figure 24).

At the same time that Native people were increasingly moving to Minneapolis, the city's inner core was experiencing an exodus of long-time residents to the tract housing of the postwar suburbs – a departure facilitated by the rise of the middle class, the availability of personal automobiles, and the creation of highway corridors that would forever fragment the city. The stability of the city's once-vibrant, inner core neighborhoods was undermined as owner-occupied housing and long-term leases gave way to properties owned by absentee landlords offering short-term rentals. While the occurrence of this exodus created a void that the influx of Native Americans from out-state and other minority populations could occupy, it was a time when these neighborhoods were experiencing an unprecedented decline brought on by their abandonment. Furthermore, once the initial support of the relocation program or other assistance, if any was available, had run out relocated Native Americans often faced poor employment prospects and high costs of living inherent in urban living. Together, these factors resulted in impoverished neighborhoods concentrated within the urban core (Hugill n.d.:5-6). However, it was in direct response to these conditions and the needs of the community that a new urban American Indian community was formed that in the 1960s would be at the forefront of the pan-Indian political activism that would usher in the new era of self-determination.

## **SELF-DETERMINATION**

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new era of political action led by and for American Indians was born in Minneapolis and started a wave of Native activism across the country. Sparked by the condition of the urban Indian population including poverty, police harassment, and housing needs, the Upper Midwest American Indian Center, the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Division of Indian Work of the Minnesota Council of Churches, all headquartered in Minneapolis, worked to improve the lives of Native American people and their families through social, cultural, educational, and vocational programs and support. During this era, new and unprecedented culturally-rooted agencies were formed by Minneapolis' Native residents. Among these organizations were the American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) (1979), formed to provide education, training, and employment services; and the American Indian Business Development Corporation (1975) which developed "the mall" shopping center on Franklin Avenue, hailed as the first urban Indian economic development project of its kind in the United States (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:29). Housing needs were addressed by the Urban Indian Housing Program home-ownership program and through the development of the Little Earth of United Tribes, Inc.'s "Little Earth Housing" project. Even the community's Indian Health Board (1971) served as a national model for Native health care programs (Rubinstein and Woolworth 1981:29). In tandem with these efforts was an overarching reclaiming and proclaiming of pride in Native American traditions and cultural heritage. Fundamental to this movement were Native sponsored and staffed schools (such as the Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis), language classes, drum circles, annual celebrations, pow wows, and American Indian events.

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**FIGURE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF POST-1952 NATIVE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN MINNEAPOLIS**

## **LEGISLATION OF SELF-DETERMINATION**

The end of termination and the implementation of a formal federal American Indian policy of self-determination were enacted through the Indian Self-Determination and Education Reform Act of 1975. Other laws of this era that addressed individual rights included the Indian Civil Rights Act (1968) and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1975), which built upon the earlier “Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture” circular of 1934.

### ***INDIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND EDUCATION ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1975***

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act was a restorative piece of legislation that grew directly out of the efforts of the “Red Power” / Civil Rights movement. The efforts of Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 to recognize tribal authority had been undermined by the federal government’s subsequent termination and relocation policies. Through the Self-Determination Act, the sovereignty of tribes to self-govern and manage their own natural resources, economic development, environmental protections, and civil law was established. Further, this legislation gave tribes authority over the administration of their own government funds and the ability to work directly with, and receive grants from, federal agencies. In effect this act acknowledged that tribal governments have powers equivalent to states and, similar to state residents, tribal members are governed by both tribal law and federal law, are voting citizens, and subject to federal taxes.

### ***INDIAN CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968***

The Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA), or “An Act to Prescribe Penalties for Certain Acts of Violence, Intimidation, and for other Purposes,” addressed the personal rights of tribal members particularly with regard to the power of tribal courts. In the wake of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and in recognition of the sovereignty of tribal nations, the federal government had deferred to the tribal courts with regard to the prosecution of crimes. This meant that tribal members did not have the same constitutional protections as other United States citizens. Testimony of the rights of tribal members being abused by the tribal court system led to the ICRA of 1968. The act sought to strike a balance between extending to tribal members most of the personal civil rights outlined in the US Constitutional “Bill of Rights,” while respecting the rights of tribal self-government.

### ***INDIAN EDUCATION ACT OF 1972***

The enactment of the Indian Education Act of 1972 established the Office of Indian Education and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. This legislation recognized the importance that the relationship between education, culture, and language has for Native American students. This act and subsequent amendments provide services and grants in support of Native American education.

### ***AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT OF 1978***

From 1883 through 1934, American Indian religious practices were prohibited and punishable crimes under the Court of Indian Offenses. In 1934, BIA Commissioner Collier struck down these rules through his publication of a circular entitled “Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture” (Circular 2970), thereby restoring American Indian religious freedom. However, there were still some federal laws that infringed on the rights of Native Americans to practice their religion. These conflicts were addressed through the passage in 1978 of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA).

Specifically, the law provided for access to sacred sites on federal land; the use and possession of ceremonial items that violated federal laws (such as eagle feathers); and the ability to perform ceremonies without intrusion and interference (Public Law 95-341).

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE COMMUNITY IN MINNEAPOLIS**

While most people are aware of the profound national impact that the American Indian Movement (AIM) had on the visibility of Native people and the issues they faced, AIM was not the first group in the Twin Cities to try to effect social change for Native people through political and social activism, although with very different approaches.

### ***EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY ACTIVISTS***

In the early twentieth century, two national groups were formed that presumed to represent Native interests: the Society of American Indians (SIA) and the American Indian Association and Tepee Order. The boarding schools, the war, and urban life away from the reservation, laid the framework for a new “Indian” political identity which began to transcend tribal affiliations. Through these experiences Native people from diverse tribal backgrounds, who might not otherwise have crossed paths, forged friendships and alliances, fighting for mutual goals and causes that they recognized affected all tribes and Native people whether on the reservations or not. Many people held memberships in both a general politically-motivated group, and a tribal affiliated social organization.

In the early 1920s, several American Indian fraternal organizations arose in the Twin Cities. The Twin Cities chapter of the national organization the American Indian Association and Tepee Order was founded by two returning World War I veterans, George Peake (Ojibwe) and Warren Cash (Dakota). Both held offices in the national society as well, and during one period the national society was headquartered in Minneapolis. The club promoted contributions that Native people have made to society as well as sponsored dances and other gatherings for local Indians. In a foreshadowing of latter twentieth century educational efforts, the group also founded a fraternity house for Native students attending Minneapolis schools (Shoemaker 1988, 436).<sup>25</sup> During this same period, other local groups were founded or managed by George’s brother, Frederick W. Peake, a Carlisle School graduate from White Earth. These included the Twin Cities Chippewa Council (1924), the Minnesota Wigwam Indian Welfare Society, and the Twin Cities Indian Republican Club. Members included William Madison, who had already created a pro-assimilation group in Kansas City, and George Libby. Many members also held memberships in the national societies as well.

These Pan-Indian societies, while formed around Native interests, were organized by educated, economically stable, and self-identified assimilated Native people. Identifying as “progressive,” the general thrust of the Pan-Indian groups’ goals were the betterment of the individual and were highly pro-assimilation. For example, the Twin Cities Chippewa Council was formed to support a bill being considered to declare Ojibwe people legally “competent,” in order that government funds could be dispersed to members individually rather than maintaining their dependency on government programs. Peake felt strongly that having self-determination, and the funds to support it, would more quickly integrate Ojibwe people successfully into general society. While the

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<sup>25</sup> The location of this house has yet to be identified, but further work should be undertaken to determine its address.

bill did not pass, the group continued to lobby for per capita payments, rather than government run programs, as the key to Native success.

These fraternal organizations and groups worked to encourage other Native people to follow their example as the way to success and stability for all Native Americans. In 1919 Charles Eastman speaking at the University of Minnesota extolled the business acumen of the Native American (*Minneapolis Morning Tribune* 1919a). In 1923, when the local chapter of the Tepee Order served as headquarters for the national American Indian Association, they assisted with hosting “American Indian Day,” a program of the Society of American Indians. The flyers promoting the event extolled, “The day is not far when all our Indians will do away with their old mode of life, and accept the modern civilization, and we all be as one true American citizens” (Shoemaker 1988:436).

The groups continued to lobby against what they saw as regressive reforms of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 and BIA Commissioner Colliers’ plans for re-strengthening the reservation system and increasing the autonomy of tribal governments. William Madison even traveled to Washington at the direction of the Twin Cities Chippewa Council in 1934 to fight the new proposals. As Native people who favored assimilation, they feared the IRA would continue to leave American Indians dependent on the reservation system and federal patronization and control, rather than encouraging Native people to become self-sufficient and fully members of the “American melting pot.” These early twentieth century groups however, were not just political lobbyists. Recognizing the dire conditions on the reservations, they also held benefit events to gather aid to send to the reservations. These pageants and entertainments “celebrated” Native American history, albeit in a rather melodramatic, stylized form. Often depicting historical events such as the story of Winona, in Buffalo Bill fashion, the pageants, while staged by Native people, were presented with an aura of nostalgia, as if the audience was witnessing events passed, and the play served to document what they assumed would be a soon to be lost way of life (Shoemaker 1988).

As the Collier reforms took hold and the IRA became the governing policy, along with the pressures of the depression in the 1930s, politically-centered Native organizations began to lose momentum. As economic conditions soured, many urban Native Americans resorted to moving back to their home reservations, while new people from the reservations and other minority groups migrated to the city in hopes of finding work. However, unlike at the turn of the century where a sense of hopeful shared enterprise prevailed throughout the country, as the dominant culture suffered from the depression and xenophobia was on the rise, a simmering resentment of minorities was allowed to fester and discrimination became rampant, particularly in urban areas. Without the benefit of stable employment opportunities, the newcomers were forced into crowded, substandard housing and menial, if any, jobs. It was during this period and the subsequent war years that a second generation of social advocates became active in the Twin Cities and at the forefront of this movement were a group of women who stepped in to try to address the distress of many Native people who remained in the city.

### ***MID-CENTURY AID WORKERS***

During the late 1930s and 1940s, an informal network of individuals undertook efforts to aid Native Americans locally as they transitioned to the Twin Cities. Emily Peake (Ojibwe), Amabel Bulin (Dakota), and Jim Longie (Cree) are mentioned as being active during this period (Gertrude Buckanaga, personal communication). These aid workers

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used established contacts to find temporary housing for newcomers, and offered advice on locating jobs, food, or negotiating the health services in the city. In the midst of this work a recurring topic of discussion was the establishment of a dedicated “Indian Center” that could serve the economic and social needs of the urban Indian population. This group would decades later go on to form the Upper Midwest American Indian Center (UMAIC) in Minneapolis, the first comprehensive formal social welfare organization for Native people in the Twin Cities.

Early on, Amabel Bulin is credited with starting many of the Indian welfare programs in Minneapolis. Another boarding school student, Bulin was a graduate of New York University, who married a Scandinavian, and described herself as “a housewife, a member of Women’s clubs, and a faithful Catholic. She also bowled twice a week” (Shoemaker 1988:442). Even as early as the 1920s, Bulin was working to help Native people in the city. She helped find accommodations for school children and housing for people going to medical facilities in the city. Her strongest influence was probably through her connection with the Minnesota’s General Federation of Women’s Clubs where she used her contacts to help Native women as they moved from the reservations to the city to take advantage of work during the war. Women from all around the Midwest used her connections to help find jobs and homes in the cities.

Some of the work that Bulin undertook was at the request of government agencies, where her efforts substituted for needed formal programs that the BIA was unwilling to support for urban Indians. She went on to be director of the Women’s Clubs’ Indian Division. She initially used this position to collect food and clothing for distribution on the reservations and sponsored many women as they transitioned from the reservation to the city. Her work eventually, however, became more focused on helping the urban Indian community in general. As early as 1944 she was speaking to the House Committee Investigating Indian Affairs, decrying the rate of children being arrested, and other problematic behaviors young people were becoming involved in within the city, such as prostitution and drinking -- issues which would persist in the face of the continued marginalization of Native people.

Another early figure, Emily Peake, was born in Minneapolis in 1920, and was the daughter of Frederick Peake. She attended Central High School, and during World War II she found a job at Honeywell making parachutes. She graduated from the University of Minnesota on the G.I. Bill, and then in the 1950s worked in Europe before returning to Minneapolis at the onset of the Termination period (Child and White 2009:201). During the 1940s, she formed an informal social club and sewing circle with a group of friends that included Amelia (Amy) Rose “Aagowaash” Aspinwall Flocken, Margaret Smith, and Amabel Bulin. They worked together to further the network of people who would step in to fill gaps in social services that were left in the wake of the termination and relocation programs. These efforts formed the groundwork for what would become modern Native service organizations, in the 1960s and 1970s, including UMAIC of which Ms. Peake was director for 17 years. She also served on the city housing committee. Her substantial efforts in organizing and working to improve the lives of the Minneapolis Indian community is recorded in the book *The Life of Emily Peake: One Dedicated Ojibwe* (Pesja 2003).

The women were not the only ones working in this area however. Another organization called American Indians Incorporated was founded in 1950 through the advice of Rev. Kitagawa and with the encouragement of Minneapolis Mayor Arthur Naftalin’s Council on

Human Relations. “They set goals for an Indian center to include adequate space, promotion of a favorable social climate for Indians in the community, and referrals to other agencies for services (direct program administration came later)” (Completing the Circle Facebook Page, December 21, 2014). Another entity was the American Indian Employment and Guidance Center (AIEGC), which incorporated just before UMAIC. Primarily serving as a referral service, the center’s articles of incorporation state: “The purpose for which this corporation is organized shall be exclusively for educational purposes and to aid the Indian in his adjustment to urban living by supplying information, coordination and guidance with regard to the existing agencies, services and resources in the community specializing in the following general fields: Employment, Housing, Vocational Guidance and Counseling, Health and Welfare.” (Article II, articles filed March 29, 1961) (Completing the Circle Facebook Page, January 11, 2015.) One important note on the AIEGC is that they were the only BIA-financed employment program in the U.S. for urban Indians who were not part of the formal BIA relocation program (*Minneapolis Tribune* 1967).

### ***THE UPPER MIDWEST AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER***

While American Indians Incorporated and the American Indian Employment and Guidance Center may have incorporated before the Upper Midwest American Indian Center (UMAIC), the mission and the historical roots of UMAIC go back to the late 1930s and a group of women who met to directly address the needs of the mid-century urban Indian community. The group regularly held a sewing circle creating blankets and quilts which they then sold to raise funds. The money from these sales was used to support native children’s tuition at parochial schools (Gertrude Buckanaga, personal communication)<sup>26</sup> and provide relief to the reservations. The sewing circle was also a place where new arrivals to the city could meet other Native people, connect with the community, and receive information and support as they made the transition. When Gertrude Buckanaga arrived in the city from boarding school in 1952, it was suggested she go to the sewing circle to connect with the Native community. Ms. Buckanaga related that when you attended the sewing circle you were told to bring a pot luck item or perhaps a donation of children’s clothing. Ms. Buckanaga related the circle met at “Gethsemane Church.”

In 1961, the group formalized their organization when they formally met to explore the establishment of an urban Indian center. The meeting took place in a yet unidentified private residence in Minneapolis (UMAIC 1969). The attendees of the meeting have not been definitively identified, although presumably they included Bulin, Peake, and Longie. The group organized as a non-profit corporation that same year, with Fred Benjamin, Fred Blessing, Rose Bluestone, Daniel Hardy, Frank and Louise Hurd, and Emily Peake serving as board members. The original articles of incorporation state that the organization’s goal is “To assist Indians and their families to become assimilated into the modern urban social structure.” This was amended by a certificate of amendment signed by Jim Longie and Emily Peake on April 2, 1967 to add “if they so desire” (Completing the Circle, Facebook Page, December 21, 2014). They commenced forming official programs and soliciting support from private, public and religious organizations for their endeavors to address the issues facing Native Americans living in the Twin Cities and to create a dedicated urban American Indian center to provide those services.

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<sup>26</sup> (Completing the Circle mentions college tuition also)



The UMAIC became the first comprehensive service institution created by a Native American majority in Minneapolis to address the wide range of issues and difficulties facing the Native community during and after the termination period. The UMAIC rose out of a need to respond to new social realities brought on by the termination and relocation policies of the 1950s. The loss and transference of certain forms of federal support to programs that required relocation to specific urban centers (none of which were in Minnesota) created a vacuum of resources at the same time large numbers of people were transitioning from the reservations to the city. At one point UMAIC maintained a presence on both the north and south side of the city. The first official office at 1718 North 3<sup>rd</sup> Street (razed) has been lost to Highway 94. The Southside office moved frequently as space was made available to them. In 1968 they were located at 815 E Franklin Ave (razed), and by 1972 they were at 2907 Portland Avenue, which is still extant. As of this writing, the center is still active at 1035 West Broadway in the Plymouth Masonic Lodge (HE-MPC-08090) and currently supports the Twin Cities Native American population through administering a foster care program and mental health services. They also support a Head Start Program and the Four Directions Charter School, both of which are on hiatus while funding is re-secured (Gertrude Buckanaga, personal communication).

While the thrust of earlier groups had focused on encouraging Native Americans to assimilate into “white” society and to be free of government and BIA control, with cultural activities engaged in for “nostalgic preservation,” (Shoemaker 1988), the UMAIC, while still seeing assimilation as the outcome, placed an emphasis on expressing Native heritage, maintaining reservation ties, and effectively negotiating urban life. The Center saw this culturally supported self-sufficiency as critical to successfully dealing with the challenges and pressures of living in a marginalized and under-supported urban community. The UMAIC was concerned with promoting the social well-being and survival of the Native community as it transitioned from the reservations into the urban areas. It was the earlier Pan-Indian groups that laid the groundwork in the urban areas for UMAIC’s collaborative approach to problem solving that crossed tribal affiliations. The UMAIC always functioned to be a resource for all Native Americans regardless of tribal affiliation and in all areas of the city.

The earlier fraternal-style societies, many members of whom had gone through the boarding school system and had formed close ties, were geared at political lobbying for Native rights as they negotiated the city as economically assimilated individuals. At the same time the societies helped maintain cultural ties, and a sense of community, by promoting socializing, nostalgic cultural activities such as putting on period plays, and lobbying around issues related to reservation and treaty rights. As the Meriam Report observed, tribal identity was still important to the urban Indian population. However, decades later, with the changing cultural and civil rights landscape of the 1960s, a new commitment of federal and charitable dollars, UMAIC had more economic power, and program reach, and so was able to build effective programs that worked at improving the conditions of Native people living in Minneapolis while strengthening and perpetuating a modern cultural identity.

As a central umbrella organization, UMAIC founded or actively supported many ground-breaking programs including the first Indian Health Service, drumming and language classes, remedial education programs, arts and crafts workshops, legal services, temporary housing for new arrivals, sobriety programs and childhood educational and recreational programs.

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According to a history written by UMAIC, in 1969, the organization, in addition to volunteer social and cultural activities, was formally administering three programs of its own (UMAIC 1969):

- The Guest House was a sobriety and social program housing resource for Native men discharged from the Minneapolis workhouse. Located at 3020 Clinton Ave S, this was the first facility of its kind directly targeting Native Americans and incorporating native spirituality and practices. It was founded by Mr. William Bushman with assistance of Mr. Burton Coffey.
- Newcomer Centers were two residences operating as transition centers for families newly arriving from the reservations. One single family home and one triplex, the houses provided temporary shelter and intensive services as families adjusted to city life.
- The Martin Luther King Fund was a scholarship program for Indian children attending schools and meant to provide funds for incidental expenses related to school supplies, and arts and sports programs.

By 1972, an UMAIC pamphlet listed the following programs under their care (UMAIC 1972):

- The Indian Guest House
- Newcomer Program
- Minneapolis Indian School Referral Program: A small group program to help Indian children in the elementary schools who are having social adjustment problems and to create positive relationships with adults and narrow the Native achievement gap in the Public Schools.
- Indian Symposiums: A community outreach program to assist non-Indians understand the current Native American culture.
- Waseca Vocational-College Fund: A church based scholarship program directed at Native Americans
- Youth Program: A recreational and social program for all Indian youth
- Housing Program: Intended to help Native Americans in locating better housing and provide assistance with navigating the housing market.
- Job Development: This program worked to expand job opportunities for Native Americans by exploring job markets where Native Americans are underrepresented. Also provided long-range planning assistance to help Natives become self-employed. This also included an assistance fund to help Indians with the costs to acquire tools, work clothes, transportation and dues and fees.
- Employment Program: A corollary to the Job Development division, this program provided employment counseling, referrals and placements. They worked with other agencies in placing individuals who had been incarcerated. It also maintained a job bank for employers looking for workers.
- Senior Citizens Program: Provided social opportunities for seniors, including day trips, and arts and crafts.

- Social Services and Health: The center provided addiction counseling and worked with social service agencies to ensure services were delivered to eligible members of the community.
- Recreation Program: General activities for all age groups.
- Socialization Opportunities: Family programming, parties, organized pow wows
- Communication Arm: *DEHBWAYWIN* newsletter for current events, job listing, and news items. Also, a newspaper was issued quarterly with a broader local, state and national focus.

The UMAIC also served as the financial home of Project STAIRS (Service to American Indian Resident Students). Project STAIRS was begun in 1964 by a group of northside American Indian parents who recruited volunteer tutors to assist their elementary grade children. In 1968, the project received operating funds through the Office of Economic Opportunity and further support from the Minneapolis Public Schools and the University of Minnesota. In time the program grew to serve American Indian elementary age children in thirteen public and four parochial schools (Harkins et al. 1969:17-19).

### ***THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT***

The rise of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis during the 1960s has been the subject of numerous histories, studies, biographies, and analyses highlighting their political, social and educational efforts on both the local and national stages. Summarizing the volumes of information available on the group is beyond the capabilities of this study; however, the amount of work that has been done to record the history of AIM speaks to its national and local historical significance within the history of the civil rights movements and Minneapolis. By way of a brief introduction, the American Indian Movement began in 1968 as a grassroots effort to improve the lives of Native Americans living in Minneapolis. What started as a local group quickly developed a nationwide membership and agenda, seeking to end discrimination against native people, reform governmental policy toward Native Americans, and to improve the lives of indigenous people everywhere. In its first few years, AIM utilized civil disobedience common in the late 1960s to advance its agenda. Protests and occupations of government land placed AIM in the national spotlight, helped unify disparate Native American groups, emboldened its members, and greatly expanded its following. In 1971 AIM began directing its efforts to found permanent organizations by and for Native Americans in three primary areas of concern: police brutality, health, and education (Rich 1998).

While much of the work of AIM was carried out on a national stage, one of the most dramatic and successful programs instituted by AIM in Minneapolis and which had a profound, nationwide effect was the establishment of self-run, independent schools created by Native people for Native American children. Heart of the Earth Survival School (HOTESS) in Minneapolis, and the Red School House in St. Paul were an alternative to the public schools and BIA-run reservation schools, which frequently failed to provide Native children with appropriate and successful educations. These Survival Schools, as they came to be known, focused not only on the goals of helping children achieve academic success, but also instilling in them a pride and fluency in their own cultures. It was well known that children growing up in urban areas often did not have the benefit of regular contact with their Native culture and practices leading to

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disaffection and disconnection from their own cultural heritage. This alienation was compounded by the discrimination regularly experienced by children from the dominant culture, whether from teachers or other pupils in school, or even from popular media such as caricatures in Saturday morning cartoons. With no consistent counter-voice to reinforce a child's sense of pride in their identity, it was felt this disconnection from their heritage contributed to the perpetuation of the chronic issues plaguing the Native community in the latter half of the twentieth century including low and under-employment rates, and the resulting poverty and personally destructive behaviors that can reinforce despair.

With the adoption of Title IV of The Indian Education Act freeing up federal funds for Native control of education programs, AIM created an alternative school originally independent of the Minneapolis Public School system specifically devoted to teaching Native American children. The first incarnations of the school met in 1972 in the basement of the AIM offices at 1337 E Franklin Ave (razed) (Figure 25). The space was severely lacking in adequate facilities and resources to teach. The school moved many times during its first three years, although none of the facilities were appropriate or adequate venues. However, the school and students persevered. In 1975, with the help of federal and private support, AIM was able to secure a building at 1209 4<sup>th</sup> St SE (razed), near the University of Minnesota East Bank Campus (Davis 2013:102, 105). The school was officially named Heart of the Earth Survival School by the students. The success of the school, and the support and recognition within the community of the importance of culturally-sensitive educational opportunities ignited a national educational fire, with communities and cities across the country creating schools on the HOTESS model. As a result, AIM created a national networking organization, the Federation of Survival Schools to help guide the development of these schools. Many point to the education program as the capstone of AIM's activities. "Education is the answer to everything," declared Clyde Bellecourt (Rich 1998).



**FIGURE 25. AIM OFFICE AT 1337 E FRANKLIN AVE, UNDATED**

*(Native American Community Development Institute 2009)*

In 1999, HOTESS/Oh Day Aki transitioned to a Minneapolis Public Schools sponsored charter school, but regrettably fell victim to financial malfeasance. When the executive director's embezzlement came to light, the school lost its charter with the Minneapolis Public Schools, and was forced to close in 2008. The City of Minneapolis proposed saving the school on the basis of its historic status (Smoley 2010). However, the trustees of the school did not have the means to maintain the building any longer and had agreed to sell the structure to the Doran Companies. The school was demolished in 2010. Many articles and publications have been written on HOTESS/Oh Day Aki and the survival school movement in general. For more information, an excellent resource is Julia Davis' book *Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities* (2013).

With regard to one of the primary goals of this study, which is to document locations in the city of Minneapolis important to the history of the Native community, the early history of AIM presents some difficulty. Dennis Banks recalls the first meeting of the group that would become AIM was held July 28, 1968 in a "run down church basement" (Banks 2004:61). Other attendees recall the meeting taking place at 12<sup>th</sup> Ave and Plymouth Ave North. However, historic maps from the late 1950s do not record a church at that intersection. Even if the meeting was not in a traditional church building, the Plymouth location has since been redeveloped and no structures from the AIM period remain standing. Other sources place the meeting at alternate locations, including Gethsemane Church where the UMAIC group had been meeting. As AIM and UMAIC members were initially aligned, this is a reasonable possibility. Other possible locations include Park Avenue Presbyterian Church at 638 E Franklin Ave, or the former Emanuel Methodist Church (now Community Emergency Services/Augustana Lutheran) at 1900 11<sup>th</sup> Ave South. Further research needs to be conducted to verify the location of this historic meeting. The AIM patrol, the seminal ground breaking activity of the movement that directly challenged and confronted police oppression of Native people, and inspired similar street patrols across the country, was based in the Elaine Stately Peacemaker Center, which was located in East Phillips Park (2300 Cedar Avenue S), but has since been razed. The first AIM office at 1337 E Franklin Ave has similarly been razed, as has the nationally recognized Heart of the Earth Survival School. However, some of the offices of AIM satellite programs and locations of AIM events such as the 1971 Naval Air Station takeover are documented through this study.

## **LIFE ON "THE AVE"**

As examined in this chapter, during the 1950s and 1960s, the American Indian population of Minneapolis increased exponentially. Some members of this burgeoning community had come to the city in search of jobs during World War II and had chosen to remain in the city, while others came to seek opportunities in the city often in response to urban relocation programs. At the same time that Native people were increasingly moving to Minneapolis, the city's inner core was experiencing an exodus of long-time residents to the tract housing of the postwar suburbs – a departure facilitated by the rise of the middle class, the availability of personal automobiles, and the creation of highway corridors that would forever fragment the city. The stability of the city's once-vibrant, inner core neighborhoods was undermined as owner-occupied housing and long-term leases gave way to properties owned by absentee landlords offering short-term rentals. While the occurrence of this exodus created a void that the influx of Native Americans from out-state and other minority populations could occupy, it was a time when these neighborhoods were experiencing an unprecedented decline brought on by their



**FIGURE 26. VIEW OF 1401-1413 E FRANKLIN AVENUE, UNDATED**

*(Native American Community Development Institute 2009)*

abandonment. For example, a 1969 housing survey found that 70 percent of the rental units occupied by Native Americans were substandard and that 36 percent lacked plumbing (Davis 2013:25-26). Open discrimination against American Indians in housing and employment, resulted in impoverished Native neighborhoods concentrated within the urban core particularly in the near south and near north sides. Many American Indians settled in the neighborhood of East Franklin Avenue and as word spread “the Ave”<sup>27</sup> increasingly became the heart of the city’s Native American community (Figure 26). By 1970, an estimated two-thirds of the Minneapolis American Indian population lived in the Phillips Neighborhood (Davis 2013:26).

When asked what places they remembered as having been a part of their experience growing up and living in the city, public meeting attendees and community members recalled many of the businesses that were once present along “the Ave” (Figure 27). As one community member described them, these establishments comprised part of the fabric that formed a “tight-knit community” concentrated between 11<sup>th</sup> Ave S and Cedar Avenue. While the changes that have occurred along “the Ave” in recent decades were repeatedly praised as improvements, a nostalgia was expressed for a time when it was possible to get “everything you needed” along this stretch of Franklin Avenue. As problematic as the neighborhood bars were for contributing to other social ills, they were often recalled as being places where community members could go to meet, socialize, and exchange information. Whether for positive or negative reasons, the following businesses along Franklin Avenue were repeatedly mentioned as having contributed to the overall experience and sense of place that was life on “the Ave” during this period:

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<sup>27</sup> The topic of capturing the perspective and voice of the Native American community was raised at most public meetings. By way of example, community members offered up colloquial names for places within the city and requested that they be incorporated into this document.

MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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Chef Café (806 E Franklin), 1962  
(MNHS Neg. No. NP281643)



Mr. Arthur's (1100 E Franklin), Undated  
(NACDI 2009)



Franklin Theater (1021 E Franklin), 1992  
(NACDI 2009)



The Corral (1401 E Franklin), Undated  
(NACDI 2009)



Franklin Avenue Storefronts, Undated  
(NACDI 2009)

**FIGURE 27. HISTORIC VIEWS OF FRANKLIN AVENUE**

MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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Mr. Arthur's Lounge	1100 E Franklin Ave	
Addison's Bar / Bear's Den	1504 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Brite Spot Tavern	1300 E Franklin Ave	
The Chef Café	806 E Franklin Ave	
The Corral Tavern	1401 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
East Phillips Park / "Cockroach Park" <sup>28</sup>		
Elaine Stately Peacemaker Center	2300 Cedar Ave S	(razed)
Episcopal Neighborhood Center	1400 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Franklin Fruit	1507 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Gray's Drugstore	1413 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Heller's Food Market	1521 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Kaplan Bros. Men's Clothing	1425 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Little Earth of United Tribes / "The Projects" <sup>29</sup>		
Snyder's Liquor Store	751 E Franklin Ave	(razed)
Sparkle Café	1302 E Franklin Ave	
Sterling Shoe Store	1339 E Franklin Ave	(razed)

## ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

### ***BUILDINGS***

The principal property type associated with this period (1952-2000) is buildings associated with organizations or events that illustrate the significant historical trends of this era. Buildings associated with significant individuals within the Native American community during this period, such as leaders of AIM or UMAIC, may also be potentially eligible for historical designation.

Minneapolis American Indian Center (HE-MPC-4101). Perhaps no building is more closely associated with, or better illustrates, the accomplishments of the American Indian Self-Determination movement than the Minneapolis American Indian Center at 1530 E Franklin Ave (Figure 28). Formed by community members, the building is one of first urban American Indian centers in the United States. Constructed in 1975 on city-owned land (site of the former Adams Public School), the center was created to provide education, social services, and cultural programs to the surrounding community. Designed by Hodne-Stageberg Partners, which included young Native architects on its staff, the building is described architecturally as "an aggressive concrete and wood building organized around an angular, multilevel courtyard." (Galt 1998:151; Millett 2007:184).

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<sup>28</sup> See footnote 27

<sup>29</sup> See footnote 27





**FIGURE 28. MINNEAPOLIS AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER, 1975**

*(Photographs by Steve Plattner, MNHS, Neg. No. 01280-12 and 01280-18)*

The exterior of the building features a feather-inspired, wood collage designed by Minnesota Ojibwe artist George Morrison and funded through a National Endowment for the Arts grant (Galt 1998:151). About 1995, George Morrison said of the mural (Galt 1998:153-154):

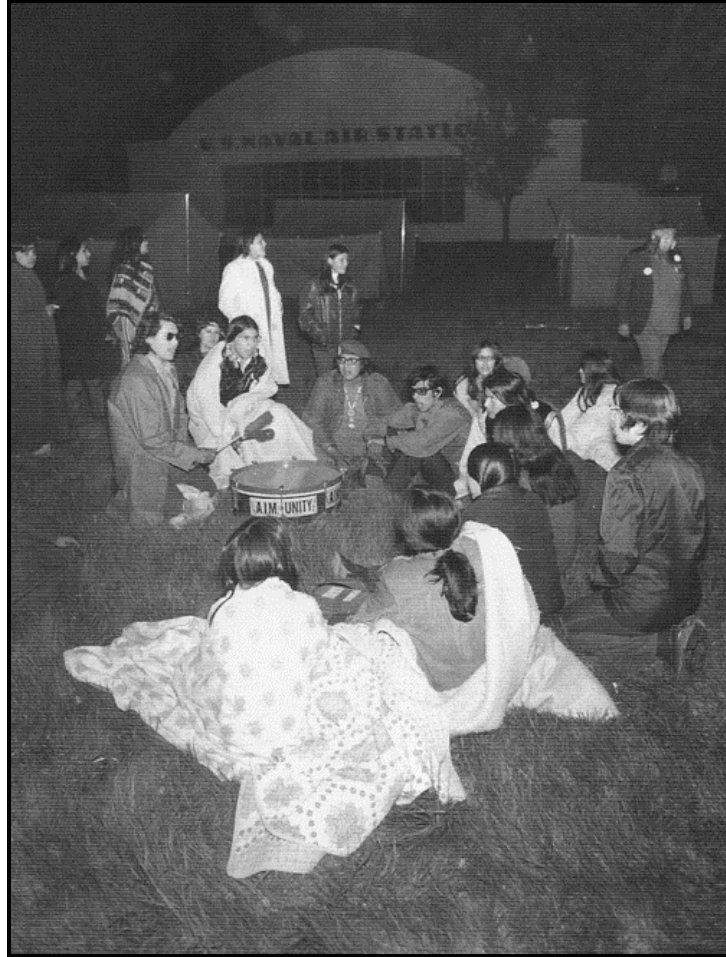
Now the mural needs refurbishing. People don't seem to care about the Indian center. They probably just think the mural is the side of the building. They don't understand that it originated as a work of art.

Who is there to take care of it but myself? I want to have it resurfaced and stained with a reddish stain to give a little more emphasis to the design. There's a color called Indian Red that is close to burnt sienna. That would be a nice color to add, then apply lacquer to protect it. I'd like to put in spotlights and have a plaque made for the mural that states it is an original work of art. It would be nice to call it "Turning the Feather Around." A mural for the Indian.

The Minneapolis American Indian Center is recommended for evaluation as a significant property for its association with the American Indian Self-Determination movement as well as for its architectural and artistic merits within the Minneapolis Native American Context (NRHP Criteria A and C / HPC Criterion 1, 4, and 6).

### **SITES**

Another property type that may be associated with this period is sites (locations) of significant events that illustrate the historical trends of this era. One such location is the site of the American Indian Movement's (AIM) four-day takeover of the U.S. Naval Air Station in Minneapolis (now the U.S. Air Force Reserve's 934<sup>th</sup> Airlift Wing). From May 17-21, 1971, about 70 members of AIM camped on the site and occupied a building that as surplus government property was being claimed under the 1805 Treaty to be used as a school for American Indian children (Figure 28). The takeover was forcibly ended by federal forces. Related protests also took place outside the U.S. Courthouse in Minneapolis (Banks 2004:108; Bancroft and Wittstock 2013:10-14). While it does not appear that the occupied chapel building (see photo Bancroft and Wittstock 2013:11) is still extant, much of the apparent camp site area near the intersection of Kittyhawk Ave. and 2<sup>nd</sup> St. is still open space. The site of the U.S. Naval Air Station takeover is recommended for evaluation as a significant property for its association with an action of the locally and nationally significant American Indian Movement (NRHP Criteria A / HPC Criterion 1).



**FIGURE 29. U.S. NAVAL AIR STATION TAKEOVER, MAY 17-21, 1971**

*Examination of the 1971 aerial photograph suggests that the camp in this photograph was located near the present intersection of Kittyhawk Ave. and 2<sup>nd</sup> St.*

*(MNHS Photograph via <http://mn70s.tumblr.com/post/23220889620/airport-occupation>)*



## CHAPTER 7 . MAKING A COMMUNITY

During the second half of the twentieth century the number of Native American organizations and programs within Minneapolis increased exponentially. While some of these groups had roots in programs that pre-date 1960, most were a direct outgrowth of the Native-American Self-Determination movement. The goal of these groups was the improvement of the American Indian experience within Minneapolis. This chapter, while certainly not complete, attempts to capture those organizations and places, past and present, identified and shared as being important to the community. In so doing, particular emphasis is placed on the identification of potentially historic places, buildings, structures, people, and events that exemplify the city's Native American heritage. This chapter is organized into broad themes that mirror the City of Minneapolis' historic contexts.

### BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

#### *BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT*

American Indian Business Development Corporation (AIBDC). The AIBDC was started in 1975 by a group of Native women seeking to improve the Franklin Avenue area through the development of Native-owned and operated businesses. This group in time purchased much of the south side of Franklin Avenue from Ancient Traders Market to 14<sup>th</sup> Ave S with federal funding set aside for Native American economic development (Keith 2013). This organization developed "the Mall" (Franklin Circles Shopping Center 1221 E Franklin Ave) which opened on October 1, 1982 and the Ancient Traders Market building (1113 E Franklin Ave) (Chavers 1982). In time they also developed the Franklin Business Center (1433 E Franklin Ave) and the Franklin Street Bakery (1020 E Franklin Ave, built 2003) (Groeneveld 2003). This organization changed its name to the American Indian Neighborhood Development Corporation and more recently Great Neighborhoods! Development Corporation.

#### *HEALTH SERVICES*

Indian Health Board of Minneapolis. The Indian Health Board (IHB) of Minneapolis was incorporated in 1971 to provide for the health needs of the American Indian community living in Minneapolis. The IHB was first located in Little Earth, and then at 2217 Nicollet Ave S (HE-MPC-16762). The IHB provides medical and dental care and counseling services to more than 7,000 patients each year at its offices at 1315 East 24th Street (<http://indianhealthboard.com/aboutus.html>).

American Indian Chemical Dependency Diversion Project. From c.1979 to c.1985, the American Indian Chemical Dependency Diversion Project (AICDDP) worked to address chemical dependency within the Native community. Initially located above the Chef Café at 808 E Franklin Ave, the offices later moved to 1007 E Franklin Ave (Herb Sam, personal communication).

Indigenous Peoples Task Force. Founded in 1987, the Indigenous Peoples Task Force (IPTF) provides HIV education, testing, case management, housing, and other services for Native people (*Bois Forte News* 2007). The office of IPTF is located at 1335 E 23<sup>rd</sup> Street.

### ***LEGAL SERVICES***

The Legal Rights Center. Organized in 1970 by the American Indian Movement (AIM) and The Way (an African American civil rights organization), the Legal Rights Center began with the goal of finding suitable and culturally appropriate ways to assist clients both within the legal system and beyond. The Legal Rights Center was historically located at 808 E Franklin Ave, before moving in 1994 to its present location at 1611 Park Ave S (Meyer et al. 1970:94; Johnson 2008:129) (<http://www.legalrightscenter.org/our-history.html>).

### ***MEDIA AND PUBLISHING***

The Circle: Native American News and Arts. “The Circle” began in 1980 as an in-house publication of the Minneapolis American Indian Center. With funds from a grant from the Dayton-Hudson Foundation to broaden Native American communications, the first paper “emerged from a basement office at MAIC on March 1, 1980” (Lenfestey 2015). From that beginning, it expanded to become a community newspaper with a circulation of over 10,000. The mission of the paper is to provide coverage of Native American new, arts, and issues from a Native perspective. The paper is unique in Minnesota for being a Native newspaper not owned by a tribe (Walking Bull 2015).

MIGIZI Communications. Incorporated in 1977, MIGIZI Communications celebrated its 30th year of service to the Twin Cities American Indian community in November 2007. MIGIZI’s founding work was to train Native journalists, who produced the first nationally distributed American Indian news magazine in the country, First Person Radio. First Person Productions continued with this program over the next 17 years. The next iteration of MIGIZI’s work was to put the tools of communication in the hands of Indian youth. This effort gave rise to the first American Indian summer computer camp and “Achievement Through Communications,” a program that worked with high school students (<http://www.migizi.org/default/index.cfm/about-us/history-of-migizi/>).

## **CIVIC**

### ***METROPOLITAN URBAN INDIAN DIRECTORS (MUID)***

This group, which began in the 1970s or early 1980s, is presently comprised of executive leaders from over 20 American Indian non-profits that serve the Twin Cities metro urban Indian community. The group meets at the Minneapolis American Indian Center (1530 E. Franklin Ave).

### ***MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY SPECIALIST / AMERICAN INDIAN ADVOCATE***

For over 40 years, the City of Minneapolis has had a staff position that functions as a ambassador between the city and its Native American residents. Past tribal liaisons have included: Elaine Stately, Pat Amo, Patricia Hobot, Ron Taylor, Valerie Larsen, and Bill Carter.<sup>30</sup> Since 2011, Christine McDonald has held the position of Minneapolis Native American Community Specialist.

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<sup>30</sup> This is list is not complete.

### ***URBAN TRIBAL OFFICES***

As early as 1979, The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe established an urban office in Minneapolis. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is a union of six member reservations (Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, and White Earth). The building (2344 Nicollet Ave) housed urban branch offices of employment, economic development, and education offices (*Speaking of Ourselves*, Vol. 5 (2) 1979:1). In 1996, a new era of communication between tribal communities and their enrolled members living in the Twin Cities began with the establishment of the Mille Lacs Band Urban Office. In the years that followed many of the other Ojibwe tribes established urban offices as well including White Earth, Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Leech Lake and Red Lake. As stated on the website of the Bois Forte Urban Community office, the role of urban tribal offices is also to “strengthen communication and build stronger community among all members” of the tribal community. Urban offices provide assistance to members and facilitate access to tribal resources such as harvest permits, or housing and benefit applications, without having to travel to the reservation. Urban offices also host community meetings; family events, language tables, and cultural programming. Urban offices may also facilitate travel to major community events on the reservation or make arrangements for tribal representatives to make presentations in the city.

- The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe established the first urban tribal office in Minneapolis. Prior to 1979, the office was located in the same building as the Division of Indian Work (3045 Park Ave) before moving to 2344 Nicollet Ave in March of that year (*Speaking of Ourselves*, Vol. 5 (2) 1979:1). Since 2009, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe offices have been located at 1308 E Franklin Ave.
- The Mille Lacs Band established the first independent tribal office in 1996. Initially located in the Franklin Business Center (1433 E Franklin Ave, Suite 7E), the office is now located in the Many Rivers-West building (1404 E Franklin Ave).
- The White Earth Nation’s urban office was created in 2001 (Padrta 2001). Initially located in the Franklin Business Center (1433 E Franklin Ave), the office is currently located in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe building at 1308 E Franklin Ave, Suite 210.
- The Bois Forte Band opened a tribal urban office in 2009 in the Many Rivers-West building (1404 E Franklin Ave) (Bois Forte 2009). The office is currently located in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe building at 1308 E Franklin Ave.
- The Leech Lake Band maintains a Twin Cities office in the Ancient Traders Market building at 1113 E Franklin Ave, Suite 210B.
- The Red Lake Nation’s urban office was located for a time in the Franklin Business Center (1433 E Franklin Ave, Suite 13A), before moving to its own building at 2929 Bloomington Ave in 2010 (*Grand Forks Herald* 2010).
- The Fond du Lac Band has an urban office in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe building at 1308 E Franklin Ave.
- The Grand Portage Reservation is represented in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe building at 1308 E Franklin Ave.

## CULTURE AND ARTS

### *AMERICAN INDIAN MONTH*

As early as 1915, the Society for American Indians advocated for the adoption of a national “American Indian Day” to recognize the significant contributions and accomplishments of Native Americans. At their annual gathering that year in Lawrence, Kansas, the Society’s president Rev. Sherman Coolidge issued a proclamation declaring the second Saturday of each May as American Indian Day. In May of 1916, the state of New York declared the first such official day to be observed by a state. While other state’s adopted similar days, it was not until the Bicentennial Year of 1976, that a federal observance occurred. In that year, the U.S. Congress authorized President Gerald Ford to proclaim a week in October as Native American Awareness Week (Presidential Proclamation 4468, October 8, 1976). A decade later, in 1986, Congress requested the President to proclaim an “American Indian Week” in November (Presidential Proclamation 5577). In 1990, Congress requested that the month of November be designated “National American Indian Heritage Month” (Presidential Proclamation 6230). Since 1990, Congress and the President have issued annual proclamations designating November as “National American Indian Heritage Month.”

In 1969, Minneapolis Mayor, Arthur Naftalin, proclaimed the city’s first American Indian Week and American Indian Day (May 10) (Harkins et al. 1969:15; Scholberg 1971). The state followed suit in 1971 with a proclamation signed by Governor Wendell Anderson (MNHS Neg. No. 73036) (Figure 30). In 1983, the City of Minneapolis celebrated “Native American Indian Weeks” (May 1-15, 1983), eventually expanding the celebration to the entire month of May (Carter 2002; City of Minneapolis 2003).



**FIGURE 30. MINNESOTA GOVERNOR WENDELL ANDERSON SIGNING THE  
AMERICAN INDIAN WEEK PROCLAMATION IN 1971**

*(MNHS, Neg. No. 73036)*



## **SPORTS**

During conversations with community members, organized sports that were mentioned included Native Youth Olympics and men's softball leagues, but no sport was brought up more frequently than boxing. As it was nationally, boxing was particularly popular within the American Indian community from the 1930s through the 1970s. Boxing was described by community members as a sport that "brought us together" and which served as a youth diversion program without being overtly labeled as such. Through the Golden Gloves Association many young people learned to box. The Minneapolis American Indian community produced its share of successful boxers many of whom were trained by Curtis L. Buckanaga (1924-2016). Head Boxing Coach at the Upper Midwest American Indian Center, Buckanaga learned to box while serving in the Navy during World War II. He started coaching in 1970 and went on to coach for more than 37 years. He was recognized with two achievement awards from the Golden Gloves Association. Curtis' brother Charles (aka "Bunny") also coached (*Anishinaabeg Today*, May 9, 2007, 15). The following boxers were mentioned during conversations with community members: Clyde Bellecourt, Vince Foster, Scott Papasodora, John Poupart, and Mark Taylor. Scott Papasodora (1959-2009) began boxing in Minneapolis at the age of 10 and went on to become a professional boxer. Papasodora won several titles including the National Indian Boxing title and the Upper Midwest Golden Gloves title (DeLisa 2009). One venue that was mentioned as promoting boxing was the Pillsbury Settlement House (320 16<sup>th</sup> Ave S) (razed).

## **ART GALLERIES AND PUBLIC ART**

Two Rivers Gallery. Since its opening in 1975, a gallery space has been present within the Minneapolis American Indian Center (1530 E Franklin Ave) (see Figure 28). Presently, the center houses the Two Rivers Gallery, which reopened in 2015 after an eight-year hiatus (Regan 2015). The gallery is dedicated to providing exposure to emerging Native artists.

All My Relations Arts / Ancient Traders Gallery. Founded in 1999 by Shirlee Stone, All My Relations Arts initially began as a project of the American Indian Business Development Corporation. The gallery exhibits contemporary fine art by local and national American Indian artists. All My Relations hosted art exhibitions within the Ancient Traders Gallery space at 1113 E Franklin Ave (The Circle 2009). In 2010, All My Relations became an initiative of the Native American Community Development Institute (NACDI) and in 2011 it opened its new gallery space in the NACDI-AICDC co-owned building at 1414 E Franklin Ave (Regan 2010, 2011). The architect for the interior and exterior redesign of the building was Sam Olbekson (White Earth Ojibwe) who grew up in the neighborhood, while the gallery's logo was created by Buffalo Nickel Creative, a Native design group (Regan 2011).

Public Art. Much of the Native public art located within the greater East Franklin Avenue neighborhood is associated with post-2000 revitalization efforts and the creation of the American Indian Cultural Corridor (<http://aiccorridor.com/art/>). Descriptions of pre-2000 installations are provided below, however this list is not all-encompassing and a systematic survey of Native public art within Minneapolis is recommended.

- Totem, c.1973 – Totem by Ronald L. Melchert (Oneida) symbolizing a mother wolf watching over her young (Ronald Melchert, personal communication). Located north of the Little Earth housing office (2501 Cedar Ave S) (Figure 31).

- Wood Collage, 1975 – George Morrison (Ojibwe) designed wood collage installed on the exterior of the Minneapolis American Indian Center (1530 E Franklin Ave) (see Figure 28).
- Untitled, c.1980? – Mosaic tile mural on the entrance of the Nawayee Center School (2421 Bloomington Ave S).
- *Totem Pole*, 1991 – A twenty-one foot tall exotic dyed wood construction by George Morrison (Ojibwe) in the main lobby of the LaSalle Plaza (800 LaSalle Ave).
- *Tableau*, 1992 – Granite pavement mosaic by George Morrison (Ojibwe) originally installed at the IDS Center, then in front of the downtown library. The mosaic is presently in storage while the Nicollet Mall is renovated (Brandt 2015).
- *Chief Little Crow Mask*, 1994 – Sculpture by Ed Archie NoiseCat (Shuswap-Stlitlimx) installed south of Minnehaha Falls within Minnehaha Regional Park.



**FIGURE 31. CONCRETE TOTEM WITHIN THE LITTLE EARTH OF UNITED TRIBES HOUSING COMPLEX, C.1973**

## EDUCATION

### ***UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES, 1969***

The civil rights movement of the 1960s also brought changes to higher education. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin) coupled with the Higher Education Act of 1965 (which extended needs-based financial aid to the general population) led to increased opportunities for minority students. Universities began to develop programs for underrepresented and financially-challenged communities. One outcome of this movement was the development of ethnic studies programs. In 1968, American Indian Studies programs were organized at San Francisco State University and the University of California, Berkeley (Fixico 2003:116). In the fall of that year, an American Indian Students Association (AISA) was organized at the University of Minnesota (Rosenthal 2012:132). The association was made up of the approximately 45 Native American students then attending the university on state-funded minority scholarships (Rosenthal 2012:132). Within weeks of African-American students having successfully lobbied for the creation of a black studies program through the Morrill Hall takeover in January of 1969, AISA students met with university administrators to organize an American Indian Studies department (Fixico 2003:116; Rosenthal 2012:132). The University of Minnesota's American Indian Studies program, established in 1969, has the distinction of being the first such program to be granted departmental status (Johnson-Elie 2016).

### ***OH DAY AKI / HEART OF THE EARTH SURVIVAL SCHOOL, 1972-2008***

Of all of the American Indian Movement's work in Minneapolis, Clyde Bellecourt considers the creation of the Heart of the Earth Survival School to be one of its greatest local accomplishments. "Education is the answer to everything," he says (Rich 1998). With the passage of the Indian Education Act in 1972, which allowed Indians to have control over the education of their youth, the AIM Survival School was created. Initially housed in the basement of the AIM office building at 1337 E Franklin Ave, the school had several homes before the renamed Heart of the Earth School found a permanent facility in 1975 at 1209 4<sup>th</sup> Street SE (Davis 2013:102, 105). In 1999, the Heart of the Earth/Oh Day Aki became a charter school, but in 2008 the school was forced to close and the building was razed in 2010.

### ***NAWAYEE CENTER SCHOOL, 1974-PRESENT***

The Nawayee Center School was founded in 1974 by Keith Lussier, Gordy Regguinti, and Richard White. Presently, the alternative urban high school, which serves American Indian youth, is located at 2421 Bloomington Ave S. According to Richard White, the school grew out of drop-in program at the Episcopal Youth Neighborhood Center initially located at 1400 E Franklin Ave (razed), and later relocated to 2421 Bloomington Ave S. Until 1988 the Center School was a program of the Episcopal Church.

### ***AMERICAN INDIAN OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER, 1979-PRESENT***

From the American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Center (AIOIC) website: "The mission of the American Indian OIC is to empower American Indians to pursue career opportunities by providing individualized education, training, and employment services in a culturally rich environment. The organization was founded in 1979 as a practical resource to respond to the considerable education and employment disparities faced by American Indians living in and around South Minneapolis. In the years since its founding, the AIOIC has built a workforce of over 20,000 people from the entire Twin City area and tribal nations across the country and is a nationally recognized leader in the workforce development field. Although it was founded to support people of Native descent, the American Indian OIC's resources and programs are available to all persons." (<http://aioic.org/about/>). Formerly located in the Peacemaker Center at 2300 Cedar Avenue, AIOIC has been located at 1845 E Franklin Ave since about 1990.

### ***OTHER SCHOOLS***

- Four Winds Academy (1994-2003?) – 2300 Chicago Ave S
- Little Earth Early Learning Center (1998-present) – 2438 18<sup>th</sup> Ave S
- Four Directions Charter School (1999-2010) – 1113 W Broadway Avenue
- Native American Arts High School (2000-2003) – sponsor: Augsburg College

### ***EDUCATION TODAY***

Today, charter schools and immersion programs continue traditional learning and language education in Minneapolis. At the heart of this modern language movement is the Native American Leaders Circle, a group of South Minneapolis members of the Alliance of Early Childhood Professionals. In 2002, the Dakota Ojibwe Language Revitalization Alliance (DOLRA) was formed to provide a support network for people involved in language revitalization efforts. In 2004, the Native American Leaders' Circle, organized their first annual language camp, which was held at Waubun Park and

attended by 40 children. In 2004, the Native American Leaders' Circle's principle members were Lillian Rice, Jennifer Bendickson, Betty Bowstring, Betty Jane Schaaf, Tammy Shaw, Leila Goggeye and Vicky Chavez. In 2006, the Native American Leaders' Circle began the Wicoie Nandagikendan preschool Dakota and Ojibwe immersion program (Wicoie Nandagikendan 2016). The Anishinabe Academy, a Minneapolis Magnet Public School (3100 East 28<sup>th</sup> Street), opened during the 2003-2004 school year with a focus on "high academic achievement through Native American culture and language" (Anishinabe Academy 2016). In the fall of 2014, the Bdote Learning Center (elementary K-4) language immersion school opened (3216 East 29<sup>th</sup> Street). The focus of the school is to "develop culturally aware, successful, high performing students by providing them with an academically rigorous education that is place-based and rooted in the language and cultures of indigenous peoples" (Bdote Learning Center 2016).

## **HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### ***AMERICAN INDIAN GUEST HOUSE, c.1968***

The American Indian Guest House was an innovative social services program of the Upper Midwest American Indian Center. The Indian Guest was founded in 1968/9 to provide housing for Native men discharged from the Minneapolis workhouse (UMAIC 1969). It was the first facility to address the specific cultural needs of Native men facing health concerns contributing to homelessness, through the implementation of sobriety programs that were reflective of Native social connections and practices. The Indian Guest House was briefly included in the original Model Cities Program. The space also provided housing, cultural support, adult basic education classes and a social space for the surrounding Native American community. The residence at 3020 Clinton Ave S closed in the mid-1970s when the program came under the stewardship of the American Indian Services organization.

### ***ANISHINABE WAKI-IGAN, INC., 1971***

Founded in 1971, Anishinabe Waki-igan provided a post-correctional institution halfway house for Native men. The project sought to reduce the proportion of Native men in the Minneapolis workhouse and to break the cycle of repeat offenders. The short-term facility provided counseling and employment assistance. In April of 1972 a 16-bed residence was established at 3033 Portland Ave (Minnesota Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control 1974). By 1980, the building had transitioned to use as the United Indian's Group Home for Boys (Minnesota Governor's Planning Council on Developmental Disabilities 1980:161).

### ***ANISHINABE LONGHOUSE CHEMICAL DEPENDENCY PROGRAM, 1973***

Founded in 1973, the Anishinabe Longhouse Chemical Dependency Program (ALCDP) was a prerelease guidance center and halfway house for American Indian offenders aimed at lowering the rate of repeat offenders (*MCCA Happenings*, 1979, Vol 4[5]:4). The program was an extension of the Minnesota Department of Corrections and John Poupart served as its director. In 1981, the Anishinabe Longhouse was described as the nation's only remaining Indian-run program for ex-offenders (*Corrections Magazine*, Vol. 7(1981):18). From its founding through at least the early 1990s, the Anishinabe Longhouse was located at 1016 Newton Ave N.

***LITTLE EARTH OF UNITED TRIBES, 1973***

Little Earth is a 9.4-acre, 212-unit HUD-subsidized housing complex (Figure 32). Founded in 1973, Little Earth is the only American Indian preference project-based Section 8 rental assistance community in the United States. The Little Earth project generated a great deal of controversy, both during construction, and subsequently when challenges were raised to the use of Indian preference selection procedures for placement, and when substandard building techniques and materials came to light as the units began to rapidly deteriorate. The management was reorganized several times with the American Indian Movement (AIM) at one point appointed to oversee management of the property. In addition to housing, Little Earth provides community services including educational and social programs, pre-school partnerships, elder services, health initiatives and cultural programming (Little Earth of United Tribes 2016).

***WINAKI HOUSE / KATERI RESIDENCE, C.1975***

Initially known as Winaki House, this residence began around 1974-75 as a safe place for Native American women escaping abusive relationships and addictions. Renamed for Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), an Algonquin-Mohawk woman, who was beatified in 1980 and canonized in 2012, Kateri Residence is a program of St. Stephen's Human Services, a nonprofit dedicated to ending homelessness. The Kateri Residence has been at its current address (2408 4<sup>th</sup> Ave S) since at least 1979.



**FIGURE 32. AERIAL VIEW OF LITTLE EARTH IN 1973**

*(Little Earth of United Tribes 2016)*

***AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (AICDC), 1992***

The American Indian Housing Corporation (AIHC) was formed in 1992 by members of the American Indian Task Force on Housing and Homelessness. The AIHC in turn became the American Indian Community Development Corporation (AICDC). Their mission is to provide culturally specific housing and support services in the Twin Cities. Projects include: Anishinabe Wakiagun; Many Rivers, and Bii Di Gain Dash Anwebi (<http://www.aicdc-mn.org/node/14>).

The AICDC is also working to reestablish Native ownership of buildings along Franklin Avenue in order to strengthen the American Indian Cultural Corridor and support community and economic development within the Phillips Neighborhood (Keith 2013). In 2013, the organization owned all the land on the north side of Franklin Avenue from Hiawatha Avenue to the Franklin Community Library, with the exception of the Minneapolis American Indian Center. In May of 2013, they purchased the Ancient Traders Market building on the south side of Franklin in partnership with the Local Initiatives Support Corporation.

***ANISHINABE WAKIAGUN (THE PEOPLE'S HOME), 1996***

Opened in 1996, Anishinabe Wakiagun provides culturally specific permanent supportive housing program for late stage chronic inebriates in a 45-unit single-occupancy apartment building. The residence, which is a project of the American Indian Community Development Corporation, is located at 1600 E 19<sup>th</sup> Street.

***AMERICAN INDIAN SERVICES, c.1997***

American Indian Services operated a sobriety house for American Indian men and women in transition from primary treatment. The facility moved to 2200 Park Ave (the 1892 Sumner T. and Eugenie McKnight House) in 1997, but by 2013 the building was vacant (Millett 2007:188; Mogush 2013).

***MAYNIDOOWAHDAK ODENA (PLACE WHERE CEREMONIES HAPPEN), 1998***

This 14-unit housing complex incorporates aspects of tribal community living into residences for individuals with disabilities and their families. Located at 1321 E 23<sup>rd</sup> Street, the housing units are “arranged as an interconnected series of octagons with tepeelike roofs, all designed to evoke the traditional forms of a Native American village” (Millett 2007:184). The complex, which was designed by Douglas Cardinal and DJR Architecture, received the Design of the Year Award for Affordable Housing from the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency.

***MANY RIVERS EAST (2003) AND WEST (2006)***

Many Rivers is a multi-phase housing development consisting of two four-story mixed-use buildings with a total of 76 rental apartments. Many Rivers East, which was completed in August 2003, includes 50 units. Many Rivers West, completed in 2006, includes 26 housing units, approximately 5,500 square feet of commercial space, and 35 parking spaces (1400 and 1500 blocks of E Franklin Ave) Project of the American Indian Community Development Corporation ([http://www.minneapolismn.gov/cped/projects/cped\\_many\\_rivers](http://www.minneapolismn.gov/cped/projects/cped_many_rivers)).

***BII DI GAIN DASH ANWEBI (COME IN. REST) ELDER HOUSING, 2011/2012***

This two building elder housing complex was completed in 2011 (west building) and 2012 (east building) at the intersection of 24<sup>th</sup> Street E and Bloomington Avenue S (2400 and 2415 Bloomington Ave S). Project of the American Indian Community Development Corporation.

**ADVOCACY, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

The work of the Upper Midwest American Indian Center (UMAIC) and the American Indian Movement (AIM) is described in Chapter 6.

***AMERICAN INDIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH, 1945***

The American Indian Evangelical Church (AIEC) was formed in the Twin Cities in 1945 (Balmer 2004:21). Initially called the American Indian Mission, the church adopted the AIEC name in 1956. According to city directories, by 1966, if not earlier, the congregation met in the former First Church of the Evangelical Association building at 1823 Emerson Ave N (HE-MPC-8088; razed). When the Gothic-styled church building, constructed in 1906, was destroyed by a fire in 1980, the congregation constructed a new building on the site. The church constructed in 1981 is believed to be the first church building constructed in Minneapolis for a Native American congregation. In its design the building evokes a traditional roundhouse.

***DIVISION OF INDIAN WORK (DIW), 1952***

In 1952, the United Church Committee on Indian Work was formed to provide social services to Minneapolis' American Indian community. In 1974, the program partnered with the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches (GMCC). The GMCC's Division of Indian Work (DIW) serves the needs of American Indian families transition from reservation to urban living while honoring cultural traditions. The DIW's mission is to empower American Indian people through culturally-based education, counseling, advocacy and leadership development. According to city directories, in 1962, the DIW was located at 109 E Grant Street (razed), but by 1966 had relocated to its current location at 3045 Park Avenue (*Speaking of Ourselves*, Vol. 5 (2) 1979:1; <http://www.gmcc.org/pages/about-us/about-us---history>).

***AMERICAN INDIAN CITIZEN'S COMMUNITY CENTER, 1968***

In May of 1968, the building at 815 E Franklin Ave (razed), which also housed for a time the American Indian Employment and Guidance Center, became the American Indian Citizen's Community Center (Stickney 1967:3; UMAIC 1969). The American Indian Citizen's Community Center provided referral, casework, homemaker and other social services (Meyer et al. 1970:9).

***MINNEAPOLIS AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER (HE-MPC-4101), 1975***

Formed by community members, the Minneapolis American Indian Center is one of first urban American Indian centers in the United States. Constructed in 1975 on city-owned land at 1530 E Franklin Ave (site of the former Adams Public School), the center was created to provide education, social services, and cultural programs to the surrounding community. Designed by Hodne-Stageberg Partners, which included young Native architects on its staff, the building is described architecturally as "an aggressive concrete

and wood building organized around an angular, multilevel courtyard.” (Galt 1998:151; Millett 2007:184).

***GICHITWAA KATERI, 1975***

Founded in 1975, the services of this Catholic parish include prayers and songs in Native languages and incorporate traditional practices such as the burning of sage. For nearly twenty years, the congregation was served by Father James Notebaart, who retired in 2010 (French 2010). The congregation takes its name from Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), an Algonquin-Mohawk woman, who was beatified in 1980 and canonized in 2012. The congregation presently meets at 3045 Park Avenue in the same building used by the Division of Indian Work of the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches.

***ALL NATIONS INDIAN CHURCH (UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST), 1981***

Described as the first urban Indian church in the United Church of Christ (UCC), All Nations Indian Church held its first service on October 4, 1981 at the Minnesota Church Center at 122 West Franklin Avenue. For a time the congregation met at the Division of Indian Work - Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches’ building at 3045 Park Ave before constructing their own church at 1515 East 23<sup>rd</sup> Street (2300 Bloomington Ave S). The All Nations Indian Church is a traditional long-house inspired building designed by The Design Collective. The first service was held in the new building on Christmas Eve of 1987 ([http://www.caimucc.org/all\\_nations\\_history.html](http://www.caimucc.org/all_nations_history.html)).

***MINNESOTA INDIAN WOMEN’S RESOURCE CENTER, 1984***

Founded in 1984, the Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center (MIWRC) provides programs that educate and empower American Indian women and their families. The MIWRC is described as the only organization that specifically addresses the needs of women in the community through a holistic and culturally sensitive approach. Programs address needs such as family services, child advocacy, legal services, affordable housing, parenting skills, chemical dependency, and mental health care, as well as cultural resilience, historical trauma and other family and community issues (<https://www.miwrc.org/about.php>). The center is located in the former Lutheran Deaconess Home at 2300 15<sup>th</sup> Ave S.



## CHAPTER 8 . CONCLUSION

This Native American historic context study for the City of Minneapolis' Heritage Preservation Commission was prepared by Two Pine Resource Group in 2016. A companion reconnaissance level survey supplement was also completed (Terrell and Terrell 2016). The primary purpose of the historic context study is to provide a framework for evaluating historic resources associated with the city's Native American community. The development of this historic context also provides an opportunity to document and make more widely known the Native American heritage of Minneapolis.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### ***NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY CULTURAL RESOURCES CONSULTATION***

As noted throughout this report, cultural resources associated with the Native American heritage of Minneapolis may include traditional cultural properties, sacred sites, archaeological resources, buildings and structures. Federal, state, and local historic preservation laws govern the identification and treatment of historic properties. Many of these laws require consultation with federally-recognized tribes regarding impacts to properties that are potentially eligible for, or which have received, historical designation. However, there is not always a mechanism for local community input. Due to the cultural sensitivity of some resources, specific information on them is not readily available or, as is also the case for archaeological sites, their existence is not readily apparent on the surface or recognized through standard review processes. For these reasons, input from the American Indian community is crucial to developing a respectful and responsive preservation agenda. How can the City work more closely with the Native American community to identify what to preserve? What stories should and can be told and shared? What areas are important to protect and have access to for the practice of ceremonies? One possible preservation approach is the implementation by the City of a cultural resources review process that requests feedback on projects from American Indian community representatives perhaps based on the size of the undertaking and/or its proximity to water or undeveloped/natural spaces. The established working partnership between the City and the Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors (MUID Group) outlined in the American Indian Memorandum of Understanding may provide the mechanism for creating such a review process.

#### ***ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AND TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES***

Ethnographic resources and traditional cultural properties do not have addresses, are rarely documented on maps, and often have no overt features or characteristics that would allow them to be readily identified as significant features. Furthermore, the identification of sacred sites and traditional cultural places is the jurisdiction of tribes and tribal cultural authorities. To date, one Traditional Cultural Property within Minneapolis has been identified and evaluated. The landform of Taku Wakan Tip / Morgan's Mound, which is partially located within the city boundary, was evaluated in 2004 (Ollendorf and Anderson 2004). The study concluded that while the landform may no longer retain sufficient integrity to be individually eligible for listing on the National Register, it should re-evaluated as a potential contributing element within a discontinuous National Register Historic District centered on Bdote (Ollendorf and Anderson 2004:27-28). Because these most traditional and sensitive of sites are the least likely to be readily recognized, planners should be aware that work anywhere in the City may have an impact on

traditional cultural places, particularly, as one Dakota community member noted, in areas that remain undeveloped or are adjacent to areas that are still in a natural state.

### ***BURIALS / CEMETERIES***

Burials are protected under the Minnesota Private Cemeteries Act (MS 307.08), which affords all human remains and burials of 50 years of age or older that are located outside of platted, recorded, or identified cemeteries protection from unauthorized disturbance. Per the act, “The Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Transportation, and all other state agencies and local governmental units whose activities may be affected, shall cooperate with the state archaeologist and the Indian Affairs Council to carry out the provisions of this section” (M.S. 307.08, subd. 9).

### ***ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES***

To date, 15 Native American heritage archaeological sites associated with this period have been recorded within the city and an additional seven site leads reported. Most of these sites have not undergone archaeological investigations sufficient to determine whether they are eligible for local historical designation or for listing in the National Register. However, past studies of sites 21HE312, 21HE313, and 21HE314 indicate that they contain significant archaeological evidence and well-preserved deposits to meet the criteria for historical designation (Harrison 2000:ii).

Due to the limited number of Native American heritage archaeological sites thus far identified within the city, all such sites have the potential to contribute to our understanding of the lives of these first people of the Minneapolis area. Archaeological sites with good integrity, and particularly undisturbed, stratified sites, have the potential to provide significant information about the material culture and lives of Minneapolis’ first residents, including where they lived, what they ate, and changes that took place in their culture and way of life over time. Therefore, well-preserved Native American heritage archaeological sites would be potentially historically significant for their ability to yield information important to our understanding of this era (NRHP Criterion D; HPC Criterion 7). While development has destroyed or obscured many features associated with the initial Native American occupants of Minneapolis, archaeological and cultural resource investigations have demonstrated the continued preservation of heritage sites particularly near the Mississippi River, its tributary streams, and the chain of lakes.

### ***EXISTING LANDMARKS AND HISTORIC DISTRICTS***

The 1849 John H. Stevens House (4901 Minnehaha Avenue) is a contributing resource to the Minnehaha Historic District (National designation – 1969; Local designation – 1986). Originally constructed in what is now downtown Minneapolis, the house was moved twice before ultimately being relocated to the park in 1896. As the first permitted house on the west side of the river, the Stevens home often served as a meeting space including documented councils between local tribal leaders and government agents (Stevens 1890:29). Given the association of the house with these councils, it is recommended that the property’s associated areas of significance be updated to include its association with the Minneapolis Native American Context (NRHP Criterion A / HPC Criterion 1).

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**SITES**

A potential site, or location, within the City of Minneapolis associated with a historically significant event is the U.S. Naval Air Station (now the U.S. Air Force Reserve's 934<sup>th</sup> Airlift Wing), which was object of a four-day takeover by the American Indian Movement from May 17-21, 1971. The site of the U.S. Naval Air Station takeover is recommended for further evaluation as a significant property for its association with an action of the locally and nationally significant American Indian Movement (NRHP Criteria A / HPC Criterion 1).

**BUILDINGS: INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES**

During the preparation of this study, 24 individual properties were identified and inventoried. Based on the results of an initial reconnaissance-level survey, these buildings appear to retain sufficient integrity and association with the history of the city's Native American community to recommend them for intensive-level research and survey to determine if they qualify for designation as a local landmark or for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (Table 4)

**TABLE 4. INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER SURVEY AND RESEARCH**

<b>Address</b>	<b>Historic Name</b>	<b>Date Built</b>
2408-2410 4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue S	Winaki House / Kateri Residence	1916
2300 15 <sup>th</sup> Avenue S	Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center	1933
1600 E 19 <sup>th</sup> Street	Anishinabe Wakiagun	1996
1321-1335 E 23 <sup>rd</sup> Street	Maynidoowahdak Odena/ Indigenous Peoples Task Force	1997
1515 E 23 <sup>rd</sup> Street	All Nations Indian Church	1987
1315 E 24 <sup>th</sup> Street	Indian Health Board	1983
2421 Bloomington Avenue S	Nawayee Center School	1901
1035 W Broadway Avenue	Upper Midwest American Indian Center (Plymouth Masonic Lodge)	1922
3020 Clinton Avenue S	Indian Guest House	1913
1823 Emerson Avenue N	American Indian Evangelical Church	1981
806-810 E Franklin Avenue	American Indian Chemical Dependency Diversion Project / Legal Rights Center	1922
1113 E Franklin Avenue	Ancient Traders Market	1900-1983
1221 E Franklin Avenue	Franklin Circles Shopping Center	1982
1433 E Franklin Avenue	Franklin Business Center	1988
1530 E Franklin Avenue	Minneapolis American Indian Center	1975
1845 E Franklin Avenue	American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Center	1952
1016 Newton Avenue N	Anishinabe Longhouse	1921
2217 Nicollet Avenue	Indian Health Board (Lee Mortuary)	1934

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Address	Historic Name	Date Built
2344 Nicollet Avenue	Minnesota Chippewa Tribe	1923
1611 Park Avenue	Legal Rights Center	1964
2200 Park Avenue	American Indian Services	1892
3045 Park Avenue	Division of Indian Work / Church of Gichitwaa Kateri	1960
2907 Portland Avenue	Upper Midwest American Indian Center (south office)	1924
3033 Portland Avenue	Anishinabe Waki-igan / United Indian's Home for Boys	1900

***POTENTIAL HISTORIC DISTRICT***

During the preparation of this study, a concentration of properties was identified that is recommended for intensive-level research and survey to determine if it qualifies for designation as a potential historic district.

Little Earth of United Tribes Historic District. Little Earth of United Tribes is a 9.4-acre, 212-unit Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)-subsidized housing complex. Constructed in 1973, Little Earth is the only American Indian preference project-based Section 8 rental assistance community in the United States. Given the importance of Little Earth within the history of Minneapolis and the Native American community, its association with experimental twentieth-century social welfare programs, the American Indian Self-Determination Movement, and AIM; and as the complex exhibits overall good integrity, this district is recommended as potentially eligible under Minneapolis Criteria 1 (History), 2 (Persons or Groups) and 3 (Neighborhood Identity), as well as National Register Criteria A (History).

**LOOKING TO THE FUTURE:  
MINNEAPOLIS AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORIC DISTRICT**

It is apparent that the changes that have occurred on East Franklin Avenue and in the surrounding neighborhood during the past twenty years reflect a new and historically significant trajectory within the history of the Minneapolis Native American community. Previously, with the exception of structures like the Minneapolis American Indian Center (1975), many of the buildings utilized by the city's Native population were repurposed and/or rental properties and Native organizations frequently moved from one location to another. Conversely, this new era of construction consists of properties that have been conceived by and constructed through the impetus of the Native American community. As such, these buildings are truly part of the fabric of Minneapolis' American Indian community. In 2010, a section of East Franklin Avenue was designated the American Indian Cultural Corridor (a cooperative project of the Native American Community Development Institute). At present, many of the buildings along the corridor are less than 35 years old, at which age or older the Minneapolis Heritage Preservation Commission typically regards structures to be eligible to be considered historic properties. However, in the future, this concentration of buildings, together with those inventoried in this study, may constitute a Minneapolis American Indian Historic District associated with the historically significant American Indian Self-Determination Movement of the last quarter of the twentieth century and the development of a distinct American Indian community in Minneapolis.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**



**MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORIC CONTEXTS**  
**Guiding Interview Questions**

***Name:***

***Tribal / Organization Affiliation:***

When and for how long have you lived in Minneapolis?

Why did you or your parents/family come to the City?

Where did you live? Neighborhood? With family, near relatives, etc.  
Did you live in a house, an apartment, etc.?

What types of work did you or your family members do?

When you think about growing up, or moving into the city, what places were important to you negotiating the city? (Where did you go for help or companionship, or what places were important to maintaining, reinforcing, or exploring your, or others, tribal identity and ties?)

Did your relations talk about neighborhoods, or meeting spaces, businesses or events that were important to the community, or addressed problems facing Native people?

What places in the City are important to you now as a Native person?

Are there individuals who you think should be recognized and remembered for their roles in the Minneapolis Native community?

What places in the City do you think should be remembered or preserved for future generations?

What events that took place in the City do you think should be remembered for future generations?



**APPENDIX B**  
**DAKOTA AND OJIBWE PLACE NAMES IN MINNEAPOLIS**





## DAKOTA AND OJIBWE PLACE NAMES IN MINNEAPOLIS

Information on Dakota and Ojibwe place names is derived principally from Paul Durand's book *Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet* (1994); *Dakota Dictionary Online* ([filemaker.cla.umn.edu/dakota/home.php](http://filemaker.cla.umn.edu/dakota/home.php)); and *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary* (<http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/en>).

Bassett's Creek – see Haha Wakpadan

Bde (Dakota). A lake. Also spelled Mde.

**Bde Maka Ska** (Dakota). (1) *lake* (2) *earth* (3) *white*. White Earth Lake [Lake Calhoun]. Also spelled Mde Maka Ska.

**Bde Unma** (Dakota). (1) *lake* (2) *other*. The Other Lake [Lake Harriet]. Also spelled Mde Unma.

**Bdote Mni Sota** (Dakota). (1) *the mouth or junction of two rivers* (2) *water* (3) *clear/cloudy*. The confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. Also spelled Mdote from which the community of Mendota derived its name.

Cloud Man's Village – see Heyata Otunwe

Coldwater Spring – see Mni Sni

**Gakaabika** (Ojibwe). This word meaning “severed rock” is the Ojibwe name of St. Anthony Falls. It describes the limestone shelf and broken rock over which the falls tumbled.

**Haha Wakpa** (Dakota). (1) *waterfalls* (2) *river*. The River of the Falls. [Mississippi River]

**Haha Wakpadan** (Dakota). (1) *waterfalls* (2) *creek*. The Creek at the Falls is the Dakota name of Bassett's Creek which enters the river just above the falls.

**Heyata Otunwe** (Dakota). (1) *back from the river* (2) *village*. This is the name of Mahpiya Wicasta's (Cloud Man) village. It was also called Teakape (roof) Otonwe (village) or the “Village Whose Houses Have Roofs” (Durand 1994:22).

Lake Calhoun – see Mde Maka Ska / Bde Maka Ska

Lake Harriet – see Mde Unma / Bde Unma

Lake of the Isles – see Wita Topa

Mde (Dakota). A lake. Also spelled Bde.

**Mde Maka Ska** (Dakota). (1) *lake* (2) *earth* (3) *white*. White Earth Lake [Lake Calhoun]. Also spelled Bde Maka Ska.

**Mde Unma** (Dakota). (1) *lake* (2) *other*. The Other Lake [Lake Harriet]. Also spelled Bde Unma.

**Mdote Mni Sota** (Dakota). (1) *the mouth or junction of two rivers* (2) *water* (3) *clear/cloudy*. The confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. It is from Mdote that the community of Mendota derived its name. Also spelled Bdote.

MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
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Minnehaha Creek – see Wakpa Cistinna

Minnehaha Falls – see Mnigaga

Mississippi River – see Haha Wakpa and Misi Ziibi

**Misi Ziibi** (Ojibwe). (1) *great* (2) *river*. The Great River. [Mississippi River]

**Mnigaga** (Dakota). (1) *water* (2) *the noise of waterfalls*. Falling Water [Minnehaha Falls]

Morgan's Mound – see Taku Wakan Tipi

Nicollet Island – se Wita Waste

**Omnina Wakan Wakpadan** (Dakota). (1) *a calm place, shelter* (2) *mysterious, sacred* (3) *creek*. Spirit Refuge Creek [Shingle Creek]

**Owamniyomni** (Dakota). (1) *a whirlpool*. [St. Anthony Falls]

**Mni Sni** (Dakota). (1) *water* (2) *cold*. Coldwater Spring. Also referred to as Mni Owe Sni.

Pike Island – see Wita Tonka

St. Anthony Falls – see Owamniyomni and Gakaabika

Shingle Creek – see Omnina Wakan Wakpadan

Spirit Island – see Wanagi Wita

**Taku Wakan Tipi** (Dakota). (1) *Taku Wakan - that which is mysterious* (2) *dwelling*. [Morgan's Mound]

Wakpa (Dakota) – a river

Wakpadan (Dakota) – a creek

**Wakpa Cistinna** (Dakota). (1) *river* (2) *little*. The Little River [Minnehaha Creek]

**Wanagi Wita** (Dakota). (1) *spirit* (2) *island*. Spirit Island.

Wita (Dakota) – an island.

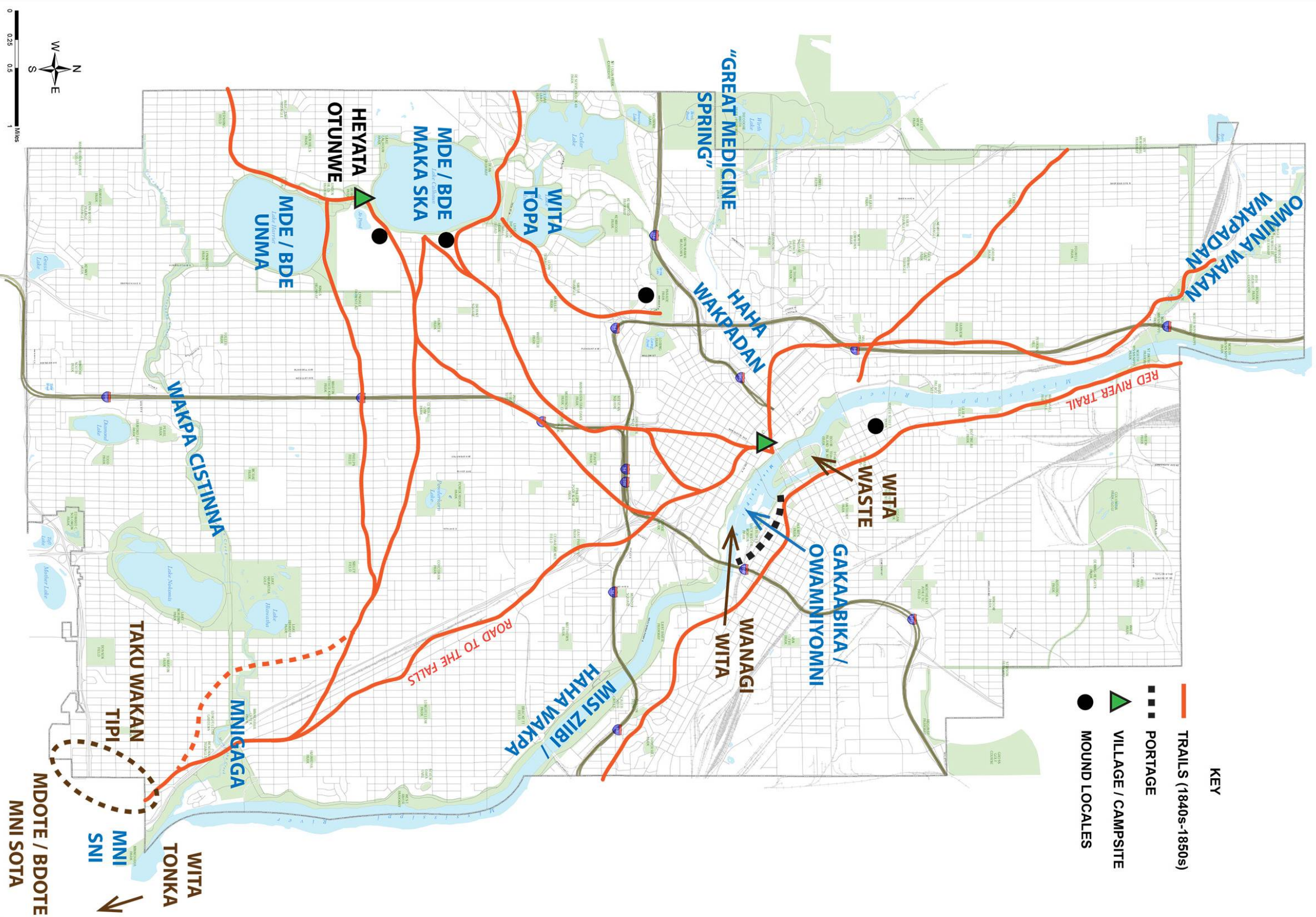
**Wita Topa** (Dakota). (1) *island* (2) *four*. Four Islands. [Lake of the Isles]

**Wita Tonka** (Dakota). (1) *island* (2) *big*. Big Island. [Pike Island]

**Wita Waste** (Dakota). (1) *island* (2) *beautiful*. Beautiful Island. [Nicollet Island]

**APPENDIX C**  
**MAP OF DAKOTA AND OJIBWE PLACE NAMES IN MINNEAPOLIS**





**Bde Ota Othunwe City of Minneapolis Gakabikaang**



MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
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**APPENDIX D**  
**CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS DAKOTA-U.S. WAR OF 1862 RESOLUTION**

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MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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**RESOLUTION  
of the  
CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS**

**By Lilligren, Gordon, Reich, Hofstede, Johnson, Samuels, Goodman,  
Glidden, Schiff, Tuthill, Quincy, Colvin Roy, and Hodges.**

**Recognizing the 150th Anniversary of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862  
and Declaring 2012-2013 the Year of the Dakota in Minneapolis.**

Whereas, the year 2012 is the sesquicentennial of the beginning of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 that led to the mass execution of 38 Dakota, the largest in the history of the United States, and the genocide of the Dakota people; and

Whereas, much has yet to be learned about issues revolving around land, reparations and restitution, treaties, genocide, suppression of American Indian spirituality and ceremonies, suppression of Indigenous languages, bounties, concentration camps, forced marches, mass executions, and forcible removals; and

Whereas, Indigenous women, children and elderly were held in a concentration camp at the base of Fort Snelling, separated from the men, before being exiled to reservations in neighboring states and Canada, and later being stripped of their culture and traditions in boarding schools and subjected to white culture and religions; and

Whereas, the complete history of Minnesota must be taught from the perspective of all people that have lived it;

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved by the City Council of The City of Minneapolis:

That every effort must be made to ensure that the Dakota perspective is presented during the year 2012-2013, through discussions at forums, events, symposia, conferences and workshops, to include the complex issues listed above;

Be It Further Resolved that the City of Minneapolis works to promote the well-being and growth of the American Indian community, including Dakota People.

Be It Further Resolved that these efforts during the years 2012 and 2013 will mark the beginning of future dialogues and efforts to rectify the wrongs that were perpetrated during, and since, the year 1862, a tragic and traumatic event for the Dakota People of Minnesota.

Be It Further Resolved that the year 2012-2013 is hereby designated "The Year of the Dakota: Remembering, Honoring, and Truth-Telling," from December 26, 2012 to December 26, 2013

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MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
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**APPENDIX E**  
**AMERICAN INDIAN MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING**

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MINNEAPOLIS NATIVE AMERICAN CONTEXT STATEMENT  
AND RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY SUPPLEMENT

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**Request for City Council Committee Action  
From the Department of Health & Family Support**

**Date:** March 31, 2003

**To:** HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES COMMITTEE

**Subject:** APPROVAL: MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE METROPOLITAN URBAN INDIAN DIRECTORS AND THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL

**Recommendation**

Authorizes the Mayor and City Council of Minneapolis to enter into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors (MUID) on behalf of the American Indian Community. The purpose of the MOU is to establish a working partnership between MUID and the elected officials of the City of Minneapolis. The partnership will promote constructive dialogue, establish action steps and an agreement to measure and evaluate the results of these efforts.

**Previous Directives**

On October 17, 2002, the HHS committee directed staff to undertake work on the proposed MOU to get it in a final form for further Council review and approval.

**Prepared or Submitted by:** Becky McIntosh, Director of Planning & Administration  
Phone: x2884

**Approved by:**

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David S. Doth, Commissioner of Health & Family Support

**Presenters in Committee:** David Doth, Commissioner of Health & Family Support  
Tony Looking Elk, Co-Chair Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors

**Financial Impact** (Check those that apply)

No financial impact - or - Action is within current department budget.

**Background/Supporting Information Attached:**

# MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

*Between the  
Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors  
On behalf of the American Indian Community  
&  
The Honorable Mayor R.T. Rybak and The Minneapolis City Council*

This MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING (MOU) is hereby entered into by the entities that have the responsibility to support and serve the American Indian community. The MOU is hereinafter referred to as the “American Indian Community” MOU.

## A. PURPOSE

The MOU promotes a sense of urgency and promise to develop reciprocal paths of participation and success. It further establishes a working partnership of dialogue, action and measurable results between the Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors (MUID Group) and the Mayor and City Council of Minneapolis. This MOU provides for:

- **Knowledge:** A community-government process of building knowledge through dialogue to better understand the integration of American Indian community thoughts, values and culture into the planning, development and stewardship of the city of Minneapolis.
- **Action:** A commitment to create community indicators with specific goals and objectives, from the knowledge gained, leading toward responsible actions in developing the American Indian community as a cultural, participatory and self-sufficient community.
- **Results:** Agreement to evaluate the efforts of the city and other stakeholders under this effort as it relates to the priorities developed by the American Indian community. .

## B. BACKGROUND

The American Indian community has celebrated many successes from individuals, families, organizations and community. History and culture has provided tremendous examples of thoughts, actions and deeds that have served our community progress and place in this world. However, in today’s integrated society, the lack of acceptance of our worldview and collective action has created tremendous disparities in statistics and societal factors that inhibit success, participation and opportunity necessary for community development and responsibility.

Several factors require innovation and invention to engage the American Indian community. American Indians define community as a cultural space and not the

generally accepted geographic definition. This has sometimes lead to an inability to build broad support with elected officials whose responsibility is otherwise limited to political boundaries. Further, American Indians are represented through a government to government relationship with our Federal and State Government. However, the customary consultation and intergovernmental efforts created for American Indians usually relate only to tribes and reservations and not the entire population especially those in urban areas. This lack of political engagement and institutional knowledge has challenged the MUID group to come forward with this respectful offer to partner with the City of Minneapolis.

The MUID Group has been serving the Twin Cities American Indian community as a gathering of leadership to discuss and inform the community of organizational and community issues for the past two decades. The focus and necessary change of this group has been one of communal support to community advocacy. The current MUID Group roster comprise of over fifty different organizations, programs and partners to the American Indian community. Our current efforts include:

- Indian Child Welfare Act: Addressing the interpretation and implementation of ICWA in protecting the rights and well-being of American Indian children.
- Eliminating Health Disparities: Providing leadership in developing an American Indian Blueprint for improving our health through systemic change.
- Education: Working with the Minneapolis School District to reverse and improve our graduation rate.
- Community Development: MUID created the Indian NRP Plan. From initial planning to evaluation, the INRP has succeeded.

### **C. IMPLEMENTATION**

The parties to this MOU acknowledge that improved communication and coordination on an ongoing basis is needed and will significantly aid the success of the American Indian population and improve city services.

Neither the MUID Group nor the City of Minneapolis have had a shared vision to increase the quality life of American Indian individuals and community in the City of Minneapolis.

The parties to the MOU will work together to resolve community, organizational and local government issues that may include matters beyond local jurisdiction. Resolution of these issues needs to be a collective effort that recognizes existing community needs for responsibility, participation and reciprocity.

## **C1. COORDINATION**

**Mechanism** – The workgroup will consist of ten members. The Mayor will appoint the Workgroup Chair as a member of city government. The City Council will appoint four members Workgroup members from city government. MUID will select five members to complete the workgroup. All appointees will be in place within 45 days after acceptance of the agreement. The committee composition shall be leaders and decision makers with the ability to address cross-cutting issues,

**Integration** - The workgroup will create goals and objectives that shall be integrated into the business plans of key city departments. This shall include but not limited to The Office of The Mayor, Health and Family Support, CPED, Police Department, Fire Department, Civil Rights and the Coordinator’s office.

## **C2. ACTIVITIES**

**Annual Work Plan** - The workgroup will develop an annual work plan that will address the goals and objectives created through the initial stages of dialogue. The workplan will also identify the tasks and information needed to implement the “American Indian Community” MOU and issue a “State of the Community” report. A draft of the work plan will be available for review no later than 30 days after workgroup is appointed by both MUID and City Council. The workplan will include components that address improved communication.

**State of the American Indian Community Report** – As part of this agreement, MUID and the City of Minneapolis will put forth an annual report on the State of the American Indian Community. The workgroup will be responsible for the design and production of the report. The workgroup will collect and present pertinent data in a timely manner and on an ongoing basis. The State of the Community Report will serve as a overview of the progress and challenges facing the community and serve as a roadmap for future action.

**Evaluation** – Reserved

## **D. ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH PARTICIPATING AGENCY**

The annual work plan created by the working group will delineate the role and responsibility of the city of Minneapolis and the Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors. Upon the selection of the workgroup, a draft workplan will be presented to the City of Minneapolis and the Metropolitan Urban Indian Directors no later than 60 days after acceptance of this MOU.

In addition to the appointed work group members, the list of principal staff contacts for both parties will be developed as an attachment to the workplan. They are responsible for working within their respective agencies to ensure implementation.



## **E. MUTUAL AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS**

1. LEGAL INTENT. This MOU does not alter or amend any existing law or regulation, and it does not create or give any party any authority or right to try to enforce the document.
2. NON-FUND OBLIGATING DOCUMENT. This instrument is neither a fiscal nor funds obligating document. Any endeavor invoking reimbursement, contribution of funds, or transfer of anything of value between the parties to this instrument will be handled in accordance with applicable laws, regulations, and procedures. Such endeavors will be outlined in separate agreements that shall be made in writing by representatives of the parties and shall be independently authorized by appropriate statutory authority. This instrument does not provide such authority.
3. MODIFICATION. Changes within the scope of this instrument shall be made by a mutually executed modification.
4. PARTICIPATION IN SIMILAR ACTIVITIES. This instrument in no way restricts any agency from participating in similar activities with other public or private agencies, organizations, and individuals. In addition, partnerships or other relationships will be documented or authorized in appropriate documents.
5. INITIATION AND TERMINATION. Any party, in writing, may initiate or terminate its own participation in whole, or in part, at any time before the date of expiration.
7. PRINCIPAL CONTACTS. The list of principal program contacts for this MOU is attached.

**THE PARTIES HERETO** have executed this instrument.

(Signature lines)

(Addendums)

