Charles C. Painter's "How We Punish Our Allies"

Advocating for Gabriel Renville and the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota Scouts

Valerie Sherer Mathes

"[Gabriel] Renville is a fine specimen of 'the noble red man;' stately, dignified, reticent, intelligent, straight-forward and manly in his bearing, . . . possessing great reserved force which could easily be called into action if his good sense and perfect mastery of himself consented," wrote Charles C. Painter, the Washington, D.C., agent for the Indian Rights Association, in his 1888 pamphlet, "How We Punish Our Allies." The association had three thousand copies of the seven-page booklet printed for public distribution to bring to light the mistreatment of Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota scouts and soldiers who served with the U.S. Army during the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 and the subsequent campaigns.[1] To gather background material, Painter interviewed Renville, one of the scout commanders and a leader of the Sissteon-Wahpetons, or the western branch of the Dakotas, several times while he was in the nation's capital soliciting support for the restoration of annuities owed to these former soldiers.[2] Painter "was impressed always and in-

1. Charles C. Painter, "How We Punish Our Allies," p. 1, Incoming Correspondence, 1864–1968, Series 1-A, Indian Rights Association Papers, 1864–1973 (IRA Papers), microfilm ed., Reel 102, A103, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The pamphlet was reprinted as Painter, "How We Punish Our Allies," *Lend a Hand: A Journal of Organized Philanthropy* 3 (Oct. 1888): 600–603. All subsequent references will be from IRA Papers, microfilm ed., Reel A103, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For more on Renville and Painter, *see* Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Charles C. Painter: The Life of an Indian Reform Advocate* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020), pp. 119–22, 166–67. For more on Painter and the Indian Rights Association, *see* William Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882–1904* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985).

2. The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 only serves as background to Painter's efforts on behalf of Renville and his scouts and to the transcript of "How We Punish Our Allies." For more on the conflict, *see* Gary Clayton Anderson, *Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019). For more on Renville, *see* ibid., pp. 164–65, 176, 178, 183, 222, 224, 273, 279–80; Anderson, *Gabriel Renville: From the Dakota War to the Creation of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation, 1825–1892* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2018), pp. 39–57; and Samuel J. Brown, "Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (St. Paul: By the Society, 1905), pp. 616–18.

creasingly so by the quiet dignity and greatness" of Renville, who told his story "with an unruffled, dispassionate, calmness" with at times "flashes of lightning in his eye which revealed reserves of strength and feeling which were under the control of a master mind and will."[3]

Renville's people signed their first federal treaty in July 1851 at Traverse des Sioux, Minnesota Territory. The following month their eastern relatives, the Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes, signed a similar treaty at Mendota, Minnesota Territory. Together, these four tribes had ceded millions of acres in both Minnesota and Iowa in exchange for annuities. They agreed to settle down on two ten-mile-wide reservations along both sides of the upper Minnesota River.[4] White settlers soon staked out claims along the Minnesota requiring revisions to the treaties a month after Minnesota became a state in 1858. The four tribes ceded the northern half of their holdings in exchange for annuities and eighty-acre allotments to heads of a household or to single individuals over twenty-one.[5]

Multiple issues, including a corrupt state government and trading system, late annuities due to the Civil War, continued encroachment of white settlements, and an inadequate distribution system that resulted in starvation for some Dakotas, caused difficult times for the tribe. In August 1862, desperate Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes broke into the warehouse at the Lower Agency and then attacked the neighboring Minnesota frontier, taking captives and destroying settlements, kicking off the U.S.-Dakota War. In subsequent campaigns between 1862 and 1865, hundreds of Sissetons and Wahpetons served as U.S. Army scouts under Renville. Renville believed that he and the other members of the friendly soldiers' lodge were responsible not only for protecting government property, but also for recovering white captives taken by hostile Dakotas. His friendly camp, called "Camp Release," eventually protected almost three hundred mixed-blood people and white set-

3. Painter, "How We Punish Our Allies," p. 1.

4. "Treaty with the Sioux—Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands, 1851," "Treaty with the Sioux—Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota [*sic*] Bands, 1851," both in *Indian Treaties, 1778–1883,* ed. Charles J. Kappler (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), pp. 588–90, 591–93.

5. "Treaty with the [Mdewakanton and Wahpekute] Sioux, 1858," "Treaty with the [Sisseton and Wahpeton] Sioux, 1858," ibid., pp. 781–84, 785–89.

tlers.[6] Henry Hastings Sibley, a colonel in the state militia and later a brigadier general commanding volunteers, had turned to these friendly Sissetons and Wahpetons, who "served as scouts, spies, and messengers, traveling north to various camps, urging surrender."[7]

Sibley described Renville, one of multiple Sisseton-Wahpeton scout commanders, as "among the most trusted and reliable of the mixed-bloods employed by me, while I was prosecuting the campaigns against the hostile Sioux in 1864 and 1865."[8] He valued Renville's dependability, vigor, and intelligence, as well as his determination to save the lives of many white captives.[9] As a result, Sibley appointed Renville as the "chief of the scouts to whom the outer line of defences of the frontier of this State, and of the Dakota Territory, was entrusted." Sibley believed that Renville had "signalized himself by unremitting and distinguished services, in that important position."[10]

Although Sibley recognized the contributions of Renville and his scouts, in February 1863, Congress punished the four Dakota bands equally, abrogating their treaties and stripping them of their lands in Minnesota. It also denied annuity payments for past land sales to all Dakotas, including the army scouts. Instead, Congress paid out these funds to Minnesota families who had suffered "damage by the depredations" of the Dakotas and the army. Despite their roles assisting the army, Renville and his people were left homeless and penniless.[11] Following an official examination four years after the Dakota War, it was determined that twelve to fifteen hundred Sissetons and Wahpetons had both "preserved their obligations" to the federal government and "freely periled their lives during that outbreak" to rescue settlers and to free captured women and children.[12] In recognition of this

6. Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, pp. 33–38.

7. Ibid., p. 37.

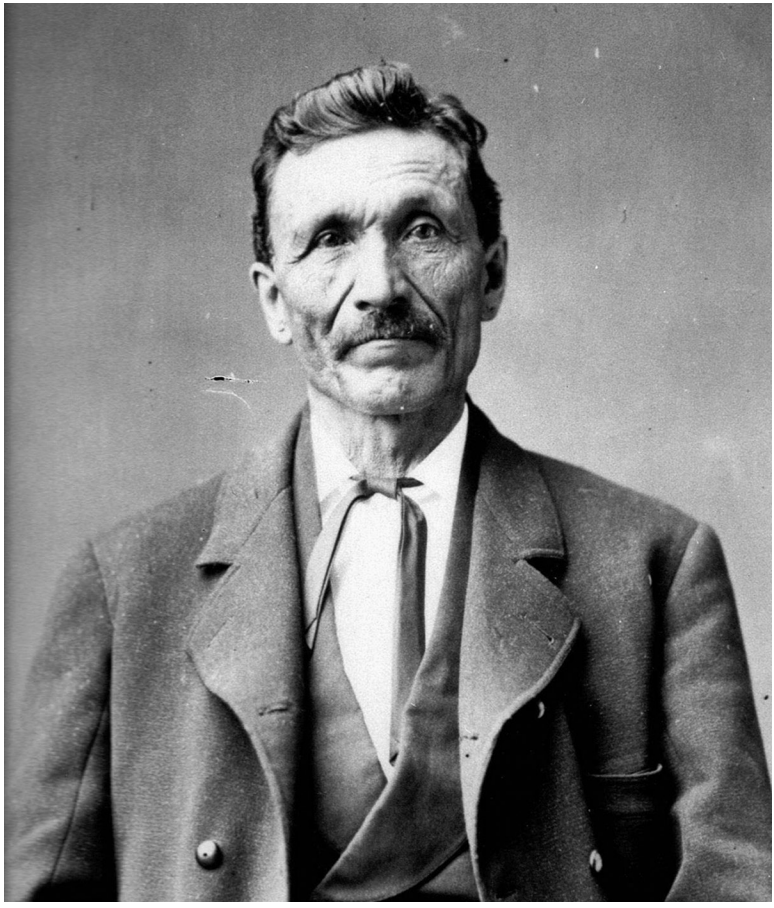
8. Brown, "Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville," p. 616.

9. Renville, "A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 10, pt. 2, pp. 596–613; Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, pp. 41–66.

10. Brown, "Biographic Sketch of Chief Gabriel Renville," p. 616.

11. "An Act for the Relief of Persons for Damages sustained by Reason of Depredations and Injuries by certain Bands of Sioux Indians," *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, 1789–1873*, 17 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1863), 12:652–54.

12. "Treaty with the Sioux—Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands, 1867," in *Indian Treaties, 1778–1883*, p. 956.



Gabriel Renville took on a leadership role among the Sisseton-Wahpetons both in the U.S. Army and on the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation.

service, the government created a treaty in February 1867 that established the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation in Dakota Territory for the Sisseton-Wahpeton veterans and their families, as well as another one thousand to twelve hundred Sisseton-Wahpetons who had fled rather than participate in the violence. Renville and other headmen of the Sissetons and Wahpetons were among those who placed their mark on this treaty.[13] Although those loyal to the government initially occupied this

13. Ibid., pp. 956–59. According to Anderson, Renville and Special Agent Joseph Renshaw Brown had written this treaty before they departed for Washington and that it finally ended the "precarious circumstances surrounding the scout camps" (*Gabriel Renville*, pp.

reservation, additional mixed blood people moved to the reservation in the 1880s, which eventually weakened Renville's control.[14]

Although the loyal scouts had finally gained a permanent home, they continued to face corruption, leading to Painter's involvement with Renville's people. During his investigation in 1888, Painter learned that the surveyors who set the reservation boundaries had deliberately taken "46,000 acres off from the border" and charged the Indians "$45,000 for running the lines."[15] They were still denied their annuities until 3 March 1891. That day, Congress passed legislation to repay the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakotas $342,778.37, the amount determined to be owed to the men who served as army scouts. According to article III of the decree, these Indians had "been wrongfully and unjustly deprived [of their money] by the operation of the provisions of an act of Congress" in 1863.[16] What is not well known is that Painter both wrote and successfully lobbied for the 1891 bill's passage.[17]

The middle of ten children, Painter was born on 21 March 1833 in Draper's Valley, Virginia, to Jane Berry and George Painter, a Presbyterian minister. He attended Christiansburg Academy in Virginia, Williams College in Massachusetts, and the Theological Institute of Connecticut.[18] On 23 September 1863, he was ordained a Congregational

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69–73). Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley wrote in his annual report that after a thorough examination it was determined that the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakotas were treated unfairly "and the forfeiture of their annuities had been a measure uncalled for and unjust to a large number of the people who had not taken part in the outbreak of 1862" (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1866, pp. 46–47). *See also* "Claim of Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux or Dakota Indians," in U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. 126, 54th Cong., 2d Sess., 1897, serial 3470.

14. Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, p. 147.

15. Lake Mohonk Conference (LMC), "Professor Painter," *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference* (n.p.: By the Organization, 1888), p. 64.

16. The government also agreed "to pay to said bands of Indians, per capita, the sum of eighteen thousand and four hundred dollars annually" from 1 July 1888 to 1 July 1901. *See* "Indian Legislation Passed During the Second Session of the Fifty-First Congress," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1891, pp. 664–65.

17. Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 140.

18. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Williams College for the Academic Year 1854–55* (Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College, 1854), p. 15; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students and Register of Societies in Williams College, for the Academic Year 1857–58* (Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College, 1857), p. 55; *The Williams Obituary Record* (Williamstown, Mass.: Society of Alumni, 1895), pp. 272–73; *Historical Catalogue of the Theological Institute of Con-*

minister and began service as a pastor in New Marlborough, Massachusetts. Five years later, on 2 June 1868, he married Martha Gibson, a local resident. The couple soon moved to Grand Haven, Michigan, where Painter accepted a pastorate. In 1869, their son Charles Fairbank Painter was born. That year, Painter accepted a position in Naugatuck, Connecticut, before moving again in June 1873 to serve as pastor of the Congregational Church in Stafford Springs, Connecticut. He remained there until 1878, when he was elected a Professor of Theology at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.[19] The school, named after Clinton B. Fisk of the Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau, had been founded by the American Missionary Association in 1866.[20] The association also employed Painter to serve as editor of their monthly publication, *The American Missionary*; as a member of its Committee on Indian Missions; and as a lobbyist for their missionary work on behalf of African Americans and Indians.[21]

It is unknown why Painter left the American Missionary Association but, during the summer of 1883, he became an agent and the only paid employee of the Indian Rights Association, founded in late 1882 by Her-

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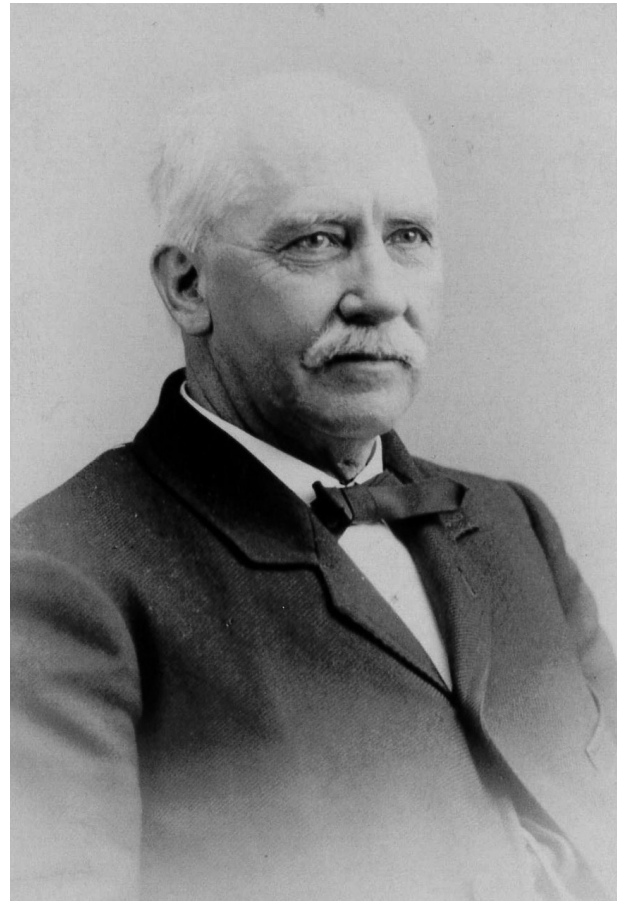
necticut (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1881), p. 92. It is now known as the Hartford Theological Seminary.

19. *Historical Catalogue of the Theological Institute of Connecticut*, p. 92; *The Congregational Year-Book, 1896* (Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1896), p. 31; Bernard Drew, *Great Barrington: Great Town-Great History* (Great Barrington, Mass.: Great Barrington Historical Society, 1999), pp. 70–71; "Churches and Ministers," *New York Times*, 29 Dec. 1878; "New Appointments: Fisk University," *American Missionary*, Feb. 1879, p. 48. *See also* American Missionary Association (AMA), *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: By the Author, 1879), p. 42.

20. White and black abolitionists founded the nonsectarian AMA in Albany, New York, in 1846. The association focused on promoting racial equality, education, and Christian values. It established hundreds of anti-slavery churches, supported abolitionists as itinerant ministers, and created hundreds of schools to train African-American teachers, including Fisk and six other institutions of higher learning.

21. *American Missionary*, May 1880, p. 129; *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (1883), p. 10; Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 21. The AMA began its work on Indian rights in Minnesota in 1848 and expanded during President Ulysses S. Grant's "peace policy." *See* "The Indians," *History of the American Missionary Association with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes* (New York: AMA, 1891), pp. 67–78; Augustus Field Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1909), pp. 65–93. Letters between Painter and Michael E. Strieby, corresponding secretary of the AMA, confirm his role as a lobbyist. Their correspondences are found in AMA Archives, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

bert Welsh, Henry Pancoast, and forty distinguished Philadelphians. Earlier that year, Welsh and Pancoast had toured several Great Sioux Reservation agencies. What they witnessed on that trip and Welsh's familiarity with Indian issues—due to his uncle, William, serving as the first chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners—inspired the men to establish the Indian Rights Association. Although most of the association's founding members were Episcopalians, one founder, George Dana Boardman, was the pastor of Philadelphia's First Baptist Church. One of his parishioners, Amelia Stone Quinton, who acted as the secretary and later the president of the Women's National Indian Association, formed in 1877 as an outgrowth of the Women's Home Mis-



Charles C. Painter spent much of his adult life working on American Indian reform to ensure fair treatment of the tribes.

sionary Society, would work closely with Painter and the Indian Rights Association on the Renville case.[22]

The Indian Rights Association considered itself a "non-partisan, non-sectarian organization conducted by men whose services [were] wholly gratuitous" seeking "to arouse public sentiment in behalf of justice for the Indian." Painter and the board members worked to secure civil rights, impartial justice, and education for Indians. They also pushed to end communal land ownership and promote individual property.[23] Painter was key to its early success. He lobbied Congress, made extensive investigative reservation tours, and wrote comprehensive reports that were widely read on the reservations because of their "colorful and sometimes caustic descriptions of government personnel." According to historian William T. Hagan, it took "a wily Indian Service employee to fool a close observer like Painter." Additionally, Painter regularly conferred with Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, extracted valuable information from its personnel, and skillfully tracked bills through Congress to determine where to apply pressure for passage or to kill them.[24] A correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* described him as a "thoroughly practical" reformer and an excellent judge of men, who worked successfully with Congress and its various Indian committees. He was "cordially hated by every trickster and jobber who had anything to make out of the Indian or out of the government over the Indians' shoulders."[25]

Painter's influence reached well beyond the Indian Rights Associa-

22. Henry S. Pancoast, *Impressions of the Sioux Tribes in 1882, with Some First Principles in the Indian Question* (Philadelphia: Franklin Printing House, 1883); Herbert Welsh, *Four Weeks Among Some of the Sioux Tribes of Dakota and Nebraska, Together with a Brief Consideration of the Indian Problem* (Philadelphia: Horace F. McCann, 1882). For the Women's Home Missionary Society, *see The Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the First Baptist Church of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899), p. 391. The Board of Indian Commissioners consisted of unpaid philanthropists and humanitarians nominated by major Protestant denominations. It also had authorization to exercise joint control with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to purchase and inspect food, disburse funds, negotiate treaties, and make inspection tours.

23. "The Object of the Association," in *The Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1887), pp. 3–4. Individual land ownership was seen as key to the government's assimilation policy.

24. Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 50.

25. "The Late Rev. Charles C. Painter," *Springfield (Mass.) Sunday Republican*, 20 Jan. 1895.

tion. As one of the more powerful Evangelical members of the Indian reform movement, he worked closely with others, including Quinton and the Women's National Indian Association and members of the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, to promote the government's assimilationist program that intended to Christianize Indians and break up communally held reservations. Painter also held an association with the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians. An annual three-day forum founded in 1883 by Albert K. Smiley in New Paltz, New York, this conference brought together congressmen, Indian affairs commissioners, clergy members from all denominations, army officers, heads of Indian schools, and members of Indian reform associations, among others, to determine government policy. Painter was a regular starting from the first meeting. He often presented the keynote address or directed the agenda, but always reported on his current investigations. He presented the case of Renville and the Sisseton-Wahpeton army scouts several times at Lake Mohonk.[26]

The details of a letter to Herbert Welsh illustrate the skill and versatility Painter brought to his work and why he succeeded on the Renville case. In response to a request for a comprehensive report in February 1887, Painter listed his actions from memory. He had appeared before the House Committee on Indian Affairs, urging the passage of various bills, including the Dawes Act and the Mission Indian bill.[27] He then met with Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D. C. Atkins, Secretary of the Interior Lucius Q. C. Lamar, and President Grover Cleveland on behalf

26. Mathes, "Boston, the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, and the Poncas," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 14 (2012): 119–48; Larry E. Burgess, "The Lake Mohonk Conferences on the Indian, 1883–1916" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1972). The Boston Indian Citizenship Committee was founded in 1879 following the tragic removal of the Ponca Indians from their Nebraska reservation to the Indian Territory where many died.

27. The Dawes Act broke up reservations, allotting land in severalty in parcels of 160, 80, or 40 acres. *See* "General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), February 8, 1887," *Documents of United States Indian Policy,* ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 171–74. Once implemented, the Indians lost over ninety million acres of land. The Mission Indian bill of 1891 was based on recommendations made in "Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California, made by Special Agents Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*, by Helen Hunt Jackson (1881; reprint ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pp. 458–514.

of Mission Indians in Southern California to register their complaints of squatters on their reservations. After numerous visits to clerks and officials at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he secured land for two Luiseño Indians on the Soboba Indian Reservation and successfully added pasture lands to the Cahuilla Indian Reservation, both in Southern California. Using the power of the press, he forced the Department of the Interior to give the Hoopa Valley Indian agent in Northern California the monthly use of a clerk and interceded on behalf of the Absentee Shawnees in Oklahoma. He also interviewed Cleveland numerous times on various issues, including extending Civil Service rules to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Additionally, he counteracted the effects of Thomas A. Bland and the National Indian Defense Association, which opposed the government's policy of assimilation.[28] At the same time, he prepared a circular and revised another report for the Lake Mohonk Conference. His diary, he noted, showed an almost daily observation: "Called to Sec[retary]., Con[gress]., or Committee, or some one about some matter which it would seem foolish gravely to report, but the doing of which makes up largely the routine of my daily life here."[29]

While quite comprehensive, the letter left out a number of his other responsibilities. He did not mention that he dealt with disreputable allotting agents, prevented unnecessary Indian removals, defended honest agents, and worked directly with Indian leaders, such as Gabriel Renville. In 1888, Renville had come to Washington, D.C., to solicit Painter's help in restoring the annuities of tribal members who had served as scouts during the Dakota War. Because he did not speak English, Renville brought his interpreter Samuel Jerome Brown, who was part Dakota.[30]

28. For Painter's work in California, *see* Mathes, "The California Mission Indian Commission of 1891: The Legacy of Helen Hunt Jackson," *California History: The Magazine of the California Historical Society* 72 (Winter 1993/94): 339–59, 390–95; and Mathes and Phil Brigandi, "Charles C. Painter, Helen Hunt Jackson, and the Mission Indians of Southern California," *Journal of San Diego History* 55 (Summer 2009): 89–118. For Bland's work, *see* C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 112–34. In a letter to Welsh, Painter noted he received a petition from 350 of the 720 Absentee Shawnees requesting that certificates be issued for land selected in the Indian Territory (Painter to Welsh, 22 Jan. 1887, Folder 2, Box 226, Indian Rights Association Records [Collection 1523], Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

29. Painter to Welsh, 28 Feb. 1887, IRA Papers, Reel 2.

30. Brown, the son of Renville's sister Susan Frenier Brown and Major Joseph Renshaw

Renville's dignity and personal deportment duly impressed Painter. He described the service of Renville and his scouts, done at their own peril, as of "utmost value" to the army. Drafting a bill for their relief was an easy decision for Painter. One day, as part of the investigation, Painter, with Renville, visited the office of Commissioner Atkins. By chance, the chief of the finance department came to Atkins's office at the same time with a statement of accounts relative to the Indian scouts' claims for Atkins to sign. Painter asked to review it, later describing the doctored account as a "remarkable system of book-keeping."[31] According to Painter, it wiped out the scouts' annuities through white settlers' claims of extensive property destruction during the conflict perpetrated by the same men Renville's scouts had fought against. Furthermore, this imaginative accounting claimed that the Sissetons and Wahpetons owed the federal government almost one hundred thousand dollars. Painter convinced Atkins that the loyalty of the scouts and other Indian soldiers meant their funds should be exempted from the confiscation act. Atkins agreed, asking Painter to prepare a report for him to incorporate into his answer to the House Committee on Indian Affairs, which had requested this accounting.[32] Hagan described this action as a "good demonstration of [Painter's] versatility as a lobbyist." He both wrote the commissioner's report and drafted the original bill.[33]

In a letter to Welsh on 5 March 1888, Painter explained that he had met with Commissioner Atkins and engaged in "long and exhaustive examinations of treaties" relating to the Sissetons and Wahpetons. Five days later, Painter remarked to J. B. Harrison, who covered the Philadelphia office of the Indian Rights Association in Welsh's absence, that he was "in a contest over the rights of the Sisseton Sioux, who are here seeking remedy from the wrongs they had suffered since 1862."[34] To

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Brown, had been captured during the 1862 conflict. Upon his release, he served as an interpreter and later the superintendent of government scouts in Dakota Territory. Afterward, he was a teacher, a lay missionary, and superintendent of the Sisseton Agency industrial school. *See* "Biographical Sketches," in Inventory, Joseph R. and Samuel J. Brown and Family Papers, M595, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

31. Painter, "How We Punish Our Allies," p. 5.

32. Ibid., pp. 4–6; LMC, "Painter," *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, pp. 64–65; "Prof. Painter's Work at Washington," *Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1888* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1889), pp. 12–17.

33. Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 140.

34. Painter to Welsh, 5 Mar. 1888, Painter to Harrison, 10 Mar. 1888, IRA Papers, Reel 3.

help educate the public and to urge congressional passage of his proposed legislation, Painter wrote "How We Punished Our Allies" for wide distribution in July 1888. In addition to the three thousand copies that the Indian Rights Association circulated, the publication *Lend a Hand: A Journal of Organized Philanthropy* reprinted Painter's leaflet that October. For additional circulation, Painter asked Quinton to publish excerpts in the Women's National Indian Association's monthly periodical, *The Indian's Friend,* which maintained a large national readership. Quinton agreed, urging all association auxiliaries to "besiege their Senators and representatives in Congress for this small and long-deferred justice, for the sake of our nation's honor and for humanity's sake."[35]

During an earlier discussion on the need for a court system on Indian reservations at the Lake Mohonk Conference on 27 September 1888, Painter described the legal difficulties facing the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, including the suspension of their annuities despite the fact that fifteen hundred men had risked their lives defending Minnesota settlers.[36] Furthermore, he explained that the confiscation of their lands in 1863 had left them penniless. Painter stated that Congress only brought a delegation representing these bands to Washington to negotiate a new treaty in the winter of 1867 after Sibley called attention to their situation. The delegates had a horrific experience. They were cooped up for four months and one member, Scarlet Night, also known as Scarlet Crow, was kidnapped on the evening of 24 February 1867. Only after government officials offered a one-hundred-dollar reward was his lifeless body found near today's Key Bridge on the Virginia side of the Potomac River two weeks later.[37] Amid this shameful treatment,

35. "A Great Wrong to Redress," *The Indian's Friend*, Jan. 1889, p. 4. For more on the association, *see* Mathes, ed., *The Women's National Indian Association: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015); and Mathes, ed., *Gender, Race, and Power in the Indian Reform Movement: Revisiting the History of the WNIA* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).

36. Painter may have overestimated the number of Sisseton and Wahpeton scouts. In a report from the committee on Indian affairs submitted by D. S. Hall in March 1890, the total number of loyal scouts from all four bands was listed as 1,987 Indians. In the same document, Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble listed that five hundred Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton scouts lived off the reservation ("Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians," in U.S., Congress, House, Report 1356, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, serial 2811).

37. Although it was made to look like Scarlet Night had hanged himself, Indian affairs

the delegation was forced to sign a new treaty. Painter then described the scene in Atkins's office where he saw the doctored account that was so "inextricably mixed up with the affairs of the hostile bands that no Bureau clerk can ever disentangle them." The time is coming, he declared, "when these Indians will demand an overhaul of their accounts with the Government, and the statements of the Bureau must be examined and settled in the courts."[38]

The passage in February 1887 of the General Allotment Act, more commonly known as the Dawes Act, named after its sponsor Senator Henry Laurens Dawes, complicated matters even further. This legislation, which divided and distributed reservation land in severalty, also granted citizenship to allottees. Because it failed to provide adequate legal protection, however, the Indian Rights Association and attendees of the Lake Mohonk Conference reworked a proposal by Harvard Law Professor James Bradley Thayer that would have provided full legal protection for Indians, including the right to sue and be sued and to make contracts.[39] Dawes's disapproval caused this legislation to stall in Congress, leaving all Indians who had received their allotments confused about their newly acquired citizenship status.[40]

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agent Joseph R. Brown noted the knots used to tie the blanket strips were not the kind that Indians used. Furthermore, the branch would never have held his weight. Officials paid the reward despite Brown's misgivings that the people who reported the body probably killed him. The government gave Scarlet Night's family five hundred dollars in trade goods as compensation. His grave in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., remained unmarked until 1916. LMC, "Professor Painter," pp. 63–65; Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1981), pp. 163–64; Rachael Cassidy, "Dangerous Missions: Indian Diplomats and Foul Play in the Nation's Capitol," *National Museum of the American Indian* (Summer 2013): 42–44.

38. LMC, "Professor Painter," p. 65. Painter also commented on the complicated entangling of accounts in "How We Punish Our Allies," p. 6.

39. [Thayer], "An Act to Establish Courts for the Indians on the Various Reservations, and to Extend the Protection of the Laws of the States and Territories Over All Indians, and for other Purposes," in *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, pp. 49–58; "The Indian Courts Bill," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, pp. 25–30; Mathes, "James Bradley Thayer in Defense of Indian Legal Rights," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 21 (2020): 41–75; Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), pp. 338–41.

40. The movement of other Dakotas onto Lake Traverse Indian Reservation became a problem during the allotment period. Anderson writes, "The Dawes legislation brought

Renville and his followers were a case in point. Sometime after November 1888, Painter visited Renville's home during an investigative tour that had taken him to neighboring Minnesota and Nebraska as well. The Sissetons, who had been allotted some eight-hundred-thousand acres of valuable land according to Painter, were confused about their rights. Renville asked Painter about their relationship to their agent now that they were citizens. Painter responded that their condition was "similar to that of a tadpole which has developed legs and has not dropped his tail." They were in a transitional stage. As long as they retained a tribal interest and remained on a reservation, they had to "submit to some things that other citizens will not have to suffer," he told Renville. "You will get rid of the Agency system and Bureau interference," Painter said, "just as soon as you dispose of all tribal property" under the provisions of the Dawes Act. Dissatisfied, the Dakotas inquired about possibly requesting that the Dakota Territorial legislature create a county out of their reservation, enabling them to elect county officers and manage their own affairs. Painter unfortunately had no answer for them but found the concept intriguing.[41]

During the Lake Mohonk Conference in October 1889, Painter read an address on issues that had surfaced since the passage of the Dawes Act. Painter pointed to Renville's question about the Sisseton-Wahpetons' relationship to Indian agents after the former army scout told Painter about a man claiming to be their agent who was exerting the same control as was "exercised when they were Indian wards." Using this example, Painter warned his fellow reformers that this question "ought to awaken the friends of the Indian to an earnest and profound consideration of its far-reaching meaning and importance." This issue revealed that the Dawes Act "as it stands is only a partial measure, which puts the Indians in a more anomalous position, absurd in the extreme, and full of peril to himself."[42] Painter revisited Renville's citizenship issue

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economic decline rather than prosperity to Sisseton, as it did to other reservations in the West" (Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, p. 152). The Sisseton and Wahpeton lost two-thirds of their land base. By 1969, tribal members owned only 105,000 acres of the original allotted lands (ibid., p. 156).

41. "Prof. Painter's Work at Washington," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association*, pp. 18–20.

42. Painter, "The Indian and his Property," in *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), pp. 104–6, 110. *See*

Renville rides his horse-drawn carriage through the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation in this undated photograph.

in his year-end report of 1889, describing it as "a monstrous absurdity" that would continue "until every vestige of tribal organization and interest shall be destroyed." Until then, Indians would be "handicapped in the race we have set before him; manacled as to the liberty to which we have called him, and shut out by the barrier we have put in his way from the goodly inheritance which we invite him."[43]

In his annual report for the Indian Rights Association the following year, Painter explained that although his scouts' bill had passed the Senate, Joseph G. Cannon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, had prevented its consideration. Cannon did not believe that the annuities should be restored, despite both the secretary of the interior and the commissioner of Indian affairs supporting it. They ar-

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also "The Indian Conference," *New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1889; *Essex County Herald* (Guildhall, Vt.), 11 Oct. 1889.

43. Painter, "Washington Agency—Review of the Year's Work," in *Seventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1890), p. 30.

gued that the Sisseton-Wahpetons were "in a starving condition" and that they deserved the appropriation because it had been "unjustly and wrongfully withheld."[44] At one point in the hearings, Cannon crossly responded, "Let them starve!"[45] In addition to Cannon's opposition, Painter's bill became entangled in the negotiations over the Sisseton's surplus reservation lands.[46]

At the end of 1890, Painter intensified his efforts on Renville's behalf. In a letter from 1 January 1891, he reported on his activities from the last three months and wrote that he had been in Washington, D.C., to urge "the passage of the Sisseton Bill" and procured three thousand dollars for the tribe's relief with the promise of an additional seven thousand dollars. Three weeks later, he was still "urging this Sisseton matter" all he could.[47] On 28 January 1891, Painter informed Welsh that Joshua W. Davis, a member of both the Indian Rights Association and the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, had telegraphed him requesting "authentic information as to the starving condition of the Sisseton," which he needed before making a formal appeal on their behalf. Painter assured Welsh that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had sufficient money. The bureau had sent three thousand dollars already and more was available. The "practical thing to do, and most urgent," Painter informed Welsh, was "to bring such influence to bear upon the House of Representatives, that it shall be forced to take up, and pass the Sisseton bill." He proposed engaging the public to help to call "forth a sentiment demanding" the measure's passage.[48]

Three days later, Painter sent Welsh a statement for use as a public appeal. The Indian Rights Association sent it out in February as a two-page flyer. In it, Painter described the "absolute starvation among the Sisseton Indians of North Dakota, unless relief comes to them from some source." Although they were self-supporting, their current situation was "not from improvidence on their part," but a result of two years of crop failures. He reminded his readers that the Sissetons and

44. "Work in Washington—Report of C. C. Painter," *Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1891), pp. 10–11.

45. Hagen, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 141.

46. Ibid., pp. 140–41.

47. Painter to Welsh, 1, 20 Jan. 1891, IRA Papers, Reel 6.

48. Painter to Welsh, 28 Jan. 1891, ibid.

Wahpetons had "served the government as scouts and soldiers against their own people" during the "murderous outbreak" in Minnesota. Nevertheless, the government confiscated their lands and withheld their annuities, actions he labeled "a cruel wrong the government hitherto failed to make right." He called upon every citizen "who feels a sense of shame in view of these wrongs, and who has a touch of humanity," to join in a petition to the House requesting they "perform this act of justice, and afford this means of relief to the Sisseton-Wahpeton scouts."[49]

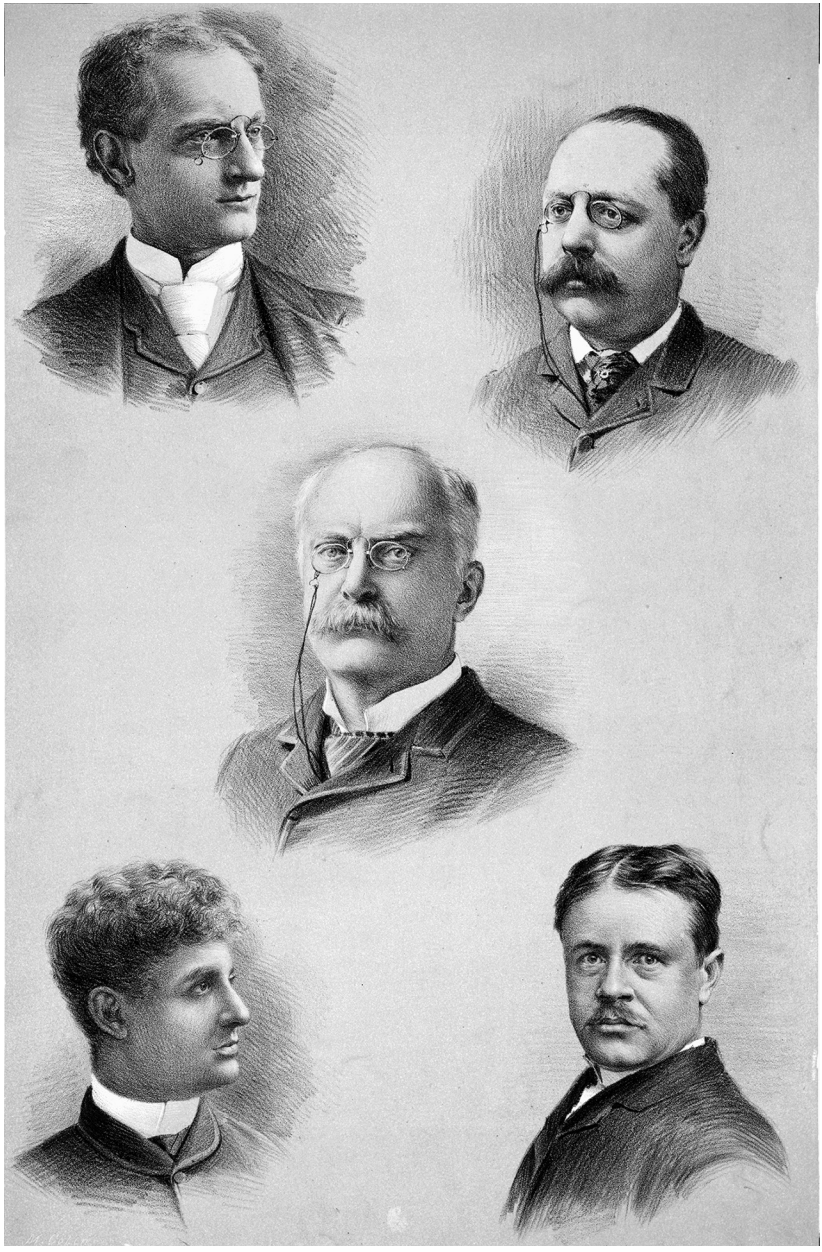
The previous week, an article by Henry Guy Carleton, a former cavalry officer, that illuminated the plight of the Sisseton-Wahpetons had appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. Another outlet, the *New York World*, had commissioned Carleton to search official records and conduct interviews to learn the causes behind the mistreatment of various tribes, especially those whose rations had been severely reduced. Carleton had been in Commissioner Morgan's office when a dispatch arrived from the office of North Dakota representative Henry C. Hansbrough. It implored the bureau to provide food for the Sissetons living near Watertown, South Dakota, who were "starving and turbulent" after another crop failure. From his investigation, Carleton also learned that the government still owed the Sisseton-Wahpetons money for the sale of their surplus land, according to an agreement made on 12 December 1889.[50] It is unknown whether or not this news item played a role in prompting Congress to finally act, but Painter included in his ninth annual report that his bill supporting the Sisseton-Wahpeton scouts had finally become law on 3 March 1891.[51]

Painter returned to the defense of the Sissetons and Wahpetons one final time during the tenth annual Lake Mohonk Conference in 1892. He had always viewed the land grabber as the "most persistent and successful assailant against whose assaults the friends of the Indian have been forced to stand guard." He now realized, however, that the greatest danger was the assault upon Indian trust funds for "compensation

49. Painter to Welsh, 31 Jan. 1891, ibid. *See also* Hagan, *Indian Rights Association*, p. 141.

50. Carleton, "Government Perfidy. That Has Been a Powerful Cause of this Indian Trouble," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 Jan. 1891.

51. "The Passage of the Bill for the Relief of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Scouts," in *Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1891* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1892), pp. 37–39.



Henry Guy Carleton, depicted at the bottom right, made his name as a humorist and playwright before bringing public attention to the plight of Indian tribes. He appears here alongside four other nineteenth-century playwrights.

for damages inflicted by Indians." The Sissetons and Wahpetons best exemplified this situation, as they had been left penniless because of the claims that numerous citizens of Minnesota made against them.[52]

In a letter two years later, Painter described the difficulty of explaining to members of the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands, especially those who had fled to Canada, why Congress had not restored their annuities. "All that I undertook to do, and it was all that I had any hope of accomplishing," he wrote to Welsh, "was to secure a restoration of these annuities to those who served as scouts at the time of the outbreak in 1862." Those enrolled scouts and soldiers whose names were on War Department roles "must be regarded as friendly, and the confiscation of their annuities be considered a great injustice and wrong." He viewed his success in getting annuities restored to those who served and their descendants as "a partial act of justice."[53]

52. Painter, "Some Dangers Which Now Threaten the Interests of the Indians," *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, 1892* (n.p.: By the Organization, 1892), pp. 76–78. Renville had died a month earlier on 16 September 1892.

53. Painter to Welsh, 12 June 1894, IRA Papers, Reel 11.

As part of the Dawes Act, some reservation lands, including acreage at Lake Traverse, were opened to settlers. This image shows a group of men preparing to enter Lake Traverse to make land claims.

Painter, the Congregational minister turned reformer who had served as a voice of reason for late nineteenth century Indian reform, died in Washington, D.C., on 13 January 1895. The Indian Rights Association Executive Committee described his work as uniting "with the highest purpose and the truest ideals sound judgment, keen perception, accurate knowledge of men, unbending purpose, and unfaltering courage." Legislators sought his advice and the executive branch had welcomed his aid. His reservation journeys, the committee remembered, "were the means of bringing to public attention both the needs of the Indians and the practical methods by which those needs were to be considered and relieved."[54] Renville and the Sissetons and Wahpetons would have thoroughly agreed with this assessment.

Painter's "How We Punish Our Allies" is one example of more than a dozen pamphlets he wrote to generate support for Indian rights during his decade-long employment with the Indian Rights Association. In this case, Painter sought to have legislation passed that would reimburse the Sisseton and Wahpeton scouts for the loss of past annuities. This leaflet is the only one in which he singled out a specific individual to defend. Editorial changes in the text have been noted in brackets and editorial notes provide additional information when needed.

HOW WE PUNISH OUR ALLIES.
By C. C. Painter.[55]
[A statement of acts in regard to the Sisseton and Wahpeton Scouts and soldiers.]

As agent at Washington, of the Indian Rights Association, I was called upon last winter by Gabriel Renville, chief of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Sioux Indians, with his interpreter, S. J. Brown, a half-breed of the same tribe, who asked my assistance in an effort they were making to secure relief for themselves and [their] people.[56] Renville is a fine specimen of "the noble red man"; stately, dignified, reti-

54. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association,* pp. 64–65.

55. Painter, "How We Punish Our Allies," pp. 1–7.

56. *See* n31 herein.

cent, intelligent, straight-forward and manly in his bearing, impressing those with whom he meets as possessing great reserved force which could easily be called into action if his good sense and perfect mastery of himself consented. During the winter I had many interviews with him, and was impressed always and increasingly so by the quiet dignity and greatness of the man. He told the story of his great wrongs with an unruffled, dispassionate calmness which almost appeared to be indifference, but there were now and then flashes of lightning in his eye which revealed reserves of strength and feeling which were under the control of a master mind and will.

The story he told me in part, the truth of which I learned more fully from public documents, it is the object of this paper to tell to the American people who are ignorant of its shameful details, hoping that a sense of shame and justice will be kindled which will secure prompt and ample amends for the wrongs he and his people have suffered.

By the second article of the treaty of Traverse-de Sioux, of July 23d, 1851 (see U.S. Stat., vol. 10, page 949), the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux Indians sold to the United States a certain tract of land, for a certain sum of money, and by the provisions of an amendment adopted by the Senate, the United States became obligated to pay to these Indians, for the lands thus secured, the sum of $73,600 annually, for the period of fifty years, commencing July 1st, 1852.[57]

In 1862, after ten installments had been paid to said Indians, who were living on a valuable reservation they had retained in Northern Minnesota for themselves, certain other Indians, the Medawakanton and Wahpakoota bands, who were a separate subdivision of the Sioux Nation, living on a reservation of their own, under distinct treaties, which entitled them to certain annuities in which these other bands had no interest, organized an outbreak against, and a massacre of, the whites living near the reservation belonging to the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands. A few of the young men of these last-named bands broke away from the control of their chiefs and joined the hostiles, but the bands, as such, were loyal to the government; a few also of the hostile bands broke away from their chiefs and helped the whites, while the bands, as such, were hostile. A very large number of the Sissetons and

57. *See* n4 herein.

Wahpetons, led by their chiefs and head men, and aided by a few friendly Indians from the other bands, joined the army sent to put down the hostiles, and did invaluable service as scouts and soldiers against their own people. Chief Renville was himself most active and efficient, and interpreter Brown has never taken a natural step since he took a notable ride of forty hours without getting out of his saddle, carrying a message to Gen. Sibley, giving him information which enabled him to head off the hostiles.[58] The services rendered by these men, at the peril of their lives, were recognized by the army as of the utmost value, and subjected them to contempt and hostile treatment of the other bands against whom they fought. There were also a number of these Indians in the Union armies at that time fighting to put down the rebellion in the South.

By act of Congress, Feb. 16th, 1863, in which the outraged feelings of the country, as also its undiscriminating wrath, found expression, all treaties with these four bands, friendly and hostile alike, were abrogated, their lands in Minnesota and their funds confiscated, and they were driven out homeless and penniless.[59]

In the winter of 1867, General Sibley having convinced the government that a great wrong had been done, a delegation was brought on to Washington for the purpose of making a new treaty. The delegates were quartered in some old army barracks on the Potomac flats and kept there some four months, during which time one of the chiefs was kidnapped, and not until some six weeks had passed, when the government offered a reward of $100, was his dead body found, suspended, evidently after life was extinct, under the bluffs, on the Virginia side of the river.[60] After a long and wearisome delay, and after such an experience as this, a treaty was signed by them, concluded February, 1867.[61] The preamble to this treaty recites the good services of these Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, who, to the number of some 1500 persons,[62] "not only preserved their obligations to the government of the United States

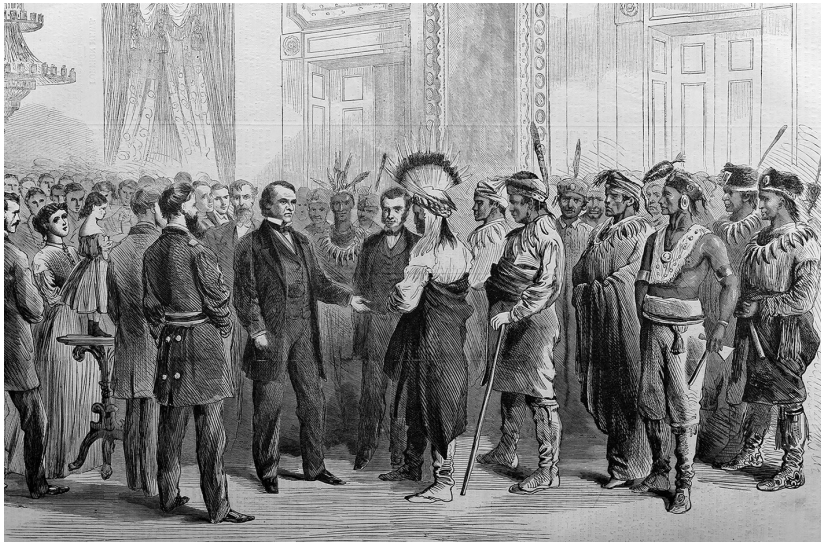
58. According to the biographical sketch of Brown, he was permanently confined to a wheelchair for the remainder of his life after his 150-mile ride through a snowstorm.

59. *See* n8 herein.

60. *See* n37 herein.

61. *See* n10 herein.

62. This number is probably high. Congress had set a limit of one thousand Indian scouts for the entire frontier army.



This *Harper's Weekly* engraving from 16 March 1867 depicts Indian delegations meeting with President Andrew Johnson. Sisseton-Wahpeton delegates were present in Washington, D.C., as well, but faced poor treatment during their trip.

during and since the outbreak of the Medawakantons and other bands of Sioux, in 1862, but freely perilled their lives during that outbreak to rescue the residents on the Sioux reservation, and to obtain possession of white women and children made captives by hostile bands," and also, the second "whereas" proceeds to say that "Congress, on confiscating the Sioux annuities and reservations, made no provision for the support of these, the friendly portion of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, and it is believed that they have been suffered to remain homeless wanderers, frequently subject to intense suffering from want of subsistence, and clothing to protect them from the rigors of a high northern latitude, although at all times prompt in rendering service when called upon to repel hostile raids and to punish depredations committed by hostile bands of Indians upon the persons and property of whites," and then, after securing from them (article 1) a pledge of continued friendship, and (article 2) a cession to the United States of the right to post and rail roads, and mail stations, and such other public improvements as the interests of the United States may require, upon and across the lands hereafter to be described, proceeds (article 3)—"For and in consideration of such," cession of rights, services, confiscations, etc., etc.,

to give them, in the name of justice and honor, what? Why, simply two reservations of their own in Dakota, which had not been confiscated by the Act of Feb. 16th, 1863, with certain implements, in payment for labor performed by them, and, "if thought advisable, the establishment and support of local and manual schools," etc.

In brief, we took the opportunity afforded by the outbreak of certain Indians to confiscate a large and valuable tract of country belonging to another band, which, aside from the soldiers it had sent to fight our battles for the preservation of the Union, sent out about 1500 scouts and soldiers to fight for the lives of the white settlers imperilled by the hostile bands; also, to confiscate the moneys due them for lands purchased from them, amounting in all to $2,944,000, and when our attention had been called to the matter we asked them to meet us in council, rehearsed their good services and our wrong treatment of them, secured certain other concessions, and then generously "For and in consideration" of all this service rendered us and because of all this wrong done them, solemnly gave the portion of their goods we had not taken from them. This was not all. Our army subsisted for fifty days on the crops of these Indians, and consumed, according to the returns of the Commissary Department, $120,000 worth of their food, for which they have not been able to collect anything. We sent surveyors to run the lines of their lands in Dakota, for which we charged them $45,000, and they so run the lines, as a comparison of the old and new surveys clearly shows, that about 46,000 acres of most valuable lands were taken from them.

Every appeal of these people for redress has been met by pointing them to the third article of the treaty of 1867, in which they admit that "For and in consideration" of the confiscation of lands and funds they have accepted what this treaty gave them. This Bureau has said to them whenever they have asked for relief: "There is your acknowledgment of receipt in hand for all we owe you."

It so happened that I was in the office of the Commissioner when the chief of the Finance Division brought to him, for his signature, the answer of the office to a request from the House Committee on Indian affairs for a statement of accounts with these Indians, a bill having been referred to this committee for the relief of these scouts. Permission was given me to examine it. All claims of money by these scouts, even under the treaty of 1851, were wiped out by the overwhelming footings of

moneys paid them, and they were shown to be about $100,000 in debt to the government. Poor Renville was dumb with amazement, as well he might be! He was told that the third article of the treaty of 1867 acknowledged that he had been compensated for all his losses; and that these accounts showed that by actual cash payments for and on account of these bands, they had been overpaid, even if their funds had not been confiscated. In reply to my question: "What did the treaty of 1867 give for and in consideration of the service rendered, and confiscations inflicted by the Act of 1863," the chief of Finance said: "The reservations described in the treaty." "These," I said, "were theirs already." He said they were not, as the Act of 1863 had confiscated them. Our dispute over this question of fact was settled by a reference to the act, which proved him wrong in his position. I said: "This is the fatal blunder with which this office has blocked every effort to have some show of justice done these people. That treaty gives them no land which was not theirs before, and the Act of 1863 did not confiscate their land in Dakota."

"Now let us look at this account which shows that they have received more than was due them. The first item of the account is a charge for damages, $1,000,000; another is a charge for damages, $928,411; another is a charge for damages, $241,963. For what," I asked, "and to whom were these damages paid?" The answer was, "For property destroyed by the hostiles in the outbreak of 1862." I said, "This is a somewhat remarkable system of book-keeping which wipes out the dues of one man by charging against him damages inflicted by another. These scouts, for whose relief the pending bill is introduced, were in the service of the United States, fighting against these very people who committed these damages, and, when they have succeeded in conquering them, Congress confiscates all their lands and moneys as an expression of its good will and appreciation of their services; afterwards we are seized with remorse, and in solemn council give them in lieu of, and compensation for, their service and loss what was already their own; and now when they come to Congress for some relief from this hard feature of this treaty, you come forward and show by your books that they are really in debt to us, and do this by charging them with the damages inflicted by the very men they were helping you to fight, and with the support of these same hostile bands since they were conquered, as the items of your accounts show."

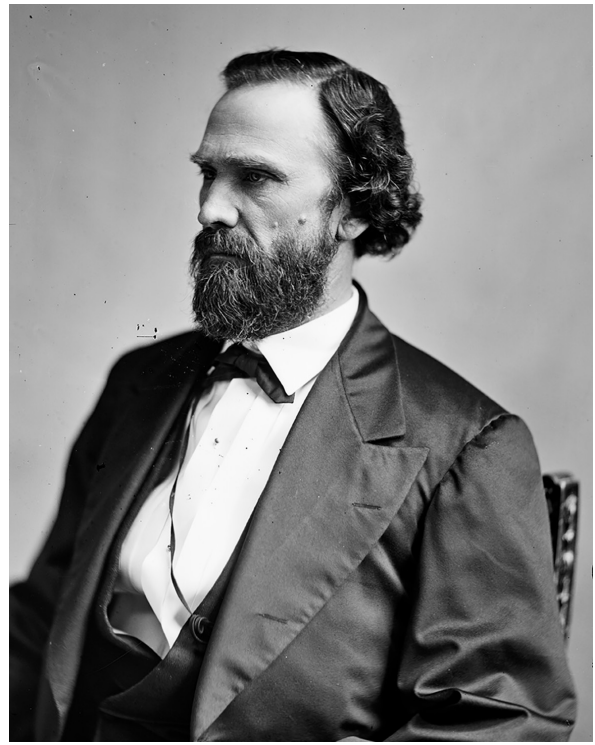
Commissioner Atkins seemed impressed with my statement of the case, and kindly asked me to take the accounts prepared for a fuller examination, and make a report to him of the facts as I understood them.

I found it impossible to disentangle the bands as bands in the accounts of the Department so as to secure justice to the friendly ones, so amazingly had they been confounded by the Department, and therefore did not attempt it. My report to the Commissioner, which he incorporated in his answer to the House Committee, conceded as just and right the confiscation of the lands and funds of these friendly bands as if they had been hostile, but maintained that those who were in the service of the United States, enrolled as scouts and soldiers, should be regarded as friends, and exempted from the act of confiscation, at least of their funds. The whole band was entitled to $73,600 per annum, for fifty years, beginning with 1862, of which twenty-six years have elapsed. I said let us multiply the annual due by twenty-six, [subtract] from it all that had been paid for and on account of, not the scouts, but the bands to which they belong, divide the remainder by four, because these scouts constituted only one-fourth of these bands, and give this amount, some $478,400, to these scouts and soldiers whose names will be found on the rolls of the army, and restore them to their rights for the remaining twenty-four years, during which they are entitled to this annuity, for their pro rata share.

The Commissioner accepted substantially the recommendation, only taking off the years of 1862 and 1863, because the appropriations had been made for those years, though the Indians never received a dollar of them. The House Committee has reported a bill for the relief of these scouts and soldiers, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior, which asks for this act of partial justice. These people have had their lands allotted to them and are in great need of this money in order that they may purchase needed teams and implements to begin their new life as individual citizens. They are in special need of it, as many of them are in debt for such implements, payment for which could not be made last year because of the utter failure of their crops by reason of the [drought]. Their failure just now, after an allotment of their lands, no matter to what cause due, would have a disastrous effect upon the work of allotment among the Sioux on the quiet reservation, who look to these bands as leaders, be-

cause it would be charged to the fact of allotment.

It is much to get the bill, which has been reported, before the House with the accompanying report, embodying the letters of the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs. But for the presence and persistence of the agent of the Indian Rights Association, the statement of the Bureau officer would have been accepted, perhaps as final, and would have made hope of relief improbable. There is now a fighting chance, at least, for this bill. It ought not to be delayed a single hour after the facts are known, but it is utterly impossible to gain attention for a bill which has either justice or help alone for Indians, unless a strong and emphatic demand is made by the public. Let the friends, not of the Indians alone, but of our government, who have any care for its honor and good name, arise and demand that a measure which does at least as much as this proposed shall be passed at once for the relief of these much-abused friends and allies, whose devotion to us has cost them more dearly than the hostility of the other bands cost them.



Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D. C. Atkins heard Painter plead the case of Renville and his Sisseton-Wahpeton scouts on numerous occasions.

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On the cover: Mapmaker David H. Burr used previous maps and exploration reports to construct this map of the Northern Great Plains, one of many that contributed to Americans' understandings of the Black Hills before 1860. *Map of the United States of North America with Parts of the Adjacent Countries* (London, 1839), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.