SETTLER COLONISTS, "CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP," AND THE WOMEN'S MISSIONARY FEDERATION AT THE BETHANY INDIAN MISSION IN WITTENBERG, WISCONSIN, 1884–1934

Betty Ann Bergland

Pearl Archiquette, a young Oneida woman writing in 1921 about her experiences at the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, contrasted her life there with the renowned government school, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. At Haskell, she wrote, they obeyed through coercion ("fear of punishment" in her words); at Bethany, they obeyed through persuasion ("God's desire that we should do that which is right," she wrote). Eight years earlier, at the age of eleven in 1913, Archiquette had entered the Bethany Indian Mission, received secular and religious instruction, was confirmed in the faith, and pursued her studies at Haskell. Feeling a sense of gratitude for the mission, she appealed to readers for help in the form of prayers and gifts to enhance its work among "my people." Aligning herself as Indian, she nevertheless embraced the work of the mission, claiming even elders now endorsed it and sent their children to be "cared for, fed, clothed and instructed in all things pertaining to good Christian citizenship."[1] Archiquette's short essay, dated November 25, 1921, was published and circulated by the Women's Missionary Federation (WMF) of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America to provide information on the church's work with Indians to its immigrant church members, settler colonists in the Upper Midwest. Archiquette's affirmation of tribal identity as well as "Christian citizenship," through the mediation of the WMF, illuminates the complex relationships and ambiguities surrounding the Bethany Indian Mission.

The Bethany Indian Mission is distinguished in three important ways. First, the mission was established and staffed by first- and second-generation immigrants, themselves marginalized within the nation-state and part of a relatively small, immigrant church. They shaped neither Indian nor racial policy; however, because they were considered white and European, they benefited directly and indirectly from those policies.

Second, they were settlers and colonists occupying the land. Unlike the missionaries sent to China, Africa, and India, those at Bethany were not sojourners in a foreign land but settlers, displacing those whom they would convert and Americanize. Third, the Bethany Indian Mission was not a product of New England missionary societies or European efforts to Christianize Indians; rather, it emerged organically as a few immigrants saw vulnerable people in their midst. As a consequence of these distinctive features of the mission, its workers developed contradictory and ambiguous relationships with the Indians, with the nation, and with empire. As immigrants and settler colonists adopted the language and culture of the American nation and empire, they, the foreign, helped make Wisconsin Indians, the indigenous, aliens in their own land. As they Americanized Indians and helped facilitate federal policies, they made the occupied lands what they called their western home. Yet the missionaries also served as mediators between policies effected by governmental bodies and vulnerable Wisconsin tribes and families. These complex relationships make the Bethany Indian Mission a meaningful focus of study on the complexities of women, mission, nation, and empire.

The Bethany Indian Mission was neither merely an apparatus of state or imperial power nor simply a mitigating force for Wisconsin Indians. In this essay I argue that the Bethany Indian Mission and the WMF in particular not only served the interests of the nation and empire in its efforts to Americanize and Christianize Wisconsin Indians, but also mediated between the state and tribes, mitigating the harsher effects of Indian policy. It is this essentially ambiguous dimension of the mission that makes it so compelling as an object of inquiry to illuminate the complex processes of empire building in the context of diverse national communities. I explore ambiguities surrounding the Bethany Indian Mission through an examination of the discursive practices of pamphlets issued by the WMF of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America from 1920 to 1934. To that end, I

examine contested concepts, provide brief historical contexts of the mission, explore gendered dimensions of the church and state, analyze discursive practices to expose ambiguous identity formations, and examine negotiations of race, identity, and survival in Indian testimonials and biography.

CONTESTED CONCEPTS: CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP, EMPIRE, AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Pearl Archiquette did not define what she meant by "Christian citizenship," but she did state that "all things pertaining to" it were taught at the mission. Whether she reproduced a concept heard at Haskell or elsewhere remains unclear. The expression does not appear elsewhere in WMF pamphlets, dispelling notions that Archiquette merely reproduced the words of mission workers. Conceivably, she captured a conceptual framework of survival for her people. Certainly, she heard discussions of citizenship within the Oneida community, for by the time she wrote, in 1921, citizenship rights for Indians were expanding and the idea of citizenship for Indians existed in the discourses of tribal life. Federal legislation enacted in 1924 (43. Stat. 253) declared all Indians born on U.S. territory to be citizens and contained language that permitted retention of tribal property rights and membership.[2] Thus citizenship and tribal alliance were not mutually exclusive but involved complex concepts of identity.

Archiquette's qualifier, "Christian," complicates the matter. What she meant by "Christian citizenship" is unknowable, but the term can be situated in the broader context of Christianity and empire. The scholar Vine Deloria Jr. has written extensively about the effects of Christianity on native peoples.[3] He views the missionary as central to his critique: "One of the major problems of the Indian people is the missionary. It has been said of missionaries that when they arrived they had only the Book and we had the land; now we have the Book and they have the land."[4] Deloria foregrounds the relationship between Christianity and empire in the American context, exposing the unequal exchange of "land for religion," an "exchange" that occurred in all European conquests.[5] In the settler colony of British North America, the policies of the British empire persisted after the American Revolution along with the goals, namely, the extinction of

Bethany Indian Mission students and staff, ca. 1895.
By permission of ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

native title to the land in favor of whites and transformation of Indian ways into white models. As Robert Berkhofer Jr. has argued, the only shift in postrevolutionary, U.S. Indian policy was the ideology of Americanism.[6]

The new national identity required an ideology distinguishing it, or its empire, from other sovereigns, in this case Indian nations and European empires. The concept of manifest destiny, a belief in America's providential claim to national expansion, served that purpose, and that framework remains, according to Thomas Hietala, America's "invaluable legitimizing myth."[7] In this mythology Indians were antithetical to Americans and required removal, isolation, or Americanization. Amy Kaplan's recent work on nation and empire, linking the domestic and the foreign, posits that Indians, like other peoples brought under U.S. authority in conquest, threatened the national spaces with their presumed foreignness. Indians posed distinctive problems as the foreign within the domestic or national territory.[8] This difficulty was exposed when the U.S. Supreme Court declared tribes to be "domestic dependent nations."[9] Missions, then, contributed to Americanizing the foreign within the domestic space of the nation. Bethany was no exception.

For many scholars of North American Indian history, Christianity and empire remain inseparable, as missions signify cultural imperialism.[10] Archiquette used the term "Christian citizenship" to frame an identity that evokes both the spread of Western religious culture and the nation-state, indicators for many of cultural imperialism. Other cultural critics and historians will argue that such concepts may be contested, that oppressed or dominated groups may appropriate concepts and use their own meanings.[11] Christian citizenship can be understood as a contested concept. Many Indians embraced citizenship while retaining tribal affiliation; others embraced Christianity and citizenship while claiming Indian identity. Archiquette's words, though contested, may have implied modernity, sovereignty, and survival.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF THE MISSION: INDIAN POLICY, MIGRATION, AND SETTLER COLONISTS

Norwegian immigration history and Wisconsin Indian history converge in profound ways in the nineteenth century and offer the broadest contexts for understanding the Bethany Indian Mission. In 1837 a series of treaties signed by several tribes residing in what was then Wisconsin Territory ceded vast parcels of lands to the federal government.[12] This opened the floodgate of immigration. In 1838 the first Norwegian immigrants arrived in Wisconsin Territory; subsequently, the Pre-emption Act of 1841, which provided free land, further stimulated migration. By 1850, some eighty-six hundred Norwegians resided in Wisconsin, and by 1900 Norwegians constituted the second largest foreign-born population in the state.[13]

As immigrants flooded into Wisconsin, federal Indian policy shifted. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 sought to move tribes west of the Mississippi River; however, many tribes, especially the Ho-chunk (Winnebago), refused, and tribes already removed to the area refused to be uprooted again. Resistance took other forms: taking up arms in the Black Hawk War; selling a parcel at a time; returning to ancestral homelands after removal; and "by protracted bargaining and their ineffable talent for

obfuscation and delay."[14] Also, policy-makers began to fear the consequences of removal: organized resistance in one great Indian Territory in the West could threaten white settlers. This shifting Indian policy meant Wisconsin tribes experienced diverse relations with the federal government.[15] Wisconsin became "a kind of natural laboratory for most of the government policies and programs."[16] The complexity was reflected also at the Bethany Indian Mission.

The national Indian policy of the General Allotment Act (1887–1934) aimed at assimilation of indigenous peoples. The logic was that by allotting individual parcels of existing reservation land to Indians, they would become farmers and citizens and assimilate, and the trust relationship with the federal government could end. The central effect was the dispossession of the land: nationally, about two-thirds of reservation land was lost from 1887 to 1934 (from 138 million to 52 million acres); in Wisconsin, approximately half of the land was lost.[17] This dispossession was achieved through white manipulation and unethical Indian agents, as well as legal land sales. This policy coincided with the years during which there was a boarding school at the mission (1884–1934). Not surprisingly, the policy assumptions, strategies, and goals of the U.S. government were to be found also at the mission, including farming as a way of life and assimilation as vital to survival. The settler-colonists who worked at the mission embraced this vision both for themselves and for the Indians—with obviously different consequences.

The Norwegian immigrants who settled Wisconsin in the nineteenth century had deep roots on the land: most had migrated from rural areas and sought land to preserve a way of life. Striving to reach that goal, they homesteaded on public lands and established permanent settlements. Among the immigrants was Even Johnson Homme, from the county of Telemark, Norway, who migrated as a child, attended public schools in Wisconsin, Luther College in Iowa, and the Lutheran Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri. Seeking to establish homes for orphans and the elderly, Homme explored Wisconsin for a site and discovered another vulnerable population, Indians. He determined to begin a mission.[18] The Norwegian Synod in America initially rejected his proposal, so Homme and his colleagues proceeded without the sanction of the synod: they purchased forty acres near Wittenberg, erected a modest building, and organized the Bethany Evangelical Lutheran Indian Mission in 1883. Later, acting on an

appeal, the synod voted unanimously to support the mission. A call was issued to Erick Olson Morstad, a graduate of Luther College, and on August 30, 1884, he began mission work.[19]

Unlike the founding of most Protestant Indian missions in North America, that of the project started by Homme was more organic in that it was a response to immediate and real needs, a local initiative, rather than an abstract call to distant pagans. Homme's persistence in defiance of the synod accentuates the difference.[20] In addition, the arguments made by the church members as they moved to finally endorse the mission suggest, in the multiplicity of reasons they stated, a distinctive grassroots effort: (1) work "among the heathens has had a beneficial effect on the church"; (2) it "is right to begin a mission among the Indians since we occupy the land which was once their land, and we are obligated to them"; (3) it "would be well to forget some of our abominable church strife by serious participation in such a mission"; (4) it would be beneficial to indigenous children to be away from "pagan influence" and also to receive food, clothing, and schooling; and (5) the cynical commentary on federal policy —that it was now "cheaper to give them the gospel than to kill them"— reveals a consciousness of brutal conditions.[21] Thus, several reasons given for establishing the mission—the implied critique of federal policies, the immigrants' recognition that they occupied the Indians' land, and the stated benefits of a mission providing basic needs—convey humanitarian and practical motives. No monolithic view prevails. The diverse arguments suggest complex motivations for support of the mission and a grassroots origin.

In *Missionary Conquest*, George Tinker observes that most Lutherans did not establish Indian missions but rather took the best land.[22] By contrast, the Norwegian Lutherans did both: they established a mission and acquired the best land. The Bethany Indian Mission at Wittenberg, Wisconsin, became the only formal outreach to Indians sponsored by the Norwegian Synod, and from 1884 until 1955 the mission served the tribes of Wisconsin, mostly Oneida and Winnebago (Ho-chunk) but also Potawatomie, Ojibwe (or Chippewa), Menominee, and Stockbridge-Munsee.[23] Like most North American Protestant missions, the Bethany Indian Mission provided religious and secular instruction; in one respect, however, it differed from other North American missions: authority, responsibility, and structure remained among settler-colonists in the decentralized, immi-

Bethany Indian Mission, c. 1900.
By permission of ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

grant church. Its relationship to the state shifted over time. In the formative period, 1884–88, the mission was operated by the church with no state involvement; from 1888 until 1900, the synod contracted with the federal government on a per-pupil basis; from 1900 to 1917 the federal government owned the land and buildings and hired the settler-colonists to operate it; from 1918 to 1933, the synod owned and operated both the mission and the school; and from 1934 to 1955, the boarding school was closed, but the mission and synod offered religious instruction and assistance to the members of tribes in the area.[24] These shifting patterns reveal the continuity of the church and the immigrant staff—and the discontinuity of the state. The period when the school and mission flourished under ownership and operation of the church (1918–33) occurred when the WMF acquired responsibility for mission work—and the Bethany Indian Mission.

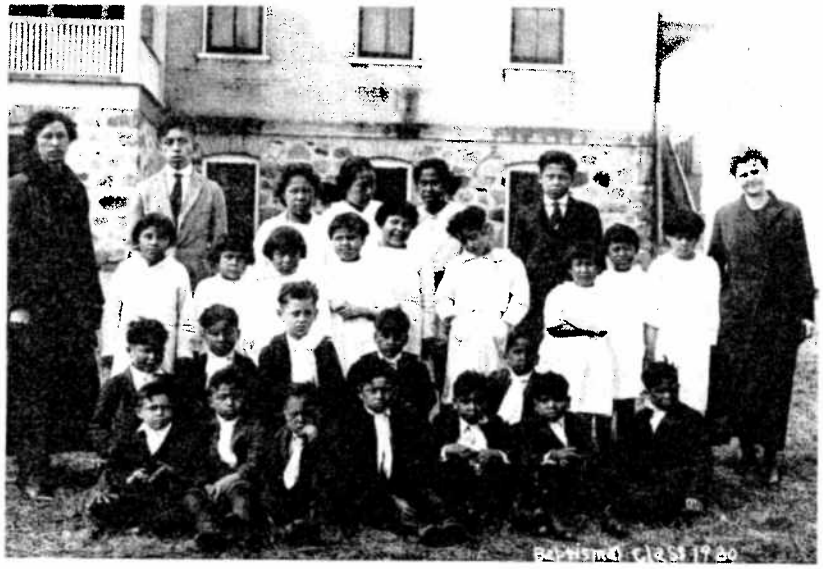
STATE, CHURCH, AND GENDERED FRAMEWORKS OF MISSION WORK

To maintain social order, state and religious authorities both tend to preserve prevailing ideologies and their supporting structures, what Louis Althusser labeled Ideological State Apparatus (ISAs). In the late nineteenth-century United States that social order meant private land-

ownership; patriarchal domination of the administrative and juridical regimes; a racial hierarchy that privileged whiteness; and a cultural ideology that promoted Anglo-Saxon, Western, and Christian identity formations. Yet in the late nineteenth century, when the Bethany Indian Mission emerged, authorities were also being challenged. Homme's defiance of church authority became emblematic of a pattern: immigrants challenged religious authority in Norway simply by emigrating, while others joined lay movements. Even the immigrant church (neither old world state church nor mainstream American) challenged tradition by training clergy in the United States. One might view these challenges within a broader terrain of contested authority on the Wisconsin frontier. In that larger context, and on another level, Wisconsin tribes defied federal policies by refusing to be removed or, once removed, returning to ancestral lands. Challenges to patriarchal authority also become visible in the work of the women.

In the nineteenth century many viewed mission work as essentially feminine; others affirmed masculine models of mission work based on, as Susan Thorne writes, "religious piety, moral seriousness and a civilizing mission at home and abroad."[25] Mission work challenged prevailing gender roles. Amy Kaplan's work exposes the gendered contradictions and ambiguities of missions.[26] Connecting the realms of the domestic and the foreign (conceptually separated in historical and cultural studies of nation building and empire), she challenges the gendered dichotomies surrounding these and would shift the "cognitive geography of the nineteenth century."[27] The cultural work of domesticity, she argues, actually linked men and women in an alliance against the perceived foreign (alien, wild, savage), as domesticating the foreign within the national borders linked the imperial project of civilizing the other outside the national borders. Thus, domestic Indian missions and foreign global missions both engaged in empire building; men and women both participated. The central dichotomy was not gendered but racial, determined by concepts of the foreign and not-foreign. These national discourses of empire helped shape ideas of missions and created the contexts of gendered work at the Bethany Indian Mission.

Women generated neither the federal Indian policy nor the church polity that shaped the mission. In the church after the Reformation, as the historian L. DeAne Lagerquist notes, "women were left with no official role in the Protestant church beyond that of worshiper."[28] At the Bethany



A baptism at Bethany Indian Mission, 1920, with Agnes Jacobson (*right*) and unidentified woman. By permission of ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Confirmation class, Bethany Indian Mission, with Rev. T. M. Rykken, ca. 1925. By permission of ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Indian Mission, the pastors and school superintendents were men, but both men and women staffed the mission. Male and female Indian students were also employed. Yet with the merger in 1917 of Norwegian American church bodies, women assumed the responsibility for missions, represented by the WMF. The institutions of church and state in which the federation operated (the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America and the Bureau of Indian Affairs) provided structures in which women assumed both responsibility and empowerment. The gendered and racial ideologies of the time provided the conceptual and discursive arenas in which the women worked and thought—ideologies they both participated in and challenged. Thus they navigated contradictory positions: subordinate in patriarchal institutions of church and state; equal in relation to each other; and authoritative in relationship to the Indians. The WMF at the Bethany Indian Mission illuminates the ambiguous roles of women in the gendered systems of church and state and exposes the vexed relationships that both fostered and challenged prevailing racial and gendered ideologies.

The appropriate place of women in mission work and in the church is stated clearly in the Constitution of 1917 of the Women's Missionary Federation (WMF). Women were "to create interest in and stimulate love for the great cause of missions; to unite . . . all women's societies . . . for missions; to promote . . . separate mission societies and children's societies . . . to disseminate knowledge of missions."[29] The promotion of missions was central to the WMF, but this must be accomplished in the context of the established order of the church, in which women and the WMF functioned as an auxiliary.[30] While all women should be a part "of the Big Sisterhood," they would also act as "the Lord's Handmaid."[31] The gendered regimes of the church meant support, subordination, and submission.[32]

While religious ideology decreed that women be "handmaids," the church also fostered the solidarity of the "Big Sisterhood." That unity was possible because the WMF was embedded in church structure. Formed in 1917, the WMF was organized into nine extant districts, a complex network linking WMF to congregations across the country and facilitating communication. As membership expanded in the 1920s to over a thousand affiliates, the WMF reached tens of thousands of individuals with its literature. In 1925, 1,232 societies representing a membership of 31,098 were

reported.[33] Church spaces, therefore, could be cultivated to enhance the Big Sisterhood, as the women met regularly, elected officers, kept records, planned meetings, organized fundraising, arranged and oversaw conventions, wrote reports and pamphlets, distributed literature, spoke at church gatherings, recruited new members, supported missionaries, maintained mission cottages, and informed church leaders of their work. In the process the federation fostered sisterhood: a public presence, growing confidence, and leadership skills among women.[34] Women's mission work done in a discursive context of subordination also empowered women.

In 1920 the Mission Board of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America (NLCA) gave budgetary responsibility for the Bethany Indian Mission to the WMF. The new responsibility was not surprising. The Norwegian American churches began to send missionaries directly to foreign fields, mostly to China and Madagascar, in the 1890s. By 1900 there were more women than men in those fields.[35] Both single and married women went, and women were identified with missions. When the three Norwegian American Lutheran synods merged in 1917 their three mission societies became the WMF, aligned in foreign and home missions. At the general board meeting of the WMF held on June 9, 1920, the board approved a resolution that "the taking over of [the] budget for Indian Mission be approved."[36] The president's report explains, "This work [Bethany Indian Mission] naturally falls to the Federation for the same reason that it is to accept schools and hospitals for the Foreign Missions."[37] By 1920 women were seen to have a natural relationship to the mission.

The first WMF president, Lena Dahl (1848–1922), guided the federation in thinking about missions and Bethany.[38] Like many female leaders in the mission, Dahl was the daughter and wife of pastors and an immigrant from Norway. By the time Dahl became WMF's first president, she was deeply familiar with immigrant congregations, women's missionary work, and women's appropriate places in the religious and civic hierarchies. As she steered the work of the mission, she explained in an address in 1920 how women were expected to think about its Indian mission work: "Think of the little brown-skinned . . . children . . . with their bright eager faces full of questioning wonder—they too need us so they may learn what Christian motherhood means. Ah, they all need us, they look to us for many things that mean comfort and uplift, a help that gives them new and noble impulses, strength to walk in godly ways."[39] Though she could be

describing foreign missions, she was speaking of a domestic one, Indians at Bethany. Ironically, in the racial and imperial hierarchy, the truly foreign Dahl instructed women to help the indigenous foreign.[40] Being the not-foreign-foreigner in this ideology, she was permitted not only to settle but domesticate the genuinely indigenous people. At the same time, her conception of "Christian motherhood" led her to offer the "comfort and uplift" that disastrous federal policy had not provided. Dahl filled the ambiguous role not only of addressing the genuine needs among the Wisconsin tribes, but also of supporting the work of empire by helping assimilate Indians. Ironically, while Dahl saw the work as "Christian motherhood" (a gendered concept), Archiquette learned "Christian citizenship" (a nongendered concept).

The ideology of manifest destiny and the federal policy of allotment and assimilation gave women the conceptual framework for Indian mission work. The government expansion of the school buildings from 1900 to 1917 provided an enlarged capacity for the mission work when the federation assumed its responsibility. Thus, both the church and the state, though constraining women, provided the institutional structures to achieve sisterly solidarity and cultural authority. In the world of the mission, the immigrant women gained stature and authority by virtue of their position in the racial and cultural hierarchy. In the competing narratives surrounding sovereignty, nation, and race, immigrant white women possessed an advantage: representing the English language, Western culture, and Christian religion, they occupied positions of authority. At the same time, immigrant women missionaries occupied subordinate positions in relation to the church and state and positions of equality in the Big Sisterhood. Less visible and obvious is the role of mediator between the Indian students and families and their difficult historical conditions. That role is partially evident in the constructed knowledge of the mission literature.

CONSTRUCTING SELF AND OTHER IN DISCOURSES OF WMF PAMPHLETS

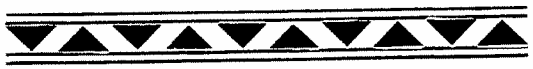
The WMF acknowledged from the start the importance of disseminating knowledge: "First in importance is the literature by which it is possible to reach every member—sometime," wrote President Dahl in 1919.[41] The

literature program became the core of its work. Pamphlets, published in English and Norwegian, Dahl argued, "will give a correct presentation of our mission fields at home and abroad and impart a general knowledge of existing conditions both here and in heathen lands."[42] This meant writers would define the mission project and Indians. The unstated aim of the pamphlets was to stimulate empathy for Indians, affirm legitimacy of the work, and raise funds. To achieve these ends, the pamphlets gave evidence of success, especially conversion. By referring to the Bethany Indian Mission as "our mission fields at home," the pamphlets offered a discourse of legitimacy while stimulating awareness of Indians. In this way the WMF literature was essentially ambiguous. Primarily concerned with the propagation of the Gospel and the saving of souls, the writers also constructed images of the Indians, missions, and themselves, helping to define what it meant to be civilized, American, and legitimate. Thus, while propagating the Gospel, they also served the interests of Indian policy (extinguishing Indian claims and reshaping Indians as Americans) and legitimated land occupation; yet they also gave witness to the plight of the Indians.

The WMF published only ten pamphlets on the Bethany Indian Mission between 1921 and 1935, yet the literature committee circulated thousands of these, reaching tens of thousands of Norwegian Lutherans across the country.[43] Their construction of Indians and descriptions of mission work helped shape attitudes toward indigenous people. Written by WMF leaders and clergy, the pamphlets showed little variation in content between the men and women, although the clergy foregrounded religion and included more historical and statistical information, while the women emphasized secular education and the experiential. WMF leaders—generally wives of ministers or church leaders, first- or second-generation immigrants, urban, and middle class—possessed knowledge of church policies, practices, and hierarchies.[44] They would have been familiar with the tensions and goals surrounding the merger of the three major Norwegian Lutheran synods in 1917.[45] These women also were aware of the anti-foreign and anti-immigrant hysteria that was prevalent around the time of the First World War.[46] The 100 percent American movement of the prewar period and postwar xenophobia would have sensitized them both to the ambiguity of their positions and to the urgency of their work—Americanization and nation building. These larger contexts provide the framework in which the women conceptualized mission work. The pamphlets represented that conceptualization; the testimonials of Indian students would signify its achievement.[47] The WMF literature on the Bethany Indian Mission conceptualizes four arenas: women's self-construction as missions workers, constructions of the Indians, and conceptions of the mission and of the land.

The mission worker is most often described as a mother (the word is often capitalized). The image places Indians in an obvious dependent relationship as children. The mother gives gifts, bestows virtue, sets standards, dispenses clothing, gives food, provides education—and expects gratitude. The relationship to the readers, however, is sisterly, one of equality in the grand project of civilization and uplift of Indians.[48] By inviting their sisters (the readers) into this noble project, writers implied they were gift-givers, a kind of inversion of the real relations between immigrants (recipients of land) and Indians (dispossessed of land). Mothers to the Indians and sisters to each other, the women might create solidarity among themselves and authority over the children (the Indians). The male clergy do not allude to a sisterhood but rather create solidarity with the women by referring to "our work" and "our mission."[49]

The Indians invariably are described as children—as students, they literally are—but also figuratively as lost, dependent, in darkness, needy, helpless, and little children of the woods. One pamphlet describes Indians coming "in from the woods," which was literally true, yet metaphorically suggesting darkness and ignorance, masking their history and culture. Another pamphlet reads, "In the past the Indian was at the mercy of his own ignorance and the white man's evil example."[50] In yet another, students are portrayed as part of a heathen community when they leave the mission, "little messengers of the Gospel [who] teach the truths of salvation to their relatives."[51] Traditional religious beliefs are denied, as Indians are perceived as lost or saved in a Christian context.[52] Racial constructions strengthen this dichotomy. In one pamphlet, in an effort to counter charges that Indians are "lazy" and "shiftless," the writer evokes racial hierarchy: "It should be borne in mind that the Indian is not a white man with a red skin. He has racial inclinations and propensities . . . we can hardly expect them to measure up to our standards in every respect, yet many of them do."[53] In a similar vein, attempting to present a sympathetic portrait, Albert Holm, a graduate of Luther Theological Seminary and a clergyman, uses racial language and blames white men for their failure to



Indianer Missionen

Wittenberg, Wis.

Published by
LITERATURE COMMITTEE OF THE WOMEN'S MISSIONARY FEDERATION, N. L. C. A.
125 FOURTH ST. SO., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

1931

Pamphlet of Women's Missionary Federation, Bethany Indian Mission, 1931.
By permission of ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

understand Indian culture and to keep promises, for their introduction of "firewater" and peyote, and for their tendency to continue in "primitive" ways; yet his refusal to give Indians agency and his use of the reductionist, masculine, and singular term "the Red Man" perpetuate racial views.[54] In these constructions, the Christian vision of equal soul brothers and sisters competes with a hierarchical and racial construction of nation and empire, while emphasis on Christian conversion tends to create the dichotomies of us and them, saved and lost.

Yet some pamphlets candidly address historical realities and the tragic consequences of white incursions. Thorvald Rykken, a clergyman at the mission, writes in one pamphlet, "Many of our Indians are very poor and their land is swampy, making it difficult if not impossible, for them to make a living." Discussing the limited sources of Indian income resulting mainly from labor that men secured in farming or seasonal work such as road construction and wood cutting, Rykken laments the effects when no employment is available: "We are compelled to buy baskets and beads from the women."[55] Another pamphlet points to the exploitation that produces poverty: "What a blot upon the pages of American history is not the story of our treatment of the American Indian! The Indians of Wisconsin were no exception. They too were the victims of avarice." The writer notes that the land was sold for ten cents an acre, and Indians received swampy land that whites rejected.[56] Compassion also emerges: "Their poverty is distressing, their material condition deplorable. And then as a last straw the court has decided that the land that some of them bought shall be taxed and even back taxes are to be collected . . . many are unable to pay . . . and worried lest they lose their land."[57] Often the empathy leads to assertions of common humanity. Rykken acknowledges that the Savior "died also for our Red brothers and sisters."[58] One writer affirms that Indians "also have an immortal soul and are bought with the same blood as you and I."[59] Another refers to the Indians as "our heathen neighbors."[60] These constructions mask the inequity and injustice of empire, while they affirm a shared geography and humanity.

The mission project is invariably described as one involving education: the Indian child "learns to work, is given an education and . . . is taught to love Jesus."[61] This education contains culturally specific meaning, however: labor means gender-specific, vocational skills; knowledge refers to Anglo-Saxon or Western epistemology; and religion signifies Christianity.

Though Western, the constructs are presented as universal. The clergy emphasized religion, as illustrated by Reverend Rykken: "Our chief purpose is to Christianize"[62] and, "If it were not for this side [the religious], we should certainly not carry on work among the Indians, for the Government is far better equipped to support schools than the church is."[63] Subsequently, Rykken proposes the inseparability of education and religion, conceding, "The school building is the important building at the mission."[64]

Conceiving the homeland of Indians and immigrants also raises problems for the clergy, as Rykken reveals: "We live on the land which they once possessed and in return we should show them our gratitude and our love, especially by bringing them the Gospel of Jesus Christ."[65] Holm writes, "The land on which we live once belonged to them. Let us show them our gratitude and love by bringing them the Gospel of Jesus Christ!"[66] Trained clergymen and second-generation immigrants, Rykken and Holm recognized the land as central to their communities' survival. Neither explains how the so-called land exchange occurred, but both imply a natural and inevitable process: the land as gift requiring reciprocity, that is, the book for the land. As the spiritual authorities of their communities and representatives of the mission, these writers offered their readers a moral equivalence of land for religion. In the process they offered readers legitimacy on the land and alliance with the nation and empire. At the same time they gave testimony to fellow settler-colonists that the land was not empty, not unpeopled. In short, the pamphlets that would convey "a correct presentation of our mission fields" also helped legitimize land possession and Americanize Indians (the imagined foreign), while giving witness to the difficult living conditions and the suffering of Indians.

NEGOTIATING SURVIVAL, IDENTITY, AND RACE: INDIAN TESTIMONIALS AND BIOGRAPHY

Historians report several responses of Indians to Christian missionaries, including rejection, accommodation, and a divided response. All appear at the Bethany Indian Mission.[67] While few records of Bethany students exist, extant documents favor accommodation. Interviews with Ho-chunk women and former Bethany students reveal the complexity of that accommodation. Adhering to traditional ways and harshly critical of federal policy and *maixeta* (the Ho-chunk term for whites, meaning "big knives"), these women, nevertheless, speak affectionately of workers at the mission and consider themselves both Christian and traditional, American and Ho-chunk.[68] Such a pattern of accommodation and complexity also emerges in the testimonials of Indian students. Three testimonials by Indians published by the WMF offer historical evidence of that pattern. All are by former students who were confirmed at the mission and were affiliated with Oneida. (Part of the Iroquois Confederacy located in the area of New York, one contingent of Oneida came west.)[69] Having had extended exposure to Christian missionaries and American culture, the Oneida would have been more receptive to accommodation than tribes indigenous to Wisconsin that first confronted settlers in the nineteenth century.

The testimonials were by Pearl Archiquette, Ellen Hill, and Ferdinand Palladeau. Ambiguous in their nature, these publications affirm Indian student voices and the value WMF placed on them, while also testifying to mission work and legitimacy, as the students express their gratitude, appeal for support, and convey their accommodation.

Archiquette, whose testimonial was published in 1921, described herself as entering the Bethany School in 1913 at the age of eleven, spending three years there, receiving secular and religious instruction, and claiming her confirmation day to be the "greatest day for me." At Haskell, by contrast, she learned many things, academic and industrial, but not "to love Jesus." She reported on changed attitudes among Indians, asserting, "Older Indians are [now] really very interested in the work." Her gratitude emphasized the instruction "in all things pertaining to good Christian citizenship."[70] Archiquette accommodated but also discriminated, explaining subtle differences: institutional ones, among Indian schools; temporal ones in the attitudes of elders; and cultural ones in her accommodations to Western culture. In the process she does not deny her Indian identity, aligning herself with "my people the Indian race."[71] Rather than seeing Archiquette as a victim of cultural imperialism who lacks agency, one might interpret her term "Christian citizenship" as her affirmation not only of agency but also of her people. Such an accommodation permits survival and affirms her construction of Indian identity.

Ellen Hill, writing while a student at the Normal School in Canton,

South Dakota, conveyed similar sentiments in her testimonial, published in 1922: she contrasted Bethany with the government school and expressed her gratitude. Like Archiquette's narrative, Hill's is one of progress, good works, and success. Her continuing education confirms accommodation. In her gratitude, she refers to Bethany workers as "God's own people of the Norwegian Lutheran people of America."[72] Naming the ethnic and religious formation, Hill suggests the possibility of a complex ethnic identity for Indians also. Ferdinand Palladeau's pamphlet, published in 1931, reflects similar patterns: experience, gratitude, appeal for support, and affirmation of Indian and Christian identity. Together, the three testimonials constitute evidence that Indians define themselves as Christians. They also reconstruct identities. While they may reproduce prevailing views, the students reconstruct themselves as Indians, as Christians, and as citizens—that is, as complex persons with multiple identities not perceived as contradictory. The testimonials also help construct complex subjectivities in the readers. Though the Indian students may be read as racial others, because they identify as Christians, readers must confront commonalities. Furthermore, specific histories and identities humanize the students and challenge prevailing stereotypes. Though racial constructions seem to legitimize the settler-colonists' occupation of the land, the testimonies give witness to the real history of the occupied land and challenge simple, dualistic interpretations.

The WMF published one biography of a Bethany student, entitled "The Model Christian Matron: Nancy Smith Palladeau." Part of the series begun in 1937 entitled "Little Library of Lutheran Biography," the Palladeau biography represented the fruit of Bethany and home missions.[73] The inclusion in the series of two indigenous women (domestic and foreign) with four mission workers posits an ideal of affinities that crossed national and racial boundaries—an ideal Christian community of women that challenged racist constructions. Certainly that image is not unproblematic, blurring Christian with Western and an idealized, middle-class American.[74] In many ways the tensions of the mission and the empire converge in the portrait of Palladeau, representing domestication of the foreign within, yet the portrait also posits a vision of "spiritual solidarity," or "Christian citizenship," that transcends racial and national categories.

The biography of Palladeau was written by Mrs. Ernest W. Sihler (nee Mabel Wold, born in China to Norwegian Haugean Synod parents called

to mission work). Sihler served with her husband at Bethany from 1935 to 1955, living and working closely with Indian families, sharing their lives and worlds. Organizing Palladeau's life into four parts ("Early Life," "Marriage," "Matron at the Mission," and "Closing Years"), Sihler emphasizes the image of her subtitle: "Christian Indian woman . . . [and] much loved matron at the Bethany Indian Mission."[75] Nancy Smith Palledeau (1878–1932), one of the first children at the mission, came to represent it, and the construction of her life represented the mission work.

Sihler quickly establishes the confluence of Palladeau's life and the mission: one of the first pupils, arriving at the age of ten in 1888, Palladeau grew with the mission. Four years later, she was confirmed and continued school through eighth grade.[76] She excelled in music, sport, and sewing and became a seamstress and baker at the mission. Palladeau is described as she appears in a photograph taken when she was sixteen: "She is dressed in the fashion of '94 . . . [and] looks quite as stylish and pretty as the attractive Norwegian girl with whom she was photographed."[77] While whiteness seems the standard of beauty here, the comparison also aims to evoke "equality" between Indian and Norwegian. The ambiguous and contested image of Palladeau suggests both an awareness of otherness and an effort to posit sameness.[78] Part two addresses her marriage to another Bethany student, William Palladeau, and foregrounds domestic life.[79] As a wife, Palladeau is described as a devoted homemaker, a "splendid housekeeper," "expert canner" with "well-stocked shelves," but also "fastidious about her own appearance." While secular, middle-class American values prevail, Palladeau also joined the Ladies' Aid of the Lutheran Church and was a member of the Mission Circle.[80] The implication that middle-class American values coincide with Christian values further illuminates the tensions between empire and mission, while Sihler's observations reveal Palladeau's accommodation to her dual worlds. Sihler, raised in China by Norwegian Lutheran missionaries and forced to accommodate to multiple cultures, inevitably recognized and admired that capacity in Palladeau.

Part three of the biography addressed Palladeau, the "Matron at the Mission." If her marriage signified domesticity, this period signified service. In 1905 both Palladeaus began working at the Bethany School—he as an instructor of carpentry; she as a matron.[81] The matron assisted the young Bethany children, tending to their physical, emotional, and spiritual needs. Palladeau was good with them, Sihler asserts, especially sensitive to

the homesick and often making special food. This closeness to the students led directly to the "closing years" and her tragic death. In the winter of 1932 a scarlet fever epidemic ravaged the mission, touching all sixty of the girls who were enrolled, but Palladeau nursed everyone back to health. Nonetheless, as a result of her exertion she contracted pneumonia and died on March 3, 1932. Buried at the Bethany Indian Mission cemetery in Wittenberg alongside immigrant workers, Palladeau becomes one with them. Sihler writes of her as loving, wise, and comforting, concluding, "Her valuable life had been sacrificed for the sick children to whom she had given of herself unsparingly."[82] Palladeau's life and sacrificial death represented the model Indian. Anne McClintock, writing on the British empire, explores the way women are "ambiguously placed on the imperial divide" (as nurses, nannies, servants) and thus "served as boundary markers and mediators," making them "dangerously ambiguous and contaminating."[83] Indeed, Palladeau's position was ambiguous, mediating between the Indian pupils and the mission; yet she seemed neither "contaminating" nor "dangerous." Palladeau lived and died within these ambiguous spaces of the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin—between an American empire and her own ancestral worlds—and embraced the contradictory identities on that divide as Oneida Indian, as Christian woman, as model citizen.

CONCLUSION

The literature of the WMF focused on the Bethany Indian Mission presented to its readers in communities of immigrants or settler-colonists what the federation believed to be "a correct presentation of the mission field." With the institutions of the church and state acting as facilitating structures and authoritative bodies sanctioning this presentation, the WMF generated a conceptual map of the new world in which the foreign Americanizes the indigenous in ironic reversals. The mission workers, like mothers, provided Indians, like children, gifts of uplift and instruction in godly ways, as they also occupied this new land and empire as naturally and inevitably (they thought) as their mission to civilize Indians. In this way the mission and the WMF served not only the propagation of the Gospel, but also the national goals of Americanizing Indians, dispossessing them of land, and securing the American empire. Yet in their positions as caretakers and imperial instruments, they also acted as mediators (observers and reporters) of the disastrous effects of federal policies and racial thinking. In that role they inevitably also advanced Western imperialism by persuading themselves of their benevolence and cultural superiority. This central ambiguity illuminates the complex relationships that existed between immigrant settler-colonists and indigenous peoples in sustaining the American empire.

NOTES

1 "The B.I.M.: An Indian's Appreciation, Pearl Archiquette (An Oneida Indian)" (Minneapolis: WMF Literature Committee, 1921), 2. For the term *settler colonist*, see Michael Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001), 1692–1720, and Annie E. Coombes, ed. *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

2 Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 220–21. Deloria and Lytle note that during the allotment period "citizenship became a ceremonial event, something akin to religious conversion," symbolizing the determination of individuals "to cast aside traditions and customs and assume the dress, values, and beliefs," of the larger society.

3 See, for example, Vine Deloria Jr., "Missionaries and the Religious Vacuum," *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 22–30. Originally published in Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969).

4 Deloria, "Missionaries and the Religious Vacuum," 22.

5 See Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), especially, part 4. For a survey of U.S. Indian policy, see Deloria and Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice*.

6 Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 135.

7 Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire*, rev. ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 255.

8 Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).

9 The Supreme Court declared Indians "domestic dependent nations" in its deci-

sion in *Cherokee Nation v. the State of Georgia* in 1831. See *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*, vol. 1, ed. Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 201–3.

10 The term *cultural imperialism* is often defined as "the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of a native culture"; cited in John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 3. Tomlinson's book explores the problems surrounding the term, identifying *cultural imperialism* as a "politically and intellectually problematic" expression (among the "essentially contested concepts," a description used by the British theorist W. B. Gallie). These contested concepts, as Tomlinson writes, cannot be isolated from their discursive contexts or the "real processes" to which the concepts relate (4).

11 See, for example, Rob Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End," *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender, 295–313 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

12 Earlier treaties with Sauk, Fox, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, and Winnebago had already ceded much of what became Wisconsin Territory.

13 Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin: A History*, 2d ed. rev., ed. Wm. F. Thompson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989 [1973]), 157–58. Germans were the largest.

14 Nancy Oestreich Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2002 [1965]), 15.

15 More specifically: (1) Oneida and Stockbridge were formally removed to Wisconsin from the East; (2) other eastern tribes (Stockbridge-Munsee, Brotherton, and Potawatomi) migrated from the East into Wisconsin; (3) indigenous tribes (Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo and Santee Sioux, some Winnebago) relocated west of the Mississippi; and (4) other indigenous tribes (Menominee, Ho-chunk, and Ojibwe) resisted removal and were permitted to remain. By the time of the Indian Homestead Act of 1875, Wisconsin Indians could claim land in ancestral regions. See Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians*.

16 Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians*, ix.

17 Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians*, 36–37, and Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887–1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), vii. Lurie refers to this as the "great Indian land grab," 36.

18 Bethany Indian Mission pamphlets and synod minutes convey similar histories. The Homme Homes still serve these populations in Shawno County.

19 "Bethany Indian Mission (Lutheran) at Wittenberg, WI 1884-date," typed manuscript. History and Publicity Notebook 1, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

20 A. E. Morstad, "Erik Morstad's Missionary Work Among Wisconsin Indians," *Norwegian American Studies* 27 (1977), 114. Initial skepticism emphasized the difficulties of such a project: other Lutheran synods (Augustana and Missouri) started Indian missions but gave up, providing evidence that it was difficult to minister to nomadic peoples and to find a minister for this work.

21 Committee Minutes, in *A Brief History of the Bethany Indian Mission at Wittenberg, Wisconsin*, 4, June 25, 1944. Published for the 60th Anniversary Program. Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Also cited in Morstad, "Missionary Work," 114.

22 George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 125n7.

23 Other efforts by the Lutheran synod to develop missions to the Indians are discussed in E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 72–73, 88–89, 183, 199–200, 283–84.

24 The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 attempted to restore autonomy to Indian tribes and represented a significant shift in federal Indian policy.

25 Susan Thorne, "Missionary-Imperial Feminism," *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, ed. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, 40 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

26 Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (1998), 581–606.

27 Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity."

28 L. DeAne Lagerquist, *From Our Mother's Arms: A History of Women in the American Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), 67.

29 Mrs. T. H. Dahl, "The WMF Pamphlet, 1919," in Convention Program and Reports, vol. 1, 1917–31. Women's Missionary Federation Collection, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

30 Ibid., 5, 6.

31 Ibid., 11.

32 See Martha Reishus, *Hearts and Hands Uplifted: A History of the Women's Missionary Federation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958), 124–38.

33 Report of the Fifth General Convention of the WMF of the NLCA, 1925. Bound vol. 1, WMF, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

34 The pattern of women's empowerment through organizing is reminiscent of the abolition and the suffrage movements.

35 L. DeAne Lagerquist, *In America the Men Milk the Cows: Factors of Gender, Ethnicity, and Religion in the Americanization of Norwegian American Women* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1991), 187. Lagerquist does not discuss the Bethany Indian Mission here, but for a discussion of missionaries, see 185–93.

36 "Minutes of General and Executive Boards," vol. 2, 1918–23, 83. Women's Missionary Federation, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

37 Mrs. I. D. Ylvisaker, "The President's Reports," 1921, 10. Convention Programs and Reports, vol., 1, 1917–31. Women's Missionary Federation, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

38 Dahl was active in the Kvindernes Missionsforbund, the missionary society of the United Norwegian Church, formed in 1911. Mrs. Th. Eggen, *Some Marthas and Marys of the NCLA: Life Sketches of Pioneer Lutheran Women First in their Field*, series 1 (Minneapolis: Literature Committee of the W.M.F., n.d.[1929?]), 20. See also Lagerquist, *From Our Mother's Arms*, 54.

39 Mrs. T. H. Dahl, Presidential Report, Women's Missionary Federation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, June 14, 1920, 6; Conventions Programs and Reports, vol. 1, 1917–31. WMF Papers ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

40 A biographer in the 1920s describes her as "a loving and sympathetic mother, a dutiful daughter . . . a busy housewife . . . [and] her husband's loving companion and wonderful helpmeet," found in Eggen, *Some Marthas and Marys*, 23.

41 Mrs. T. H. Dahl, "The Women's Missionary Federation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of American" (1919), 8. Small pamphlet affixed to Convention Programs and Reports, vol 1, 1917–31. WMF Papers, ELCA and Regions Three Archives. Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

42 Dahl, "The WMF of the NLCA," 1919, 8.

43 The literature committee reported that in 1921 fourteen articles were written in English and Norwegian on home and foreign missions, totaling thirty-four hundred copies of pamphlets; in 1922 there were forty-one thousand copies published. Convention Programs and Reports, vol. 1, 1917–31, bound volume, Women's Missionary Federation, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

44 The WMF executive board in 1920 was constituted of the wives of the church hierarchy: President, Mrs. T. H. Dahl; Vice President, Mrs. H. G. Stub; Recording Secretary, Mrs. I. D. Ylvisaker; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Edward Johnson; and Treasurer, Mrs. M. O. Bockman. Conventions, Programs and Reports, vol. 1, 1917–31. Women's Missionary Federation, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

45 Paul Daniels, archivist of Luther Seminary Archives and ELCA Region Three Archives, has noted that after the merger in 1917 and resulting tensions, missions became a kind of unifying force within the church.

46 Much has been written about the Americanization movement of the first decades of the twentieth century and the anti-immigrant discourses during the First World War. For effects on Norwegian immigrants, see Carl H. Chrislock, *The Upper Midwest Norwegian-American Experience in World War One* (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1981).

47 The three WMF presidents writing pamphlets were Mrs. Ylvisaker (1921), Mrs. Lydia Sundby (1929), and Mrs. Lawrence (1932). The three clergy who wrote were Thorvald Rykken, who served at the mission (and wrote two pamphlets, 1920s and 1931); O. E. Stavland, writing in Norwegian (1931); and Albert Holm, a recent graduate of Luther Theological Seminary (1935). With one exception, these writers were all second-generation Norwegian immigrants.

48 Mrs. I. D. Ylvisaker, "The Bethany Indian Mission," WMF pamphlet, 1921.

49 T. M. Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," WMF, n.d. [1920s], 1.

50 Ylvisaker, "The Bethany Indian Mission," 1921, 5.

51 Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," 1920s, 7.

52 Much has been written about alienation between Indian children at boarding schools and their relationships with parents and elders upon their return. See, for example, Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1998).

53 Lydia Bredesen Sundby, "Glimpses of the Bethany Indian Mission," WMF, 1929, 8.

54 Albert H. Holm, "The Red Man for Christ," WMF, 1935. Also see Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (June 1997), 625–44.

55 Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," 5. Rykken makes clear that the WMF helps to sell these baskets.

56 Sundby, "Glimpses," 2.

57 Ibid., 4. One might add—losing the land again. The policy of taxing Indians for their land was an outgrowth of the policy of assimilation, starting in 1887.

58 Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," 1920s, 10.

59 O. E. Stavland, "*Indianer Missionern*, Wittenberg, Wi," WMF, 1931, 7. Author's translation.

60 Mrs. J. Lawrence, "Bethany Indian Mission," 1932.

61 Ylvisaker, "The Bethany Indian Mission," 1921, 5.

62 Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," 1920s, 4–5.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid. He evokes the debate among missionaries on what to teach first, the Gospel or English. C. L. Higham reports that thinking on this changed over time: of course, English was a means to an end for missionaries.

65 Rykken, "Bethany Indian Mission," 1920s, 10.

66 Holm, "The Red Man for Christ," 1935, 14.

67 Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 4, argues that the divided responses often occurred when missions or economics affected men and women differently.

68 Interviews with Eleanor Johnson, Lillian Longtail, and Correne Soldier, May 29, 1998, at Ho-chunk Senior Center and July 9, 2005, Wittenberg, Wisconsin.

69 The Oneidas who moved West were led by Eleazar Williams, part Indian and an Episcopal lay reader; the move was financed by a land company seeking their New York land. The Oneida negotiated for land with Menominees, Winnebagos, and Chippewas in 1823. The present-day Oneida reservation was established in 1838 on part of the tract negotiated in 1823. See Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians*, 11.

70 Pearl Archiquette, 1921, 2.

71 Ibid., 1922, 2.

72 Ellen Hill, "Fruits of the Indian Mission," 1922, 4.

73 WMF Scrapbook, Women's Missionary Federation of the NLCA/ELC, ELCA Region Three Archives, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

74 See Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1966), 151–74, as well as the large body of literature that emerges from the "productive paradigm" that Kaplan describes in "Manifest Domesticity."

75 Mrs. E. G. W. Sihler, "Nancy Smith Palladeau," WMF, ca. 1938, in series Little Lutheran Biography (Minneapolis: WMF of the NCLA, 1938?).

76 Ibid., 5–8. Palladeau was Oneida, and her mother is described as "well grounded in the teachings of the Episcopal Church" (6); Nancy's husband was raised Catholic. Indigenous Wisconsin tribes (Ho-chunk, Dakota, and Menominee) with less exposure to missionaries were more resistant to Christianity, as is evident in the mission records.

77 Ibid., 11.

78 The paradigm of the nineteenth-century idealized woman includes submission as one of the cardinal virtues. This "virtue" is also present in non–Anglo American cultures, including indigenous ones. See Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth Century North America* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), esp. 105–24.

79 Sihler, "Palladeau," 12–14. Sihler describes the wedding couple as seen in a photograph: "Palladeaus made a fine looking couple and all the years have proved that they were as fine as they looked."

80 Ibid., 14–15.

81 In 1905 the Palladeaus were employed by the federal government, and in 1918, when the state sold the school, they were transferred to North Dakota. In 1921 they were asked to return to Bethany.

82 Sihler, "Palladeau," 26.

83 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 48.

NEW LIFE, NEW FAITH, NEW NATION, NEW WOMEN

Competing Models at the Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai

Sue Gronewold

In 1929 there was an important change at the Door of Hope Mission, a nondenominational rescue mission established in 1900 by Anglo-American missionaries in the International Settlement of Shanghai to save Chinese prostitutes. The bride doll, the most popular doll in a series made and sold at the mission since 1902, was updated. The traditional bride, in her red embroidered dress with beaded headgear hiding her face, was replaced by a more modern bride with a stylish hat that allowed her face to show.[1] Representing a month's careful work by trained residents of the Door of Hope, these dolls constitute material metaphors for the mission's reconstruction of girls. However, they can also be seen as embodiments of the multiple messages about womanhood presented to young Chinese women at the mission. By the 1930s, the dolls were being altered to conform to new icons of a changing China.

The Door of Hope, a mission to marginals in the semicolonial treaty port of Shanghai, stood in an uneasy relationship to its many worlds: elite Chinese officials and reformers, foreign treaty port businessmen and administrators, Anglo-American missionaries, Japanese imperialists, Christians increasingly divided between modernists and fundamentalists, and lower- and working-class Chinese women and their families who used the mission to further their own agendas. Located among the competing empires and nations that these worlds represented, the mission struggled, negotiating its own way to "save and transform, not merely reform" young