Dear Readers – Thank you in advance for your generosity in reading this and helping me think through my evidence and arguments. This is a stand-alone portion of a larger project that explores the participation of Marie Baldwin and several other women of color in the suffrage movement. It came together as I was thinking through her place in Washington, D.C.. I’d like to place it in a journal, but haven’t yet decided which one. If you have any thoughts on that front, I’m open to suggestion. I am looking forward to our conversation and your comments on the paper more broadly.

Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin (Ojibwa/French) was an urban woman long before she arrived in Washington, D.C.. She was born in Pembina, Dakota Territory (later North Dakota), near the Turtle Mountain reservation on December 14, 1863. Her father moved her family to Minneapolis when she was young. She initially attended local public schools, then enrolled at St. Joseph’s Academy in St. Paul. She continued her education in Canada at St. Johns Ladies College in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In her orbit between Pembina, Minneapolis and Winnipeg she was following the route of her métis ancestors for whom the national lines between the U.S. and Canada had cut a swath through their region of origin.\(^1\) Although they kept their residence in Minneapolis, the Bottineaus arrived in Washington in 1892, with Jean Baptiste Bottineau, Marie’s father, serving as the attorney for the Turtle Mountain Chippewa nation.

Washington’s economy was based on the presence of the federal government. A city of clerks and bureaucrats, it had little industry to speak of and little of the immigration it attracted or industrial labor strife that attended it. Washington’s business

\(^1\) Service Record 1 July 1911 in Personnel File, Marie Baldwin, National Personnel Record Center, St. Louise (hereafter PF, MB, NPRC)
was national governance, and that required an enormous number of clerks and white-collar workers. The federal government employed hundreds of thousands of people, many number of them were women. A considerable portion of civil servants were also not white. A large African American middle class developed in the city as a result of federal employment opportunities. At the same time, Washington was a city in the U.S. South, and therefore highly conscious of race relations between blacks and whites. For Native people like the Bottineaus, the city was the site of nation-to-nation diplomacy. There had always been Indians in Washington, but changes in federal Indian policy in the late nineteenth century brought increasing numbers to the city. A substantial group began to make D.C. their home, forming a significant community.

This essay maps Washington as experienced by Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin, who lived as a resident of the city for almost fifty years. The microhistory of her life there illuminates how living in Washington was shaped by race, class, and gender while also revealing how Native people created and claimed indigenous spaces in this imperial city and its hinterland. It uses her experiences to identify the Native spaces she helped create and infuse with meaning within the District as well as those that crystalized around other institutions outside the city to which she was connected by networks of bureaucracy, community and kinship. Notably, the hubs in Baldwin’s personal map were not unique to her story; many key indigenous spaces were shared and shaped by her

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3 Unlike several of her contemporary indigenous Washingtonians, Baldwin did not leave an archive of papers. We have only glimpses into her everyday life in the city that come through newspaper articles, censuses, city directories, and her employment records, but those glimpses offer us a great deal of information, especially for the first three decades of the twentieth century.
friends and colleagues who made up the indigenous community living in and visiting the city.

Powerful cultural ideas about Indians suggested (and continue to suggest) that they were (and are) not urban. In nineteenth-century anthropological models, cities stood at the top of the hierarchy of civilization. Indians were imagined to be below that in pastoral or agricultural societies. Moreover, most non-Natives assumed that Indian people were vanishing—either melting into American society and assimilating or, when unable to assimilate, simply dying out. These ideas also influenced scholars. Until recently, few studied the urban Indian experience and those who did focused on the mid-twentieth century, beginning with the federal termination and relocation policies of the 1950s. This view of Indians in the city as a recent phenomenon has been challenged by historians such as Coll Thrush who insists that not only were urban places Native spaces before they were cities, but that Native people continued to inhabit and engage those spaces throughout their histories, not just in the mid-twentieth century. Following Thrush’s lead,

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scholars such as Nicholas Rosenthal and Myla Vincenti Carpio have also demonstrated that vibrant urban Indian communities existed in the western cities before mid-century.⁶

For Washington, D.C., as with other eastern cities, these ideas about the absence of Indians are even more powerful.⁷ This has meant that there is very little historiography. Work on indigenous Washington has tended to focus on the artistic representations of Indians; very little has explored the lives of actual people. Three decades ago, Herman Viola documented the presence of numerous Native diplomatic parties in the capital, but no one followed his lead until recently, when Joseph Genetin-Pilawa’s as yet unpublished work began to explore the longstanding and continuing history of indigenous people in Washington. As he argues the city’s role as the capital city of an imperial nation meant that Native people, symbolic and real, occupied important spaces in the city and its imagination throughout its history.⁸

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⁸ Herman Viola, Diplomats in Buckskin: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City (University of Oklahoma Press, 1981, 1995) and Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, “The Indians’ Capital City” in progress. Coll Thrush’s new work also explores the experiences indigenous people in an imperial capital, see Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire (forthcoming Yale UP). James Rice has thoroughly documented the peoples indigenous to the place that became Washington, D.C.. Nature and History in the
While still focused on the postwar period, scholars of Native America have theorized the indigenous urban experiences and offered new models for exploring them that apply more broadly across time. They reveal how indigenous people come together in urban spaces to nurture their cultural ties to specific reservation communities as well as to form new intertribal urban communities. Winnebago/Ojibwe ethnographer Renya Ramirez and her collaborators have developed the idea of “Native hubs” to describe the relationship of indigenous people to their communities: “Like hubs on a wheel…urban Indians occupy the center connected to their tribal communities by social networks represented by the wheel’s spokes.” But hubs can also be temporary spaces, “gathering sites” within cities or along social networks where people converge to reinforce cultural ties to their cultures, communities and tribal lands. Historian Kent Blansett similarly identifies particular “Indian institutions” within cities such as Indian bars or community centers. These are spaces claimed by Native people where their populations are too small for coherent neighborhoods. Instead, people gather in particular spaces, fostering an intertribal community of urban Indians.9

Both Indian institutions and Native hubs depend upon movement. They are created when people come together, forge and nurture relationships, and exchange knowledge that is then carried to other parts of Indian Country. Blansett and Ramirez

focus on the Bay Area in the period after World War II, but the institutions and hubs can vary depending upon the city and the historical moment.

In the first half of the century urban life was intrinsically different from that in the second half because cities were at a distinct phase in their development. The early twentieth century is well known among historians as the moment that the nation’s urban population surpassed its rural counterpart. It is also the period of the African American Great Migration to northern cities. It is therefore not surprising that some Native people joined this movement to cities as well.

People’s experiences of cities were also shaped by their sex. Many previous studies have focused primarily on the urban experiences of Native men. A few scholars have challenged historians to explore Native women’s experiences in cities, but there has been little response until recently. Native women’s urban spaces and activities sometimes overlapped with those of Native men, but often differed. And gendered divisions of urban space become even more relevant when looking at the early twentieth century. At that time, especially for the middle class, the ideology of separate spheres still operated and people’s experiences of urban spaces were highly gendered.

\[\text{References}\]


11 Susan Applegate Krouse and Heather Howard challenged scholars initially as a special issue of AIQ (2003) and then an edited volume, *Keeping the Campfires Going: Native women’s Activism in Urban Communities* (University of Nebraska, 2009). Ramirez does focus on women as key to cultural survival.

City spaces were also raced in multiple ways. Recent work on African Americans in Washington, D.C., by Kate Masur and Eric Yellin has demonstrated the important role federal employment played in creating a middle-class African American community in the city. It similarly opened opportunities for some Native people. Likewise, Maser’s research displays how a deep biographical study can illuminate the networks and strategies used by non-white women to navigate the capital city. Indigenous feminist geographer Mishuana Goeman (Seneca) likewise urges scholars to map Native women’s lives. She argues that they will lead us to unexpected places and in the process illuminate the erasure of Native women from our historical narratives.

At the center of Marie Bottineau Baldwin’s map of Washington, D.C., sat the federal Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). That was the case for most Native residents and visitors to the capital. As the agency charged with liaising between the federal government and Native nations the OIA occupied both mental and physical space in indigenous maps. But Baldwin’s life also reveals other significant urban spaces, including the legal spaces of the city’s courts and legislative halls, anthropological and scientific spaces of the Smithsonian Institute, discursive space in the capital’s newspaper columns and gossip, and the intensely indigenous space of the Society of American


13 Most studies of race in Washington, D.C., focus on African Americans. For example, Eric S. Yellin, Racism in the Nation’s Service: Government Workers and the Color Line in Woodrow Wilson’s America (University of North Carolina Press, 2013) and Kate Masur, “ Patronage and Protest in Kate Brown’s Washington,” JAH (March 2013).

Indians headquarters. In addition to helping create many indigenous hubs in the District, Baldwin challenged the gendered and raced nature of the city’s spaces with her political activism, especially her participation in the mainstream feminist movement and the Society of American Indians (SAI). Her life also reveals that the map of indigenous Washington stretched out across the country, with Native Washingtonians’ movements serving as the connective tissue to many other hubs.

Native people were no strangers to Washington, D.C., in the late nineteenth century. The city’s position as the nation’s capital and the unique nation-to-nation relationship between Native nations and the United States made the capital the preeminent hub in indigenous political maps. Many people arrived as diplomatic visitors and some stayed as attachés for their nations. When diplomatic parties arrived, the Indian Office coordinated various visits to military sites, such as the Navy Yard, and trips to the theater to impress them, often following a prescribed set of visits. But there were certain spaces in the city where they congregated, especially the Indian Office and the Smithsonian. It was with one such diplomatic mission in 1892 that Marie Bottineau Baldwin arrived in the capital city with her father, Jean Baptiste Bottineau. Chief Little Shell and other Chippewa leaders at Turtle Mountain had assigned him to go to Washington and contest the agreement of 1892, which they contemptuously referred to as the “ten-cent treaty.” Bottineau, an attorney, brought his daughter, who had been

16 In 1904 Congress approved an agreement that offered no increase in the size of the reservation (which had been shrunk from the ten-million acres claimed by the tribe to just over forty-six thousand), the government also refused to reinstate the métis members of the tribe who had been dropped from the tribal rolls, and it paid $1 million dollars for the ten-million acre claim. The latter gave it the nickname, “Ten Cent Treaty,” as it offered only ten cents per acre. Charlie White Weasel, *Pembina and Turtle Mountain Ojibway*
serving as his law clerk at his office in Minneapolis. It is also possible that she traveled with him to Turtle Mountain, where he was expelled from the reservation by the agent who worried that Bottineau’s knowledge of law was helping tribal leaders resist the unfair treaty settlement. At that time the federal commission dropped Bottineau, along with many other métis, from the tribal rolls. For the next decade and a half Marie and her father focused on protecting Turtle Mountain sovereignty. Bottineau testified before Congress, coordinated and even paid for visits by Turtle Mountain diplomatic delegations, and hired other lawyers to help him with the case. It is unclear how often Marie Baldwin was directly involved in such things as Congressional hearings, but as her father’s clerk, she had intimate knowledge of all his dealings. Those Congressional hearings were generally male spaces, though she may have watched from the women’s


17 He had a history as a tribal advocate. See Jno. B. Bottineau (Member of the Tribe) Northern Dakota Territory (Washington: Thor. J. Brashears, Printer, 1878). In 1883 he wrote to the Minnesota Globe to “relieve the minds of the public of all prejudice incited by the Pioneer and the Journal.” “A Correction,” The St. Paul Daily Globe 16 November 1883 p. 6.


19 For a letter from the chiefs asking Bottineau to continue the fight and to find money to bring them to D.C., “even if you have to do so yourself, as you have done, to bring our delegation to Washington, the last time we were there, in May and June, 1896,” see Turtle Mountain Band of Pembina Chippewa Indians: Mr. Kyle presented the following petition and memorial of Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, in the state of North Dakota, praying for the reference of their claim to the court Senate Document No. 154 55th Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington: GPO, 1898), 26. For articles on Bottineau’s work, see, “The Chippewa Commission” The Daily Globe, (St. Paul, Minn.), 5 December 1894 p. 1; “Dar Hall is Cute” The Daily Globe, (St. Paul, Minn.), 31 May 1893; and “About People” The National Tribune (Washington, D.C.)15 June 1893, p. 5.
gallery.\textsuperscript{20} Most Native diplomatic parties also stayed in specific hotels and much business was transacted in bars.\textsuperscript{21} Neither of those would have been ideal spaces for respectable women, and Marie Baldwin certainly claimed respectability. But we don’t know the extent of either her or her father’s participation because his papers were stolen upon his death.\textsuperscript{22}

Federal Indian relations shifted in the post-Civil War era and reshaped the bureaucracy of the Office of Indian Affairs, a change that had a major impact on the indigenous community in Washington. The government began to emphasize a policy of assimilation by implementing programs designed to destroy Native nations as political and cultural entities, dividing communally held reservation land, and developing a large-scale educational system meant to erase Native cultures. In 1879 the federal government established the first off-reservation boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and by 1902 there were twenty-five such schools throughout the nation.\textsuperscript{23} Many of the students trained in those schools took jobs in the growing bureaucracy of the Indian Service in schools and reservation agencies across the country, including at the OIA Office in Washington, D.C..\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{20} During the coming decades a number of Native women would testify. For example, Rosa La Flesche “Carlisle Indian School” \textit{Hearings Before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States} Friday, Feb. 6, 1914, p. 965-70. See also Gertrude Bonnin’s testimony “Indians Seek [Peyote]: Attend Senate Committee Meeting on Importation of Religious Liquor” \textit{The Evening Star} 30 January 1918, 12.
\textsuperscript{21} See Viola, \textit{Diplomats in Buckskin}, 128-130.
\textsuperscript{23} David Wallace Adams, \textit{Education for Extinction} (Univ. of Kansas Press, 1995), 57.
\textsuperscript{24} The first Native clerk in D.C. was Francis LaFlesche (Omaha) in 1881 though Ely Parker (Seneca) had served as President Grant’s Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1869 to 1871. On Parker, See Genetin-Pilawa, \textit{Confining Indians}. On expanding bureaucracy and federal hiring policies, see Cahill, \textit{Federal Fathers and Mothers}. 
New federal positions played a key role in creating an indigenous community in the city. Although Marie Baldwin began her stay in Washington fighting for Turtle Mountain sovereignty, by 1904, the same year Congress settled the treaty claims in its own favor, she had became an employee of the Indian Office, joining the ranks of clerks employed in the city.\(^{25}\) As a federal employee, she was part of a small but growing number of other Native people in the city who held similar positions. The stability and salary of these jobs meant that they constituted a middle-class cohort. They joined a much larger community of civil servants in the District. The year before Baldwin took her position, the executive departments of the federal government alone employed 25,675 workers, of whom 6,882 were women.\(^{26}\)

Over the course of Baldwin’s career, her colleagues in the Washington Indian Office included many names familiar to historians, including Francis La Fleche (Omaha), Charles Dagenett (Miami/French), and Rosa Bourassa LaFleche (Ojibwa). Others are less familiar, such as Rilla Meek (Sac and Fox) and Agnes Wright (Chippewa).\(^{27}\) Still other indigenous people worked for the federal government in different capacities, such as Gabe Parker (Choctaw), who served as Register of the Treasury from 1913 to 1914 or J.N.B. Hewitt (Tuscarora/Scotch) who worked in the Bureau of Ethnology.\(^{28}\) Many of these federal employees became good friends of Baldwin’s. For example, when Parker left the city in 1915 to take a position as an Indian agency superintendent in Oklahoma,

\(^{25}\) Baldwin received a clerical appointment in the OIA by executive order. 
\(^{26}\) Aron, *Ladies and Gentlemen*, 5. 
\(^{27}\) On Meek see *A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772-1924* Ed. Dan Littlefield and James Parins, (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1985) 91 and on Wright see *Carlisle Arrow* Dec 6, 1912, vol. ix, no. 14, p 3.. 
\(^{28}\) According to the 1896 *Washington City Directory* the Bureau of American Ethnology was in the Adams Building at 1333 F St. NW.
five people, including Baldwin, Dagenett, and Rilla Meek, sent him a note of good luck, calling it “a word from the little band of ‘Redskins’ in Washington, D.C. of whom you have been a devoted, loyal member[.]”

Several legislators of Native descent also lived in Washington at this time including Representatives Charles D. Carter (Choctaw) and W.W. Hastings (Cherokee) from Oklahoma, Senator Robert I. Owen (Cherokee) of Oklahoma, and Kansas Senator Charles Curtis (Kaw-Osage), who became the U.S. vice-president in 1928. Another Native woman, Eunice Stabler (Omaha), moved to Washington to work on Curtis’ staff, and her family moved with her. Indeed, many of these legislators moved to Washington with their families, constituting a small but close-knit community in the nation’s capital.

This cohort occupied a visible position in D.C. social life and often appeared in the local papers. This media presence reminded Washingtonians of the persistence of indigenous people in the nation. For example, one 1915 article in the “Feature Section” of the Washington Herald announced “‘First Families’ in the Social Register Now Proud to Trace Descent from Pocahontas and the Other Real First Families.” The article named Marie Baldwin in the group, as well as:

Miss Dorothy Owen, daughter of Senator Owen [who] is granddaughter of the late Narcissa Chisholm Owen, a Cherokee accomplished in art. Mrs. J.S. Davenport, wife of the representative from Oklahoma, belongs to the Shawnee tribe, and is the great-great-great-granddaughter of Tecumseh. Mrs. William H.

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29 Letter to Gabe Parker, Society of American Indian Papers Microfilm Reel 5 Series 1 #913 (hereafter SAI Papers). The other signers were Ida Riley and H. Doxtater. (The Washington football team using the same name, did not locate to the city until 1937). Baldwin also visited Hampton with Mrs. Riley, Miss Rilla Meek and two others (described as a “party of Indians”) The Southern Workman Vol. XLV No. 7 (July 1916) 436.
31 Elaine Nelson is working on an edited volume of Stabler’s writings (in progress).
Murray is a Chickasaw; her uncle was one of the last tribal chiefs. Misses Stella, Italy, and Julia Carter, daughters of representative Charles D. Carter, inherit Chickasaw and Cherokee blood from their father. Misses Lucille and Georgia Parker and their brother, Gabe E. Parker, register of the treasury, are Choctaws. Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin, a Winnebago (sic), is connected with the legal division of the Indian Bureau.”

These articles, focused as they were on well-educated urban Indians, may have given Washingtonians a skewed idea of Native life. When Francis La Flesche and Rosa Bourassa La Flesche divorced, the papers prominently covered the split bringing it into the public space of Washington gossip. For example, one headline informed readers, “Indian Answers Wife’s Divorce Bill: Husband Belongs to Omaha Tribe and Spouse is a Chippewa.” The coverage also revealed a good deal about Francis’ finances when Rosa sued her husband for support a year later. In her suit Bourassa alleged that LaFlesche should offer more spousal support although he had pleaded limited resources, claiming only a clerk’s salary. She countered that he also owned stock in the Capital Traction Company and the Washington RR and Electric Company, received royalties from his book (most likely *The Middle Five*), and received income from his Western property and an annuity as a member of the Omaha nation. LaFlesche’s investment in the city’s infrastructural businesses mirrored the actions of his fellow clerks, male and female, many of whom also invested in the city’s real estate. Such investments were a way to leverage a clerk’s salary into a better economic position. Other Native people in the city

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34 “Indian Answers Wife’s Divorce Bill: Husband Belongs to Omaha Tribe and Spouse is a Chippewa” *The Washington Times* 12 August 1907.
speculated in real estate as well, including Captain Raymond Bonnin and Marie Baldwin. Her name appears in several articles regarding real estate transactions. While this can be read as a pattern among her fellow Washingtonians, she also followed in the family business, as her father and grandfather had both engaged in real estate speculation in Minnesota in their time. Either way, such ventures were unusual for most indigenous people in the U.S. who lived on under federal supervision on reservations and were not allowed to control their own property or access their bank accounts.

Although these indigenous Washingtonians did not constitute their own “ethnic” neighborhood, many of them did live in the East Capital district. Baldwin and her father had a house at 212 A St. NE, just two blocks from the home where Francis LaFlesche and Alice Fletcher (and, briefly, Rosa Bourassa LaFlesche) lived. When Charles Dagenett moved back to Washington in 1914, he lived around the corner at 100 E. Capital Street. J.N.B. Hewitt also lived in the neighborhood; after Jean Bottineau’s death in 1911 Hewitt rented the house from Marie Baldwin. He continued to live there and became very active in the nearby Ingram Memorial Church, serving as an elder. In fact, of all the

35 See US Census 1920, which lists Bonnin’s occupation as “real estate.” On female real estate investment, see Constance Green, Washington, Capital City, 1879-1950.
36 The 1900 federal census lists her address as 315 A St. NE. She was living with her father and nephew (his grandson), Earl Nichols. In the 1910 census, she is listed at 518 H. St. in a neighborhood with many other government clerks. She had a boarder, a woman from SC, who worked as a stenographer in the Land Office. By 1911 her father was living at 212 A St. NE. She has some sort of real estate transaction with the 212 A St. NE home in 1922, see Washington Post 6 May 1922.
Native people in this essay, only Gabe Parker seemed to live out in the streetcar suburbs at the edge of Washington.

Though she remained connected to the East Capital neighborhood through friendships, social institutions, and possibly real estate investments, by 1904, the year she began working for the OIA, Baldwin had moved to a neighborhood roughly three blocks from the Office of Indian Affairs at 7th and F Street NW. It was an exciting part of the city in which to live. 7th street, along the east side of the Patent Office Building, was “the principal downtown retail shopping corridor.”\(^{39}\) And Baldwin enjoyed taking advantage of those opportunities as well as the other amenities offered by a bustling modern city. She frequented the Lansburgh & Bros. Department Store, located across the street from one of her apartments, as well as a nearby confectioners shop, and had a good relationship with her neighborhood grocer.\(^{40}\) When the Ingram Memorial Church’s gymnasium began offering swimming lessons to women, she was on the list of participants. Baldwin was Catholic, but her friendship with Hewitt, a member of Ingram Memorial, likely influenced her participation.\(^ {41}\) She relished the activities and fads available in the city, taking advantage of the opportunities to swim, ice-skate, and even fly in an airplane.\(^ {42}\)


\(^{40}\) She included all three as references for the OIA. Service Record 1 July 1911 PF, MB, NPRC. The other references included W.F.R. Phillips, Dean Medical Dept., George Washington University and Prof. L. Adolph Richards, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, MD, and Belmont Academy, DC. It is unclear how she knew these two men, though Richards was an amateur historian and they may have attended the same events.

\(^{41}\) “Mermaids Invade Church” in *Washington Herald*, 18 June 1914, p.5.

At the time, Washington was a walkable city. It had a streetcar system that allowed for some further movement, but many people lived near their workplaces; Baldwin definitely preferred it. During her residence in the city she moved several times, but she always lived in fairly close proximity to her workplace, and walked to and from her house each day.\textsuperscript{43} In 1917 when the Department of the Interior moved out of the Patent Office Building to its new headquarters in Foggy Bottom, Baldwin also moved. She took a new apartment in the neighborhood behind the White House, again within walking distance of her employment.\textsuperscript{44}

As I’ve detailed elsewhere, Baldwin’s very presence worked to indigenize the space of the Indian Office.\textsuperscript{45} Native visitors almost always visited the Commissioner who was the official liaison of the United States with tribal governments. But many of the Native people who lived in Washington worked there, and others visited on a more casual basis as well. For example, Rosa Bourassa La Flesche noted that she had learned of an open position from one of the clerks while she was calling at the office.\textsuperscript{46} Many of these visitors also stopped to talk with Baldwin. In 1918, one of her superiors complained that although she was a good worker, she was “interrupted a great deal by various visiting

\textsuperscript{43} She requested retirement due to a hip injury that kept her from walking to work. See “Application for Retirement Card” Feb. 1932, PF MB NPRC.
\textsuperscript{44} Robertson, \textit{Temple of Invention}, 81. In 1932, she was living at 1819 G St NW Apt#813, just two blocks from the Department of the Interior. “Application for Retirement Card,” Feb. 1932. PF MB NPRC.
\textsuperscript{46} Personnel File Rosa Bourassa NPRC. See also “Indian Answers Wife’s Divorce Bill: Husband Belongs to Omaha Tribe and Spouse is a Chippewa” \textit{The Washington Times} 12 August 1907.
Indians.\textsuperscript{47} As time went on, more Native people became employees of the Washington Office increasing the number of Native people in the building on a regular basis; and many became good friends with Baldwin. Together, the Native diplomats, visitors, and employees in the Indian Office reminded the non-Native officials of their charge to work for Native people.

The Smithsonian Institute became another important hub in the early twentieth century. Many Native visitors and residents also had links to the anthropological work of the government. Most diplomatic groups visited the Smithsonian to see the portraits of previous delegations, and often sat for their own portraits and later photographs. Native residents of the city also engaged in the anthropological conversations in the capital.\textsuperscript{48} Non-Native interest in anthropology and the Native past gave them a space in which they had a voice and sometimes professional prestige—this despite the overall agenda of the anthropological profession, which focused on salvage anthropology and denied Native people a place in the modern world. Baldwin and her colleagues countered that characterization with their presence and assertions of special knowledge of the subject; they insisted on the place of Native people in the nation’s historical narrative. Francis La Flesche was an employee of the Indian Office as was his non-Native collaborator, Alice Fletcher, who was also an ethnological consultant for the Bureau of Ethnology and other ethnographic projects.\textsuperscript{49} In 1911, they co-published a study on the Omaha through the

\textsuperscript{47} Baldwin, Efficiency Report, April 1, 1918, PF MB NPRC.
\textsuperscript{48} Joe Genetin-Pilawa personal conversations and several conference papers.
\textsuperscript{49} See Chronology of the Life of Alice Fletcher at http://www.nmnh.si.edu/naa/fa/fletcher_la_flesche.htm#chronology1
Bureau of Ethnology that received praise from a local Washington paper.\(^{50}\) They were also members of the city’s Anthropological Society. The society elected Fletcher president in 1903, and it chose La Flesche vice-president in 1912. The society elected a second Native man to a governing position at the same 1912 meeting when they chose J.N.B. Hewitt as their treasurer.\(^{51}\)

Hewitt, also an employee of the Bureau of Ethnology specializing in Native languages, was a close friend of Baldwin and her father, perhaps especially of Bottineau’s. They had collaborated on a project regarding Chippewa cultural practices, corresponding about language and clan descent.\(^{52}\) Baldwin and Hewitt’s friendship continued after her father’s death. When Bottineau passed away in 1911, they co-wrote his obituary.\(^{53}\) As mentioned above, Hewitt also rented Bottineau’s house from Baldwin. She, too, appears to have collaborated with Hewitt, and perhaps learned from him as well. She wrote a biographical article on Hewitt for the Society of American Indians’ journal, which, along with her surviving addresses to the SAI, suggest that she was well-versed in current anthropological knowledge.\(^{54}\)

Indeed, Baldwin had a passion for history, though conversations about Native history were primarily relegated to the field of anthropology at the time. She celebrated both her Native and European heritage, and predicated many of her later political and


\(^{52}\) Correspondence btw Hewitt and Bottineau. Smithsonian Archives, Washington, DC


feminist arguments on historical claims and precedent. She held a membership in the Minnesota Historical Society and upon her father’s death donated two portraits to the institution: one of her father and the second of her grandfather, the famous surveyor and town-builder Pierre Bottineau.\textsuperscript{55} She herself was an avid collector of Indian art and lent her substantial collection for display in the Department of Interior Library in 1929. She attended the American Historical Association meeting when that organization convened in Washington in 1915 and was a member of the North Dakota State Association of the District. For the latter, she served on the organizing committee for the twentieth-eighth anniversary celebration of North Dakota’s admission to statehood in 1917.\textsuperscript{56}

In 1918, Baldwin and many of the Native Washingtonians collaborated with Louise Seymour Houghton on her history, \textit{Our Debt to the Red Man: The French-Indians in the Development of the United States}. Houghton featured Baldwin, Arthur Parker, J.N.B. Hewitt, Gertrude Bonnin, Gabe Parker, Charles Dagenett, and the Reverend Philip Gordon (all but Arthur Parker and Gordon lived in Washington at one point or another) in the book. She also acknowledged her debt of gratitude to them for their assistance. As the title suggested, Houghton and her collaborators insisted that indigenous people had contributed to U.S. history and deserved a positive place in the nation’s narrative, not merely as obstacles for the nation to overcome on its way to greatness, but as important shapers of the nation who likewise had a future in it.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Annual Report for the American Historical Association for the year 1915} (Washington, 1917) 82 and “North Dakotans Celebrate” \textit{The Washington Times} 23 February 1917, 4.
Marie Baldwin also used photography to shape the narrative about Native people’s place in a modern world, in a modern city. As I have argued elsewhere, she deliberately used the civil service requirement to submit a photograph to indigenize her personnel file. She also left several intriguing photographs of herself in “Indian dress” in the Smithsonian, crafting a particular statement about herself for the archive. It is unclear why she sat for these portraits, but one also features J.N.B. Hewitt standing over her in a suit and tie. Anthropological in style, the photograph offers a puzzle. Is this a portrait of two Native people playing with the genre at the very center of American anthropology? Or were they more serious? And if so, what purpose did the photos serve? Perhaps, Baldwin asked Hewitt to take a “before” picture of her, as newspapers often ran similar images.

As we have already seen, Native people often found themselves in the legislative spaces of Congress as a result of their treaty relations with the United States. This legal relationship meant that U.S. courts were another institution in which Native people were familiar visitors. Indeed, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa valued Jean Bottineau because he knew the language of law and could wield it in their interests. Not surprisingly, many of Marie Baldwin’s indigenous friends and acquaintances, as well as Baldwin herself, trained in the field of law, including Francis La Flesche, Dennison Wheelock (Oneida), Raymond Bonnin (Nakota), Senator Charles Curtis (Kaw/Pottawattamie), Gus Bealiueau (Ojibewa) and Thomas Sloan (Omaha). Sloan, later the president of the Society of

58 The portrait by Gil De Lancy is in SIRIS catalogue of the Smithsonian under the title “Portrait of Mary L. Baldwin and J.N.B. Hewitt May 1914” NAA INV 06133900 OPPS NEG 00460. Baldwin’s pictures are listed under “Mary Baldwin.” See also Cahill, “Marie Bottineau Baldwin: Indigenizing the Indian Service” AIQ.
American Indians, had first arrived in Washington as a tribal delegate. Baldwin was the only woman in that group and it was her residence in Washington, D.C., that made it possible.

It was as the result of a lawsuit that two of the major themes in Marie Baldwin’s life may have first overlapped: the law and mainstream feminism. In 1909 her father entered into a lawsuit against two non-Native attorneys with whom he had contracted to help him in the fight over the Turtle Mountain Chippewas’ treaty. From 1892 to 1901, Bottineau had fought for greater compensation for the tribe, often spending his own funds to do so. In 1901, he brought in ex-Congressman O’Grady and another non-Native attorney, Maddox, thinking their political connections would help the case. Bottineau entered into a contract with them that transferred his power of attorney for the tribe to them. They agreed to pay him a certain percentage of fees if Congress only paid the million dollars or another certain percentage if Congress allocated more. They then quickly settled for the million dollars and refused to pay Bottineau. When the lower court ruled in Bottineau’s favor, O’Grady and Maddox appealed the ruling. To represent him, Bottineau hired none other than Belva Lockwood, a former presidential candidate and the most famous female lawyer in America.

Belva Lockwood was known for being the first woman to be admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court (1879). But being a female attorney was difficult, and she had to

make ends meet.\textsuperscript{61} She discovered a career niche for herself in Indian claims cases. That she chose this niche again indicates the frequency of Native people in the courts of law in Washington. In 1875 Lockwood had taken a case for Jim Taylor (Cherokee), lobbyist for the Eastern Band of Cherokee, and successfully argued his case in the Court of Claims. Taylor and Lockwood made a deal in which he would bring her Native clients and she would give him a cut of the fees. She represented the Eastern and Emigrant Cherokees in their lawsuit against the U.S., a case that required her to do years of research into treaty rights. It was for that case that in 1906 she argued before the Supreme Court for the second time in her career.\textsuperscript{62} Three years later, she took J.B. Bottineau’s case, using her familiarity with treaty rights and claims to her advantage. Indeed, Bottineau won his case. At this time, courtrooms were predominately male space. Attorneys, judges, and jurors were men. But, Lockwood’s presence offered a different vision. Baldwin, who testified during the case, may have been inspired as she watched Lockwood work as a peer with two male lawyers.\textsuperscript{63}

Lockwood was not the only woman challenging the gendered space of the law in 1909. That year same, the Washington College of Law (WCL), which had been founded in 1896, moved into its new building on 1317 New York Avenue, where it remained until 1916. It was a short streetcar ride from Baldwin’s residence. This part of the city was home to hotels, churches, and a number of educational institutions including Columbian

\textsuperscript{61} Lockwood became the first woman to argue a case before the Supreme Court in 1880. Jill Norgren, \textit{Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President}, (NYU Press, 2007), 81-83, 86-88, 106.
\textsuperscript{62} Diana Klebanow and Franklin L. Jones, \textit{People’s Lawyers: Crusaders for Justice in American History} (Routledge, 2002) 32-35. See also Norgren, \textit{Belva Lockwood}
\textsuperscript{63} Maddux v. Bottineau in \textit{Reports of cases adjudged in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia}, 119-130
University, Ralston University, The Drillery Business College, and the National Law
School. These schools catered to the city’s clerical workers who hoped at degree would
aid them in passing a civil service exam or gaining a promotion. The women who
founded WCL as a co-educational institution did so because “none of the white law
schools admitted women.” Given the school’s mission to train female lawyers, it is not
surprising that it became a center of the city’s feminist movement as well. The presence
of numerous women working as civil servants who often encountering a glass ceiling on
promotion or harassment on the job led many of those same women to participate in the
federal workforce’s labor movement. These circumstances invigorated the feminist
movement in the nation’s capital.

Marie Baldwin joined these currents when she enrolled in the WCL in 1912. It is
likely that her father’s death also contributed to her decision because she enrolled the fall
following his passing. She was forty-nine years old. Despite working full time at the
Indian Office and her growing involvement with the Society of American Indians (as will
be discussed below), her experience as her father’s law clerk helped her finish the three-
year course in only two years.

While at the school, Baldwin was at a hub of mainstream feminist activities and
became quite involved, culminating in her participation in the famous 1913 suffrage
parade held the day before Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration. There were even rumors
that she was going to help create a float representing Native women and feminism. One

64 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Washington, District of Columbia, (Sanborn Map
65 Ellen Spencer Mussey, “The Law and the Lady” Suffragist, Vol. VIII No. 5 (June,
1920) 93-94.
66 Amy E. Butler, Two Paths to Equality: Alice Paul and Ethel M. Smith in the ERA
paper attributed that idea to the “Ladies at the Indian Office,” which may have included Baldwin, but most certainly involved her non-Native colleague, Florence Etheridge, also a graduate of the WCL and one of the instigators of the parade. Another non-Native Indian Office employee, Mrs. Cora Bacon-Foster, also participated in the parade that day.67 It seems likely that these three colleagues would have discussed their plans at work, maybe even spending their lunch hours planning the bold action. After graduation Baldwin remained connected to the feminists from WCL. She returned for alumni dinners and supported efforts to place women in judicial positions in Washington. Indeed, this work became successful when her colleague, Etheridge, received an appointment as probate attorney for the Indian Office, though she had to transfer to Oklahoma. Although Baldwin herself does not seem to have practiced law, her degree from the school may have helped her advance in the Indian Office as she was promoted to supervise three white male clerks.

But her enrollment at WCL reminds us that Baldwin worked hard to keep certain racial lines drawn. For all their forward thinking about gender, when it came to race, the women of the WCL were no better than their white neighbors: the school did not accept African American students. Washington was a culturally Southern city, one which informally leaned toward segregation. After the Civil War the federal government had an integrated workforce until Woodrow Wilson changed long-standing policy in 1913 by signing a bill that segregated federal workplaces. In fact, the WCL was not the first law school in the city to accept women; Howard University, the traditionally black college

had co-ed law classes, but Baldwin did not enroll there. She did not want her race to be confused in any way. On most census forms, Baldwin is categorized as white (and in a few cases, the enumerator, perhaps at her insistence, or maybe their own, crossed out “Ind” for Indian and replaced it with “W” for white. In 1920, the enumerator even crossed out “Ojibwa,” which they had listed under language spoken by mother and father. Most of the Native people in this article likewise appear as white in the census despite being quite proud of their indigenous heritage and participating in “Indian” organizations. Like Baldwin, they often appeared in local and national papers as exemplary “members of their race.” Perhaps it was this concern with race that led her to complain of the employment of an African American doctor in the Indian Service in 1913. Like many white ethnics in the United States, perhaps Baldwin was using African Americans to assert her place in the nation’s racial hierarchies. With the changes that Wilson had brought to the federal service, whiteness, or rather non-blackness, mattered greatly, especially for federal employees. And yet Baldwin was not white, nor did she try to pass (which she clearly could have given the census evidence). Instead, she celebrated both her indigenous and French heritage. While Baldwin continued to identify as a feminist, she put her political energy toward another cause, that of race work in the Society of American Indians.

The Society of American Indians (SAI), a group of middle-class, well-educated Native people who advocated for race pride and sought to address the major issues facing

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68 Baldwin in 1920 census, accessed via ancestry.com
69 Linda Waggoner, *Firelight*, 199-200; See also personnel file of Edward J. Davis NPRC
Indians, first met in Columbus, Ohio in 1911.\footnote{Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for American Indian Identity*} At that inaugural meeting, they resolved to open a Washington, D.C., office to oversee various pieces of legislation affecting Indian affairs and to cooperate with the federal Indian Office. They chose room 106 in the Barrister Building at 6th and F St, one block from the Patent Office building that housed the Indian Office. Of all the public spaces frequented by indigenous people in Washington, this one was most resolutely Native space. Moreover, it was a space primarily inhabited by Native women. Native people, the voting members of the SAI, controlled everything about the office: its location, its interior arrangement and decoration, and its function. It became a comfortable site for indigenous visitors to Washington, as well as a conceptual space that occupied the imagination of Indian country; an office that watched the watchers. The office contained the working space of the Society’s administrator as well as the Society’s publications. After she became treasurer of the association, Marie Baldwin kept her law library in the office.\footnote{“Realty Firm Widens Field” *Washington Herald* 8 October 1910 p 9. Was she in the building when Johnny Reynolds “Human Caterpillar” climbed the building with his bare hands? *The Washington Herald*, 16 September 1917, 2.}

Over the years it also acquired other features including a collection of Native art. By 1915 visitors could purchase Indian-made items such as a “blanket,…water jar or beaded band” from the Sales Department. This “rare supply of native goods of fine quality, all useful and made for use” were advertised in the Society’s journal as an opportunity for Native artists to bypass middlemen and sell fairly and directly to the public.\footnote{“The Bulletin Board,” *Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 2 June 1915, 114.} Baldwin herself avidly collected Native art and perhaps she had suggested this idea. The following year, the office walls saw a new addition when *Life* magazine...
donated a framed painting by Irish-born artist Powers O’Malley to the Society. The painting, “The Descent of Man,” which had graced the cover of the magazine in 1914, showed “an Indian college boy surrounded by the furnishings of his ‘frat house’ quarters.” In the wreath of smoke from his cigarette, he imagines warriors on horseback and seems to meditate on his place “between two worlds.” The Society’s magazine reported that “a small host of red Americans admire the picture and appreciate the work[.]” The journal also suggested an interpretation that may have resonated with many of those who viewed the piece in Washington: “There is perplexity in the Indian’s face—shall he go forward to a professorship and into a profession and win a banker’s daughter, or shall he fly back to the plains and become the warrior-horseman, the wise man of the tribe, the free wanderer of wide stretching prairies?...What Indian who has conned his books within the ivied walls of ‘dormitory hall’ has not had a flash of appreciation for the old life and with a choked sigh turned his face forward?”

Among the SAI’s well-educated, professional founders, many of whom lived in Washington, these questions may indeed have echoed their own.

The SAI office was also significantly female much of the time. Baldwin did the work of the treasurer there, collecting and recording dues. She also helped the organization’s secretary, Arthur C. Parker, who lived in Albany, New York, by coordinating the mailing of the Society’s journal from the office. Several Chippewa women the Society hired to work in the office joined her over the years. Parker wrote an article praising the work of these women, including Miss Alice H. Denomie, a former

Carlisle student, who came from working as an Indian Service employee at Crow Creek in South Dakota to Washington to serve as the headquarters’ assistant. There was also Miss Dora B. McCauley, assistant secretary, “who worked with fidelity, often long after office hours.” After her “came a Chippewa who had been the first assistant secretary, and indeed our first corresponding secretary, Mrs. Rosa B. LaFlesche. With her characteristic devotion, she left a highly paid Government position to come to us in Washington.” These employees were poorly paid, if at all. The budget showed a salary of $166.66 per month in 1914, but Rosa LaFlesche worked without payment for months and often paid the office expenses out of her own pocket.\textsuperscript{75}

Many of the SAI’s secretaries may have left that position for better paying (or merely paying) positions in the Indian Service, moving through multiple Native hubs. Rosa La Flesche went back and forth several times between the SAI position and jobs in the Indian Service.\textsuperscript{76} Dora McCauley, a Haskell Indian School graduate, had moved from the SAI office to an appointment to the Indian Service as stenographer for Charles Dagenett, the OIA’s Supervisor of Indian Work, and finally transferred to a posting at Leech Lake with better pay and likely closer to her home.\textsuperscript{77}

The Society’s female workers used the space to organize their complex records and type up the issues of the \textit{Quarterly Journal}. They managed voluminous

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Quarterly Journal}, vo. 2 no 3 July – Sept 1914, pg 169 and Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 1914), 93. On Denomie, see 1908 Carlisle Commencement Booklet, \url{http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/1908-commencement-booklet}. See also Louise Seymour Houghton, \textit{Our Debt to the Red Man} 205; and \textit{The Native American} Vo. 12 (1911), 358. Alice Denomie also worked as an unpaid assistant for the society in 1913 and became disheartened. Maddox, \textit{Citizen Indians} 91. See also Joy Porter, \textit{To Be An Indian: The Life of Iroquois-Seneca Arthur Caswell Parker} 111.

\textsuperscript{76} See Rosa B. La Flesche, PF NPRC

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Carlisle Arrow} 4 September 1914 Vol. 11 No. 1 p. 1.
correspondence, and welcomed visitors. On occasion, the male officers of the society joined the women. Charles Dagenett had his mail sent to the Barrister Building while he served as an officer in the SAI, and the Executive Council held its midwinter sessions in the building. But the day-to-day work of the society as well as any hospitality toward visitors, came from the Native women working in the office.

It is clear that the Society’s headquarters did become a place where Native people across the country believed their concerns would be heard and which might offer some relief, but, as historian Hazel Hertzberg argues, the Society’s inability to address such concerns led to charges that the officers were benefitting while the people they claimed to represent were not. These charges exacerbated the strain the women faced from the day-to-day work of managing the office. Parker responded with an article entitled, “Are Your Officers Traitors”? which offers a glimpse into what the women in the office were doing. “The central office of this Society is in constant receipt of letters demanding every sort of thing, from hundred thousand dollar donations to tickets back home for a stranded Indian circus performer. We are asked to endorse books, congressional bills, lawyers, lecturers, patent medicines, tobacco, moving pictures; we are asked to remove Indian superintendents, collect claims, abolish the Indian Bureau and bring the millennium to the red race.” When the society proved unable to help, he pointed out, they were accused of being bought off: “We are blamed by people in the Indian Bureau and by enemies of the Bureau; we are between the millstones constantly.” And they did all of that in an

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78 There was also the magazine work. Although Parker edited the journal, much work was done in the Washington Office, then it was printed in Copperstown, NY, it was then shipped to D.C. where Baldwin mailed it. See back matter of *The Quarterly Journal of The Society of American Indians* Vol. 2 No. 2 April-June, 1914.
79 *The American Indian Magazine*, Vo. IV, No. 1 Jan-March, 1916, 15
underfunded and understaffed headquarters. That same year in his annual report, Parker reminded the membership, “The expense of maintaining the office at Washington is not large but the work is sufficiently large to keep the Treasurer [Baldwin] working most of the time. This year through the kindness of one of the members of the Executive Council the rent of our offices was met so that it did not cost the Society anything…Then there is the problem of clerks. You cannot carry on the work of the organization without clerks and we have never found a clerk, with the exception of one or two, that was sufficiently philanthropic to donate his services month after month without any recompense.”

Although Parker used the tradition of the day and stated ‘his’, in reality, the clerks were always female, and Rosa LaFlesche had in fact donated her labor for several months. Parker tried to remind his readers of the reality of the Society’s labor: “Every one of us has something to do, a living to make, and I have no doubt every one also gives more time than is actually good for his own personal affairs[.]” Certainly Baldwin’s OIA evaluations reveal that the burden of SAI work was causing problems for her at work.80

Changes in SAI leadership resulted in the drastic rearrangement of its space on the Washington landscape and affected its role as a hub. In 1916 the membership elected the long-serving Arthur C. Parker president of the society. Parker considered the presidency a merely honorific position and stated that the real executive power lay in the secretary position, to which Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa), had been elected. Unlike Parker, who had worked from his home in Albany, New York, and relied heavily on Baldwin in Washington, Bonnin and her husband, Raymond, moved to the city.

80 Parker, “Some of our Work During the Year,” The American Indian Mag, Vol. IV, No. 3 Sept. 1916, 229-233 and Baldwin evaluations, PF MB NPRC.
Baldwin tried to welcome Bonnin to Washington, much as she had numerous other young Native women over the years. But this time it was different. She sent Bonnin a box of maple sugar candy (a playful reference to her Chippewa heritage), but Bonnin abruptly moved the SAI office from the Barrister Building to her own home without, Baldwin claimed, “an even ‘by your leave.’” Furthermore, Bonnin informed Baldwin that she had left Baldwin’s law library in the old office, but warned her that the rent expired the next day. This may have been a deliberate slight, but it was also political. Bonnin’s house was located at 70 20th Street NW. The move thus placed a much greater distance between the organization’s headquarters and the Indian Office, addressing complaints of the SAI’s complicity with that agency. But the move struck Baldwin as spiteful, and it changed the space of the headquarters. Rather than a public office, open to anyone, it was now in the domestic space of Bonnin’s own home. Baldwin accused Bonnin of mixing funds as well, paying part of her rent with the society’s funds when it would not be open to all of the officers (Baldwin asserted she would not be doing the work of Treasurer there as she had done at the Barrister Building). In other ways, the space may have remained similarly indigenous. Bonnin, too, had decorated her rooms with Native art. It was a “cozy flat,” one reporter wrote. “About her on the walls hung gayly-beaded moccasins and other souvenirs of the reservation.” But Bonnin also emphasized an air of middle-class domesticity; “A fine photo of her husband, who is an officer in the army decorated the piano.”

Bonnin’s decision disrupted the public nature of the SAI’s space as an indigenous hub just as the organization was experiencing other strains, including intense

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disagreements over the role of indigenous Indian Service employees, peyote and tribal rivalries. This led many people, eventually including Baldwin, to leave the organization. Bonnin’s choice to shift the SAI headquarters to her domestic space also reflected her tendency to think about Indian Country as outside of urban areas. Bonnin prioritized Native homelands, and the vast majority of Native people did indeed live on rural reservations rather than in cities at this time. She also preferred to go to those constituents. In 1926, for example, the year she founded the National Council of American Indians, she and her husband travelled 10,600 miles by car from Washington to visit numerous reservation communities.82

Washington, D.C., was far from most Native communities and unless they were in the city for business or diplomatic work, most people wouldn’t have the opportunity to visit the SAI office. But the city and its indigenous inhabitants were connected to those communities through webs of relationships that often stretched through other Native hubs in Washington’s hinterland. The federal boarding schools relatively nearby in Pennsylvania and Virginia were two of the most important for indigenous Washingtonians. Only a day’s journey away by train and later by car, Carlisle and Hampton were both indigenous spaces because of the Native people who met and congregated there, even though they did not control the space as they did in the SAI’s offices.83 On one hand the mission of the schools prioritized the government’s colonial agenda of assimilation, and the Indian Office administrators saw value in encouraging those Native people who were “successful” to return to the school as object lessons for

82 Julianne Newmark, “Pluralism, Place, and Gertrude Bonnin’s Counternativism from Utah to Washington, DC,” American Indian Quarterly, 36:3 (Summer 2012) 343. 83 On train travel times, see http://dsl.richmond.edu/historicalatlas/138/a/?view=plate.
the students to emulate. The Indian Office even detailed Baldwin to attend the commencement exercises at the Hampton and Carlisle schools in 1912, provided she pay the travel expenses.\textsuperscript{84} She was detailed again to Carlisle’s graduation in 1913 and 1917.\textsuperscript{85} But regardless of what the Indian Office hoped they would represent, Baldwin and the others had their own reasons to go to the schools including visiting other Native people, ties of affection to one’s alma mater, and a desire to work for race uplift.

Washington, D.C., and Carlisle were connected through ties of friendship and loyalty. For Baldwin the visits to Carlisle were opportunities to enjoy time with good friends. Her best friend, Angel DeCora (Winnebago/French) worked as the art teacher at Carlisle for nine years, from 1906 to 1915.\textsuperscript{86} Rosa B. LaFlesche also taught there for a time. Baldwin often traveled to Carlisle with her close friends from Washington, especially Charles Dagenett and Gabe Parker. All three of them were often commencement visitors, and we know that Baldwin motored out to Carlisle for the Fourth of July with Dagenett and his family in 1919.\textsuperscript{87} For Dagenett and Parker, visits to Carlisle carried the added benefit of being a return to a familiar and beloved alma mater. The \textit{Carlisle Arrow}, the chatty school newspaper, included numerous articles on speeches they gave at the school fondly reminiscing about their school days and encouraging the

\textsuperscript{84} Correspondence, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs (CIA) Hauke to MLB on 24 April 1912 and 3 May 1912. PF MB NPRC; CIA to MB, 17 May 1913 and CIA Sells to Marie Baldwin, 19 May 1917, PF MB NPRC.

\textsuperscript{85} Baldwin herself may have requested this detail as she was required to pay the travel expenses, but the OIA was willing to pay when she represented the office at the Lake Mohonk Conferences in New Paltz, New York, see Correspondence 12 November 1909 and 1910 and CIA Cato Sells to MB 13 October 1916, PF MB NPRC

\textsuperscript{86} Anne Ruggles Gere, “An Art of Survivance: Angel DeCora at Carlisle” \textit{American Indian Quarterly}, Vol. 28 No. 3-4, Special Issue: The Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge (Summer-Autumn, 2004), 649-684 and Linda Waggoner, \textit{Firelight}.

\textsuperscript{87} “Society,” \textit{Washington Post}, 4 July 1919
students to follow their example.\textsuperscript{88} Alice Denomie, another alumna, returned to recruit new SAI members at Carlisle while she worked in the SAI’s Washington office.\textsuperscript{89} Indeed, the Carlisle school often served as a meeting place for indigenous Washingtonians. Reports of visitors for commencement and other events are full of the names of federal employees, SAI workers, and Native congressmen and their families. Many of the same people from Carlisle and Washington gathered for SAI events and meetings in the city.

The schools were also hubs where kin renewed their relationships and reinforced their connections to their communities and homelands. The \textit{Arrow} noted that Baldwin had several nieces enrolled at Carlisle in 1912 including Anna Roulette, Mary Belgard, Emerald Botineau (sic), and Ernestine Venne.\textsuperscript{90} The definition of niece was capacious, as Baldwin’s only sister had but one son; but it represented a reckoning of relations in an indigenous way. Not only did the girls come into Washington to see their aunt on occasion, but she also visited them at school.\textsuperscript{91} The \textit{Arrow} reported that between 1911 and 1914, Baldwin came to the school as a representative of the SAI and several times as commencement visitor. She used these opportunities to visit her relatives. Nor was Baldwin the only Indian Office employee with familial ties to these eastern boarding schools. A 1912 article reported, “Miss Agnes Wright, who was transferred from Washington, D.C., to Detroit, Minnesota [near the White Earth Reservation] as a clerk,\textsuperscript{88} “Commencement Visitors” \textit{Carlisle Arrow} Vol. X No. 31 April 10, 1914; “Alumni Banquet Closes Week-end” \textit{Carlisle Arrow} Vol. X No.31 April 10, 1914; “Interior” \textit{Washington Post} 23 July 1916 p 5; Lawrence, Kansas, \textit{Journal} quoted in \textit{The Indian’s Friend} Vol. XXII, No. 1 Sept. 1909, p 1; and \textit{Arrow} March 13, 1914 vol. X no. 28, p. 3. On alumni fondness for federal boarding schools and the communities they provided, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, \textit{They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School} (University of Nebraska Press, 1994).\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Quarterly journal,} vo. 2 no 3 July – Sept 1914, pg 169.\textsuperscript{90} The 1914 graduating class list indicated that a number of the pupils were “Chippewas.”\textsuperscript{91} On their trip to DC, see \textit{Carlisle Arrow}, April 12, 1912 Vol. VIII No. 3 pg. 3.
stopped on her way at Carlisle to spend Thanksgiving Day with her cousin, Rose B. Lyons.® Lyons, who was Chippewa from Minnesota, also visited the capital city a year earlier when her father was in town on business. They most likely visited with cousin Agnes Wright and possibly Marie Baldwin.93

We have to wonder how the Carlisle girls saw this fashionable, nationally-known professional indigenous woman from Washington.® We know that Baldwin enjoyed helping young women from federal schools who moved to the city and probably had a similarly good relationship with the girls from Carlisle. Nannie Prophet (Sac & Fox) and several of her friends from the Haskell Institute in Kansas moved to Washington in 1916 and found Baldwin a very welcoming presence and an encouraging mentor. “Mrs. Baldwin is such a nice lovely lady,” Prophet wrote “She is like a mother to all Indians here. We all enjoy her so much.”®

Baldwin and her good friends kept their ties to home communities as well, but they were sometimes tenuous. Baldwin lived in the capital city for over forty years. She longed for the 14th of June Celebration at the White Earth reservation where she had relatives and an allotment, but she did not return to Turtle Mountain.® Late in her life, she may have moved back to Minneapolis, where she appears in the 1940 census living with her sister.® Then, at the very end of her life she moved to Los Angeles, California. Her move to the west coast is shrouded in mystery. Her nephew, Earl Nichols had moved

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92 Carlisle Arrow Dec 6, 1912, vol. ix, no. 14, p 3. Detroit, Minnesota, now known as Detroit Lakes is the county seat of Becker County, near the White Earth Reservation.  
93 Carlisle Arrow, April 12, 1912 Vol. VIII No. 3 pg. 3.  
94 Carlisle Arrow April 17, 1914, vol. x no 32, pg 1. Lyons later became an advocate of feminism at Carlisle, Carlisle Arrow, May 22, 1912, Vo X, No37  
95 The Indian Leader (Lawrence, Kansas) Vol. XX No. 2 (September 15, 1916) 4.  
96 Baldwin to Parker, June 2, 1917, SAI Papers.  
97 Baldwin in 1940 US Census via Ancestry.com
to San Diego, and she may have relocated to be near him. Or perhaps Rilla Meek informed her about the city of angels. Meek, one of Baldwin’s close friends from her early days in Washington, D.C. had transferred with her husband, Joseph DePorte, through the Indian Service, first to Oklahoma and then to the Riverside school in California. By 1924 she had begun to work as the outing matron for the Indian Service in Los Angeles and remained there for the rest of her life.  

Charles Dagenett also lived most of his life as an urban Indian. While working as the supervisor of Indian work, Dagenett moved between Washington, D.C., and several western cities including Albuquerque, Phoenix, and Denver. Upon his retirement he and his wife moved to Muskogee, Oklahoma, where his son was enrolled in school, possibly at Bacone College. Gabe Parker moved back to Oklahoma, first as supervisor of the Five Civilized Tribes for the Indian Service, but then to Tulsa where he worked for an insurance company. Rosa B. LaFlesche had a similar pattern. She, too, took positions in the Indian Service, but did not seem to enjoy her posts in the field, such as her time at Crow Creek. She returned to Washington to work for the SAI and then took advantage of federal hiring during WWI, when she took a position with the War Department. In that capacity, she moved to San Francisco. She often returned to Michigan to visit her father, but did not move back home.

98 Women of the West: A Series of Biographical Sketches of Living Eminent Women in the Eleven Western States of the United States of America. Ed, Max Binheim, (Publishers Press, LA, CA, 1928). See also the 1920 US Census 99 1931 they live in Muskogee, OK, he appears to be retired, she’s the “area supt of women WPA and son Robert is a student. “r125 N F” according to city directory from 1938. 100 1930 US census, he no longer works for government, but is an agent for a life insurance company. He and wife have a boarder and live in Tulsa. 101 See Personnel File, Bourassa NPRC.
Were these urban Indians uncomfortable in reservation communities? Perhaps they didn’t always feel that they belonged. Many were of mixed descent. Baldwin’s family had been disenrolled at Turtle Mountain by the federal treaty commission in 1892. Though she somehow managed to get an allotment at White Earth, she does not seem to have spent much time there. But perhaps they enjoyed the expansive opportunities offered by cities. They were not alone in this regard; non-Native Americans were flocking to urban areas in this period as well.

A map of Marie Baldwin’s life shows her in both expected and unexpected places, corresponding with a point she often made: that she could be both modern and Native. Many parts of her story are similar to some of the cohorts in which she found herself. Like other employees in the federal civil service, she worked in a heterosocial job environment, lived in similar neighborhoods, eventually received a pension, owned a vacation cottage on the shore in Maryland, invested in District property, and went to night school. Like many of her female co-workers, she may have been attracted to the feminist movement because of the glass ceiling and gender politics of civil service work.

But she was not an average civil servant. She was a Native woman who had come to Washington to fight for tribal sovereignty. She worked in a colonial administration whose agenda was to assimilate or destroy Native cultural and political identity. Like other indigenous Washingtonians, she worked hard to shift mainstream conversations.

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102 Baldwin may have visited relatives on different reservations. Many pieces in her art collection, for example, were said to have come from relatives. She also was remembered as a visitor to Red Lake Falls near the Red Lake reservation. Her father had once held title to the land that became the town of Red Lake Falls, though his title “proved defective.” See http://www.redlakecountyhistory.org/bottineau.htm and “The Pioneer Days of Red Lake Falls” in A History of Red Lake County, 1976, edited by Anne Healy and Sherry Kankel. http://www.redlakecountyhistory.org/cities.htm
about Native people, hoping the wider public would acknowledge the past, the ongoing presence and the future of Native people. Her art collection, speeches, collaborations, and interest in history all highlighted Native contributions to the United States’ story at a time when that was a radical proposition. Part of her personal politics involved encouraging other Native women, especially young women who arrived in the city from federal boarding schools. Her interest in helping other Native people extended to her work for the SAI where she worked to change the public’s perception of Indians.

The map of Marie Bottineau Baldwin’s life in Washington, D.C., reveals how indigenous peoples’ relationships played out in the physical spaces of the city. There were several Native hubs. Many depended on specific federal institutions and were shaped by the federal government’s special relationship to Native nations, and the presence of Native people at the OIA as well as in the city’s courts and legislative halls was a spatial manifestations of those relationships. Even the city’s anthropological institutions reflected the federal government’s interest in documenting Native lives. While Native people congregated in those spaces and often made specific claims to them, they were not indigenously controlled. Indeed, only the SAI headquarters and individual Native homes were spaces that were fully defined by Native people.

The indigenous residents of Washington used these hubs to create both a welcome port for Native visitors to the city and intertribal community there. But the very forces that drew indigenous people to Washington also resulted in considerable transience. Few employees of the OIA remained in positions in Washington as long as Marie Baldwin. Many transferred across the country, serving at different posts throughout the Indian
Service bureaucracy. Some requested the transfers to be closer to home; others were moved without consultation. Such peregrinations meant that those employees were creating webs across Indian Country that connected the different hubs, but it also disrupted the development of a stable urban community in Washington.

It may be that this iteration of Indian DC was short-lived, existing for roughly the first two decades of the twentieth century as a result of the particular configuration of federal employment and the creation of the Society of American Indians—one that was disrupted by WWI. Indian people did continue to come to Washington; but did the hubs change or remain the same?

The existence of an indigenous community in Washington in the first two decades of the twentieth century was then almost entirely forgotten by scholars. It was the images in Washington, D.C.—the statues of Indians cowering at Columbus’ feet, paintings of them kneeling before Spanish conquistadors, and marble reliefs of savage warriors being killed by Davy Crockett—that remained in most Americans’ minds. Marie Baldwin and her colleagues contested that narrative of Indians who were stuck in the past. They did their best to counter ideas about Indians as fixed in time and space, mired in the past and slowly disappearing as white Americans settled the West. But their presence wasn’t enough to create a lasting effect on the landscape as most non-Native people saw it. Was the disjuncture between the expected images of Indians as pre-modern and uncivilized too much to reconcile with the living examples of Baldwin and her community?

While their efforts to counter this narrative may not have completely succeeded, they did leave their stories in archives for us to recover. By re-mapping those cities and exposing the Native hubs within them, we can re-narrate a more complete past in which
their presence is not unexpected, but a logical outcome of Native nations’ assertions of sovereignty and insistence on their special relationship with the federal government.

Re-alerted to their presence, we also need to ask what other “Indian cities” looked like. What drew people to those places and where did they gather to nurture their communities? Did they remain connected to their homelands and kin on reservations, and if so, how? And how did those urban institutions evolve as cities changed? Once we push past the stereotypes that suggestion Indians only exist in certain places and behave in certain ways, we begin to seem them in many unexpected places.