

From Abolition to Genocide:  
the Controversial Stands of Jane Grey Swisshelm

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Research Paper

Senior Division

Exterminate the wild beasts, and make peace with the devil and all his hosts sooner than these red-jawed tigers whose fangs are dripping with the blood of the innocents.

—*Jane Grey Swisshelm on Dakota (Sioux) Indians*, *St. Cloud Democrat*, November 13, 1862

Jane Grey Swisshelm, reformer, abolitionist, feminist, was during her lifetime one of the best known women in America. . . . Forthright in her views, she often was sarcastic and caustic in her writing — but never dull.

—*Historical marker, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, erected 1969, removed 2005*  
(full text: *Appendix A*)

Jane Grey Swisshelm, controversial in her time, continues to be so. An avid social reformer, Swisshelm published newspapers in the mid-1800s, when women journalists were rare. Her bold, vitriolic style garnered a national audience, affecting issues such as abolition and women's rights, when women were disenfranchised. In 1858, drawn into the politics of new statehood, she helped shape Minnesota's Republican Party. Despite her reputation as champion of the politically weak, in 1862 she took a shocking stand by modern standards: Swisshelm advocated exterminating the Dakota Indian. Today, this stand threatens to eclipse her achievements. St. Cloud State University removed a Swisshelm memorial because it ignored this issue, and now contemplates if and how she should be memorialized.<sup>1</sup> This poses the question: how should people who made notable contributions yet violated today's principles be judged? Measured against the harsh realities of her background and era, Swisshelm's apparently evil stand does not so obviously condemn her. In fact, this anti-Indian stand was motivated by the same principles as her other crusades, and in step with her time.

Swisshelm's motivation for social reform grew from religious roots. She was born in 1815 to Pennsylvanian Calvinists Thomas Cannon and Mary Scott, who emphasized social activism and strict Biblical interpretations. Jane pledged to be a "thistle-digger in the vineyard"<sup>2</sup> of God by upholding rigid moral principles: honest work, courage against tyranny, and unwavering belief that God guided her.<sup>3</sup> Early hardships influenced Jane's activism. Her father died in 1823, so to help her family, Jane sold handiwork, and at fourteen became a teacher.<sup>4</sup> In 1836, she married James Swisshelm, but his Methodist background and domineering mother soured their relationship. In 1838, they moved to Kentucky where Jane witnessed slavery's cruelty which, for her, reaffirmed a Calvinist doctrine: "Slavery and Christianity are incompatible."<sup>5</sup> She abhorred slaveholders. They violated her principles: they did not work, but

profited from others' labor. Jane saw "that none of the [slaveholders'] shapely hands had ever used other implement of toil than a pistol, bowie-knife, or slave-whip; that any other tool would ruin [their] reputation . . . but they did not lose caste by horsewhipping old mammys."<sup>6</sup> James's business faltered, so Jane became a seamstress. Soon, against James's wishes, she returned to Pittsburgh to nurse her dying mother. There, Jane started digging out thistles — tyrannical slaveholders — by writing letters to abolitionist newspapers.<sup>7</sup>

James's actions provided Jane with more thistles to dig. In 1840, disgruntled because his business failed, James threatened to charge her mother's estate for Jane's nursing. In Pennsylvania, a woman's earnings and property belonged to her husband. Jane likened this to slavery: "Being the owner of my person and services, he had a right."<sup>8</sup> She started championing women's rights through newspaper letters. Eventually, her efforts and those of Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew, and Sarah Pugh culminated in reformed Pennsylvania property laws.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 1: Jane Grey Swisshelm 1852 (MHS)

Although Swisshelm explicitly campaigned for abolition and women's rights, implicitly she took a stand for expanding women's influence. In the mid-1800s, respectable middle-class women did not have careers, and tried not to draw public attention.<sup>10</sup> To avoid embarrassment, her first published letters were anonymous; next, she signed as Jennie Deans. In 1844, she courageously signed her name to a letter lambasting a Methodist rule which "forbade colored members of the church to give testimony in church-trials against white members."<sup>11</sup> Promptly charged with libel, Swisshelm faced imprisonment; however, her deft journalism won a faithful audience — and several clever lawyers.<sup>12</sup> In 1848, Swisshelm daringly started a newspaper, *The Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* [sic]. In an era of intense reform movements, *Visiter* touted Swisshelm's stands on many issues.<sup>13</sup> By 1850, its nationwide circulation topped 6,000 and other papers reprinted its articles.<sup>14</sup> Despite her gender and diminutive stature, Swisshelm became a giant in the rough-and-tumble world of the partisan press (*Figure 1*).

During the 1800s, as America's literate middle-class grew, so did the press. Activists published partisan newspapers, asserting their stands by viciously attacking adversaries, often with exaggerations, fabrications, and name-calling. For this style, partisan journalists suffered verbal, legal, and physical assaults.<sup>15</sup> Swisshelm's journalism epitomized the partisan press, which she described as "striking with sarcasm, ridicule[,] solemn denunciations, old truths from Bible and history and the opinions of good men. I had reckless abandon, for had I not thrown myself into the breach to die there, and would I not sell my life at its full value?"<sup>16</sup> Fearlessly, she spat venom at Southerners, cursing slavery as "baby-stealing" and "woman-whipping."<sup>17</sup> Like many partisan editors, Swisshelm offered drastic solutions to social issues. In 1849, she advocated burning taverns to combat drunkenness: "This will be called incendiary doctrine, but desperate diseases want desperate remedies."<sup>18</sup> Later, she would attack Minnesota's desperate Indian issues with her fiery pen.

Swisshelm's fame also provided women pre-suffrage access to national politics. For women, she pioneered political reporting as the *New York Tribune's* Washington correspondent, and as the first woman reporter in the Senate press gallery.<sup>19</sup> Published

nationwide, politicians knew and feared her acerbic tirades. Fiercely independent, she squabbled with other reformers, never joining reform or political organizations.<sup>20</sup> In 1857, exhausted by social crusades, turbulent pre-Civil War politics, and her crumbled marriage, she retired to St. Cloud, Minnesota to live near her sister, anticipating a quiet frontier life.<sup>21</sup>

Tranquility was not what Swisshelm found in the new state; she found more thistles. Slavery-tolerating Democrats, including slaveholders who had migrated north, dominated central Minnesota's politics.<sup>22</sup>

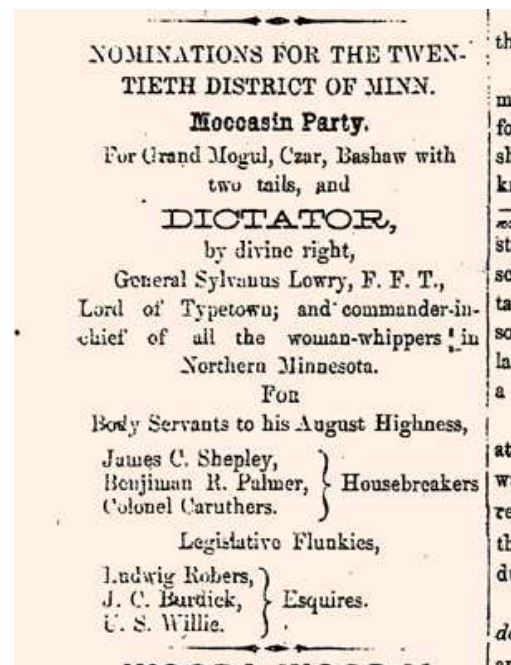


Figure 2: A sample of Swisshelm's rhetoric. (St. Cloud Democrat, October 7, 1858)

Swisshelm started the *St. Cloud Visitor* [sic], and duped Sylvanus Lowry, a regional Democratic boss, into patronage with promised support for President Buchanan. Her endorsement, however, reeked sarcasm: “. . . the Democratic party is likely to succeed in reducing all the poor and friendless of this country to a state of slavery.”<sup>23</sup> Enraged, Lowry and his cronies verbally attacked Swisshelm, dumped her press into the Mississippi River, threatened her life, mobbed her first public lecture, and bankrupted the *Visitor* with a lawsuit. Swisshelm turned the assaults into a First Amendment controversy, and started another newspaper, ironically named *The St. Cloud Democrat*.<sup>24</sup> She and Minnesota Republicans reveled in the political fallout (Figure 2). Republicans dominated Minnesota’s 1859 election, benefiting Abraham Lincoln’s 1860 campaign. Minnesota Democrats burned Swisshelm in effigy as “Mother of the Republican Party.”<sup>25</sup>

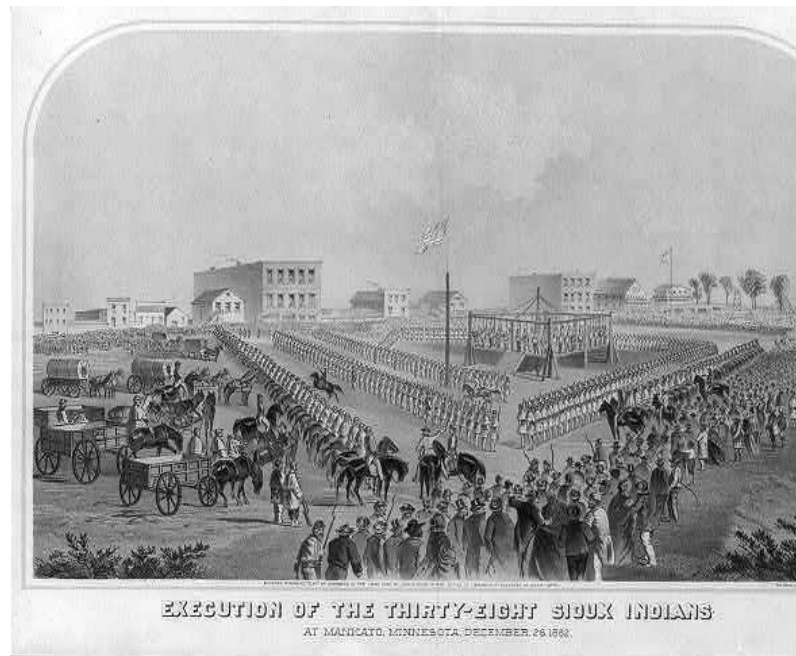
Swisshelm, busy ousting slavery-tolerant Democrats, barely noticed the escalating tempest between settlers and Minnesota’s 31,700 Indians, two-thirds of whom were Dakota.<sup>26</sup> In the 1850s,



Figure 3: The dwindling Dakota territory.  
(Fearing 43)

Minnesota’s settler population ballooned thirty-fold: 6,077 to 172,023.<sup>27</sup> As in the East, demand for land pushed Indians westward. The Dakota inhabited America’s upper Midwest, unknown to Euro-Americans until the 1650s. Two centuries later, coerced into treaties which forfeited their vast lands for paltry annuities, they occupied a ten-by-seventy-mile tract — too small to support their hunting-agrarian lifestyle (Figure 3). Resentment grew as Government agents and Indian traders cheated them, while diseases and starvation plagued crowded reservations.<sup>28</sup>

In July 1862, with the Civil War battering the Union, the annuities were delayed. Indian traders refused to extend credit. In August, four hungry Dakota murdered a settler family. Facing retribution, several radical Dakota chiefs wanted to strike first, but most refused. However, many Minnesota men had left for the Civil War, so the radical Dakota attacked two vulnerable U.S. military garrisons. They brutally raided frontier settlements, causing thousands to flee, virtually depopulating 23 counties. Over 500 soldiers and settlers were killed before the Dakota surrendered in September. Many of the Conflict's instigators escaped, but all remaining Dakota, even those who refused participation, became prisoners. Hasty trials sentenced 303 to death. President Lincoln, alerted by Indian sympathizers to the Conflict's underlying causes, reduced the executions to 38 who admitted to raping or killing noncombatants (*Figure 4*). In 1863, the Dakota were banished westward in yet another rendition of the Trail of Tears.<sup>29</sup>



*Figure 4. December 26, 1862: The 38 condemned Dakota were simultaneously hanged in America's largest mass execution. (Library of Congress, 1883)*

Throughout the U.S.-Dakota Conflict, newspapers nationwide sensationalized the atrocities, inflaming anti-Indian sentiment (*Figure 5*). Many called for vengeance: "Let the Indians who have murdered our brothers and dishonored our sisters, die."<sup>30</sup> Governor Alexander Ramsey declared: "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of our state. . . . They have themselves made their annihilation an imperative social necessity."<sup>31</sup> Swisshelm, champion of slaves and women, added her voice, not to defend the downtrodden Dakota, but to join in condemning them.

Swisshelm's stand was influenced by the contrast between her ideal Indian and the brutal warrior. "Before going to Minnesota, I had the common Cooper idea of the dignity and glory of the noble red man of the forest; . . . I had pictured the most amicable relations with those unsophisticated children of nature."<sup>32</sup> Even after moving to Minnesota, she believed Indians posed no threat: a frontier woman could shoo them with a broom.<sup>33</sup> As a journalist, she painted Minnesota as beautiful and safe, luring settlers.<sup>34</sup> The atrocities changed her image of Indians as cowering children into one of attacking animals. To

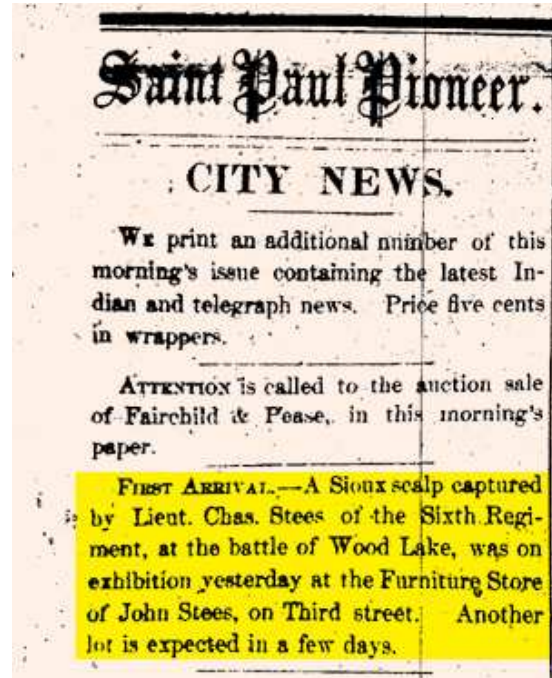


Figure 5: Anti-Indian sentiment was common. (Sept. 27, 1862)

her, it was Indian terrorism, not desperation. Swisshelm rallied settlers to assert their dominance: "Let the men return, . . . and hunt Sioux. Do not wait to be hunted. Exterminate the wild beasts. Never let it be said that whole settlements were given up, by Anglo-Saxons to a few thousand, lousy, lazy savages."<sup>35</sup>

Swisshelm's stand also reflected her era's culturally-ignorant Indian stereotype. She personally knew no Indians.<sup>36</sup> Like most Americans, however, she believed Euro-Americans were "stronger and wiser." She derided their "savage" culture: "Indian children running barefoot and almost naked over the snow, while they sleep under the shelter of a little bramble, some withered leaves and a few deer skins."<sup>37</sup> The Dakota, however, were intelligent nature experts with a sophisticated language and society. Women and children performed agrarian and domestic work as the men stood ready to hunt and to fight.<sup>38</sup> When their territory shrank, they could not suddenly discard generations of skills to embrace settlers' ways. By 1862, annuity policies favored assimilation, so some had adopted Euro-American-style agriculture; still, many Dakota men considered it disgraceful to be called "farmer."<sup>39</sup> Swisshelm believed farming exemplified good work and that "[Minnesota's] wealth is in her soil; and that those who are not directly or indirectly engaged in digging it out are little better than loafers."<sup>40</sup> Each Indian, she felt, deserved a

homestead, but they have “a most royal contempt for plows, hoes, and other degrading implements.”<sup>41</sup> Swisshelm, quoting the Bible, justified her stand: “If he will not so cultivate it as to make a living off it, let him starve; for ‘he that will not work neither shall he eat.’”<sup>42</sup>

This anti-Indian stand seems at odds with Swisshelm’s crusades for slaves and women. However, the same principles guided her: a strong work ethic and rejection of tyranny. She deemed the Dakota “lazy, impudent beggars,” with too many rights — they were tyrants. “The land never belonged to them. Earth was made for the use of the inhabitants,” Swisshelm argued, “Why has an Indian a right to his deer park while millions of white men are unable to get a potato patch [?]”<sup>43</sup> She equated Indian annuities with patronage and felt the Dakota prospered off others’ labor, just like her hated creature, the slaveholder. “The Indian and the Slaveholder have been the aristocrats of American society. . . . Both races must be exterminated or learn the art of working for a living.”<sup>44</sup> Like slaves and women, settlers’ rights were violated; in Swisshelm’s view, opposing the Dakota was a stand against tyranny.

Public sentiment affected the ferocity of Swisshelm’s stand. During the Conflict, public sympathy favored the settlers, so Swisshelm, confident that the guilty would be punished, generally lobbied to execute “organized bands of murderers” — not all Dakota.<sup>45</sup> Most Americans soon realized that Federal policies had bred Dakota desperation, so sympathies tipped toward the Dakota; nevertheless, public attention returned to the Civil War.<sup>46</sup> Swisshelm tried to jolt sentiments back to the settlers. She felt they deserved retribution and military protection from further attacks despite the Civil War. With partisan press sensationalism, she demanded genocide: “Minnesota is staggering under a debt of vengeance that will be cancelled in the extermination of the Sioux.”<sup>47</sup> President Lincoln’s interference in Dakota punishment incensed Swisshelm. In January 1863, she left for Washington to confront him, lecturing along the way, “to create a more correct public sentiment on our Indian policy.”<sup>48</sup> She regaled Easterners with her sharpest rhetoric; if the government did not banish Minnesota’s Dakota, settlers would resort to vigilantism: “We cannot breathe the same air with those demon violators of women, crucifiers of infants. Every Minnesota man, who has a soul and can get a rifle, will go to shooting Indians; and he who hesitates will be black-balled by every Minnesota woman and posted as a coward in every Minnesota

home.”<sup>49</sup> Absorbed in the recent Emancipation Proclamation, Americans mostly ignored Swisshelm. When she finally met Lincoln “his sad earnest face was irresistible in its plea for confidence” so she never discussed the Dakota with him.<sup>50</sup>

The Civil War absorbed Swisshelm as well. In May 1863, she quit her nine-month stint of anti-Indian activism and spent the rest of the War nursing soldiers, using her journalistic talents to elicit donations and improve conditions.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile, the Dakota were cruelly evicted from Minnesota. Swisshelm never resided there again; instead she returned to Pennsylvania. Until her death in 1884, she continued to wield her fiery pen, helping and sometimes infuriating other reformers.<sup>52</sup>

Despite Swisshelm’s impact on other issues, America’s western expansionism controlled Indian policy; Swisshelm just followed along. Her anti-Indian stand, however, illustrates how an era’s principles impact historical memory. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, Swisshelm biographers generally ignored this stand. They deemed her racism unremarkable, although her autobiography, *Half a Century*, contains three chapters about it. Since 1950, nearly every Swisshelm biography mentions it (see *Appendix B*). The St. Cloud memorial was an exception. Contrary to today’s trend of confronting social injustice in history, the marker seemed to condone Swisshelm’s anti-Indian stand through omission.

Controversy forces a closer look at Swisshelm’s era. Her principles motivated her call for genocide; however, in context, she was not atypical. Throughout history, respected people violated modern human rights through practices deemed acceptable in their age; for example, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson owned slaves. Even those who contribute to society may have poisonous thistles. But these must also be measured against the fruit of their contributions to the future. Should Swisshelm’s anti-Indian stand, which now threatens to bury her contributions to abolition, women’s rights, journalism, and frontier politics, exile her from historical memory? No, we should not tear down monuments to those who did right because they also did wrong. The messages carved on these monuments, however, should embrace controversy, for that brings attention to the issues. Remember people for all that they did: the good, for inspiration; and the bad, so that the mistakes of the past are not repeated — and not forgotten.

## Appendix A:

### Text of Marker for Jane Grey Swisshelm

In 1969, this marker was placed on the St. Cloud State University campus in St. Cloud, Minnesota. The text was written by Virginia Brainard Kunz, a Minnesota historian. In 2005, the marker was removed at students' request because of Swisshelm's hostility toward Indians. The St. Cloud State University Public History Task Force has decided to put up a revised marker, but the wording is still being discussed.

Text of removed marker:

Jane Grey Swisshelm, reformer, abolitionist, feminist, was during her lifetime one of the best known women in America. Her career reached its peak between 1857 and 1863 when she lived in St. Cloud. Famous in the East as a newspaper editor, Mrs. Swisshelm became editor of the St. Cloud Visiter. Her office — also her home — stood “opposite the steamboat landing,” down the hill from this marker at the foot of what is now Tenth Street.

Forthright in her views, she often was sarcastic and caustic in her writing — but never dull. Champion of women's rights and abolition of slavery, she aroused the enmity of Sylvanus B. Lowry, a powerful man in central Minnesota. One night, Lowry and two other men broke into the Visiter's office, destroyed the press and threw the type into the river. Sued for libel, Mrs. Swisshelm agreed never again to mention the feud in the Visiter. Undaunted, she continued to publish the paper, simply changing its name to the St. Cloud Democrat.

This remarkable combative woman has been described as having “liquid blue eyes,” brown hair, a “slight figure, of less than medium height, with pleasant face, eyes beaming with kindness, soft voice and winning manners,” and a smile “truly enchanting.”

In 1863, she sold the paper to her nephew, William B. Mitchell, and left for Washington, D.C. She never returned. After the war, in poor health, she retired to a small estate near Pittsburgh which had belonged to her husband. There she lived quietly until her death in 1884.

(Text source: “The Historical Fortunes of Jane Grey Swisshelm” by Kate Gill)



*Swisshelm marker at SCSU before removal.  
(Sanders)*

## Appendix B:

## Analysis of Jane Grey Swisshelm studies and her stand against the Dakota Indians

These studies were written after Swisshelm published her autobiography *Half a Century*, which contains 3 chapters devoted to her anti-Indian stand. They cite this book as a source.

## Before 1950

Study or biography, in chronological order	Date	Stand Mentioned?
“Death of Jane Grey Swisshelm” (obituary) <i>St. Cloud Journal-Press</i>	1884	No
“A Staunch Foe of Slavery” (obituary) <i>New York Times</i>	1884	No
“Vanquished at Last” (obituary) <i>St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press</i>	1884	No
<i>Eccentric Americans: IX. A Pioneer Eccentric Woman</i> by Coleman E. Bishop	1884	No
<i>Stearns County History, Vol. 1: Jane Grey Swisshelm (pp. 61–6)</i> by William B. Mitchell	1915	No
“Jane Grey Swisshelm: Agitator” by Lester Burrell Shippee	1920	No
“Minnesota Journalism 1849–1858” by Richard B. Eide	1930	No
“Jane Grey Swisshelm — A Pioneer Journalist” by D.S. Brainard	1934	No
<i>Intro.: Crusader &amp; Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm 1858–1865</i> by Arthur J. Larsen	1934	Yes
“Jane Swisshelm’s Life Story Bares Debt of U.S. Women” by Bess M. Wilson	1935	No
<i>Ladies of the Press: Ch. XXV: Invading the Press Gallery</i> by Ishbel Ross	1936	No
“Annals of Old Wilkinsburg and Vicinity: The Village 1788–1888” edited by Elizabeth M. Davison and Ellen B. McKee	1940	No
<i>Female Persuasion: Six Strong-Minded Women</i> Ch. III: Jane Grey Swisshelm: Beware Sister Jane by Margaret Farrand Thorp	1949	Yes

(continued on next page)

## After 1950

Study or biography, in chronological order	Date	Stand Mentioned?
<i>The Bold Women: The Lady and the Magnificent Beast</i> (pp. 53–90) by Helen Beal Woodward	1953	Yes
Jane Grey Swisshelm marker at St. Cloud State Univ. (removed 2005) by Virginia Brainard Kunz	1969	No
“Jane Grey Swisshelm: 19 <sup>th</sup> Century Journalist and Feminist” by Kathleen Endres	1975	Yes
<i>Great Women of the Press: Chapter. 7</i> by Madelon Golden Schlipp and Sharon M. Murphy	1983	Yes
<i>Brilliant Bylines: Chapter 2: Jane Grey Swisshelm</i> by Barbara Belford	1986	Yes
<i>Shadows Illuminated: Women in a Rural Culture</i> Chapter 5: Jane Grey Swisshelm by Teresa Jaakkola	1996	Yes
“Gender and Vigilantism on the Minnesota Frontier: Jane Grey Swisshelm and the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862” by Sylvia D. Hoffert	1998	Yes
<i>Women of Minnesota: Chapter. 3: Jane Grey Swisshelm</i> by Abigail McCarthy	1998	Yes
<i>The Popular Press, 1833–1865</i> (pp. 45–47) by William E. Huntzicker	1999	Yes
“A Woman of Contradiction” by Tim Post	2002	Yes
“Mother of the Republican Party: Jane Swisshelm and Minnesota Politics 1857–1863” by Bethany Andreasen	2004	Yes
<i>Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815–1884</i> by Sylvia D. Hoffert	2004	Yes
History Topics: Jane Grey Swisshelm Minnesota Historical Society website <a href="http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/128swisshelm.htm">http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/128swisshelm.htm</a>	2006	No, however, resources that do are listed (see <i>Primary Source: Otto</i> for details)

## Notes

### Terms Used:

- *American Indian* is often shortened to *Indian* in this paper.
- The American Indian Nation that Swisshelm and other settlers called *Sioux* are actually called the *Dakota*, meaning “allies.” Sioux is a shortened version of the name their enemies gave them, Nadouessioux. It means “snakelike enemy.” Dakota is preferred, but Sioux may appear in quotations.
- The tribe whose name is now spelled *Ojibwa* was previously spelled *Chippewa*.
- The name of the violence in 1862 between the Dakota, U.S military and Minnesota settlers is still debated, however, this paper uses *U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862* or simply *Conflict*.
- People moving into Minnesota that displaced the Indians are called *settlers* or *Euro-Americans* in this paper, in Swisshelm’s time they were called often called *whites*.

### Abbreviations used:

*HAC*: *Half a Century* by Jane Grey Swisshelm

*MHS*: Minnesota Historical Society Collections, St. Paul

*SCD*: *St. Cloud Democrat* newspaper

*SCSU*: St. Cloud State University

*SPP*: *St. Paul Pioneer* newspaper

*SPPD*: *St. Paul Pioneer & Democrat* newspaper

*UL*: *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life* by Sylvia D. Hoffert (Secondary source)

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<sup>11</sup>Information on the Swisshelm marker controversy, see: Cathy Kropp, “Marker causes controversy,” *University Chronicle*, 25 October 2004, from SCSU website, available from <http://www.universitychronicle.com>, accessed 21 February 2006; Tim Post, “A Woman of Contradiction,” Minnesota Public Radio website, available from [http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23\\_steilm\\_1862-m/swisshelm.shtml](http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23_steilm_1862-m/swisshelm.shtml), accessed 11 February 2006; Interviews about controversy, see: Chad Roberts, “Swisshelm Package,” KVSC Radio station SCSU, aired 30 October 2004 about 8:00am, radio feature, length: 3:01.1, from e-mail attachment sent to author by KVSC, 5 May 2006; Nikki Turner, American Indian student at SCSU, telephone interview by author, 1 March 2006; Prof. Christopher Lehman of SCSU Ethnic Studies Dept., e-mail interview by author, 2 March 2006; Prof. Kate Gill of SCSU Philosophy Dept., e-mail interview by author, 28 February 2006.

<sup>2</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, *Half a Century* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1880), 37.

<sup>3</sup>Background on Swisshelm’s birth and parents, see: *HAC*, 10–12; Analysis of Swisshelm’s guiding principles, see: *HAC* 34–38; Sylvia D. Hoffert, *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815–1884* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2004), 10–20; *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed. Daniel G. Reid (Downer’s Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), s. v. “Calvinism” and “Covenant Theology.”

<sup>4</sup>*HAC*, 18–34; *UL*, 15–18.

<sup>5</sup>Marriage troubles, see: *HAC*, 38–50; Doctrine quote, see: *HAC*, 34; Kentucky slavery, see: *HAC*, 51–60.

<sup>6</sup>*HAC*, 53.

<sup>7</sup>*HAC*, 63–71, 74–76.

<sup>8</sup>*HAC*, 72.

<sup>9</sup>*HAC*, 101–5; *UL*, 64–69.

<sup>10</sup>*UL*, 83–84.

<sup>11</sup>Jennie Deans pseudonym, see: *HAC*, 74–75; Methodist rule quote, see: *HAC*, 82.

<sup>12</sup>*HAC*, 82–89.

<sup>13</sup>Swisshelm starts paper, see: *HAC*, 105–15; *UL*, 105; Swisshelm as part of mid-1800s reform movement, see: *UL*, 134–41; Examples of social issues addressed in *Visiter*, see: *HAC*, 115–58; Jane Grey Swisshelm, *Letters to Country Girls* (NY: John C. Riker, 1953), all.

<sup>14</sup>*HAC*, 123, 162.

<sup>15</sup>General trends of 1800s press, see: Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), 95–99; History and character of partisan press, see: William E. Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 38, 44–45; Prof. William E. Huntzicker of SCSU, telephone interview by author, 1 March 2006; William B. Mitchell, “When I look back,” TMs, [1924], William B. Mitchell Family Papers, MHS, 2.

<sup>16</sup>*HAC*, 93–4.

<sup>17</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Lectures,” *SCD*, 3 February 1859, 2.

<sup>18</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Horsewhips,” *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter*, 28 April 1849, 58; quoted in *UL*, 136; Huntzicker, *Popular Press*, 169.

<sup>19</sup>Madelon Golden Schlipp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale, IL: Southern IL Univ. Press, 1983), 78; Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1986), 20, 26–27; Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Mrs. Swisshelm’s Letters . . . No. IV, The Senate Gallery—Women’s Behavior—Col. Benton—Mr. Clay—The Collision in the Senate and some thoughts thereon,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, 22 April 1850; quoted in Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 31–33.

<sup>20</sup>*UL*, 134–135, 140–48.

<sup>21</sup>*HAC*, 155–70.

<sup>22</sup>Democratic dominance, see: William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, Volume 2 (St. Paul: MHS, 1924; reprint, 1978), 33; *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1874), 219; Lowry and slaveholders in Minnesota, see: *HAC*, 169–77; William D. Green, “Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota, 1854–60,” *Minnesota History* (Fall 2000): 107–20.

<sup>23</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “A Change and the Reasons,” *St. Cloud Visiter*, 18 February 1858, 1; *HAC*, 178–81.

<sup>24</sup>Description of Lowry incident, see: *HAC*, 181–95; Anonymous letter signed Vigilance, Ms. 24 March 1857, William B. Mitchell Family Papers, MHS. Larsen, intro. to *Crusader and Feminist* by Swisshelm, 12–18; “Border Ruffianism in Minnesota!!” *SPPD*, 30 March 1858, 1; Huntzicker, *Popular Press*, 46–47; First Amendment controversy, see: “Kind and Generous,” *SCD*, 16 September 1858, 2, reprint from *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (NY), 24 August 1858; Richard B. Eide, “Minnesota Journalism 1849–1858” (M.A. thesis, State Univ. of Iowa School of Journalism, August 1930, MHS), 173–77; First edition of new paper, see: Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Obituary,” *SCD*, 5 August 1858, 1.

<sup>25</sup>HAC, 196–201; Bethany Andreasen, “Mother of the Republican Party: Jane Swisshelm and Minnesota Politics, 1857–1863,” *North Dakota Humanities Council* website (February 2004): 5–8, available from <http://www.nd-humanities.org/html/andreasen.html>, accessed 25 February 2006; “Mrs. Swisshelm’s Favorite for United States Senator,” *SPP*, 22 October 1862, 1; *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1874), 219–20.

<sup>26</sup>On JS’s disinterest in Indians, see: Sylvia D. Hoffert, “Gender and Vigilantism on the Minnesota Frontier: Jane Grey Swisshelm and the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862,” *Western Historical Quarterly* (Autumn 1998): 353; Jane Grey Swisshelm, “The Indians,” *SCD*, 24 November 1859, 2; Population of Indians, see: Bruce M. White, “The Power of Whiteness Or, the Life and Times of Joseph Rolette Jr.,” *Minnesota History* (Winter 1998–1999): 182.

<sup>27</sup>U.S., Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States 1850* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 993; idem, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1864), 253.

<sup>28</sup>Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: MHS, 1988), 8–12; White, “Power of Whiteness,” 184–88; Kristen Berg, writer / prod., *The Dakota Conflict*, narr. by Garrison Keillor and Floyd Red Crow Westerman (St. Paul: KTCA Twin Cities Public Television, 1992), videocassette.

<sup>29</sup>Accounts of Conflict, see: Anderson, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 12–16, 23–27, 35–36; Kenneth Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* (St. Paul: MHS, 1976), 1–67; Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1970), 38–65; Immediate impact on Minnesota, see: Alexander Ramsey, “Message of Gov. Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota delivered at extra session, September 9, 1862,” MHS, 1–13; Punishment of the Dakota, see: Alexander Ramsey, “Annual Message of Gov. Ramsey, 1863,” MHS, 9–10; “The Condemned Indians,” *SPP*, 14 December 1862, 1; Carley, *The Sioux Uprising*, 70–75; Sympathetic to the Dakota, see: Abraham Lincoln, Letter to Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley in Minnesota. 6 December 1862, LS, Edward D. Neill and family papers, Manuscript Collection Reserved, MHS; Henry B. Whipple “Duty of the Citizens concerning the Indian Massacre,” *SPP*, 3 December 1862, 1; idem, “What Shall We Do with the Indians,” *SPP*, 17 December 1862, 1; Hank H. Cox, *Lincoln and the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Nashville: Cumberland House, 2005), 167–79; “The Mutinous Indians in Minnesota,” *SPP*, 12 December 1862, 2, reprint from: *NY Evening Post*.

<sup>30</sup>“The Indian War in Minnesota,” *SPP*, 16 December 1862, 2, reprint from *Philadelphia Press*, [December 1862]; E. Atwood, E. “Indian War,” *SCD*, 16 October 1862, 2; “Letter from the Indian Expedition,” *SPP*, 4 November 1862, 1.

<sup>31</sup>Ramsey, “1862,” 19.

<sup>32</sup>HAC, 223.

<sup>33</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Indian Massacre,” *SCD*, 10 November 1859, 2.

<sup>34</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Editorial Correspondence,” *SCD*, 19 April 1860, 2; Sylvia D. Hoffert, “Gender and Vigilantism,” 354–56.

<sup>35</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “The News,” *SCD*, 4 September 1862, 1; idem, “Abercrombie Safe! Indians Gone!” *SCD*, 26 September 1862, 2; idem, “Scalps,” *SCD*, 11 September 1862, 2.

<sup>36</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Editorial Correspondence,” *SCD*, 22 March 1860, 2.

<sup>37</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, “Indians,” *SCD*, 9 December 1858, 2; Ramsey, “1863,” 27; “The Indian War,” *St. Paul Pioneer* by correspondent of *New York Herald*, 5 October 1862, 2; White, “Power of Whiteness,” 183; Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1984), 74–81.

<sup>38</sup>Dakota gender roles, see: Wilson, Angela Cavender, "A Day in the Life of Maza Okiye Win," *Minnesota History* (Winter 1998–1999): 200–01; Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa), *Indian Boyhood* (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1901; reprint, 1976), 23, 49–60; Dakota religion, see: Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa), *Soul of an Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911), 9–24, 103–07; Dakota language, see: S. W. Pond, Jr. *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakota or the Story of the Labors of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893), 50.

<sup>39</sup>Anderson, "Through Dakota Eyes," 6, 23–27; Wilson, "A Day," 200–01.

<sup>40</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Editorial Correspondence," *SCD*, 19 April 1860, 2.

<sup>41</sup>Indians should homestead, see: Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Letter from Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm," *SCD*, 3 November, 1864, 2; Quote about contempt for plows, see: *HAC*, 224.

<sup>42</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Driving off the Indians," *SCD*, 15 December 1859, 2.

<sup>43</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Indians," *SCD*, 9 December 1858, 2; idem, "Indian Wrongs," *SCD*, 18 September 1862, 2; Relates JS principles to anti-Indian stand, see: Helen Beal Woodward, *The Bold Women* (NY: Farrar, Straus, & Young, 1953), 79–80.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid*, 2; *HAC*, 223–28.

<sup>45</sup>Swisshelm, "Indian Wrongs," *SCD*, 18 September 1862, 2.

<sup>46</sup>"Meeting in Chicago for the Relief of Minnesota Sufferers," *SPP*, 28 September 1862, 2.

<sup>47</sup>"The Editor is in Chicago," *SCD*, 29 January 1863, 1.

<sup>48</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Editorial Correspondence," *SCD*, 12 February 1863, 2.

<sup>49</sup>Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Editorial Correspondence," *SCD*, 5 March 1863, 1–2; "The Editor is in Chicago," *SCD*, 29 January 1863, 1.

<sup>50</sup>*HAC*, 236.

<sup>51</sup>*HAC*, 238–95. Jane Grey Swisshelm, "The Election," *SCD*, 16 October 1862, 2.

<sup>52</sup>Examples of Swisshelm's post-Civil War reform activism, see: Susan B. Anthony, Personal letters to Jane Grey Swisshelm, TLS, 2 January 1883 and [5 February 1883], William B. Mitchell Family Papers, MHS; Jane Grey Swisshelm, Letter to Nettie Swisshelm (her daughter), LS, 7, August 1882; idem, Letter to Mrs. Henry Z. Mitchell (her sister), LS, 27 June 1882. William B. Mitchell Family Papers, MHS; Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (Boston: published by the author, 1875), 177; Final letter, see: Jane Grey Swisshelm, "Wake Samson," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 September 1884, 11; Details of Swisshelm's post-Civil War years, see: *UL*, 168–89.

## Bibliography

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**Special note:**

Jane Swisshelm burned all of her journals and incoming correspondence because, by Pennsylvania law, her husband had the right to read them, so she preferred to destroy them. Therefore, Swisshelm's biography, *Half a Century*, and her published articles are extremely important. Swisshelm's personality shows in not only her articles' words, but also from the layouts she chose. To most researchers, articles from her small frontier press are difficult to access, as are ones from other Minnesota papers in this era. Each newspaper article, therefore, is listed in the bibliography and briefly annotated to aid further research.

**Abbreviations used:**

<i>HAC</i> :	<i>Half a Century</i> by Jane Grey Swisshelm
<i>JS</i> :	Jane Grey Swisshelm
<i>MHS</i> :	Minnesota Historical Society Collections, St. Paul
<i>SCD</i> :	<i>St. Cloud Democrat</i> newspaper (MHS)
<i>SCSU</i> :	St. Cloud State University
<i>SPP</i> :	<i>St. Paul Pioneer</i> newspaper (MHS)
<i>SPPD</i> :	<i>St. Paul Pioneer &amp; Democrat</i> newspaper (MHS)

**Primary Sources:****Jane Grey Swisshelm authored:**

Swisshelm, Jane Grey. "Abercrombie Safe! Indians Gone!" *SCD*, 26 September 1862, 2. Also on same page: "Gen. Pope."

The first article's headlines are quite big for this era. "Gen. Pope" describes the troops and chain of forts Pope envisions to protect settlers. He says he will "smoke out" the beasts of prey (escaped Dakota), and allot each their 6 foot homestead. Both articles are useful because they show the importance to JS that settlers regain power over the Dakota. It also is an excellent example of JS's partisan press style: sensational, stretching the facts, libelous name-calling, and violent.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Change and the Reasons." *St. Cloud Visiter*, 18 February 1858, 1.

This is the endorsement JS promised Lowry if he would patronize her newspaper. Instead of praising President Buchanan, she sarcastically accuses him of expanding slavery. This is important to show that JS knew how to play political games to spread her anti-slavery message.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858–1865*. Edited and with a forward by Arthur J. Larsen. St. Paul: MHS, 1934.

This is collection of *SCD*-published letters by JS. They record her opinions and activities during her MN and Civil War years. Some are quoted in this paper. Larsen, the editor, wrote a biographical introduction (pp. 1–32); this is a secondary source, and provides a summary of JS's life which most subsequent biographers have used. He discusses JS's anti-Indian stand, the earliest one to do so; this appears in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Driving off the Indians.” *SCD*, 15 December 1859, 2.  
Swisshelm expresses her disapproval for the Indians because they receive annuity payments from the government instead of earning it by farming. She quotes the Bible about how those who do not work should starve, and this is used in this paper.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Editorial Correspondence.” *SCD*, 22 March 1860, 2. (dated 10 March 1860)  
This is one of the rare times JS writes about meeting an Indian. It is a girl who has been assimilated into a white family. This shows JS’s cultural ignorance. She attributes the girl’s beauty and intelligence to proper training.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Editorial Correspondence.” *SCD*, 19 April 1860, 2. (dated 6 April 1860)  
JS praises the good land in MN, and says that only “loafers” don’t farm it. This is used to show how she promoted Minnesota to prospective settlers, as well as her high regard for the settlers’ agrarian lifestyle, and likewise, her disapproval for the Dakota hunters.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Editorial Correspondence.” *SCD*, 12 February 1863, 2. (dated 29 January 1863)  
This is the first letter written by JS in transit to Washington D.C. It is important because she says her mission is “correcting public sentiment on the Indian policy,” and this is quoted in this paper. Most JS biographies before 1950 mistakenly list the Civil War as the reason for her trip.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Editorial Correspondence.” *SCD*, 5 March 1863, 1–2. (dated 23 February 1863)  
This letter is the text of JS’s lecture on MN’s Indian situation. This is quoted to demonstrate JS’s harsh advocacy of vigilantism if the government does not remove the Indians from MN.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Election.” *SCD*, 16 October 1862, 2.  
JS worries that the Dakota Conflict has distracted people from the upcoming elections, and now that it is over (and she assumes all the Dakota will be punished), it is time to get back to more important things — the ballot box. This shows that JS has little interest in the Indians past the initial excitement of battle; her true interest is Civil War politics. This is important because it shows that JS’s anti-Indian stand was reactionary, and not a major objective like abolition.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Half a Century*. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1880.  
This is JS’s autobiography, and is the most important and useful primary resource on JS. She explains her stands, and has the last say on all of them. She recollects the events that shaped her life, which is useful for a sense of her personality: survivalist, clever, dedicated, but also self-righteous, egotistical, and power-hungry. Besides her published articles and outgoing correspondence, this is her only personal record (see *Special note*, above); her recent major biographer, Sylvia Hoffert, deems JS selective in her memory, but fairly accurate.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Horsewhips.” *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter*, 28 April 1849, 58. Quoted in Sylvia D. Hoffert, *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815–1884*, 169. Chapel Hill: Univ. of NC, 2004.  
This article advocates burning taverns to fight drunkenness. It is used as an example of JS’s partisan press sensational way of dealing with social issues.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Indian Amusements.” *SCD*, 18 September 1862: 2.  
JS recounts the gruesome violence in the Conflict, stressing how brutal the Dakota are with their victims. She tells stories in gory detail, probably hoping to stir up feelings of resentment against the Dakota and pity for the settlers.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Indian Massacre." *SCD*, 10 November 1859, 2.  
JS assures settlers that Indians do not dare harm them. She tells the story of a woman who drove Indians away from her home by waving a broom at them. This story is used to show her ignorance of Indian culture (This predates the U.S.-Dakota Conflict; the title refers to a Dakota-Ojibwa clash.).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Indian Wrongs." *SCD*, 18 September 1862, 2.  
Written during the Dakota Conflict, JS tells why she equates the Dakota with slaveholders, and therefore, is anti-Indian. A quote from this article is used to show that this stand was based on the same principles as her other stands. Also, JS advocates punishing only the raid's participants, not all Dakota. This is used to show how JS's rhetoric changes with public sentiment. Later, as sympathy for the Dakota grows, her calls for genocide intensify.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Indians." *SCD*, 9 December 1858, 2.  
This article contains JS's views on the Indians' work ethic. She thinks that they are lazy because they do not farm, instead preferring to hunt in settlers' territory. Quotes from this article are used in this paper to demonstrate her ignorance of their culture.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Indians." *SCD*, 24 November 1859, 2.  
The Dakota are hunting near St. Cloud, and JS wants the government to send them back to their reservation because they have killed livestock and stolen crops. Before the Dakota Conflict this is the extent of her interest in Indians: keeping them away from the settlers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lectures." *SCD*, 3 February 1859, 2.  
JS is on a lecture tour to Sauk Rapids, MN, speaking on women in politics and slavery abolition. This is used to demonstrate her typical caustic rhetoric.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Letter from Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm." *SCD*, 3 November 1864, 2. (dated 22 October 1864)  
JS writes from Washington that the government should treat the Indians like settlers: give them a homestead and all the same legal protections and punishments instead of gathering them on reservations. This highlights JS's cultural ignorance about the Dakota lifestyle and the challenges of adapting to another culture.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Letters to Country Girls*. NY: John C. Riker, 1853.  
These are letters published in JS's *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor*. They address domestic tasks but also JS gives advice on how to get men to do what you want, which she also used in politics. This was useful to this project as an example of a reform issue, women's rights, that JS's *Visitor* addressed indirectly through young women.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mrs. Swisshelm's Letters . . . No. IV, The Senate Gallery—Women's Behavior—Col. Benton—Mr. Clay—The Collision in the Senate and some thoughts thereon." *New-York Daily Tribune*, 22 April 1850. Quoted in Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1986, 31–33.  
This is JS's first impression of the Senate Press Gallery. It is important because she was the first woman reporter allowed there.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The News." *SCD*, 4 September 1862, 1.  
JS tries to reassure the settlers and convince them to come back to St. Cloud after the Dakota Conflict. In a quote used to show her anti-Indian motivations, she also encourages them to stand up to the Indians, because "Anglo Saxons" are the stronger race and can defeat the Dakota.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Nominations for the Twentieth District of Minn.” *SCD*, 7 October 1858, 2.  
This is a typical example of JS’s partisan press style of journalism: sensational, sarcastic, name-calling. It shows the harshness of the era and JS. A copy of it appears as *Figure 2*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Obituary.” *SCD*, 5 August 1858, 1.  
This is the first *SCD* edition, and JS describes how Lowry and his gang tried to stop her from publishing. This illustrates JS’s character — she is clever, tenacious, and hates to lose any battle.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Peace With the Sioux.” *SCD*, 14 November 1862, 2.  
This contains the shocking opening quote of this paper. It is intended to grab attention, just as JS expected it would. JS foresees Washington’s interference in Dakota punishment, and she is upset because she thinks the Indian traders will profit. She is very angry because she thinks some will not be punished, and encourages vigilantism if the government will not contain them.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Personal Letters. JS to Nettie Swisshelm (her daughter). LS. 7 August 1882. Also: JS to Mrs. Henry Z. Mitchell (her sister). LS. 27 June 1882. William B. Mitchell Family Papers. A.M682. Box 2, folder: Correspondence. MHS.  
These two letters illustrate character traits that made JS a formidable foe: her self-righteousness and her drive to succeed. Her daughter and her sister want her to visit them, but she declines because she had work that only she could do (protesting taxes in this case), and God was depending on her. She also indirectly blames both of them for wasting her time with socializing.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Scalps.” *SCD*, 11 September 1862, 2.  
Published during the Conflict, when hundreds of people were being killed, and thousands were fleeing the prairies, JS calls it “folly” to fight like Europeans — “\$10 for every Sioux scalp” would be the “cheapest and quickest manner” to exterminate them. It is interesting because it is perhaps her harshest call for genocide, reflecting her desire to win the Conflict.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Wake Samson.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 September 1884, 11.  
Denoted as the last article JS wrote before her death, its theme is that Republicans may be botching reconstruction of the South, yet they are still preferable to the Southern Democrats who make a “mockery” of the black man’s voting rights. This is useful to show that JS remained involved in politics and active in her primary cause: slaves’ (then freed blacks’) rights.

### Other Primary Sources:

- Anderson, Gary Clayton and Alan R. Woolworth, eds. *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862*. St. Paul: MHS, 1988.  
These are narrative accounts given by Dakota people who took part in or witnessed the 1862 Conflict. It is the most important source for this project for understanding the Dakota culture at the time of the Conflict, and how it clashed with the Euro-American culture. Specifically used is Chief Big Eagle’s discussion of how “farmer” was a derogatory label, and how they really did not want to adopt the settlers’ ways; they liked theirs better. Also the editor’s intro is used as a secondary source.
- Anonymous letter signed Vigilance. Ms. 24 March 1857. William B. Mitchell Family Papers, A.M682, Box 1, folder: Correspondence 1852–1857. MHS.  
This is the actual letter left nailed to the wall by Lowry’s gang when they destroyed JS’s printing press. It threatens and insults JS, telling her that she must stop publishing the *Visitor* or she will be physically harmed. The fact that she did not back down after this shows how tough she was.

Atwood, E. "Indian War." *SCD*, 16 October 1862, 2.

A settler from Maine Prairie, MN asked JS to write this article so it is impossible to know if it reflects his opinions or JS's. It implies that they can live in peace with the Ojibwa, but they are easily mistaken for Dakota and liable to be shot because a "Sioux has as much right to life as a hyena, and he who would spare them is an enemy to his race." This is JS's sentiment, and it seems to be shared by settlers, which is one point of this project's thesis.

Anthony, Susan B. Personal letter to JS. TLS. 2 January 1883. Also: Personal letter to JS. TLS. [5 February 1883]. William B. Mitchell Family Papers. A.M682. Box 2, folder: Correspondence 1883–1889. MHS.

These two letters demonstrate JS's later life involvement in women's rights, and how she could be contrary to reformers. Anthony urges JS to send a letter to the 15<sup>th</sup> Convention of the National Women's Suffrage Association, and to use her "sharp pen" to go after Senators who are thwarting suffrage. Even though JS's reply is not here, Anthony's second letter disputes JS's contention that women are not ready for full equality.

Bishop, Coleman E. "Eccentric Americans: IX—A Pioneer Eccentric Woman." *Chaotauquan*, July 1884, 584–87.

This is a very detailed biography and commentary on JS's life, right after her death. Her stands on women's rights and abolition are discussed, as are her political encounters, but her anti-Indian stand is not mentioned. This is used in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

"Border Ruffianism in Minnesota!!" *SPPD*, 30 March 1858, 1.

Published shortly after JS's press was demolished by Lowry's gang, it attempts to address both sides of the story. Political and personal reasons are given for the incident, but more importantly, this shows that JS is able to get widespread publicity for her views.

"City News: First Arrival." *SPP*, 27 September 1862, 4.

This short article announces a public display in St. Paul of a Dakota scalp taken in the Conflict. It is important because it seeks to inflame anti-Indian sentiment, showing that others besides JS published inflammatory articles. A copy of this article appears as *Figure 5*.

"The Condemned Indians." *SPP*, 14 December 1862, 1.

An Associated Press dispatch on December 10<sup>th</sup> announces President Lincoln has determined 39 Dakota will be executed, instead of 300, for their role in the Conflict. This issue's layout is also interesting because it appears next to a long article — "Our Indian Troubles" by Antoine Frenier, a multi-racial ("half-breed" in JS's era) Dakota interpreter — that vehemently disagrees with Lincoln's decision. He thinks, like JS, that they are all guilty.

"Death of Jane Grey Swisshelm." *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 24 July 1884, 1.

This obituary appears in the newspaper that JS founded; her nephew is still the editor. A detailed biography is given, mentioning her stands on abolition and women's rights, but not her anti-Indian stand. This is useful for the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

Eastman, Charles Alexander (Ohiyesa). *Indian Boyhood*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1901. Reprint, 1976.

Ohiyesa (otherwise known as Eastman) was born in 1858 in southwestern MN in the small tract of land left to the Dakota. He and his grandparents escaped to Canada during the Conflict, and he lived with them until his assimilated father found him at age 15; then, Ohiyesa was assimilated. This book provides first-hand cultural information on the Dakota; the roles of Dakota men and women is used to highlight JS's cultural ignorance.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Soul of an Indian*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911.

Ohiyesa discusses the Dakota's moral and religious beliefs, providing cultural background. Dispelling the Euro-American (including JS's) notion that they lack moral values, the Dakota shunned material wealth prior to E-A influence, and strove for spiritual wealth through nature.

“The Editor is in Chicago.” *SCD*, 29 January 1863, 1.

Also on same page: “Lo, the Poor Indian.” Reprint from: *Chicago Morning Post*.

And “The Lecture by Mrs. J. G. Swisshelm.” Reprint from: *Chicago Tribune*.

These describe the first lecture of JS's anti-Indian mission to the east. She was “heartily received” for saying the Indian is a wild beast and that the government has treated them too “tenderly.” JS says the government must remove the Dakota from MN or allow settlers to hunt them. Strangely, in spite of her harsh rhetoric, the reviewers say her voice is weak, and soft, and her delivery is quaint and charming — the audience applauds her quiet call for genocide, which implies that the anti-Indian sentiment was generally accepted, which is a major point of this paper.

“The Execution of the Thirty-Eight Sioux Indians at Mankato, Minnesota, December 26, 1862.” Digital image. Original 1883. Digital ID: cph 3a04167. Available from Library of Congress website. Accessed: 5 May 2006.

The drawing illustrates the spectacle of all 38 Dakota being executed at once, and is used as *Figure 4*. This shows that the anti-Indian sentiment was a general one, not just JS's.

Gilbert, Olive. *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. Boston: privately published by the author, 1875.

On p. 177, noted reformer Truth states that she stayed 3 weeks with JS prior to November 1864. This illustrates JS's prominence in reforming women's rights, even late in life.

Gill, Kate, Professor of SCSU Philosophy Dept. E-mail interview by author, 28 February 2006.

Prof. Gill helped organize the committee that decided what to do with the original JS marker. She provided many items useful to this paper's development and thesis: a summary of the controversy's history, contact information for those involved in controversy, and a copy of the marker's text (see *Appendix A*). She also sent a draft of her paper about Swisshelm's activities in Minnesota (see *Gill* in Secondary sources).

“The Indian War.” *SPP* by correspondent of *NY Herald*., 5 October 1862, 2.

The article discusses the Ojibwa coming to St. Paul for treaty negotiations and offering their help against their enemies, the Dakota. The author (from NY) displays his cultural ignorance, and insults their language, dress, customs, and intelligence. This is useful in this paper because it illustrates the typical attitude in JS's era.

“The Indian War in Minnesota.” *SPP*, 16 December 1862, 4. Reprint from: *Philadelphia Press*.

Detailing the atrocities of the Dakota Conflict, this Eastern journalist agrees that the Minnesotans should hang all 300 Dakota who were initially convicted. This is used to demonstrate that JS's anti-Indian sentiment was shared nationally.

“Jane Grey Swisshelm.” Black and white photograph by Eugene S. Hill. 1852. Location: por 11054 r2, MHS.

This is used as *Figure 1*, and illustrates JS during her partisan press years.

“Kind and Generous.” *SCD*, 16 September 1858, 2. Reprint from *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (NY), 24 August 1858.

JS is praised by this NY newspaper for her fight against the Democrats and their attempt to smash free speech by smashing her press. They note that she is a “terror to evil doers.” This is used to illustrate that JS brought national attention to her causes, even in remote Minnesota.

Kropp, Cathy. "Marker causes controversy." *University Chronicle*, 25 October 2004. From SCSU website, available from <http://www.universitychronicle.com>. Accessed 21 February 2006. Announces removal of JS's marker has been approved by a 15 to 2 vote, and provides the reaction of students and faculty: most agreed with removal, but said more research is needed to decide if it should be replaced. This establishes the pertinence of JS's anti-Indian stand to today's issues.

Lehman, Christopher, Professor of SCSU Ethnic Studies Dept. E-mail interview by author, 2 March 2006. Dr. Lehman is the chairman of a committee analyzing the JS marker controversy. He said that the committee is generally in favor of putting up a new JS marker which includes her anti-Indian stand, but no other information is definite, yet.

"Letter from the Indian Expedition." *SPP*, 4 November 1862, 1.

This article details the transfer of the captured Dakota to prison camps after the Conflict. It represents many articles that express hatred for the Dakota and the desire for retribution, showing JS's anti-Indian stand was not unique. It also expresses contempt for Indian sympathizers.

Lincoln, Abraham. Letter to Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley in Minnesota. 6 December 1862. LS. Edward D. Neill and family papers, Manuscript Collection Reserved. MHS.

This is the actual letter written by President Lincoln limiting the Dakota to be executed to 39; later one sentence was changed to a prison term. He personally wrote out each Dakota name phonetically, and signed with his full official title. This letter incensed Swisshelm to intensify her calls for Dakota genocide.

"Meeting in Chicago for the Relief of Minnesota Sufferers." *SPP*, 28 September 1862, 2.

Also: "Apologies for Savages." *SPP*, 8 October 1862, 2. Reprint from: *SCD*.

The first article details a speech in Chicago to raise relief funds for the settlers displaced by the Conflict. It is sympathetic to the Dakota, placing blame on the Indian Agents and liquor for the attack. The subsequent rebuttal from *SCD* (probably written by JS) rails at having white men blamed, and fumes that the misguided speaker is "a dangerous messenger to send East." This is important because it hints that JS believes that sensationalizing Indian atrocities will bring aid to MN to deal with the Dakota issues, but blaming whites won't.

Mitchell, William B. *History of Stearns County*, Vol. 1. Chicago: H. C. Cooper, Jr. and Co., 1915.

This is written by JS's nephew, to whom she sold the *SCD* after leaving for Washington on her anti-Indian mission. This is useful because, although he adopts a compassionate (but still superior) tone towards the Indian, his JS biography omits her anti-Indian stand, even though it is very detailed otherwise. This is included in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

\_\_\_\_\_. "When I look back." TMs. [1924.] William B. Mitchell Family Papers, A.M682, Box 3, folder: Misc. MHS.

This is a short history of MN's early newspapers by JS's nephew, who worked at and eventually owned JS's *St. Cloud Democrat*. It provides background on the difficulties of publishing a frontier paper. The contentious nature of the newspaper business is useful here.

"Mrs. Swisshelm's Favorite for United States Senator." *SPP*, 22 October 1862, 1.

JS's endorsement for Senator on the front page of Minnesota's largest newspaper is an indication of her political power. This is important because it shows how being journalist has allowed her to participate in politics even though she is disenfranchised.

“The Mutinous Indians in Minnesota.” *SPP*, 12 December 1862, 2. Reprint from: *NY Evening Post*.

This lists Conflict atrocities to justify the passion of MN, but agrees with Lincoln’s decision to execute 39 instead of 300. The reason for saving the lives is not for their sakes but “to prevent an act for which Minnesota would some day blush.” This is important, not only to analyze JS’s anti-Indian stand, but also to understand why it is important to discuss it now, nearly 150 years later.

Otto, Kathryn, Supervisor of MHS website text on Swisshelm. E-mail Interview, 11 April 2006.

Ms. Otto supervised the intern who wrote MHS website’s *History Topics: Jane Grey Swisshelm*, which is one of the few post-1950 JS biographies that does not mention JS’s anti-Indian stand (see *Appendix B*). Ms. Otto’s goal was to provide just enough to start research: “We don’t want to prejudice you by saying something controversial; we want you to find that out for yourself.”

Pond, S. W. Jr. *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakota or the Story of the Labors of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond*. Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893.

The Pond brothers developed a written form of the Dakota language. They marvel at its sophistication, with a “fullness and completeness scarcely to have been expected... of wandering savages.” This shows that the whites’ stereotypes underestimated the Dakota culture in this era.

Post, Tim. “A Woman of Contradiction.” *Minnesota Public Radio* website. 26 September 2002. Available from <[http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23\\_steilm\\_1862-m/swisshelm.shtml](http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23_steilm_1862-m/swisshelm.shtml)>. Accessed: 11 February 2005.

This webpage discusses the SCSU marker controversy. This helped shape this project’s thesis, and make it relevant to today’s issues.

Ramsey, Alexander. “Annual Message of Gov. Ramsey, 1863.” 7 January 1863. MHS.

Delivered after the Conflict, but before final determination of what should be done with the Dakota people, Gov. Ramsey’s speech outlines the Conflict’s impact on the state and the public’s desire to be rid of the Dakota. He refers to the Dakota as “wild and roving” with “child-like ignorance.” These items are important because it shows that JS’s opinions were similar to public opinion in this era. Details on the number of settler refugees are also useful.

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“Message of Gov. Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota delivered at extra session, September 9, 1862.” MHS.

Delivered during the Dakota Conflict, Gov. Ramsey’s speech details the atrocities, displacement of settlers, and economic impact of the Dakota attacks, voicing the public’s outrage. He declares that the Dakota lands and annuities are forfeit, and that they should be exterminated or removed from Minnesota. This is important because it shows that JS was not alone in her anti-Indian stand. Details related to the Conflict are also used here.

Roberts, Chad. “Swisshelm Package.” KVSC Radio station, SCSU. Aired 30 October 2004 about 8:00am. Radio feature. Length: 3:01.1. From e-mail attachment sent to author by KVSC, 5 May 2006.

Roberts summarizes the SCSU Swisshelm marker controversy, before the marker was removed. Students, faculty, and others are interviewed. This excellent program (in 2004, it won 1<sup>st</sup> place in MN AP awards) provided background on the controversy, especially feelings of those involved.

Sanders, Kell. Jane Swisshelm marker at SCSU. Digital Image. 25 October 2004. Available from SCSU website:

<<http://www.universitychronicle.com/media/paper231/news/2004/10/25/News/Marker.Causes.Controversy-779705.shtml?noreferrer&sourcedomain=www.universitychronicle.com>>. Accessed: 21 February 2006.

A photograph of the now-removed SCSU JS marker illustrates *Appendix A*.

“A Staunch Foe of Slavery.” *NY Times*, 23 July 1884, 5.

This obituary of JS includes a biography which mentions her abolition and women’s rights stands, but not her anti-Indian stand. This is useful for the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

Turner, Nikki, American Indian student at SCSU. Telephone interview by author, 1 March 2006.

Ms. Turner is the student president of the All Tribes Council at SCSU. She was on the committee that decided to remove JS’s marker. This interview is important because it provided counterpoint to reestablishment of the marker: Ms. Turner strongly feels a marker should never reappear, and that JS’s contributions to society are far outweighed by her racist stand.

U.S., Census Office. *Population of the United States in 1860*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1864.

The 1860 population of MN (p. 253) shows the impact of westward movement between 1850–60. This also provides a snapshot of the occupations: 52% are farmers (p. 263).

U.S., Census Office. *Seventh Census of the United States 1850*. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

The 1850 population of MN (p. 993) shows the impact of westward movement between 1850–60.

“Vanquished at Last.” *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, 24 July 1884, 3.

A detailed biography of JS is included in her obituary. Her stands on abolition and women’s rights, and the Lowry incident are detailed; however, her anti-Indian stand is not mentioned. Interestingly, it is printed right next to an article about an Indian attack of a cowboy camp. This obituary is useful for the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

Whipple, Henry B. “Duty of the Citizens concerning the Indian Massacre.” *SPP*, 3 December 1862, 1.

Also “What Shall We Do with the Indians.” *SPP*, 17 December 1862, 1.

These are examples of articles sympathetic to the Indians. Catholic missionary Bishop Whipple spoke to President Lincoln about the desperation of the Dakota. Whipple is sympathetic but still thinks of them as savages who can easily be assimilated. This demonstrates that the Dakota were misjudged even by compassionate people.

## Secondary Sources:

Andreasen, Bethany. “Mother of the Republican Party: Jane Swisshelm and Minnesota Politics, 1857–1863.” *North Dakota Humanities Council* website (February 2004), available from <http://www.nd-humanities.org/html/andreasen.html>. Accessed 25 February 2006.

A detailed analysis of the JS vs. Lowry incident, and its impact on MN politics. It is important because it shows how resilient and clever JS is politically, and how determined she is to crush anything that resembles pro-slavery (Southern Democrats or stereotypical Dakota).

Belford, Barbara. *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1986.

This JS biography contains two of her letters: one on the Senate press gallery, and one on women clerks. It also contains analysis of JS’s impact on MN politics which is used in this paper. Also, this is included in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

- Berg, Kristen, writer / producer. *The Dakota Conflict*. Narr. by Garrison Keillor and Floyd Red Crow Westerman. St. Paul: KTCA Twin Cities Public Television, 1992. Videocassette.  
This documentary on the Conflict's history is told with narrative interspersed with quotes from the people involved. The visuals are photographs, maps, and artwork of the era, and JS's role is mentioned. This is important for information of the era, especially the land-hunger of the settlers and the desperation of the Dakota.
- Brainard, D. S. "Jane Grey Swisshelm — A Pioneer Journalist." *Minnesota Journal of Education* (December 1934): 132–33, 141.  
This JS biography does not mention her anti-Indian stand. This is included in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. NY: Henry Holt and Co., 1970.  
The chapter *Little Crow's War* tells the causes, battles, and outcome of the 1862 Conflict from the Dakota view, which is useful to this paper. It also provided important contrast to JS's strictly Calvinist, Euro-American viewpoint.
- Carley, Kenneth. *The Sioux Uprising of 1862*. St. Paul: MHS, 1976.  
This concise book on the causes, battles, and aftermath of the Dakota Conflict is an excellent one to begin a study of the Dakota Conflict. It provided background needed to understand more in-depth studies of this era.
- Cox, Hank H. *Lincoln and the Sioux Uprising of 1862*. Nashville: Cumberland House, 2005.  
This excellent new source provides background on the Dakota Conflict, placed in the context of the Civil War events. The politics and ramifications of Lincoln's Dakota pardons were especially useful to this project.
- Davison, Elizabeth M. and Ellen B. McKee. *Annals of Old Wilkesburg and Vicinity: The Village 1788–1888*. Wilkesburg, PA: Group for Historical Research, 1940.  
Chapter 7, pp. 390–99 is a JS biography. It is atrociously inaccurate, and does not include her anti-Indian stand. This is noted in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed. Daniel G. Reid. Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990.  
This summarized Calvinists' history and beliefs, which helps to understand JS's moral principles.
- Eide, Richard B. "Minnesota Journalism 1849–1858." M.A. thesis, State Univ. of Iowa School of Journalism, August 1930, MHS.  
This studies MN newspapers in JS's era and their role in the "prosperity and contentment" of the early settlers. A JS biography is included; it does not mention her anti-Indian stand, and mistakenly says she left MN to be a Civil War nurse. Eide, however, gets the details right on the "Lowry" incident. Other editors supported her on this free speech issue, and this is used here.
- Emery, Michael and Edwin Emery. *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992.  
*Chapter 6: A Press for the Masses* describes America's social and industrial conditions that led to the rapid expansion of press especially for "common" people in the 1800s, and this is useful to this project. Also, JS's journalism contributions are noted: 1st woman in the congressional press gallery, facing St. Cloud mob, slavery and women's rights crusader.

Endres, Kathleen. "Jane Grey Swisshelm: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Journalist and Feminist." *Journalism History Magazine*. (Winter 1975–76): 128–32.

This JS biography provides excerpts from critical reviews of her journalism ("her pen seemed dipped in gall"). JS's stands on women, slaves, and Indians are mentioned, and this is used in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

Fearing, Jerry. *The Story of Minnesota*. St. Paul: N.W. Publications, Inc., 1964.

The map on page 43 is used as *Figure 3* to illustrate the diminishing Indian lands in MN.

Folwell, William Watts. *A History of Minnesota*. Volume 2. St. Paul: MHS, 1978.

Originally published in 1924. Even though some of the information is outdated, this continues to be an important resource for MN history in 1858–1865 especially on the era's politics and the U.S.-Dakota Conflict. This volume coincides with JS's years in MN.

Gill, Kate. "The Historical Fortunes of Jane Grey Swisshelm." E-mail file. 28 February 2006.

This presents a summary of the SCSU controversy about JS's marker (primary source), and the bulk of the document analyzes JS's life (secondary source) in order to present a clearer picture to those who are debating the marker. Dr. Gill relates JS's stand to her Calvinism, the era she lived in, and her character, all useful to this paper's thesis.

Green, William D. "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota, 1854–60." *Minnesota History* (Fall 2000): 107–20.

This describes how slaveholders migrated to Minnesota on the Mississippi River, legally bringing slaves with them. This caused JS to re-enter journalism to help thwart these people politically.

"History Topics: Jane Grey Swisshelm." MHS website. Available from:

<[http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history\\_topics/128swisshelm.htm](http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/128swisshelm.htm)>. Accessed: 10 March 2006. For important MN history topics, the MHS creates webpages; there is one for JS. This brief biography does not list her anti-Indian stand, however, its list of research sources does. This is noted in *Appendix B*. Ms. Otto, who supervised the text's creation, wants to provide just enough to start research: "We don't want to prejudice you by saying something controversial; we want you to find that out for yourself."

Hoffert, Sylvia D. "Gender and Vigilantism on the Minnesota Frontier: Jane Grey Swisshelm and the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862." *Western Historical Quarterly* (Autumn 1998): 342–62.

This is the most complete examination of JS's involvement with the Dakota and the Conflict, and her reasons for disdain of the Dakota. It provides useful information on this era, and the bibliography pointed to many sources. Also, Hoffert's study of JS's influence on bringing settlers to Minnesota supports this paper's point that JS viewed the Conflict as a struggle for land for settlers, instead of for Dakota. Due to lack of space, most of Hoffert's gender study is not used.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815–1884*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of NC, 2004.

This is the most in-depth analysis of JS's life, the most valuable secondary sources on JS. Information from this study is used throughout the paper, especially regarding JS's moral principles and how they influenced her stands. The bibliography is useful, as were Hoffert's excerpts from primary sources that are out of my reach (*e.g.* Eastern newspapers from JS's era). One entitled "Horsewhips" is quoted in this project.

Huntzicker, William E, Prof of Mass Communication at SCSU. Telephone interview, 1 March 2006.

Dr. Huntzicker is the author of *The Popular Press*. Important to this project is how JS compared with other partisan editors of her time. Dr. Huntzicker said JS's strong language and accusations were "not at all unusual." She may not have been the most radical — many other partisan editors used even more violent and brutal words. He attested to her national fame and accomplishments in women's rights, even though she disassociated herself from popular leaders.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Popular Press, 1833–1865*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

This is a history of the press during JS's active journalism days, and includes biographical info on JS (which mentions her anti-Indian stand pp. 45–7) and uses her MN "Lowry" incident as an example of mob-violence directed at the editors. It is important because it exposes the rough and sometimes unprincipled beginnings of journalism. This makes JS's entry into this men's profession especially noteworthy. This is used to explain her journalistic style, and the political and social power that editors felt they had in this era.

*An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*. Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1874.

*Political History* (pp. 218–23) provides election results for the early years of the territory and state. This shows the dominance shifting from Democrat to Republican during JS's stay.

Jaakkola, Teresa. *Shadows Illuminated: Women in a Rural Culture*. St. Cloud, MN: Stearns County Historical Society, 1996.

Chapter 5 is a JS biography which includes her stands on slavery, women's rights, and Indians. It is useful for the study of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

McCarthy, Abigail. "Chapter 3: Jane Grey Swisshelm, Marriage and Slavery." In *Women of Minnesota: Selected Biographical Essays*. Edited by Barbara Stuhler and Gretchen Kreuter. St. Paul: MHS Press, 1977, 34–54.

This biography describes JS's stands on slavery, women's rights, and Indians. However, McCarthy attributes JS's stand to fear of Indians, with which I (and K. Gill) do not agree. This is useful, however, for the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

Pierson, Michael D. "Between Antislavery and Abolition: The Politics and Rhetoric." *Pennsylvania History* (July 1993): 305–21.

This in-depth analysis links JS's moral principles to her stand on slavery and women's rights, which supports one of the main points of this project. This does not discuss her Indian stand, however it is not really a full biography but a narrow study of the slavery issue.

Rankin, Charles E. "Savage Journalists and Civilized Indians: A Different View." *Journalism History* (Autumn 1995): 102–11.

This article provides important analysis of frontier journalists' biased views on Indians. Most journalists derided them as savages, and weren't interested in the true nature of the Indians. The work of a fair-minded western journalist, Frederic Lockley, is highlighted, and he declared: "There is a natural repugnancy between the races, but all the virtues are not on our side."

Riley, Glenda. *Women and Indians on the Frontier*. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1984.

This discusses how Europeans' "superior" attitude led them to misinterpret the lifestyle and contentment of Indian women. Important to this project, Europeans were ignorant about Indians' culture so they mapped it onto their own, which caused them to characterize Indian women as overworked drudges, disdained and degraded by their husbands.

- Ross, Ishbel. *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider*. NY: Harper & Bros., 1936.  
Chapter 25 is a JS biography with many errors. Her stands on slaves, women, and Democrats are here, but not her anti-Indian stand. This is used in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Schlipp, Madelon Golden and Sharon M. Murphy. *Great Women of the Press*. Carbondale, IL: Southern IL Univ. Press. 1983.  
This biography details some of JS's journalistic exploits, such as how she became the first woman in the Senate press gallery. It is also used in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Shippee, Lester Burrell. "Jane Grey Swisshelm: Agitator." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* December 1920: 206–27.  
This lengthy biography of JS mentions her stands on slavery and women's rights, but not her anti-Indian stand. Outrageously, Shippee distorts her reason for leaving MN for Washington D.C.: "When the civil war was in progress Minnesota politics and small town doings ceased to afford sufficient outlet for the pent-up energy of Jane Swisshelm's active mind" (224). Sadly, this illustrates that American sentiment was still anti-Indian in 1920. This is included in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Thorpe, Margaret Farrand. *Female Persuasion*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1949.  
This includes a chapter on JS. Useful to the survey of JS biographies (*Appendix B*), this mentions JS's anti-Indian stand, but there is no analysis except that this led her to Civil War nursing.
- White, Bruce M. "The Power of Whiteness Or, the Life and Times of Joseph Rolette Jr." *Minnesota History* (Winter 1998–1999): 178–97.  
This article focused on the interaction of MN's ethnic groups through 1860, and the role it played in formation of the state. The discussion of Indian annuities and its importance to MN's economy, and Euro-Americans' belief in racial superiority are important to this project's thesis. Also, the estimated Indian population in 1850 is used.
- Wilson, Angela Cavender. "A Day in the Life of Maza Okiye Win." *Minnesota History* (Winter 1998–1999): 200–01.  
The author is the great-great-granddaughter of the Dakota girl featured in this article. She lived during the Conflict era. It is an important resource on the Dakota culture, especially about women's duties in agriculture.
- Wilson, Bess M. "Jane Swisshelm's Life Story Bares Debt of U.S. Women." *Minneapolis Journal*, 28 July 1935, 1+ (Sunday Society Section).  
This article (which uses JS's HAC as a source) discusses her stands on abolition and women's rights, and her Lowry incident, but does not mention her anti-Indian stand. This is important for the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.
- Woodward, Helen Beal. *The Bold Women*. NY: Farrar, Straus, & Young, 1953.  
This book includes a chapter on JS (pp. 53–90). The author relates JS's Calvinist feelings about work to her hatred of slavery and her antipathy for the Dakota, which supports one of the points of this project. It is also used in the survey of JS biographies in *Appendix B*.

**Source for paper format:**

Turabian, Kate L. *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed. Revised by John Grossman and Alice Bennett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.