“Indian New Woman”:

American Indian Women and the Concept of Woman in the Early 20th Century

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要　旨

本稿は，20世紀初頭を生きたオナイダ族女性ローラ・コーネリアス・ケロッグ（Laura Cornelius Kellogg）とタートル・マウンテン・チペワ族女性マリー・ルイーズ・ボッティノー・ボールドウィン（Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin）のメディア表象と，それらの表象を通して見えてくる彼女らの取り組みを考察するものである。ケロッグもボールドウィンも西洋式の教育を受けた，いわゆる「文明化」した先住民女性であった。本稿では，19世紀後半に登場した主に中上流階級の白人女性の表象である「新しい女性（New Woman）」というイメージを活用して，ケロッグとボールドウィンが，米国社会における先住民の地位を確立しようとしたと論じる。彼女らの出自や各々が思い描いた女性観，および，彼女らに対する主流社会の期待はそれぞれ異なったが、二人とも新しい女性として自身を演出しつつ，先住民，そして彼女らに向けられたまなざしを戦略的に利用した。そうして彼女らは，婦人参政権獲得を目指す白人女性たちに対し，植民地化以前の母系制社会における先住民女性の役割を教示した。ケロッグは，オナイダ族をはじめとするイロクォイ社会において，いかに女性の意見が尊重されており，女性が影の権力者として活躍していたかを訴えた。ボールドウィンは先住民社会における性別役割分業が合理的であるとし，妻であり母である女性の家政への貢献を紐解いた。その上で，白人女性に「生産的な家庭管理者」となるために教育を受けることの重要性を発信し

た。彼女らは米国における「最初の婦人参政権論者」および「インディアン版新しい女性」として，女性クラブや全国婦人参政権協会の会合で講演した。そして，白人女性たちに米国市民としての女性の役割と責任について再考を促したのである。

Keywords: the Early 20th Century America, Representations of Native American Woman, the New Woman, the Society of American Indians, Woman's Suffrage Movement

I. Introduction

In 1898, *The Washington Post* published an article titled "Indian New Woman: Bright Daughters of Chiefs Who Have Many Accomplishments." It introduced a new generation of American Indian[1] women who excelled "in art, literature and education" and praised them for "ha[ving] kept good pace with [their] paleface sisters."[2]

By referring to them with the term "Indian New Woman," the author obviously intended to relate these American Indian women to the "New Woman" phenomenon in fin de siècle America. The New Woman represented a modern understanding of femininity that emerged from British and American cultures between the 1890s and the early twentieth century.[3] This new ideology replaced the Victorian "True Woman," which valued a woman's purity, piety, domesticity and submissiveness.[4] In stark contrast to the Victorian True Woman, who was expected to be a devoted wife and mother at home, the New Woman demanded greater freedom and independence and emphasized her "youth, visibility and mobility" outside the home.[5] This notion reflected the evolving role of women in rapidly modernizing America, as increasing numbers gained access to higher education and employment. Women became more visible in the workforce and as consumers, advocating for social reforms.

There were various representations of the New Woman. Some worked in settlement houses, some campaigned for suffrage, while others embraced their newfound mobility and leisure, as exemplified by the iconic image of the Gibson Girl, who enjoyed activities like riding bicycles.[6] However, the concept of the New Woman often focused on white middle-class and upper-class women, who were socioeconomically stable enough to be bored with their domestic roles, and its privilege was not readily accessible to those from

racial and ethnic backgrounds.[7]

Given the racially exclusive nature of women's clubs and reform movements at the turn of the twentieth century, the exclusion of ethnic minority women from their representation and benefits is somewhat understandable.[8] Nevertheless, some minority women successfully used the image of the New Woman and its associated fashion to carve out their place in American society. Historian Enav Rabinovich-Fox has highlighted that middle-class African American women and immigrant women wore ready-made shirtwaists as symbols of their freedom and independence. At the same time, they sought to distinguish themselves from working-class women.[9] Playing the New Woman allowed them to gain middle-class respectability and overcome negative stereotypes that were associated with their race and ethnicity.

In this paper, I will expand on Rabinovitch-Fox's observation focusing on two indigenous women who lived in the early twentieth century. There are a few studies that have linked the image of the New Woman to representations of fictional Native women, such as Wynema by a Muscogee author S. Alice Callahan.[10] Few studies, however, show instances of the active participation of actual Native American women in shaping the New Woman. In the following sections, I will first look at how an Oneida woman Laura Minnie Cornelius Kellogg portrayed herself as a New Woman while constantly being subjected to the colonial expectation of being an "Indian." Then, I will explain how a Turtle Mountain Chippewa (Ojibwe) and Métis woman Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin accommodated herself as a "civilized" Indian woman to gain middle-class respectability and credibility to talk about indigenous woman.

Both Kellogg and Baldwin came from elite mixed-heritage families and were among the first generation of American Indians to receive a college education. They were members of the Society of American Indians (SAI), the first Pan-Indian civil rights organization founded by American Indian intellectuals who demanded rights and citizenship for American Indians.[11] Kellogg was a founding member of this organization, while Baldwin joined the second acting Temporary Executive Committee of the SAI and served as the treasurer for three years.[12] Although their activism within the SAI is not the focus of this paper, it is important to note that as members of this progressive organization, both Kellogg and Baldwin had the opportunity to engage with newspaper coverage and the prevailing white American suffrage rhetoric. They also employed similar tactics that were used by SAI members to gain public attention.[13] Kellogg and Baldwin skillfully

manipulated mainstream perceptions of American Indians—portraying them as either "primitive" or "civilized"—to ensure their voices were heard in public discussions. Both were prominent suffragists and actively participated in the activism of white women. To connect with white American women and educate them, Kellogg and Baldwin addressed prevailing public expectations and shared insights about the lives of American Indian women. Through this approach, they capitalized on white women's fascination with American Indians to further their political agendas.

In this paper, I argue that Kellogg and Baldwin presented themselves as the New Woman to assert their place in American society. In doing so, they educated white women about the rights and freedoms that Native women enjoyed before colonization. This helped white women envision their own identities as American women in the early twentieth century.

II. Laura M. Cornelius Kellogg as a New Woman

Laura Minnie Cornelius Kellogg was born in 1880 on the Oneida reservation in Green Bay, Wisconsin as the granddaughter of the prominent Oneida chief, Daniel Bread.[14] By the time of her birth, the Oneida people had already undergone significant changes. In the 1820s and 1830s, they relocated from their ancestral territories in what is now central New York to areas in Green Bay, Wisconsin, and London, Ontario, Canada.

The establishment of distinct settlements on their Wisconsin reservation, based on the Christian beliefs they followed, demonstrates their acculturation to Western lifestyles by the time of their relocation.[15] Additionally, the Dawes Act of 1887 initiated the allotment of Oneida land to individuals, aiming to convert them into private farmers. Consequently, by the time Kellogg was born, many aspects of the traditional Oneida way of life had nearly disappeared. The traditional extended-family longhouses run by women in a matriarchal society gave way to nuclear family lodges run by men in a patriarchal society.[16]

Figure 1. Laura Cornelius Kellogg, 1911.

It seems natural that Kellogg felt the need to adapt

to her new way of life for her survival. She pursued her education off the reservation, attending Grafton Hall, a school for white girls, where she was the only Indian girl. By the time she graduated, she was said to be fluent in at least five languages, including Oneida, English, and Latin.[17] After graduating, she studied law, political science, and social work at prestigious institutions such as Stanford, Columbia, Cornell University, and the University of Wisconsin. She also spent two years traveling in Europe, visiting Germany, England, and France.[18]

Kellogg's educational background, combined with her experience, drew significant media attention. She aimed to advance her political agenda by utilizing newspapers and magazines to shape her public image. For example, she was frequently photographed in Western-style dresses reminiscent of the immensely popular Gibson Girl. In one image (Figure 1), she is seen wearing a high-necked shirt and a tailored dark coat, topped with a large, decorative hat. In another photograph (Figure 2), she is sitting on a horse, dressed in a white high-necked blouse, a long dark coat, and a cowboy hat. This portrait closely resembles the famous illustration of the Gibson Girl on a bicycle (Figure 3), with Kellogg replacing the bicycle with a horse. The key themes highlighted in these images are her mobility, athleticism, and freedom to enjoy horseback riding in her leisure time.

The Gibson Girl, however, was never portrayed as a political activist.[19] Even though she was approachable, educated, athletic, liberated and progressive, she was not a threat to men's privilege. By invoking the Gibson Girl, Kellogg claimed what her African

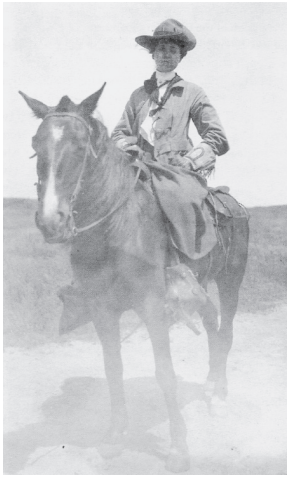

Figure 2. Laura Cornelius Kellogg, 1902.

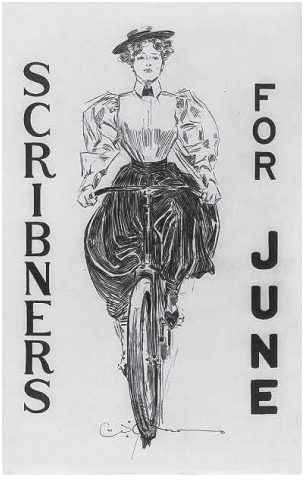

Figure 3. Gibson Girl on a bicycle, 1895.

American contemporaries called for—"middle-class respectability" and "the privilege of white 'ladyhood'" that went with it.[20] Kellogg infused the image of the Gibson Girl with a political significance. By adopting the persona of a modern white woman, she asserted her equality with white individuals and demanded respect, rights, and inclusion in American society. In presenting herself as a Gibson Girl, Kellogg effectively challenged negative stereotypes that portrayed Indian women as uncivilized "squaw drudges." For instance, to challenge the stereotype that saw Native women as "nothing but a beast of burden, a slave to her husband," she said in a newspaper interview, that the idea was "no more true to the fact than it would be to assume that all you American women were kitchen drudges, just because a few of you do have to spend your lives in a hopeless maze of housework."[21] By invoking stereotypes that white women often faced as parallel to misconceptions about Indian women, Kellogg challenged the stereotypes as "mere fiction."[22]

Kellogg seldom appeared in the media wearing her traditional Oneida dress. However, these mainstream expectations sometimes made her an easy target for criticism. In 1906, a writer for *The Pittsburgh Post* expressed disappointment, expecting her to behave and present herself as the exotic Indian they envisioned: "Say "Indian" to Miss Laura M. Cornelius [Laura Cornelius Kellogg] and verbally she is off. On such occasions she is the despair of the average shorthand writer."[23] The article described her appearance in detail, casting the colonial gaze as follows: "Her complexion is olive without color … [and] her eyes, very dark brown, are soft and kindly, rather than beadlike and glittering, after the popular notion of what Indian eyes should be like."[24] The article published a picture of her in a white high-necked blouse with a necklace and a jacket, topped with a big hat with fluffy feathers, commenting: "Her dress is disappointing, the picturesque touches one expects having been sacrificed to conventional fashion rules (Figure 4)."[25] Kellogg clearly did not meet the writer's expectations. Nevertheless, the article discussed her views on Indian women at length, particularly highlighting the respect accorded to Iroquois women in their matrilineal society. It suggests that her New Woman outlook occasionally disappointed the public;

Figure 4. Kellogg in *The Pittsburgh Post*, 1906.

however, it was through this image that she gained the opportunity to speak and be heard.

On at least one occasion, she appeared in a newspaper portraying an Indian woman (Figure 5). There she was portrayed as a full-blood Oneida princess dancing in "the buckskin tunic, the feather head dress, and the beaded moccasins with the strange old rattle that belong[ed] to [her] grandfather."[26] The article devoted an entire page to describing her story, exoticizing her efforts to revive the "ancestral practices" of her "dying race" in an attempt to evoke sympathy for American Indians. The writer adopted a tone that catered to people's nostalgia. However, the article overlooked the fact that Kellogg "played Indian" for fundraising on that occasion. Acknowledging the performative nature of her Indianness, she skillfully used it to raise money for her people and to fund her trip to Europe.

During her travels in Europe, she was inspired to create a plan that would promote self-sufficiency and self-governance among American Indians. She became interested in the garden city movement, an urban planning initiative aimed at developing satellite communities that provided housing, industry, and agriculture on the outskirts of cities.[27] Influenced by this concept, she proposed a plan for tribal land that aimed to develop industry and create employment opportunities. Kellogg believed that restructuring employment and economic opportunities for her people on the reservation would help ensure the sustainability of tribal communities for their continued survival. She presented this idea in 1911 at the first conference of SAI.[28]

In addition to her activism on behalf of American Indians, Kellogg worked diligently with white women, giving speeches at suffragist meetings about the matrilineal kinship system she had learned as an Oneida woman. In fact, she played a key role in generating interest among white suffragettes regarding the status of American Indian women. For instance, Matilda Joslyn Gage, a well-known suffragist of the time, was very interested in the roles or rights that women enjoyed in the matrilineal Iroquois society, which even led her to get adopted into the Wolf Clan of Mohawks.


To Dance the Sorrows of Her Dying Race

Why I Will Dance For My People—By Atheln

How a Full Blooded Indian Princess Has Thrown Aside For the Ancient Appeal the "Civilized" Weapons She Gained in Three Colleges and Goes Abroad to Right Her People's Wrongs

The Tail of Smoke on Civilization

Figure 5. Kellogg in *The San Francisco Examiner*, 1910.

Saying that her new Mohawk name "would admit [her] to the Council of Matrons, where a vote would be taken, as to [her] having a voice in the Chieftainship," Gage spoke highly of the Iroquois matriarchal system and wrote extensively about Iroquois Indians.[29] That is, interest in the political rights of Indian women dated back to the earliest days of the white suffrage movement.

Driven by these interests, white woman suffragists often invited American Indian women to their meetings. In 1913, the National Woman Suffrage Association invited Kellogg to speak at their headquarters and she had an opportunity to express her opinion about the status of American Indian women in Iroquois Society.[30] The exact words she used in her speech were not available, but on one occasion, she explained the role of American Indian women as follows: "We [Indian] women have always had equal civil powers with men. And it is a cause of astonishment to us that you white women are only now, in this twentieth century, claiming what has been the Indian woman's privilege as far back as history traces." With pride in her heritage, she emphasized the superiority of American Indians over white civilization and aimed to educate white women about the rights and roles of Iroquois women in their matrilineal society. "The matron in the Indian tribe had equal rights in the council with the men," Kellogg went on, noting that in matrilineal society, "next to the chieftain, no one in the tribe had so much power as the matron, for it was through her that descent had traced." She also referred to her experience, expressing that she was never discriminated against because of her gender. "The Indian girl is trained [in] the same sports as her brothers," she continued, mentioning that she practiced archery with her brothers, and travelled with them on horseback.[31] Similarly, she was also invited and delivered an address in the District of Columbia Congress of Mothers.[32] Kellogg thus used white women's growing interests toward American Indian women to nurture white women's understanding about American Indian culture and society.

Even after the ratification of the 19th Amendment in Wisconsin in 1919, which granted women the right to vote, Kellogg continued to work with white women. She played a key role in organizing the women's division of the Wisconsin Constitutional Defense League. Through this group, she traveled to various cities to give talks on topics such as "The Americanization of Woman's Vote" and "Woman's America."[33] These titles demonstrate that Kellogg was not only informing white women about the rights and status of Native women but also sharing her vision of what American women should

do for their nation. For example, in 1920, she urged nearly 300 women in Wisconsin to exercise their right to vote. Kellogg emphasized the significance of suffrage. "The women of the state must be awaken," she said. "Make election day independence day, give up your social activities, organize, get into your limousines and work among the women of the rural districts. Only by an awakening to the consciousness of danger can Wisconsin be saved."[34] Kellogg was educating white women at a time when one-third of American Indians did not have US citizenship or the right to vote.[35] Through her activism, Kellogg sought to raise awareness among newly enfranchised women about their responsibilities. As a representative of the New Woman, she gained public attention and worked to make her voice heard. Although she faced challenges from mainstream expectations that viewed her as an exotic Indian, which often clashed with the ideals of the New Woman, she leveraged white women's interest in American Indian women to engage in politics. In doing so, she encouraged white women to recognize their responsibilities as members of American society.

III. Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin as a New Woman

Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin was born in 1863 in Pembina, North Dakota as the granddaughter of Pierre Bottineau, an Ojibwe/French-Canadian explorer and fur trader. Baldwin belonged to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa (Ojibwe), a group that originated around 1800 as a trading post band. Because their ancestors intermarried with French Canadian fur traders in the Red River Valley of the North, they were mixed heritage or Métis from the start.[36] Therefore, Turtle Mountain Chippewa's very existence and community development embodied the transformation that cross-cultural contacts with Europeans had brought to American Indians.

Baldwin grew up in a prestigious family that long played a pivotal role as a mediator between Europeans and Native peoples.[37] Her grandfather could speak several European and Native languages[38] and served as a guide and Ojibwe interpreter for American explorers into the Northwestern United States in 1853, 1859 and 1862 among many other occasions.[39] Her father Jean Baptiste Bottineau, was a lawyer who represented Turtle Mountain Chippewa on their land disputes and was involved in treaty negotiations between Ojibwe and US government.[40]

Born into such a prominent mixed heritage family, Baldwin must have known the

importance of education for her survival and success. As a youth, she attended public schools in Minneapolis and enrolled in private schools for girls, including St. Joseph's Academy in St. Paul and St. John's Ladies' College in Winnipeg, Canada. After receiving education, in 1887, she married Fred S. Baldwin, a white businessman in Minneapolis, but their marriage did not last long.[41] After her marriage failed, Baldwin started to assist her father Bottineau at his law office in Minneapolis to file the land claims for their tribe. Later, during the 1890s, she moved to Washington DC with him when he was appointed to represent their tribe to settle their land claims. She kept helping her father until Congress reached an agreement with the Turtle Mountain Chippewa under favorable conditions for the US government in 1904.[42] In the same year, Baldwin was appointed as a copyist at the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), which made her one of two Native American employees in Washington office.[43] Several years later, she started managing traders' claims against the U.S. government. This was followed by her appointment as a transportation expert, where she calculated freight transportation costs and supplied materials to American Indians.[44]

While working at OIA, Baldwin must have felt the need to gain legal knowledge herself. One year after her father's passing in 1911, Baldwin, then 49 years old, enrolled in law school at Washington College of Law while working full-time at OIA. She completed her studies within two years, one year earlier than the average time taken to earn a law degree, and later received a master's degree at the same college.[45] She also became fluent in many languages. By the time she graduated with a college degree, she was said to have mastered French and German besides English.[46] Although she got her degrees in law, she never practiced law like her father. As she recounted later, she studied law to "help [her] with the problems that [she] meet[s] at work, and in [her] home every day," and saw her knowledge of law useful to proceed with her work in the office.[47] She kept working at OIA till she filed her retirement due to physical disability in 1932.[48]

Baldwin's upbringing and career at OIA attracted media attention. Similar to Kellogg, Baldwin utilized her media representation to establish her position in American society. When she got her position as a federal employee, many newspapers, including *The Daily Herald* covered her story entitled "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat," describing her as a model Indian who successfully assimilated into American society. In stark contrast to Kellogg's criticism for not meeting the author's expectation of her as an Indian, Baldwin received a considerably positive review of her transformation

and appearance in the article. "No one would imagine that the rather handsome, splendidly proportioned brunette … is really a three-quarter blood 'red skin' with an Indian name," the article started like this, carefully illustrating her outlook as follows: "Her face is of an enviable olive tint, her hair, soft, brown and slightly waving, is luxuriant as is that of all women who have gone hatless through youth. Incidentally, she displays a truly 'pale-face' vanity in this same adornment."[49] The assumption that she did not wear a hat in her youth implies that the writer likely expected to see exotic Indian features in her appearance but found no sign of her Indianness aside from her "large, dark, inscrutable eyes," which hinted at her Eastern heritage. The article included a photograph of her with bouffant hair, wearing a blouse with delicate embroidery (Figure 6). Baldwin did not meet the author's expectations, who desired to see exotic Indianness in her appearance.

Figure 6. Baldwin in *The Daily Herald*, 1913.

Educated, employed, and living in the nation's capital, Baldwin could satisfy another gaze the writer had for American Indians: the ones who successfully assimilated into white civilization. As the title of the article, "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat" already suggested, she was a model "civilized" Indian. Similar to the before-and-after "contrast" pictures of students that the Carlisle Indian Industrial School used for fundraising and recruiting new students (Figure 7), newspapers commonly featured Baldwin with two pictures of her, showcasing her as a prime example of an American Indian assimilation.[50] For example, *The Sunday Oregonian* published her picture in her native dress next to the one in modern American dress (Figure 8).[51] Moreover, *Times Herald* added a picture of her in a

Figure 7. Tom Torlino, 1882 and 1885 Carlisle Indian Industrial School's Before and After "Contrast" Photograph.

graduation gown in between the same pictures *The Sunday Oregonian* used (Figure 9), illustrating Baldwin in a modern American dress "as she appears today" while describing her native dress as a "costume."[52]

Whoever chose Baldwin's portraits in *Times Herald*, supposedly knew Baldwin played an Indian in her "native costume" in front of the camera. Baldwin also admitted that she became far different from those she served as staff at OIA, saying that she grew "frightfully far away from" those living on the reservation "not only in speech but in dress, ideas and appearance."[53] However, it did not mean Baldwin was not proud of her Indianness. She claimed: "But in one thing an Indian never changes … I mean in the feeling of the heart."[54] In another article, Baldwin reminded the writer that she remembered how to shoot with a bow and arrow and had no problem with horseback riding because she had "Indian ability to overcome fatigue quickly" even if she hadn't ridden it for years.[55] Moreover, even if there were days she felt uneasy living in the center of Washington DC, she told the author that "I remember I have my Indian clubs and then feel safe."[56] While being exposed to mainstream expectations of seeing her as a modern Indian woman or the Indian "New Woman," she made sure that her identity lied in American Indian.

Figure 8. Baldwin in *The Sunday Oregonian*, 1914.

Figure 9. Baldwin in *Times Herald*, 1914.

This bold assertion of her Indian identity can also be seen in her civil service photograph. When asked to submit a profile picture for her federal personnel file around 1911, Baldwin asserted her Indian identity by submitting a portrait of herself

in her native dress (Figure 10).[57] In the picture, she wore traditional attire embroidered with striking geometric patterns. She posed sideways, letting her braided hair and long, beautiful dentalium earrings fall to her chest. Knowing it would be part of her record, Baldwin deliberately chose to pose in her native regalia before the camera. Like Kellogg, Baldwin recognized the performativity of her Indianness. At a time when she was expected to play an Indian New Woman or a modern Indian woman who is acculturated to Western culture, she inserted herself in a record looking like an "authentic" traditional Indian. In so doing, she thus "indigenized"—in the words of historian Cathleen D. Cahill—the federal record.[58]

By establishing her position as a notable Indian New Woman working for the government, Baldwin gained the authority to change the widespread misconceptions about American Indians. For instance, when her colleague at OIA for twenty years publicly claimed that American Indians were "backward" and thus needed to be "civilized," she "politely reminded" the speaker and the audience that American Indians were "already civilized." She continued: "For years we [American Indians] have had a civilization, perhaps not like yours, but a very high one," and provided examples that American Indian excelled in and fascinated white civilization: "Think of our art, our music, our form of government. There was the Iroquois federation."[59] She dismissed the supposed superiority of white man's civilization over American Indians.[60] The article's author suggested that her assertion sparked a floor discussion and prompted other participants to question the assimilationist policy that OIA implemented in American Indians.[61] Baldwin, an Indian staff member at OIA and an educated woman, thus got the opportunity to make her voice heard in public and used it to nurture an alternative understanding of American Indians with greater respect for their civilization.

Figure 10. Marie L. Baldwin, Civil Service photograph.

Baldwin also corrected popular stereotypes about American Indian women being a "drudge or slave of her husband and the men of the tribe."[62] She admitted that "it [was] true that women did most of work." However, she also prompted readers to consider the harsh realities men faced in the war. For

her, it represented a practical division of labor, with women being treated “with respect, esteem, gentleness, and loving consideration.”[63] By also expressing that women seized power to recall a chief they disliked, she conveyed to readers that women held the power behind the throne.[64] Baldwin was a Turtle Mountain Chippewa (Ojibwe) a group that was predominantly Métis and her family was committed Catholic.[65] Thus, she was less likely to live a traditional life that her white contemporaries expected of her. Yet utilizing her image as an “authentic” Indian who “was born a papoose … cradled on a board,” she made her narrative accountable to her audience and told women’s roles in American Indian society that was expected of them.[66]

Like Kellogg, Baldwin leveraged her identity as a “civilized” Indian woman to earn middle-class respectability and gain credibility to discuss American Indians. In reaction to the mainstream fascination with Indian women and their matrilineal kinship system, she also received numerous requests to speak about and represent American Indians women. For instance, Baldwin was asked to talk about “Moden Home-Making and the Indian Woman” at the SAI meeting in 1911. Furthermore, in 1913 Baldwin was asked to create some floats to represent American Indian women supporting voting rights for the suffragist parade held in Washington DC.[67] She ended up not preparing the requested float,[68] but it symbolizes that Baldwin’s fame was so well-known that suffragists relied on her when they needed to ask something about American Indians.

Baldwin’s illustration of indigenous women was similar to that of Kellogg in many respects. Baldwin claimed that women had “an absolute equality with men in the community” and they were indeed “the first suffragists [who] exercised the right of recall,”[69] which Kellogg also insisted. However, as she demonstrated in her 1911 speech, Baldwin held a more conservative view on women’s roles in society, placing greater emphasis on women’s domestic responsibilities.[70] The division of labor based on gender was, therefore, reasonable for Baldwin. She explained that it was natural for women to take care of household chores because they were the mothers to their children or the “founders of social organization” whose kinship was inherited through matrilineal bloodline.[71] As keepers and feeders of the fire, women were responsible for preparing food, raising their children, and making devices necessary for carrying infants or storing food. Highlighting the exemplary roles of women in various indigenous communities such as those in Mexico and Alaska, she praised indigenous women as “domestic, industrious, unselfish, and provident.”[72] According to her, women were responsible for

all the duties that concerned home and lodge because they were "the burden-bearer of the family." Baldwin also illustrated that women were capable of adapting to modern conditions. As their white contemporaries, they were well-equipped to furnish their modern homes as a modern woman, referring to it as "Modern Home-Making."[73] It was a contemporary interpretation of Victorian True Womanhood that emphasized a woman's domestic role without requiring her to be submissive to her husband.

This modern version of Victorian True Womanhood that Baldwin described was never a threat to men, and it echoed the ideals promoted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) in the early twentieth century. Established in the 1890s, GFWC was a federation of local women's clubs that aimed to encourage women's self-improvement through activities like reading, art appreciation, and sewing, valuing women as the housekeepers of their families and as "civic housekeepers" for the broader community.[74] Baldwin lived during a time when the GFWC and women's clubs were active, and as an Indian woman, she was invited to these meetings to discuss American Indians. Furthermore, while planning to study at Washington College, the epicenter of the suffragist movement in DC, Baldwin, as a contemporary, was likely aware of the GFWC's activities, their purpose, and their rhetoric aimed at social reform.

Baldwin undoubtedly embodied the New Woman herself. However, it's possible that she employed similar rhetoric to that of the GFWC to cultivate women's understanding of American Indians and the role of indigenous women as "civic housekeepers" in American society. Baldwin also practiced the role of "civic housekeeper" herself, being a caring and admirable host in Washington DC. She was once described as "the mother to all Indians."[75] She worked behind the scenes at SAI and supported a Seneca man, Arthur S. Parker, as treasurer, managing SAI's budget and expenses. At OIA, she oversaw projects related to American Indians and was among the few Indian staff members at the agency.

In addition to her being a "civic housekeeper" for American Indians, Baldwin used the attention she got to act as a "civic housekeeper" for wider American society. She seized the opportunity presented by white women's fascination with the roles of American Indian women in matrilineal society to educate them about American Indians and encourage them to consider what it means to be a woman in American society. "The trouble in this Indian question which I meet again and again is that it is not the Indian who needs to be educated so constantly up to the white man, but that the white man needs to

be educated to the Indian," she told the newspaper interviewer, expressing her racial pride and telling them to reconsider supposed superiority of white Americans.[76] Moreover, she openly expressed her opinions about what she saw as the problems they faced in the early twentieth century. "The trouble with most of the people of my own and of the white race," Baldwin commented in the newspaper interview, "lies in the fact that they do not apply themselves."[77] Pointing out that it was a common problem for both whites and American Indians, she strengthened her argument by insisting that people, particularly women, should study law, drawing from her own experiences. She contended that studying law would create opportunities for women to be productive homemakers.[78] "Probably, without any exception, the broadening study is that of law," Baldwin asserted, and urged that law will help women to "understand more, to be less of a drag, to participate in the actual life about them," because "it teaches concentration and organization, and gives the woman a chance to take full advantage of that for which she may be best fitted."[79] What she meant by "which she may be best fitted" was administering "household affairs." Emphasizing again the division of labor based on consideration of one's gender, which resembled the Victorian ideal of True Womanhood, Baldwin thus encouraged women to study law as she did herself, to enhance their productivity in the household and understand "the workings of a business and thinking the world of which she can otherwise have but little comprehension."[80] She guided white women to expand their potential within their designated sphere without posing a threat to their husbands.

Baldwin thus attracted public attention as a "civilized" Indian to establish her position in American society. Unlike Kellogg, Baldwin was praised for ascending the ladder of civilization, receiving a Western education, and working for the OIA, the institution that aimed to assimilate American Indians. Similar to Kellogg, she needed to address mainstream expectations that regarded her as an exotic Indian. However, she seized the opportunity to assert her racial pride and identity, encouraged whites to reconsider the supposed superiority of white civilization, and taught them what it means to be a woman in American society.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper, I illustrated the activism of two indigenous women—Laura Cornelius Kellogg and Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin—and how they manipulated the image

of "the New Woman," which was popular in the early twentieth century, along with their Indianness to advocate for their inclusion in American society. Furthermore, by portraying American Indians as the "first" suffragists, they highlighted the roles and rights that American Indian women held before colonization, and they educated whites—especially white women—about what American women should do as enfranchised citizens.

Both Kellogg and Baldwin utilized the New Woman image to draw public attention and amplify their voices. As American Indian women, they occasionally found themselves constrained by popular stereotypes. Nevertheless, they recognized the performativity of their Indianness and femininity, skillfully manipulating media representations to define their roles in American society. Kellogg portrayed herself as a New Woman and seized opportunities to collaborate with white women, such as speaking at the meetings of the National Woman Suffrage Association or the Wisconsin Defense League. She educated them on how women's work and opinions were valued in the matrilineal Iroquois society, prompting white women to acknowledge their responsibilities as American citizens. Baldwin similarly caught media attention with her successful transformation from an Indian woman living in a tepee to a New Woman residing in a metropolitan flat. She was often portrayed as a model civilized Indian. Yet she openly claimed her Indian identity by posing herself in traditional regalia in the picture submitted to the very institution that aimed to assimilate American Indians. She also employed similar rhetoric that the GFWC used to encourage white women to study law, to become productive homemakers in American society.

As I have illustrated, both Kellogg and Baldwin addressed the expectation for white women to learn about American Indian women and advocated for respect and understanding of American Indians. By fashioning themselves as a New Woman, they pushed their argument even further to assert American Indian superiority over Euro-Americans in terms of the roles and rights that women embraced in their communities.

How white women responded to their activism requires further investigation. However, as this study showed, Kellogg and Baldwin played the New Woman and helped develop the image of the New Woman. While being exposed to the colonial gaze, they skillfully used the dominant cultural ideals to advance their political agenda and to provide alternative understanding of women's roles in their society. Far from being passive subjects, they strategically engaged with the media to challenge the mainstream

expectations that categorized them as either “primitive” or “civilized.” They were indeed Indian New Woman who claimed a right to a place in American society and made white women reconsider what it meant to be an American woman in the early twentieth century.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1 In this article, I will use the term “indigenous,” “American Indian,” and “Native American” interchangeably to illustrate the people whose ancestors lived on what is now called American continent before European colonization. I will use the term “Indian” when referring to representations of Native Americans that were constructed and manouvered by Euro-Americans through the colonial gaze. As I illustrate in this article, this very image of “Indian” was also deployed and circulated by actual Native Americans who understood the performativity of their Indianness.

2 “Indian New Woman: Bright Daughters of Chiefs Who Have Many Accomplishments,” *The Minneapolis Journal* article reprinted in *The Washington Post* (December 4, 1898).

3 Numerous studies have demonstrated that the New Woman embodied a sense of independence, stepping beyond traditional domestic roles and entering the public sphere, which was typically dominated by men during the Victorian era’s concept of True Womanhood. However, representations of New Women were not always positive. They were often targets of criticism and denotation. Patricia Marks pointed out, however, the depictions of the New Woman in American press were “somewhat less rancor.” Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), x. To see how women were portrayed in American mass media, see Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021).

4 Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 152.

5 Enav Rabinovitch-Fox, “New Women in Early-20th-Century America,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedias: American History* 22 (August 2017): 1, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.427.

6 Rabinovitch-Fox, “New Women in Early-20th-Century America,” 4–5.

7 Charlotte J. Rich, *Transcending the New Woman: Multiethnic Narratives in the Progressive Era* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 21, 23.

8 In most cases, women’s clubs were racially, religiously, and socio-economically homogeneous, with the majority of members being white, middle-class Protestant women. While white women

focused on addressing gender discrimination, women of color faced the dual challenges of both gender and racial discrimination. As a result, women of color approached social reforms differently than their white counterparts. In 1920, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) included Indian welfare as part of their national agenda and established a national Indian Welfare division. Some American Indian women actively participated in GFWC activities. For example, Yankton Dakota woman Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa) used GFWC as a platform to promote her idea to improve the condition of American Indians. Ojibwe woman Elizabeth Bender Cloud, a wife of Henry Roe Cloud, became the first Native American head of Indian Welfare Division of GFWC in 1950. Cloud promoted education as essential for the development of American Indians but at the same time respected tribal values and opposed to injustices occurred to American Indians. David L. Johnson and Raymond Wilson, "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, 1876–1938: 'Americanize the First American,'" *American Indian Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (Winter, 1988): 33; Lisa M. Tetzloff, "With Our Own Wings We Fly," *American Educational History Journal* 34, no. 1 (2007): 70, 77; Lisa M. Tetzloff, "Elizabeth Bender Cloud: 'Working For and With Our Indian People,'" *Frontiers* 30, no. 3 (2009): 78–80.

9 Rabinovitch-Fox, "New Women in Early-20th-Century America."; Enav Rabinovitch-Fox, *Dressed For Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021).

10 Rich, *Transcending the New Woman*.

11 The Society of American Indians (SAI) was formed with the assistance of Fayette Avery Mckenzie, a professor at Ohio State University and it was the first national association run by American Indians for American Indians. For more details on SAI, see Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971); Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race & Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Thomas Constantine Maroukis, *We Are Not a Vanishing People: The Society of American Indians, 1911–1923* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021).

12 Baldwin served as treasurer for SAI from 1915 until Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala Sa) was elected as secretary-treasurer and took over his position during the 1918 meeting. Cathleen D. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin: Indigenizing the Federal Indian Service," *The American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 78–82; Tadeuz Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin, Racism, and the Society of American Indians," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (2020): 38.

13 How they "played Indian" for the purpose of promoting American Indian citizenship can be found in Maddox, *Citizen Indians*.

14 Kristina Ackley and Christina Stanciu eds., *Laura Cornelius Kellogg: Our Democracy and the American Indian and Other Works* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015), xxiii.

15 The First Christian Party, also known as the Episcopalians, was led by Chief Daniel Bread, who was the grandfather of Laura Cornelius Kellogg. This group settled along Duck Creek in the northern part of the reservation. In contrast, another Christian sect, the Orchard Party,

comprised Methodist converts who established themselves near De Pere in the southern portion of the reservation. Each group managed their affairs independently within their respective areas, and tribal councils included representatives from both parties. Lawrence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III eds., *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin 1784–1860* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 13–14; Jack Campisi, "The Wisconsin Oneidas between Disasters," in *The Oneida Indian Journey*, 75; Jack Campisi, "Oneida," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 15: 485.

16 Laurence M. Hauptman, "Designing Woman: Minnie Kellogg, Iroquois Leader" in *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders*, eds. L. G. Moses & R. Wilson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 162.

17 Ackley and Stanciu eds., *Laura Cornelius Kellogg*, 6–7.

18 Hauptman, "Designing Woman," 164; Ackley and Stanciu eds., *Laura Cornelius Kellogg*, xxiv.

19 Rabinovitch-Fox, "New Women in Early-20th-Century America," 6.

20 Rabinovitch-Fox, "New Women in Early-20th-Century America," 6.

21 "First American Mothers Had "Votes for Women."" *The Washington Herald* (February 16, 1915).

22 "First American Mothers"

23 "An Indian Girl and Glad of It," *The Pittsburgh Post* (February 11, 1906).

24 "An Indian Girl and Glad of It"

25 "An Indian Girl and Glad of It"

26 "To Dance the Sorrows of Her Dying Race," *The San Francisco Examiner* (May 29, 1910). The article mistakenly portrayed Kellogg as a full-blood Oneida princess named "Athelo," exoticizing her race as a dying race. Kellogg was in fact a mixed-blood Oneida woman known as "Princess Wynnogene."

27 Cristina Stanciu, "An Indian Woman of Many Hats: Laura Cornelius Kellogg's Embattled Search for an Indigenous Voice," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 105–106.

28 Laura M. Cornelius, "Industrial Organization for the Indian," *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington DC: the Society of American Indians, 1912), 43–55.

29 Sally Roesch Wagner, *Sisters in Sprit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists* (Summertown: Book Publishing Company, 2001), 44; Sally Roesch Wagner, *The Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 2.

30 "Indian Woman's Strong Characters," *Intelligencer Journal* (June 12, 1913). She was also invited to other suffragist meetings to speak about the equal status Native American woman had in their society. "Lecture by Mrs. Kellogg," *The Washington Herald* (May 30, 1913).

31 "First American Mothers"

32 "Mrs. A. A. Birney President. Elected at Last Meeting Until Fall of Congress of Mothers," *Evening Star* (May 21, 1913).

33 Cathleen D. Cahill, "'Our Democracy and the American Indian': Citizenship, Sovereignty, and

the Native Vote in the 1920s," *Journal of Women's History* 32, no. 1 (Spring, 2020): 44; Cathleen D. Cahill, *Recasting the Vote, How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 205–206.

34 "Urges Women to Quick Action: Mrs. Laura Cornelius Kellogg, Noted Indian Orator. Scores Socialism," *Kenosha News* (October 25, 1920).

35 According to Cahill, Kellogg was listed as a citizen in the federal census of 1900. She had a right to vote in Wisconsin because she was a member of Oneida Indians who were granted U.S. citizenship "under special inquiries related to Indians." However, Cahill doubts whether Kellogg exercised her right to vote, because as a woman she could only vote for limited segments of politics that would not interest her. Cahill, *Recasting the Vote,* 206.

36 John M. Shaw, *In Order that Justice May Be Done: The Legal Struggles of the Turtle Mountain Band of Pembina Chippewa, 1795–1905* (Fargo: North Dakota State University Press, 2023), xiii.

37 Tadeusz Lewandowski, *Ojibwe Activist Priest: The Life of Father Philip Bergin Gordon, Tibishkogijik* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), 153 n46; Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin," 36.

38 According to J. Fletcher Williams, Pierre Bottineau was familiar with "almost every Indian language in this region [Northwestern region of the continent]." J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1876), 107–108, https://collection.mndigital.org/catalog/sll:22443; Louise Seymour Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man: The French-Indians in the Development of the United States* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1918; South Yarra: Leopold Classic Library, 2016), 127. Citations refer to the Leopold Classic Library edition.

39 Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man*, 126–127.

40 Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin," 36: Connie A. Jacobs, "History of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians," 24, 28 in *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Louise Erdrich*, eds. Greg Sarris, Connie A. Jacobs, and James R. Giles (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2004).

41 Even after her marriage failed, she continued to use her husband's surname, "Baldwin." The reasons for her decision remain unclear, but it is likely that she wanted to maintain her identity as a married woman due to her religious beliefs. Being addressed as "Mrs." may have also made her life easier, especially considering that the percentage of unmarried women in the United States during the early twentieth century was quite low—around 10 to 15 percent. "Social Happenings," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (June 5, 1887); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1900: Part I, Volume I*, 1901; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 1913; Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69; Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin," 37.

42 Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin," 36.

43 As a Native American employee, she initially earned $900 per year. Within a year, she was promoted and began earning $1,000 annually, which was the highest salary for an American Indian woman in the Indian service at that time. However, this amount was at the lower end

of the pay scale for clerks in the Washington office, where salaries typically ranged from $1,000 to $1,800 per year. Considering Baldwin's educational background, work experience, and language skills, her pay was quite low. "Clerical Changes: Interior Department appointments and Promotions," *Evening Star* (November 16, 1904); Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 69–70; Lewandowski, "Marie Baldwin," 38. Ten years later in July 1914, Baldwin was promoted as a clerk in Indian office and her salary was $1,400 per annum. "Interior," *The Washington Post* (July 26, 1914).

44 "Women of the Day: An Indian Woman Does Good Work for the Government," *Pittston Gazette* (March 27, 1911); "About Women," *The Florence Herald* (October 29, 1926); "An Indian Woman Serves in U.S. Indian Bureau," *Edmonton Journal* (October 9, 1926); "Indian Woman a Lawyer: Marie Louise Baldwin Obtained Her Degree when 51 Years Old," *The Kansas City Times* (December 11, 1925).

45 "Indian Woman a Lawyer"

46 Beth Jeffries, "Indian Women the First Suffragists And Used Recall, Chippewa Avers," *Times Herald* (August 3, 1914).

47 "Indians of Today Realize the Value of Education as Principal Asset of the Race," *Times Herald* (March 20, 1916).

48 "Veteran U.S. Employes Leave Service," *Evening Star* (April 1, 1932).

49 "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat," *The Daily Herald* (February 7, 1913).

50 Probably because she believed her presence as a "model" Indian would inspire graduates, Baldwin attended the graduations at off-reservation boarding schools including Carlisle Indian Industrial School and Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 71.

51 "Mrs. M. L. B. Baldwin Is Lawyer," *The Sunday Oregonian* (September 27, 1914).

52 Jeffries, "Indian Women the First Suffragists"

53 "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat"

54 "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat"

55 "Indian Woman Works for Uncle Sam," *Evening Star* (December 4, 1910).

56 "From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat"

57 Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 63, 65.

58 Cahill, "Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin," 63.

59 "Civilized, Indian Says: Mrs. M. L. B. Baldwin Resents Suggestion That Race is Backward," *The Evening Journal* (March 26, 1926).

60 "Civilized, Indian Says"

61 "Civilized, Indian Says"

62 Marie L. Baldwin, "Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman," *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* 65.

63 Baldwin, "Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman," 65.

64 Jeffries, "Indian Women the First Suffragists"

65 Lewandowski, “Marie Baldwin,” 37.
66 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
67 “Indian Woman in Parade: That is Proposed, but Feminine Chippewa Hasn’t Decided,” *The York Dispatch* (January 29, 1913).
68 Cahill, “Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin,” 74.
69 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
70 Lewandowski, “Marie Baldwin,” 40–41.
71 Baldwin, “Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman,” 60–61.
72 Baldwin, “Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman,” 64.
73 Baldwin, “Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman,” 63.
74 Matsumoto Yuko, “Katei, Community, Kokka: Kakushin Syugi Jidai no Gender [Home, Community and Nation: Gender in Progressive Era]” in *Amerika Gender Shi Kenkyu Nyumon* [Introduction to the History of Gender in the United States], eds. Aruga Natsuki, Kohiyama Rui (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2010), 124–129.
75 Nannie Prophet, “Former Pupil in Washington,” *Indian Leader* 20, 2 (1916), 4; Cahill, “Indigenizing the Indian Service,” 72.
76 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
77 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
78 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
79 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”
80 Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists”

Figure Notes

Figure 1. Photo of Laura Cornelius at The First Meeting of the SAI, 1911. *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington DC: the Society of American Indians, 1912), 43.

Figure 2. Photo of Laura Cornelius in Southern California, 1903. Courtesy of the Braun Research Library, Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles (photo #1349).

Figure 3. Gibson Girl on a bicycle. *Scribner’s for June*, 1895 by Gibson, Charles Dana, 1867–1944. Courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (LC-DIG-ppmsca-34349). https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002720198/ (Accessed on August 3, 2024)

Figure 4. Photo of Laura Cornelius. “An Indian Girl and Glad of It,” *The Pittsburgh Post* (February 11, 1906).

Figure 5. Photo of Laura Cornelius. “To Dance the Sorrows of Her Dying Race,” *The San Francisco Examiner* (May 29, 1910).

Figure 6. Photo of Marie L. Baldwin. “From Indian Tepee to Washington Flat,” *The Daily Herald* (February 7, 1913).

Figure 7. Tom Torlino, a Navajo student at the Carlisle Indian School, 1882, and Tom Torlino, 1885. This is one of Carlisle Indian Industrial School’s before and after “contrast” photographs that

were sent to raise donations and recruit new students. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration (RG 75, Series 1327, box 18, folder 872). Retrieved from Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/teach/analyzing-and-after-photographs-exploring-student-files (Accessed on February 3, 2025)

Figure 8. Photo of Marie L. Baldwin. “Mrs. M. L. B. Baldwin Is Lawyer,” *The Sunday Oregonian* (September 27, 1914).

Figure 9. Photo of Marie L. Baldwin. Beth Jeffries, “Indian Women the First Suffragists And Used Recall, Chippewa Avers,” *Times Herald* (August 3, 1914).

Figure 10. Personnel File Photograph of Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin; ca. 1911; Marie Baldwin; Official Personnel Folders-Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs; Records of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Record Group 146; National Archives at St. Louis, St. Louis, MO https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/marie-louise-bottineau-baldwin (Accessed on February 28, 2025)