

# The Indianapolis Literary Club: 2021-2022: 146th Year

## *Acculturating Susie*

Stephen J. Jay. Tuesday, 8:00 P.M., Mon. Jan 10, 2022

Park Tudor School: Virtual Presentation



“If the Apaches have any redeeming characteristic it is love for their children. Their grief over this compulsory separation has been genuine and unabating; and when death has claimed one of their absent children, their intense manifestation of sorrow has touched the hearts of all.”

Capt. Walter Reed. *Geronimo and His Warriors in Captivity*. Illus. American, Aug 16, 1890.

“Because he has given me permission to tell my story; because he has read that story and knows I try to speak the truth; because I believe that he is fair-minded and will cause my people to receive justice in the future; and because he is chief of a great people, I dedicate this story of my life to Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.”

Geronimo. *Geronimo's Story of His Life*. NY: Duffield & Co 1906.

“Humankind has not woven the web of life. We are but one thread within it. Whatever we do to the web, we do to ourselves. All things are bound together. All things connect.”

Chief Seattle, Duwamish. Xavier University. Jesuitresource.org.

« Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. »

Alphonse Karr (1808-90) In, *Les Guepes*, 1849.

“The beginning of wisdom is to call things by their proper names.” “If names not be correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things.”

Confucius, Chapt XIII. *The Analects*

“The most dangerous world views are the world views of those who have never viewed the world.”

Attributed to Alexander von Humboldt. (1769-1859)



### Key Words:

Walter Reed, Colonialism, Indian Wars, Assimilation of Indians, U.S. Policy, Susie Reed, tuberculosis, skin grafts, ethics

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Stephen F. Jay M.D.

**Introduction:** In an earlier essay, I presented Walter Reed's Yellow Fever discovery, in 1900, then a leading global public health threat.<sup>90,109,141,181,187,191</sup> While Reed spent the latter part of his military career in research, he spent the first 18 years, from 1875-1895, as a U.S Army Medical Corps officer on America's frontier, during the Indian Wars.<sup>10</sup> There were a few vague accounts of Reed's adoption of an Indian child at Fort Apache, surprising since Reed became an influential U.S. Army leader, the subject of many biographical accounts.<sup>9,14,57,188</sup> Who was she? What was her fate? With the help of Native American historians and archivists some questions have been answered, many remain. I thought details that have emerged in this story could offer insights into the impacts of the Indian wars on Indigenous People, the subject of tonight's essay.

**Aims:**

- To relate Susie's story, perhaps a fitting metaphor for government policies adversely affecting the well-being of America's Indigenous People.<sup>170,171,172.</sup>
- To reflect on Euro-American colonialism that shaped and has sustained adverse effects on Native Americans and Alaskan Natives.<sup>63.</sup>
- To review recent progress in improving the quality of life of Indigenous People.<sup>80.</sup>
- To summarize America's existential challenges of pandemics and climate change that are causing disproportionate harms to all citizens, especially the poor, ethnic and racial minorities, including, Indigenous Peoples.

**Susie's Story:** Soon after First Lt. and Assistant Army surgeon, Walter Reed, arrived at Fort Apache, there was a raid on a camp, December 1877, where troops found an abandoned 4–5-year-old Chiricahuan Apache child, writhing in pain next to a campfire.<sup>24,25,52,189,190</sup> Her parents had been killed and the child was severely burned from knees to toes. At the Army Post hospital, Reed's compassionate care of the girl included using his own skin from his arm to cover the girl's burns. ('pinch grafts')<sup>65,185,192.</sup>

She was named "Susie" by the Reeds and recovered slowly. Growing attached to his little patient, Reed brought her into the family where she remained for more than 12 years (1878-1890) - a servant for their two children. Dr. Reed tried to legally adopt Susie<sup>9,184,194,195</sup>; the U.S. Army approved, but the Department of Interior denied his request, and Susie remained a servant in the Reed family into her teens.<sup>189</sup> The last Post she served the Reeds was at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama, where 400 Apache men, women and children were incarcerated.<sup>23</sup> After spending her childhood and young adult life with the Reed family, Susie was separated from them under complicating circumstances, the details absent from historian's accounts.<sup>129,189</sup>

It was as if an apparition of an Apache child appeared in the Reed's frontier home, lingered, then disappeared in her teens, leaving little knowledge of her persona, her Apache name and birth, her family and ancestors, her abandonment, her personality, behaviors, and feelings as a child growing up among white people. Susie would have remembered Indian lullaby's her mother would sing, but in her four years she likely knew little but fear, hunger, isolation, and violence. Dr. Reed thought Susie's early excitable behavior was from "battle fatigue"; the Apaches said she suffered "ghost sickness," thinking about the deceased too much.<sup>64,144</sup>

The mystery of Susie deepens toward the end of her life. On Sunday July 13, 1890, she was baptized at same time and place as the Apache, Geronimo, at Mt. Vernon<sup>71,121,193</sup>; he had previously shown interest in marrying Susan, a request nixed by Walter Reed and by Susan herself who sobbed, "I belong to the White people."<sup>189</sup> The Reeds left Mt. Vernon Barracks for a new post in Baltimore, and Susie went with them; but they discovered she was pregnant, the father assumed to be a "tall blonde sun-tanned soldier" at the Barracks. Reed's wife, Emilie, apparently ended ties with Susie and sent her back to Mt. Vernon under the care of a "respectable black woman."<sup>186,189</sup> The circumstances of Susie's delivery of the child are unknown; the baby died at 3 mo. 14 days, (April 14, 1891) and Mount Vernon Barrack's Army Chaplain W.H. Barson stated: "The babe is of Susan Reed an Indian girl adopted by Capt. Walter Reed. The child was given a Christian burial and its body interred in a Cemetery of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Mt. Vernon, Alabama."<sup>148</sup> Research has yet to find this gravesite.

Soon after this, Susie was transferred from Mt. Vernon Barracks to Carlisle Indian Boarding School, in Pennsylvania, June 22, 1891. The circumstances of the transfer are unknown, but she may have been sent there to teach English to the children. This school was the first government funded off-reservation Indian boarding school, one of more than 300 indoctrination-assimilation schools. There's no evidence (after an exhaustive search) that the Reed family interacted with Susie since separation from the family, in 1890, till her death from tuberculosis at Carlisle, Aug 2, 1895.<sup>40,45,62,241</sup> She was 24. Little is known about Susie's four-years at Carlisle but, at her death it is known that U.S. military law, considered her an Apache prisoner of war.<sup>59,72,75,148,189,224</sup> In her unpublished Memoir, Reed's wife, Emilie, presents a letter allegedly written by Susie two years (circa 1893) after she was admitted to Carlisle School. In it, Susie praises the Reeds but speaks of her own "poor misguided race."<sup>186</sup> It seems unlikely Susie wrote this letter; it appears contrived, perhaps to assuage guilt.

In his 1906 biography of Walter Reed, Howard A Kelly, one of the 'big four' founding professors of Johns Hopkins Hospital, offers a bigoted explanation for Susie's separation from the Reeds: "...when this child (Susie) was nearly a woman the savage Apache blood asserted itself and she ran away, after giving abundant evidence that 15 years of kindness, gentleness, and refinement had not modified the cruel and deceitful characteristics of her race."<sup>116</sup> It's unknown whether Kelly's opinion was shared by the Reeds.

**Colonialism:** The Indian Wars of the late 19<sup>th</sup> c shaped Susie's life but had ancient origins in 10<sup>th</sup> c. Viking colonialism of North America at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada,<sup>27,100,105,123,230,245</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> c European colonialism of the African slave-trading Empires,

Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and the Netherlands that sought land, riches, power, and fame; some historians say: “God, gold, and glory.”<sup>154</sup> We in North America are descendants of colonialists and their victims of conquests including people from Europe, Africa, Caribbean, Mexico, and Indigenous Peoples, who met and mixed their genes as revealed in human genome studies.<sup>11,26,177,200,244.</sup>

From the start, Euro-American colonialism and slavery were linked - called a “deadly symbiosis,” profiting colonies, government, and states, in effect, normalizing slave – trading, where slave labor built North American economies, growing of tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, and sugarcane - the profit centers of colonialism.<sup>7,17,34,166,221,247.</sup> Presidents, Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe were torn between the moral/ethical issues of slavery and their impulse to acquire land, wealth, and power.<sup>86,135.</sup> By mid-19<sup>th</sup> c., “Manifest Destiny,” was the doctrine that settlers were ordained by God, to spread Democracy and Christianity by opening the frontier to the Pacific, by whatever means – a powerful rationale for forced removal of Indians.<sup>94,161,171,206.</sup> But it was a contested concept among prominent Americans including, Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie, and most Whigs, who rejected it, opposing the idea of adding more slave states.<sup>93.</sup>

Since the 15<sup>th</sup> c., colonialism left human suffering in its wake, particularly among the Indigenous People, African slaves, and other people of color.<sup>92,164,170.</sup> Ten-twelve million Africans were brought in slave ships to America; one in three souls died in crossing. 2-4 million Native Americas were also enslaved. Before the English settlers came to Jamestown, Africans had arrived 100 years before,<sup>179</sup> and slavery was embedded in New England when the Pilgrims arrived; Virginia settlers had already enslaved people to work in households and plantations.<sup>140,182,203,204,207.</sup> From the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> c. there were deadly local skirmishes, regional battles, and major wars, including the French and Indian War (1754-1763); Revolutionary War (1775-83); War of 1812; Mexican - American War (1846-48); Civil War (1861-65). King Philips War 1675-1678 was the first Indian War, the Great Narragansett War in southern New England and the Native Americans’ last-ditch effort to avoid English authority and stop settlement on Native land. The Wampanoag chief Metacom, known as ‘King Philip’, led the rebellion. From this war to 1900 there were 157 Indian wars - 99 from 1850s to 1900, the time when Susie was orphaned and maimed.<sup>18,33,66,120,130.</sup>

While the origins of colonialism and its impacts are documented, less is certain about sustaining factors. Local, state, and federal leaders perpetuated the subjugation of people of color both in words and their deeds. Most of the 25 U.S. Presidents up to 1900 treated the Indigenous People and people of color unfairly, judging by today’s standards. Ten of the first 12 presidents were slave holders.<sup>74,84,85,138,170.</sup> The primary means to achieve their expansionist goals was by signing treaties; about 600 treaties were signed by government and tribes. In a recent statistical analysis at Harvard University (2012), between the War of Independence and the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., two million square miles of land were transferred from the Native Americans to the U.S., a rate of two square miles per hour. Harsher treaties for American Indians increased over time as U.S. military capability and economic certainty grew.<sup>213.</sup>

By the 18<sup>th</sup> c, the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence, provided Congress an opportunity for righting harms caused by slavery, subjugation of Indigenous Peoples and lack of women's suffrage.<sup>147</sup> Sadly, the words were often not translated into action; leaders wanted the "Indian Problem to go away" by whatever means possible.<sup>180</sup> Presidents Jefferson and Monroe supported removal by forcible assimilation into white culture.<sup>61,113, 125-,128</sup> On Aug 5, 1776, Jefferson said, "...Nothing will reduce those wretches so soon as pushing the war into the heart of their country. But I would not stop there. I would never cease pursuing them while one of them remained on this side of the Mississippi."<sup>151</sup> He added: without assimilation, "... it will be difficult, if not impossible to control, their degradation and extermination will be inevitable."<sup>206</sup>

With growing frustration in Congress and the Presidency from often-effective resistance of the Native Americans to incursions, the idea of "Indian Removal" gained proponents. Many thought Indians would simply fade away; James Fenimore Cooper's, *The Last of the Mohicans*, advanced the idea that the "Noble Savages" were disappearing from existence ...."<sup>73</sup> This wishful thinking changed as President Jackson, (1829-1837) introduced his 'Indian Removal' plan to cancel treaties.<sup>170</sup> Opposition by Christian groups resulted in antiremoval petitions sent to Congress. Davy Crockett (1786-1836), frontiersman, folk hero, politician, soldier, and U.S. Congressman (TN) voiced (1834) strong opposition to these policies: "...our Republican Government has dwindled almost into insignificance our boasted land of liberty have almost bowed to the yoke of bondage..."<sup>211</sup> But, principled opponents of Jackson failed and he signed the Act of 1830, policies that were sustained for decades causing widespread and long-lasting harm, including removal of the Kickapoo, Potawatomi, and Miami Indians from Indiana ancestral homes.<sup>6,104</sup> Unfortunately, the 11<sup>th</sup> President, James Polk, (1845-49), an ardent supporter of Jackson, increased the conflict between settlers and Native Americans and between abolitionists and slaveholders. Polk's territorial expansionism paved the way to Civil War.<sup>43,119,139,212</sup> President Cleveland signed the Dawes Act of 1887 that was passed to speed the assimilation of Native Americans. with dissolution of their tribes and 2/3rds of their land.<sup>134</sup>

Presidents who advocated strongly against Indian Removal policy were few but included: John Quincy Adams (1825-29) who became disillusioned, when his actions supporting Indians were nullified. Adams wrote in his diary, in 1828: "We have talked of benevolence and humanity, and preached them into civilization, but none of this benevolence is felt where the right of the Indian comes in collision with the interest of the white man." Adams later served in the House of Representatives but turned down the chairmanship stating: in June 1841: "I turned my eyes away from this sickening mass of putrefaction and asked to be excused from serving as chairman of the committee."<sup>125,158</sup> Fifty years after Adams, President Rutherford B. Hayes said to Congress, in 1877, the year Susie was injured and orphaned, "Many, if not most of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part."<sup>89,112</sup>

**Government funded Indian boarding Schools:** When corporations or universities today recruit persons from another culture, a process of acculturation, not assimilation, is used where the borrowing of ideas and traits among diverse peoples may lead to mutual interest and understanding, resulting in blending of their cultures—a process, good for universities and

corporations' morale, productivity, and bottom lines.<sup>46,49,54,83,122,171,201,243,251</sup> Unfortunately, forcible assimilation, not acculturation was the strategy adopted in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. when Lt. Col. Richard Pratt, in 1879, recommended establishment of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, at the Army Barracks in Carlisle, PA.<sup>41,44</sup> The strategy? Isolate children from their families and culture and use harsh indoctrination to "Americanize" them.

Col. Pratt had positive and negative attributes. In 1902, he was first to use the term "racism" and argued against policies of segregation, Indians, or African Americans.<sup>183</sup> But Pratt expressed his disdain for Indigenous People in his motto: "Kill the Indian, Save the man."<sup>42,163,198</sup> On arrival to Carlisle, the children's assimilation began: their hair was cut, native clothes destroyed, military uniforms issued; personal items removed; an English name assigned; Native language forbidden; and violation of rules met with military discipline: corporal punishment, solitary confinement, and hard labor. But instructors did teach some American school subjects and hands-on skills to prepare students to work outside the reservation; activities included the band, athletic teams, and debate societies. The Carlisle football team featuring Jim Thorpe was excellent marketing for Pratt. The Carlisle Band performed at presidential inaugurations, and the Outing Program placed students in homes where they would work and earn money like white people.<sup>198</sup>

But many articles written about Carlisle Indian School, romanticized it. Sadly, students often adopted racist ideas that whites were superior to all other races. Children as young as 4 were enrolled in the school, and there were 1,758 documented runaways, many of whom died of exposure. Unsanitary conditions and overcrowding, coupled with students suppressed immunity from emotional and physical trauma fueled diseases including influenza, smallpox, and tuberculosis. Two-hundred and thirty-four students died at Carlisle; 190 were buried at the school cemetery, including Susie Reed whose granite marker ironically bears an incorrect date for her death.<sup>273</sup> By 1918, when Carlisle School closed, it had educated and indoctrinated 10,000 Native children from 140 tribes.<sup>19,113,146,180,242,255</sup> By 1926, 83% of Indian school-age children attended Indian boarding schools, some voluntarily, many by coercion.<sup>150</sup>

In 2019, historian Jeffrey Ostler presents a balanced view of how experts think about and describe America's policies toward Indigenous Peoples. He says there's little consensus whether the terms, "ethnic cleansing," "ethnocide", and "genocide" accurately describe government actions. But, using the United Nation's definition of genocide: acts committed with intent to destroy a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, is consistent with genocide."<sup>1,55,56,67,95,142,206,270,274,275</sup> In mid-1800s, both the intent to remove Indians by any means, and the actions of government to achieve this, meet the definition of genocide. During the period of the California Gold Rush approximately 10,000 to 19,000 Native Americans were killed in state-sponsored genocide.<sup>63,162,169,170,196,197</sup>

Despite the harm caused by government-funded boarding schools, some resilient Native American students survived and even distinguished themselves.<sup>15</sup> Here are two examples with an Indiana connection. Jim Thorpe (1888-1953) from the Sac and Fox Nation, in Oklahoma, his father and mother of mixed-race ancestry, went to Carlisle School, in 1904, to pursue athletics and led the Football team to a national collegiate championship.<sup>176,216-220</sup> In a 1961 speech,

President Eisenhower who injured his knee trying to tackle Thorpe in the U.S. Army-Carlisle game, described Thorpe as being able to do anything better than any other football player....”<sup>5</sup>. In 1912, Thorpe, represented the U.S. in the Summer Olympics, in Stockholm, winning Gold in pentathlon and decathlon. His classmate Louis Tewanima, a Hopi Indian, also starred at the 1912 Olympics, becoming the American record holder in the 10,000 m., a record not broken for 52 years, when Billy Mills, an Ogala Lakota Sioux Native, broke Tewanima’s record.<sup>35,202,208</sup>. The Olympic Committee stripped Thorpe of his gold medals for playing semi-pro baseball, but Thorpe went on to excel in pro-football and baseball, breaking racial barriers in both. He founded and was first president of the American Professional Football Association — forerunner of today’s NFL. In 1913, he played for the Pine Village Pros in Warren County, Indiana, where they beat Purdue All Stars 29 to 0.<sup>98,99</sup> Indiana University hired Thorpe as Assistant football coach for 1915 season, and while IU finished 3-3-1, Thorpe was a sensation, drawing huge crowds to games. Thorpe was always an advocate for Indian rights and his children followed in his footsteps. In 1963, he was inducted into the football Hall of Fame, and, in 1999, an AP press poll of sportswriters named Thorpe among the top three athletes of 20<sup>th</sup> c behind Babe Ruth and Michael Jordan. After his death, the International Olympic Committee recognized Thorpe as the gold medal co-winner, but they have yet to recognize him as the Olympic champion.

The second student with Indiana ties was Zitkala-Sa meaning “Red Bird”, in the Lakota dialect of her Siouan language: she used her English name Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (1876-1938) after her marriage but continued to use ‘Zitkala-Sa’ in publications and appearances.<sup>178</sup> Born in 1876, in South Dakota, on the Yankton Reservation of a Sioux mother and Caucasian father, she became a nationally known writer, editor, poet, storyteller, orator, musician and a thought leader and advocate for Native Americans -- the most influential Native American of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>36,257-267</sup>. Missionaries came to her reservation when she was 8 and lured her, with mother’s consent, to come East to Indiana with promises of adventure and of “red apples” to pick and eat there.<sup>262</sup> There were two government-funded Indian boarding schools in Indiana: St. Joseph’s Indian Normal School, in Rensselaer, with Catholic origins and White’s Manual Labor Institute near Wabash, with Quaker origins. (1861-1895)<sup>3,20,249,256</sup>. They chose White’s school, where Gertrude was instructed in housekeeping, religion, English, and violin, having shown signs of a child prodigy.<sup>258-260,263,267</sup>. At Earlham College, in 1895, as a 15 yr. old freshman, she won the annual oratory contest, advocating for women’s suffrage.<sup>69</sup> She represented Earlham at the annual Indiana Oratorical Contest held at English Theatre Opera House, in Indianapolis, and before her presentation she was met with racial slurs, both verbal and on a banner.<sup>257, 262</sup>. But following her presentation, she received ‘thunderous applause’ and placed second - her essay titled “Side by Side”, a brilliant cautionary tale of the history of white people and red people. Throughout her life, Gertrude was haunted by her own cultural half-identity and the anxieties of growing up neither red nor white- This reflected in one of her poems<sup>257</sup>.

*“Oh, what am I? Wither bound thus and why?  
Is there not a God on whom to rely?”*

Gertrude was recruited by Lt. Col. Pratt, to teach at Carlisle, in 1897 but she resigned, in 1899, in protest of Carlisle's forcible assimilation policies and in her national publications she focused on the hypocrisy of Euro-American views of Native peoples.<sup>257</sup>

A gifted musician, she studied music and violin at the New England Conservatory of Music, in Boston<sup>262</sup> and played for President William McKinley at the White House.<sup>258</sup> She became the "toast" of the Boston Literary Society, and her writings appeared in Harpers and Atlantic Monthly and her semiautobiographical stories were published in the company of great writers of the day: Stephen Crane, Dreiser, Henry James, and Edith Wharton. Frederick Remington who was famous for his art depicting cowboys and Native Americans, illustrated Zitkala-Sa's stories.<sup>272</sup> As an aside, Remington is one of the featured artists at the Eiteljorg Museum in Indianapolis in the Western Art Collection where Dorene Red Cloud, an Ogalala Sioux, is a curator of Native American Art. She was helpful in an unsuccessful search for an image of Susie.

Zitkala-Sa married a childhood friend from the Yankton Reservation, Raymond Bonnin, who obtained a post in Utah working among the Ute Indians, and Gertrude focused on grassroots organizing to improve life for Native Americans.<sup>21,261</sup> With William Hanson, a white Mormon music teacher in Utah, the two composed a libretto the first in Native American history. In 1926, she founded and was president of the National Council of American Indians and served in this role till her death in 1938, at 61. Since her husband served as a captain in the U.S. Army, Zitkala-Sa of the Sioux Nation was buried in Arlington Cemetery. Her life began in the year of the Battle of Little Big Horn and ended the year her opera, *The Sun Dance*, was selected by the New York Opera Guild as opera of the year and performed on the New York Stage.<sup>81</sup>

**20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> c Progress:** Over the past 100 years there's been sporadic but tangible progress in addressing the quality of life of Indigenous People.<sup>2,159,160</sup> In an unscientific poll of U.S. Presidents, only 16 of our 46 presidents (35%) actively - in words and deeds- supported fair and equal rights of Indigenous Peoples. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> c., only a few (3/25) or 12% of Presidents, favored Native Americans but in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> c. 62% (13/21) advocated fair and just policies. From President Eisenhower to President Biden more than three quarters (10/13) or 77% acted on substantive policies to improve American Indians' health, education, and economic status. (Sjay2021)

Some highlights include President Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929) who signed the *Indian Citizenship Act of 1924*, providing political protection from fraudulent land acquisitions.<sup>132,169</sup> It was fifty years, however, before all states allowed them to vote.<sup>29,134,156</sup> Herbert Hoover, a Quaker, was the only president to have lived as a child on an Indian Reservation; with empathy for Native American children, he began, in 1929, to advance an era of self-determination.<sup>127</sup> Franklin Roosevelt's *Indian Reorganization Act of 1934* promoted tribal self-governing and was aided by growing public recognition that 12,000 Native Americans served in WWI, including the Choctaw Indian "Code Talkers."<sup>13,50,138,152</sup> Ironically, tribal children were being whipped for speaking in their native tongues in American Indian boarding schools, while in the WWI trenches of war-torn Belgium, at Ypres and Passchendaele, their fathers were heroes; their Native American code language was saving lives in Flanders Fields.<sup>16</sup>

President Truman, in 1967, took a step backward when he proposed: “to wipe out reservations and scatter the Indians and then there won’t be Indian tribes, Indian cultures or Indian individuals.” For the next 25 yrs. Tribal and US Government trust was severed.<sup>8,30</sup> In 1954, President Eisenhower (Indian Health Transfer Act) moved responsibility for Indian health into the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, a milestone for public health of Indigenous Americans.<sup>159,160</sup>

John F. Kennedy addressed American Indians’ welfare in his 1963 call for the *Civil and Human Rights Act* setting the stage for the Indian self-determination.<sup>51,101</sup> Lyndon Johnson signed the *Civil Rights Act*, then the *Indian Civil Rights Act*, in 1968.<sup>4</sup> This almost 100 years since Chief Standing Bear persuaded a federal judge that Native Americans were persons, with the right to sue for their freedom---an historic moment in the history of American Civil Rights.<sup>234</sup> Richard Nixon, considered a champion of Native Americans, transformed federal Indian policy regarding self-determination.<sup>126</sup> George HW Bush signed 45 pieces of legislation that benefitted Indian Country,<sup>236</sup> and signed the Act (1989) that created the National American Indian Museum in Washington D.C. that opened, 2004.

In our 21<sup>st</sup> century, progress is being made to create new truth-based narratives to improve Native Americans’ lives and dispel myths and misconceptions about Indigenous People.<sup>78,117, 131</sup> President Obama, in 2013, signed law<sup>199</sup> to create the Native American Veteran’s Memorial in Washington DC and celebrated Native American men and women’s disproportionate participation in America’s wars with 19% having served compared with 14% of other demographics. He recognized the paratrooper, Marine Pfc. Ira Hayes, the 22- year- old Pima Indian who was one of the six marines who raised the flag at Iwo Jima Feb 23, 1945.<sup>48,58,210,235</sup> Donald Trump signed an Act to stem violence against Indigenous women.<sup>145,38,237</sup> President Biden, in 2021 chose Deb Haaland, as U.S. Secretary of the Department of the Interior, the first Native American appointed to this position since it was created, in 1849.<sup>80,165,242</sup> Her responsibilities encompass the American Indian and Alaska Native population of 3.7 m or 2.9% of total U.S. Population and nine million people who identified themselves (2020 census) as American Indian or Alaska Native in combination with other races.<sup>209,231,238</sup> Trends in the number of Indigenous People from 1492 to the 20 c are imprecise for coterminous U.S., but there were about 7-10 million Indigenous People in 1500, 600,000 by 1800, a 90% decrease, and only 237,000, in 1900, with slow increase to the present. In Indiana, the population is 52,429, 0.77%, (2021) 6<sup>th</sup> lowest in U.S. - Alaska the highest at 20.3%.<sup>274</sup> Called by historians the “Indigenous Holocaust” from 1492 to Present,<sup>205</sup> the malign legacy of colonialism and institutionalized racism continue today.

Secretary Haaland announced the first ever investigation into U.S. boarding school policy (Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative), with plans to locate and identify student burial sites and identities of children interred.<sup>32,76-78,145</sup> The Canadian government’s *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, in 2015, reported discovery of mass unmarked graves in Indian school yards, concluding these schools supported systematic “cultural genocide”.

<sup>12,39,143,149,239</sup> Since many of these schools were supported by the Catholic Church, there are calls today for a papal visit and reparations; Canada has apparently committed \$40 billion to compensate Indigenous children for harm.<sup>269,270.</sup>

Despite bipartisan progress, there's work to be done to improve the health, wealth, educational opportunities, and quality of life for Indigenous People.<sup>19, 96,102,175.</sup> Of immediate concern, in midst of our pandemic, is funding and staffing the Indian Health Service whose budget permits only \$4000 per patient health care expenditures annually compared with the national average of \$9,400.<sup>91,131.</sup> Another pressing need, more Native American leaders and scholars who can add their voices in debates of contemporary issues: including discussions about Native American history as taught or not taught in U.S. classrooms.<sup>107,174</sup>

Despite suffering disproportionate health, education and economic burdens, Native Americans continually distinguish themselves as did Jim Thorpe and Zitkala-Sa in early 20<sup>th</sup> c. and recently as reported by the New England Journal of Medicine in December 2021, American Indians and Alaska Natives have the highest Covid-19 vaccination rates of any racial or ethnic group in the U.S.<sup>268.</sup> The Pulitzer Prize for Fiction was won, in 2021, by Louise Erdrich for "*The Night Watchman*" about her grandfather's fight to preserve tribal sovereignty.<sup>271</sup> She is Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. Joy Harjo, of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation became America's first Native American poet laureate, in 2019.<sup>88.</sup>

Conclusion:

Susie Reed's life story embodies the harms of colonialism's lasting effects.<sup>215</sup> Was her story unique or generalizable? Mr. Darrow, the Apache Tribal Historian, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, told me "I wouldn't think Susie Reed would have been any more mysterious than any of the other Apache prisoner of war children sent to Carlisle."<sup>273</sup> There were likely thousands of "Susies" who suffered similar fates whose stories have never been told.

The history of colonial governments has been long debated. Over millennia they've caused great harm to people's health and well-being, but they have often embraced successes in literature, philosophy, the arts, music, law, medicine, and technology. Legacies of such positive and negative impacts of colonialism exist throughout Euro-American cultures today, the negative impacts creating challenges in our pluralistic, sharply divided societies. Colonial governments have long shared difficulties in creating friendships and sustaining peace.

Steven Pinker, a well-known Canadian American cognitive psychologist at Harvard authored *Enlightenment Now*, in 2018, and suggests hopeful signs for improvement in democracies with changes based on reason, science, humanism, and progress, products of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. Enlightenment. One challenge is to create the "habit of truth", speaking truth to power, as Jefferson argued for democracy based on John Locke's definition of truth- not hope, faith or opinion- but truth and knowledge."<sup>136,173.</sup>

America faces enormous challenges that need to be addressed soon.<sup>118,225,226</sup> The current societal and governmental divisions have spawned beliefs detrimental to democracy, including anti-science, normalization of disinformation and conspiracy theories, anti-rule of law, anti-civility – all creating barriers for addressing our health and wealth needs of Americans. For example, major health reform is critically needed. Our health care system today is over-funded, yet dysfunctional and our public health system is both severely underfunded and dysfunctional. The consequences have been deadly, with increased morbidity and mortality and financial insecurity from Covid-19 compared to other leading democracies---a tragic outcome for the world’s richest and most technologically advanced country.<sup>110, 277, 278</sup> We need public and political leadership to right the ship of state, help us find common ground, civil dialogue, promoting truth and fact-based decision making.

In the absence of a truth-seeking culture, protection of human rights is impossible with predictable malign consequences.<sup>137,223,228,229,233</sup> Today, historians and many authorities worldwide agree that collaboration and support of human rights among countries is critically needed to address the threats of pandemics and climate change. Such collaboration is unprecedented and will meet obstacles. Leadership will be critical, and since developing countries and minorities, including Indigenous Peoples, are disproportionately impacted by these threats, new constructive and peaceful interactions among nations will be needed. Covid-19 anywhere is Covid-19 everywhere - the same for climate change, where burning fossil fuels and global warming threaten the ‘lifeboat’ of humanity.<sup>47</sup> In Copenhagen 2009, tens of thousands of youths protested for bolder actions on climate; young people carried hand-drawn posters with the now widely known slogan: “There is no Planet B.”<sup>276</sup>

The good news is that America’s founders created the remarkable Constitution and Declaration of Independence, a blueprint, map, and compass, for realizing the promise of democracy: “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” While side-stepping rights of minorities and women, their action planted the seeds for achieving the goal of “We the People”. America’s leadership has prompted governments to adopt our principles in their constitutions: rule of law, separation of powers and recognition of individual rights. Some believe America’s Constitution has been our most important export, a reason that so many people value our Country and want to come here; as expressed in Neal Diamond lyrics of *America*: “...coming to America. Today!” In 2022, we need strategies to build on America’s successes and translate the humanity, wisdom, and logic of our founding documents into reality, with civility, empathy, and respect.

America’s Poet Laureate Joy Harjo’s poem, “This Morning I Pray for My Enemies” seems relevant to conclude our reflections this evening; she speaks of “humanizing and healing of people speaking to each other, with each other.”<sup>88,274</sup>

“And whom do I call my enemy?  
An enemy must be worthy of engagement.  
I turn in the direction of the sun and keep walking.  
It's the heart that asks the question, not my furious mind.  
The heart is the smaller cousin of the sun.

It sees and knows everything.  
 It hears the gnashing even as it hears the blessing.  
 The door to the mind should only open from the heart.  
 An enemy who gets in, risks the danger of becoming a friend.”

SJJ January 10, 2022

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**General References:** For those interested in further research, there are about 275 references in the text that are available in PDF format on request of the author.

SJJ Jan 10, 2022