

Miengun's Children

Tales from a Mixed-Race Family

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Mrs. Jessie W. Hilton of Albuquerque, N.M., who summers at her cottage Mi-en-gun Walszh (Wolf's Den) in Northport, was hostess at 5:00 o'clock Wednesday at Schuler's of this city honoring Mrs. C. Stuker of Oak Park, Ill., house guest of her sister, Mrs. Basil Milliken of Oklahoma City, Okla., summer resident at Northport.

Traverse City [Michigan] Record Eagle, July 7, 1954¹

At the time of this gathering of summer society in a northern Michigan resort town, Jessie Hilton was eighty-nine years old. For more than fifty years, she had been a summer resident of Northport, on the tip of the Leelanau Peninsula, north and west of Traverse City, leaving her home in Oklahoma City every June and returning from Michigan in October, events noted in the society pages of newspapers in both places. The only break in this pattern occurred in 1947, when she moved from Oklahoma City to her daughter's house in Albuquerque, from which she continued to commute each summer to the Leelanau. Despite Jessie's social standing, however, her annual pilgrimages differed from most sojourns of the genteel and well-heeled to northern Michigan. Twice divorced, she was long accustomed to supporting herself, and she ran a shop in Northport during the summer tourist season, selling Indian handicrafts and pies that she made from the cherries for which the Traverse region is famous. The silverwork for sale at the "Cherry Buttery" came from New Mexico, but the sweet grass and split ash baskets were the work of local Odawa and Ojibwe people, some of whom Hilton had known far longer than she had been summering on the Leelanau.² Indeed, the annual arrival of Jessie Hilton, society matron and purveyor of Indian handicrafts, at the Wolf's Den signaled the complexity and fluidity of a mixed-race identity that she, like her twelve brothers and sisters, had spent a lifetime negotiating.

It was, and remains, customary in northern Michigan for people to name their summer cottages and to erect signs to this effect. The words “Mah Enggon ne wazsh” (another spelling of the Anishnaabemowin for wolf’s den) appeared on the sign for the Northport cottage when it was first occupied by Jessie’s mother, Mary Jane, after her divorce from Payson Wolfe, Jessie’s father, in 1879. A child at the Protestant mission over which Mary Jane’s father, the Reverend George N. Smith, presided in the 1840s, Payson took the English translation of his father’s name, Miengun, as his surname.³ Payson’s first name was the same as that of the young son of the mission farmer. Thus, although it conformed to their custom, “Mi-en-gun Walszh” represented not the clever conceit of white summer people with some awareness of the presence of Indigenous people in the Traverse region, but literally the home of a mixed race, Odawa-and-white family named Wolf(e).

The 1851 wedding of Payson Wolfe, an Indigenous man, and Mary Jane Smith, the white daughter of missionaries, was an unusual event, but it was hardly unique. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, reformer Alice Robertson attended a number of meetings of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, where she argued repeatedly for biological absorption through interracial marriage as a solution to the problem posed to mainstream society by the final conquest of American Indian peoples. The Lake Mohonk Conference served as a major forum for the formation and articulation of assimilation policy and drew an array of reformers and federal officials. Robertson’s advocacy of biological absorption derived from personal experience; the daughter of Protestant missionaries in Indian Territory, she ran a boarding school for Indian girls in eastern Oklahoma. As Robertson told the conference, “I have known a great many missionary families brought up among Indians, and I have yet to know one in which at least one member has not intermingled with Indians.” In her own family, a sister and an aunt had married Indians, and Robertson promoted marriages between her Native charges at the Minerva Boarding School and white men.⁴

Robertson’s comments suggest a context for examining marriages between Indians and whites and the life courses of mixed-race children that has yet to receive much attention from scholars. Despite widespread recognition that such marriages lie at the heart of race relations and chart their changing dynamics, studies of Indian-white unions have tended to be limited to a few contexts highly specific in time and space. Preeminent among these contexts is the North American fur trade from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries, during which the changing cultural terms of marriages between Indian or Métis women and white men marked stages in the colo-

nial encounter from relations between equals to Native loss of land and political autonomy with the arrival of white settlers and the local apparatus of the state.⁵ Far fewer works treat marriages between white women and Native men, and these tend to be cast either in the frontier context of white captivity narratives or to focus on interracial unions in relation to assimilationist policy and institutions, such as boarding schools and the Indian Service.⁶ There is also a growing literature on mixed-race (American Indian, African American, and white) couples and families and Indian slaveholding.⁷

As Katherine Ellinghaus has shown, Alice Robertson's advocacy of interracial marriage expressed a particular strand of assimilationist policy. Her specific reference, however, to interracial marriage in the context of Protestant missionary activity points to a somewhat different framework for considering such unions between white women and Native men. From her own experience, Robertson thought such marriages were common, but how frequently they actually occurred in the nineteenth-century North American mission field is unknown. In the vast historiography on Protestant missions, interracial marriages have received little attention, doubtless because, for much of the nineteenth century, mission societies were deeply reluctant to send out single men and women for fear of promoting such liaisons and because a signal purpose of the missionary couple and their children was to model the Christian family to the Natives.⁸

Robertson's comment, however, suggests that the place to look for interracial marriages between Indians and whites is not among the missionaries but among their children "brought up among Indians." Her assertion can and should be interpreted ideologically: as a proponent of assimilation, she believed that Indian children raised in the shadow of an exemplary white mission family matured into civilized adults worthy of union in spirit and blood with that family. In her view and those of other assimilationists, it was impossible for Indians to embrace civilization and remain culturally Indian. But Robertson's comment also evokes, perhaps unwittingly, a fluid, contingent, intimate context in which interracial marriages occurred and children arrived regardless of ideological or institutional impetus. In this context, it could by no means be assumed that cultural adaptation ran one way only, that Indian children adopted white ways, but their white playmates absorbed nothing from them. And what of the children born of these interracial mission marriages? What did they make of their mixed heritage?

Which brings us back to Jessie Hilton and her twelve brothers and sisters. Although scholars of the fur trade do chart changes over time in the nature of interracial unions, studies of Indian-white marriages in general have tended to privilege the experience of parents over those of their mixed-race

children. In this essay, I want to reverse that emphasis, concerning myself instead with the meaning the Wolfe children made of their parents' marriage as they negotiated mixed-race identities for themselves. Born between 1852 and 1874, Jessie Hilton and her siblings came of age during the assimilation period.⁹ They therefore lived much of their lives under constant pressure to accept cultural absorption into white society, and they had few cultural resources with which to craft mixed-race identities, as opposed to white, or even Indian, ones. In these years when evolutionary thinking reigned, public discourse routinely conflated race and civilization. How to be civilized and yet remain an Indian became arguably the central dilemma facing American Indian intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁰ Was it possible to live in mainstream American society while embracing an Indigenous heritage? The dilemma bulked equally large in the lives of the Wolfe children. For at least some of them, resolving it proved the work of a lifetime.

Part of my approach in this essay will be collective biography—an analysis of the common features of the Wolfe children's lives as I have been able to reconstruct them. In this reconstruction, I have been guided by Devon Mihesuah's sociopsychological model of the varying responses of children to their mixed, Indigenous and white, heritage.¹¹ Drawing on work about identity formation among African American children, Mihesuah proposes a four-stage model—pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalization—in which children of Indian and white ancestry move from a state of little knowledge or interest in their Indigenous heritage to a well informed acceptance of that heritage as fundamental to their identity. Not all mixed-race children pass through all four stages of the model, and at any one stage there are many possible circumstances and responses. Several features of this model appear useful here: Mihesuah depicts the family in its historical context as the crucible of identity formation. She treats identity generally as situational and contingent, singling out birth order and family structure as particularly significant in determining an individual child's response to his or her mixed heritage. As we will see, both of these variables seem germane to the experience of the Wolfe children.

Beyond offering a collective biography of the Wolfe children, I will also focus on three of the daughters—Jessie Hilton, Etta S. Wilson, and Stella M. Champney. As newspaperwomen and self-conscious keepers of family memory, the sisters left copious published and unpublished writings about their family, Indigenous history and cultures, and other matters. Following their inky tracks, I have been able to reconstruct Wilson's, Hilton's, and Champney's negotiations of mixed-race identities in some detail. In contrast, my account of their siblings, about whom much less is known, relies

on the sketchier facts gathered by several generations of family genealogists.¹² Two points need to be made about the consequences of this range of recovered information about the Wolfe children for the analysis that follows. First, banal but fundamental, the lives of Wilson, Hilton, and Champney demonstrate that negotiation of a mixed-race identity was a far more complex, fluid process than the demographic facts they share with their brothers and sisters can capture. Second, the relative paucity of information about the other Wolfe children is evidence neither for nor against such negotiations of their own.

These qualifications aside, a single striking feature links the biographies of Wilson, Hilton, and Champney to the lives of the other Wolfe children: performance. As Wilson put it in one of the memoirs she published about her family:

The children of the [Wolfe] union were, generally speaking, of unusual ability. In school they outstripped their associates and they exhibited a marked tendency to music and the arts. Some are musicians, while several of them became newspaper and general writers.¹³

Performance, as Philip Deloria has shown, exemplified the engagement of American Indians with modernity during the postconquest assimilation period. As is the case here, Deloria's account is largely biographical, but in his emphasis on the facts of finding Indians generally in unexpected places, he is not particularly concerned with how this engagement might have been gendered.¹⁴

Detailed reconstruction of the lives of Wilson, Hilton, and Champney makes possible such an analysis. For, as a number of feminist scholars have shown, performance was also the hallmark of a parallel engagement with modernity of New Women—so-called for their pursuit of new avenues of public participation and their embrace of new standards of private conduct—on both sides of the Atlantic. In the same period, then, both American Indians and (white) women sought to move from the margins to the center of American life. As we will see, Wilson, Hilton, and Champney negotiated mixed-race identities while carving out public careers for themselves that a generation earlier would have been virtually unimaginable for an Indian or a woman to attempt. Indeed, as New Women of mixed descent, their careers became the vehicles for that negotiation.¹⁵

THE WOLFE CHILDREN

Before there were Etta, Jessie, Stella, or any of the other Wolfe children, however, there were an Odawa boy and a white girl who grew up together at Old

Wing Mission, near present-day Holland, Michigan. A product of Native initiative, the mission was founded in 1839 by a band from L'Arbre Croche, the center of Odawa settlement in northern Michigan, led by Payson Wolfe's maternal uncles, Ogemainni (chief man, Joseph Wakazoo) and Pendunwan (scabbard, Peter Wakazoo). Seeking to evade the threat of removal created by the cession of their lands to the federal government in 1836, the band pooled its treaty annuity monies, solicited financial support for a mission from a local benevolent association, and tapped funds allocated by treaty for a missionary to instruct them in the elements of "civilization." When interference by Dutch settlers with Indian property became intolerable, the Old Wing Mission moved in 1849 to the Leelanau Peninsula, founding what would become the town of Northport.¹⁶

By 1855, the peninsula was overrun by white lumbermen and settlers and awash in alcohol. That same year, the federal government finally settled the question of removal left unresolved for nearly two decades by compacting a new treaty with the Odawa and Ojibwe (Ottawa and Chippewa) parties to the 1836 treaty that dissolved tribal affiliations and allotted land within designated townships to Native heads of household and single men. Six of these townships were on the northern end of the Leelanau, home to a number of Odawa and Ojibwe bands, only some of whom were associated with Old Wing and a second Protestant mission at Omena. The process by which federal agents recorded Indian selections of land and unclaimed parcels for purchase by white lumbermen and settlers proved every bit as fraudulent as the implementation of allotment under the Dawes Act that Jessie Hilton would witness decades later at the Kiowa Agency in Oklahoma. Over time, Indians lost much of their property in land on the peninsula. By the late nineteenth century, most of the reporting about local Native peoples in the *Grand Traverse Herald*, the predecessor of the *Record-Eagle*, had to do with Indian lore and legend and was intended for the consumption of tourists staying at newly opened resorts along Grand Traverse Bay. The few references to living Indians in the newspapers were less sanitized but just as safe. "About a thousand men," the *Herald* reported in 1894, "stopped to admire the new Indian sign in front of Gilbert's cigar store on Monday. At the same time there were several dozen real live aborigines on Front Street and not even a small boy turned to look after them. 'Resolved that art is more beautiful than nature.'" ¹⁷

Against this history of threatened removal and dispossession, the marriage of Payson Wolfe (1831–1900) and Mary Jane Smith (1835–1905) blossomed, withered, and died. The pair wed in 1851, a few months before the bride's sixteenth birthday. Theirs was very much a match made in the mis-

sion, an unforeseen consequence of the political circumstances that had brought them together as children. For both, Old Wing Mission provided a social and cultural space which, if it did not countenance at least condoned the development of their relationship. Payson's kinship relations were probably truncated by patrilineal Odawa standards, and his place looser than usual in the familial web of obligations. His father, Miengun, may have come to Michigan from the Red River Country in Manitoba, where Payson's great uncles, Mackadepennesy (black hawk) and Wakazoo, uncle Ogemainni, and other members of his mother's family engaged in fur trading from the early 1790s at least through the War of 1812 and perhaps later. Miengun died at Old Wing in 1841, and he and Kinnequay, Payson's mother, seem to have produced no other children who survived to adulthood.¹⁸ Jessie Hilton's declaration of Indian descent in her 1908 letter of application to the Indian Service also indicates the attenuation of Payson's paternal kinship ties: "[I am of] the tribe of Ottawas of Michigan, but I am not positive of the exact lineage of my father, as we have little knowledge of his family." Here two patrilineal kinship systems—Indigenous and white—meet. There is no question that Hilton knew who her father's mother's people were, but they did not constitute her lineage.¹⁹

As for Mary Jane, she seems not to have missed growing up in the white society for which her mother pined and whose absence Arvilla Smith feared would harm her children. Like their contemporaries and fellow Congregational missionaries in Hawaii, the Smiths went to considerable lengths to assure their children's education away from the mission, sending two of their four surviving offspring to Olivet and Oberlin Colleges and a third to high school in Grand Rapids. In 1850, the Smiths were preparing to send Mary Jane and her older brother away to school. Instead, she married Payson in the spring of the following year, and her younger sister, also named Arvilla, went to Olivet in her stead.²⁰

Although little is known about the interior life of the Wolfe marriage, it is clear that, almost from the beginning, external forces strained the bond between Payson and Mary Jane. This pressure was in part economic, as competition from white settlers made it increasingly difficult for Native people on the Leelanau to rely as they had done for their subsistence on the traditional seasonal round of hunting, fishing, maple sugar-making, horticulture, and gathering. As the son-in-law of George N. Smith, Payson may have felt with particular acuteness the need to adjust his economic practices. To support his family, Payson expanded the seasonal round to include part-time agricultural wage work for his father-in-law, behavior that also reflects his obligations as an Odawa man to his wife's parents. He also shot and bar-

reled passenger pigeons for the Chicago restaurant market and traded horses between Chicago and northern Michigan. These activities seem not to have sufficiently provided for the rapidly growing family, for by the late 1850s the four eldest Wolfe children were living with their white grandparents. Ultimately at least six of the children did so at various times.²¹

It is unclear whether such economic support also represented a judgment on George and Arvilla Smith's part that their daughter and son-in-law were otherwise deficient as parents. But the Smiths evidently came to regard themselves as having superseded Payson and Mary Jane in their role as parents and in the affection of at least some of their children. In a remarkably manipulative letter written in 1869 to the eldest Wolfe daughter Arvilla, nicknamed "Tissie," who was at school in Benzonia, roughly fifty miles south of Northport, Arvilla imagines herself dead and her granddaughter left "friendless & alone." "You have parents that love you but enough others to care for," she writes, suggesting that the Smiths could lavish attention on Tissie that the girl's parents could not give. Arvilla signed this letter "Mother," and George signed the few lines he had scrawled along the bottom of the page, "Father," the names the couple used on all their surviving correspondence with Tissie.²² Tissie and Etta, the next eldest Wolfe daughter, who also grew up in her white grandparents' home, ultimately dropped "Wolfe" and adopted "Smith" as their maiden names.

Perhaps the greatest single stress on the Wolfe marriage was the physical and psychological cost of the Civil War. Payson Wolfe served with Company K of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, an all-Indian company in the Union Army. At least a third of the men were, like him, recruited by Garrett A. Gravaeret, a Métis from L'Arbre Croche. Alarmed by the loss of their land base in the wake of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit and anxious to avoid charges of "Copperheadism" or of being associated with the 1862 Dakota Wars in Minnesota, the men of Company K fought, and many of them died, under Union colors. Captured at Petersburg in 1864 and incarcerated at Andersonville, Payson returned home permanently crippled in his left arm. The Wolfe marriage deteriorated. In 1878, Payson left Northport to live at L'Arbre Croche near his mother, who had returned there sometime after 1865. He and Mary Jane divorced the following year.²³

The sheer number of children born over a period of more than twenty years; the Smith grandparents' habit of taking in their grandchildren and then sending them away from the Leelanau to school, as they had done with their own children; and the break-up of the Wolfe marriage when their youngest children were still very small all suggest that what and how the Wolfe children learned about their father's people and Odawa ways, and what they

made of that knowledge in their formation of their own identities, were neither simple nor consistent. This observation accords with Devon Mihesuah's argument for considerable variation in how mixed-race children form their identities as they confront their Indigenous and white parentage. Among the factors she singles out as contributing to this variability, family structure and birth order seem particularly salient to the experience of the Wolfe children. For the eldest Wolfe children, growing up in their white grandparents' home was not in and of itself a barrier to Indigenous cultural knowledge. The Smith and Wolfe houses were not far apart, and George Smith's memoranda books describe much coming and going between them. Despite the inundation of the Leelanau by white settlers, the Northport community remained biracial. Yet as Arvilla's letter to Tissie attests, at least the older Wolfe children, who included Etta S[mith] Wilson, were under considerable pressure to pattern themselves after their white grandparents, an emulation that meant abandonment of their Odawa heritage. At the other end of the Wolfe birth order were the children who grew up with much less contact with their father in a community far more dominated by whites. The obituary of the youngest child, Stella Champney, a toddler when her father left home, describes how she learned about Odawa culture from her white mother.

The most direct account of the Wolfe children's engagement with their Odawa heritage comes from Etta, who wrote, but did not publish, a memoir of her Indian grandmother sometime after her memoir of her Yankee grandfather appeared in print in 1905.²⁴ Wilson's depiction of the gulf between Odawa and white in her family is harsh. She insists that both Payson's and Mary Jane's families opposed the marriage, George Smith finally acquiescing on grounds of racial egalitarianism, and Kinnequay because Mary Jane was at least respectable, for a white girl. Wilson portrays the Wolfe home as an English-only household in which the children relied on their white mother as a translator when their Indian grandmother visited.

The tale is compelling, but enough of the details on which it rests are so problematic that it cannot be swallowed whole. After the wedding of Payson and Mary Jane, Arvilla Smith wrote to her mother in Vermont that the Smiths had countenanced the marriage because they were afraid that their daughter would soon become pregnant. The great nephew of Etta Wilson remembers that her sister Jessie and brother Birnie spoke Odawa. It may be significant, in this regard, that Jessie and Birnie were from the middle of the Wolfe birth order and so spent some time with their father. They were also among the children who as adults spent the most time on the Leelanau, where they maintained friendships with a number of Indian people.²⁵ As we will see, variation in exposure to and favorable impression of Indigenous

cultural knowledge in childhood, as reflected in their birth order, helps to explain how older sister Wilson and her younger and youngest sisters Hilton and Champney negotiated mixed-race identities for themselves as adults.

Besides birth order, several other patterns in the Wolfe collective biography resonate with the life experiences of Wilson, Hilton, and Champney, according as well with Etta's boast in 1905 about family performance. The first pattern is marriage and children. Three of the siblings died before they could marry. The spouses of the other ten siblings were white. These marriages were not notably productive of offspring, six of the unions resulting in a total of eleven children. Four of the Wolfes were childless. Three divorced, one of them—Jessie—twice. The choice of spouse may or may not suggest white-identified lives. About the causes of this marital instability and relative paucity of offspring one can only speculate. Nevertheless, it is surely not coincidental for their careers outside the home that Hilton and Champney were single parents and Wilson was childless.

The second pattern is geographical mobility, another marker of modernity at the turn of the last century for American Indians and women.²⁶ All of the Wolfe children, usually as young adults, left the Leelanau for good, most of them scattering around the Midwest—Ontonagon in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Chicago. Others ranged further afield—east to New Jersey and Pennsylvania and, for Hilton, west to Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. For still others, travel became an indispensable part of their careers. Birding expeditions took Etta to Florida and Alaska; ornithological conferences drew her to cities in eastern Canada and the United States. Based in Detroit for much of her working life as a newspaperwoman, Stella roamed the Great Lakes region and beyond, traveling far north into Ontario and Quebec and west to Vancouver and Alaska. In their mobility, or perhaps because of it, a fixed point for the Wolfe children was a sibling support network on which they relied to varying degrees.

When the Wolfe children left the Leelanau, most of them apparently did so for good. But for a few, the peninsula remained home, however far their travels took them. Birnie and Jennie spent their young adulthood working in the Traverse region, leaving not for the city, like their siblings, but for a more remote north country, the Upper Peninsula. Wilson, Hilton, and Champney periodically circled back to the Leelanau throughout their lives. For Hilton, these visits became part of her participation in the tourist trade. For Wilson and Champney, returning to the Leelanau reinforced their knowledge of the Traverse region and its people on which they drew in their writings. Champney even filed stories for the *Detroit News* from "Mi-en-gun Lodge," the family cottage.

The final pattern is the professional careers pursued by all the children, except for Helen Mabel, who appears not to have worked outside the home, and the first George Payson, who died as a child. Among the sons, the second George Payson, a railroad engineer, and William Powers, a newspaperman, died young and unmarried in violent freak accidents. Birnie taught school and worked as a sign painter. The other two Wolfe boys apparently lived most of their adult lives in Chicago, where Edwin Andress, a violinist, also supported himself as a sign painter. Charles Fremont was a printer. Of the Wolfe daughters, Jennie held a nursing degree from the University of Michigan; Tissie played the piano professionally, and Clara Belle worked as a newspaperwoman, like her sisters Etta, Jessie, and Stella, although little is known of her career.²⁷

THREE SISTERS

Let us now turn to the working lives of Etta Wilson, Jessie Hilton, and Stella Champney and to their engagement with modernity, particularly through journalism, as mixed-race women. The performances of the Wolfe sisters were complex. Although all three at various times made their livings as reporters, the scope of their writings far exceeded the stories that they filed. And while their reliance on writing as a vehicle for exploring and defending Indigenous identity and culture is unmistakable, their work cannot be reduced to either autobiography or polemic, even though it was sometimes both. When Etta Wilson wrote her memoir defending her missionary grandfather—and by extension herself, her siblings, and her parents—against the criticism of her white relatives, she had most recently been employed as the society-page editor of the *Detroit News-Tribune*. By 1935, when she published her last memoir, of her Odawa father, she was nationally recognized for her writings about birds. Her tribute to Payson Wolfe appears as part of an elegy on the extermination of the passenger pigeon. Jessie Hilton's career as a muckraker for the *Oklahoma City Times* was as brief as it was notorious, one phase of a long career of inventing and reinventing herself as a mixed-race woman: as an employee of the federal Indian Service, as a researcher on Native matters for the Oklahoma Works Progress Administration, and as a purveyor of Native handicrafts to tourists in northern Michigan. In contrast to her two sisters, Stella Champney made an entire career in the newspaper business, the history and cultures of Indigenous peoples emerging as the passion of her working life only six years before her death.

As essential as writing was to the livelihoods and identities of the Wolfe sisters, it was not their sole performative arena. Wilson's, Hilton's, and

Champney's involvement in the women's club movement marked them as seekers of new avenues of self-cultivation for women. All three, together with a fourth sister, also joined the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) on the basis of their maternal lineage. Because the D.A.R. has been rightly known as an organization of middle- and upper-class women rigid in its racist exclusion of African Americans, its attitudes toward and attraction for American Indians are not well understood. The D.A.R. espoused a kind of assimilationism that allowed a measure of white acceptance of Indigenous cultural heritage. Instead of dismissing Indians as a conquered people with no part to play in the march of American progress, the Daughters tended to emphasize the contributions of Native peoples to that progress and to see no barriers to their full participation in American society. The Wolfe sisters were consequently not alone as mixed-race members of the D.A.R., as the existence of a chapter at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the Cherokee capital, attests.²⁸

Affiliation with the D.A.R. and other women's clubs conferred on Wilson, Hilton, and Champney a genteel social status. More importantly, becoming Daughters helped to affirm a cultural authority, based on both white and Indian lineages, which they exhibited in their writings and other public performances. This "honorable ancestry," as Wilson put it, enabled them to claim a place in American society on the basis of both descent and consent—a blood claim from their white parentage and a claim as Indians who had chosen civilization.²⁹ This understanding of the historical significance of their parents' marriage in turn allowed them to attach their family story to regional, national, and even transborder narratives. Wilson took the first step in the wedding of biography to history with the publication of her memoir of George Smith in 1905. Over the next thirty years, she and her sisters would gradually complete the identification.

ETTA S. WILSON

Wilson's, Hilton's, and Champney's careers represent different phases and aspects of US women's entry into journalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁰ Born in 1857, eight and seventeen years before sisters Jessie and Stella, Etta Wilson became one of Michigan's first newspaperwomen. She left the Leelanau in the mid-1870s to attend high school in Grand Rapids, probably under the watchful eye of her uncle, George N. Smith, Jr., a Swedenborgian minister in the city.³¹ She then worked as a seamstress before her wedding in 1881 to Wesley T. Wilson, the supervisor of a furniture factory. Wilson became a reporter for the *Grand Rapids Herald* a few years later



Figure 1. Etta S. Wilson. Courtesy of Grand Rapids History & Special Collections, Archives, Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, MI.

and, as was typical of early women journalists, wrote stories without a byline on everything from baseball games to ladies' teas. Her role in founding the Michigan Women's Press Association in 1890 also attests to her pioneer status as a newspaperwoman.³² As did similar organizations in other states, the association published the reports of the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, initiating Wilson's own lifelong affiliation with women's clubs.³³

In 1901, Wilson parlayed her work on the *Grand Rapids Herald* into the editorship of the newly founded women's page of the *Detroit Journal-News*. At the same time, she, like other women reporters, tried to break into freelance feature writing for such national periodicals as *Leslie's*, which paid better than straight reporting and offered a byline.³⁴ Her career as a newspaperwoman, however, was cut short in 1906 by a crippling illness that she

later described as the “shortening of the cords of the neck from the poisoning resulting from the bite of a gnat.” Her paralysis, she declared, inspired her to take up the study of birds; she could look up at them when she could no longer look down at a typewriter. Her new interest then blossomed into a second, far more lucrative, career as an ornithologist.

This breezy assertion, tossed off in a reminiscence published in 1921 about her work as a reporter in Grand Rapids, masked what must have been a period of considerable strain for Wilson. Whatever its physical cause, her illness followed on the heels of the death of her mother, Mary Jane, and of the publication of Wilson’s memoir of her grandfather, George N. Smith, in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, the journal of the state historical society, in 1905. These two events were almost certainly linked. Because Mary Jane was preceded in death by Wilson’s father, Payson Wolfe, and all four of her grandparents, Wilson was free to publish her memoir without much fear of contradiction or controversy. With its ringing defense of her parents’ marriage as testament to Smith’s success as a missionary, Wilson’s memoir rebutted earlier accounts of her grandfather published by white family members that portrayed him as a zealot who sacrificed his wife and children to an unworthy cause.³⁵

Wilson’s memoir in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* constitutes her first known published acknowledgment of her mixed-race parentage. As an adult, she consistently listed herself as white on the federal population censuses, even though she also appeared on the 1907 Durant Roll of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan.³⁶ An 1894 biographical sketch published by the Michigan Women’s Press Club mentions Wilson’s parents by name only and emphasizes the significance of her “adopt[ion]” by George Smith for her later career as a newspaperwoman. Of her Odawa heritage and Smith’s work as a missionary, the sketch says nothing. It may be, therefore, that for Wilson the events of 1905–06 came as the shock that Devon Mihesuah suggests provokes the encounter of many mixed-race children with their Indigenous heritage. If so, then Wilson’s subsequent decision to devote herself to ornithology should also be considered in light of her public recuperation of her family history and mixed-race identity.³⁷

There is good evidence that more than the angle of a frozen neck prompted Wilson seriously to take up the study of birds. As Vera Norwood has shown, by the time that Wilson launched what became her second career, many American women had turned to the “branch of ornithology emphasizing observational fieldwork,” finding in it a “space appropriate” to their “conservationist role,” a means by which they could extend their domestic purview out of doors and into nature.³⁸ For a former society-page editor and devoted

member of women's clubs like Wilson, birdwatching was an appropriately gendered aspect of nature study. Her attraction to ornithology, however, ran deeper than her desire to find a socially acceptable new outlet for her talents. Obituaries by two individuals who knew Wilson well, Harry C. Oberholser of the federal Bureau of Biological Survey and Clara B. Joyce, the fourth Wolfe newspaperwoman, agree that Wilson's fascination with birds, like her love of writing, dated from her childhood.³⁹ This early interest helps to explain both the speed with which Wilson's second career developed and its trajectory.

Wilson launched herself as an ornithologist in 1907 by joining a nature study club in Indianapolis, where she and Wesley had moved from Detroit. Soon engaged as state lecturer for the Indiana Audubon Society, she also became an observer of bird migrations, her notes prized by the Bureau of Biological Survey, later part of the Fish and Wildlife Service, as "among the best we have ever received from [Indiana]."⁴⁰ Her relationship with the bureau deepened after she and Wesley returned to Detroit in 1917. Through national meetings of the American Ornithological Union, where she presented her observations with "lantern slides," Wilson became friends with Harry C. Oberholser, a pioneer in the study of avian migrations.⁴¹ Oberholser organized the federal bird-banding program in 1920, and later in the decade assumed direction of the first national inventories of migratory waterfowl. In 1927, he appointed Wilson to chair the survey of waterfowl for the Detroit area. Nine years later, Oberholser wrote her obituary for *The Auk*, the organ of record of the American Ornithological Union.⁴²

In addition to her work as an Audubon lecturer and for the Bureau of Biological Survey, Wilson published a series of articles about her ornithological observations in such journals as *The Auk* and *Bird-Lore*, the national organ of the Audubon Society.⁴³ These articles attested not only to the acuity of her fieldwork, but to her remarkable ability to cultivate relationships of trust with wild creatures. She learned, for example, to call birds to her, and she could spot species in locations where they were presumed not to exist. Wilson's reports of her experiences in the field, such as her account of the presence of Whistling Swans, birds supposedly nearing extinction, in the vicinity of the Detroit River, occasionally proved controversial, but she was vindicated in her observations by the Bureau of Biological Survey. Wilson's highly developed aptitude for scientific observation enabled her to see where others could not.

Another possible interpretation of her fieldwork, however, lying, tantalizingly, just beyond the reach of direct evidence, links Wilson's career as an ornithologist to her Odawa heritage. Who Payson Wolfe's paternal and maternal clans were is not certain, but they may well have been wolf and bird

because of Payson's choice of his father's name as his English surname, and became bird names similarly repeat among members of his mother's family. In Anishnaabe stories, Wolf travels with Original Man, naming the plants, animals, and places created by Gitche Manitou. He can therefore call forth other creatures, including birds. Members of the Bird Clan are associated with spiritual leadership, intuition, and knowledge of the future. It may be, therefore, that Etta Smith Wilson knew herself to be a wolf despite her earlier rejection of her father's name, and that her ability with birds signaled the intimate meaning her clan history had for her. As we will see, the sign of the wolf also resonated in the work of Wilson's sister, Stella M. Champney.⁴⁴

Wilson's ease in the out-of-doors informed other aspects of her public life, especially her activities as a member of the D.A.R. She applied to join the D.A.R. in 1914 while on a visit to her sister, Jessie, at the Kiowa Agency in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Jessie herself had joined the Anadarko Chapter earlier in the year, and she sponsored her older sister's application, as she would that of another sister, Mary Jane (Jennie) Blair, in 1917. In 1918, a year after Wilson returned to Detroit from Indianapolis, and transferred her D.A.R. membership to the local Louisa St. Clair Chapter, a fourth Wolfe sister, Stella M. Champney, also joined the Detroit society. Wilson remained an active member of the Louisa St. Clair Chapter, as well as in the Detroit Women Writers' Club, which she joined in 1919, until her death. The Writer's Club was affiliated with the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, with which Wilson had been associated since the 1890s.⁴⁵ In both her chapter and club, she served as an advocate for conservation, a concern she shared with other members of the D.A.R. and the General Federation of Women's Clubs elsewhere in the United States during the Progressive Era. Wilson's particular cause was the reforestation of the cutover in northern Michigan, thousands upon thousands of acres denuded of trees by decades of clear-cutting. By the time of her return to Detroit, citizens' groups had joined with the state and federal governments to transform slash and stumps into reforested public domain. Wilson contributed to this process by arranging for her D.A.R. chapter to fund the purchase of seedlings for four hundred acres of cutover.⁴⁶

Only near the end of her life did Wilson reveal in print the links between her family history and identity and her career as an ornithologist and advocate for conservation. Between 1905, when her memoir of George Smith appeared, and 1935, the year before her death, she published nothing more about her Odawa heritage. Sometime in this period, however, Wilson composed, but did not publish, a memoir of her Odawa grandmother in which she depicted the struggle of Kinnequay, a proud woman, the daughter of a long line of prominent Odawa leaders and a skillful healer in her own right,

to live as an Indian in the midst of whites. For Wilson, Kinnequay's insistence on picking and choosing among white ways—accepting Catholicism, for instance, while rejecting the possessive individualism she considered sheer greed—made her grandmother civilized on Native terms. What assimilationist ideology decreed impossible, in other words, Kinnequay had achieved in her life. In the example of her grandmother, therefore, Wilson may ultimately have found refuge from the pressure to disappear into white society to which she and the other Wolfe children had been subject their entire lives. In 1935, for reasons we can only imagine, she decided to commit to print the lesson she had learned with an essay in *The Auk* entitled, "Personal Recollections of the Passenger Pigeon."⁴⁷

Wilson's recollections are as much a memorial to her father, Payson Wolfe, as they are an elegy for the extinction of a species. In this essay, Wilson attributes her own knowledge and keen observation of the out-of-doors to the prowess of her father, an extraordinary hunter, as was his father, Miengun, before him. With her brothers and sisters, Wilson helped her father when he shot passenger pigeons for the Wolfe table and the Chicago market. Unlike the professional hunters who systematically pillaged the roosts, ultimately exterminating the bird in northern Michigan, Payson Wolfe limited his taking to what he needed to provide for his family. For him, hunting passenger pigeons comprised one element in a seasonal round pursued by Indigenous peoples "from time immemorial." As Payson Wolfe had adjusted to living amidst whites, so he had modified the seasonal round to include hunting for market. But traditional principles of restrained taking and balancing of resources against one another remained intact. In her recollections, in other words, Wilson celebrated an Indigenous "knowledge of the ways of the wild that has never been mastered by the white man." It was a knowledge that had endured, just as Native people had survived when the passenger pigeon did not. And in Wilson's case, mastery of at least some of this knowledge had shaped her public life, making possible a mixed-race identity.⁴⁸

JESSIE W. HILTON

A middle child in the birth order of Wolfe offspring, Hilton grew up in her parents' home, unlike her sister Etta, spending her formative years in the company of her father, unlike her younger sister Stella. Of the three sisters she was apparently the only one with a speaking knowledge of Odawa. She was also the only one not to use her published writings to work out her mixed-race identity. Instead, journalism comprised but one element of a multifaceted career during which she consistently traded on her Odawa heri-



Figure 2. Mrs. Jessie W. Hilton. Sorosis Club of Oklahoma City Scrapbook, May 1, 1947. Courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

tage. For Hilton, the shock that provoked this sustained engagement was not the illness that crippled her older sister but divorce from her first husband.

Hilton worked as a teacher in public schools on the Leelanau before her marriage to Frank Brabant in 1892. The wedding took place in the Grand Rapids home of the Reverend George N. Smith, Jr., who officiated, and Etta and Wesley Wilson bestowed a dining room suite and other furniture on the newlyweds. The Brabants' son Harold was born in 1895. A few years after the birth of their daughter Marjorie in 1901, the couple divorced, and Jessie, as she would repeatedly declare in the coming years to sundry federal officials, became the sole support of two small children.⁴⁹ Her decision to seek employment in the Indian Service may have been simply pragmatic: she needed a job badly, and her clerical skills and Indian blood made her an attractive

applicant in the eyes of federal officials. Nevertheless, the extent to which divorce altered Hilton's life course toward public performance of indigeneity seems remarkable.

The first record of her employment post divorce is at an Indian boarding school, Haskell Institute, in Kansas. In what capacity she worked and for how long are unknown, because institutional employment records have not survived. In 1908, Hilton took the noncompetitive entry examination for Native applicants to the federal Indian Service and thereby obtained a position as an assistant lease clerk, assigning Indian allotments first at the Ponca and then the Kiowa Agencies in Oklahoma. There is an obvious irony here that, having grown up witnessing the effects of allotment on Native peoples in northern Michigan as a result of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, Jessie should have found employment administering allotment under the Dawes Act. She seems herself to have made the connection. The superintendent of the Ponca Agency, who regarded her as only a "fair employee," wrote in Jessie's efficiency report that "Mrs. Brabant . . . [is] interested in the welfare of Indians, apparently . . . [she is] inclined to be vindictive with Indians and employees with whom she does not agree."⁵⁰

At the Kiowa Agency, Jessie met Spencer Hilton, the head lease clerk, who had first come to the agency in 1902 as a surveyor and who had over time acquired an unparalleled knowledge of the allotments. He was particularly responsible for administering the "inherited and noncompetent" Indian lands available for lease to whites. The agency superintendent, Ernest W. Stecker, thought so highly of Hilton's work that, until the arrival of Jessie Brabant, he was grooming Hilton as his own successor. When Jessie and Hilton became engaged, however, Stecker's fury knew few bounds. The efficiency ratings of both lovers plummeted, and Stecker subjected Jessie to months of harassment. It is not clear whether the superintendent objected to the liaison between his clerks on racial grounds, but the charges he hurled at Jessie—promiscuity and abdication of her duties as a mother—had long been grounds for the cultural condemnation by whites of Indian and white working women. The way that Stecker undermined his own case against Jessie, moreover, demonstrates that his hostility derived not from anything she had done, but from what she represented. Jessie, Stecker snarled in her efficiency report, was "the most selfish mother I ever met—apparently willing to sacrifice at any time the welfare and comfort of her children for a good time in the company of male companionship [*sic*]. For the good of the [Indian] Service and the welfare of her children I recommend that she be transferred to some agency or office where other women are employed." Had Jessie truly failed as an employee, the superintendent could simply have recommended that

she be fired. Instead, he proposed subjecting her to the discipline of white women far away from him.⁵¹

After months of bullying, Jessie finally resigned from her position at the Kiowa Agency in April of 1911. Ill and exhausted, she sought refuge with her sister Tissie in Philadelphia, her sisters Stella and Jennie in Traverse City, and perhaps her uncle George in Grand Rapids while she sought to clear her name and obtain another appointment with the Indian Service. In the meantime, Superintendent Stecker hastened to restore his head clerk's standing in the Indian Service "in view of his unblemished record prior to last year."⁵² Finally, in March of 1912, Jessie received a post at the Segar School in Colony, Oklahoma. Four months later, she resigned "[o]wing to my marriage to Mr. Spencer Hilton." We can only imagine what Ernest W. Stecker thought when the former Mrs. Brabant returned to the Kiowa Agency in marital triumph as Mrs. Hilton. Stecker seems not, at least, to have held her reappearance against her husband, for he recommended Hilton to replace him when he resigned in March of 1915.⁵³

After her marriage to Spencer Hilton, Jessie's life flowed more smoothly for several years. There are a number of signs of her assertion of a secure identity and status. Jessie entered Anadarko society, joining the D.A.R. and the Philomathic Club. At the same time, she arranged to donate to the Library of Congress her Yankee grandfather's memoranda books between 1850 and 1879—much of the record of his work on behalf of her Odawa father's people. This apparently happy, stable period ended abruptly in 1916 when Spencer Hilton, a Republican and seemingly honest employee, was forced from his position at the Kiowa Agency by Democratic partisans eager to obtain leases on oil-rich Indian lands. The Hiltons left Anadarko for Oklahoma City, where Spencer found work as a bookkeeper and Jessie embarked on her brief, but notorious, career as a journalist for E. K. Gaylord's Oklahoma Publishing Company.⁵⁴

This phase of Hilton's working life represents another aspect of US women's early involvement in journalism. She went undercover to engage in a kind of muckraking in which the sex of the reporter—a woman alone in a dangerous public place—rendered a scandalous story even more sensational. In 1919, as an undercover reporter, Hilton wrote a series of front-page exposés in the *Oklahoma City Times* of the state's social welfare institutions, many of whose inmates were American Indians and African Americans. She acted at the behest of the Democratic governor, James B. A. Robertson, and the politically powerful Gaylord, who sought to embarrass the previous administration in an internal party conflict. It is not clear how Hilton got the job of going undercover as a domestic, carrying a letter of appointment from

the governor. But since she had no known prior experience as a journalist, she probably took the assignment as a freelancer who, because she looked “Indian,” was a plausible new employee at such institutions as the State Industrial School for Girls.⁵⁵

Robertson and Gaylord got more than they bargained for when they sent Jessie Hilton undercover. Conditions at the State Industrial School, the first institution she visited, were genuinely horrific, and Hilton, like her sisters, proved an expert practitioner of the emotional realism that Alice Fahs has identified as a style of reporting characteristic of early women journalists.⁵⁶ Combining womanly feeling with acute observation, such writing appealed to the hearts of readers by making the plight of an individual stand for the condition of many. Hilton’s reporting provoked an investigation by the Oklahoma legislature, which accused her of making up her lurid findings. When Hilton’s charges were largely confirmed, efforts began to clean up the most egregious abuses that she had uncovered.⁵⁷

After her brush with journalistic fame, Hilton worked for at least a few more years as a newspaperwoman in Oklahoma City, although the scope of her reporting is unknown.⁵⁸ Instead of appearing as a byline, Hilton’s name was visible over the next three decades in a steady stream of articles about meetings of the Oklahoma City chapter of Sorosis, another of the Federated Women’s Clubs devoted to conviviality and genteel self-improvement. Her fellow club members numbered among the elite of Oklahoma City, including Mrs. J. B. Thoburn, wife of the director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, of which Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Hilton were also members.⁵⁹ As Patricia Loughlin and Devon Mihesuah have demonstrated, part of the attraction of Oklahoma society for a genteel mixed-race woman like Hilton was a certain porousness in its racial boundaries. As long as Hilton gave every indication of upholding the banner of “civilization,” she could also assert her authority over a Native heritage. Other Oklahoma-born, mixed-race women within her social ambit adopted a similar stance, among them Muriel H. Wright (Choctaw), a leading light of the Oklahoma Historical Society and close associate of J. B. Thornton. Like Hilton, Wright was also a member of the D.A.R.⁶⁰ Jessie’s mixed-race heritage and work for the *Indian Service* thus helped to define her position in the club. A member of the Sorosis “Art Department,” she was responsible for the “Annual Indian Program,” which in 1930 featured a “Kiowa Indian hand ball game.”⁶¹

Jessie’s acceptance by the elite of Oklahoma City, however, did not rest on a firm economic foundation. In the early 1920s, her marriage collapsed, and she was thrown back on her own resources. In 1924–25, Jessie found herself living at the Sorosis Club in Oklahoma City, rather than simply attending

meetings there.⁶² She was also forced to seek employment, as she had done after her divorce from Frank Brabant. Perhaps in part because her married son was then living in Anadarko, she first attempted, in 1928, to be reinstated as clerk at the Kiowa Agency. This time, her attempt to seek refuge within the federal system failed, her file having grown too fat with controversy to be ignored. Moreover, if Ernest Stecker had once hounded her for her supposedly excessive sexuality, his successor at the Kiowa Agency now held what he considered her lack of appeal against her. As he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommending against Hilton's reemployment: "Her entire relation when she was here was such as I do not believe it would be advisable to reinstate her . . . I am not in a position to comment on the advisability of reinstating her elsewhere. However, on general principles, I will say that usually a younger woman would be more valuable to the Service."⁶³

Thwarted in her attempt to return to the Kiowa Agency, Jessie remained in Oklahoma City, living in the home of her married daughter. In the 1930s, she worked for the Oklahoma Works Progress Administration, gathering materials for the *Indian Pioneer Papers* then being collected at the Oklahoma Historical Society. This work dovetailed with her volunteer activities through Sorosis at the WPA art center in Oklahoma City.⁶⁴ In 1931, she began the annual summer pilgrimages to the Leelanau that she would continue for nearly the rest of her life, working first as the manager of "Whispering Pines" resort, and then opening the "Cherry Buttery," her pie and Indian handicraft shop in Northport. In 1949, Jessie Hilton attended the Northport centennial celebration. A number of Native people also participated in these festivities; Odawa Chief Jonas Shaunadassee served on the Northport Centennial Committee and as Grand Marshall of the opening parade.⁶⁵ Hilton, for thirty-five years a member of the D.A.R., took part as an "old pioneer." In a photograph of her meeting the governor of Michigan, G. Mennen Williams, she is wearing a poke bonnet hat.

STELLA M. CHAMPNEY

When George W. Stark, a fellow reporter, wrote in Champney's 1935 obituary in the *Detroit News* that the "newspaper was her university," he did not exaggerate. To a far greater extent than either of her sisters, Champney gave her life to the newspaper business. Like Jessie, Champney acquired a teaching certificate, but she did not use it for long. Married at nineteen to Albert Ely Champney, this youngest child of Payson and Mary Jane Wolfe quickly produced a son and a daughter, then divorced her husband, and by 1900 was working as a compositor for the *Grand Traverse Herald* in Traverse City, where

she and her children shared a house with her mother, her sister, the sometime reporter Clara B., and Clara's husband Charles Joyce, a printer at the *Herald*. By 1910, Champney had worked herself into a position as a reporter for the *Herald*. Mary Jane having died and the Joyces departed from Traverse City, she and her children now lived with her unmarried sister, Jennie, head of nursing at the local hospital. Champney then followed the path broken by her sister Etta, working briefly for the *Grand Rapids Herald* before moving by 1913 to the *Detroit Journal*.⁶⁶

In Detroit, Champney carved out a public life for herself very different from those of her sisters. She neither soft-pedaled her divorce nor traded on her status as a single mother, as did Jessie in her correspondence with the Indian Service. Champney joined the Louisa St. Clair Chapter of the D.A.R. and the Detroit Women Writers' Club but, unlike Etta, she devoted little time to these organizations. Champney quit the Writers' Club after only a few years of membership, and she was most visible in the D.A.R. when she covered its national convention in 1929 for the *Detroit News*. For her, the newspaper business seems to have been wholly absorbing. Presenting herself as a prodigiously hard worker satisfied only by "man's work," Champney had no use for what she called the "pink tea" reporting pioneered by Etta, nor did she go undercover like Jessie. Instead, Champney covered the Detroit police and courts and otherwise competed ferociously with male reporters for scoops on breaking news.⁶⁷

In 1925, having decided that there was "something better and bigger in life" than the divorce cases she had been covering, Champney took a two-year leave from the *Detroit News* to establish the Michigan News Index, a key to reporting on Michigan topics in state newspapers modeled on the *New York Times* Index. The work made extraordinary demands on Champney; day after day for months she gave the index "[t]welve, sixteen, even seventeen hours of undivided attention" until she had "whipped" it. But at last "the thing was eating out of [her] hand," and Champney was ready to embark on a new challenge that had emerged naturally from her labors on the index. Travel, in the form of "[w]eekend trips to Chicago and elsewhere" and a "2,000-mile vacation motor trip through New England" with Etta and Wesley Wilson, had been Champney's relief from the index, and she was eager to do more of it. From her work on the index, moreover, she had also realized that Michigan was "teeming with feature stories waiting to be written." When Champney returned to the *Detroit News* in 1928, she went on the road—and on the water—systematically to pursue them. She remained a reporter in motion until shortly before her death in 1935 at the age of sixty-one.⁶⁸

In 129 feature stories filed from 1928 through 1934, Champney sought to

connect the pioneer history of a state and transborder region to its modern present, an analysis she ultimately extended into northern and western Canada. Some of her writing was historical, such as her series on the fur trade at Mackinac and on navigation on the Great Lakes from canoes to steam-powered vessels. Many of her pieces involved interviews with old pioneers—women school teachers, ship captains, and missionaries—whose living memories linked past to present. Vividly written, these stories emphasize high drama and individual experience, for Champney was every bit as adept a practitioner of emotional realism as her sister Jessie.⁶⁹

Most striking in Champney's reporting was her steady focus on Indigenous people. She ran story after story about Michigan Indians and First Nations peoples, not only about the history of their encounter with whites but about their lives in the present. Indeed, Champney attempted through her travels to reclaim for her readers the history of the encounter by showing how present-day conditions in northern and western Canada replicated Michigan's frontier past. Thus, her stories about the fur trade ranged from accounts of historic posts such as Michilimackinac and Fort William to still operative sites, accessible only by Canadian National Railway and bush plane.⁷⁰ Other articles pointedly described loving marriages, historical and contemporary, between Indians and whites.⁷¹

There is no question that, with its change in subject, Champney's reporting took on a new, deep, and personal meaning after her return to the *Detroit News*. It may also be that, recognizing the physical and psychological toll the Michigan News Index had taken, she determined freely to expend her remaining energy on an even "better and bigger" project. Such recognition may have served as the shock, like her sisters' illness and divorce, which provoked her to engage publicly her identity as a mixed-race woman. Many of Champney's pieces explored the history of the Traverse region with particular emphasis on Native lore, and members of the Smith/Wolfe family appeared in these stories without Champney's acknowledgment of the familial connection. In the final installment of her series on the Great Lakes waterways, for example, she recounted a young Birnie Wolfe's heroic attempt to rescue a badly injured lighthouse keeper from South Fox Island in northern Lake Michigan.⁷² In linking the histories of her family, the Traverse region, Michigan and the Great Lakes, and what could be called the northern encounter between Native peoples and whites, Champney was not simply exploiting local knowledge to meet her press deadlines. Her personal connection to the people and places about which she wrote remained publicly unacknowledged even as it intensified over the years.

In 1933 and 1934, the last two years of her life, Champney undertook two

epic journeys for the *Detroit News*—the first across Canada to Vancouver, and the second a return visit to British Columbia with additional weeks spent in Alaska and the Yukon Territory. The subject and style of her reporting on these two trips, each lasting a number of months, was much the same as before. During the second trip, however, Champney began to alternate datelines from such predictable places as Banff, Taku Inlet, and White Horse with Odawa names of people and places in the Traverse region. Three of these names referred directly to her family—Mi-en-gun Lodge, Kin-Ne-Quay, and Pen-den-wan (the brother of Kinnequay and Ogemainni)—and appeared as datelines for almost half of the fourteen stories that appeared between early March and late September of 1934. The articles are not journalistic accounts, but retellings of Anishnaabe stories, set with geographical precision in the Traverse region, about the trickster Nana'b'oozoo and how such things as the ermine's fire mark and the raccoon's striped tail came to be.⁷³

In four of the stories, all with the dateline "Kin-Ne-Quay," the connection to Champney's identity as a member of the Wolfe family seems especially close. The dateline immediately evokes a grandmother figure as a storyteller. Three of the stories are linked, recounting how Nana'b'oozoo came to adopt Little White Wolf and how the trickster rescued his son from a cavern where he was being held captive by a water monster. In their escape, Nana'b'oozoo, Little White Wolf, and other animals find themselves clinging to a log as a flood inundates the earth. These events set the stage for Champney's rendition of the earthdiver tale, the Anishnaabe creation story in which only little muskrat can dive long and deep enough from the log to bring up the grains of sand with which Nana'b'oozoo will create the earth anew. The final story under the dateline "Kin-Ne-Quay" tells of the birth of Nana'b'oozoo himself and his twin "flint brother" to a woman named "Mon-ee," the Odawa pronunciation, Champney explains, for Mary.

As the youngest Wolfe child, born in 1874, Champney's memory of Kinnequay could not have been of her grandmother herself, but filtered through the recollections of her mother and siblings. If Champney learned Odawa stories at her mother's knee, as George Stark claimed in Champney's obituary, then perhaps as a child Mary Jane Smith, seated before a fire with her future husband, heard about Nana'b'oozoo from Kinnequay. If so, by retelling the stories Champney put herself in a line of women who kept alive cultural memory and endowed a complicated family history with meaning. The Nana'b'oozoo stories that she told in the *Detroit News* consistently end with an injunction to her white readers that the trickster remains a reality for Indian people, and that perhaps if whites look hard enough into the dark woods of northern Michigan they may see him too.

Champney's extensive exploration of a living Indian presence in Michigan and points north and west undoubtedly helped her to reckon with her own identity as a mixed-race woman. The point for Champney was that engagement with modernity did not result in loss of indigeneity; or as she wrote in 1928 about basket-maker Christine Chippewa, "Here was . . . a dual personality that hinted of the past while impressing you with the present . . . she held to the traditions of her people while embracing the ideas of a new generation." Champney's effort paralleled sister Jessie's many and varied performances as an interpreter of Native history and culture to whites. It resonated as well with Etta's ornithology and her composition of family memoirs. Stella's Nana's b'oozoo stories and Etta's recollections of their father both appeared in 1934. It seems likely that Wilson had a hand in arranging for the trickster stories to be reprinted the following summer in *Michigan History*, the successor to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. Whatever the extent of their collaboration, the sisters' message was ultimately the same: Indian people endured. They could adopt white ways and yet remain Indians, and because they could do so, the Wolfe sisters could embrace a mixed-race heritage. Or, as Champney wrote at the end of her interview with Christine Chippewa: "You may take it or leave it."⁷⁴

Several assertions cling to this injunction hurled at her readers, and they epitomize the Wolfe sisters' public stance as mixed-race New Women toward the end of their eventful lives. Most obviously, Champney intended "you may take it or leave it" to underscore the basket-maker's ease in her own skin. But the phrase also suggests not only that Champney's white readers will find this ease hard to understand, but that the fact of Chippewa's successful balancing of Indigenous past and present will transcend their comprehension. Modern Indian identity, Champney implies, does not depend on white opinion. Nevertheless, she offers her account of Christine Chippewa to her readers so that they may understand, and in so doing Champney asserts her own cultural authority as a mixed-race New Woman who has earned the personal and professional right to speak.

NOTES

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1. *Traverse City [Michigan] Record-Eagle*, July 7, 1954, 38.

2. E-mail communication with Avis Wolfe, November 14, 2005. The Cherry Buttery featured in full-page advertisements of Leelanau tourist attractions. See "On to Vacationland," *Traverse City Record-Eagle*, July 7, 1954, 3. On Hilton's transits between Oklahoma and Michigan as society news, see *The Oklahoman*, October 12, 1931, 7; October 6, 1939, 9; "Mrs. Jessie Hilton Returns from Michigan," *The Oklahoman*, April 10, 1946, 11; "Mrs. Jessie W. Hilton to Leave for Detroit," *The Oklahoman*, May 11, 1947, 65; "Mrs. Hilton to Spend Summer in Michigan," May 24, 1948, 11. Hilton's comings and goings were also recorded in the "Locals" column of the *Traverse City Record-Eagle*: April 26, 1946, 3; September 25, 1948, 3; June 4, 1949, 10; June 24, 1950, 9; and October 21, 1954, 4.

3. Arvilla (Powers) Smith Diary, 1834–1845, June 16, 1844 (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, Michigan Historical Collections).

4. Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887–1937* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 85, 170–71. The quotation, which Ellinghaus also cites, comes from the *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, October 12, 13, 14, 1886* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1887), 83–84.

5. Karen L. Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Michael Lansing, "Plains Indian Women and Interracial Marriage in the Upper Missouri Trade, 1804–1868," *Western Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 413–33; Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1830" (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago Ph.D. diss., 1980); Susan Sleeper Smith, *Indian Women and White Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); *Idem*, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction on this Frontiers': Challenging Female Autonomy and Authority at Michilimackinac," *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 3 (2005): 417–43; Tanis Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1780* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); and *Idem*, "From 'Marrying-In' to 'Marrying-Out': Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23, no. 2 (2002): 1–11.

6. On white women captives and Native men, see John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); and June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). On white women, Native men, and assimilation, see Cathleen D. Cahill, "'Only the Home Can Found a State': Gender,

Labor, and the United States Indian Service, 1869–1928,” (University of Chicago Ph.D. diss., 2004), 345–70; Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart*; and Margaret D. Jacobs, “The Eastmans and the Lujans: Interracial Marriage in Australia and North America,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 2 (2002): 29–54.

7. See, for example, James F. Brooks, ed., *The Indian-Black Experience in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Theda Perdue, “Mixed Blood” Indians: *Racial Construction in the Early South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); and Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

8. Works on American Protestant missions in the early nineteenth century, the period when Jessie Hilton’s white grandparents were active as missionaries, include Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787–1862* (Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Carol Devens, *Countering Civilization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Keith R. Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823–1837* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); and Mary Zwiép, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991). A recent work that does explore the marriage of a white woman to an American Indian man within a mission context is Theresa Strouth Gaul, ed., *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriet Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823–1839* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

9. A complete list of the Wolfe children is as follows: George Payson (b. May 23, 1852–d. May 18, 1859); Arvilla Aurelia (“Tissie”) (b. December 11, 1853–d. December 14, 1945); William Powers (b. November 22, 1855–d. May 8, 1891); Esther Eliza (“Etta”) (b. July 16, 1857–d. January 5, 1936); Charles Fremont (b. March 5, 1859–d. April 25, 1925); George Payson (b. December 22, 1869–d. May 17, 1883); Edwin Andress (b. February 3, 1863–d. September 18, 1920); Jessie Annie (b. October 9, 1865–d. November 4?, 1955); Allen Burnside (“Birnie”) (b. March 16, 1867–d. May 26, 1943); Mary Jane (“Jennie”) (b. February 1, 1869–d. May 25, 1949); Mabel Helen (b. February 22, 1871–d. between 1949 and 1955); Stella Minnie (b. September 17, 1874–d. January 17, 1935).

10. Arnold Krupat, “From ‘Half-Blood’ to ‘Mixedblood’: Cogewea and the Discourse of Indian Blood,” in *Red Matters: Native American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 76–97; Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native*

American Intellectuals, Race & Reform (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); and Susan E. Gray, "'Stories Written in the Blood': Race and Midwestern History," in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, eds., *The American Midwest: Essays on Regional History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 123–139.

11. Devon Mihesuah, "Finding a Modern American Indigenous Identity," in *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 81–112.

12. In particular, I have drawn on genealogical data collected by Avis Wolfe and Ken Stormer. This data results both from their own researches and those of other family members which they have collated. Much of the data can be corroborated on-line through Ancestry.com. Wherever possible, I have tried to verify and build upon the family data through my own research. In general, I have found the family data highly accurate, and in the case of the Wolfe children about whom the least is known I have been able to add little to it.

13. Mrs. Etta Smith Wilson, "Life and Work of the Late Rev. George N. Smith, a Pioneer Missionary," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 30 (1905): 209.

14. Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

15. On gender and modernity, see Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Susan Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); and Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 2000).

16. Susan E. Gray, "Limits and Possibilities: White-Indian Relations in Western Michigan in the Era of Removal," *Michigan Historical Review* 20, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 71–92; James A. McClurken, "Ottawa Adaptive Strategies to Indian Removal," *Michigan Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 29–55.

17. James A. McClurken, "'We Wish to Be Civilized': Ottawa-American Political Contest on the Michigan Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1987), 272–85; 321–23; Richard White, "Ethnohistorical Report on the Grand Traverse Ottawas, Prepared for the Grand Traverse Tribe of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians (unpublished paper, n.d.); Charles Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 234–63; William James Gribb, "The Grand Traverse Band's Land Base: A Cultural Historical Study of Land Transfer in Michigan," (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1982); *Grand Traverse Herald*, "Some Bay Resorts: The Resort Region of Grand Traverse Bay," March 17, 1892, 9; *Idem*, "Omena Bay," July 20, 1893, 10; *Idem*, August 16, 1894, 5.

18. There are three major sources of Wakazoo family history: Etta Smith Wilson, "Kin-Ne-Quay," undated, typed manuscript (Holland, Mich.: Joint Archives of

Holland), 1–3; Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan; a Grammar of Their Language and Personal Family History of the Author* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: The Ypsilanti Job Printing House, 1887 [5th facsimile reprint, Little Traverse Regional Historical Society, Inc., n.d.], 24–44; and John Tanner, *The Falcon: A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner during Thirty Years Residence among the Indians in the Interior of North American* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994) [1830], 19, 158–65. After 1830, there are references to members of the Wakazoo family in the correspondence of the Michigan Superintendent of Indian Affairs with regard to the negotiations for and implementation of the 1836 Treaty of Washington [NARA, RG 75, M234]. In addition, George Nelson Smith's Memoranda Books, 1840–79, closely track relations between his family and his son-in-law Payson Wolfe's maternal family. George Nelson Smith, Memoranda Books, 1840–47 (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, Michigan Historical Collections) and George Nelson Smith Memoranda Books, 1849–79 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress), hereafter cited as GNS Memoranda Books. On the death of Miengun at Old Wing, for example, see GNS Memoranda Books, November 1, 1840; and January 10, 1841.

19. Jessie W. Hilton, Federal Employment File, Jessie W. Brabant to F. E. Leupp, March 26, 1908.

20. On the education of Hawaiian missionary children, see Zwiep, *Pilgrim Path*, 235–68; on Arvilla's pining for white society and the Smiths' efforts to send their children away to school, see Mrs. A. A. Smith, *A Pioneer Woman* (Lansing, Mich.: Joanna B. Smith, 1981), 8, 10–11.

21. On Payson's seasonal round, see GNS, January 10, 1853; July 28, 1854; June 29, 1855; July 19, 1855; January 23, 1856; September 18, 1859. On Payson's wage labor, see GNS Memoranda Books, August 26, 1854; August 15–17, 1859; August 7–8, 10, 15–16, 1860; May 16–17, July 25, August 5–6, 8–9, 12–16, 1861; July 23–31, August 2, 7, 18–19, 23, September 5, 1862. On his participation in Chicago markets, see Etta S. Wilson, "Personal Recollections of the Passenger Pigeon," *The Auk* 51 (April 1934), 157–68.

22. Arvilla Smith to Tissie Wolfe, November 28, 1869, Etta Smith Wilson Papers (Detroit: Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library).

23. Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians and the Civil War* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1996), 131–40; US National Archives, Civil War Pension Records, Payson Wolfe, Soldier's Certificate 78–903; GNS Memoranda Books, February 20, March 17, April 9, June 23, July 17, and October 12, 21, 1879.

24. "Kin-Ne-Quay"; "Life and Work of the Late Rev. George N. Smith, a Pioneer Missionary."

25. Arvilla Smith to Mrs. John Powers, August 15, 1852, original letter in the possession of Janet Brosius. Author's interview with Bud Wolfe, September 28, 2001.

26. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 136–82; and Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

27. After the death of his wife, Birnie moved from the Leelanau to Chicago, where he lived with his brothers. He later moved to Ontonagon, near the homestead of his brother-in-law, Frank Blair, who had met his wife, Jennie Wolfe, while he was convalescing in the officer's ward over which she presided at Fort Custer in Battle Creek during World War I. The 1930 census shows Birnie living in the Blair household near Ontonagon. On American Indian service in the US military during World War I, see Russel Lawrence Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 276–303. On John Blair and Jennie Wolfe, see "Company G Recalls First War and the Old Soldier, 'Dad' Blair," *Ironwood Daily Globe*, November 16, 1953, 5; School of Nursing Alumna Association (University of Michigan) Records, 1909–1993, Directory List, n.d., Box 2 (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library). On Clara Belle, see the e-mail posting from Janet Brosius about her grandmother: <http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/IN-OLD-NEWSPAPERS/2002-2009/1030887066>. Accessed September 13, 2006.

28. On women's clubs, see Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980); and Mary Jean Houde, *Reaching Out: A Story of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Chicago: Mobium Press, 1989). On the D.A.R., see Stuart McConnell, "Reading the Flag: A Reconsideration of the Patriotic Cults of the 1890s," in John Bodnar, ed., *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 102–19; Francesca Morgan, "'Regions Remote from Revolutionary Scenes': Regionalism, Nationalism, and the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890–1930," *Annals of Iowa* 56, no. 1–2 (1997): 46–79; *Idem*, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Cynthia Elizabeth O'Leary, "'Blood Brotherhood': The Racialization of Patriotism, 1865–1918," in Bodnar, ed., *Bonds of Affection*, 53–81; and Martha Strayer, *The D.A.R.: An Informal History* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1958).

29. On the cultural construction of American identity based on consent and descent, see Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

30. On women's entry into journalism, see Jean Marie Lutes, *Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Karen Roggencamp, *Narrating the News: New Journalism and Literary Genre in Late Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers and Fiction* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005); and Jennifer Thompson, "From Travel Writer to Newspaper Editor," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 20, no. 3 (1999): 42–63. In framing my analysis of the Wolfe sisters' journalism, I have found particularly helpful Alice Fahs's "Newspaper Women and the Making of the Modern, 1885–1910," *Prospects* 27 (2002): 303–39.

31. Letter of recommendation from E. A. Strong, Principal, Grand Rapids High School, March 4, 187[?], Etta Smith Wilson Papers.

32. Ernest B. Fisher, ed., *Grand Rapids and Kent County, Michigan: A Historical of Their Progress from First Settlement to the Present Time*, vol. I (Chicago: Robert O. Law, Co., 1918); Albert Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids, Michigan (with an Appendix—History of Lowell, Michigan)* (New York and Grand Rapids: Munsell & Co., Publishers, 1891); Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *American Women: Fifteen Hundred Biographies with over 1,400 Portraits: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of the Lives and Achievements of American Women over the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I (New York: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1897), 255; “WOMEN’S PRESS ASSOCIATION,” *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, July 23, 1890, n.p.; “MICHIGAN WOMEN’S PRESS ASS’N,” *The Writer: A Monthly Magazine for Literary Workers*, V (January–December 1891), 124; and “Michigan’s First Newspaper Woman Returns to Scenes of First Endeavors,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, July 1, 1912, n.p., Women’s History Clippings Index Search, Grand Rapids Public Library, Accessed June 6, 2006.

33. On women’s press clubs, see Agnes Hopper Gotlieb, “Networking in the Nineteenth Century: Founding of the Women’s Press Club of New York City,” *Journalism History* 21:4 (1995): 156–63. On the Michigan Women’s Press Club and the Michigan State Federation of Women’s Clubs, see Grace Greenwood Brown, “Michigan Women’s Press Association,” *Michigan History Magazine* (Summer 1940): 309–12; and Irma T. Jones, “History of the Michigan State Federation of Women’s Clubs,” *Michigan History Magazine* X (January 1926): 60–75; X (April 1926): 221–32; 10 (October 1926): 534–49; XI (January 1927): 41–48; XI (April 1927): 265–70; XI (October 1927): 621–29; XII (January 1928): 70–76; XII (April 1928): 302–308; XII (July 1928): 499–504; XII (October 1928): 695–704; XIII (January 1929): 113–20; XIII (April 1929): 245–51; XII (October 1929): 544–54; XIV (April 1930): 299–310; XIV (July 1930): 455–62; XIV (October 1930): 680–88.

34. John A. Sleicher, Editor, *Leslie’s Weekly* to Etta Smith Wilson, March 15, 1900; E. D. Conger, Manager, *Grand Rapids Herald* to Theodore Quimby, Editor, *Detroit Free Press*, January 7, 1901; and E. D. Conger to Etta Smith Wilson, January 7, 1901, Etta Smith Wilson Papers.

35. Esther S. Wilson, “Unforgettable Weeks,” in Arthur S. White, collector, *Reminiscences of Editors and Reporters* (Grand Rapids, MI: White Publishing Co., 1921), 16; Etta S. Wilson, “Life and Work of the Late George N. Smith, a Pioneer Missionary.” The earlier family memorists were Wilson’s uncle, E. C. Tuttle, aunt Seddie Smith, and grandmother, Arvilla Smith. Tuttle’s and Smith’s memoirs appeared in local histories: E. C. Tuttle, “George N. Smith,” in *The Traverse Region, Historical and Descriptive, with Illustrations of Scenery and Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Chicago: H. R. Page, 1884), 224–27; Elvin L. Sprague and Mrs. George N. Smith, eds., *Sprague’s History of Grand Traverse and Leelanaw Counties, Michigan* (n.p.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), 359–61. Arvilla Smith’s memoir was published in installments in the *Grand Traverse Herald* three years before her

death in 1895. It has been republished verbatim by her great-great-granddaughter as Mrs. A. A. Smith, *A Pioneer Woman* (Lansing: Joanna B. Smith, 1981). Comparison of the "Life and Work of the Late George N. Smith" to E. C. Tuttle's and Arvilla Smith's accounts makes clear Wilson's intention. It is not simply that she praises her grandfather where they blame him but that she incorporates, without attribution, whole passages from the earlier memoirs in a way that turns their meanings on their heads.

36. This pattern of enumeration on censuses was typical for the Wolfe children. Although it has not been possible to locate all of the children on every census on which they might have appeared as adults, they seem consistently to have listed themselves as white on the federal population census. The exceptions were Jennie and Birnie, who, after their move to the Upper Peninsula, listed themselves as Indians on the 1920 and 1930 censuses. In contrast, eight of the ten Wolfe children alive in 1907 appear on the Durant Roll, the exceptions being Tissie and Clara Belle. Raymond C. Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, 1870–1909* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1991), 67, 68, 270–72. Until recently, of course, it was not possible for individuals to declare themselves of mixed descent on any federal census. On racial identity and the census, see Marth Hodes, "Fractions and Fictions in the United States Census of 1890," in Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 240–70.

37. Michigan Women's Press Club, *Leaves from Our Lives: Columbia Souvenir* (Grand Rapids: Dean Printing and Publishing Co., 1894), 8; and Mihesuah, "Finding a Modern American Indigenous Female Identity," 95–96.

38. Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 46.

39. Oberholser's obituary of Wilson appeared in *The Auk* LII (July 1936): 373–74. See also T. S. Palmer, et al, *Biographies of Members of the American Ornithological Union: Reprinted from "The Auk," 1884–1954* (Washington, DC: n.p., 1954), 608. Clara B. Joyce, "The Ornithological Work of the Late Etta S. Wilson," *The Audubon Yearbook*, vol. IX (n.p.: Indiana Audubon Society, 1936), 10–15.

40. Wells W. Cooke, Assistant in the Bureau of Biological Survey, to Etta S. Wilson, November 13, 1913, Etta Smith Wilson Papers.

41. On Wilson's attendance at meetings of the American Ornithological Union, see "The Forty-fifth Stated Meeting of the American Ornithological Union, *The Auk*, XLVI:1 (January 1928): 74; Harry C. Oberholser, "Report of the Ridgway Memorial Committee," *The Wilson Bulletin* 43, no. 1 (January 1931): 101; *The Auk* XLVII (October 1931): 651; Harry C. Oberholser to Etta S. Wilson, January 28, 1933, Etta S. Wilson Papers; and "The Fifty-third Stated Meeting of the American Ornithological Union," *The Auk* (January 1936): 58.

42. On Harry C. Oberholser and the Bureau of Biological Survey, see W. C. Hen-

derson and Edward A. Preble, "1885—Fiftieth Anniversary Notes—1935," *The Survey: Issued Monthly for the Personnel of the Bureau of Biological Survey* (April–June 1935): 59–65; and Department of Interior Information Service, "Dr. Oberholser Retires after 46 Years in Federal Service," Fish and Wildlife Service Release, June 29, 1941, www.fws.gov/news/historical/1941/1941/0629a.pdf. Accessed June 8, 2006. On Wilson's direction of the waterfowl census for the Bureau of Biological Survey, see "BIRD LECTURE GIVEN BY DETROIT WOMAN: Ornithologists Told of Water Fowl Near Here," *Detroit News*, November 17, 1927, 22–6; and Harry C. Oberholser to Etta S. Wilson, February 2, 1929, Etta S. Wilson Papers. Oberholser's obituary of Etta S. Wilson first appeared in *The Auk* LIII (July 1936): 373–74. See also T. S. Palmer, et al, *Biographies of Members of the American Ornithological Union: Reprinted from "The Auk," 1884–1954* (Washington, D C: n.p., 1954), 608.

43. This list of publications may not be complete, but it does give a sense of the kind of work Wilson was producing: "Bachman's Warbler and Solitary Sandpiper in Indiana," *The Auk* XXXV (April 1918): 228–29; "Late Nesting of the Red-eyed Vireo in Detroit, Mich.," *The Auk* XXVI (January 1919): 115–6; "Snowy Owl in Detroit, Mich.," *The Auk* XXXVI (October 1919), 569; "Strange Conduct of a Robin," *The Auk* XXXVI (October 1919): 583–85; "Taming Wild Birds," *Bird-Lore* XXII:3 (May–June 1920): 197–99; "King Eider (*Somateria spectabilis*) in Michigan Waters," *The Auk* XXXVIII (July 1921): 454–55; "Hooded Warbler (*Wilsonia citrine*) on Belle Isle, Detroit, Mich.," *The Auk*, XXXVIII (April 1921): 281; "An Enormous Flock of Canvas-backs (*Marila valisineria*) Visit the Detroit River," *The Auk*, XXXIX (April 1922): 250–51; "A Prince of the House of Eagles," *Bird-Lore*, XXIV: 6 (November–December 1922): 331–35; "Black Vulture (*Coragyps urubu*) in Michigan," *The Auk*, XLII (July 1925): 442–43; "*Bird-Lore's* Twenty-Sixth Christmas Census, Detroit, Michigan," *Bird-Lore*, XXVIII:1 (February 1926): 38; and "Tameness of the Saw-whet Owl (*Cryptoglaux acadica acadica*)," *The Auk* XLVIII (April 1931): 266–67.

44. I am indebted to Professor David McNab of York University for suggesting this line of interpretation. On wolf and bird clans, see Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* (Hayward, WI: Indian Country Communications, Inc., 1988), 8, 76. On Anishnaabe clans generally, see Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 47–54. On Odawa clans, see Truman Michelson, "Note on the Gentles of the Ottawa," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 13:2 (April–June 1911), 338.

45. Applications for Membership to the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Jessie Wolfe Hilton, Esther E. Wilson, Mary Jane Wolfe Blair, and Stella M. Champney (Washington, DC: Daughters of the American Revolution Library); Detroit Women Writers' Club (1913–1945), microfiche [Detroit: 190?]-Part XVII, UMI 1989.

46. Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1900–1916," *Environmental Review* 8, no. 1 (1984): 57–85. A good narrative account of

reforestation efforts in Michigan that emphasizes the intersection of state and private initiatives is Dave Dempsey, *Ruin & Recovery: Michigan's Rise as a Conservation Leader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). Etta S. Wilson to George R. Hogarth, Director, Michigan Department of Conservation, February 25, 1929; George R. Hogarth to Etta S. Wilson, March 5, 1929; Ray E. Cotton, Secretary, Michigan Department of Conservation, to Etta S. Wilson, March 20, 1929; H. R. Sayre, Assistant State Forester, to Etta S. Wilson, March 25, 1929; March 30, 1929; and April 19, 1929; Etta S. Wilson to H. R. Sayre, April 12, 1929; H. R. Sayre to Etta S. Wilson, April 26, 1929; June 10, 1929; September 13, 1929; and September 23, 1929, Etta Smith Wilson Papers. On the conservation efforts of the Louisa St. Clair Chapter generally, see the report of June 35, 193[?] in the Papers of the Michigan D.A.R., Box 21 (Ann Arbor: Bentley Historical Library, Michigan Historical Collections).

47. "Kin-Ne-Quay"; "Personal Recollections of the Passenger Pigeon," *The Auk* LI (April 1934): 157–68; and "Additional Notes on the Passenger Pigeon, *The Auk* LII (October 1935): 412–13.

48. Wilson, "Personal Recollections," 167–68.

49. On Hilton's work as a teacher and marriage to Frank Brabant, see *Grand Traverse Herald*, March 5, 1891, 6; April 16, 1891, 6; April 23, 1891, 6; August 13, 1891, 4; October 8, 1891, 6; November 5, 1891, 6; June 30, 1892, 4; and July 7, 1892, 6.

50. Information on employee records at Haskell Institute came from Barbara Larsen, National Archives-Central Plains Region, e-mail communication to author, October 23, 2006. My account of Jessie's career with the Indian Service is constructed from the correspondence and other documents in her Federal Employment File (NPRC). F. E. Leupp to Jessie W. Brabant, March 9, 1908; Jessie W. Brabant to F. E. Leupp, March 11, 1908; Efficiency Report, Jessie W. Brabant, Lease Clerk, November 1, 1909.

51. Jessie W. Hilton Federal Employment File, Efficiency Reports of April 2 and October 1, 1910; Spencer Hilton Federal Employment File, Ernest W. Stecker to R. G. Valentine, March 11, 1910; Efficiency Reports of May 6, April 1, and October 1, 1910.

52. Spencer Hilton Federal Employment File, Ernest Stecker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 5, 1911.

53. Jessie W. Hilton Federal Employment File, Ernest W. Stecker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, telegram, April 1, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 1, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 15, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Bird McGuire, August 4, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 4, 1911; R. G. Valentine to Jessie W. Brabant, August 19, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1911; Jessie W. Brabant to Bird McGuire, March 5, 1912; Bird McGuire to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 7, 1912; F. H. Abbott to Jessie W. Brabant, March 20, 1912; Jessie W. Brabant to Commissioners of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1912. Spen-

cer Hilton Federal Employment File, Ernest W. Stecker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, telegram, March 9, 1915.

54. On Hilton's affiliation with Oklahoma women's clubs, see Luretta Rainey, *History of the Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs* (Guthrie, OK: Co-operative Publishing Co., 1919), 304; "Philomathic Club, Anadarko," *The Oklahoman*, June 6, 1915, 19; "State Society," May 14, 1916, 47; and "Mrs. Spencer Hilton, Anadarko," May 28, 1916, 20. Information on George Smith's memoranda books came from Jennifer Brathovde, Librarian, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, e-mail communication to the author, October 10, 2006. On Spencer Hilton's ouster, see the correspondence in his Federal Employment File between July 29, 1916, and September 1, 1916, especially Spencer Hilton to General Hugh L. Scott, August 6, 1916; and Hilton's WPA interview in the *Indian Pioneer Papers*, vol. 64, 368–70 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society).

55. On E. K. Gaylord, see David Dary, *The Oklahoma Publishing Company's First Century, the Gaylord Story* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Publishing Company, 2003), 9–17, 57–63. On Oklahoma politics at the time of Jessie's work as an undercover reporter, see Danney Goble, "Oklahoma Politics and the Sooner Electorate," in Annie Hodges Morgan and H. Wayne Morgan, eds., *Oklahoma: New Views of the Forty-Sixth State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 134–50; James R. Scales and Danney Goble, *Oklahoma Politics: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 92–103; and Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma History* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1951), 423–26, 445–47.

56. Fahs, "Newspaper Women and the Making of the Modern, 1885–1910," 331–32. Hilton's stories ran between late January and early March of 1919 in the *Oklahoma City Times*: "Leg Irons' Shackled to Bad Girls in Filthy Industrial Home," January 27, 1919, 1, 8; "Feeble Minded Wards of State Die of Influenza, Neglected, Charged," February 11, 1919, 1, 8; "Ruth-the-Fairy in Enid School Is Merely Deaf," February 13, 1919, 1, 8; "Reformatory on Short Rations Only \$2,139 Left in Appropriation of \$84,000, Said," February 14, 1919, 1, 3; "Inmates at Granite 'Wish' Death upon Man Who Cooks Food," February 15, 1919, 1–2; "Granite Warden Is Told State Report Will Be Favorable," February 17, 1919, 1–2; "Negro School at Langston Merely Group of Firetraps," February 18, 1919, 1, 9; "Second Norman Fire Disaster Is Facing Fort Supply Hospital," February 19, 1919, 1–2; "Ample Water Ready for Use at Supply If State Will Act," February 20, 1919, 1, 2; "Fort Supply's Farm Is Oasis of Beauty and Efficiency," February 21, 1919, 1, 11; "Children's Home at Pryor One of Best State Institutions," February 22, 1919, 1, 2; "Children at Pryor Living Happy Lives in Sunny Cottages," February 24, 1919, 1, 10; "Pryor Home Baby Crop Is Failure," February 25, 1919, 1–9; "Deaf School Is for Making Men," February 26, 1919, 1, 4; "No Sympathy Given Boys in School," February 27, 1919, 1, 4; "State Screw Put in Top Means Loss," February 28, 1919, 1, 4; "Boys' Coats at 'School' Worn Dirty," March 1, 1919, 1, 3; "School Is Used to Get Rid of Boys," March 3, 1919, 1, 4.

57. Reports of Special Committees, *House Journal*, 7th Sess., Oklahoma State Legislature, February 8, 1919, 693–99; “Hilton Stories Make Change in Institutions,” *Oklahoma City Times*, March 6, 1919, 1.

58. Besides her 1919 experience as an undercover reporter, I have found only three other references to Hilton’s work as a journalist. In 1942, she gave a talk at the Oklahoma City chapter of Sorosis on “her personal experiences as a newspaper reporter, including an interview with the Duke of Manchester,” which suggests that she continued to write for the Gaylord papers for some time after her tour of state welfare institutions. *The Oklahoman*, January 11, 1942, 49. The 1920 census lists Hilton’s occupation as “feature writing, paper co.,” so her work for Gaylord continued for at least a year after her notorious exposés. An obituary of Hilton is also suggestive: “Mrs. Hilton at one time was a feature writer for The Oklahoma Publishing Co.” *The Oklahoman*, November 5, 1955, 5.

59. On the Oklahoma City Sorosis Club, see Rainey, *History of Oklahoma State Federation of Women’s Clubs*, 220, 228–29; and “Sorosis Department Attends Inauguration,” *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 13, 1931. On the Oklahoma Historical Society, see “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Society,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 10, no. 2 (June 1932), 294; “Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 18, no. 1 (March 1940), 89.

60. On Muriel H. Wright, see Patricia Loughlin, *Hidden Treasures of the American West: Muriel H. Wright, Angie Debo, and Alice Marriott* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 21–50. On elite mixed-race women in the context of Indian boarding schools, see Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

61. *The Oklahoman*, December 14, 1930, 52; December 13, 1931, 7; “Sorosis Club, Largest Study Unit in City, Ready for Banner Season,” August 9, 1936, 45–46. For other references to Hilton’s activities as a club woman, see *The Oklahoman*, April 10, 1921, 34; February 2, 1923, 6; October 27, 1929, 46; December 15, 1929, 46; October 5, 1930, 44; January 10, 1931, 4; October 16, 1931, 25; November 8, 1931, 36; December 13, 1931, 37; March 26, 1932, 6; “Aunt Susan’s Column,” August 19, 1932, 6; “Parlays of Three Club Groups Set,” January 21, 1933, 6; “Parties, Teas Planned by Sorosis Club,” October 18, 1936, 50; March 14, 1937, 63; “Bizzell Speaks at Sorosis Unit Guest Day Tea,” March 21, 1937, 69; “Program Tea Is Enjoyed at Sorosis Club,” November 7, 1937, 57; “Pool and Rock Gardens Discussed by Club,” November 21, 1937, 55; “Marguerite Unit Plans Plant Sale,” March 6, 1938, 60; “Sorosis Club Elects Three New Members,” April 3, 1938, 59; April 10, 1938, 55; “Garden Group of Sorosis Talks of Bulbs,” November 6, 1938, 58; “Sorosis Group Postpones Guest Tea,” November 10, 1938, 6; “Art Department Is Entertained at Luncheon,” November 13, 1938, 59; “Tea to Open New Season of Sorosis,” September 4, 1938, 42; “Benefit Set by Garden Flower Unit,” November 13, 1938; “Society,” February 16, 1939, 6; “Lecture on Color Given Members

of Sorosis Club,” January 15, 1939, 48; “October Sorosis Session Is Today,” November 1, 1940, 8; “Home Economics Group of Sorosis Holds Yule Party,” December 15, 1940, 59; “Mrs. Frederick Letts Elected Club Chairman,” March 15, 1941, 6; “New Flower Unit President Honored,” April 6, 1941, 60; “Sorosis Group Plans Annual Luncheon Friday,” November 14, 1941, 9; “Holds Luncheon,” December 5, 1942, 7; “Sorosis Garden Unit Has Luncheon-Session,” February 7, 1942, 5; “Sorosis Group Has Luncheon,” February 14, 1942, 7; “Plans Red Cross Work,” March 28, 1942, 7; “Sorosis Club Sets Registration Tea, Program Thursday,” September 13, 1942, 50; “Garden Unit to Send Delegates to Shawnee,” October 29, 1942, 9; “Waco Visitor Is Guest of Marguerite Unit,” November 21, 1942, 7; “Sorosis Club Plans Luncheon,” February 5, 1943, 9; “Marguerite Unit,” January 7, 1945, 38; “Sorosis Club Plans Meeting,” February 6, 1947, 10; February 23, 1947, 68; “Sorosis Members Complete Plans for Annual Tea,” September 14, 1947, 67; “Sorosis Art Department Has Holiday Luncheon,” February 14, 1948, 6; “Annual Breakfast Listed by Sorosis, Hostesses Named,” February 22, 1948, 71; “Republican Club Completes Plans for Annual Tea,” September 5, 1948, 102; “Club Art Group Plans Meeting,” October 12, 1948, 36; “Organization Day Luncheon Scheduled by DAR members,” December 5, 1948, 51.

62. *Sorosis Year Book, 1924–25* (n.p., n.d., 49) (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society).

63. Jessie W. Hilton Federal Employment File, Congressman Jed Johnson to Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1928; Senator W. B. Pine to Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1928; and J. A. Buntin, District Superintendent, Kiowa Indian Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 2, 1928.

64. On Hilton’s residence after her divorce, see the 1930 census. On her work for the WPA, see “Finds Origin,” *The Oklahoman*, March 15, 1936, 15; “Sorosis Members to Be Hostesses at Art Exhibit,” *The Oklahoman*, January 15, 1941, 8; and “Bart Ward Is Guest of Marguerite Unit,” *The Oklahoman*, April 3, 1942, 9.

65. “Chief Is Grand Marshall,” *Traverse City Record-Eagle*, June 27, 1949, 1.

66. The *Detroit Journal-News*, *Detroit Journal*, and *Detroit News* are names used at different times for the same paper. George Stark, “MRS. CHAMPNEY TAKEN BY DEATH: Veteran Newspaper Writer Found Rich Field in Lore of Indian Ancestors,” *Detroit News*, January 17, 1935, n.p.; “Michigan’s First Newspaper Woman Returns to Scenes of First Endeavors,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, July 1, 1912, n.p., Women’s History Clippings Index Search, Grand Rapids Public Library, accessed June 6, 2006. The information on Champney’s living arrangements is taken from the 1900 and 1910 population censuses.

67. Champney belonged to the Detroit Women Writers’ Club from 1920 to 1923. Detroit Women Writers’ Club (1913–1945), microfiche [Detroit: 190?]-Part XVII, UMI, 1989. Her stories on the D.A.R. for the *Detroit News* include “Mrs. Bailie Out;

Let Her Stay," April 15, 1929, 22-2; and "State's D.A.R. Delegates Dine," April 17, 1929, 39-8. On "man's work," "pink tea" journalism, and Champney's competitiveness as a reporter, see Stella M. Champney, "Historical Notes," *Michigan Historical Magazine* 10 (1926), 270; and "STELLA CHAMPNEY RITES ARE TODAY," *Traverse City Record-Eagle*, January 21, 1935, n.p.

68. The quotations come from Champney's account of the Michigan News Index in "Historical Notes," 270, 273-74. She published a second piece about the project as "A Published State News Index," *Special Libraries*, Special Issue "Newspaper Number," 17, no. 9 (December 1926): 270-72.

69. The library of the *Detroit News* contains an index of the stories Champney filed under her byline between 1928 and 1934. I am grateful to the librarian, Linda Culpepper, for making the index available to me. A good example of Champney's historical series is her nine-part "Romance of the Waterways": "From Birch Bark Canoes to 630-Foot Freighters!," September 14, 1930, 2-1-2; "First Steamer Caused Stir on Lakes," September 21, 1930, 2-3-1; "Heyday of Sailing Ships on the Lakes," September 28, 1930, 2-3-1; "Fire Terror of Early Steamer Days," October 5, 1930, 2-5-1; "Tragedy that Made Lake Travel Safer," October 12, 1930, 2-9-1; "The Skipper Who Lost Four Ships," October 19, 1930, 2-7-1; "Drama and Tragedy on Great Lakes," October 26, 1930, 2-9-1; "Trapped on Blazing Ship," November 2, 1930, 2-1-1; and "Starving, Waiting for a Man to Die," November 9, 1930, 2-3-1. Examples of stories featuring interviews with old timers include "He Captures Silk Hats at Every Port of Call," August 20, 1930, 10-6, about Captain James McCannel, a master of the Canada Steamship Co.; "Cook Boy to Ship Owner," September 30, 1931, 14-6, a rags-to-riches story about Captain Robert Dollar, steamship and lumber tycoon; "Canada a Vast Wilderness When White Woman Came," November 4, 1931, 6-6, about "Grandma Thompson" of the Nipigon District; "Spreading the Gospel in Wilderness," June 27, 1933, 28-7, about Rev. Fr. Joseph E. Guinard and his forty years in the Canadian bush; and "Gold Rush Stirs Memories," December 10, 1933, 2-6-1, an interview with Janette Houser, a former dance hall girl.

70. See, for example, in the *Detroit News* "When Fur Traders Ruled the North," January 17, 1932, 2-3-1; "Domain of Fur Traders Invaded," January 24, 1932, 2-7-1; and "When the Fur Traders Come In," January 31, 1932, 2-9-1.

71. "Old-Time Camp Meeting Stirs Indians," *Detroit News*, September 27, 1930, 2-9-1; and "Greatest Woman Pioneer in Michigan," *Detroit News*, January 10, 1932, 2-9-1.

72. On the Traverse region, see "Longs for Bear Steaks, Parboiled Beaver and Porcupine Soup," *Detroit News*, August 26, 1928, 2-5-1; "Kin Treasure Kettle in Which Much Wed Chief Boiled Indians," *Detroit News*, September 16, 1928, 2-7-1; "From Cutting Logs to Canning Cherries," *Detroit News*, October 10, 1928, 32-3; "Tree Blazed Trail for Indians," *Detroit News*, October 17, 1928, 2-6-4; and "Shifting Sands Doom World, Fear Indians," *Detroit News*, January 6, 1929, 2-3-3. Birnie Wolfe's her-

oism is the subject of "Starving, Waiting for a Man to Die." Other articles featuring members of the Smith/Wolfe family include, "Traverse City Loses a Link with the Past," *Detroit News*, August 26, 1928, 2-5-1; "Birds Keep Her Busy with Demands for Food," *Detroit News*, December 17, 1929, 3; and "The Dying Soldier's Doll," *Detroit News*, February 7, 1932, 2-4-1.

73. In the *Detroit News*, see "Only Nena-Boo-Shoo Would Know," March 4, 1934, 4-7-4; "When Wise Old Nena-Boo-Shoo Put Fire Mark on the Ermine," April 15, 1934, 4-8-2; "Nena-Boo-Shoo, the Trickster, Leads His Flock," May 6, 1934, 4-8-3; "Nena-Boo-Shoo Hunts for the White Wolf," May 27, 1934, 4-8-4; "The Story of Nena Boo-Shoo and Adopted Son, the Little White Wolf," May 20, 1934, 4-8-1; "Nena-Boo, Shoo Creates a New World," June 10, 1934, 6-10-34; "How the Trickster Came to the Ottawas," June 17, 1934, 4-9-2; "When Nena-Boo-Shoo Changed to a Loon," June 24, 1934, 4-8-4; "Nena-Boo-Shoo's Spirit Lives in the Owl," July 1, 1934, 4-8-1; "Nena-Boo-Shoo Makes the Sturgeon Grow," July 8, 1934, 4-8-5; "Nena-Boo-Shoo Conjures Up Bear Meat for Hungry Men," July 15, 1934, 4-8-3; "How Nena-Boo-Shoo Created the Red Fox," August 26, 1934, 4-8-3; and "Why Nena-Boo-Shoo Striped the Coon's Tail Black," September 23, 1934, 4-8-3.

74. "Modern World Calls Michigan Indians," *Detroit News*, May 27, 1928, 2-2-4; "Michigan Indian Trails: Legends of Nena-Boo-Shoo, the Trickster," *Michigan History* 19 (Spring/Summer 1935): 215-29.