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**Naginowenah, Lucy Prescott, and the Wizard of Cereal Foods**

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# **Cultural Identity across Three Generations of an Anglo-Dakota Family**

**JANE LAMM CARROLL**

**O**n **New Year's Day, 1850**, the wedding of Lucy Prescott and Eli Pettijohn was the highlight of the Fort Snelling social season. Lucy was half Mde-wakanton Dakota, the daughter of Naginowenah (Spirit of the Moon/Mary Keeiyah) and a New Yorker, Philander Prescott. Her maternal grandparents were Catherine Totodutawin, a sister of Chief Wabasha, and Keeiyah

(Flying Man), the brother of Chief Mahpiyawicasta (Cloudman). Eli, an Anglo-American from Ohio, had been in Minnesota since 1841 working as a laborer, carpenter, and farmer among the Dakota, first for missionaries and later for the government.<sup>1</sup>

Rev. Edward D. Neill, who performed the ceremony, reported that the guests included “the officers of the gar-



rison in full uniform, with their wives, the United States Agent for the Dahkotahs, and family, the bois brules of the neighborhood, the Indian relatives of the mother. The mother did not make her appearance,” Neill said, but, as the ceremony began, “the Dahkotah relatives, wrapped in their blankets, gathered in the hall and looked in through the door.” A family friend recalled that no one could persuade Naginowenah to be in the parlor during the ceremony, although “immediately afterwards she waited on the wedding guests.”<sup>2</sup>

The orientation of the guests at this Presbyterian ceremony presented a symbolic tableau of the cultural transition that was taking place from one generation to the next in Lucy Prescott’s family. Her Dakota relatives viewed the wedding from the hallway, not as full guests or participants but as interested observers—and also as a people whose culture Lucy was leaving farther behind as she married an Anglo-American.

Naginowenah’s refusal to attend the ceremony is intriguing. Presumably she, too, watched through the parlor door. Perhaps, like her Dakota kin, she felt more like an interested but somewhat detached observer than a full participant in her daughter’s wedding. Perhaps Naginowenah harbored mixed feelings about Lucy’s marriage, although she herself was married to an Anglo-American and had long been a member of the First Presbyterian Church. Theoretically, then, she should have been happy to see Lucy married to a devout Christian, but maybe she also mourned the loss of the Dakota way of life for her daughter.

Despite Naginowenah’s 40-year marriage to Philander Prescott, church membership, and immersion in Euro-American society at Fort Snelling, she spoke only the Dakota language, although she perfectly understood both French and English. Thus, Naginowenah’s acculturation, while significant in some ways, was limited. Her life straddled both Indian and Euro-American cultures, but her identity was as a Dakota woman. For most of the first three decades of her marriage, she lived in a society that was dominated by Dakota and Euro-Dakota people.<sup>3</sup>

Lucy’s Dakota identity, in comparison, was greatly diminished. After living her early childhood as a Dakota girl, she was brought up mainly to be an Anglo-American

woman. She spoke Dakota but was also fluent and literate in English. She would raise her children as Anglo-Americans. By the time Lucy married in 1850, Minnesota’s population was on the verge of a seismic shift. American and European immigrants poured into the region after the treaties of the early 1850s, which forced the Dakota onto the Minnesota River reservations and opened the west side of the Mississippi River to settlement. Lucy Prescott Pettijohn would spend her adulthood in a society dominated by non-Indians.

Years later, William A. Pettijohn, one of Lucy’s sons and Naginowenah’s grandsons, became a successful breakfast-food manufacturer in California.

In 1890, at the age of 36, he returned to Minneapolis at the invitation of several businessmen who were eager to partner with him. Within three years, these men had swindled him, and he was forced to sell his company at a great loss. In 1900 William staged a comeback, announcing his return to the industry in a bold, colorful brochure. Claiming both his pioneer and Dakota heritages, William exhorted the reader to “Be a Good Indian” and to “Eat Pettijohn’s Indian Brand Products.” His company’s slogans were “The Pioneer of ‘Em All” and “Under the Indian Brand.” Anointing Pettijohn the “Wizard of Cereal Foods,” the brochure presented his history as a prominent manufacturer whose breakfast foods had become a household name.<sup>4</sup>

The story of the Keeiyah-Prescott-Pettijohn family spans three generations and links the history of pre-territorial Minnesota to the late-nineteenth-century history of milling and manufacturing in Minneapolis, two eras that historians usually treat as distinct chapters in the region’s past. In particular, the development of Minneapolis in the later nineteenth century too often has been presented as if it were unrelated to the area’s population before the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862. In fact, some

**By the time Lucy married in 1850, Minnesota’s population was on the verge of a seismic shift.**

*Time, place, and coming changes: The confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, Mendota (foreground), and Fort Snelling, about 1850, the year Lucy Prescott married Eli Pettijohn. Painting by Sgt. Edward K. Thomas, who was stationed at the fort.*

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*William A. Pettijohn, the Wizard of Cereal Foods,  
from his company's brochure*

Dakota and Euro-Dakota people, including many women married to Euro-American men, stayed in the Minneapolis area during and after the war. Others began to return from exile as early as the mid-1860s, either reestablishing themselves in Dakota and Euro-Dakota communities or integrating into Euro-American society. Naginowenah, Lucy, and many of their children remained in Minnesota, most of them ultimately living in Minneapolis, Shakopee, and Excelsior.<sup>5</sup>

**N**aginowenah was born in 1802 on the shores of Lake Calhoun. The acculturation of the Keeiyah-Prescott-Pettijohn families began in the 1820s, when the establishment of Fort Snelling brought increasing numbers of non-Indians into the region. As historians have shown, native women frequently entered into unions with Euro-American traders and, later, with soldiers and government officials because they saw such relationships as socially and economically beneficial to themselves and their kin. The material benefits these marriages brought to both spouses, of course, did not preclude other influences such as mutual admiration, love, and sexual attraction.<sup>6</sup> We cannot know for certain

why Naginowenah agreed to marry Philander Prescott because she did not leave her own account of her life. What we do know from his account is that he was interested in her for three years before he actually courted her, and then it took some time before she was persuaded to marry him.

In 1820 Prescott came to the fort to work as a clerk in the sutler's store, where he first met Naginowenah. He recalled in his memoir:

During the last summer that I was at the sutler's store [1821] the young woman that I had seen on my way up the Mississippi, a daughter of one of the chiefs, came into the store frequently to trade quill work of mockasins [*sic*] and many other little articles. . . . Her appearance and conduct attracted my attention and, in fact, the young woman got acquainted with all the officers' ladies at the fort and she became very much respected.<sup>7</sup>

Although attracted to Naginowenah, Prescott was courting another Dakota woman and so did not pursue her. Not long after, however, he decided that he wanted to marry Naginowenah but kept quiet, knowing that he had to leave for St. Louis for the winter. In June 1822, Prescott returned to Minnesota and set up a trading post near Fort Snelling. There Naginowenah called occasionally to trade. During the winter of 1823–24, Prescott resolved to ask her to be his wife.

I began to think about getting married after the Indian manner, so I took ten blankets, one gun, and five gallons of whiskey and a horse and went to the old chief's lodge. I laid them down and told the old people my errand and went home. The third day I received word that my gift had been accepted, but that the girl was bashful and did not like the idea of marrying, and I must wait until they could get the girl reconciled to their wishes for her to marry me.

In a few days they moved their tent up and camped near my house, and it was ten [days] before I could get my wife, as she was then timid. At last, through much entreaty of the parents, she came for to be my wife or companion as long as I chose to live with her. Little did I think at the time that I should live with her until old age.<sup>8</sup>

Naginowenah was 21 years old and Philander was 32. They would be married for 40 years and have nine chil-

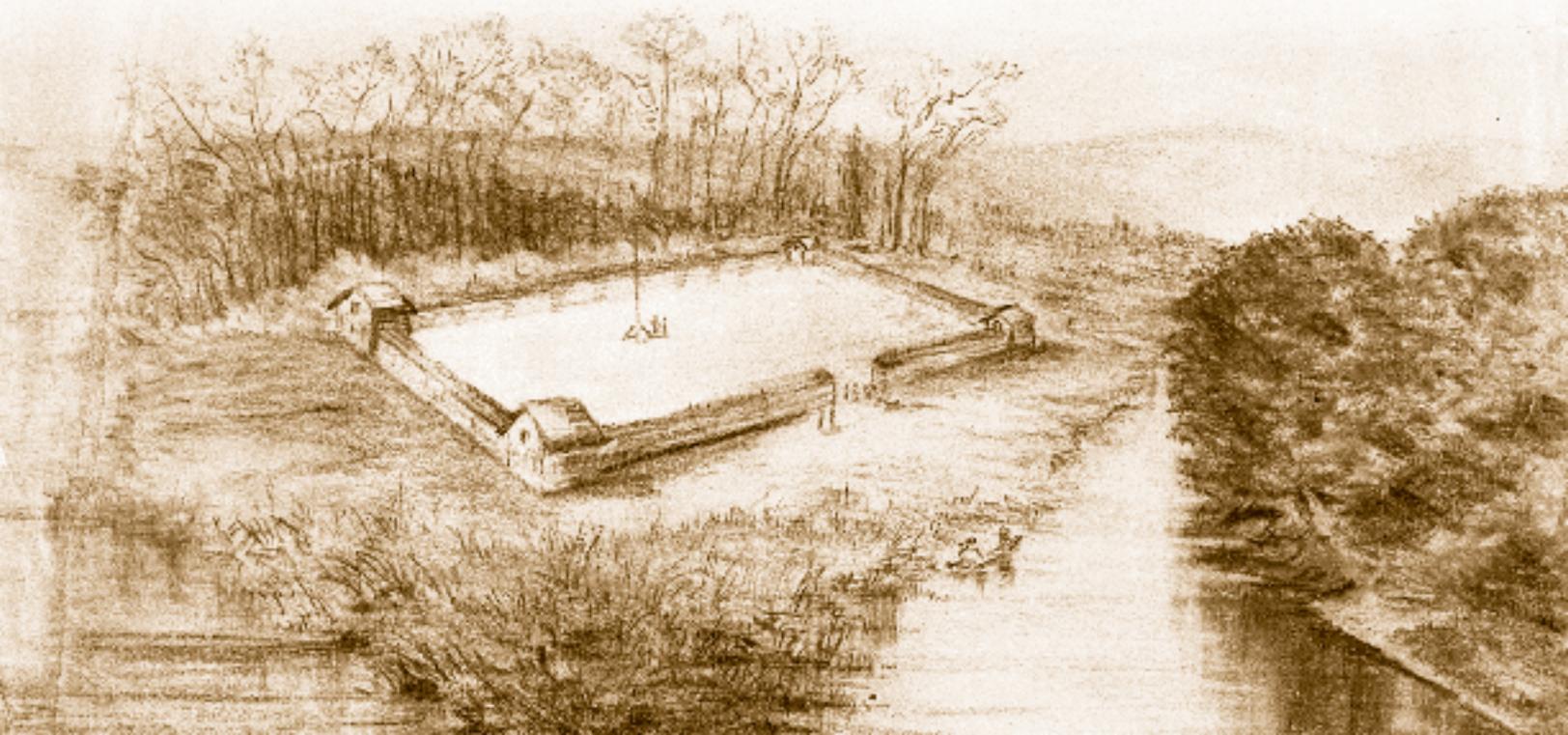
## The development of Minneapolis in the later nineteenth century too often has been presented as if it were unrelated to the area's population before the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862.

dren, five of whom would live to adulthood. In the early years of their marriage they were often apart, as Prescott left to trade at various locations or to travel downriver for supplies. Their first child, William, was born in 1824. When William was only three years old, Prescott found himself unemployed and decided to move to St. Louis to live with his brother and find work. He left Naginowenah and William behind with no money for their support, as he was deeply in debt. He asked the sutler's clerk to extend credit to his wife until he returned.<sup>9</sup>

Naginowenah and William lived near Fort Snelling during Prescott's absence. It was there that Lucy was born in 1828. When Prescott returned to Minnesota for a visit that year, Naginowenah informed him that she was no longer willing to live apart. She said she would rather be poor—she was tired of living alone, and the other traders were annoying her, saying Prescott would never come back. Undoubtedly she was worried that, like so many other Dakota women who married traders, she might be abandoned. Prescott went back to St. Louis to settle his business affairs and returned to live with his family in Minnesota.<sup>10</sup>

In the spring of 1829, U.S. Indian Agent Lawrence Taliaferro hired Prescott as a farmer for the Lake Calhoun Dakota, and Naginowenah and their two children moved with him back to her birthplace. There her father, Keeiyah, had brought his band to join with his brother Cloudman and his band in an experiment to see if they could sustain themselves through agriculture and reduce their dependence on hunting. As the number of non-Indians in the region increased, it became more and more difficult for the Mdewakanton, the easternmost Dakota, to find adequate amounts of wild game. They were forced to go farther and farther west to hunt buffalo and other large animals, necessitating long and arduous journeys that took them away from their villages for months at a time. Cloudman had asked Taliaferro to supply the bands with plows and horses so they could plant larger quantities of corn and other crops than the amount traditionally cultivated.<sup>11</sup>

*New Hope (St. Peter's) Cantonment, 1820, temporary quarters while Fort Snelling was being built. Graphite drawing by Ada B. Morrill.*



This shift to greater reliance on agriculture also entailed a change in traditional Dakota gender roles, as it became necessary for the men to assist the women in cultivating and harvesting. Within a few years, the community was harvesting large amounts of corn, as well as squash, pumpkins, potatoes, and cabbages. As the village became more successful, it attracted more people, including many Dakota women and their children who had been abandoned by Euro-American husbands and fathers.

**C**ultural conflicts marked the early years of Naginowenah's and Prescott's marriage and family life. Relations were especially strained over the nature of William's upbringing. Prescott clashed on more than one occasion with his mother-in-law, Catherine Totedutawin, whose influence over William, often in defiance of his wishes, infuriated him. William became the center of a dispute over cultural identity: would he be raised as primarily a Dakota or an Anglo boy? In the fall of 1832, when William was eight years old, Prescott learned of the Choctaw Academy, a free government boarding school in Kentucky for Indian and Euro-Indian children. He sent William down the Mississippi River in a canoe with the Indian subagent and two French-Dakota

boys who were also to attend. To Prescott's dismay, William's grandmother followed the party downriver, found their encampment, and insisted on bringing the boy back home.<sup>12</sup>

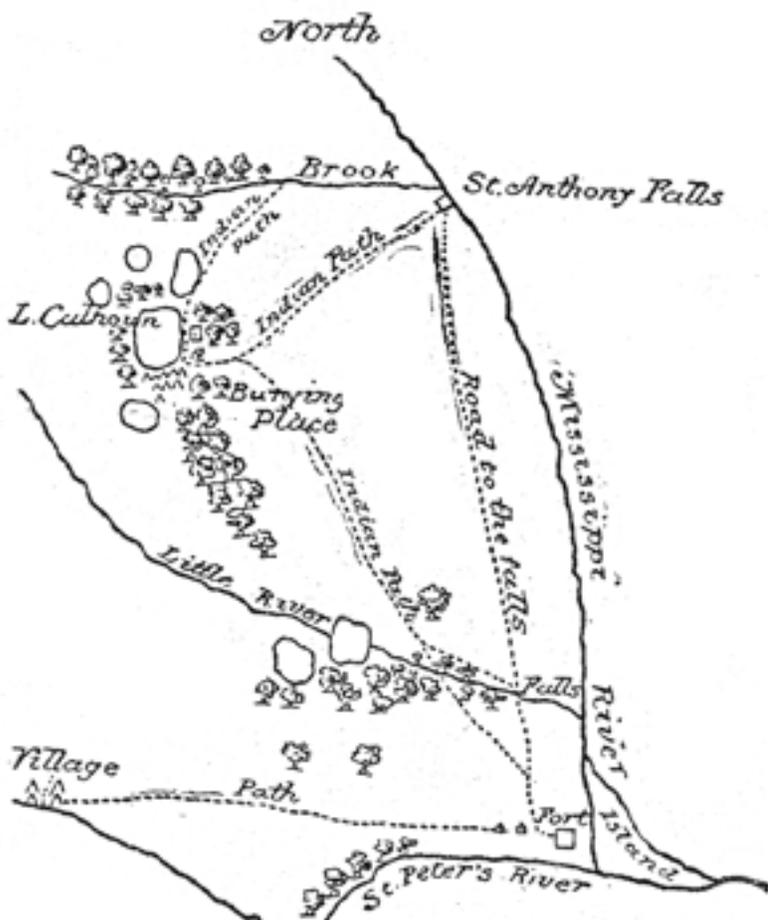
When Prescott scolded his mother-in-law for interfering, Naginowenah became so angry that she left with their children for several weeks, only returning because their third child, three-year-old Harriet, was severely ill. This created another cultural conflict between husband and wife. Naginowenah refused to move back into their log house, staying instead in her parents' lodge. She and her relatives attempted to heal the girl with Dakota medicine and refused to listen to Prescott's treatment advice. After a few weeks, Harriet died. While Prescott was angry that Naginowenah and his in-laws had not heeded him, he did not blame them for her death, acknowledging that they had done what they thought best for the child. Still, Harriet's death and the family conflict over her treatment made Prescott more determined than ever to send William to school, away from Dakota influence.

I said to myself that my son should not be raised amongst the Indians, for the old woman had perfect control of him when she was about. She thought more of him than of any of her own children . . . and was making a perfect Indian of him. . . . I was determined to send him off the first opportunity that offered, for the old woman had made me repent the day that I had ever taken her daughter.

In the fall of 1834, Prescott enrolled William at the Choctaw Academy.

During these years, Naginowenah and Prescott moved back and forth between Mendota, Fort Snelling, and Traverse des Sioux, as Prescott worked for various employers in the fur trade. Late in 1835, the couple suffered a severe blow when they learned that William had died at the Choctaw Academy, apparently as a result of neglect and abuse. The entire family was devastated, none more so than Prescott, who had insisted on sending the boy. Of their other children, only Lucy—as a teenager—would be sent away to school.<sup>13</sup>

*Samuel Pond's map of his environs, including Lake Calhoun and the Dakota village, enclosed in a January 1835 letter home. Pond drew on an irregularly shaped scrap of paper, about 4¾ inches high, and noted the map's shortcomings on the back. This version appeared in his Two Volunteer Missionaries Among the Dakota (1893).*



Although he does not speak of it in his recollections, Prescott was so distraught by William's death that he seems to have suffered an emotional breakdown. He abandoned Naginowenah and their two surviving children, Lucy and Hiram, and traveled down the Mississippi River, wandering through Louisiana, Texas, and the southeastern United States, drinking heavily along the way. In his absence, Naginowenah gave birth to their third daughter, Caroline, in 1836. At some point in his travels, Prescott encountered a preacher, found God, and repented for having abandoned his family. He returned to Minnesota in the winter or spring of 1837 and tracked Naginowenah and the children to the Upper Missouri River, where the Calhoun bands had gone to hunt buffalo. There he sought Naginowenah's forgiveness, asking her to come back with him and marry him in the Christian church and under American law. She consented. Sadly, not long after their reunion, in April 1837, Caroline died.<sup>14</sup>

Prescott and Naginowenah decided to associate themselves with the Presbyterian mission at Lake Harriet, established two years earlier by Samuel and Gideon Pond and Rev. J. D. Stevens. There, Prescott built a small log house. The family joined the mission church in June 1837, and Naginowenah was baptized and took the name

Mary. Then, 14 years after their Dakota marriage, Naginowenah and Prescott were married by Samuel Pond. The wedding service was said partly in English and partly in Dakota, and both Naginowenah's demeanor and attire reflected the inherent tensions of her situation as a newly Christianized Dakota marrying an Anglo-American man, surrounded by Presbyterian missionaries and white congregants. Described by a female missionary as appearing uncomfortable, Naginowenah

wore a wedding outfit that combined Dakota and European garb: "moccasins, blue broadcloth pantalets and skirt with a fine calico print short gown, ornamented with 5 bright patches of tan, three or four inches in diameter on the waist in front.

Several dozen strings of dark cut glass beads hung upon her neck and her ears were loaded with ear drops. A blue broadcloth blanket thrown over her shoulders completed her wedding dress."<sup>15</sup>

## Cultural conflicts marked the early years of Naginowenah's and Prescott's marriage and family life.

The Lake Harriet mission and Lake Calhoun farming village lasted only a few more years. Although the village successfully sustained a large population (about 500 inhabitants in its last year), an attack in 1839 by the Dakotas' traditional enemy, the Ojibwe, caused fear and introduced an era of renewed warfare. After the harvest of 1839, the Calhoun Dakota scattered to establish new villages to the south along the Minnesota River, where they would be closer to the other Mdewakanton bands as well as to Fort Snelling. In the spring of 1840, the Ponds followed Cloudman's band to Oak Grove (now Bloomington), where they established a new mission.<sup>16</sup>

In the years between 1840 and 1843, Naginowenah and the children lived with her Dakota kin at Oak Grove while Prescott struggled, mostly unsuccessfully, to support his growing family as a farmer and trader. Then, in 1843, their financial well-being was ensured for a while when Prescott secured the position of government interpreter to the Dakota, which brought a regular salary and housing at Fort Snelling. The family lived in a stone house next to the Indian agent's dwelling, just outside the fort's walls, for about ten years. By this time, Naginowenah and Prescott had had two more children: Lawrence

### THE Prescott Family

**Naginowenah and Philander Prescott had nine children in the first two decades of their 40-year marriage. Five of the children survived to adulthood.**

•  
**William, 1824–35**

•  
**Lucy, 1828**

•  
**Harriet, 1829–33**

•  
**Hiram, 1832**

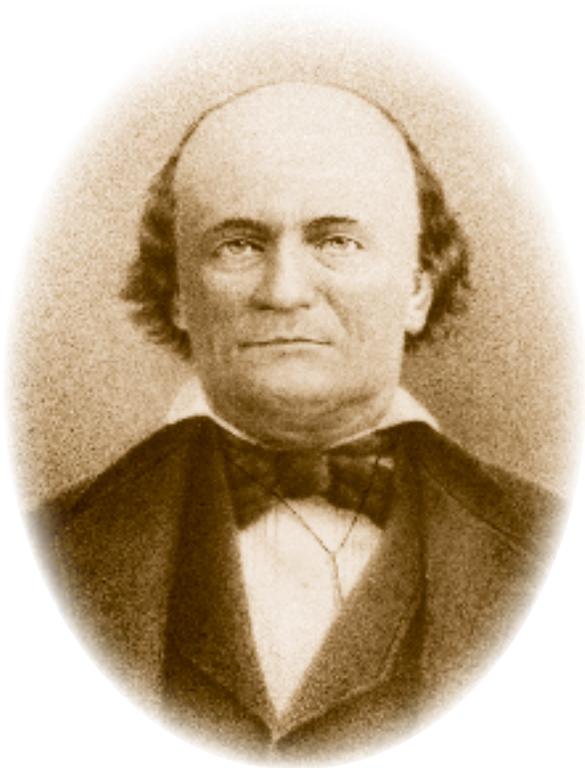
•  
**Caroline, 1836–37**

•  
**Lawrence Taliaferro, 1838**

•  
**Julia, 1841**

•  
**Sophia, 1844**

•  
**Mary Elizabeth, 1846–48**



*Philander Prescott*

Taliaferro (born 1838) and Julia (born 1841). Soon, they added Sophia (1844) and Mary Elizabeth (1846) to the family.<sup>17</sup> It was during this time that Lucy and Eli Pettijohn married.

John H. Stevens, a close friend who lived with the Prescotts for several years, described Naginowenah as “an excellent housekeeper, fond of her domestic duties, an affectionate wife and good mother.” She was known for her hospitality to strangers, and she operated their home as an informal inn, as there was no such accommodation in the area. Indeed, in Naginowenah’s 1867 obituary, the *Minneapolis Chronicle* remembered her for “having kept an open house at Fort Snelling” for many years.<sup>18</sup>

In 1854 Prescott lost his job, and the family left the stone house at Fort Snelling. Naginowenah, now 52, and Prescott, 63, established a homestead about a half mile from Minnehaha Falls. They had four children still living with them: Hiram, age 22, Lawrence Taliaferro, 16, Julia, 13, and Sophia, 10. Their house sat on the main route from Fort Snelling to St. Anthony Falls, at what is now Forty-Third Street and Minnehaha Avenue in south Minneapolis. The family operated it as a tavern and inn for many years.<sup>19</sup>

Not long out of work, Prescott was hired in 1854 to be supervisory farmer (and later, government interpreter) for the newly established Dakota reservations on the

upper Minnesota River. The family continued to live near Minnehaha Falls while Prescott traveled between the homestead and the reservation. During this period, he and his son-in-law Eli Pettijohn partnered with another man to build a flour mill on the creek at what is now Fifty-Third Street and Lyndale Avenue. The mill became the nucleus of a trading center that quickly developed into Richfield Township.<sup>20</sup>

At some point in the late 1850s, perhaps after Hiram married in 1857, Naginowenah and the three remaining children moved to live with Prescott on the Lower Sioux Agency. When the U.S.–Dakota War broke out in 1862, Prescott was one of the first people killed. Although warned by Dakota friends to stay indoors, he apparently panicked and tried to flee to Fort Ridgely. A group of Dakota warriors, including chiefs Little Six and Medicine Bottle, encountered Prescott on the road and killed him. Lucy later said she had heard that the two chiefs had argued about killing her father; one of them said that Prescott had “always been a friend to the Indians.”<sup>21</sup>



*Little Six and Medicine Bottle, photographed at Fort Snelling, 1864*

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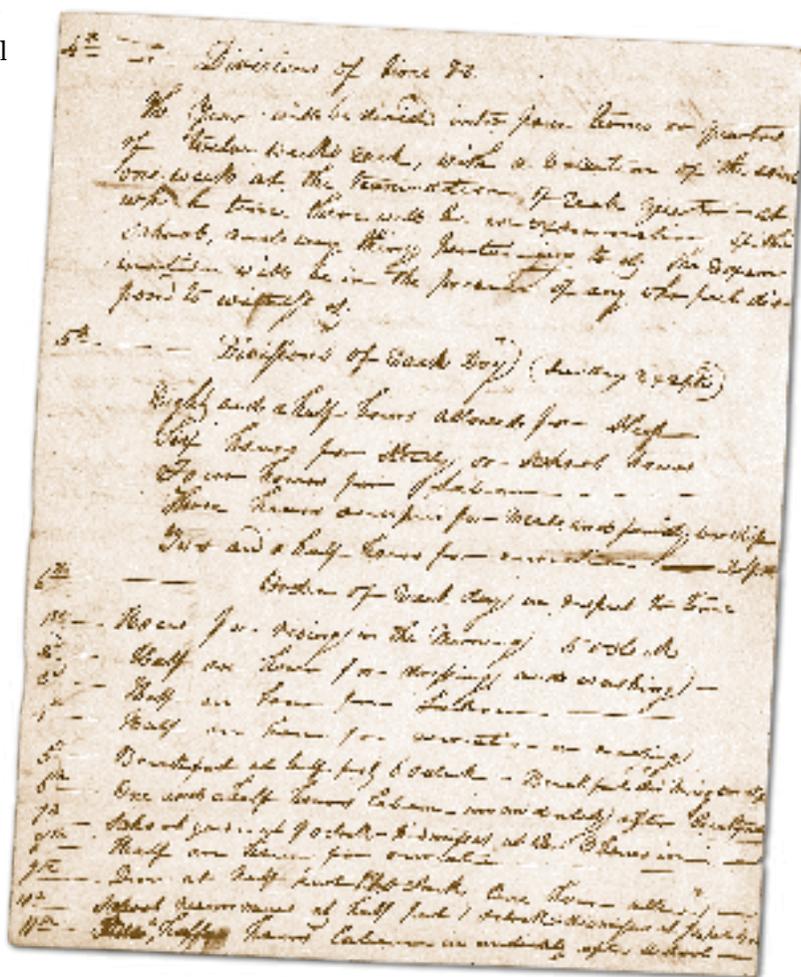
Convinced that she and her children would be protected by their Dakota kin, Naginowenah stayed on the reservation. Along with many other Dakota and Euro-Dakota people, the family was taken as captives to Little Crow's camp. During the Battle of Wood Lake, Naginowenah and Julia escaped with a number of other prisoners to Fort Ridgely.<sup>22</sup>

Naginowenah and all of her children survived the war. In the years afterward she lived with Lucy, Eli, and their children in Shakopee. In 1867, aged 65, she died there—just 12 miles from her birthplace at Lake Calhoun. Her obituary describes her as “noble . . . industrious, frugal, and kind.” In addition, “She was a good wife, a fond mother, and one of the most even-tempered and consistent women we ever knew. She relieved the wants of the poor, visited the sick, and bestowed deeds of charity upon those who were needy. She was never idle.”<sup>23</sup> William Pettijohn, the future Wizard of Cereal Foods, was 13 years old when his Dakota-speaking grandmother died in his home.

**L**ucy Prescott, born near Fort Snelling in 1828, lived her young childhood completely as a Dakota girl, surrounded by her mother's kin. Her father was absent for several years after her older brother's death, returning to his family in 1837, when Lucy was nine. When her parents joined the Lake Harriet mission church that year, Lucy's first significant exposure to Anglo-American culture began: She and her brother Hiram were baptized. Then, during the winter and spring of 1837–38, Lucy attended the mission's boarding school for Anglo-Dakota girls. Students were taught to read and write in Dakota but also learned “manners,” “morals,” housekeeping, and sewing.<sup>24</sup> At the school with Lucy were her mother's cousins' children, including the daughter of Indian agent Taliaferro. Although missionary

J. D. Stevens had outlined strict rules for deportment, study, and work, one visitor who resided at the mission for several months described a school in which the students ruled.

The principle upon which the boarding school at this place appears to be conducted is somewhat singular. . . . [L]et every child and scholar have as much liberty and indulgence as he would have. . . . I am, and have been, ever since I came here, so much disturbed by these boarding girls, that I could scarcely do anything in the way of reading or writing after they retired to bed. For they seldom spent less than an hour or two in chatting, laughing, squealing, etc. I never knew of a horde of children gratified with so many indulgences as these here are.<sup>25</sup>



*J. D. Stevens's "Regulations of the Mission School at Lake Harriet, 1836," sent to Henry H. Sibley*

Lucy was 15 in 1843 when her family moved into the house at Fort Snelling. In the years between the Lake Harriet mission and the fort, she and her siblings had sporadically attended the Ponds' mission school at Oak Grove. Then, sometime between 1843 and 1849, Prescott arranged for Lucy to attend an eastern boarding school for several years.<sup>26</sup> There, she would have been immersed completely in Anglo-American society and received an education solely in English and the subjects thought suitable for genteel young women. Within a few years of her return from school, at the age of 22, she married Eli Pettijohn, who by then had been in the region for about nine years. In contrast to her parents' Christian wedding, Lucy's ceremony and attire were strictly Anglo-American. Only the presence of her mother and Dakota relatives was evidence that the bride was Anglo-Dakota.

Lucy and Eli would have seven children—four boys and three girls—between 1850 and 1873. William, the future cereal man, was their third child (and second son), born in 1854.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1857 and 1862, Lucy and Eli lived on their own farm near Fort Snelling, where they operated a boardinghouse and supplied food and lumber to the fort. But the U.S. government did not recognize Eli's claim to the land and, in 1862, forced them to leave their home. The family moved to Shakopee, living there until the 1890s when they relocated to Minneapolis. For the rest of his life, Eli Pettijohn unsuccessfully sought compensation from the government for his lost land and house.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1870s Eli moved to California for a time, tak-

ing several of his adult sons with him. There he founded a successful cereal brand, Pettijohn's, which his son William took over after Eli returned to Minnesota. In 1900, fifty years after their marriage, Lucy and Eli were living in their house near Minnehaha Creek. Lucy died there in 1910 (at age 81), five miles from her birthplace near Fort Snelling. Eli died at a son's home in Minnetonka Mills (now Excelsior) in 1915, aged 96.<sup>29</sup>

**T**he cover of the 1900 Pettijohn Pure Products brochure features an Indian man dressed in a loincloth and eagle-feather headdress, as if he is about to go into battle. He kneels as he pounds grain upon a stone. The scene grossly misrepresents traditional native gender roles while also expressing white stereotypes that identified Indian men as either warriors or children. The depiction effectively emasculates the man by casting him in a traditional female role even while dressed as a warrior. The slogan "Be a Good Indian" is both patronizing and racist in its assumptions that native people should be treated as children and that they are bad unless qualified as good.

On the other hand, the company's advertising could be interpreted more positively: It does not deny Pettijohn's Indian heritage but, rather, celebrates it. One of the products bears a Dakota name, Wamana-Haci (Indian Mixture), and the company logo is an illustration of a warrior, although inaccurate. Heralding William's return to cereal manufacturing, the brochure concludes with a cultural reclamation, albeit a dubious one, of his family's Dakota heritage: "Pettijohn's back! The whole country will know it and welcome the news. The good Indian is marking a trail to your grocer's door."<sup>30</sup>

William Pettijohn, the "good Indian," was one-quarter Dakota and spent five of the formative years of his childhood (ages 8 to 13) in a household with his Dakota grandmother, Naginowenah. His company's brochure raises interesting questions that cannot be answered, based on the documentary record: Did William privately nurture his Dakota heritage? Should his advertising be read merely as a crass commercial exploitation of white stereotypes about Indians or as homage to his Dakota ancestry? Did he accept white stereotypes about his grandmother's people? Was he cognizant or unaware of the advertisement's cultural distortions?

One wonders what William's mother, Lucy Prescott Pettijohn, thought of the company's use of her Dakota heritage. Did the Indian warrior pounding grain strike

## THE Pettijohn Family

Lucy and Eli Pettijohn had seven children  
in a marriage that lasted almost 60 years.  
All survived into adulthood.

•  
Philander Prescott, 1850

•  
Anna, 1852

•  
William A., 1854

•  
Lawrence, 1858

•  
Samuel R., 1860

•  
Minnie, 1863

•  
Harriet Julia Prescott, 1871

*One wonders what William's mother, Lucy Prescott Pettijohn, thought of the company's use of her Dakota heritage.*

her as ridiculous, humiliating, or both? Did she laugh or did she wince? Was she resigned to the fact that her son was so fully acculturated into Euro-American society that he shared its inaccurate and stereotypical notions of their Dakota ancestors? Had she actively encouraged the adoption of his Euro-American views? Or was it more likely that she thought it unwise to curtail his acculturation in the face of an overwhelming, dominant Euro-American population that was generally hostile to Indians, especially after the 1862 war when some whites publicly called for the genocide of all Indians in Minnesota? As an Anglo-Dakota woman who had become almost completely assimilated into Anglo-American society herself, did Lucy Prescott Pettijohn, perhaps, share some of the stereotypes and negative views about Indians?

Like Lucy, Naginowenah's other surviving children were raised to live as Anglo-Americans and to integrate into the dominant society. Julia, Sophia, and Hiram all married Anglo-Americans. The one exception was her youngest son, Lawrence Taliaferro Prescott, who married Marion Robertson, an Anglo-Dakota woman whose family lived on the Lower Sioux Reservation.<sup>31</sup>

In the next generation, all of Lucy and Eli's children who married (Anna and Samuel did not) chose Anglo-American spouses. They appear to have had little or no identity as Dakota, except perhaps for retaining a smattering of the language and some inherited artifacts.<sup>32</sup>

**T**he lives of Naginowenah, her daughter Lucy Prescott, and her grandson William Pettijohn provide a fascinating window into the process



*Front and back of the red, white, blue (and yellow) company brochure, 1900*

of acculturation that occurred among Dakota and Anglo-Dakota people over several generations in nineteenth-century Minnesota. In the case of this Anglo-Dakota family, by the third generation the process appears to have produced almost complete absorption into Anglo-American society and a nearly exclusive cultural identification as Anglo-Americans. Indeed, by 1935, when Lucy's daughter and William's sister, Minnie Rorison, provided a lengthy interview to the *Minneapolis Journal* about her family's history, she extolled her father's pioneer accomplishments but did not know her grandmother's Dakota name or that she was the daughter of Flying Man and the niece of Chief Cloudman.<sup>33</sup> □

## Notes

1. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), 190; Donald Parker, ed., *The Recollections of Philander Prescott* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 248 (annotated version of Prescott's handwritten memoir; hereinafter, *Prescott Recollections*); *Minneapolis Journal*, May 22, 1915, p. 1.

"Anglo-American" in this article describes people of British heritage or whose families had been in North America long enough that they identified primarily as Americans, regardless of their European origins. This is to distinguish them from French-Americans, the other dominant Euro-American group in the region, who retained their language and cultural identity, and immigrants from Scandinavia and Germany, who began to settle Minnesota in large numbers in the 1840s.

2. Edward D. Neill, "Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota," in *History of Hennepin County and City of Minneapolis*, ed. George E. Warner and Charles M. Foote (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing, 1881), 120; J. H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People and Early History of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: Tribune Job Printing, 1890), 45–46.

3. Here and below, *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Apr. 2, 1867, p. 4; Bruce M. White, "The Power of Whiteness, or the Life and Times of Joseph Rolette Jr.," in *Making Minnesota Territory: 1849–58*, ed. Anne R. Kaplan and Marilyn Ziebarth (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1999), 182–83.

4. Pettijohn Pure Products Company, "How Pettijohn Came Back: Being a True Story of the Wizard of Cereal Foods," 1900, pamphlet, copy in Minnesota Historical Society (MHS); *Northwestern Miller*, Nov. 17, 1893, p. 711, Feb. 17, 1904, p. 363.

5. Roy Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 258–93; Carolyn Ruth Anderson, "Dakota Identity in Minnesota, 1820–1995" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1997), 208–57; *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Apr. 2, 1867, p. 4. In 1866 there were 374 Dakota living in Minnesota at Wabasha, Faribault, Redwood River, Big Stone Lake, and Lake Traverse. By the early 1870s, returnees and those who never left had formed communities at Mendota, Bloomington, Shakopee, Prior Lake, Grey Cloud Island, Red Wing, and Morton. The first Dakota to return to Prairie Island near Red Wing in the 1870s and 1880s were those connected to Cloudman's Lake Calhoun band.

6. *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Apr. 2, 1867, p. 4; Jane Lamm Carroll, "'Who Was Jane Lamont?' Anglo-Dakota Daughters in Early Minnesota," *Minnesota History* (Spring 2005): 184–85.

7. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 35.

8. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 35, 52, 56.

9. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 248, 92–94, 103–04.

10. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 115–16.

11. Here and below, Mark Dietrich [Diedrich], "A Good Man in a Changing World: Cloud Man, the Dakota Leader, and His Life and Times," *Ramsey County History* 36 (Spring 2001): 7–9.

12. Here and below (through quote), Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 127, 150–51. According to Anderson, *Little Crow*, 190, Lucy Prescott identified her grandmother as Catherine Totodutawin; Philander Prescott never refers to her by name.

13. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 161–62.

14. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 248–49; First Presbyterian Church (Minneapolis), Church Record (book), 151, MHS.

15. Dietrich, "Cloud Man," 9–10; Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 249; Maida Leonard Riggs, ed., *A Small Bit of Bread and Butter: Letters from the Dakota Territory, 1837–1869* (Deerfield, MA: Ash Grove Press, 1996), 39. The witness was Mary Riggs, wife of missionary Stephen Riggs.

16. Dietrich, "Cloud Man," 15–18.

17. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 248; First Presbyterian Church, Record, 151.

18. Stevens, *Personal Recollections*, 44; *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Apr. 2, 1867, p. 4.

19. *Minneapolis Journal*, Oct. 7, 1923, editorial sec., p. 10. In the early 1920s the house was moved one block to Forty-Fourth St. and Snelling Ave.

20. Frederick L. Johnson, *Suburban Dawn* (Richfield, MN: Richfield Historical Society, 2009), 28.

21. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 248, 253–54; Neill, "Explorers and Pioneers," 213; Johnson, *Suburban Dawn*, 31–33.

Medicine Bottle and Little Six were tried by military commission in 1864, found guilty, and executed in 1865 for killing Prescott and others during the war. Naginowenah was the first of five to testify against Medicine Bottle. Although she did not witness her husband's murder, she said that she had seen Medicine Bottle lead war parties while she was a prisoner of the Dakota; U.S. Army, Records Relating to Trial of Medicine Bottle and Little Six, microfilm copy, MHS.

22. Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 127 note 22. While only Julia (age 19) is mentioned, presumably Naginowenah would not have left Sophia (16) behind. I have not yet been able to ascertain Sophia's or Lawrence's whereabouts during the first days of the war.

23. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 254; *Minneapolis Chronicle*, Apr. 2, 1867, p. 4.

24. First Presbyterian Church, Record, 23, 151; "Taken from notes got from Eli Pettijohn," 5, Biographical Sketches folder, John H. Case and Family Papers, MHS; Dietrich, "Cloud Man," 10; J. D. Stevens, "Lake Harriet Mission School for the Sioux," Aug. 18, 1836, Henry Hastings Sibley Papers, microfilm edition, reel 1, MHS.

25. Peter Garrioch, diary, Sept. 13, 1837, Peter Garrioch Papers, MHS.

26. Parker, *Prescott Recollections*, 251, quoting E. D. Neill, who said that Lucy attended a boarding school of "some celebrity." The Pettijohn brochure is the only source to claim that she had been educated in Europe; Parker equates "sent abroad" with "back east."

27. Information on the Pettijohn children in "Articles and Rems (2)—Grey Cloud Island" folder, Case papers.

28. *Minneapolis Journal*, Apr. 21, 1935, second sec., p. 1, Dec. 20, 1910, p. 11.

29. *Minneapolis Journal*, Apr. 21, 1935, second sec., p. 1, Dec. 20, 1910, p. 11, May 22, 1915, p. 1. Three of the Pettijohns' four sons moved to California in the 1870s and 1880s; two eventually returned to Minneapolis. All three daughters remained in Minneapolis or Shakopee for their entire adult lives.

30. "How Pettijohn Came Back"; *Northwestern Miller*, Nov. 17, 1893, p. 711.

31. John Case, "The Building of the Redwood and Yellow Medicine Agencies on the Minnesota River, 1853–54," unpublished manuscript, Case papers.

32. "Articles and Rems" folder, Case papers; "How Pettijohn Came Back." This claim is based only on external evidence; it is impossible to know, given the available documentary evidence, to what extent Dakota heritage was evoked, maintained, practiced, or treasured privately.

33. *Minneapolis Journal*, Apr. 21, 1935, second sec., p. 1.

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*All illustrations are in MHS collections; the brochure is in the library and the school regulations on microfilm roll 1, Henry H. Sibley Papers.*



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