

“Make Haste Slowly”: The Experiences of American Indian Women at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923

Jon L. Brudvig, Ph.D.
University of Mary

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was established in 1868 to serve the educational, economic, and spiritual needs of recently emancipated slaves living near Hampton Roads, Virginia. The institution's founder and guiding force was General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a former Union officer who commanded black troops during the Civil War.¹ On April 13, 1878 General Armstrong welcomed a handful of American Indian students. These former prisoners of war came to Hampton from St. Augustine, Florida, with their warden, Richard Henry Pratt. Their presence at Hampton spawned the development of off-reservation boarding schools designed to transform American Indian pupils into replicas of their more assimilated neighbors. Humanitarians, educators, and government officials also hoped that the boarding schools would make tribal leaders more manageable and cooperative. The Plains wars, it appeared, had been replaced by a new type of battle, a struggle for the hearts, minds, and souls of the next generation of American Indian leaders.²

A short time after the Fort Marion party's arrival, General Armstrong moved to expand the school's Indian program by implementing immediate measures designed to attract female natives to Hampton. According to the principal, "the coeducation of Indian boys and girls with its lessons of mutual respect and helpfulness in the class rooms and work rooms is the hope, and the only hope of permanent Indian civilization."³ The first

¹ Samuel Chapman Armstrong (hereafter abbreviated SCA), "From the Beginning," in *Memories of Old Hampton* (Hampton, VA, 1909), 133-50; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923* (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989), 6. For a complete list of students see Jon L. Brudvig, "Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute: American Indian Students, 1878-1923," at <http://www.twofrog.com/hampton.html>.

² SCA, "From the Beginning," in *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute* (Hampton, VA, 1893), 9, 326-28; Helen W. Ludlow (hereafter abbreviated HWL), in *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 312; SCA, "From the Beginning," in *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 9; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work," in *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 312; Richard Henry Pratt (hereafter abbreviated RHP), *Battlefield and Classroom*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964; reprint, Lincoln, NB, 1987), 138-144. For additional information regarding the Fort Marion arrivals consult Frederick J. Stefon, "Richard Henry Pratt and His Indians," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15 (1988), 87-112 and Jon L. Brudvig, "Bridging the Cultural Divide: American Indians at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" (Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William & Mary, 1996), 48-49. Donal Lindsey noted that Peter Jones (Ute) arrived at Hampton in 1877 with John Wesley Powell. He was not present, however, when the Fort Marion arrivals came in April 1878. See Donal Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Urbana, IL, 1995), 20-21, 27-29.

³ *Southern Workman* (September 1879), 90 (hereafter abbreviated SW); "Our Indian Girls," SW 8 (November 1879), 111; Cora Mae Folsom (hereafter abbreviated CMF), unpub. mss., 10, HUA; SCA, "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 63; SW 10 (February 1881), 15; SW 7 (October 1878), 73.

eight American Indian female pupils arrived with Richard Henry Pratt's Dakota Territory Party on November 5, 1878. Mary Dawson (Arikara), the mother of Anna Dawson (Arikara), remained at the school to help ease the children's transition to boarding school life. Although disappointed, Armstrong was determined to recruit an equal number of female Indians. "It is useless to talk of civilizing a nation without civilizing its women," he wrote.⁴

From 1878 until 1923, 1,451 American Indians (518 females and 933 males) from sixty-five different tribes were exposed to a curriculum structured to train their heads, hands, and hearts. Hampton Institute's philosophy of "make haste slowly" influenced Armstrong's decision to craft an educational environment designed to produce American Indian women and men capable of leading and serving others.⁵ Despite Armstrong's ambitious goal of fashioning "missionaries of civilization," only 156 Native American students (including seventy females) graduated from Hampton⁶

The ethnocentric, albeit well-intentioned, Armstrong may have had his own educational agenda, but so too did many of the school's 1,451 American Indian students. Reservations were by the late nineteenth century a reality. Moreover, westward-moving pioneers did not help matters when they grabbed as much territory as they could acquire, often changing the provisions of the General Allotment Act (1887) in order to acquire tribal land holdings. Earning an education would, reasoned some pragmatic students and elders, help American Indians compete with their unwelcome neighbors on a more level playing field. After all, educated Indians could read and understand contracts. Students skilled in a variety of manual trades or the "domestic arts" could also prove useful as teachers, agency laborers, nurses, or field matrons.⁷

⁴SCA, SW 7 (December 1878), 90; SCA, "Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 63-64. The names of students who arrived with Pratt in November 1878 can be found in *Bridging the Cultural Divide*, 383.

⁵Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disenfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville, TN, 1999), 78, 80; *To Lead and to Serve*, 6. Until my dissertation was released in 1996 scholars believed that 1,388 Indian students attended Hampton from 1878-1923. They arrived at this figure by counting tribal cards located at HUA. These cards listed only the names of those American Indians who were placed on the government list. Native pupils staying only a brief time, children who came to Hampton with their parents, and some work-study students were not counted.

⁶Wilbert H. Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881-1908," *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997), 263-304. Ahern's perceptive analysis examines a sampling of native students who attended Hampton during its formative years.

⁷SW 8 (April 1879), 43-44, a letter from Skunks-Head, Fort Berthold, D.T. [Dakota Territory], February 3, 1879, to RHP, Hampton Institute. Lindsey mistakenly dismisses the notion that educated pupils could serve as cultural brokers to help bridge the gap separating Indian and white cultures. As a result, he fails to recognize the many ways native scholars subverted the educational process to meet their individual needs. See Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*, 219. The concept of cultural brokers is extensively examined in Margaret Connell Szasz, ed. *The Cultural Broker* (Norman, Ok, 1994) and Frances Karttunen, *Between Two Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (Brunswick, NJ, 1994). It is also important to note that significant numbers of children chose not to remain at Hampton. Sadly, some of them willed themselves to die rather than live apart from their relatives. Many others, especially the natives sent to Hampton during the 1880s, sickened and died shortly after leaving school. Still others ran away or deliberately violated school rules knowing that expulsion would bring them home. Consult Frederick

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American Indian students have much to say about their experiences at a bi-racial institution.⁸ Researchers who plumb Hampton University's amazing archival collection will learn why the students pursued formal academic training. Michael Wolf (Still Cloud), a 1913 Hampton graduate and future Chippewa chief, recalled that he decided to attend school after accompanying his father to a council meeting. During the council's deliberations concerning a government contract that no one could read, Michael's father announced his desire for tribal members who could read and understand such contracts. Wolf later recalled, "This stirred my ambition, and I said to myself I will be that Indian."⁹

Female students frequently came to Hampton for similar reasons. They, too, wanted to prepare themselves to help their people cope with changing conditions. One student, Flora Brown (Absentee-Shawnee), decided to enter Hampton after reading the school's catalogue. Brown wrote, "in reading the catalogue of Hampton Institute I found that the student was educated for the home and not to go among white people. I knew then that Hampton Institute was the place for me to come."¹⁰

Arizona Swayney (Eastern Band Cherokee) had a specific aim in mind when she arrived in 1896. Swayney wrote, "It has always been my desire to be a teacher . . . We need good faithful teachers at home and I think Indian teachers can get along with their own people better than anyone else."¹¹ The talented pupil graduated from Hampton three years later, but remained to complete the school's postgraduate course. Swayney explained, "It seems high time for some of the younger people to try and do something toward preserving these arts on the different reservations."¹² She also believed that such

Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE, 1984), for more details regarding the devastation caused by the allotment policies. For information regarding the employment of returned students consult Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted," 263-93.

⁸R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," *American Historical Review* 100 (June 1995), 735, encouraged scholars to solicit the student voices when writing about off-reservation boarding schools. K. Tsianina Lomawaima's book, *They Called Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, 1994), employed oral history in an effort to document the wide array of student experiences at the Oklahoma boarding school. Some pupils enjoyed their stay, while others detested the school and its assimilationist curriculum. Michael Coleman's book, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson, MS, 1993), also included autobiographical materials in an attempt to highlight the American Indian pupils' positive and negative recollections of boarding school life. Francis Paul Prucha, Robert Trennert, Margaret Connell Szasz, Donal Lindsey, David Wallace Adams, and Robert Utley have all focused almost exclusively on the institutional nature of government boarding schools, paying particular attention to the assimilationist aims of educators, reformers, and government officials.

⁹Michael Wolf, "The Plea for the Young Indian," speech delivered at the October 1912 conference of the Society of American Indians, in *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 1 (April-June 1913), 186-88, clipping in Wolf's student file (hereafter abbreviated SF), HUA.

¹⁰Flora Brown, to "Kind Friends," November 20, 1900, in Brown's SF, HUA.

¹¹Arizona Swayney, to "My Dear Mrs. Mitchell," [1900 Scholarship Letter, clipping in Swayney's SF, HUA.

¹²Arizona Swayney, "Basket Making," *Talks and Thoughts* (June 1902), clipping in Swayney's SF, HUA.

skills would also help returned students win the confidence of their elders. Instead of turning their backs on tribal traditions during their time away from home, some students embraced cherished traditions as a means of easing the "re-entry shock" after returning home.

On occasion, some students headed east without their parents' permission. Angel DeCora (Winnebago), one of Hampton's most illustrious American Indian graduates, shocked a former teacher by mentioning that she was taken to Hampton without her mother's permission. In a letter to Cora Mae Folsom written years later, she revealed that her uncle had taken her to the agency school. A few days later a man arrived "asking the pupils to go on a long distance on the steam cars." Though DeCora refused to leave the agency, she and other female pupils were fitted for dresses. The next morning, a group of Indian children piled into a lumber wagon and traveled to Sioux City, Iowa. DeCora later learned that she had been "kidnapped," for her mother never consented to her leaving the reservation. DeCora did not blame Hampton. She reassured her friend that she bore no ill will. "All of this occurred in the 'pioneer' day of Indian education when the Indians were loath to give up their young people into the hands of the whites to be trained in ways totally strange to them," she wrote.¹³

Forty-two children (twenty-seven males, fifteen females) of former Indian students, the school's "Indian grandchildren," ventured to Hampton. Caroline Murie (Pawnee), the daughter of James Murie, the famous Pawnee ethnologist, informed her scholarship donor that "my father finished here in 1883 and I always took [such] a deep interest in his alma mater that he always wanted one of us to come here and since I always wanted to be a teacher among my people I decided I would come."¹⁴

Once at Hampton, female students, both Indian and black, received a more general education than their male counterparts did. They mastered the "household arts" through firsthand experience and instruction. Once again, school officials merged work routines and academic instruction to develop character, enlighten the mind, and strengthen industry. Female students spent the first part of the week improving their sewing and crocheting skills and worked in the school laundry every Thursday and Friday. Saturdays involved mending clothes. Only on Sundays did female students have time to enjoy a brief respite, that is, when they were not attending church services, catechism classes, or evening prayers.¹⁵ Josephine Barnaby (Omaha), an 1887 graduate,

¹³Angel DeCora, Carlisle, PA, January 29, 1912, to CMF, in SF, HUA. D.M. Browning, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made it illegal to send Indian children to off-reservation schools without parental consent. See *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (hereafter abbreviated *RCIA*) (1893), *House Executive Document* no. 1, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3210, 10-11.

¹⁴Caroline Murie, to "Dear Friend," December 7, 1912, SF, HUA. I have not included children who participated in Hampton's family program. Consult *Bridging the Cultural Divided*, Appendix C for a complete listing of Hampton's Indian "grandchildren."

¹⁵SW 15 (June 1886), 69; CMF, SCA, *RCIA* (1880), serial 1959, 183; HWL, "The Girls Half of Hampton Institute," SW 30 (January 1901), 763-70; "Indians at Hampton," 2, 5; *RCIA* (1883), serial 2191, 170-72;

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captured the spirit of Hampton's training for women when she commented that "while there [at Hampton] I learned many useful things, the most important ones were how to wash clothes and iron them, to scrub floors & cut and sew my own dresses, besides took [taking] lessons in cooking."¹⁶

The 1882 academic year was a time of change for the school's female Indians. To alleviate overcrowding, school officials raised money to build the Winona Lodge to house up to sixty students. The modern dormitory had its own sewing room, chapel, laundry room, and modern bath facilities. The dormitory's native occupants made, washed, ironed, and frequently selected material for their dresses.¹⁷ Students were also responsible for the building's care. Annie Lyman (Yankton Sioux) recalled that "we scrub our rooms and everything in the building--have our rooms looking as nice as the hall. We wash the windows, the halls and sweep the verander [veranda], and we try to keep them clean."¹⁸

In 1898 Hampton administrators opened a Domestic Science department to "train those, who, by precept and example, shall instruct others in the proper care of the home."¹⁹ The new course of study attempted "to dignify these industries in the eyes of the young women and give them a greater respect for home life." School employees devoted their energies to training "teachers of sewing, cooking, and laundering." For many women, Indian and black alike, these were the only viable career options available to them at the time.²⁰ Frissell commented that the "work of washing and mending clothes has been lifted out of stupid drudgery into a valuable educational process. The laundry work not only enables the girls to gain regular habits of labor, to earn their board and clothing while they are in school, and be able to make an honest living wherever they go, but it is also distinctly education."²¹

RCIA (1885), *House Executive Document* no. 1, 49th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2379, 242-44; RCIA (1891), *House Executive Document* no. 1, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 602-603.

¹⁶Josephine Barnaby, Omaha Agency, NB, July 30, 1890, to General T.J. Morgan, in CMF, "Names File," HUA.

¹⁷Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman, 1935), 67; CMF, unpub. mss, 81, HUA; HWL, *Ten Years' Work for the Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888* (Hampton, 1888), 32; Hultgren and Molin, *To Lead and to Serve*, 19.

¹⁸CMF, unpub. mss., 87; HUA; Townsend in JER, "Indian Department," 1900 Report, p. 3-4, Indian Affairs, Student Information Box, HUA; "Students: Tribes Represented at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" File, HUA.

¹⁹SW 27 (November 1898), 223.

²⁰*The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and its Work for Negro and Indian Youth* (Boston, 1899), 8; RCIA (1897), *House Document* no. 5, 55th Cong., 2d sess., serial 3641, 384.

²¹HBF, *The Work and Influence of Hampton* (New York, 1904), 18; RCIA (1903), serial 4645, 439; *Ten Years' Work*, 26, 29, 39.

To help make the transition to home as easy as possible for female scholars, Hampton instructors eventually conducted their classes in an atmosphere that American Indians could expect to find upon returning home. By 1892, a “model homemaking” cottage was built for the use of female students. Until that time, the young women perfected their culinary skills using modern appliances. Some faculty members called into question the practicality of such instruction. They recognized that most of the American Indian females returned to remote locations that did not have access to such equipment. As a result, the homemaking cottage was outfitted with only those utensils and furnishings that students could expect to find in frontier communities. Meanwhile, instructors emphasized the practical aspects of managing a household, such as building a fire, preparing a table, serving and clearing away a meal, and washing dishes.²²

Hampton officials also wanted to ensure that female students would be able to adapt to a host of possible problems they might face after leaving the school for their own communities. As a result, young women also mastered basic agricultural and manual trades. Beginning in 1887, each female student was given a small plot of land and instructed in tending a garden. Indian and black students raised crops together, each offering advice and assistance to one another. The fruits of their labors, produce and flowers, were then sold to the school’s neighbors. Given the fact that the Dawes Severalty Act became law that same year, it is likely that school officials hoped Indian women would assist their husbands in operating the small individual allotments.²³

To help female students survive on their own, instructors introduced the Technical Round for women in 1886. The bi-weekly gatherings familiarized female pupils with the basics of carpentry and proper use of everyday tools. Student participants mastered the technique of framing windows and, in time, learned to construct a wide array of useful items like boxes, towel racks, tables, or shelves for their own dwellings. Once again, school officials had fashioned a curriculum designed to meet the needs of returning students. As a result, the American Indian women who participated in the Technical Round left Hampton better prepared to fend for themselves while living or working remote reservation communities.²⁴

Hampton’s founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, learned early on that mastery of household chores provided very little economic opportunity for American Indian

²²Peabody, *Education for Life*, 365; Richards, "The Training of Indian Girls," 702-703; "The Cottage Cooking Class," *SW* 19 (December 1890), 126; "Cooking at Hampton," *SW* 27 (June 1898), 116-117; *RCIA* (1891), serial 2934, 603.

²³*Ten Years' Work*, 26, 29, 39; HBF, *The Work and Influence of Hampton*, 18; *To Lead and to Serve*, 28-29; *SW* 19 (May 1890), 51; Emma M. Souch, "Gardening for Girls at Hampton Institute," *SW* 36 (1907), 661-64.

²⁴*Ten Years' Work*, 26; "Anniversary," *Talks and Thoughts* 16 (June 1887), 2; Lucy Conger, "The Girls' Technical Work," *Talks and Thoughts* (February 1896), clipping in Conger’s SF, HUA; "Gumpton Class for Girls," *SW* 37 (May 1908), 312; *SW* 22 (March 1893), 44; *SW* 20 (December 1891), 258; *SW* 20 (April 1891), 174; *RCIA* (1892); *House Executive Document* no. 1, 52d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3088, 696-97; *RCIA* (1890), serial 2841, 317; *RCIA* (1891), serial 2934, 603.

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women. During his 1881 western trip, the general was shocked to discover the lack of opportunities available for educated American Indian women. "Though they could make their own garments, and do housework, there were no suitable situations for them," he lamented. Armstrong recognized that something had to be done to address the reservation conditions for Hampton's alumnae. He ultimately decided to prepare female scholars for teaching careers, the only career open "for a womanly ambition." Seventy female Indians (nearly fourteen percent) graduated from Hampton, a much larger percentage than their male counterparts.²⁵

Unlike other off-reservation boarding schools, Hampton's faculty expressed a genuine interest in American Indian life and culture.²⁶ The school even pioneered a native arts and crafts program, later copied by other boarding schools, in an effort to interest American Indian pupils in traditional art forms. Moreover, Armstrong perceptively recognized that basketry, pottery, and other art mediums could help returning pupils, especially educated women, contribute to the economic welfare of their families.

Armstrong recognized the value of native arts soon after the Fort Marion prisoners arrived at Hampton in 1878. The school's first Indian students brought their artistic talents with them. Their paintings, frequently depicting the buffalo hunt where spirited horses and befeathered hunters completed a successful kill, served as "reminders of the needs of a noble but wronged people." It did not take Armstrong long to realize that souvenir-hungry visitors paid top dollar for the natives' sketches. As a result, Hampton officials subsequently encouraged and promoted the native students' artistic skills. American Indian pupils also produced a wide range of craft items for sale to the public, including folding tables, chairs, and checkerboards.²⁷

Arizona Swayney, an 1899 Hampton graduate, interrupted her post-graduate studies to return to her reservation during the summer of 1902 where she studied basketry and pottery. Swayney later instructed other Indians at Hampton in the traditional art forms she had learned from tribal elders.²⁸ The Eastern Band Cherokee graduate hinted at another motive for instructing native pupils in traditional crafts: "Even though one did not

²⁵SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 17-18. Only 85 male Indians graduated from Hampton (9 percent). Male students often came to learn trades or agriculture; once they mastered their craft they left Hampton. These students could find jobs without a diploma. Female scholars, however, had to graduate if they hoped to work in government schools or secure a position in the Indian Service. See Appendix H in *Bridging the Cultural Divide* for a complete list of Hampton's Indian graduates.

²⁶"Walt Whitman Concerning Indians," *SW* 16 (December 1884), 127, *To Lead and to Serve*, 46-47.

²⁷ SCA, "Annual Report," *SW* 7 (May 1878), 41, 44; "The Indian Art Class," *SW* 13 (December 1884), 128; Sarah Eden Smith, "A Summer Experiment: Art Among the Indians," *Boston Evening Transcript* June 2, 1884; June 13, 1884, 1-3, clippings located in "Indian Students at Hampton Box, HUA; George Hamlin, "Art Teaching at Hampton," *SW* 22 (March 1903), clipping in SF, HUA; Jesse Lambert, "Some Native Industries," *Talks and Thoughts* (March 1896), in SF, HUA.

²⁸ "Basket Making," *Talks and Thoughts* (June 1902) and *Indian Friend* (August 1902), in Swayney's SF, HUA; *SW* 31 (March 1902), 164-65; *RCIA* (1902), serial 4458, 475.

mean to make a business of this work it would encourage the old people to have the returned students show an interest in the native industries, and it would help them to keep up these arts to have more pride in them, to do them better and with more care." Swayney reported that "in teaching basketry here I find the girls are very fond of it and they do excellent work . . . It seems high time for some of the younger people to try and do something toward preserving these arts on the different reservations."²⁹

Lace-making became one of the most popular of the "native industries" at Hampton. Carlotta Gutierrez (Navajo) noted, "lace is taught just to the Indian girls for some have found the lace work very useful to them. They can make lace and sell it, or they can teach it to others."³⁰ One student, Josephine Hill Webster, later introduced lace-making to Oneida women. The craft became a major source of employment for the women and an important source of funds for Oneida families.³¹

Skilled graduates used their artistic talents in a variety of ways. Angel DeCora, a Smith College graduate and renowned artist, established Carlisle's native crafts program at the urging of Francis Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Elizabeth Cornelius (Oneida) taught pillow lace-making among the Chippewa in Minnesota and later established the *First Daughters of America*, an organization designed to help Native American women sell their handicrafts.³²

American Indian students also had much to say about Hampton's summer work-study program. The outing system, implemented at Hampton by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879, attempted to hasten the native pupils into Euro-American society. Student participants, both males and females, spent their summers living with, and working for, New England farm families. "In this way," commented one faculty member, "it is hoped that they will not only learn to be good workers and speakers of the English language, but that they may take in, day after day, the good qualities of the worthy families among whom they are placed."³³

²⁹Arizona Swayney, "Basket Making." *Talks and Thoughts* (June 1902), *Talks and Thoughts* (May 1905); *SW* (July 1905), "Teaching Basketry On A Tea Plantation," *Talks and Thoughts* (November 1906), clippings in Swayney's SF, HUA; "The Benefit of Native Industries," *SW* 31 (April 1902), 183; *RCIA* (1905), *House Executive Document* no. 5, 59th Congress, 1st sess., serial 4959, 439-40.

³⁰Carlotta Gutierrez, to "Dear Friends," February 1904, and to "Dear Friends," January 25, 1906, both letters in SF, HUA.

³¹HBF, "Annual Report," *SW* 29 (May 1900), 297; Josephine Hill SF, HUA

³²HBF, "Annual Report," *SW* 29 (May 1900), 297; Josephine Hill SF, HUA.

³³"Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," *SW* 11 (July 1882), 77. For additional information see R.H. Pratt, "The Outing System at Carlisle," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1891), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 274; Annie Beecher Scoville, "Indian Outings," *Southern Workman* 24 (September 1895), 157; Robert Trennert, Jr., "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Outing System, 1878-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 52 (August 1983), 267-91.

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Approximately half of the school's American Indian students participated in the outing program at least once during their tenure at the school.³⁴ Female students first headed North during the summer of 1880, where a summer spent working in New England homes would, in Armstrong's view, help prepare the female participants for their future roles as American Indian wives and mothers.³⁵ Although such work might entail tending to a garden plot, most female participants spent their summers working as domestic servants in northern homes.

Grace Pilcher (Omaha) spent one summer working as a domestic servant in Massachusetts. Pilcher later recalled that she devoted each morning to improving her sewing skills. After a lunch break, she then spent two hours each afternoon in school. Unlike most of the other students, Pilcher's outing involved an important academic component in addition to the drudgery of household chores.³⁶ The Omaha pupil found the experience educational and returned to the Townsend family the following summer.³⁷

Other female students complained about loneliness, overwork, and underpayment. For some, like Winifred Garlow (Tuscarora) assigned to a New York bath house, meager salaries contributed to their unhappiness. Garlow did not like her employer because her employer did not pay her the amount agreed upon.³⁸ Emma Giard (White Earth Chippewa) informed school authorities that employers were "difficult to please."³⁹

Female students who were shunned by their host families regretted heading north for the summer. Winona Keith (Yankton Sioux), the daughter of Maggie Goulet Keith, a

³⁴Forty-nine percent of female students participated in summer outings from 1880 until 1891, while fifty-six percent of male Indian pupils ventured north at least once. Participation peaked during the 1890s, when, according to Hollis B. Frissell, Hampton's second principal, nearly all of the Indian students deciding to remain for the summer traveled to New England, "Notes on the Returned Indian Students of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," December 1891 report in Senate Executive Document no. 31, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2892; Hollis B. Frissell, "Annual Report," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1894), *House Executive Document* no. 1, 53d Cong., 3d sess., serial 3306, 414.

³⁵SCA, in *RCIA* (1880), serial 1959, 183; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (July 1982), 276-77. Both Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, and E.A. Marble, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, endorsed Hampton's innovative co-educational summer experiment. Schurz noted that students entrusted to the "elevating influence" of farm families "have received very valuable lessons in household economy and farming." Marble commented that Hampton's summer apprenticeships provided "an individual home-training which no institution can afford, and where they [Indians] gained a practical idea of civilized home life." See Carl Schurz, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (1880), serial set 1959, 10; E.A. Marble [Acting], *RCIA* (1880), serial 1959, vii, 87.

³⁶*Talks and Thoughts* (March 1887), clipping in Grace Pilcher's SF, HUA; Grace Pilcher, Monterey, MA, letter dated July 12, 1887, in SF, HUA.

³⁷SW 17 (December 1888), clipping in Grace Pilcher's SF, HUA.

³⁸Winifred Garlow, 1909 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

³⁹Emma Giard, 1908 Outing Report, in SF, HUA.

Hampton alumna, spent the summer of 1901 living in Plainville, Connecticut. Although Winona worked for an Anglican minister's family, she hated her summer placement. Her employer never said an encouraging word. To make matters worse, the couple's children were troublesome and undisciplined.⁴⁰ Annie Bender (White Earth Chippewa) also regretted working for a minister's family. Bender later confided to Hampton employees that she would not return because her employer, Mrs. T. C. Luce, forced her to live in a shed the entire summer. Apparently the family did not consider their native employee worthy of equal treatment. In their eyes she was nothing more than a mere house servant.⁴¹

Hampton officials deliberately separated female students in an attempt to force the young women to hone their domestic skills. If summer host families were kind and encouraging, students typically enjoyed their outings. All too often, however, the young women spent seventeen weeks cooking, washing dishes, laundering their employers' clothes, and assisting with the numerous farm chores.

The coeducational nature of the Hampton outing program generated more than a few problems. Some students fell in love during their New England excursions and engaged in premarital sex. It is highly unlikely that school officials ever learned of the frequency of such activity, but when problems surfaced, Hampton authorities heard about the indiscretions. Teachers learned of Fred Pattee's (Sioux/Cherokee) transgressions only after he had abandoned his 1911 summer placement. Pattee justified his quick departure by telling Caroline Andrus that his employer worked him too hard. Instead of returning to Hampton in the fall, however, he told Andrus that he intended to enroll in a public high school in nearby Dedham, Massachusetts.⁴²

School officials eventually discovered the real reason Pattee had abandoned his summer employer. During the summer he engaged in sexual relations with Rachel Somers (Oneida), another Hamptonian spending her summer working in Massachusetts. News of the pair's relations surfaced only after Somers returned home and discovered that she was pregnant.⁴³ After learning of the incident, Hampton's faculty confronted Pattee with the allegations. Initially, he denied everything. But eventually he confessed to Somer's allegations and informed school officials that he had coerced the younger Oneida pupil into having sexual relations with him. Pattee also conceded that the pair spent the

⁴⁰1901 Outing Report, in Winona Keith's SF, HUA.

⁴¹Annie Bender, 1903 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

⁴²Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, June 12, 1911, to CWA; Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, June 20, 1911, to CWA; Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, July 20, 1911, letters in Pattee's SF, HUA.

⁴³Rachel Somers, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; F.H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC, October 30, 1911, to HBF, Hampton Institute, in Indian Affairs Department of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs, Letters to HBF, Box 1, "A-K File," HUA; Winifred, Dedham, MA, October 23, 1911, to CWA, in Fred Pattee's SF, HUA.

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night together in a small hotel where they registered as Mr. & Mrs. Fred Pattee."⁴⁴ The couple planned to marry, but Somer's mother quickly put a stop to any wedding plans because "she thinks he has ruined my name."⁴⁵

Rachel Somers's misfortune led to greater oversight of students' activities during the summer. Nancy Clara Bailey (Seneca) worked for the Leavitt family of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1900. Hampton officials expelled her in December 1900 after Bailey's employers reported that she was untruthful and "kept company with bad men."⁴⁶ Concerned faculty members were undoubtedly attempting to prevent a recurrence of what happened to Rachel Somers. If students would not obey the rules, they were immediately dismissed from Hampton. This would only happen, however, if host families reported such escapades. Clever students found ways to bypass the restrictions and remained untouched. School officials, meanwhile, remained blissfully ignorant of any sexual activity among the outing program's participants.⁴⁷

Hampton's bi-racial atmosphere also generated a great deal of commentary. Charles Soman (Menominee) noted, "I think these colored boys at this school are very good to some of the Indian boys . . . but some of these Indian boys here do not like the colored boys very much, and these Indian boys that don't like the colored boys try to fight with the colored boys but some of the colored boys don't fight with Indians, and they don't attend to what the Indian boys say."⁴⁸ John Payer Johnson (Winnebago) wrote Hampton officials to say that he deliberately had himself expelled in January 1909 because he could never "quite subscribe to, let alone accept, the vague principles so unceasingly preached at Hampton." Johnson then announced: "I am clearly out of sympathy with the falsity of ideals and practices that placed me, an innocent Indian, in Hampton, a Negro institution."⁴⁹

Other Indian students, however, enjoyed the school's unique bi-racial atmosphere. Lucy Hunter (Winnebago), a 1916 Hampton graduate and Y.W.C.A. field secretary,

⁴⁴"My Darling Rachel," October 11, 1911, copy of letter to Rachel Somers in Fred Pattee's SF, HUA.

⁴⁵Rachel Somers, West DePere, WI, October 17, 1911, to CMF, HI, in SF, HUA. Sally Crowe (Eastern Band Cherokee) also became pregnant during her summer outing. See Mrs. E.F. Barnes, Housatonic, MA, April 9, 1898, to Josephine Richards, HI; Mrs. E. F. Barnes, Housatonic, MA, May 6, 1898, to Josephine Richards, HI. The letters are in Sally Crowe's SF, HUA. In her second letter Mrs. Barnes identified William Comstock, a family employee, as the culprit.

⁴⁶Nancy Clara Bailey, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; Mrs. A. Leavitt, Newport, RI, October 15, 1900, to F.C. Briggs, HI, SF, HUA.

⁴⁷Two other female students, Eva Cox (Omaha) and Grace Jamison (Cayuga) became pregnant while working in the North.

⁴⁸Charles Soman, SW 11 (May 1882), clipping in Soman's SF, HUA.

⁴⁹John Payer Johnson, Greenwood, WI, December 19, 1926, to Hampton Institute [response to Hampton's annual letter], in Johnson's SF, HUA.

concurred. Hunter wrote: "Mr. Riggs [founder of the Santee Normal Training School] used to say that rubbing up against other people was education. I find that true here at Hampton. Mr. Riggs' remark has indeed induced me to look at the colored people from altogether a different standpoint. I am learning from them many more good things than I am from the Indian students. Some of the best and most helpful people I have met are colored people."⁵⁰

Albert H. Kneale, a teacher, principal, and Indian agent who observed boarding school graduates firsthand, commented that formal training did not obliterate "Indian-ness," thus creating "Apple Indians" who were red on the outside and white on the inside, even though the children were frequently taught to despise their cherished traditions, songs, and methods of living. When the students' love for home and traditional ways could not be destroyed, educators resorted to another tactic. Instead of obliterating all traces of the past, Armstrong and other educators sought to create and foster in the native pupils "a missionary spirit" that would, according to Kneale, "rapidly civilize the entire tribe — on the principle that a little leaven would soon leaven the whole lump."⁵¹

Such optimistic goals, however, rarely materialized as planned. For one, reservation friends and relatives had, commented Kneale, "already witnessed and experienced enough of this civilization to know positively that it possessed not one quality which ... was desirable; that there was not one of them that did not despise it and despise the individual who aped it."⁵² Moreover, returning students also lacked standing within American Indian communities. The influence of tribal elders came with wisdom, a character trait that developed only with age and experience.⁵³ Boarding school graduates, the would-be cultural intermediaries that Armstrong and Pratt pined for, were also initially handicapped by their inability to speak their own native languages fluently. After all, the native graduates had spent several years attending an English-only institution where students from diverse tribes had to learn English, if they hoped to converse with one another. American Indian children who dared to violate school rules by communicating in their native languages were severely punished. Thus, fluency in their first languages often required a period of adjustment after returning home.⁵⁴

⁵⁰Lucy Hunter, *Word Carrier* [Santee Normal Training School] (March-April 1913), clipping in Lucy's SF, HUA.

⁵¹Albert H. Kneale, *Indian Agent* (Caldwell, ID, 1950), 167-69.

⁵²*Indian Agent*, 169-70.

⁵³*Indian Agent*, 170; Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *American Epic: The Story of the American Indian* (New York, 1916), 191-200.

⁵⁴*Indian Agent*, 170, 171-172; Cecil Dryden, Ed. *Red Moon Called Me: Memoirs of a Schoolteacher in the Government Indian Service* (San Antonio, TX, 1954), 9, 83, 143.

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Some students reverted to traditional practices, noted Pierrepont Alford, a 1903 Hampton graduate, “because, in the majority of cases, there is nothing else for them to do.” Boarding school graduates unprepared for local conditions resumed the “old way of living” because no other options existed.⁵⁵ Although Hampton officials recognized that employment opportunities were critical to ensuring the success of its graduates, they also admitted that the agencies did not have enough available positions for Indian boarding school graduates.⁵⁶ The inability to secure gainful employment could, and often did, generate frustration.⁵⁷

Despite the numerous obstacles placed in their paths, Hampton’s American Indian alumni made significant, albeit diverse, contributions to Native American communities.⁵⁸ Some, like James Murie (Pawnee, Class of 1883), John Bruyier (Crow Creek Sioux, Class of 1890), William Jones (Sac and Fox, Class of 1892), Robert Higheagle (Standing Rock Sioux, Class of 1895), and John Lolorias [Juan Dolores] (Papago, Class of 1901) utilized their knowledge to preserve cherished traditions, tribal histories, and sacred stories.⁵⁹ A select few, most notably Thomas Sloan (Omaha, Class of 1889), Thomas Wildcat Alford (Absentee-Shawnee, Class of 1882), John Downing (Cherokee, Class of

⁵⁵ Pierrepont Alford to Caroline W. Andrus, Maricopa, AZ, August 17, 1915, in SF, HUA. Alford explains his views in response to a letter from Hampton asking, “Why are Indian boys and girls content to return to the old way of living?”

⁵⁶ *Ten Years Work*, 49.

⁵⁷ Albert H. Kneale, *Indian Agent* (Caxton, ID, 1950), 171.

⁵⁸ Michael Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson, MS, 1993), 60-68. Other prominent chiefs who sent their children and relatives for similar reasons included Iron Eyes (Omaha), Moses and Frank Keokuk (Sac & Fox), Antonio (Pima), Wizi (Crow Creek Sioux), Big Mane (Lower Brulé Sioux), Little No Heart (Minniconjou Sioux). The desire for American Indians for education is a major theme in Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman, OK, 1996). Hampton’s 156 American graduates (from 1882-1923) were very successful in their chosen careers. Only the files of Zallie Rulo (Yankton Sioux, Class of 1885), Reuben Baird (Oneida, Class of 1904), and Joseph Blackhawk (Winnebago, Class of 1906) indicate dissatisfaction on the part of Hampton officials regarding their subsequent careers. In time, however, Zallie Rulo made quite a name for herself as an “Indian lawyer”.

⁵⁹ James Murie gathered ethnological materials for the Field Museum of Chicago and the Smithsonian Institution. John Bruyier, an employee with the Bureau of American Ethnology, assisted James Owen Dorsey in the compilation of a Teton Lakota dictionary. William Jones continued his training at Harvard and Columbia, where he earned a Ph.D. under the tutelage of Franz Boasz. Before his tragic death while conducting fieldwork in the Philippines, Jones worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology, Carnegie Institute, and the Field Museum of Natural History. Robert Higheagle utilized his interpreter skills to assist Stanley Vestal (Walter S. Campbell) interview Sitting Bull’s contemporaries. He also helped Frances Densmore collect and interpret data for *Teton Sioux Music*. John Lolorias (later Juan Dolores) assisted A.L. Kroeber translate Papago materials. He later worked as a curatorial assistant for the University of California-Berkeley Museum. During this time he served as a companion and interpreter for Ishi, the last of the Yahi. For more information about Juan Dolores consult Madeleine Mathoit, “The Reminiscences of Juan Dolores, An Early O’odham Linguist,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 33 (Fall 1991), 233-315. Detailed information regarding each of these pioneering ethnologists can be obtained in their respective student files, HUA.

1882), and Zallie Rulo (Yankton Sioux, Class of 1885) used their knowledge to defend Native Americans in courts of law.⁶⁰ Still others, including the physicians Thomas Miles (Sac & Fox, Class of 1885) and George Judson Frazier (Santee Sioux, Class of 1895), tended to the health needs of other Indians. The vast majority of Hampton's American Indian alumni, however, quietly contributed to the welfare of their respective communities by teaching in the agency schools, serving as nurses in government hospitals, or laboring as tradesmen in agency shops. Still others, especially male graduates after 1900, utilized their formal training to operate their own farms, ranches, and businesses.⁶¹

In addition to holding tribal leadership positions, several of Hampton's American Indian alumnae confronted the appalling health crisis facing reservation communities. Susan LaFlesche-Picotte, the nation's first female American Indian physician, graduated from Hampton in 1886.⁶² Three years later, after finishing her medical studies at the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, the ambitious physician returned to the Omaha reservation in Nebraska. During this time she repeatedly tried, along with the help of her sister and fellow Hampton graduate Marguerite (Class of 1887), "to explain to both the Indians and the whites the advantages of both cultures."⁶³ When the town of Walthill, located within the Omaha Nation's boundaries was established, Dr. LaFlesche-Picotte relocated her medical practice there, eventually opening a hospital in 1913. Dr. LaFlesche-Picotte also remained involved in the affairs of her community, often championing children's issues while also successfully mediating between the demands of Euro-American culture and the needs and interests of the Omaha people. In addition to her medical practice, Susan LaFlesche-Picotte involved herself in temperance reform, preventive health activism, the advocacy of efficient, fair, and honest allotment procedures, and tribal agency business until her untimely death in 1915.⁶⁴

⁶⁰Thomas Sloan began practicing law in 1891. He later became the mayor of Pender, Nebraska, and achieved the distinction of becoming the first American Indian to practice law before the U. S. Supreme Court in January 1904. He was also a founding member of the Society of American Indians and a presidential appointee to the Committee of 100, the committee whose investigations culminated in the *Meriam Report*, a scathing critique of the federal government's Indian policies. See clippings and biographical information in Thomas Sloan's SF, HUA.

⁶¹Malcolm McFee refers to these students as "150% Indian." He argued that their participation in two cultures enriched them. L.G. Moses and Raymond Wilson argue that educated natives lived not in two worlds, but in one "complex world of multiple loyalties." See Malcolm McFee, "The 150% Man: A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 70 (1968), 1096-1107; Moses and Wilson, eds. *Indian Lives* (Albuquerque, 1985), 3; James A. Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers," in Clifton, ed., *Being and Becoming Indian* (Chicago, 1988), 26-33.

⁶²Lucy LaFlesche (Class of 1886) and Marguerite LaFlesche (Class of 1887) also graduated from Hampton.

⁶³Rosalie Farley, "Mary Gale LaFlesche, 1826-1909," unpublished manuscript, dated 1975, Folder S10, F1, Box 2, LaFlesche Family Papers, Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, 8, 9.

⁶⁴In addition to Susan LaFlesche's student file in HUA, consult Benson Tong and Dennis Hastings, *Susan LaFlesche Picotte, M.D., Omaha Indian Leader and Reformer* (Norman, Ok, 1999); Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Iron Eye's Daughters: Susette and Susan LaFlesche, Nineteenth Century Indian Reformers," in *By Grit and Grace: Eleven Women Who Shaped the American West*, ed. Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain (Golden, CO, 1997), 137-52; *Oo-Ma-Ha-Ta-Wa-The. The Omaha Tribe*, by Alice Fletcher, cited in Norma

Several other female graduates also made significant contributions to reservation communities as field matrons and nurses.⁶⁵ By the mid-1890s government officials took notice of Major George LeRoy Brown's use of young, well-educated, single women American Indian women to introduce the Pine Ridge communities to "civilized" living. Beginning in 1895 Anna Dawson (Arikara), Marguerite LaFlesche (Omaha), Julia DeCora, (Winnebago), Carlotta Gutierrez (Navaho), and Ella Powless (Oneida), all Hampton alumnae, were recruited to teach other native women the cooking and cleaning skills they had learned at school. Frequently, however, their positions within the Indian service also entailed nursing the sick, transporting sickly patients to distant hospitals, delivering babies, encouraging sanitation programs, monitoring school attendance, and launching native arts and crafts programs.⁶⁶ Although Native American field matrons labored to introduce "civilized" skills, they adopted a different approach than their non-native counterparts. Hampton's graduates, and other American Indian field matrons, conceded some value to traditional culture. As a result, they did not seek to destroy it. In addition, these native workers also embraced a longer view of change. They were also more tolerant of traditional practices and were more willing to praise the creative cultural adaptations that native women had already made.⁶⁷

Anna Dawson, a field matron assigned to Fort Berthold agency in North Dakota, came to Hampton as an eight-year child with her mother Mary Dawson (Stash-ba-du), a twenty-four-year-old Arikara widow, in November 1878.⁶⁸ The precocious student remained in the school's custody following her mother's death in March 1880. By 1887 the Hampton graduate continued her formal education at the Framingham State Normal School in Massachusetts. Following a brief stint teaching at the Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska, Anna Dawson successfully completed a Y.W.C.A. training school in

Kidd Green, *Iron Eye's Family* (Lincoln, NB, 1969), 7-8, 23, 36-38, 42-43, 55; Alice C. Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 2 vols. (Lincoln, NB, 1992), 2:631-35, 2:327-33; Francis LaFlesche, *The Middle Five* (Lincoln, NB, 1978), x-xi, 127-28.

⁶⁵It is interesting to note that 10 of the school's 70 female graduates pursued nursing careers at some point after leaving school. Some of these, like Josephine Barnaby (Omaha, Class of 1887), assisted western missionaries. Others continued their formal training at other schools. Addie Stevens (Winnebago, Class of 1892) became the Maternal and Infant Welfare Nurse responsible for Nebraska's reservation communities, while Mary Broker (Chippewa, Class of 1911), Lula Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee, Class of 1914), and Susie St. Martin (Chippewa, Class of 1914) all served as Red Cross nurses during World War I.

⁶⁶Marriott and Rachlin, *American Epic*, 197; Lisa E. Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People': Native American Women and the Field Matron Program," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Spring 1991), 201-216. Emmerich discovered that Native American Women constituted approximately 13 percent of the total field matron corps. The Office of Indian Affairs recruited native employees from the Arikara, Kiowa, Mesa Grande, Guyapipa, Ojibwa, Shoshone, Pima, San Idelfonso, Mescalero Apache, Omaha, Seneca, Pawnee, and Winnebago communities.

⁶⁷Emmerich, "Right in the Midst of My Own People," 205, 211.

⁶⁸Mary and Anna Dawson, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 223, 330; "Record of Returned Indians," HUA, 46; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 4; Charles L. Hall, "A.B.C.M.F.M.," 74, in the Charles L. Hall Papers, North Dakota State Historical Society, Bismarck, North Dakota.

Boston. A short time later Anna Dawson became a field matron in the government service. In her 1895 letter of application Dawson informed the Office of Indian Affairs that the field matron's position would enable her to work "right in the midst of my own people ... [teaching] them all I have been able to learn from the white[s]." ⁶⁹ The dedicated field matron spent the next seventeen years working to improve sanitary conditions, childcare, dietary habits, and various other aspects of home life among the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa people of Fort Berthold, North Dakota. ⁷⁰

Although exceptional, the life of Angel DeCora (Winnebago), vividly demonstrates the type of contributions that the Hampton's native alumnae made as educators. The child who was sent to Hampton without her mother's permission eventually graduated from Smith College and became a famous illustrator. ⁷¹ Angel DeCora-Dietz (she married William "Lonestar" Dietz (Winnebago), an excellent Carlisle athlete and artist) later established Carlisle's arts department. DeCora-Dietz recalled that she accepted the position only if she would "not be expected to teach in the white man's way." In short, DeCora-Dietz demanded complete liberty "to develop the art of my own race and to apply this, as far as possible, to various forms of art, industries, and crafts." ⁷² The ambitious educator, however, soon noticed that her pupils had been programmed to shun traditional ways. "When I first introduced the subject—Indian art—to the Carlisle students," lamented DeCora-Dietz, "I experienced the discouraging sensation that I was addressing members of an alien race." ⁷³ Native arts and crafts, insisted DeCora-Dietz, could be used to restore race pride and respect for traditions.

⁶⁹Anna Dawson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 1895, Letters Received 1895/8170, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁷⁰Anna Dawson, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 46, 223; *Ten Years' Work for the Indians*, 57-58; *Hampton Graduates, 1871-1899* (Hampton, 1899), 113; *What Hampton Graduates Are Doing* (Hampton, 1904), 28-29; *Some Results of Hampton's Work* (Hampton, 1909), 12; Wilbur and Alma Howard, "Anna Dawson Wilde, 1868-1968," biographical sketch included in Wilbur Howard, Alexandria, KY, July 30, 1972, to Eleanor Gilman, Hampton Institute, letter in Anna's SF, HUA. Anna's student file contains numerous articles that document her career. Those consulted include Anna Dawson, "What of the Indian Homes of the Future?," *SW* 24 (July 1895), 116-117; CMF, "The One Strong to Help," *SW* 26 (August 1897), 154-55; CMF, "The Careers of Three Indian Women," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, March 12, 1904, 374-75; "Glimpses of Field Matron Life of a Hampton Graduate and Her Associate," *SW* 25 (April 1896); "A Field Matron's Work Among the Indians," *SW* 28 (October 1899).

⁷¹Angel DeCora, Carlisle, PA, January 29, 1912, to Cora Mae Folsom, in SF, HUA. D.M. Browning, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made it illegal to send Indian children to off-reservation schools without parental consent. See *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1893), *House Executive Document* no. 1, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3210, 10-11. See also Angel DeCora, "Angel DeCora—An Autobiography," *The Red Man* 3 (1910), 279-85.

⁷²Natalie Curtis, "An American Indian Artist," *The Outlook*, January 14, 1920, 64; Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, PA, 1879-1918* (Carlisle, PA, 1993), 78.

⁷³Angel DeCora-Dietz, cited in *The Indian Industrial School*, 78. Original remark was included in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1906), 66.

Many of Hampton's female students managed to rise above the animosity and suspicion that frequently greeted boarding school graduates upon their return home. One of these, Elizabeth Bender-Roe Cloud (Chippewa), a 1907 Hampton graduate, helped her husband, Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago), establish the American Indian Institute in Wichita, Kansas. In 1950 she became the first American Indian named Mother of the Year. Long removed from her alma mater, an older and wiser Bender-Roe Cloud announced, "Indians don't want to be treated like museum pieces, but as Americans. They need above all, good schools and a chance to earn a decent living." Echoing the familiar refrain of self-determination so prevalent today in Indian country, Bender-Roe Cloud urged federal policy makers to let the tribal councils take a greater part in running their own affairs. The Chippewa educator noted, "It is far, far better for them to make a few mistakes at first than for Washington to say, 'You are no good. White men must run your lives.'"⁷⁴

Hampton's American Indian students, female and male, accomplished remarkable records of leadership and service. As children they endured great pain, the loss of their kinship networks and interaction with relatives, and the psychological trauma of attempting to preserve cherished traditions that their ethnocentric educators deemed "uncivilized" and barbaric. Remarkably, many of the 1,451 American Indian students who attended Hampton from 1878-1923 overcame these obstacles. Not surprisingly, the students who came to Hampton for the purpose of acquiring knowledge to help other Native Americans made remarkable records after leaving their alma mater. Quite a few of them became respected chiefs and tribal leaders. Many others served the physical, educational, and medical needs of Indian peoples. Religiously inclined pupils, especially Walter David Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee, Class of 1915), Lucy Hunter (Winnebago, Class of 1916), Carlotta Gutierrez (Navaho, Class of 1909), Charles Kelear (Yankton Sioux, Class of 1889), and Charles Doxon (Onondaga, Class of 1899), ministered to the spiritual and social needs of their own people. And a small, but gifted cadre of American Indian alumni devoted their talents to preserving cherished tribal histories and traditions. For these students, and countless other boarding school graduates, knowledge was power. Formal academic and industrial training helped the next generation of tribal leaders to persist in the face of great adversity. Today, their achievements speak for themselves. The overwhelming majority of Hampton's "missionaries of Civilization," successfully utilized their formal training and the philosophy of "make haste slowly" to protect and guide their own people during a turbulent period of transition and change.

⁷⁴Elizabeth Bender-Roe Cloud, *Daily Press* (Newport News, Virginia), June 4, 1950, clipping in Elizabeth Bender's SF, HUA. See also *Wichita Beacon*, June 13, 1916, 3. The Roe Clouds worked at the American Indian Institute for 25 years. In 1933 Henry Roe Cloud became the superintendent of Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas.