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BRIDGING CULTURES:
AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS AT THE NORTHFIELD MOUNT HERMON SCHOOL

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

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Kathryn A. Askins

This dissertation has been examined and approved.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I embarked upon my graduate studies, I intended to invest two years in obtaining my Masters degree in American Indian Studies, period. But, sometime during my second semester at the University of Arizona, I revised my plans to include a Ph.D. Two years of graduate study turned into eleven, and although the journey has been challenging at times, I do not regret the trip. Along the way I learned that my love of overcoming objections in a sales situation was transferable to teaching – “selling” the notion that history is more than dates and events; it is about people. I found that students do appreciate dedication to and passion for a discipline, and they have rewarded me with enthusiastic class participation and assurances that after taking my class, they no longer “hate history.” I am so fortunate to have had these experiences, and, just as history is about people, so is my journey.

Beginning close to home, I wish to formally thank my husband, children, and grandchildren for their unwavering support. Yes, Nana will finally be writing something other than *the dissertation* and you will be able to use the computer in my office once again.

Next, I wish to announce that the recipients of the “Helping to Keep Me Sane” award are Dick and Sandra Tessier in light of their generosity in allowing me the use of their lake house. I have fond memories of writing chapters one and two during lovely fall days, and celebrating the Red Sox win in 2004 (by myself), as well as the unpleasant realization that over 100 pages of writing added nothing to my argument and were doomed for elimination. As you read this Dick and Sandra, I hope you find that I have added to the body of knowledge in American Indian education.

To my teaching mentors and sounding boards, Professors Lige Gould, Kurk Dorsey, and Lucy Salyer: I so enjoyed working with you as your Teaching Assistant (and for some of you more than once). Not only did you show me, by example, how to be a better teacher, you also were generous in overlooking my need to laminate.

Thank you to my dissertation committee members, Professors Lucy Salyer, J. William Harris, Kurk Dorsey, Siobhan Senier, and Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, for your time and patience through this long, long, long, process. I did not intend for life to get in the way of progress, and although I am probably not your first problem child, I do hope I am the last. To Ellen Fitzpatrick: I would not have finished this project without your encouragement and kind words. The emails you sent are still pinned to my office wall and, no doubt, they will be read as I tackle my next project. And, a special thank you to Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, my inspiration for this project: all of this began with you.

The financial support provided by the Darrett and Anita Rutman Fellowship from the Department of History, the two Summer Teaching Assistant Fellowships and the Dissertation Year Fellowship provided by the Graduate School offset all of the travel expenses of driving and flying around the country for interviews and archival research, and allowing me to set aside large blocks of time to convert ideas to words on paper.

To Peter Weis, NMH Archivist: you are one of the most generous and patient men I have ever met. Thank you for allowing me the months required to comb the archives for the information I needed, and thank you for only smiling when I shook with sheer joy at first touching a letter written by Henry Roe Cloud. Thanks also to the staffs of Yale Divinity School, Baker Library at Dartmouth College, the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Moody Bible Institute for their help and cooperation.

Lastly I wish to extend my deep appreciation to those graduates of NMH who agreed to speak with me. Your stories are a vital part of the history of D. L. Moody's

schools, and your willingness to relate your experiences may encourage others to do so in the future. You are inspirational, and I thank you so very much.

PREFACE

In 1989 our family celebrated the graduation of our younger daughter, Grechen, from the Northfield Mount Hermon School. After four years of rigorous study, Grechen recalls her experience as "the best decision we ever made." It was a gratifying statement, because that was not how she had always felt. The first year was trying. She called home several times a week during her first semester, crying that she was homesick, that she did not like her roommate, that the days were long and tiring. She wanted to be with her friends and in familiar surroundings. Those phone conversations were heart rending, but we held firm, hoping that NMH was the right choice. Grechen was intelligent and we believed she would do well in an environment in which being a good student was expected.

Grechen was also shy and quiet. After the admissions interview – during which she was aloof and minimally responsive – we were encouraged to postpone matriculation until the following year, because the Director felt Grechen was not ready for campus life. We insisted that she join the freshmen class. It was the right decision. Grechen's time at NMH exposed her to experiences she would not have had locally. She had exceptional teachers, devoted to their students; she met people from various social and economic backgrounds, and she made life-long friends. Her classmates were from South Africa, Haiti, Asia, and Iran; they were Native Americans, children of diplomats, and the sons and daughters of local residents. The diversity of the student body was invigorating. It opened our daughter's eyes to world issues, politics, new perspectives, and humanity.

It was not until 1997 that I began to look at NMH from a new perspective. I was a Master's student at the University of Arizona's American Indian Studies Programs, enrolled

in a course entitled "The History of American Indian Education," taught by Professor Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox. One project required research on an American Indian boarding school, and although I was aware that American Indian students had attended NMH for several decades, I was uncertain of the exact dates. I contacted my friend Sally Holland, who had worked in the NMH Development Office from 1983 to 1986, and she informed me that Native students had been present for nearly 120 years, which meant the school had accepted students since the beginning of the boarding school "era." Why? Who were the students, and from where did they originate? How did they know about the Northfield Schools? How long did they stay? What did they do after they left? How were their experiences different from those of enrollees at federal boarding schools? How did more recent graduates feel about attending a boarding school? The questions kept growing, along with my curiosity. I spent a week at the NMH archives – just enough to raise more questions, not only about the students, but about the schools' founder, D.L. Moody.

The presentation at U of A on my limited research on NMH went well. With team members Becky Akins and Kara Gniewek, we reported to our class and Professor Fox on a different kind of boarding school. That was the beginning. I had to learn more, but little was written about the school and even less about its Native American students.

I spoke to anyone who would listen about my fascination with NMH and its connection with Indian Country. At the start of my second year at U of A, I met a new doctoral student, Leah Carpenter, who told me she had attended NMH in the late 1970s. Leah is Annishnabe from Minnesota – so why had she been at a college preparatory school in Massachusetts? We talked often; her experiences intrigued me, and raised more questions.

After completing my degree I returned home and entered the doctoral program in American History at the University of New Hampshire, I knew the subject of my

dissertation. What I did not know was how much I had to learn to properly present the American Indian experiences at NMH and how many more questions needed answers. Was the student's time well spent? Was the experience worth the sacrifice? Did it alter his or her perception of American society – for better or worse? I now have more answers. This is the story of American Indians at the Northfield Schools.

Terminology

There are more than 500 tribes and nations which currently live within the present-day United States. I have used the plural and interchangeable designations of American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Natives, Native Peoples, Indigenous Peoples, First Peoples, and Native Americans when referring to those who are descendents of the first occupiers of this land. My intention is not to offend but rather to provide practical and inclusive terms. Similarly I have used the term "European" when referring to people from Europe.

Some popular or commonly used tribal identifications are the result of assignments by an adversarial group, resulting in a demeaning or pejorative name. For example "Sioux" translates to "snake" or "asp," and is not how the Lakota, Dakota, or Nakota refer to themselves. Other misnomers occurred when Europeans were unable to pronounce a group name changing, for example, Ojibwe to Chippewa. Where possible, I have used the tribal or nation name, as they call themselves, with the name more often used by outsiders in parentheses, e.g. Diné (Navajo). Variations of spelling are my responsibility.

"Savage" is used both with and without quotation marks. The choice of the term is reflective of the perception of the time and is used within the context of the appropriate historical era.

I have followed Devon Mihesuah's guidelines, as set forth in the "terminology" section in *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female*

Seminary, 1851-1909, in defining the physiology of Native Peoples as full-blood or mixed-blood, and their cultural adherence as traditional, conservative or progressive. Defining an individual, division, or subdivision of a tribe, clan, or group according to cultural practices is inexact, but for the purposes of this work, I have designated a traditionalist as one who practices the long standing customs of his/her Native affiliation, a conservative as a person who observes some traditions but also adapts and syncretizes external influences into his/her way of living, and a progressive as one who retains little, if any, traditional ties, choosing instead to adopt the culture of mainstream society.

The term "White" refers to non-Indian persons of European or Euro-American descent, which I use solely to delineate the political, social, and cultural differences between America's First Peoples, and the adventurers, explorers, and colonists, who came to or stayed in North America.

Finally, the Northfield Mount Hermon School (NMH) has undergone several name changes. When the schools were established they were known as the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies and the Mount Hermon Boys' School. Although the names changed to the Northfield School and the Mount Hermon School, female students continued to attend classes and reside on the Northfield campus; boys at Mount Hermon. In 1971 the two schools merged and became known as the Northfield Mount Hermon School or NMH, and both young women and men attended classes and resided on each campus. In 2004 the Northfield campus was closed, the size of the student body reduced, and all students and classes moved to the Mount Hermon site, yet the School is still known as the Northfield Mount Hermon School. For continuity I have chosen to refer to NMH as the Northfield Schools, up to the period when the two schools became one.

Methodology

The story of Native students at D. L. Moody's schools is drawn from archival sources, including student records from 1880 to 1926, as well as interviews with and articles about American Indian graduates during the years 1989 through 2008. Secondary sources and interviews with two Native attendees and graduates of federal boarding schools provide a comparison and contrast between the two boarding school models. All interviewees were apprised of their right of refusal, choice of the use of a pseudonym or anonymity, of the care taken in protecting their narratives, and the acceptance of the protocol by the University of New Hampshire's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Further, each participant signed an acknowledgement of the agreement, and was offered a copy of his or her transcript.

The founder's letters, administrative records and interviews with present and former NMH staff are the foundation for sections regarding the schools' policies .

This work is not a detailed statistical study of Native students, graduates, or college attendees -- there are too many variables and too small a sampling. For example, in 1880 64% percent of the students entering the Seminary were American Indian, but there were only 25 enrollees. In the early years of the schools, it was not unusual for a student to attend for a year or two and not graduate, so to attempt to determine a "graduation success rate" for matriculants, whether Indian or non-Indian would be impossible. Over the last two decades, the number of Native attendees of the Transition Year Program (TYP) – a post-high school year designed to prepare students for college life – has risen, and those who completed the program have been included within graduation tallies for the school. With no obvious distinction between TYP students and those who attended for two or more years, a statistical scrutiny of graduates would be skewed. Complicating any analysis of whether attendance at NMH was beneficial to the attendees, is the limited number of Native graduates who agreed to talk about their

experiences. Of the 41 graduates and attendees contacted, nineteen responded, and of those, twelve agreed to be interviewed. Two of these asked that I use pseudonyms. Although all of the respondents attended college and have occupations that bridge cultures, there remain two looming and unanswered questions: did they agree to the interview because of their "success," and, did those who chose not to be interviewed do so because they believed they did not "bridge cultures"? The purpose of incorporating interviews into this study is to personalize the Native American experience at D. L. Moody's schools. For those years that correspond to the federal boarding school "era," this work demonstrates that the Seminary and Mount Hermon provided an educational alternative which neither forbade nor mocked Indian traditions, and permitted Native students to retain or rekindle their languages. Graduates from the late 1950s through 2008 with whom I spoke reaffirm that NMH remains an egalitarian environment which encourages and challenges all of its students to academic excellence.

TIME LINE OF EVENTS

- 1606 James I of England issues *The First Charter of Virginia*, granting land in North America to the London and Plymouth Companies and ordering that Native Peoples be brought to "human Civility."
- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown
- 1620 Settlement of Plimoth Plantation
- 1653 Indian College established at Harvard University
- 1693 Indian School established on the grounds of William and Mary College
- 1770 Indian Charity School established at Dartmouth College
- 1837 Birth of D. L. Moody
- 1879 Carlisle Indian Industrial School opens
Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies opens
- 1880 Sixteen American Indian young women enroll at the Northfield Seminary
- 1881 Four Native American boys matriculate at the Mount Hermon Boys' School
- 1884 At its first commencement Lydia Keyes becomes the first American Indian graduate of the Northfield Seminary
- 1899 Death of D.L. Moody
- 1971 Northfield and Mount Hermon merge into one School -- NMH
- 2004 NMH Board of Trustees vote to close the Northfield campus, reduce the size of the student body to approximately half, and consolidate all classes on Mount Hermon

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ABSTRACT

BRIDGING CULTURES:

AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS AT THE NORTHFIELD MOUNT HERMON SCHOOL

by

Kathryn A. Askins

University of New Hampshire, May, 2009

In 1879, two very different types of boarding schools opened their doors: the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, headed by Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt, and the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies, founded by evangelist D. L. Moody. While Captain Pratt was dedicated to the assimilation and acculturation of Native children into the dominant culture, D. L. Moody was determined to offer affordable education to financially disadvantaged young women. In the fall of 1880 the Seminary welcomed sixteen Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek students, and, in 1881, the newly opened Mount Hermon Boys' School accepted four Native American young men. Thus began an educational relationship with Indian Country that has survived for 130 years.

This study begins with an overview of the history of American Indian education, followed by a discussion of the life of D.L. Moody, emphasizing his educational goals, then draws upon the narratives of American Indian and Alaskan Native students to argue that the egalitarian and supportive environment of the Northfield Schools provided the tools that helped attendees to bridge Native and mainstream cultures, rather than trapping them between the two. Using archival resources and interviews, this work personalizes the experiences of a few young men and women who attended Moody's schools. Moreover, this study begins the exploration into the under-researched area of private boarding schools as an alternative to the federally supported system.

INTRODUCTION

Until recent decades non-Natives owned much of the history of America's First Peoples. Although several late 19th and early 20th century authors and historians, including Helen Hunt Jackson, Grant Foreman and Angie Debo, wrote of the cruelties and injustices against Indian Peoples, and Charles A. Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, Francis La Flesche, and John G. Neihardt brought Native voices to interested readers, over time their works were largely lost within the larger American historical context.¹ The years following World War II were filled with economic prosperity and American self-congratulation, but the social and political upheaval of the 1960s produced dramatic changes, not only in how Americans viewed their immediate world, but also in how they examined their past. The "new social history" written by "New Left historians" radically altered the selective and celebratory American saga by incorporating first-person accounts from immigrants, former slaves, women, and First Peoples into the broader American saga. No longer did elitist Anglo-American men own history; no longer was the perspective skewed from lofty academic towers. History took on new and revealing dimensions.²

¹ Helen Hunt Jackson's, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2001 [Boston: Roberts Brothers 1889]) exposed the tragic treatment of American Indians which helped rally reformers of Indian affairs; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972 [1932]); Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972 [1940]); Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Boyhood* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971 [1902]); Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975 [1928]); Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978 [1900]); *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux as Told to John G. Neihardt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979 [1932]).

² See Ellen Fitzpatrick, *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880 – 1980* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

In 1969 Standing Rock Sioux scholar and revisionist historian Vine Deloria, Jr. unleashed his indictment of the perpetuation of American Indian stereotypes, and of the misrepresentation of marginalization, cultural control, and domination of Native Peoples, with the publication of *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*.³ *Publishers Weekly* noted that Deloria "smashes a number of myths about the red man, points up the injustices done to his people over the past 300 years of American occupation, and calls for Indian unity, a call being answered."⁴ The following year Dee Brown shocked America with *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. The historian and head librarian at the University of Illinois recounted the federal government's "broken promises and treaties, the provocations, massacres, discriminatory policies and condescending diplomacy" in dealing with Native Peoples and in acquiring lands for westbound settlers.⁵ Brown's explicit and graphic detailing of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, which drew upon eyewitness reports, stunned and disgusted a general public whose historical understanding of Native encounters was often limited to textbook accounts of the first Thanksgiving.⁶

From the non-Indian academic world came Francis Jennings's 1975 work, *Invasion of America: Indians, Colonization and the Cant of Conquest*, the tone of which was frustrated disbelief at the omission of the treatment of American Indians by previous

³ Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1969).

⁴ *Publishers Weekly*, Volume 198, September 21, 1970, p. 60.

⁵ "The Forked-Tongue Syndrome," *Time*, volume 97, February 1, 1971, 80.

⁶ Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970) was a popular, not scholarly, work. Although non-academic reviews were favorable, American Indian Policy scholar Francis Paul Prucha criticized the author for not presenting "a balanced view of what happened, from the Indian's standpoint or from any other." "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West," in *The American Historical Review*, 77(2), April 1972, 589.

historians and fury at what had transpired.⁷ The academic and popular floodgates opened on a new genre, generating thousands of anthropological, ethnohistorical, biographical, autobiographical and revisionist tomes. Among the more disturbing have been the studies of American Indian education, which chronicle the suppression of Native languages, dress, traditions, and belief systems, of the scorn for all that was not acceptable by European or Euro-American mainstream societies, of the transformation of the "savage" to the citizen. As Lumbee scholar and attorney Robert A. Williams points out, validation for such hegemony was long standing, the roots of which lay in the Papal decrees of 11th century Rome. In *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourse of Conquest*, Williams traces the source of justifiable conquest and dominance of indigenous peoples to Pope Urban II and his sanctioning of the first crusade in 1096. Declaring that all non-Christians were infidels and, as such, were ineligible to rights of self-governance, land use or ownership, or social, economic, and religious freedoms, the Pontiff blessed the subordination and command of the "Saracens." Until 1271, Christian princes and soldiers fought to subjugate and "convert" their religious adversaries in the Middle East. By 1492 the theology of holy war was well-perfected and used by the Spanish to justify the subduing and governing of "los Indios" of the Western Hemisphere.⁸ Although sophisticated weaponry provided the invaders with a military advantage, smallpox and measles accounted for many more deaths among Native Peoples, which Europeans regarded as a Providential sign of their Christian righteousness.

⁷ Francis Jennings, *Invasion of America: Indians, Colonization and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

⁸ Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourse of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). The Crusades were not only about the return of the Holy Lands to Christian rule they were also about control of trade routes and access to Asian markets. The "infidel" Moors occupied the Iberian Peninsula for 700 years, from 711 to 1492 until the forces of the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, expelled them from their last stronghold and regained Grenada. During the same year Christopher Columbus set out to find a route to the Far East. When adventurers encountered western "infidels" they vigorously put forth Christian doctrine as the standard for civilization.

Historians Daniel Reff, Ann Ramenofsky, Russell Thornton, Wilcomb Washburn, and Ronald Wright have chronicled how disease devastated indigenous populations, disordered their societies, and diminished defensive powers, while scholars Patrick M. Malone, Armstrong Starkey and Robert S. Grumet have recounted the modes of Indian warfare used to gain small victories.⁹ As defeats outnumbered successes, some First Peoples chose to modify their way of life. William McLoughlin, Harriet J. Kupferer and William Cronon write of the adaptability of Native Americans to their changing environments and their ability to survive.¹⁰ Some colonists held the unwavering assertion that Native salvation required the acceptance of Christianity, and, by the American colonial period, religious conversion and education were well established elements in the undermining of Native traditions. James Axtell, Daniel R. Mandell, and Margaret Connell Szasz have documented how schooling and Christianity intertwined to accelerate the transformation of Native Peoples. But, as each author notes, American Indian resistance manifested itself both overtly and surreptitiously, to the exasperation of lay and religious instructors, and armed conflicts became more numerous as Native Peoples defended their lands against the onslaught of settlers.¹¹

⁹ Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991); Ann F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Wilcomb Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992); Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Robert S. Grumet, *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

¹⁰ William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Harriet J. Kupferer, *Ancient Drums, Other Moccasins: Native North American Cultural Adaptation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983).

¹¹ James Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock's Little Red School." In *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. J. Axtell (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 87-109; Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts*

Although the governments of both colonial America and the United States sought a resolution to the "Indian problem" through military force or treaties, the result was, at best, a tenuous peace. Most of the nearly 400 treaties signed and ratified between 1778 and 1871 concerned the ceding of Indian lands to the government in exchange for protection against white encroachment, annuities for tribal maintenance, and, in over half, specific provisions for the establishment of educational facilities within reservation boundaries to assist in the "civilizing" of the savage. However, the isolation of Native Americans and an imposed sedentary life did more to intensify resentment and hatred toward the government and colonizers than it did to foster acceptance of the invaders' culture.¹² Citing Congress's failure to allocate discrete funding for federally operated schools, pervasive graft and corruption within the Indian Office, and the government's ignorance of Native traditions and societies, Reginald Horsman, Wilbur Jacobs, Loring Benson Priest and Wilcomb Washburn have revealed the frustrating and unsatisfactory attempts made by successive administrations to satisfy both land-hungry settlers and Native Peoples.¹³ Although Congress authorized subsidies for Protestant and Catholic reservation missionaries as a temporary measure for educating Indian Peoples, proponents of assimilation denounced reservations as enclaves that perpetuated

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607 – 1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

¹² For texts of the treaties see Charles J. Kappler (ed), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II* (New York: William S. Hein & Co. Inc., 1995). In *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), Jesuit scholar Francis Paul Prucha analyzes various treaties and their consequences.

¹³ Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942); Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Red Man's Land, White Man's Law, 2nd Ed.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995). A recurring example of the lack of understanding of Native cultures was the assignment of adversaries to the same reservation. In Arizona, for example, the "renegade" San Carlos, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Chiricahua Apaches were placed on the same reservation, despite their long-standing differences. The government attempted to place the Ponca and the Sioux on shared land, believing that the presence of the U.S. Army was sufficient to maintain peace.

tribalism and retarded the inclusion of Native Americans within mainstream society. By 1875, the Indian Office acknowledged that the reservation system as a civilizing mechanism was unsuccessful and altered its policy once again.¹⁴

The Aggressions of Civilization: Federal Indian Policy since the 1880s, compiled and edited by Sandra Cadwalader and Vine Deloria, Jr., offers analyses and criticisms of the goals, problems, and aftermath of the government's revised plans for assimilation while Frederick Hoxie details the federal strategy for ending the "Indian problem" through education, citizenship, and individual land ownership.¹⁵ Congressional actions notwithstanding, the execution of forced cultural integration fell under the purview of the War Department, which engaged in confrontations in the West as well as in Washington, where military leaders sought to regain control of Indian affairs.

Robert Wooster has examined the role of the military in carrying out the inconsistent, and sometimes conflicting, orders set forth by Congress and the Indian Office, and how field officers often interpreted or ignored the commands issued by Washington. In *The Military and the United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903*, Wooster analyzes how the War Department, and the U.S. Army in particular, dealt with the loss of authority in developing Indian policy. The War Department struggled, and failed, to formulate an effective strategy that did not countermand federal directives, and was unable to satisfy simultaneously both western settlers and social reformers.¹⁶ As the Army

¹⁴ See David H. Dejong, *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education* (Golden Colorado: North American Press, 1993). See also, Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Organizations such as the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, the Women's National Indian Association and the Indian Rights Association lobbied the Board of Indian Commissioners to uphold treaty obligations and ensure their continuation.

¹⁵ Sandra Cadwalader and Vine Deloria, Jr. (eds.), *The Aggressions of Civilization, Federal Indian Policy since the 1880s* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1984); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁶ Robert Wooster, *The Military and the United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

grappled with the realities of Indian-White confrontations, Indian-rights advocates and reformers were optimistic that, at long last, Native Peoples would become active members of mainstream America. As Christine Bolt writes, by the end of the 19th century the formulation of American Indian policy was spearheaded, not by supporters of eradication, but by proponents of assimilation.¹⁷ Perhaps one of the most vociferous advocates of such assimilation was Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt.¹⁸

Pratt spent eight years in frontier duty, primarily in Indian Territory, prior to his assignment to oversee Indian prisoners at Ft. Marion (St. Augustine, Florida) in 1875. David Wallace Adams notes that "Pratt liked Indians, but he had little use for Indian cultures," believing that environment shaped a person more than heritage.¹⁹ For three years the Captain worked to acculturate the prisoners by dressing them in discarded Army uniforms, drilling them like soldiers, teaching them English, and instructing them in trades. Brad D. Lookingbill's study of Fort Marion argues that the captives were not pawns in Pratt's zealous attempts at assimilation, but rather masters of adaptability and change.²⁰ Pratt's memoir, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, recalls the willingness of the Indian men to accept the white man's road, and how the success of the Florida experiment led to the creation of the first off-reservation boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Congress endorsed the new school, for the consensus was that "civilizing the Indian was still seen as being ultimately preferable to

¹⁷ Christine Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

¹⁸ Although Pratt was a lieutenant for most of his stay in Florida, and later became a Brigadier General, he is most often referred to as "Captain Pratt." Pratt was born in 1840; he died in 1924.

¹⁹ David Wallace Adams, *The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918* (Ann Arbor, MI: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975), 51-52.

²⁰ Brad D. Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

killing him (if for no other reason than killing Indians was expensive business)."²¹ Further, industrial schools for African Americans, such as the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, presented successful models, which assimilationists argued, demonstrated the importance of education in the Americanizing process.²² Francis Paul Prucha points out that Pratt's Carlisle model led to the establishment of dozens of off-reservation boarding schools which, by 1919, held nearly 11,000 students, while an additional 15,000 attended reservation and mission boarding schools.²³ Although by 1950 most of the federally operated institutions had been abandoned, those American Indians who attended found they were uncomfortable with their past, uncertain of their future, and trapped in a social and cultural limbo.

The ordeal of the boarding school experience left engendered generations of Native Americans with a loss of cultural identity, yet these devastating experiences and results were obscured until the 1970s, when Native and non-Native scholars examined the era from the American Indian perspective.²⁴ More recent scholarship by Brenda Child, Michael Coleman, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, and Robert Trewnert, Jr. continues to reveal deep and disturbing narratives that run counter to the portrayal of the schools as noble attempts to enlighten the unenlightened. Previously silent voices have chronicled the shame, abuse and bewilderment of boarding school life, as well as the resolve, unity,

²¹ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, (Robert M. Utley, Ed.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); Adams, *The Federal Indian Boarding School*, quote p.17.

²² Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt the Red Man's Moses* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935). Eastman's work mirrored the sentiment among many of Pratt's contemporaries.

²³ Francis Paul Prucha, *Atlas of American Indian Affairs* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 158-159. See also *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1919* (House Document No. 409, 66th Congress, 2d session, serial 7706), 156-65.

²⁴ See, for example, Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 3rd edition, 1999).

and rebellion that provided solace.²⁵ Where proponents of assimilation sought to demonstrate the success of boarding schools in civilizing and acculturating Indian children, first-person and archival accounts revealed the failures of the schools to do so.²⁶

While the body of research on federal boarding schools is extensive, little attention has been given to an alternate model – the private boarding school – which functioned outside of the institutional framework established by the government. This model generally, and two schools specifically – the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies and the Mount Hermon Boys School, both in Massachusetts – have been overlooked and unexplored as contributors to the history of American Indian education. For 129 years, Native students have attended the Northfield Schools, founded by Dwight Lyman Moody, one of the 19th century's most noteworthy evangelists.

Over 100 biographies chronicle Moody's evangelical life, most of which are eulogistic or sentimental.²⁷ One of the best of the earlier works, by W. H. Daniels, was written at the height of the evangelist's fame. Daniels concentrates on Moody's ministry, rather than his private life, respecting, as the publisher notes his desire “to escape

²⁵ Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850 – 1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891 – 1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). Not all children went unwillingly. Hopi, Polingaysi Qoyawayma chose to attend the local mission school to be with her friends. However, she was shocked by the punishments inflicted upon her peers and the denigration of her traditional belief system. She continued her education and taught in Tuba City, Arizona. Polingaysi Qoyawayma, [Elizabeth White], *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle To Live in Two Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964).

²⁶ Adams, *The Federal Indian Boarding School*; Michael L. Cooper, *Indian School: Teaching the White Man's Way* (New York: Clarion Books, 1999); Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havinghurst, *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983 [1972]).

²⁷ See, for example, J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Philadelphia: International Publishing Company, 1900); Arthur P. Fitt, *The Life of D.L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973 [1901]).

personal notoriety."²⁸ Daniels's portrait of Moody was derived, in the author's words, "almost entirely from original materials, obtained from first sources, by the author in person; who was, for years, a neighbor of Mr. Moody in Chicago, both before and after the great fire."²⁹ During Moody's lifetime and in the years immediately following his death, scores of anecdotal, and at times inaccurate, biographies focused on aspects of the man and his ministry, but added little to the overall understanding of the evangelist and his work. Moody charged his elder son, William, with the task of writing his life story in order to "correct inaccuracies and misstatements" that Moody himself could not, or would not, rectify. William Moody's narrative is filled with Moody's words and William's remembrances, and remains an invaluable resource for scholars.³⁰ Gamaliel Bradford's 1927 work, *D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls*, has been deemed by contemporary Moody scholar Lyle Dorsett as "the only serious attempt at a psychobiography of Moody," making it "indispensable" in both content and approach.³¹ With the exception of son Paul Moody's memoir, the dozen or so books written in the 1930s in celebration of the 100th anniversary of Moody's birth were superficial and uninspiring, and it was not until the 1960s that Moody's life and work were reevaluated.³²

In 1962, Richard K. Curtis presented, for the first time, Moody as both a public figure and a private man. Although previous works acknowledged the depth of the evangelist's drive and ambition, Curtis addresses the mental and physical stresses in his

²⁸ Rev. W. H. Daniels, A.M., *D. L. Moody and His Work*, (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1876), Publishers Announcement.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Preface.

³⁰ William R. Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody by His Son*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900), 1.

³¹ Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927). Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Life of D. L. Moody: A Passion for Souls* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997), 414.

³² Paul Dwight Moody, *My Father: An Intimate Portrait of Dwight Moody* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938). See, for example, P. Whitwell Wilson, *The Meaning of Moody* (New York: Revell, 1938).

life that caused bouts of exhaustion, depression and, finally, a fatal heart attack.³³ James F. Findlay, Jr.'s 1969 biography, argues that Moody was a product of his time. Findlay details the rise and waning of revivalism and how Moody found satisfaction and reward as a central figure in the movement.³⁴ The most recent effort to summarize Moody and his evangelism is *The Life of D. L. Moody: A Passion for Souls* by Lyle W. Dorsett, the core of which is built upon the thousands of letters written by Moody, his family, friends, colleagues, and supporters on both sides of the Atlantic. Dorsett is the first biographer to have full access to Moody's papers, which are now deposited at the Yale Divinity School.³⁵ Dorsett asserts that Moody was an innovator and visionary whose basic principles of commitment and "biblical passion" are models for today's Christians. But, Dorsett also discloses that Moody was a man with a fiery temper, who had little tolerance for those who did not share his views.³⁶ Historian James Gilbert agrees with Dorsett's assessment, and adds that Moody was often oblivious to the most basic of injustices. Gilbert places the evangelist at the center of missionary efforts during the 1893 Colombian Exposition held in Chicago, and presents Moody as a Christianizing whirlwind, driven by his desire to spread the Gospel. But Gilbert also declares that Moody was out of touch with political and social reality, noting that the evangelist's "social views were only ordinary . . . [and his] answer to unemployment, immigrant adjustment to urban life,

³³ Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody: The Biography of the American Evangelist Who Changed the Climate of Life in the United States and Britain at the End of the 19th Century*, Garden City (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962). John Pollock, *Moody, the Biography* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963) provided additional insight into Moody's personal life. Pollock was the first scholar to have any access to the Moody family papers, and drew upon these and previously untapped primary sources. Although Pollock's work contains no footnotes and a limited bibliography it sheds new light on Moody's life, and contains more than a passing mention of the Northfield Schools.

³⁴ James F. Findlay, Jr.'s *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

³⁵ The "Powell Collection" was closely guarded by Emma Moody Powell, D. L. Moody's granddaughter, and scholars such as James Findlay and Donald Austin Wells were given limited access. After Powell's death the papers were transferred to the Divinity School.

³⁶ Dorsett, *The Life of D. L. Moody: A Passion for Souls*.

and the venality of modern culture lay in individual conversion."³⁷ Moody was driven by his convictions, his thoughts always on the next crusade, the next challenge.³⁸

Moody's impact on Christian and egalitarian education remains one of his greatest achievements, yet this accomplishment is given perfunctory and cursory treatment by his biographers. Only two works are devoted to the Schools: a dissertation by Donald Austin Wells, and Burnham Carter's 1976 study of NMH on its hundredth anniversary.³⁹ Wells analyzes Moody's reasons for establishing the two Northfield Schools and the Moody Bible Institute, how the evangelist achieved his goals, and the academic changes each school underwent, to the time of Moody's death in 1899. Carter provides an overview of Moody's programs at the Northfield Schools, but most of the book is devoted to the roles of the trustees, faculty, and administrators who were responsible for the daily operation of the institutions.

Three other books, although not academic volumes, offer personal views that capture the positive influence of the schools. Alumnus Thomas Coyle's *The Story of Mount Hermon* is a history of the school from its founding to 1905, replete with testimonials from former students who benefited from their Mt. Hermon experience; alumna Janet Mabie's, *The Years Beyond: The Story of Northfield, D. L. Moody and the Schools*, is a memoir of her life on campus, rather than an analysis of either the founder or the institutions; and William Morrow's *Ala-rah, Ala-rah!: A Collection of Writings about Mount Hermon and Northfield Schools*, written at the end of his fifty-seven year career as the Mount Hermon librarian and alumni director is a collection of essays on "how and why

³⁷ James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopia of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 199.

³⁸ Moody often used military terms to describe his life's work, "crusade" being the most common.

³⁹ Donald Austin Wells, "D. L. Moody and His Schools: An Historical Analysis of an Educational Ministry" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1972); Burnham Carter, *So Much to Learn: The History of Northfield Mount Hermon School for the One Hundredth Anniversary*, (Northfield, MA: Northfield Mount Hermon School, 1976). Carter's account is replete with first person accounts, but contains no footnotes.

these schools captured and held" the lives and love of the author and his wife.⁴⁰ Only Coyle writes in detail about Moody, but each author alludes to the evangelist's passion for "his" students. These narratives are both tributes to the caring environment of Northfield and Mount Hermon, which profoundly changed each writer's life, and to the man who established the Schools.

D. L. Moody was a charismatic man, whose formal schooling was both limited and sporadic, equivalent to a fifth-grade education by current standards. Even after he had achieved international fame, he often spoke of his life-long embarrassment with his lack of education. Throughout his travels, he spoke with and saw children who were destined for a life of poverty and ignorance, and he did not want them to suffer as he had. His belief that young women and men needed both life skills and academic training in order to survive in a changing society led him to establish the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies in 1879, and the Mount Hermon Boys School in 1881, as alternatives to the limited career opportunities of farm or factory work available in Western Massachusetts. Moody's goals in establishing the schools were twofold: first and foremost to provide a sound and affordable education for those "whose means could not permit them to attend some of the excellent schools [then] in progress," and, second, to impart to the students the importance of sound Christian principles.⁴¹ Moody envisioned young women, and later young men, graduating from his "opportunity schools" and entering society with the tools to achieve their goals.⁴² What the evangelist did not foresee was how quickly his schools would become culturally diverse.

⁴⁰ Thomas Coyle (ed), *The Story of Mount Hermon* (Mount Hermon, MA: Mount Hermon Alumni Association, 1906); Janet Mabie, *The Years Beyond: The Story of Northfield, D.L. Moody and the Schools* (East Northfield, MA: Northfield Bookstore, 1960); William H. Morrow, *Ala-rah, Ala-rah!: A Collection of Writings about Mount Hermon and Northfield Schools* (Northfield, MA: Northfield Mount Hermon School, 1988). Quote from Preface.

⁴¹ *Prospectus, Northfield Young Ladies' Seminary* (Boston: Frank Wood, Printer, 1878), 1-2.

⁴² The low annual tuition of \$100 allowed poor students the "opportunity" to receive a quality education. NMH is still referred to as an "opportunity school." Over forty-five percent of attendees

In 1880 sixteen young women from the Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Shawnee tribes of Indian Territory entered the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies, inaugurating a long-standing relationship between the schools and Native America. Burnham Carter notes that, by the mid-1970s, NMH, quite unintentionally had become the "principal independent secondary school for Native Americans."⁴³ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Northfield Schools provided what the government schools could not – sound academic preparation for Indian students to join mainstream society rather than remaining on its fringes.

Unlike the federally operated boarding schools which trained students for occupations in manual labor, the Northfield Schools encouraged students to pursue post-secondary education at colleges such as Mt. Holyoke and to enter occupations such as teaching, nursing, business, and government. Also, unlike the federally operated schools, the Northfield institutions did not vilify Native traditions and languages, because Moody believed that American Indians who returned to their homes would better serve their communities (and his evangelical cause) if they preserved their tribal affiliations.

Despite the supportive environment, the schools were not ideal. Their location in the rural Connecticut River Valley meant that Native students were hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles from their homes and families. Even those students who attended missionary or reservation schools prior to matriculation found the transition to Moody's institutions both academically and socially difficult. School days were long and demanding, and studies exhausting; with few, if any, other Indian students with whom to

receive some form of financial aid (2006) and the annual tuition is \$5,000 to \$8,000 less than college preparatory schools of the same caliber.

⁴³ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 219. Other college preparatory schools specifically for American Indian students which were established during the last few years are the He Sapa Leadership Academy (Lakota) on the Rosebud Reservation, the Navajo Preparatory School in Farmington, NM – both of which are tribal specific. The Native American Preparatory School of Rowe, New Mexico was founded in 1995 as an intertribal, privately funded institution but closed in 2002 due to lack of financial support.

share their anxieties, the Native students were also culturally isolated.⁴⁴ Lack of financial resources to return home during semester or summer breaks meant that some Indian students remained at Northfield or Mount Hermon year round, or lived with local families when school was not in session.⁴⁵ Despite these challenges, most Native students persevered.⁴⁶ This study argues that the egalitarian environment and positive cultural immersion provided American Indian students with the tools to bridge Native and mainstream cultures rather than trapping them between the two.

To situate the experiences of the schools' Native students within the larger narrative of American Indian education, Chapter 1 establishes that English colonists and American settlers believed in their God-given right to occupy and own the lands used by America's Indigenous, that Indian Peoples were expected to accept the "culturally superior" lifestyle of the invaders, and that education, culminating in the federal boarding school system, served as an effective tool in undermining Native cultures. Chapter 2 argues that D. L. Moody's lack of formal schooling and zeal to help others led to the establishment of the Northfield Schools, which, by chance rather than design, provided an alternative educational experience for Native students. Unlike Richard Henry Pratt, Moody believed that Indians could integrate tradition with American values. Chapter 3 evaluates the Native students who attended the schools during the formative years through the 1950s, and establishes that Moody's death in 1899 altered and

⁴⁴ The daily routine of the schools included seven hours of classes as well as some form of communal work – a tradition that continues to the present. Native students were not the only attendees who suffered from cultural isolation. Students from China, the Middle East and even England had to adjust to a new life.

⁴⁵ Homesickness was common among all students who could not rejoin their families, but because most Native students lived so far from their homes, they often did not see their relatives for the duration of their time at the Schools.

⁴⁶ The Alumni Office of NMH lists all Native students according to their last year of enrollment or their year of graduation. There is no compilation of actual "graduates." In the first half century many students, both Native and non-Native, often attended for only a year or two. Beginning in the 1970s NMH began offering a one year Transition Year Program (TYP) which prepared students for college, a program which drew dozens of Native students to the School.

eventually diminished connections with Indian Country during the 1930s and 1940s. Chapter 4 shows how those connections were reestablished as a result of the social turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s. The inauguration of Project ABC (A Better Chance) led to the active recruitment and enrollment of minority students from inner city schools, as well as both urban and reservation American Indians. Many of the latter syncretized their Northfield experience with their cultures and used their newly acquired academic skills to advance Native causes. The Epilogue discusses the constants and the changes that occurred at NMH during the 1990s and into the new century, but it also brings home the argument that Native American students who attended NMH had the tools to bridge two cultures. This small addition to the history of American Indian education opens a new window, one that should remain open for further study.

The story of American Indian students at D. L. Moody's schools and the history of American Indian education remain incomplete, because the narratives continue, and the methods of education have dramatically changed. Secular and federally controlled education that was once grounded in the acceptance of the mores and religion of the dominant culture has given way to tribally operated schools, colleges, and universities that honor Native traditions, language, dress, and belief systems, and instill in their students the value of their heritage. The power to direct their own programs provides Indian educators with a new avenue for cultural reinforcement, a road paved with the suffering of those who endured the federal boarding school system. Some Native graduates of the Northfield Schools are the teachers, administrators, and staff who guide America's Indian youth along this path, making sure the sufferings are not repeated and helping them negotiate the obstacles of two worlds.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONVERSION AND EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICA: ENGLISH DOMINION TO AMERICANIZATION

Five years after Christopher Columbus happened upon the islands of the Caribbean, Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) landed in eastern Canada and laid claim to the territory in the name of Henry VII of England. Like the Spanish before and the French who followed, the English held that their rights to the land were grounded in the Papal decrees of Popes Innocent VIII and Alexander VI, and that their mission was "the propagation of the orthodox faith, the increase of the Christian religion, the salvation of the barbarian nations, and the repression of infidels, and their conversion to the faith."¹ The Western Hemisphere was an impediment to the European quest for a westerly route to the mercantile riches of India and the Far East, but it was a "New World," there for the taking, and Rome and its adventuresome Christian princes expected to share in both its natural dividends and the spoils of conquest. As the Spanish reaped gold and silver and the French acquired pelts and furs, the English exploited the abundantly fertile lands, lands in which their roots held firm. Only the settlers' naiveté about the hardships of colonial life exceeded their disdain for Native Peoples and their customs.

As readily as the newcomers accepted the generosity and assistance of the "savages," they took over Indian lands for tobacco plantations in the South and family farms in the Northeast. Declaring that America was their new home, the expanding English population reshaped established Indian territories into settlements and centers of commerce. The invaders viewed Native Peoples as nuisances who failed to exploit the land, as hindrances to private enterprise, and as culturally inferior beings who had to be

¹ From Innocent VIII's *The Bull of Grenada* in W. Eugene Shiels, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961), 9.

civilized or eradicated, and although each European conqueror irrevocably changed Indian societies, the English, as the ultimate victors in the war for control of North America, wielded the greatest long-term influence on the lives and cultures of America's Indigenous Peoples. Their attitude of pre-eminence dominated social and political actions toward American Indians for nearly 400 years, during which time Native Peoples fell victim to cultural genocide in order that they might be formed into mainstream citizens. Notwithstanding the sincerity of those non-Indians who sought to "help" the "noble savage," such support was directed at, not in consultation with, Native Peoples. "Education" was one hallmark of the transformation.

English Settlement and Native Subjugation

On April 10, 1606 James I issued *The First Charter of Virginia*, granting to the London Company the land "between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude;" to the Plymouth Company the area "eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude amongst the said Coasts of Virginia and America."² The *Charter* declared that the Company had rights

... to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our People into that part of America commonly called VIRGINIA, and other parts and Territories in America . . . and graciously accepting of their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a work . . . in propagating of Christian Religion to such People . . . and in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those parts, to human Civility . . .³

Bringing the "Infidels and Savages to human Civility" was important to James I, but so was his treasury. The *Charter* also granted the rights to mine for precious metals in the defined borders as well as the vaguely stated "other parts and Territories in America." The members of the Virginia Company were sure that the granted area would yield gold,

² Benjamin Poore, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the United States, Part II, 2nd ed.* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1878, 1888).

³ *Ibid.*

silver, and copper deposits, as other regions had for the Spanish. Civilizing the Indigenous was not their objective; they were entrepreneurs, not missionaries.

Of the 104 male passengers who departed in December 1606 aboard the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery* approximately one third were "gentlemen," who knew little about the difficulties of a trans-Atlantic crossing, less about social equality, and nothing about self-sufficiency.⁴ The expedition leader, Captain John Smith, was a seasoned and disciplined military veteran who found the gentlemen to be intolerable elitists. Smith resented their affected demeanor, mocked their lack of practical skills, and ignored their expectations of deferential bearing from the "commoners."⁵ The crossing was unpleasant, but when the three ships entered the newly named James River in April 1607 and the passengers disembarked at the site of Cape Henry, they were awed by their surroundings. Smith later wrote that the lands were "the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation; were it fully matured by industrious people."⁶

The colonists regarded the region as a sanctuary from Spanish attacks, but failed to consider their safety from local inhabitants.⁷ On the first day of exploration a small

⁴ Over half of the settlers were gentlemen and their servants who were unaccustomed to physical labor, the rest were indentured laborers who pledged five to seven years of servitude in exchange for a one-way ticket to Virginia and a share in the profits of the colony.

⁵ See for example, David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 25-29. The embodiment of all that Smith despised in the upper class was the investor Edward Maria Wingfield, who found the crossing particularly wearisome and discomfoting and felt that Smith and his orders were unreasonable. Throughout most of the four-month journey the two vehemently quarreled, resulting in the arrest and confinement of Smith to his cabin on trumped up charges of plotting an insurrection.

⁶ Philip L. Barbour (ed), *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith: 1580-1631* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Volume 2), 101. Smith wrote this description in 1624, but his alluding to the land as unused was a European misconception based on ignorance of Indian cultures. Explorers and colonists were accustomed to small farm lots and large populations in England; the vastness of America was considered an opportunity for exploitation and development.

⁷ The propaganda generated by the two Richard Hakluyt's described Virginia in idyllic terms and although the colonists were aware of the previous loss of lives through confrontations with the Native inhabitants they also knew of the friendliness and generosity shown to their predecessors.

band of Paspahegh attacked and injured two of the settlers. While John Smith believed that the English would eventually subjugate the Native Peoples, he also clearly understood the urgency in establishing sound political and trade relationships. With more than 20,000 Algonquians under the control of the feared and respected head werowance, Powhatan, the settlers were vastly outnumbered; with the new arrivals' inability to feed themselves, Native game, fish, and corn were essential for existence.⁸ While the laborers built Jamestown and the gentlemen searched for gold and silver, Smith sought out the colony's Indian neighbors. The Captain's practicality and the Indians' cooperation provided ample supplies, but dysentery and fever killed more than half of the new arrivals; had Smith not successfully bartered for food it is likely that remaining settlers would have died from starvation.⁹

Despite the inauspicious beginning of England's first permanent settlement in North America, the propaganda issued by the Virginia Company spewed forth, promising land ownership and opportunities for riches and a better life. By 1622 over 10,000 men, women, and children had traveled to the Chesapeake area, and although nearly eighty percent of the colonists died during the same period, and wars between the Indians and the settlers were bloody and numerous, the influx continued.¹⁰ To the north, Separatists from the Church of England arrived on the coast of present-day Massachusetts in search of a religious and economic haven.

⁸ Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion & Civility: English Imperialism & Native America, 1585-1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 55. The reliance on the generosity of the Natives proved life saving. See Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 61-87.

⁹ Jamestown was badly situated. Not only was the site dangerously close to a mosquito-infested swamp, but also the settlers failed to dig a well for fresh water, relying instead on the brackish river water for drinking and cooking.

¹⁰ Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 2001), 129-31. The most costly confrontation was in 1622 when 350 colonists were killed by members of the Powhatan Confederacy. In the same year James I revoked the Virginia Company's Charter, making Jamestown a royal colony.

In September 1620, 102 men, women, and children departed Plymouth, England, bound for the northern limits of the Virginia Company's patent land, "some place about Hudson's River."¹¹ Crammed into the *Mayflower* were 50 or 60 Pilgrim Separatists; "strangers" and crew comprised the balance.¹² The turbulence during the two-month crossing blew the ship off course, directing the vessel to the shores of Cape Cod and present-day Provincetown.¹³ It was November, and the sick and exhausted voyagers wanted no more of sea travel, but they did not wish to stay on the sandy beaches and scrub land of the upper Cape. On December 8 an exploratory party of fifteen men "saw some ten or twelve Indians very busy with something," and shortly after sunrise the following morning the Englishmen repelled an Indian attack with musket shots, gave thanks for their lives, and continued to the protected location, which they named Plymouth. The men returned to the *Mayflower*, reported their findings and on December 16 "they arrived safe in [Plymouth] harbor." The construction of the first house "for common use" began on December 25th, but severe weather and the ill health of many colonists prevented the building of no more than a few one-room cottages. Although the colonists managed to stay alive by catching fish and seals, and by hunting wild fowl and deer, "scurvy and other diseases" reduced the band by 30 or 40 by the end of February 1621, and by March another ten had died.¹⁴

The following month brought both spring and the English-speaking Samoset, an Algonquian from Maine, to Plymouth Plantation. Within several weeks, Samoset engaged the help of another Algonquian, Tisquantum (Squanto), who spoke better

¹¹ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 60.

¹² The Separatists referred to those outside of their sect as "strangers."

¹³ The colonists realized their landfall was beyond the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, and to ensure social order the men drew up the *Mayflower Compact*, a set of rules agreed upon by the male passengers, who elected John Carver their Governor.

¹⁴ Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 68-76. The explorers named the area "First Encounter" beach.

English than he, to broker a peace treaty between the colonists and the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit, on whose land the English had settled.¹⁵ Tisquantum also taught the settlers the proper way to plant corn, to fish, and to hunt, and the colonists' willingness to work reaped results. The Governor of Plymouth Colony, William Bradford, wrote that in 1621

[a]ll the summer there was no want; and now began to come in store of fowl, as winter approached, of which this place did abound . . . besides waterfowl there was great store of wild turkey, of which they took many, besides venison, etc. Besides they had about a peck of meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indian corn to that proportion.¹⁶

The bounty for the settlers had its costs for the Native Peoples, as the English consumed more and greater tracts of acreage for agriculture and animal husbandry. The industrious colonists felled centuries-old trees which found their way to England as ships' masts, hewed smaller growth into lumber for new construction, and burned limbs and roots for potash, another lucrative export. Fences surrounded crops to safeguard them from roaming cattle, hogs, and sheep, while the open and unprotected Indian fields of corn, beans, and squash – the winter provisions for the Natives – were trampled by the wandering farm animals. Even when erosion washed away valuable topsoil, there was little concern for the devastation, because the settlers' perception of America was of a place of limitless abundance.¹⁷ The damage to the honored earth and the persistent encroachment by the invaders became a source of friction and discord in

¹⁵ Tisquantum had been captured, perhaps by Captain George Weymouth in 1605, and was brought to England where he lived with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who taught him English. Although Squanto returned to New England in 1614 and 1618 it was not until 1619 that he returned to stay. Tisquantum was a member of the Patuxet tribe, which had been decimated by the 1616-1619 epidemic, so he joined the Pokanokets, a branch of the larger Wampanoag tribe. The treaty between the colonists and Massasoit served as a benchmark for relations for nearly 50 years and although skirmishes were not uncommon, the treaty proved useful in the resolution of some disputes. When Massasoit's son Metacom (King Philip) became the leader of the Wampanoag Confederacy relations with the settlers were strained. King Philip's war took place during the years 1675-1676, and although hundreds of settlers were killed, the English prevailed.

¹⁶ Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 90.

¹⁷ See William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983).

both New England and Virginia, yet the English viewed the small Indian villages, with their conservative and efficient farming techniques, as validation that the regions were *vacuum domicilium* and therefore available for cultivation and exploitation.¹⁸ Adding to the new colonies' anxieties was the directive from England to civilize the savages. Margaret Connell Szasz points out that

[i]n early Stuart England, Christianization and civilization (or civility) were mutually interdependent and when these concepts were applied to the Indians they often came under the general rubric of "education." [Moreover] [t]hroughout the early years of the Virginia colony, its official promoters in England urged that Indian youth be educated.¹⁹

The Virginia Council suggested that the most effective method of educating the Indians was to capture the children to be raised by English colonial families, but in the first decade of colonization the English were more concerned about survival than civilizing the Native inhabitants. By 1619, as Jamestown and the Chesapeake settlements stabilized, support arose on both sides of the Atlantic to establish a school and a college for Indian students, but the endeavors failed. Misappropriation of donated funds, Native indifference to English education, and the devastating 1622 attack by the Powhatan Confederacy leader, Opechancanough, quashed enthusiasm for the projects.²⁰ It was

¹⁸ William S. Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," *The New England Quarterly*, 52(2), June 1979), 197. Neal Salisbury notes that the doctrine of *vacuum domicilium* emerged in the second decade of the 1600s which sanctioned the taking of unused land for development. In *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 176-77.

¹⁹ Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607 – 1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 53.

²⁰ Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642-2004, Sixth Edition* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005), 25. Henrico College was to be an all-Indian school supplied with students from the proposed East Indian School. Spring states that the Virginia Company and Massachusetts Bay Company "would collect money for missionary work and divert the money to other purposes. In 1615 and 1617, the Church of England collected money in all of its parishes in England for the establishment of . . . Henrico. But the Virginia Company kept diverting the collected funds to other projects. . . Consequently, the college was never built." Francis Jennings, *Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 247 asserts that the early promoters of Indian education in New England diverted funds for purchases of "arms and ammunition" and on "the construction of the grandest edifice of Massachusetts's newly founded Harvard College." On March 22, 1622 the Powhatans attacked and killed 347 colonists, sparking twelve years of skirmishes and numerous deaths. See also Helen C. Roundtree,

another seven decades before the College of William and Mary and its Indian School opened in 1693, but Native parents were reluctant to relinquish their children to the English. Although the Indian School remained open until 1777, no more than ten Native youths attended at one time.²¹

Attempts to educate, civilize, assimilate, or Christianize the Peoples were unorganized and sporadic throughout the Chesapeake, where "[t]he persistent lack of basic schooling continued to be a dilemma for Virginia youth," not just Indian children.²² Whereas Spanish and French endeavors at conversion and education were spearheaded by Rome and implemented by the Jesuits, Franciscans or Dominicans, English efforts were advocated by the Monarchy and conducted by individual clerics or by families.²³ Even in New England where education equaled salvation and literacy was the highest of all the colonies, civilizing Indian Peoples was not a priority until the 1640s, when economic hardship within the Massachusetts Bay Colony jeopardized the recently founded Harvard College (1636).

Harvard was established only secondarily for the education of "promising" Native men, and while the majority of the student body was non-Indian, without sustained financial support there would be no school. To obtain the necessary resources for continued operation, the Reverends Thomas Weld and Hugh Peter departed for England

Pocahontas, Powhatan and Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

²¹ *The History of the College of William and Mary from Its Foundation, 1660 to 1874* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph and English, 1874), 46-47. Those Indian parents who could, substituted captured enemies in lieu of sending their beloved children to the Indian School (which was no more than a grammar school). Students were often coerced to attend, particularly during times of Indian-colonial conflict.

²² Szasz, *Indian Education*, 66.

²³ *Ibid.*, 64. The Catholic colony of Delaware fared no better than its Protestant counterparts. Conversion and education was fruitless. The efforts of the Jesuits Roger Rigbie and Andrew White who lived among and traveled with the Algonquians from 1634-1644 produced few true converts to Catholicism. Within the next century most of the Native Peoples had migrated to other locations, leaving the Chesapeake Bay colony to the invaders.

in 1643 on a fundraising campaign, during which they stressed the importance of Harvard's role in educating and civilizing Native men. The response was immediate and Weld received £355 for Indian education, but neither the students nor the College benefited. Weld diverted the funds to other "necessities," including the "expenses of 'transportation' of poor children to New England; i.e. the delivery of orphans into indentured servitude."²⁴ While the solicitations continued, other attempts at converting the Indians also received generous backing.

The missionary efforts of the Reverends Thomas Mayhew Sr. and Jr. among the Wampanoag of Martha's Vineyard, and the establishment of "Praying Towns" by the Reverend John Eliot received Parliamentary funding. Largely through the labors of Eliot, Parliament, in 1649, chartered the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to New England, a London-based corporation which conducted fund-raising campaigns for Indian education. The New England Company, as it was known after 1770, was designed to ensure that donations would be used only for Indian conversion and education, and that missionaries received compensation.²⁵ In 1653, the Company provided funds for the construction of a small brick building at Harvard, known as the Indian College, and in 1663 it raised money for the printing of "fifteen-hundred copies of the Indian Bible in the Massachusetts dialect of the Algonquian language at Harvard." The Indian College was a failure, and the building was razed in 1698, but the work of the missionaries continued.²⁶

The dedication of the early clergy, as well as that of the later ministers Richard Bourne, John Cotton, and Cotton Mather, was as earnest as their beliefs that Indian

²⁴ Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 233 notes that Weld was later cleared of any misappropriation.

²⁵ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 103-106,

²⁶ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 27.

Peoples were barbaric, if not satanic, and their cultures irredeemable.²⁷ Each steadfastly advanced the notion that religion and civilization were interwoven, and that, without acceptance of the Christian God, Native Peoples could not be civilized.²⁸ For these men, there was no compromise: religious conversion required cultural adaptation.²⁹ As the colonial population increased and Indigenous influence waned, some Native Peoples placated the missionaries with outward acceptance of English dress, housing, mannerisms, and religions while surreptitiously retaining important aspects of their cultures. Others were true converts.³⁰ During the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, "hell-fire and brimstone" itinerant preachers and ministers such as George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards promoted widespread and concerted missionary efforts among Native Peoples. In Connecticut, Eleazar Wheelock (1711-1779) declared his two missionary goals were "to save the Indians from themselves and to save the English from the Indians. The best way to accomplish both was, as he stated so facilely, to turn the Indians into Englishmen."³¹

In 1743 the Mohegan, Samson Occom (1723-1792), visited the Reverend Wheelock at his home. By the age of 20, Occom had abandoned his "heathen" beliefs, converted to Christianity, taught himself to read the New Testament, and then sought to

²⁷ David S. Lovejoy, "Satanizing the American Indian," *New England Quarterly*, 63(4), December 1994, 603-21.

²⁸ David J. Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 62 (2), April 2005, 141-74. Harold W. Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal of the Praying Indians: Acculturation, Conversion, and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1646-1730," *The New England Quarterly*, 63(3), September, 1990, 396-424. Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 31(1), January, 1974, 27-54. Norman Earl Tanis, "Education in John Eliot's Indian Utopias, 1646-1675," *History of Education Quarterly*, 10(3), Autumn 1970, 308-323.

²⁹ Spring, *The American School*, 43.

³⁰ Elise M. Brenner, "To Pray or to Be Prey: That is the Question. Strategies for Cultural Autonomy of Massachusetts Praying Town Indians," *Ethnohistory*, 27(2) Spring 1980, 135-52.

³¹ James Axtell. *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 97.

further his formal education.³² Eleazar Wheelock welcomed Occom, for he saw within him the perfect candidate for his Grand Design of educating and training Native ministers to work among various Indian nations and tribes. Occom later wrote of Wheelock that "he received me with kindness & compassion, & instead of staying a Fortnight or 3 weeks, I spent 4 years with him," during which time he improved his English and studied Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.³³ Occom's academic abilities encouraged Wheelock to establish one of America's first co-educational Indian boarding schools, in 1754. At Moor's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, Wheelock's Lenape (Delaware), New England Algonquians and Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) charges followed a curriculum of temporal and religious studies that the Reverend believed would afford his male students a worthy vocation in proselytizing their pagan brethren, and his young women with practical domestic skills. Wheelock reasoned that a boarding school best suited Indian students by separating them from their families, thus assuring they would be "away from demoralizing influences."³⁴ Although attendees included notables such as the Mohawk Joseph Brandt, Samson Occom remains the most distinguished of Wheelock's graduates; not only was he an effective preacher among Native Peoples, but also he was a successful fundraiser.³⁵

In 1765, Wheelock called upon Samson and the Presbyterian minister Nathaniel Whitaker to travel to Great Britain to plead for the cause of Native conversion and education in the colonies. For two years the men toured England, Scotland, and Ireland,

³² W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, [reprint of 1899 text]), 34-36).

³³ Quoted in Love, *Samson Occom*, *Ibid.*, 36.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁵ Barnd C. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 66. At the termination of his lessons with Wheelock, Occom was forced to accept a position as a schoolmaster among the Montauk of Long Island, but his abilities as a teacher drew him into the additional roles of "minister, healer, scribe, counselor and ceremonial host – in short, assuming many of the responsibilities ascribed to sachems."

and Occom alone delivered several hundred sermons, surpassing Whitaker in notoriety and raising thousands of pounds. The Mohegan's access to elite society and the respect he received from King George III and the Earl of Dartmouth was unlike his limited acceptance in America. The London press made much of Occom, following and reporting on his itinerary and social activities. When Whitaker and Occom returned home with over £11,000 for the advancement of Native education and the Indian Charity School, Occom was displeased with Wheelock, who had failed in his promise to support Samson's family while he was abroad.³⁶ The disappointment escalated. In 1769, the same year Wheelock founded Dartmouth College at Hanover, New Hampshire, the Reverend redirected the donations Occom had secured toward the education of non-Indian students. When the Reverend relocated the Charity School to the Dartmouth grounds in 1770, the ratio of Anglo to Indian students increased dramatically, which convinced Occom that Wheelock was misappropriating the educational funds he had worked so hard to deliver. His bitter and accusatory letter to Wheelock stated, in part, that

I think your College has too much Worked by Grandeur for the Poor Indians, they'll never have much benefit of it, - In so Saying I speak the general Sentiment of Indians and English too in these parts. So many of your Missionaries and School masters and Indian Scholars Leaving you and your Service Confirms me in this opinion - your having so many White Scholars and so few or no Indian Scholars, gives me great Discouragement I verily thought once that your Institution was Intended Purely for the poor Indians. . . ³⁷

³⁶ Occom and Whitaker collected over £12,000 but used £1,000 for living expenses, yet while they were away Occom's wife wrote that she and the children were destitute, having received none of the financial support promised by Wheelock.

³⁷ Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 78-79. Wheelock did not directly respond to Occom but used *Wheelock's Narrative* to argue that the diversion of funds ultimately benefited the Indians by providing them with educated white missionaries. See Love, *Samson Occom*, 159.

The school operated from 1770 to 1785, 1800 to 1829, and 1837 to 1850, when it finally closed. As Bernd Peyer states, "Wheelock was quite adept at tapping the 'missionary racket.'"³⁸

Embittered by the duplicity of Anglo-Protestants, Occom left New England in the spring of 1775 for Oneida territory, where he negotiated a land deal for the site of the Brotherton community of Christian Indians and assisted in the founding of the first Indian Presbyterian Church and the first school in 1788.³⁹ Occom died in 1792, having spent his final years serving the Native residents of both Brotherton and New Stockbridge, New York, and working to thwart non-Native advancement upon their lands.⁴⁰

Americanizing Native Peoples: Governmental Ineptitude and Reformers' Zeal

Under the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the British relinquished control of the former colonies to the United States of America and set the boundaries of the country as the Mississippi River to the west, the Great Lakes to the north, the Atlantic Ocean to the east, and Georgia to the south. Nowhere in the ten articles was provision made for the Native Peoples who still occupied these lands.⁴¹ Further, because the treaty failed to acknowledge those who had supported Great Britain during the eight-year struggle, the United States remained officially at war with several Indian Nations. The new and fledgling American government was already burdened with huge debts, but the obligation of providing land to veterans, as well as the restless and growing population,

³⁸ Ibid., 79. See also Stacy Hogsett, "The Tawnee Family: The Life Course of Indian Value Adaptation for Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Scholars" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1998).

³⁹ Love, *Samson Occom*, 277.

⁴⁰ The community of New Stockbridge was founded by the relocated Christian Indians of Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

⁴¹ The Treaty of Paris can be found in *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949* (Department of State Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968, volume 12), 8-12. Article 2 of the Treaty is specific regarding the northern boundary; I have used "Great Lakes" for simplicity.

made the "Indian problem" a prominent issue. With inadequate funds and a depleted standing army, the President and Congress understood they were in no position to engage in costly confrontations. To avoid conflict, to acquire legal rights to Indian territories, and to provide land for additional settlement, Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, authorized immediate negotiations with numerous Indian tribes.⁴² The treaties with the Six Nations (1784), the Wyandot, Etc. (1785), the Cherokee (1785), the Choctaw (1786), the Chickasaw (1786), and the Shawnee (1786) each contained much the same verbiage: deliverance of hostages taken during the War, assurance that lands not ceded would be secure from white encroachment, boundaries of the retained area, compensation for sold lands, and the acknowledgement that the tribe or nation was under the protection of the United States "and of no other sovereign whatsoever."⁴³

Senate ratification of the treaties and the subsequent passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 did more to contain the Native Peoples than to restrain settlement on protected Indian lands. George Washington held that the key to avoiding repeated conflicts was to acculturate the 125,000 members of the 85 tribes who lived east of the Mississippi by teaching them English, making them farmers, and dividing their land among them in severalty.⁴⁴ The task of restructuring Native societies fell to the missionaries who worked among the Peoples, but limited federal appropriations during both the Washington and Adams administrations, did not generate widespread results. When Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809) declared his vision for America as a country of

⁴² Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, Unabridged Volumes I & II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) 43.

⁴³ The full texts of the treaties are located in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., Vol. II), 5-18.

⁴⁴ William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994, 2). See also Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 53-65.

yeoman farmers, he further stressed that American Indians would sell their hunting grounds as they, too, became tied to agriculture and land ownership.⁴⁵

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 doubled the size of the United States, but along with the new territory came the additional pressure of establishing peace with Western Indian Peoples. The Jefferson administration entered into no fewer than 30 treaties, the majority of which were with the "Civilized Tribes" of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokees, and Creeks, who relinquished large tracts of ancestral territory to the government, and thus to white settlement.⁴⁶ A few treaties identified explicit funding to accelerate acculturation, including the 1803 agreement with the Kaskaskia, who received an annuity of \$100 for a Catholic priest and \$300 for the construction of a church, and the 1804 treaty with the Delawares who were promised "an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, . . . to be exclusively appropriated to the purpose of ameliorating their condition and promoting their civilization." The majority of the agreements, however, provided "domestic animals, and implements of husbandry" as the means of reshaping hunters into farmers.⁴⁷

The Civilization Fund Act of 1819 and the subsequent policies of the Monroe administration (1817-1825) provided additional financial support for religious and educational plans for Native "advancement," while inadvertently fostering competition among the various Protestant sects for the limited Congressionally-appropriated funds allocated for school construction and teacher maintenance. Among the Civilized Tribes, acculturation equaled adaptation to the Jeffersonian ideal, as allotted acreage became cotton farms, and churches, schools, and towns emerged from communal

⁴⁵ Spring, *The American School*, 116.

⁴⁶ The tribes were pronounced "civilized" because many members embraced Christianity, the English language, and capitalism.

⁴⁷ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 67-68 and 70 respectively. See also Treaty with the Piankeshaw, 1804, 72 and Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, 1804, 75.

holdings. But not all tribal members acquiesced.⁴⁸ Adherents of the traditional way of life loudly opposed cultural submission, but the progressive constituents were those who signed the treaties. Tribal governments that once operated by consensus now functioned by majority.

At the conclusion of the negotiations of the 1825 Treaty with the Choctaw, the mixed-blood tribal leaders asked that the \$6,000 annuity they would receive from ceding additional acreage be used for the building of a school "outside the Choctaw Nation, where the influence of white civilization would be stronger."⁴⁹ The Superintendent of the Office of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKenney, was encouraged by, if not jubilant at, the request, for it validated his position that Indians could be civilized, and that education was the apposite transformative vehicle.⁵⁰ Although a number of mission schools emerged within Choctaw holdings in present day Mississippi and Arkansas under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, parents either permitted only occasional attendance or simply refused to send their children to classes.⁵¹ Further compounding the ineffectiveness of the missionaries and their educational endeavors was the battle for educational control between the American Board and the Choctaw headman Mushulatubbee.⁵²

⁴⁸ In 1819 Spain ceded Florida to the United States bringing the Seminole Nation into the fold of the Civilized Tribes. The Seminoles were Creeks who had moved south during Spanish occupation and evolved into a separate tribe around 1775.

⁴⁹ Prucha, *Great Father*, 153.

⁵⁰ Thomas McKenney had been the superintendent of Indian trade for the factory trading system which ceased in 1822. In 1824 he was named the first Superintendent of the Office of Indian Affairs.

⁵¹ See Clara Sue Kidwell, *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818-1918* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 98. There were eight mission schools within Choctaw land holdings by the end of 1824 in Elliot, Bethel, Mayhew, Aikhunna, Captain Harrison's (near Puckshanubbee's home) and Captain Charles Juzan's (near Pushmataha's home).

⁵² The Choctaw Nation was divided into three districts: the Western District, led by Puckshanubbee, then Robert Cole, the Southern District led by Pushmataha, then Tapenahomah, and the Northeastern District, led by Mushulatubbee. *Ibid.*, 92-101.

Mushulatubbee, who permitted missionary instruction in his home, became increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of education dispensed by the Methodist teachers, who emphasized Christian morals and salvation rather than lessons in arithmetic, English grammar, and reading. The American Board asserted that the Choctaws of the neighborhood spent more time drinking than heeding the missionaries' Christian messages and ordered the closing of the Mushulatubbee School. The headman was so enraged with the action of the Board that he and other leaders approached the Choctaw Indian Agent, William Ward, to find an alternative educational facility.⁵³ Ward contacted his brother-in-law, Richard Mentor Johnson, a Baptist community leader, military veteran, and politician who agreed to establish a school on his property in Scott County, Kentucky and to feed, house, and clothe each student for \$200 per year.⁵⁴ Johnson hired a headmaster, who assembled a teaching staff, and on November 1, 1825 the Choctaw Academy admitted 36 students, ten of whom were non-tribal members. Mushulatubbee placed great faith in the school because he wanted the young Choctaw men "to learn practical mechanical and economic skills that would prepare them to deal with white society" and he also found satisfaction in breaking from the American Board.⁵⁵ Because the Academy received its funding from the tribal annuity set out in the 1825 treaty, Thomas McKenney oversaw most of the administrative details, including the length of the academic day, the curriculum, regulations, and the school's status as a preparatory institution for the tribe's

⁵³ The closing of the school was a direct challenge to the power of Mushulatubbee who felt it was his right to determine what should be taught in the schools of his district.

⁵⁴ Johnson claimed to have killed Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames in 1813, which afforded him a degree of notoriety, but by 1825 the future Vice President under Martin Van Buren was deeply in debt. In addition to the income from the Choctaw annuity, Johnson received money from the Civilization Fund for Indian students outside of the tribe.

⁵⁵ Kidwell, *Choctaws and Missionaries*, 102. Mushulatubbee believed that by understanding the nuances of White society his people would be intellectually armed to successfully play the "White man's game."

future leadership.⁵⁶

As a steadfast supporter of Indian education, McKenney was dismayed by repeated Congressional rejection for increasing the \$10,000 annual appropriation to the Civilization Fund.⁵⁷ In 1824 there were 32 schools for the education of 916 American Indian children; by 1830 the student population was 1,512 serviced by 52 facilities – a fraction of possible enrollees. McKenney's solution to hastening the civilizing process was to transport students from throughout the West to the Choctaw Academy, which he envisioned as the federal government's central Indian educational institution.⁵⁸ He advanced the notion that the school was a viable solution in accelerating the positive effects of education, and he encouraged Indian Office personnel "to convince tribes under their jurisdiction to use their annuities to send students to the Choctaw Academy."⁵⁹ While McKenney asserted that the Academy would benefit Indian youth, few Native parents permitted their children to travel to and live in Kentucky. The 1829 school roster listed 90 enrolled students – 55 Choctaws, 25 Creeks, ten Potawatomis and one Shawnee whose admittance was contingent on the payment of his tuition; the 1832 register named 114 young men – three Creeks, sixteen Potawatomis, ten Miami, eight Seminoles, four Quapaw, nine "Prairie du Chien," and the remainder Choctaw – a far cry from McKenney's model.⁶⁰ The failure of the Academy to attract students from Indian

⁵⁶ The curriculum of the school included geography, astronomy, practical surveying, and bookkeeping. Kidwell, *Choctaws and Missionaries*, 101. See also: Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 250-51.

⁵⁷ Herman J. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney Architect of America's Early Indian Policy: 1816-1830* (Chicago: Sage Books, 1974), 105-10. McKenney waged an annual battle for Congressional appropriations. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs he repeatedly faced a shortfall for his department which, in part, can be attributed to political wrangling.

⁵⁸ Satz, *American Indian Policy*, 250.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁶⁰ In *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 6(4), December 1928, Oklahoma Historical Society, 471-75. The term "Prairie du Chien" probably refers to Indian Peoples of present-day Michigan and Wisconsin and the Northern Plains, who signed treaties at Prairie du Chien in Michigan Territory. The non-Choctaw tribal members came from Indian Territory/Oklahoma where they had been "resettled."

Country, as well as the accusations by the Democrats of graft, waste, and inefficiency within the Indian Office, were among the failures which fell upon the Superintendent. McKenney's disagreements with president-elect Andrew Jackson (1829-1837) about Indian policy did little to ensure that he would remain in office.⁶¹ When Jackson terminated McKenney in August 1830, the former Superintendent was still advocating the voluntary removal of Indian Peoples to west of the Mississippi, away from the influence of alcohol and protected from unscrupulous white land speculators and cheats. What McKenney promoted, Jackson accomplished through the Indian Removal Act of 1830.⁶²

The Act forced thousands of members of the Civilized Tribes to leave their lush ancestral lands, their farms, and their communities for the wasteland of Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma.⁶³ But, the resiliency and adaptability of Native Peoples once again prevailed. The Cherokees divided their new lands into eight tribal districts for ease of management, and within the communities of Choctaw, Creeks, and Chickasaw tribal governments, churches and schools galvanized the displaced Peoples.⁶⁴ Of the 32 Indian tribes that were ultimately resettled in or relocated to Indian Territory/Oklahoma the Choctaw and Cherokee were the first to institute sophisticated bilingual school systems, whose graduates often attended eastern colleges.

By 1832, the Choctaw had established the Wheelock Academy in Towson

⁶¹ Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney*, 115.

⁶² "An Act to provide for the exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi" took effect on May 28, 1830. Within the Act was an appropriation of \$500,000 to achieve the voluntary or forced removal of Indian Peoples to Indian Territory/Oklahoma and for the purchase of new lands on which they were to reside. 21st Congress, 1st Session, Chapter 148, 1830.

⁶³ Each of the member nations of the Five Civilized Tribes experienced varying degrees of persecution by the Jackson administration. In addition to Grant Foreman's, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972 [1932]), see Sean Michael O'Brien, *In Bitterness and in Tears: Andrew Jackson's Destruction of the Creeks and Seminoles* (Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003). Several histories of the removals are included in the bibliography.

⁶⁴ The Seminoles were the last of the Civilized Tribes to be removed. See Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* for details of the exodus.

County, and within seven years, this mission boarding school for girls became the first Choctaw National Academy, setting "the precedent for over thirty academies and seminaries maintained in Indian Territory."⁶⁵ The school day consisted of five hours of academic studies and four hours of courses in domestic skills.⁶⁶ In 1842 the Choctaw began their comprehensive school system, and within two years the Nation established the Ft. Coffee Academy for boys near Ft. Coffee (1843), Spencer Academy for boys near Ft. Towson, and the New Hope Academy for girls near Skullyville (both in 1844). Many of the teachers were tribal members who taught in both English and Choctaw, and, by the end of the century, all instructors were required to be college or normal-school graduates capable of teaching in two modern languages other than English. To secure enrollment, the Nation enacted a compulsory attendance law in 1889.⁶⁷

For the Cherokees too, literacy and education remained an essential element of their transplanted culture.⁶⁸ Replacing the mission and tribally run schools the Cherokee left behind in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, were eleven new common schools spread among the eight political districts in Indian Territory. By 1852 there were 21 institutions teaching approximately 1,100 students. The bilingual literacy of the Cherokees was close to 100 percent, and their school system surpassed Anglo

⁶⁵ Presbyterian missionaries Alfred and Harriet Wright, who had traveled west with the Choctaw, helped in the founding of the school, which was named for Eleazar Wheelock. The institution was also known as the Wheelock Female Seminary. Catherine Colby, "Wheelock Academy, Model for Indian Territory," *Cultural Resource Management*, Washington, DC: National Park Service, 20 (9), May 2002, 32.

⁶⁶ Justin D. Murphy, "Wheelock Female Seminary 1842-1861" in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 69 (1), Oklahoma Historical Society, Spring 1991.

⁶⁷ Spring, *The American School*, 128-29.

⁶⁸ Wilma Mankiller, *Mankiller* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 81-83. The 86 symbols of the syllabary invented by the Cherokee, Sequoyah, represented each of the unique sounds in the spoken language, which made reading and writing the language possible. By 1828 the Bible, hymns, educational materials and books could be read in Cherokee. The first newspaper "Tsa la gi Tsu Lehisnunhi" (The Cherokee Phoenix) was issued on February 21, 1828 and boasted parallel columns of news in English and Cherokee.

counterparts in Arkansas and Missouri.⁶⁹ In 1851, just outside of Tahlequah the tribe established the Cherokee Female Seminary, which was modeled after Mount Holyoke Seminary of South Hadley, Massachusetts.⁷⁰ The progressive leadership of the Cherokee Nation designated that the curriculum of the Female Seminary must concentrate on the educational tools that would advance graduates to eastern colleges and occupations within American society, and omit the teaching of Cherokee traditions within the classroom. To ensure the academic competence of the student body, each young woman completed a written entrance examination, the difficulty of which limited the acceptable candidates to educated and, predominately, mixed-blood young women, often the daughters of progressive parents.⁷¹ For the Cherokees and other members of the Five Civilized Tribes who lived in Indian Territory, acculturation and adaptation became their means of survival. As these nations adjusted to new demands, the federal government continued to treat with other Native Peoples for peace, and to provide new settlement opportunities for the hordes of westbound invaders.⁷²

⁶⁹ Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 55.

⁷⁰ Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1959* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). In 1852 the Chickasaw Nation established the Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females which taught its students how to survive in the dominant society, while retaining their culture.

⁷¹ Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851 - 1909* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 1-3. Mihesuah points out that during this period, the majority of full-blood Cherokees were less educated than their mixed blood counterparts. The Seminary entrance examination proved challenging for educated students and insurmountable for those who were not. Moreover, the school was a training ground for future teachers and community leaders, and progressives who wished to remain in control. By 1872, however, tribal policy changed to allow all tribal women to apply.

⁷² Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 251-518; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); Prucha, *The Great Father*, 243-45. See also Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-51* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975). Treaties with the Potawatomis, Sacs and Foxes, Kaskaskias, Shawnees, Miamis, Memoninees, Delawares, Weas, Kickpoos, Ojibwas, Wyandots, Piankashaws, Ottawas, Peorias, Sioux, Senecas, Caddos, Comanches, Wichitas, Kiowa, and the "New York Indians" reduced or eliminated Indian holdings in the Old Northwest, while tribal members of present-day Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois found their lands reduced to islands surrounded by settlers.

America's growth during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s extended its borders south to the Rio Grande and west to the Pacific Ocean. The California gold rush in 1849 enticed thousands of speculators westward, as did the Homestead Act of 1862, which offered free land to permanent settlers, while the construction of a transcontinental railroad promised the speedy shipment of people, goods, and supplies. Expansion had no regard for protected treaty lands, and Congress blessed the taking of thousands of square miles for railway easements, as politicians and entrepreneurs determined that Indian Nations were merely temporary obstructions to Manifest Destiny. The slaughter of the buffalo reduced the food source of the Plains Indians, and the slaughter of Cheyenne men, women, and children by Colorado militiamen at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864 "set the stage for the years of bloody battle with the Plains tribes after the Civil War."⁷³ The contempt for the Native ways of life and the blatant disregard for the "vanishing American" sparked sympathizers such as Henry Benjamin Whipple, an Episcopalian bishop, and John Beeson, an Oregon farmer, to repeatedly urge Abraham Lincoln's administration (1861-1865) to reorganize the corrupt and inept Indian Bureau. Congress, torn by the raging Civil War and more pressing issues, responded with only a single restructuring of the agency in California.⁷⁴ At the close of the war, many of the reformers who had worked for the emancipation of slaves turned their energies toward Native issues, joining the growing number of Indian rights proponents.

⁷³ Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), viii. The attack was led by Colonel John Chivington, a former Methodist minister and Civil War veteran, who was "acting under the vague orders of the preoccupied General Curtis, who was ill informed on the Indian situation." Hoig at viii. Major confrontations erupted throughout the country with the Navajo Conflicts, 1849-1863, Arizona and New Mexico; the Sioux Wars, 1854-1890, Wyoming, Minnesota, South Dakota; Rouge River War, 1855-1856, southwestern Oregon; Third Seminole War, 1855-1858, Florida Everglades; Apache Uprisings, 1861-1900, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Mexico; Ute Wars, 1865-1868, 1879, Utah; Modoc War, 1872-1873, northern California, southern Oregon; Red River War, 1874-75, northwestern Texas; Battle of the Rosebud, 1876, Rosebud Creek, Southern Montana; Battle of the Little Bighorn, 1876, southern Montana; Nez Perce War, 1877, Oregon, Idaho, Montana; The Wounded Knee Massacre, 1890, South Dakota.

⁷⁴ Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 9-14.

In July 1867 Congress sanctioned the establishment of the United States Peace Commission, comprised of both military and civilian members, who were to treat with the Indians of the West and secure peace. Francis Paul Prucha describes the men as "a humanitarian lot" who assumed the Native leaders would accept the government's position if it were logically presented.⁷⁵ The Commissioners sent to meet with the Northern and Southern plains tribes were to identify contentious issues that existed either between warring Indian Nations or between Indians and settlers, acquire additional lands on which the transcontinental railroad and its spurs were to run, ensure that those Native Peoples who had specified reservations remained within their confines, and provide reservations to those tribes or nations who had yet to be assigned. Further, the Commission was authorized to call upon volunteers or the military to punish individuals or tribes who failed to abide by treaty obligations or wandered from their reservations.⁷⁶

Within six months the Peace Commission submitted its first report, the sentiment of which was "evangelical." Simply stated, Indians had to accept "the civilization of the whites." To that end the Commission recommended the division of Western lands into Indian territories with the allocation of 160 to 320 tillable acres to heads of households,

⁷⁵ The four military men were Army Generals William T. Sherman, Alfred H. Terry, William S. Harney, and Christopher C. Augur; the four civilians were Nathaniel G. Taylor, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Andrew Johnson, Samuel F. Tappan, Indian rights advocate, Missouri Senator J. B. Henderson, John B. Sanborn, retired Army officer turned attorney. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 489 – 90. The majority of the Commissioners concentrated on the hostile tribes of the Plains, while two members – Samuel Tappan and General William T. Sherman – would meet with the Diné (Navajo) who had been forcibly removed to Bosque Redondo/Ft. Sumner in New Mexico Territory.

⁷⁶ Lawrence Cheek, *The Navajo Long Walk* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo Press, 2005); J. Baxter, "Restocking the Navajo Reservation after Bosque Redondo," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 58(4), 325-45; Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 2, 1019. In what might be viewed as a gesture of peace and good will, General Sherman and Samuel Tappan concurred with Indian agent A. B. Norton that the Diné should be returned to their homelands in Arizona Territory. The Treaty with the Navajos was signed on June 1, 1868, which provided an appropriation of \$150,000 for their removal, "the purchase of fifteen thousand sheep and goats, . . . five hundred beef cattle and a million pounds of corn." In reality the treaty was an admission of failure. The Diné were subdued by the Army in 1864 and forced to travel 300 miles to Ft. Sumner, New Mexico Territory. Over 200 died during "The Long Walk" and for four years the survivors attempted to farm the worthless land. By the time Sherman and Tappan met with the tribal leaders, the Diné were destitute and in ill health. The return of the Diné was both an economic and political maneuver.

instruction and equipment to hasten the transformation of warriors into farmers, the mandatory education of all Indian children between the ages of six and sixteen, and the replacement of the current Indian agents and superintendents with honest and capable men. The Commission argued that success was predicated upon the establishment of a civilian-run, independent Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the removal of Indian policy administration from the military and the War Department.⁷⁷ For several months, it appeared that the meetings with the Plains tribes were successful, for there were no reports of major incidents, but In August 1868, Indian aggressions spread throughout Kansas and Colorado. By October the frustrated Peace Commission had reversed many of its previous recommendations, calling instead for military suppression of the hostiles and their return to reservation lands.

The Army responded in a widely publicized nighttime attack, resulting in the killing of Black Kettle and over 100 other Cheyenne in present-day western Oklahoma, as well as the pursuits of and battles with Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The incidents reinforced the need for an effective plan for peace, which Indian sympathizers demanded must include "justice, equality, civilization, and citizenship" for all Indian Peoples.⁷⁸ Among the more persuasive reformers were members of the Society of Friends, whose successful work among Native Americans was tempered with patience and encouragement rather than coercion.

A delegation of Friends approached president-elect, Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877), in January 1869 to appeal for a new direction in Indian policy, which should emphasize "education, industry, and morality," and to support the creation of an independent

⁷⁷ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 491-94. The Commission reported directly to Grant. See "Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, January 7, 1868" in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1868* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1868, 26-50).

⁷⁸ Mardock, *The Reformers*, 49.

department of Indian Affairs.⁷⁹ In fewer than five weeks after Grant's March 4 inauguration, Congress authorized the President to create a Board of Indian Commissioners. Drawing upon the recommendations of the Friends, and Grant's former aide-de-camp and newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Seneca Ely S. Parker, the President assembled the Board and developed the means and objectives of his Peace Policy.⁸⁰ The plan was a decisive change in the both the focus and implementation of Federal Indian Policy.⁸¹

The Board was to oversee the dispersal of Indian appropriations, to relinquish the politically corrupt Indian agencies to church missionary groups "who nominated the agents and other personnel," and to expand the federally funded education system for Native children.⁸² Critical to success, the Friends argued, was that the Christianizing and civilization process be conducted on reservation lands, where Native Peoples would be in familiar surroundings, where they would be taught proper farming techniques on land which they would hold in severalty, and where they would be isolated from outside influences. Grant, the Friends, and the Commissioners had few expectations for immediate results, but, they reasoned, the elevation of savages to Christians would end

⁷⁹ Ibid., 52.; Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), 57-65. President-elect Grant met with the delegation, then later with a separate group of Friends, both of whom emphasized their desires for immediate and positive actions based on Christian principles, including the federal government's commitment to upholding treaty obligations. Grant cordially accepted the suggestions.

⁸⁰ The Peace Policy has been defined and interpreted by a number of scholars in addition to Robert Mardock. See also, Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*; Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, unabridged volumes I & II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.481), fn2. So influential were the Friends in formulating the components of the plan, it was commonly referred to as the Quaker Policy.

⁸¹ Although the Peace Policy was officially inaugurated in 1869, changes in federal policy were slowly formulated after the national outrage at the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. By 1867 much of what was outlined in the Policy was in the formative stages.

⁸² Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 1.

costly wars. To ascertain the needs of each reservation, a subcommittee of the Board was sent to tour Indian country.

For several months the Indian Commissioners met and spoke with leaders and headmen, who informed the Board members of their dissatisfaction with reservation life and anger at treaty violations. Promising changes that would improve living conditions and strengthen protection from encroachment, the Commissioners returned to Washington in September buoyed by the general willingness of tribes to remain on their lands, and cease retaliations against white settlers.⁸³ Notwithstanding the encouraging report, Grant understood the fragility of the agreements and the potential for failure. Rather than present a glowing account of the Commissioners' meetings, Grant's address to Congress was carefully worded to play down the progress of the Peace Policy or the likelihood of its success.⁸⁴

Success was delayed by the actions of Colonel E. M. Baker on January 23, 1870. His soldiers' attack on, and brutal murder of, 173 Piicani (Piegan) in Montana sickened and angered the Board, Congress, and the President, particularly because 140 of the victims were women, children, and elderly men.⁸⁵ As outrage swept throughout the East, Robert Mardock notes that "Westerners in the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains praised Baker . . . and demanded more such courageous military leaders who did not fear 'blood-thirsty savages,' the Indian Bureau, or the Eastern 'Indian lovers.'"⁸⁶ The massacre was fodder for the reformers, including the newly established Boston Indian Citizenship

⁸³ There is no reason to believe that the Commissioners were insincere in their promises, but they could not oversee the distribution of goods for improving living conditions that were assigned to each reservation nor control renegade Whites who wanted Indian land at any cost. The Kiowa leader, Santana, was unreceptive. He resented the confinement of his people near Ft. Sill in present-day Oklahoma, as well as the idle lives they were forced to endure.

⁸⁴ Mardock, *The Reformers*, 65.

⁸⁵ Baker was in pursuit of Mountain Chief and his hostile Blackfeet, but instead attacked the peaceful band of Piicani, led by Heavy Runner. Approximately 50 of the children were younger than twelve.

⁸⁶ Mardock, *The Reformers*, 69.

Association and the Women's National Indian Association, who were relentless in their criticism of the military, pointing out that Grant had instituted a Peace Policy, not a War Policy.⁸⁷ To assuage the zealous reformers and to display his personal willingness to speak with Indian leaders, Grant agreed to meet with the Oglala Lakota, Red Cloud, and a delegation of his tribesmen, as well as the Brulé Chief Spotted Tail.⁸⁸

The well-orchestrated visits to both New York City and Washington, D.C., were designed to show the might and power of the United States government to the Indian men, but Red Cloud remained unimpressed. In a June 8, 1870 article, the *New York Times* quoted Red Cloud as saying "The Great Father may be good and kind, but I can't see it . . . [He] has sent his people out there and left me nothing but an island. Our nation is melting away like the snow on the sides of the hills where the sun is warm; while your people are like blades of grass in the Spring when the summer is coming."⁸⁹ The report also underscored Red Cloud's dissatisfaction with the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, which he called "all lies," because the government failed to honor the agreement's terms.⁹⁰ For the reformers, Red Cloud's visit was to be "[t]he crowning event of the year for the advocates of the humanitarian Indian policy," but instead became further confirmation that the "plight" of the "noble savages" was far from resolved.⁹¹ By the autumn of 1870 Indian advocates redoubled their pressure on Congress, demanding citizenship for America's First Peoples, who had been excluded from both the Fourteenth

⁸⁷ The Army had been lobbying for the transfer of Indian affairs to the War Department, but the Massacre quashed the possibility.

⁸⁸ In April of 1870, Red Cloud had requested a meeting with Grant through the commander of Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, William T. Sherman.

⁸⁹ *The New York Times*, June 8, 1870. Quoted in Robert Hays *Editorializing the "Indian Problem": The New York Times on Native Americans, 1860-1900* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 100.

⁹⁰ Mardock, *The Reformers*, 69.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

and the Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.⁹² Proponents were outraged that Native Americans were denied the same legal status as former slaves, and, they maintained, citizenship was a further step toward civilization.⁹³ That the well-intentioned proponents failed to consult with Native Peoples as to whether they wished to become American citizens was in line with the tenor of the entire Indian reform movement.

Grant, Parker, and the Society of Friends attempted to moderate the outcries of Indian mistreatment by instituting a new phase of the Peace Policy that called for the division of Indian Agencies among the various religious groups who sought to establish or expand their schools of Christian education. By 1872, 73 Indian agencies had been divided among thirteen denominations and sects, serving 239,899 Native Peoples.⁹⁴ Although protests arose from each of the religious groups as to the distribution of the agencies, the clergy and staff were idealistically enthusiastic about the changes they could make. Less enthusiastic were the Indian Peoples who were expected to "walk the white man's road" without resistance. Santee Sioux, Passing Hail, decried reservation life:

we have changed ourselves to white men, put on white man's clothes and adopted white man's ways, and we supposed we would have a piece of ground somewhere where we could live; but no one can live here and live like a white man. ⁹⁵

The missionaries soon realized that the goals they sought would take years, if not decades to achieve, for tribal traditions were strong and the presence of a few

⁹² Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment states that "[a]ll persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protections of the laws." Section 1 of the Fifteenth Amendment states that "[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

⁹³ See Mardock, *The Reformers*, 110.

⁹⁴ CIA Report, 1872, serial 1560, 461-62 in Prucha, *The Great Father*, 519.

⁹⁵ In Peter Nabokov, *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 196.

dedicated Christians would not alter centuries of beliefs.⁹⁶ Indian parents rarely sent their children to the mission schools, and church services were sparsely attended. In addition to educating and converting Native Peoples, the missionaries also were responsible for recruiting and recommending competent Christian Indian Agents, a duty that proved more difficult than anticipated and often resulted in disastrous choices.⁹⁷ Even the most dedicated of the missionaries found it taxing to face the frustrations of primitive living conditions, reservation isolation, and resistance from Indian Peoples, but they were truly tested with the random appropriations from Congress and reduced financial support from their national denominational offices.⁹⁸ The Peace Policy lost momentum. During the administration of Grant's successor, Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) church groups, who no longer influenced the selection of Indian agents, renewed their commitment to their scores of schools among the Indians of the Plains and the Southwest, but the upsurge in the frequency, number, and intensity of conflicts between Native Peoples and unrelenting settlers undermined both educational and missionary endeavors.⁹⁹ Frustrated reformers, who continued in their criticisms of government intervention, or the

⁹⁶ Francis La Flesche penned *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* in 1900 in which he presents anecdotal accounts of his friends and their alternating acceptance and resistance of missionary education. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963). Ojibwe, Cree, and Montagnais-Naskapi women were highly resistant to missionary efforts. See Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1690-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁹⁷ Robert H. Keller, Jr., *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Some agents proved worse than those they replaced.

⁹⁸ See "Senate Debate on Feeding versus Fight the Indians," February 19, 1875, *Congressional Record* (43rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1474-79) for an example of one of the frequent and heated debates regarding Indian appropriations. Catholics and Protestants alike redirected funds from Indian education and conversion toward helping the new wave of immigrants who were flooding the cities.

⁹⁹ Outbreaks were common in Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico, while on the Plains wars and skirmishes took place in Montana at Rosebud and Greasy Grass (Little Big Horn), in Colorado at the Ute White River Reservation, and in Idaho with the tragic pursuit of Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Perce.

lack thereof, offered a new approach to resolving the "Indian Problem."¹⁰⁰

The Indian Rights Association, established by Herbert Welsh and Henry Pancoast after their return from a visit to Lakota territory in 1882, joined their like-minded brethren in supporting a revised solution: assimilate Native Peoples rather than relying on marginally successful acculturation methods. Indian reservations, they claimed, did nothing more than perpetuate tribalism and traditions, and in order to achieve cultural and social advancement, it was necessary to incorporate the "dying race" into mainstream America. The keystone for success they argued once again, lay in individual land ownership leading to citizenship. Efforts in Washington to rework the reservation system, and the introduction of a severalty bill in Congress, not only bolstered the advocates' resolve but also tested their endurance.

In 1881, attempts to pass a severalty bill failed to garner House support. After five years of wrangling and compromise over Indian title, Massachusetts Senator Henry Dawes presented a version which sufficiently appeased both houses, and Grover Cleveland (1885-1889) signed The Dawes Act (General Allotment Act) into law on February 8, 1887.¹⁰¹ Reformers and supporters rejoiced that finally Native societies would be transformed into farming cultures, just as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson had envisioned.

The Act authorized the President to identify those reservations suitable for division, which were then surveyed and distributed in parcels ranging from 40 to 160 acres.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ See Robert W. Venables, *American Indian History: Five Centuries of Conflict & Coexistence, Volume II Confrontation, Adaptation & Assimilation, 1783-Present* (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 2004), 238-242. The consolidation of reservations, land exchanges to remove tribes from the path of the expanding railroad and settlers, and the relocation of more tribes to the dumping ground of Indian Territory/Oklahoma incited Native Peoples to retaliate, and reformers to raise their voices.

¹⁰¹ Previous bills, introduced by Senator Richard Coke of Texas, provided Indian tribes with inalienable title to reservation lands for 25 years, allowing no provision for outside settlement until the expiration of the title period. The Dawes bill allowed for the sale of "surplus" lands to settlers and granted Indian severalty only for assigned parcels.

¹⁰² Each head of household received 160 acres, single persons and orphans over the age of eighteen received 80 acres, and single persons under eighteen received 40 acres.

Indian Territory/Oklahoma was chosen for redistribution, but much of the land that was apportioned to the Peoples was unsuitable for the raising of crops or for supporting livestock.¹⁰³ Although there were pockets of arable acreage, most of the divisions were made in what, subsequently, would be referred to as the Dust Bowl. Further, to protect Indian land holders from unscrupulous whites, the federal government held the property in trust for 25 years – the period deemed appropriate for Native Peoples to learn how to properly conduct their own affairs. Each new Indian land owner was then granted American citizenship within 25 years and became subject to the laws of the state or territory in which she or he resided. At the conclusion of the distribution of individual plots, the balance, or “surplus,” could be sold to non-Indian settlers, which, it was reasoned, would further advance the civilizing of the Indians by exposing them to the successful Christian work ethic of their white neighbors. The proceeds from the sale of homesteads were to be earmarked for the improvement of Indian societies, including education, but there were inherent problems in this part of the program.¹⁰⁴ First, funds were limited to those tribes subjected to The General Allotment Act, and, second, those funds were designated for local public schools that contracted to enroll Indian students. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder note that, although the federal government required that Indian students “were to be educated alongside white students and to be treated the same way, this was not always done.” Moreover, money, more than “a sincere desire to benefit the Indian,” motivated many school districts to accept Native students whose

¹⁰³ Not all tribes were subject to the Act. See Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1975). Of the 138,000,000 acres of land held by Native Peoples in 1881, only 52,000,000 remained by 1934, in Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 121.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995, 17-18). Concurrent with the development of an acceptable severalty bill in Congress, reformers lobbied “to extend the rule and protection of the nation's legal system to Indians.” This “second plank in the reformers' platform” was deemed essential to their assimilation. By 1885 all reservations fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts for major crimes such as murder, and the majority of reservations had an Indian police force, as well as a tribal court system for trying minor crimes.

rudimentary English language skills prevented them from participating in classes or understanding assigned work. With neither the resources nor the desire to help Indian children, the schools lost their government contracts, and Native students were educationally stranded.¹⁰⁵

Indians' rights advocates clamored for Washington to appropriate discrete funding for Native education. To make their Congressional entreaties more palatable, the reformers framed their case in monetary terms: an educated Indian would become economically independent and would no longer require government support. Therefore, the investment in education would reduce long-term federal expenditures, but the methods of education had to change. The reformers argued that work conducted in civilizing Natives through reservation day-schools was ineffective because the children remained under the influence of their families and their communities. Moreover, tribal life offered no opportunity for students to apply either the English they learned or the mechanical skills they were taught, and the reluctance of parents to send their children away, even for four or five hours per day, meant sporadic attendance.¹⁰⁶ The introduction of the reservation boarding school system in the late 1870s sustained reformers' hopes in the new approach to Americanizing Indian children. They believed that the boys and girls who were sent to live at these facilities, and allowed few visits home, would learn more rapidly than day-school attendees. Proponents of the new system quickly identified the disadvantages of the current program, noting that students eagerly resumed tribal life when school was not in session and that children were distracted by the frequent visits of family members. Teachers and administrators found that both vacations and visitors quickly negated weeks or even months of their work, and

¹⁰⁵ Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, 83.

¹⁰⁶ Chief Snow Cloud/John Rogers, *Red World and White: Memories of a Chippewa Boyhood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997 [1974]), 68. Snow Cloud recalled that he and his siblings "had missed school during the year, [so] the authorities looked us up and sent Indian policemen to see that we didn't stay out another year."

students were often overcome with homesickness. Advocates viewed the reservation boarding school, although imperfect, as an improvement over the day school. Then in 1879, a third type of educational model promised civilizing results. The Carlisle Industrial School opened under the supervision of Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who shared the reformers conviction that assimilation was the only answer to "saving" America's First Peoples. His approach, though, was more radical. Pratt contended that complete separation of children from their tribal communities was critical to their acceptance of a new culture, and he was convinced that there was no alternative.¹⁰⁷

Richard Henry Pratt (1840-1924) was born in Rushford, New York, and grew up in Logansport, Indiana. When he was thirteen, his father was killed, and Pratt left school to help support his mother and siblings.¹⁰⁸ For the next eight years he worked as a printer's devil, a rail splitter, and a tinsmith, until April 1861, when he entered the Civil War as a member of the 9th Indiana Volunteer Infantry. In 1864 he returned home and married Anna Laura Mason, then fought with the 11th Indiana Cavalry until he was mustered out in May 1865. Back in Logansport, Pratt opened a hardware store, but realized that he preferred military life and enlisted in the regular Army in 1867. Pratt received his commission as a second-lieutenant and his assignment to the all-Negro Tenth United States Cavalry ("Buffalo Soldiers"), who were enroute to the Southwest.¹⁰⁹ Over the next eight years Pratt worked with Cherokee scouts, fought hostile Apaches, and developed a firm belief that the only way Native Peoples would be saved from extinction was through assimilation. Pratt's posting to Ft. Sill in Oklahoma Territory led to his assignment at Ft. Marion in St. Augustine Florida in 1875, where he oversaw the incarceration of 72

¹⁰⁷ Pratt's official rank at the time was Lieutenant, but as a courtesy, he was called "Captain" because of his previous military experience in which he attained that rank.

¹⁰⁸ Pratt's father, Richard, who had made his fortune in the gold fields of California was robbed and murdered by a fellow prospector.

¹⁰⁹ All of the officers assigned to the Tenth were white.

Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, Caddo and Cheyenne prisoners who had been convicted of crimes committed during the Red River Indian uprising of 1874.¹¹⁰

Ft. Marion, the former Spanish outpost, Castillo de San Marcos, had been completed in 1695. The east side faced the Atlantic and the balance of the fort was bordered by a moat. Entry through a double gate led to a courtyard surrounded by various sized windowless rooms/casements, and a chapel. Stairs led to an open upper-level deck, the terreplein, which faced the sea and St. Augustine, but prior to the arrival of Pratt and the prisoners, on May 21, 1875, the staircase was boarded up as a precaution against escape.¹¹¹ Pratt recognized the unhealthy conditions of the casements and ordered that planking be installed over the dirt floors, but he discovered that the change in climate still caused the sickness and death of several Indians during the first few weeks.

The losses and the "presence of a large guard added reason for depression and hopelessness" among the prisoners, so Pratt obtained permission from his superiors to use "more liberty of judgment in methods of care." After Pratt ordered the removal of their shackles, the prisoners received hair cuts, old military garments to wear, and instructions from the guards as to the proper care of their clothing. The Captain found that "in a short time there was pride established in the wearing of the army uniform." The Native men built, then occupied, a large one-room shed on the north side of the terreplein, installing inside "rough board beds . . . and bed ticks filled with grass. [Then]

¹¹⁰ James L. Haley, *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874* (Austin, TX: State House Press, 1998). Approximately twenty battles took place between June 1874 and June 1875. Angered by the slaughter of their food source by professional buffalo hunters, the growing numbers of settlers, and the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, the Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho and Cheyenne made a final stand rather than be moved to reservations in Indian Territory.

¹¹¹ National Park Service brochure of the Fort. In 1825 Castillo de San Marcos was renamed Ft. Marion, but the name was restored in 1942, seven years after the National Park Service took over the administration of the site.

the whole party of prisoners moved up to better air."¹¹² The changes Pratt introduced, along with drill exercises, improved both the physical and mental health of the Indians. But the Captain determined that more activity was necessary.

Pratt found a local curio shop owner who was willing to pay the prisoners to polish "sea beans" (mackay seeds), which the proprietor then sold to Northern tourists. The dealer happily agreed to a unit price of ten cents because "it would add to the salable quality when he told purchasers the beans were polished by Indian prisoners." The project netted \$1600 for the men, "with which they could purchase things for their personal comfort." Pratt was pleased with the obedience, industry, and cooperation of the Indians, as was the Fort's commander, but when Pratt proposed that the prisoners be permitted to guard themselves, the Captain had to pledge his "army commission for its successful results."¹¹³ The next step in Pratt's plan to further acculturate the men was to increase interaction with the residents of St. Augustine, which he did by securing jobs for the prisoners who hired out to pick oranges, clear land, and care for horses. The money that each man earned was placed in an individual savings account for his (supervised) use.¹¹⁴ Volunteer teachers schooled the men in English, writing, reading, and Christian principles, and by the end of their three year confinement Pratt recommended that some of the prisoners be permitted to continue their education. Seventeen of the younger men, whose tuition was paid for by philanthropic sponsors, entered General Samuel Chapman Armstrong's Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for Negroes on April 13, 1878.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, (Robert M. Utley, Ed.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 119.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 41. Although Pratt oversaw the accounts, each man was responsible for the management of his personal income.

¹¹⁵ *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923*, published by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 1989, and Robert Francis Eng's,

The General, Armstrong's preferred form of address, had become the Institute's first principal in 1868 after having served four years with the 8th and 9th regiments of the U. S. Colored Troops during the Civil War, followed by two years as Superintendent of the Virginia Freedman's Bureau.¹¹⁶ Armstrong believed "elementary and industrial education" for freedpersons would determine if their race would "succeed or fail as it shall devote itself with energy to agriculture and the mechanic arts."¹¹⁷ He envisioned former slaves becoming "active participants and contributors to a reconstructed South" through a program that trained "teachers who in turn would train other teachers and the common black people of the South."¹¹⁸ Unlike other normal school studies, the Hampton curriculum provided practical training in agriculture, bookkeeping, writing business letters, contracts, "Account of Sales and other Business and Legal Papers, and in Commercial Law," mechanical drawing, printing, free-hand drawing, and "practical instruction in the different varieties of Sewing Machines in use, and household industries,"

"Teaching Two Races" in *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 116-129. Pratt remained in the Army throughout his years with Hampton, and his subsequent years at Carlisle.

¹¹⁶ Armstrong was born in 1839 in Hawai'i to American missionary parents. His father, Richard, was a member of King Kamehamea III's Privy Council and served as Minister of Public Instruction for over twenty years. Richard Armstrong established over 500 schools for Native Hawai'ians and for the children of missionaries, (as well as numerous churches, the largest of which had a congregation of 3,000 Hawai'ians) and in 1854 he opened the Oahu College from which Samuel graduated. The curriculum of each school included a manual labor program – farming and carpentry for boys, domestic skills for girls – which the elder Armstrong believed was beneficial for the "civilizing" of Native students and useful for missionary students. Samuel became an adept carpenter and built a house on the Armstrong property for the family's Chinese manservant. In 1860, at the age of twenty-one, Samuel left the islands for the first time and enrolled in Williams College in western Massachusetts. He was unable to "fully comprehend the sectional differences that were about to tear the United States apart," but he was against slavery. Upon graduation Armstrong joined the Union Army and after his discharge the General worked as Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau in Virginia. Eng's treatment of Armstrong reveals the complexity of the man not revealed in previous biographies. Other works have focused on particular aspects of the General's life, but Eng is the first to offer a full and even-handed account.

¹¹⁷ Eng, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 77.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, xiii. Eng points out that Samuel Chapman Armstrong thought of himself as a guide "for those who made up the vast lower classes," yet even after the war, he did not comprehend the resistance of whites to intermingle with and live with freedpersons.

while omitting Greek and Latin, which "would be of little use to the ordinary freedman who had to eke out his living from the land."¹¹⁹ The co-educational school was designed to provide a homelike environment for its students while they attained their education, an environment that was both comforting and encouraging.

As early as 1872 Armstrong began "exploring the idea of an Indian education program." Convinced that "his philosophy at Hampton could be applied to all 'backward races'" he was unable to test his theory until Richard Henry Pratt appealed to Armstrong to accept his former Indian prisoners. The General welcomed the Native students (and their fully paid tuitions), then assigned each enrollee tasks in manual labor as well as "a black roommate, in order to aid in the acquisition of civilized manners."¹²⁰ The presence of Native students at Hampton provided both Armstrong and Pratt with ammunition to hound Washington for financial support. Both had maintained contact with powerful men in the Army while diligently working to cultivate relationships with influential legislators. The time was ripe to reap the benefits.

Armstrong invited President Hayes and Interior Secretary Carl Schurz to visit Hampton to see the Indian program at work. As Robert Francis Engs' notes, "[t]he ploy was effective." Within weeks Congress approved of the Hampton experiment by allocating funds for the recruitment and maintenance of up to 120 Native students per year.¹²¹ Pratt immediately left for the Indian Agencies in Dakota Territory and Nebraska, returning in November with 40 boys and nine girls.¹²² The new students became

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 104, 78. The comprehensive agricultural course included lectures in Formation of Soils, Rotation of Crops, Management of Stock, Fruit Culture, Cultivation of Crops, and Drainage. Students also had courses in English, math, history, and "Bible Lessons." Engs provides a "Normal Course of Study for Full-Time Day Students" of the Institute at 104-105.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 117-118.

¹²¹ Ibid., 118.

¹²² Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 200-204. Ft. Berthold (nine boys, four girls), Standing Rock (three boys, one girl), Cheyenne River (nine boys), Crow Creek (five boys, one girl), Lower Brulé (six boys), Yankton (eight boys, three girls), all in Dakota Territory. No students came from Rosebud or Pine Ridge in Dakota Territory, nor the Red Cloud or Spotted Tail Agencies which were located in

members of the Indian School at Hampton, which offered a five year program, the first three of which were in "oral training in English" and elementary writing. Because the federal government paid for only three years of education, Indian students who could not secure private sponsorship returned to the reservation with "only the most rudimentary knowledge of English, reading, writing, and arithmetic."¹²³

Pratt became increasingly dissatisfied with Hampton, not only because of rising racial tensions, but also because he feared that "his Indians" would suffer from external racial prejudice because of their association with black students.¹²⁴ Also, Pratt held that his uncompromising goal of full assimilation of Native Peoples could not be achieved unless Indian students could associate with whites, as they had in St. Augustine. He wished to control the learning environment, which, he argued, could only be realized through a distinct educational facility. Pratt embarked on his own campaign for support from his military superiors, members of Congress, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, who shared Pratt's enthusiasm. With the backing of his influential contacts, Pratt secured the abandoned Army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania for his Indian school, and subsequently received authorization to recruit 125 students.¹²⁵

The Captain called upon Miss Sarah Mather, one of the women teachers from the Ft. Marion experiment, who in turn suggested other educators to round out the staff. The two left for the Rosebud Agency, where Pratt asked Spotted Tail, White Thunder, Milk,

Nebraska from 1873-1878. Pratt noted that some Indian leaders were fearful to send their children to be with black students.

¹²³ Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised*, 121.

¹²⁴ To avoid the escalation of social and cultural tensions between Indians and blacks, Native students received separate living facilities: "Indian Cottage" for the boys and "Winona Lodge" for the girls.

¹²⁵ Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 273-75. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 213-15. Pratt was accustomed to being in charge, but at Hampton he was merely an assistant to Armstrong, a position he disliked.

Two Strike and three other headmen to entrust him with eleven of their children.¹²⁶ Spotted Tail was adamant that the children stay on the reservation, telling Pratt that the white man could not be trusted. Pratt responded by telling Spotted Tail and the other Brulés that if they been able to read and write in English they would not have been duped by the government into selling their sacred Paha Sapa (Black Hills). The children, Pratt argued, would learn not only the language, but also how to earn a living in the white man's world.¹²⁷ The logic of the Captain's position prevailed and Spotted Tail acquiesced, but not without Pratt's promise that he would be a "father" to the children.¹²⁸ With the pledge of the Brulé leader's cooperation, Pratt and Miss Mather traveled to the Pine Ridge reservation where the Captain applied the same argument for schooling with the Oglala leader, Red Cloud. Pratt left with sixteen more enrollees. When Pratt returned to Pine Ridge to gather the children for the trip to the East, he saw the effect of his persuasive rationale, for "Spotted Tail and the whole body of Rosebud Indians had grown enthusiastic about sending their children . . . [and] upwards of ninety were presented [for acceptance to Carlisle]."¹²⁹

On November 1, 1879 the Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened. The eagerness which the Indian children had shown for traveling with Pratt soon changed to dismay, because they had not fully comprehended the obstacles they would encounter in walking on the white man's road. Upon arrival, the students were bathed, which was a frightening experience for most, but it was the trauma of having their braids shorn which

¹²⁶ Sarah Mather, who was 63 years old, insisted that she be allowed to accompany Pratt on his journey to the Indian agencies. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 220.

¹²⁷ See Louis Morton, "How the Indians Came to Carlisle," in *Pennsylvania History*, 29 (January), 1962, 53-73.

¹²⁸ Pratt, *Classroom and Battlefield*, 222-224.

¹²⁹ Pratt received authorization for a total of 72 – 36 from each agency – but because only sixteen came from Pine Ridge, he was able to accommodate more requests from Rosebud. *Ibid.*, 226, 228.

sent out deafening wails from the children.¹³⁰ The military jackets and trousers supplied to the boys, and the long dresses for the girls, were confining and uncomfortable. Still, the new clothing and hair styles changed the appearances of the youngsters. Pratt, a marketing master, leapt at the opportunity to deliver photographs to his supporters, showing the students first upon arrival at the school, and, then after their "transformation."¹³¹

The next steps in the civilization process were the substitution of English for Native languages, and the replacement of tribal names. Luther Standing Bear recalled:

One day when we came to school there was a lot of writing on one of the blackboards. We did not know what it meant, but our interpreter came into the room and said, 'Do you see all these marks on the blackboard? Well, each word is a white man's name. They are going to give each one of you one of these names by which you will hereafter be known.' . . . The teacher had a long pointed stick in her hand, and the interpreter told the boy in the front seat to come up. The teacher handed the stick to him, and the interpreter told him to pick out any name he wanted. . . . Finally he pointed out one of the names written on the blackboard. Then the teacher took a piece of white tape and wrote the name on it. Then she cut off a length of the tape and sewed it on the back of the boy's shirt. Then that name was erased from the board. There was no duplication of names in the first class at Carlisle School!¹³²

Because the students could not speak or read English, teachers abandoned text books for rote learning of the alphabet and object names, which they believed both simplified and accelerated familiarity with the preferred language.¹³³ Many of the teachers showed compassion toward the bewildered children, who were both mentally

¹³⁰ Among many Indian Peoples the cutting of hair is a sign of mourning.

¹³¹ During Pratt's stay at Hampton, he and Armstrong devised the scheme of "before and after" photographs as propaganda for their achievements, a practice which Pratt continued to employ at Carlisle. Perhaps the most well known Carlisle transformation is Navajo Tom Torlino, whose skin tone was lightened in the photograph to make him look more "American."

¹³² Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975 [1928]), 136-37.

¹³³ See Ruth Spack, *America's Second Tongue: American Indian Education and the Ownership of English, 1860-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

and physically exhausted by the rigors of regimentation, but kindness could not offset the confining dormitories, the change in climate, homesickness, and feelings of helplessness.

Despite the imperfect beginnings of the school, Pratt touted its advantages. In 1880, after just two months of operation, Pratt wrote to one of his supporters, Representative T. C. Pound, regarding the remarkable "progress" of the students, enclosing with his letter "a few photographs of the Indian youth here." He declared that because the Native children were isolated "from the savage surrounds of their homes, they lose their tenacity to savage life [and] have yielded gracefully to discipline." Classes, Pratt declared, were going well so he intended to turn his "attention to the Agricultural and Mechanical features proposed . . . [including] instruction in carpentry, wagon and harness making, blacksmithing, book and shoe making and repairing, etc . . . [which would be accomplished] without very great expense." The Captain underscored the value of the school by noting that he was "encouraged to make wagons, harness, tin-ware, etc. for issue to the agencies" which would be "a saving to the [Interior] Department." The letter built upon each accomplishment, concluding with the news that the Navajos wrote "asking to send some of the children of their chiefs and headman here" and that both Spotted Tail and Red Cloud were eager to send additional children, including "500 more boys and girls from Rosebud."¹³⁴ Pratt's construal (and perhaps embellishment) of the acceptance of his boarding school by Native leaders proved to be optimistic and overstated.

In July, Spotted Tail and Red Cloud arrived in Pennsylvania. The Brulé leader, eager to be with his children, was incensed to see his sons dressed in uniforms and drilled like soldiers. "He found fault with the sleeping accommodations and food. He then had a personal complaint to make, saying that his youngest boy had been in the guardhouse

¹³⁴ Letter dated January 14, 1880 in Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 248-49.

for a week."¹³⁵ Spotted Tail informed Pratt that he was removing his four sons and daughter from the school, an event that garnered national attention.¹³⁶ Pratt was disappointed, but not deterred, and turned his focus upon a program of social immersion.

Declaring that "[p]articipation in the best things of our civilization . . . was the essential factor for transforming the Indian," the Captain implemented his "outing system," which placed Indian boys and girls in the homes of local families, where, ostensibly, they could apply and perfect what they had learned in the classroom.¹³⁷ Indian girls had the "opportunity" to work as domestic servants, and boys to perform farm duties, all while learning American values first hand.¹³⁸ Pratt lived his mantra of "killing the Indian and saving the man," and while activists and legislators agreed with him that education elevated Native Peoples above their "savage" ways, they questioned the Captain's assessment as to where Indian children should be schooled.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 237.

¹³⁶ Pratt details the incident in his memoir (236-239), claiming that "All of Spotted Tail's children desired to remain and the two youngest cried, so that Spotted Tail had to exert authority and even force, especially with his oldest son." The *New York Times* article of July 21, 1880, reported "that becoming dissatisfied, (Spotted Tail) has removed his children from the (Carlisle) training school, where they had been sent to be educated, and that his course has led to serious disapproval on the part of others of the tribe, who are anxious to be educated, and have appealed to the President to depose Spotted Tail and appoint a new chief for them." (page 5) Loring Benson Priest notes that "Spotted Tail, who aroused national attention by withdrawing his children from Carlisle in 1880, joined his tribe the following year in requesting a reservation school." Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, 151.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹³⁸ Although the "outing system" worked in Pennsylvania, it was less effective at other off-reservation schools. Francis Paul Prucha writes that the "public-spirited Quaker farmers and Pratt with his unusual dynamic force" was the combination for success. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 698, fn 21.

¹³⁹ Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in Francis Paul Prucha (ed.), *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 261. The oft-used phrase referred to "killing" Indian cultural affiliation and its attendant traditions, substituting mainstream culture and values, and thereby "saving" Indian Peoples from themselves, and potential extinction. Pratt understood that continued and increased financial backing for the school hinged upon recognition of Carlisle by a broad constituency. Moreover, by rallying public support behind an expanded off-reservation

Within two years of the opening of Carlisle, reformers and Congress examined the practicality of training a few Indian children at Carlisle (and Hampton), while leaving the majority of potential students on reservations. Loring Benson Priest notes "[a]s advocates of Eastern education insisted that returning Indians would ultimately be able to reform their tribes more rapidly than white educators working entirely on the reservation, they were particularly disappointed when graduates of Eastern schools showed an inclination to resume old habits instead of assuming tribal leadership."¹⁴⁰ Reformers urged the federal government to amend its approach to boarding school education, and by 1898 Congress approved the opening of an additional 24 schools, but, unlike Carlisle, all the other institutions were located west of the Mississippi. Policymakers determined that by building facilities closer to the reservations – but not too close – expensive transportation costs would be greatly reduced. Further, schools established near towns could offer employment to neighboring residents, become a sales outlet for local produce, goods and services, and benefit from the proximity to homes for students during their "outing" program. The hope was that westerners who witnessed acculturation would accept Indian graduates into their workforce and their communities. However, in order for the system to work, Native children had to become Native students.

In March, 1891 Congress authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to "make and enforce . . . such rules and regulations as will ensure attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."¹⁴¹ In 1893 Congress went further by permitting the Commissioner to "withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and

boarding school system, Congress, Pratt reasoned, would heed the voters and fund more like institutions.

¹⁴⁰ Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, 150

¹⁴¹ *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. 26, 1014. See also H. B. Peairs, "The Need of Compulsory Education for Indians," *Southern Workman*, November 1, 1901, 394-98. Peairs was the Superintendent of the Haskell School.

keep their children of proper school age in school."¹⁴² In some instances parents were jailed. In 1895 nineteen Hopis were sent to Alcatraz military prison for "refusing to send their children to distant boarding schools and to do the style of farming prescribed for them by federal officials."¹⁴³

Parents became creative in avoiding government officials. Some substituted orphans for their own offspring; some hid their school-aged children. Polingaysi Qoyawayma recalls the day the *bahana* came to Oraibi "catching children . . . for the school" and she and her younger brother hid under a sheep pelt until the men had left.¹⁴⁴ Some parents weighed the benefits of daily meals, clothing, and shelter against the poverty and government rations of the reservation and reluctantly parted with their children. Others who resided in urban areas also made the difficult choice. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, whose Creek father attended Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma, recalled that "[w]hen economic circumstances became too severe, [her single grandmother] enrolled the two boys at Chilocco . . . in 1927."¹⁴⁵ But being at school was so different from tribal life that children became morose, heartsick, and susceptible to illness.

Boarding schools – whether Indian or non-Indian – are communities with close living quarters, fostering the spread of infections and diseases. Indian children who lacked immunity to many sicknesses, coupled with the unavailability of vaccines or cures for such ailments as pneumonia or measles, died in alarming numbers. Further, Indian schools in the late 1890s were overcrowded under Commissioner of Indian Affairs William

¹⁴² *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. 27, 635.

¹⁴³ Larry Tritten, "Early Indian Prisoners of 'The Rock'," *Native Peoples*, vol. XIX (4), July/August 2006, 68.

¹⁴⁴ Polingaysi Qoyawayma, [Elizabeth White], *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle To Live in Two Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964), 17-18.

¹⁴⁵ K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 169.

Jones' directive that boarding schools were to be filled to capacity to speed assimilation. It is difficult to document the fatalities, because many children were sent home to die.¹⁴⁶ Between 1881 and 1894, only 26 of the original 73 Shoshone and Arapaho students who were sent to Carlisle, Genoa, and Santee boarding schools survived, and 100 students were buried at the Haskell School between 1885 and 1913.¹⁴⁷ Most of the schools had their own cemeteries, filled with the victims of "progress."¹⁴⁸

For each child that died, there was another to take his place, another young Native boy or girl to respond to the whistles and bells that regulated their movements to and from classes and work, Monday through Saturday. Boarding schools held to similar schedules:

A.M.		P.M.	
5:30	Rising Bell	12:50	First Work Call.
6:30	Mess Call and Breakfast		(Two blasts of the whistle)
7:20	First Work Call.	1:00	Second Work Call.
	(Two blasts of the whistle)		(One blast of the whistle)
7:30	Second Work Call.	1:00–1:30	Instruction of Work Detail.
	(One blast of the whistle)	1:15	School Call. (Bell.)
7:30–8:00	Instruction of Work Detail.	4:00	Recall from school.
8:25	First School Call.	4:00–4:30	Group athletics for small
8:30	School Call. (Bell.)		children.
11:30	Recall from work & school.	5:30	Recall from work.
	(Blast from Whistle)		(Blast of whistle)
11:50	Mess Call and Dinner.	5:55	Mess Call and Supper
		7:00	Evening Hour (Winter)
		7:30	" " (Spr./Fall)
		8:30	Taps (Winter)
		9:00	" (Spring/Fall) ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898 – 1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999). Riney points out that at the administration of the Rapid City Indian School in South Dakota kept few records of illness and death.

¹⁴⁷ Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 57, 66-67.

¹⁴⁸ At the site of the Carlisle School, now the U. S. Army War College, rows of white headstones line the area just outside the main entrance. When the Army reassigned the purpose of the facility, it reinterred the bodies to an accessible area to allow visitors to pay their respects to the lost students. Headstones are covered with tobacco offerings, coins, and prayer bundles, particularly those inscribed with a single Christian name, or the designations of "Indian Boy, Unknown" and "Indian Girl, Unknown."

¹⁴⁹ Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School*, 116-17.

Although students spent years at boarding schools, few attained the equivalent of an eighth-grade education. There were limited employment opportunities for "graduates," particularly if they returned to their reservations. Incomplete data has produced conflicting statistics as to the "success" in transitioning graduates into mainstream wage earners, but limited first-person accounts of life after boarding school relate the lack of belonging to either their Native communities or to the white world.¹⁵⁰ In 1890, on the Pine Ridge reservation, the young Lakota, Plenty Horses, who had graduated from Carlisle, killed an army officer. At his murder trial he offered his reasoning:

I am an Indian. Five years I attended Carlisle and was educated in the ways of the white man . . . I was lonely. I shot the lieutenant so I might make a place for myself among my people. Now I am one of them. I shall be hung and the Indians will bury me as a warrior.¹⁵¹

Such a tragedy was far from Pratt's anticipated goal, for Carlisle was intended to be a "civilizing" experience for Native children.

The Captain was proud of Carlisle and he exploited every opportunity to present it in positive terms, but his continued criticism of the government and, in particular, the Indian Bureau, diminished his effectiveness in Washington.¹⁵² With few remaining friends in Congress, federal appropriations for the school became erratic, and improvements for

¹⁵⁰ Qoyawayma, *No Turning Back*, 3. Qoyawayma's return to her Hopi homeland was bittersweet because, in adulthood she recalled "I cannot find my way. Where is the pathway of peace? Where can I find the harmony of the true Hopi?"

¹⁵¹ Colin G. Calloway, *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West Was Lost* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 179-80. Also, Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984, 227-28), 245. Plenty Horses was not executed because of the "war" that erupted and culminated with the Massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890. The government vindicated Plenty Horses, preventing him from establishing his warrior status. He spent the balance of his adult life in "poverty and despondency."

¹⁵² Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 303. During the 1893 Columbian Exposition, 300 Carlisle boys marched in the opening day parade in Chicago. Pratt also erected a model of a Carlisle classroom at the Exposition "by the side of the many exhibits from schools all over American and from other nations."

the facilities or new programs were often funded by individual donations.¹⁵³ On May 9, 1904 Pratt overstepped his boundaries with a public tirade toward the Indian Bureau.¹⁵⁴

At the Baptist Ministers' Conference in New York City the Captain said, in part,

I believe nothing better could happen to the Indians than the complete destruction of the Bureau which keeps them so carefully laid away in the dark of its numerous drawers, together with its varied influences, which only serve to maintain tribal conditions . . . Indian schools on the reservations are weak and inefficient, because lacking in the essential elements of practical experience, association and competition, and are calculated to educate the Indian to shrink from the competition necessary to enable him to reach his place as an independent man and citizen.¹⁵⁵

Secretary of the Interior, E. A. Hitchcock, demanded an explanation, which Pratt sent to him in the form of the complete text carried by the *New York Tribune*. A month later the Captain was relieved of duty from the Department of War, and from his superintendency of Carlisle.

Pratt's successor, Captain William Mercer, did not share the founder's single-mindedness. The new Superintendent introduced programs including Native arts and crafts as an outlet for creativity, allowed students more freedom, and expanded the athletics department.¹⁵⁶ The onset of World War I substantially reduced the number of students at Carlisle, and government support dwindled as funds were redirected to armaments and materiel. The school closed on September 1, 1918, but the boarding school era continued for another four decades.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ When Congress refused to authorize \$1500 for improvements for an expanded program in mechanics, "a Presbyterian minister in a small town on a meager salary gladly gave \$2,000 to . . . accomplish that purpose." Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 331. Pratt spends an entire chapter of his memoirs listing the donations and good will his school received.

¹⁵⁴ Pratt seemed to have no fear of repercussions from his superiors, perhaps because he had the support of influential reformers.

¹⁵⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*., 336.

¹⁵⁶ In the 1912 Olympics, Carlisle graduate Jim Thorpe was dubbed the "greatest athlete in the world" by King Gustav V of Sweden.

¹⁵⁷ Pratt remained vocal on the issues of full assimilation and the ineptitude of government policymakers, until his death in 1924. Some boarding schools, like Chemawa, remained open until the 1980s, but with substantial changes.

For some, the trauma of the experience remains. Carlotta Kaulay, a retired nurse and member of the Kiowa Tribe, vividly recalls a summer day in 1940, when, at age five, she was taken to the Riverside Boarding School in Anadarko, Oklahoma.

The social worker came to my grandmother's house in a government vehicle and I had to get into the car. I had no idea she was taking me to school. I remember my grandmother crying; my Dad saying loud words. When we got to the school. . . it was beautiful – manicured lawns; it was clean. I had never been on a sidewalk before, except when we came into town, Anadarko. . . .When we got out of the car I wanted to walk on the grass – I didn't want to walk on the sidewalk – I hate concrete to this day – but [the social worker] said "stay on the sidewalk, you never walk on the grass here." So I stayed on the sidewalk, and we walked over to a big building which was the girls' dorm, although at the time I didn't realize what it was, and she spoke to some lady and we went in. This I remember clearly because it was very traumatic for me. . . . They spoke briefly, then they took me to this big room. There were shower heads sticking out all around – no cubicles or anything. Grandmother was very modest about undressing in front of anyone and so was I. [The women] told me I would have to take my clothes off and I said "no." They stripped my clothes off. I cried – I was so embarrassed. They gave me a big bar of yellow lye soap. I just stood there and they turned the water on. I had never seen a shower before. . . . What really bothered me, at the time, was that I was ashamed. I just couldn't [wash] with them there, so [one of the women] came over and started scrubbing me. It felt as if she would scrub my flesh off. Afterwards I had to sit in a chair and they sprayed me with powder. It wasn't baby powder. Then they poured kerosene on my hair, kerosene! I had long braids and they cut my hair – they just cut it all off. Maybe I had lice, I don't know. They finally gave me something to put on – all I had was a towel. I put the clothes on – I was so ashamed. They did it to everybody."¹⁵⁸

Scores of books contain similar stories, but there are also students who developed strong bonds with both their school and their fellow students. Sonciray Bonnell notes that, when she conducted interviews with alumni of the Chemawa Boarding School (Oregon), "the majority . . . hold Chemawa in high regard." Further, "[f]or many students Chemawa was an alternative to an orphanage, a respite from a dysfunctional family situation, an opportunity to gain an education or vocational skill, or an opportunity to be with other Indians."¹⁵⁹ Jacob (Jake) Ahtone, former Chairman of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma,

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Carlotta Kaulay, September 10, 2003.

¹⁵⁹ Sonciray Bonnell, *Chemawa Indian Boarding School 1880 to 1980: The First One Hundred Years*, Masters Thesis, Dartmouth College, May, 1997. (Printed by Dissertation.Com, 1997), ii.

remembers his time at the Carnegie School in Oklahoma (1925–1936) as “good years.” He argues that “too much is written about the negative side of boarding schools and not enough about the benefits . . . I didn’t like everything about school – who does? . . . Every (society) has good and bad . . . I used the good and what I learned in school . . . I graduated from college (Oklahoma A & M) and I got a good job . . . What is important is that I didn’t forget that I am Kiowa first.”¹⁶⁰ Positive experiences notwithstanding, remembering one’s Native origins *with pride* was difficult for generations of American Indians.

For centuries, Europeans and Euro-Americans overran Native lands, sought to reshape or eradicate Indigenous societies, to civilize the savage, to eliminate the resisters. Unwavering belief in their cultural superiority justified the actions of the early adventurers and colonists who believed in their God-given right to own, occupy, and exploit the “vacant” “New World”; unwavering belief in their religious or social superiority justified the actions of the missionaries, reformers and Indian Rights advocates who sought to convert, acculturate, and assimilate the Peoples. “Education” did little to foster the bridging of cultures. Dwight Lyman Moody and his Northfield Schools, though, offered different possibilities.

¹⁶⁰ Jacob Ahtone first attended boarding school at the age of seven and spent eleven years at Carnegie before transferring to the Carnegie (public) High School from which he graduated in 1937. In 1945 he joined the U.S. Army as a paratrooper with the 325th Glider Infantry of the 82nd Airborne Division. He worked for the U. S. Department of the Interior for 32 years, all of which he feels would not have happened had he not had the positive experience of boarding school. Interview with Jacob Ahtone, September 11, 2003.

CHAPTER 2

DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY: THE MAN AND HIS MISSIONS

Throughout his youth, D. L. Moody held few expectations for a future beyond the drudgery of farming in rural western Massachusetts. He had little education and no marketable skills, yet at age seventeen he left Northfield determined to build a life that would provide him with financial security. Armed with his gift of persuasion and his dogged tenacity, Moody traveled to Boston, then Chicago, wasting no opportunity to advance his plan. His creativity in attracting customers to the various businesses for which he worked, and his resourcefulness in keeping them as repeat patrons, filled his pockets with the money he believed would bring him happiness. After six years of hard work and imaginative entrepreneurship, Moody was advancing on his objective of banking \$100,000. He was in control of his life and nothing would get in his way – nothing except a religious conversion that both stunned and excited the young man, a conversion that ultimately led Moody to refocus his resolve toward spreading the word of his God. Moody's ultimate decision to abandon his material goals meant that he had to confront the possibility of what he most feared – a life of poverty.

To appreciate the intensity of D. L. Moody, it is necessary to examine the life events that shaped the young man, the evangelist, and particularly, the educator: how the kindnesses he received, the criticisms he endured and his feeling of social inadequacy, influenced and drove him to change and improve the lives of children and to help the educationally disadvantaged. Ironically, Moody chose Northfield, Massachusetts – the town he sought to leave in his youthful past – as both his temporal haven and the location of what has become his most enduring achievement.

The Northfield Schools, arguably Moody's least acknowledged accomplishment, provided (and continue to provide) young women and men with the opportunity to learn the skills necessary to succeed in a changing world. Although D. L. Moody is remembered as one of the most important evangelists of the nineteenth century, it is also the Northfield Mount Hermon School that is a significant part of his legacy.

Dwight Lyman Moody

In 1669, seventeen English families who wished to move from the overcrowded Massachusetts Bay Colony settlement of Northampton purchased 3000 acres from the Native Squakeags for 200 fathoms of wampum worth approximately £12.¹ The land that would be called Northfield is bordered by present-day Vermont and New Hampshire and both the Green Mountains and the White Mountains can be seen beyond its northern boundary. The Connecticut River, which runs through the town, provided the settlers with both a means of transportation and sufficient drinking water. The rich soil was suitable for farming and the large fields and abundant timber were enticements for relocation. Two years later the acreage was distributed among the families, with land allocations for the minister's residence and farming plot, a school, a meetinghouse, and a town square.² Although the newcomers stayed within the confines of their settlement the onset of King Philip's War (1675-1676) changed the relationship between the settlers and the Natives, and in the summer of 1675 the Squakeags burned Northfield to the ground, killed many of the inhabitants, and drove out the survivors. The second attempt at settlement in 1683 was abandoned seven years later, and it was another 25 years before the community became permanent. Dwight Lyman Moody's maternal ancestor, William Holton, was

¹ Janet Mabie, *The Years Beyond: The Story of Northfield, D.L. Moody and the Schools* (East Northfield, MA: Northfield Bookstore, 1960), 10-11. The first deed was drafted by Joseph Parsons on January 6, 1671 and signed by five Indian men: Massamet, Panoot, Pamook, Wompeley, and Nesacoscom, and an Indian woman, Nenepownam, wife of Pamook.

² Herbert Collins Parsons, *A Puritan Outpost: A History of the Town and People of Northfield, Massachusetts* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937), Chapter 4.

among the first settlers of Northfield; his paternal grandfather Isaiah Moody, a stoneworker, and Isaiah's brother Jacob, a cooper, arrived in 1796.

Moody's parents, Edwin Moody and Betsey Holton, married on January 3, 1828 at the Holton homestead, then immediately moved into a modest, unpainted colonial home, built by Edwin's cousin, Simeon Moody. The homestead, located at the north end of town, had only marginal land, which Edwin farmed, but his livelihood depended on his stonemasonry.³ Edwin was well-liked by his neighbors, perhaps because of his genial and fun loving disposition. He was "adored" by his wife, but he was also described as a "shiftless, lazy fellow . . . addicted more to whiskey than was good for his heart."⁴ When an economic depression swept through the United States in 1837, banks failed, businesses and individuals declared bankruptcy, and Edwin and Betsey found it necessary to mortgage their home to the wealthy farmer, Ezra Purple. When Dwight Lyman was born on February 5, 1837, the fifth son and sixth child of the Moodys, the infant was welcomed into near-poverty. Four years later the Moodys were deeper in debt and Betsey was once again pregnant.

At midday on May 28, 1841 Edwin returned home from a construction site, complaining of a sharp pain in his side. An hour later he told his wife that the pain had worsened, and as he moved toward his bed he collapsed and died. Despite the trauma, Betsey remained composed. Mrs. Moody was well aware of the debts accrued by her husband, and sensing that demands for payment were imminent, she sent her eldest son, Isaiah, to hide his father's tools as well as their cow's only calf. When the creditors arrived they "took everything they could secure," including most of her furniture,

³ Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody: The Biography of the American Evangelist Who Changed the Climate of Life in the United States and Britain at the End of the 19th Century* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), 33.

⁴ Pollock, *Moody, The Biography* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963), 18. When her children were old enough to understand, Betsey Moody made them each vow they would never drink.

the livestock, the buggy, and "the very kindling wood in the shed."⁵ Had Massachusetts not enacted the law of dower rights, the remaining Moodys would have been homeless as well. Although Dwight was only four, and in adulthood had few recollections of his early childhood, he clearly remembered the day following Edwin's death. With no firewood to heat the house, Betsey Moody instructed her children to remain in bed to stay warm. Then, D.L. recalled,

I heard the sound of chips flying, and I knew some one was chopping wood in our wood-shed, and that we should soon have a fire. I shall never forget Uncle Cyrus [Holton] coming with what seemed to me the biggest pile of wood I ever saw in my life.⁶

While Cyrus and Charles Holton provided financial and emotional support for their sister, friends and neighbors did little more than suggest that Betsey send her children away to caring families or institutions.⁷ Refusing to consider breaking up the family even after the birth of twins Samuel and Elizabeth a month after her husband's death, Betsey resolved to keep the Moody clan together, which then comprised six boys and two girls, all under the age of thirteen.

Only days after the delivery of the twins, Ezra Purple barged into Betsey's bedroom, demanding she sign a quitclaim deed for her home, and although Purple was aware that Mrs. Moody was protected by law, he ordered her to comply in "unkind language." Her rejection sent him away, but the obligation for the annual mortgage payment remained. Her brother Charles recalled that

Going down the hill the harness broke, and he [Purple] was thrown out on the ground – uninjured. Some of the townspeople, knowing the reason for his visit to Betsey, were so unkind as to say, "It was a pity he didn't break his

⁵ William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody, By His Son* (New York: Fleming D. Revell Company, 1900), 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21. William Moody comments "Even those from whom more practical help might have been expected strongly advised this course, and because their advice was not accepted seemed to feel that they were absolved from any further duty".

neck." Hearing of the straits Betsey was in, Cyrus and I . . . managed to raise the money [for the mortgage obligation] that year.⁸

Betsey remained unwavering in her commitment to keeping the children close to her, and she was supported by the Reverend Oliver Everett, pastor of the Northfield Unitarian Church. The Reverend Everett visited Mrs. Moody soon after the death of Edwin, assuring her that he would help her with the education of the children, and "if need be, in their support."⁹ There is little evidence that the Moodys were dedicated to organized religion prior to Edwin's death – perhaps because they were in arrears to the First Parish Church for the annual pew fee of \$11.79 – but within eighteen months of her husband's passing, the older children were enrolled in Sunday School, all were baptized, and Betsey had become a member of the Reverend Everett's Unitarian fold.¹⁰ Mrs. Moody seemed to care little about the theology of the various Protestant sects, but her attraction to Everett may have been stronger because, like her, he did not support the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Dwight and his siblings tolerated Sunday school and church attendance and enjoyed the fatherly presence they all craved. "Moody had been an impoverished, love-starved little boy" who was devoted to Everett, and from whom he learned "the heavenly Father's attributes [of] mercy, compassion, and love."¹¹ But the relationship ended when a younger man replaced the minister. Unfortunately, Everett's successor "was the worst of the rationalistic school," yet Betsey "held fast to the hand of the Lord" and encouraged her children "to read the Bible and believe in the grace of God."¹²

⁸ Quoted in Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 18.

⁹ W. H. Daniels, *D.L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1875), 5.

¹⁰ Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 34; William Moody, *By His Son*, 21. Despite the Unitarianism of Everett, the baptism was conducted "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

¹¹ Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Life of D. L. Moody, A Passion for Souls* (Chicago, Moody Press, 1997), 32-33.

¹² Daniels, *D.L. Moody and His Work*, 6-7.

In the same year that Betsey joined the Church, her eldest son, fifteen-year-old, Isaiah, left home without so much as a goodbye. Isaiah was the child on whom Betsey most heavily relied, and perhaps the burden of such responsibility, the limited opportunities in Northfield, and the stigma of being poor caused him to desert his family. Within a few weeks, Betsey's hair turned gray and her demeanor changed.¹³ For thirteen years she did not know whether her son was alive or dead, and if one of the children "spoke the name of the absent brother, a great silence fell upon them; the tears would come into [her] eyes." On a summer day in 1856 a stranger knocked on the Moody's front door. Betsey answered and offered him entry. The large man with the weather-beaten face began to cry saying "No! No! I cannot come in till my mother forgives me." The joy at seeing her son erased the years of worry, and "she forgave him because he asked it."¹⁴ In later years, D. L. Moody would retell the story as illustrative of the return of the prodigal son and of the power of forgiveness.¹⁵

To contribute to the support of the household, the older boys worked on neighboring farms during the week, and, whenever possible, returned home for Sunday services. At the age of ten, Dwight was sent to Greenfield for the winter to work with his brother, Luther, on the farm of a childless couple. Within a week, Moody was homesick and tired, but when he told Luther he wished to return to Northfield his brother suggested they walk to the courthouse square. As the younger brother protested, Luther pointed saying "There's a man that'll give you a cent; he gives one to every new boy that comes to town." Moody recalled

He was a feeble, old, white-haired man, and I was so afraid that he would pass me by that I planted myself directly in his path. As he came up to us my

¹³ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 33.

¹⁴ Daniels, *D.L. Moody and His Work*, 11.

¹⁵ Moody often drew upon his life experiences, particularly those of his childhood and adolescence to connect with his audiences, many of which were filled with people who, like Moody, had similar social and economic backgrounds.

brother spoke to him and he stopped to look at me. "Why, I have never seen you before. You must be a new boy," he said. He asked me about my home, and then, laying his trembling hand upon my head, he told me that, although I had no earthly father, my Heavenly Father loved me, and then he gave me a bright new cent. I do not remember what became of that cent, but that old man's blessing has followed me for over fifty years, and to my dying day I shall feel the kindly pressure of that hand upon my head. A loving deed costs very little, but done in the name of Christ it will be eternal.¹⁶

With his homesickness temporarily assuaged, Moody returned to the monotonous work on the Greenfield farm, hoping that the winter would pass quickly. The thirteen-mile trek to Northfield was a huge distance for a young boy, so there were few visits until the spring, when the roads were passable and the chance of hitching a ride was greater. For the next several years he continued to hire out as a farm worker, but at the age of fifteen or sixteen he sought office work in Clinton, Massachusetts.

Dwight found a position with a printing company, hand addressing the wrappers of the local newspaper. Clinton was, by the standards of the time, a city, with tenement buildings whose addresses included half-numbers. The naïve, country-raised teen did not understand the reason for the fractions and chose to alter them to the next whole number, setting in motion a series of complaints against the company. When the confusion was traced to Dwight, he was fired.¹⁷ He returned to Northfield, working on farms with his brother Edwin, cutting and hauling logs.

In the spring of 1854, at the age of seventeen, Dwight declared to Edwin that he was "not going to stay around [Northfield] any longer" then informed his mother that he was moving to Boston.¹⁸ Betsey's brothers, Samuel and Lemuel Holton, owned two successful boot-and-shoe stores off Scollay Square, and Dwight was certain he would be offered a job. Arriving in Boston with very little left of the five dollars Edwin had given him for train fare, he visited Samuel, but received no offer of employment. Stunned by the

¹⁶ Quoted in Moody, *By His Son*, 34-35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35., Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, 44.

¹⁸ Moody, *By His Son*, 35.

rebuff, but unwilling to show his disappointment, Moody walked the streets of the city in search of work. His ill-fitting country clothes and his disheveled appearance elicited looks of scorn and pity. The evangelist never forgot the feeling of melancholy and loneliness:

I remember how I walked up and down the streets trying to find a situation, and I recollect how, when they answered me roughly, their treatment would chill my soul. But when someone would say: 'I feel for you; I would like to help you, but I can't; but you'll be all right soon!' I went away happy and light-hearted. That man's sympathy did me good. . . . It seemed as if there was room for every one else in the world, but none for me. For about two days I had the feeling that no one wanted me I went to the post-office two or three times a day to see if there was a letter for me. I knew there was not, as there was but one mail a day from Northfield. I had no employment and was very homesick, so I went constantly to the post-office, thinking perhaps that when the mail had come in and my letter had been mislaid. At last, however, I got a letter. It was from my youngest sister [Lizzie] – the first letter she ever wrote me. I opened it with a light heart, thinking there was some good news from home, but the burden of the whole letter was that she had heard there were pickpockets in Boston, and warned me to beware of them. I thought that I had better get some money in hand first, and then I might look out for pickpockets!¹⁹

After a week of rejection, and very little food, Moody announced to his Uncle Lemuel that because Boston held him in low regard, he was leaving for New York the following day. Lemuel was adamant that Dwight again talk to Samuel before setting out for what he believed would be the demise of his nephew, and suggested that Dwight muster some humility and respect for authority when asking Samuel for a job. The encounter put Moody in his place.

Samuel listened to the subdued young man, then stipulated the conditions for employment.

Dwight, I am afraid if you come in here you will want to run the store yourself. Now my men here want to do their work as I want it done. If you want to come in here and do the best you can and do it right, and if you'll be willing to ask whenever you don't know, and if you promise to go to church and Sunday-school, and if you will not go anywhere that you wouldn't want your mother to know about, we'll see how we can get along. You can have until Monday to think it over.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., 36-37.

²⁰ Ibid.

Moody immediately accepted the terms and began working as the "store boy," completing whatever odd jobs his uncles ordered. The following Sunday, Samuel sent his nephew to the Mount Vernon Congressional Church and Sunday school, and although Moody had been baptized a Unitarian, to him one church was the same as another.

The pastor of Mount Vernon was Dr. Edward N. Kirk, whose "earnest cultured addresses" were too lofty and sophisticated for Moody, who regularly seated himself at the back of the church.²¹ It was the more approachable Sunday school teacher, Edward Kimball, who eventually reached Moody through his kindness. During the first Sunday school session, Kimball began a discussion on the New Testament Gospel of John. Moody's poor familiarity with the books of the Bible and even poorer reading skills led to a frantic search of the Old Testament for the passage. Dwight's fellow students began nudging each other over the young man's ignorance, which Kimball quickly noticed. The teacher placed his finger at the appropriate location, exchanged his Bible with Moody's, and averted further embarrassment – a thoughtfulness Moody often recalled. But Kimball's sensitivity did little to diminish Dwight's dislike of the wealthy and fashionably dressed members of the Mount Vernon Church, or of the well-educated students who attended Sunday school. Moody felt out of place and out of touch, and was known to fall asleep during Dr. Kirk's sermons.

While Moody dutifully attended the Mount Vernon Church, he also joined the Boston YMCA, not because he felt drawn to the religious aspect of the organization, but rather to take advantage of its programs and inexpensive facilities. It was at the Y that Dwight began reading, and attending the lectures offered each week.²² His interests broadened and he regretted his past inattentiveness in school. In a letter to his brother

²¹ Ibid., 19.

²² Dorsett, *A Passions for Souls*, 44.

Samuel, Moody asked for his arithmetic book, so that he might study it, perhaps to assist him in better understanding his uncles' trade.²³

Dwight did well in the retail world, earning enough to outfit his entire family with boots and shoes and to send money to his mother each month. Dwight's goals were to save \$100,000 and to become a successful merchant, and to that end he used his free time learning the costs and prices of the merchandise and "quietly familiarizing himself with the details of the business."²⁴ His skills as a salesman earned him a promotion to manager of the new Court Street store, where he was joined by his brother Luther. Despite his success, Moody remained restive.

Edward Kimball observed Dwight's uneasiness, and lack of spiritual direction, but he also noticed his eagerness to learn and his robust energy. It was through Edward Kimball that Dwight Lyman Moody found his comfort in giving himself to his God. Moody often remarked "I was born of the flesh in 1837; I was born of the Spirit in 1856."²⁵ Kimball was exuberant at Moody's conversion and saw in him an immediate spiritual transformation. At the Sunday school teacher's urging, the young man sought membership in the Mount Vernon Congressional Church. Dwight's first meeting with the committee of deacons was disastrous, and, in hindsight, premature, for Moody could neither articulate his willingness to repent nor adequately express his conversion experience. It took several months of tutoring and encouragement by Kimball before Moody was able to pass the oral examination that led to his admission to the Church on May 3, 1856. Perhaps his new-found moral and spiritual direction, his having spent two years in Boston, or both, had changed Dwight. At prayer meetings he became more vocal, even outspoken, and he "searched for places to channel a growing evangelical

²³ Moody to Samuel, May 4, 1854, Moody Bible Institute.

²⁴ A. P. Fitt, *The Life of D.L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973 [1901]), 18.

²⁵ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 48. Edward Kimball witnessed Moody's conversion on April 21, 1855. Lyle Dorsett questions whether Moody confused the year, or he simply "believed God worked on his soul in a more gradual way."

zeal."²⁶ He grew to feel that Boston was too confining, too staid, and when he and his Uncle Samuel had a falling out, Dwight knew it was time to leave.²⁷ He returned to Northfield in the summer of 1856 to the entreaties of his mother to stay as head of the family. After two years of urban life, Moody found rural Northfield even duller than he remembered. For some reason, Dwight was drawn to Chicago, and in September, without any notice to his mother, he boarded a westbound train.

Chicago was no longer the small town of 350 it had been in 1830. Job opportunities in shipping, livestock, produce, meat packing, lumber, the construction trades, manufacturing, real estate, and retail drew immigrants from the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Western Europe, as well as Americans, particularly from the eastern seaboard. By 1856 the city had a population of 84,000. There was energy, excitement, and prosperity, but there was also misery, hopelessness, and poverty.²⁸ Moody only saw the possibilities.

Within two days the nineteen-year-old had met with Calvin Holton, another of Betsey's relatives, who owned a farm in Des Plaines, and through whom he secured a sales position at the boot-and-shoe store owned by two of Calvin's friends from Massachusetts, Charles and Augustus Wiswall.²⁹ Moody began his post in earnest, quickly becoming the best at both sales and profit. By taking on the disagreeable customers his fellow workers avoided, and employing aggressive tactics, the young man earned \$30 per week -- the equivalent of a month's pay in Boston. One salesman said

²⁶*ibid.*, 50.

²⁷ *Moody: The Biography*, 31. There is no record as to the particulars of the quarrel. John Pollock surmises that it may have centered on a raise in pay, or in Samuel's request of Dwight to sign a long-term contract to ensure he would stay at the store.

²⁸ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991). Cronon details the growth of industry and the changes that transformed Chicago.

²⁹ Dwight had written to Calvin in October 1855 to inquire about opportunities in Chicago and Moody's cousin Frank had gone west in the spring of 1856.

He would never sit down in the store, to chat or read the paper, as the other clerks did when there were no customers; but as soon as he had served one buyer he was on the lookout for another; if none appeared he would start off to the hotels or depots, or walk the streets . . . [or] stand in front . . . looking eagerly up and down for a man who had the appearance of a merchant from the country.³⁰

When the Wiswall brothers expanded their business to include a jobbing division, Moody was the obvious candidate to head the department. The young man took on the new position with gusto and unusual tactics, which included meeting "the emigrant trains and bludgeon[ing] newcomers by blunt speech and boyish grins into buying boots."³¹ His pay increased, but it was not enough to satisfy Moody. Within a year he found a sales job with the wholesale boot-and-shoe dealer, C. N. Henderson.

As the depression of 1857 spread throughout the country, those merchants who remained in business were left with high receivables. Although the boot-and-shoe industry fared better than many others, C. N. Henderson found that he, too, had thousands of dollars owed to him. In addition to his sales position, Moody willingly took on the task of collecting overdue accounts for the company. For the next year he traveled by rail and horseback throughout the countryside of Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri, persuading the merchants to pay at least a portion of their debts. Henderson appreciated Moody's determination and treated his employee well, almost like a son, but when Mr. Henderson died in 1858 Dwight moved on to Buel, Hill and Granger, yet another boot-and-shoe company.³²

Moody viewed Chicago as a land of opportunity, and with his goal of saving \$100,000 in mind, he began dabbling in real estate. His first purchase was near his

³⁰ Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, 64.

³¹ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 34.

³² Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 62-63. Although Moody was no longer in the employ of C. N. Henderson Company, the widow Henderson asked Moody if he would manage her late husband's affairs. William Moody writes that the "young man of twenty-three years, . . . shrank from the responsibility of handling an estate of \$150,000" and wrote home that "I never have been put in so responsible a position in my life, and my prayer is that I will do myself credit."

Uncle's farm. He quickly sold the parcel, which yielded a profit of \$50, and sought out more and larger deals. He also found profit in money-lending. In a letter to his brother George, Moody claimed that he "lent \$100 the other day and got seventeen per cent [interest] a day."³³ Monetary success was important to the young man, who was surrounded by those who had made fortunes, including John V. Farwell, with whom Moody would forge a long relationship. Farwell had arrived in Chicago "on a load of hay with less than four dollars in his pocket" and by age thirty-three was a wealthy and successful merchant.³⁴ Moody found the fast-paced atmosphere invigorating. The city was young, vibrant, and exciting, and gave itself over to ambitious, creative, and vigorous young men like Dwight. It was also a city of contrasts: mansions along Lake Michigan gave way to the shanty town of the Sands; entrepreneurs oversaw their empires manned by near-destitute immigrants; wealth and poverty lived side by side. When Moody first arrived he innocently wrote home "[w]e seldom ever see a poor person here, there is very little stealing going on," but his naïveté soon gave way to reality.³⁵

Although he continued an energetic pursuit of his material goals, he did not neglect his spiritual needs. Within days of his arrival in Chicago, Moody presented himself at the Plymouth Congregational Church and was immediately welcomed. With the city in the midst of a religious revival marked by the evangelism of "Christianizing the nation," Moody felt drawn to the individualism and earnestness of the movement, for he was "earnest in all that he did."³⁶ He was more comfortable within the less fashion-conscious Chicago church than he had been in Boston, and he rented several pews, which he

³³ D.L. Moody to George Moody, March 17, 1857. Powell Collection, Yale Divinity School.

³⁴ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 38.

³⁵ Quoted in Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 62.

³⁶ James F. Findlay, Jr., *Dwight L. Moody, American Evangelist 1837-1899* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 67-68.

filled each Sunday with his fellow workers, or persons he had met on the street. As his confidence grew, so did his outspokenness at services, which, however, offended the church elders, who believed his bluntness was inappropriate and his grammar unacceptable. Moody was distressed by the rebukes, but his fervor for evangelism was not quashed. In addition to attendance at the Plymouth Congregational Church he frequented the First Methodist Episcopal Church and the First Baptist Church, taking along acquaintances and strangers to listen to the preachers. When not traveling, Dwight spent nearly every evening at a prayer service, for he still believed that denominational doctrinal differences were unimportant. What was important was the message of the sermons and discussions. Enthusiasm notwithstanding, Moody was painfully ignorant of the appropriate way to pass the message on to others, directing the same bravado he used in selling boots and shoes to unsaved souls. It was through Mrs. Hubert "Mother" Philips, whom he met at the First Baptist Church, that Dwight altered his brusque approach.

Mother Philips became Moody's spiritual mentor, and, after he accepted her invitation to room at her boarding house, she encouraged his study of the Bible and Scripture and instructed him in the importance of spiritual follow-up.³⁷ As a successful salesman Moody knew the significance of keeping apprised of his customers' needs, but Mother Philips taught him that merely inviting (or cajoling) someone to attend services was insufficient – he must continue to serve the needs of his spiritual "customers." It was also through Mrs. Philips that Moody learned the necessity of evangelizing to children, particularly the forgotten street urchins who lived in the shanty towns.

Although new church-associated missions among the poor and immigrant populations of Chicago's North Side strove to provide spiritual guidance to prostitutes, gamblers, thieves, and drunkards, few actively recruited children. Moreover, none

³⁷ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 36. The boarding house, located on Michigan Avenue, was home "for the smart bachelors of Chicago" a step up for Moody who had been living above the Wiswall's store.

served the worst part of the city – the Sands, which the locals referred to as “Little Hell.” Philips told Moody of her work at the Wells Street Mission Sunday school of the First Baptist Church on the corner of Chicago Avenue, and she urged Moody to devote his energies to her cause. When he asked for a job at the mission, he was informed that there were sufficient teachers, but that the school needed more students. Moody rounded up eighteen street children, enticing them with coins, candy, or trinkets.

On a Sunday afternoon in the spring of 1857, Moody was preaching among the sailors who lived in the boarding houses along the Chicago River. J. B. Stillson, a Presbyterian elder, newly arrived from New York, was distributing “new Testaments and tracts and . . . [also] street preaching among seamen who were not likely to frequent a church.” The older man greeted Moody and suggested they join forces. Stillson, who referred to himself as a “soul physician,” saw in Moody a raw but honorable man who could make a difference, and Moody saw in Stillson a man of conviction. The two preached to adults in jails and hospitals, and “recruited children for at least twenty different mission Sunday schools,” since neither felt competent to teach the youngsters themselves.³⁸ At this developmental stage in Moody's evangelical life, Stillson, too, was a mentor, teaching Moody how to systematically study the Bible, and draw upon the Scriptures to emphasize a point of discussion.³⁹ Moody had not learned how to study during his few years of schooling, and this new experience underscored his educational shortcomings, and amplified his desire to learn. He worked to master the texts, but his reading ability was rudimentary and his verbal skills unsophisticated.

Moody was energized by his growing flock, but his travels for his employer, C. N. Henderson, kept him out of the city on most weekends. When Moody was away from the children, the children were away from the missions, for they found the rote learning

³⁸ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 62-63.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

uninteresting and the teachers too polished. Dwight's solution to their erratic attendance was to return to the city more frequently than the one weekend a month paid for by the company, and because he traveled by rail, he approached the superintendent of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Colonel Hammond. Hammond was acquainted with Moody through their mutual attendance at the North Side "New England" church, and he found the young man both lively and engaging. When Moody explained his need and asked Hammond for a free rail pass, the Colonel agreed. John Pollock notes that this request was "the first recorded solicitation of the man who was to draw vast sums into Christian enterprise."⁴⁰ Moody had his solution, but it was only temporary, for within the young man was a growing conflict between saving souls and saving money.

It was not until he began his association with Stillson that Dwight fully understood the conditions in which the illiterate and undisciplined children of the Sands existed. Many of these discarded youth were orphans, some had one parent – and not always a good one – and most were abused, undernourished, and destined for a life of poverty. Street gangs were common – tribes of unwanted ruffians who fought to survive. For the children he persuaded to attend Sunday school, his appearance meant they received a treat and the promise of a picnic. He gave them temporary relief from their squalid lives; his lack of refinement was an asset.

He expanded his ministry to the desperate children of the Sands, and in the fall of 1858 Moody and Stillson "appropriated an abandoned freight car on North State Street" for a meeting place, and were joined by a Mr. Trudeau, whose songs had a calming influence on the boys and girls. By the spring, however, the space was insufficient. Moody then rented a dilapidated saloon where his Sunday sessions were a mixture of prayers, singing, Bible readings and stories "punctuated by fights, screams, scuffles, and

⁴⁰ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 41.

laughter."⁴¹ Heading a school unlike any existing Sabbath school, and unlike any other head – for no other would venture into the Sands at night – Dwight earned the title of "Crazy Moody."⁴² His friend, the Reverend W. H. Daniels, wrote

Not content with capturing such children as he might find in the streets – whom he would sometimes chase into alleys and cellars, up and down ladders, and over piles of lumber, for the purpose of making their acquaintance – he also searched for them in their homes, making the acquaintance of their parents also, a good many of whom followed their children into the mission . . . At such times he often came across a Roman Catholic family, and sometimes narrowly escaped with a whole head. The enraged father, having previous knowledge of that heretical sugar [candy], and being exceedingly mad at Moody for coaxing his young papists away with it, – on seeing his beaming face and sturdy form coming upstairs, or in at the door, would sometimes seize a club, and rush at him with oaths and curses. At this Moody would obey the exhortation given by Highest Authority to certain earlier missionaries: "If they persecute you in one" place, "flee ye into another." At such times, he used to say, his legs were his best friends.⁴³

Moody enjoyed the challenge of gathering the people he felt most needed to be helped, but he also enjoyed recruiting "scholars" to assist him in his work.

In the spring of 1859 Moody joined the YMCA. The Chicago YMCA was both a gathering place for Christian businessmen like himself, and "a sort of clearinghouse for new methods and ideas to be used in all the local churches." The friendships he developed and the leadership skills he acquired at the Y served him throughout the rest of his life, and Moody ultimately made the YMCA "one of the principal vehicles through which he expressed his interest in public affairs."⁴⁴ It was at the Y that Moody renewed his acquaintance with John V. Farwell, whom he had met at the Methodist Episcopal Church. Farwell was well aware of Moody's unorthodox recruiting methods and of his

⁴¹ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 67.

⁴² Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 75; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 82. Newspapers which reported on the work of Moody found the name appropriate, and members of the formal religious community were known to use the pejorative term.

⁴³ Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 44. See also Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, Chapter 5, "The Children's Friend" for additional anecdotes of Moody's recruitment techniques.

⁴⁴ Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 71-72.

generosity in providing clothing and food baskets to the needy families of the Sands. Dwight's reputation for riding his pony through the slums to gather gang members and waifs for Sabbath school was fodder for church elders, but Farwell admired his creativity and his perseverance and volunteered to help him with his work, an offer that Moody gratefully accepted.⁴⁵ When the twenty-two-year-old realized that he could no longer accommodate the 300 plus children at the old saloon, he sought permission from Chicago's mayor, John C. Haines, to use the second floor of the North Market, and asked for help from Farwell.

The North Market area was more than adequate for Moody's needs, but the cavernous space needed seating, which Farwell purchased, and every Sunday morning Moody was found cleaning the hall because, as D. L. later recalled, "[e]very Saturday night a German society held a dance there, and I had to roll out beer kegs, sweep up sawdust, clean up generally, and arrange the chairs" in preparation for the Sunday afternoon gathering.⁴⁶ By two o'clock the hall was filled with both the returning street children and new recruits Moody had found during the late morning. Also present was his "Body Guard" – a group of thirteen street-smart and world-weary boys, including both an American Indian and an African American, who liked and admired the evangelist, and sought to protect Moody "from anyone who disapproved of religion or his school."⁴⁷ On the first Sunday of operation, Farwell arrived at the newly formed "North Market Mission Sunday School" to deliver the five-minute talk Moody had requested. Unfortunately, the chairs and benches Farwell ordered had not arrived, and the chaos

⁴⁵ J. Wilbur Chapman, *The Life and Work of Dwight L. Moody* (Philadelphia: International Publishing Company, 1900), 93-94. Chapman records that Moody once physically accosted a ruffian "whose riotous behavior endangered the existence of the school." Removing the youth from the rest of the attendees, Moody proceeded to apply "muscular Christianity" which apparently worked. Moody remarked that "It was hard work, but I guess we have saved him."

⁴⁶ Quoted in Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 55.

⁴⁷ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 68. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 76. William Moody lists the names of the boys: Red Eye, Smikes, Madden the Butcher, Jackey Candles, Giberick, Bill Blucannon, Darby the Cobbler, Butcher Lilray, Greenhorn, Indian, Black Stove Pipe, Old Man, and Rag-Breeches Cadet.

overwhelmed the businessman. Some of the boys were leaning against the walls while others were

jumping, turning somersaults, sparring, whistling, talking loud, crying "Papers!" "Black you boots!" "Have a shine, mister?" from which state of confusion they were occasionally rescued by a Scripture reading from Mr. Stillson, or a song from Mr. Trudeau, or a speech from Mr. Moody; only to relapse again into clamour and uproar, before the speaker or singer was fairly through.⁴⁸

Farwell entered the hall, made his way to Moody, and was introduced to the crowd as a guest speaker. After his brief talk, Moody unexpectedly nominated Farwell as Superintendent of the school, which was noisily approved by the children. Farwell, though shocked, accepted and remained in that position for the next six years, attending to the internal affairs and operation of the mission school while Moody continued his outside work.⁴⁹

Moody's success with the children of the Sands can be attributed to the man himself. As a poor student in Northfield, he was plagued with inattentiveness, and he understood how youthful energy and the lack of discipline contributed to distraction. His Sunday programs were specifically designed to gradually teach the hellions of the Sands how to behave. Moody

believed that music would calm their spirits, so he had five-minute talks punctuated by a minute of freetime (rowdiness) and then songs. This rhythm was employed for approximately two hours each Sunday. Then after about three months of being gradually exposed to the disciplines of silence, listening, and sitting, he promoted them to small classes where there were fewer breaks and where sustained periods of singing were followed by instruction from the Bible.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work*, 42.

⁴⁹ At times Farwell also acted as "treasurer", which usually entailed his contributing money to pay expenses.

⁵⁰ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 73; Moody, *My Father*, 93. Moody did not join in the singing, for as his son Paul wrote that his father was "almost tone deaf and unable to tell one tune from another. It is probably a caricature to say, as his family used to, that he could not distinguish "Yankee Doodle" from "Rock of Ages" if the first was played slowly and the latter jazzed.

With the increase in the number of smaller classes came the need for more instructors, and he turned to a young woman he had known for several years.

During his earlier days at Mother Philips' First Baptist Church mission, Moody had been invited to speak about his ministry. There he managed an introduction to one of the teachers, Emma Charlotte Revell, who was only thirteen at the time. The nineteen-year-old Dwight was smitten, but quickly realized that Emma was far better educated and more poised than the evangelist ever hoped to be. Her family had moved to Chicago from England when she was six, and her home environment was both cultured and comfortable. During the revival period, Emma joined the First Baptist Church and helped with Bible studies, which Moody frequented. Despite the differences in their ages and childhoods, Moody began calling on Emma. When he moved his school to the saloon, Emma occasionally helped with the small classes, and she offered, and Moody accepted, her continued support when he relocated to the North Market. Emma possessed a quiet dignity that Moody admired, and her serenity had a calming effect on the boisterous Sunday school. Like the city itself, Dwight and Emma were a study in contrasts. Aside from the disparity in their social and economic backgrounds, there were differences in their physical and personal characteristics: Moody was 5'6", large boned, impulsive, direct, and unafraid of public attention; Emma was 5'3", petite, supportive, reserved, and home-loving. Moody knew he wanted to marry Emma, but he was hesitant because he had decided to forsake his material goals and devote his life to his ministry. He did not wish to ask Emma into his world of inconsistent income, or possible poverty, but it was Emma, along with John Farwell, who encouraged Moody to dedicate his life to full-time evangelism. When Emma accepted Dwight's proposal in 1859, shortly after she graduated from high school, he could not believe his good fortune. They were

married three years later. Moody often remarked that she was "the best wife God ever gave a man."⁵¹

The choice to leave the lucrative business world was difficult, and Moody struggled for over three months before making his decision. By 1860, at age twenty-three, he was earning \$5,000 a year, was debt-free, and had saved over \$7,000.⁵² But his call to saving souls was stronger than his need for material wealth. After leaving Buel, Hill and Granger, Moody economized by moving from his smart Michigan Avenue address to the YMCA, where he received the use of a small room because of his volunteer work for the organization. He ate at inexpensive restaurants, or "made do on cheese and crackers," but he did not skimp on his gifts of food baskets and clothing for the poor families, or on the small enticements for the children. Dwight determined that he would live on what he had saved, and announced that "[w]hen that is gone, and there is no means of support, I'll return to business."⁵³

The weekly attendance at his Mission School fluctuated between 1,000 and 1,200 and to pay for the bags of fruit he left for his pupils Moody found it necessary to draw upon his savings. By the time president-elect Abraham Lincoln visited the North Market School on November 25, 1860 the number of students hovered at 1,500, and Moody had expanded his Sunday evening services for adults.⁵⁴ The presence of Lincoln at the School increased Moody's stature within the religious community, but it was his formal association with the YMCA that gave credence and respectability to his work.

⁵¹ Quoted in Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 76.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵³ Quoted in Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 51

⁵⁴ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 57; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 74. Lincoln had accepted the invitation by John Farwell under the condition that he not be asked to speak. However, Moody persuaded the president-elect to address the meeting at which time Lincoln said "I was once as poor as any boy in the school, but I am now President of the United States, and if you attend to what is taught you here, some one of you may yet be President of the United States."

In 1861, at the insistence of John Farwell, the Y appointed Moody librarian and city missionary and "assumed formal sponsorship of Moody's North Market Hall Mission and Sunday School."⁵⁵ Although the positions carried no monetary compensation, they did afford the evangelist access to official YMCA stationary for donation requests and the title of "Brother Moody," which overshadowed the former unflattering label of "Crazy Moody."⁵⁶ At the Y, Moody did whatever needed to be done, for he found no job too demeaning. He cleaned the premises, stoked the fires, sought out speakers and organized afternoon and evening prayer gatherings – all without neglecting his own Mission.⁵⁷ Dwight also changed the membership of the Y by inviting women to join as auxiliary members, which he believed was advantageous to the association and its ministry.⁵⁸

When the Civil War erupted, Camp Douglas was established at the southern end of Chicago, and the YMCA and Moody turned their attentions to the Union soldiers. Moody began distributing hymnals and bibles, preaching to the young men about hope and salvation, but invariably returned to the YMCA each night with packs of playing cards he had confiscated.⁵⁹ He recruited 150 lay and religious to help manage the tents he had erected for each regiment, in which he held eight or more meetings each day. In October 1861 the YMCA sent Moody to minister to the Union soldiers in Kentucky, and

⁵⁵ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 83.

⁵⁶ Moody refused compensation because it allowed him the flexibility to continue his ministry. Even if he had accepted a salary it would have been minimal because income for the YMCA was based on membership dues, most of which was necessary for rent and other operational expenses.

⁵⁷ Moody subjected himself to a grueling schedule, not only during his Chicago days, but also throughout his entire life. He did not smoke or drink, survived on three or four hours of sleep, and until he married he often forgot to eat.

⁵⁸ The egalitarian man believed that women were as capable, if not more capable, than men in ministering to "lost souls," and until Moody left Chicago, women were an integral part of the organization.

⁵⁹ Moody disapproved of card playing which he felt led to gambling. The abundance of whiskey and the plethora of prostitutes available at the Camp added to the temptations presented to the young men, some of whom were Moody's former students.

by war's end he had traveled to the front lines nine times, leaving John Farwell and Emma Revell to oversee the running of the Mission School. In 1862 Camp Douglas became a holding base for Confederate prisoners of war, and Moody, though criticized for attending to the rebels, met and prayed with the men. After a brief visit to Northfield in the summer of 1861, Dwight returned to Chicago and married Emma on August 28, much to the dissatisfaction of Betsey Moody, who had not met the bride.⁶⁰

For the next two years, Moody's schedule saw no relief. He worked seven days a week, took no vacations, continued his ministry with soldiers both at home and on the front, and began a fund-raising campaign for the establishment of what would become the Illinois Street Church. The plans for the new brick building, provided for a 1500-seat auditorium, a library, classrooms, and offices, to be situated on the corner of Illinois and Wells Streets, where land was inexpensive, close to its poor constituents, and not far from the fire-damaged North Market Mission. Several religious denominations contributed toward the \$24,000 construction costs, as did lay supporters of Moody and his work, but John Farwell was by far the most charitable – donating nearly half of the budget. Farwell's generosity extended to Moody personally, and the man assured Dwight that for as long as he was alive, Moody and his family would be financially secure. Moody was pleased with the new facilities, and he was delighted by the birth of his first child named Emma, after her mother, in October, 1864, yet his fast-paced life continued as he began fund-raising efforts for the planned Farwell Hall addition to the YMCA. He returned to ministering to the troops, and during his last trip to Virginia he took along his wife Emma,

⁶⁰ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 102-04. Betsey Moody was unhappy that Dwight had moved to Boston, and unhappier still when he went to Chicago. During his employment with the various boot-and-shoe companies, Dwight sent money to his family, and wrote quite often. When he resigned his post for full time ministry, the money stopped, as did his frequent letters. Lyle Dorsett theorizes that Betsey resented Emma for taking time away from writing home, or visiting, and that she may have believed that Emma was responsible for Dwight's decision to devote his life to evangelism.

perhaps in part because he had been so busy with commitments away from his family, and certainly because he admired her ability when talking with people one-on-one.⁶¹

Emma was physically and emotionally exhausted by the end of the trip. She had been in poor health since the birth of the baby, but continued her work with both the Y and the Mission school. The stresses of being away from her infant, seeing the horrors of war during its final weeks, and striving to keep up with her husband's grueling pace, exacerbated her asthma, which pushed Emma to the verge of collapse by June 1866. Dwight was so concerned about his wife's condition that he planned a holiday to Northfield, but shortly after their arrival Emma received word that her father was critically ill, and they immediately returned to Chicago.⁶² While the couple was enroute, Fleming Revell died. Emma was devastated, not only because she was so close to her father, but also because his passing was sudden and unexpected. Over the next several months she was away from the staggering pace of Chicago visiting with relatives, but when she returned in October she still had not regained her strength. Her physician proposed that she and Moody take a trip to England, declaring that the ocean air would be advantageous and the rest a necessity. Dwight accepted the suggestion, for he too was in need of a break. He had become irritable, short-tempered, and forgetful. When his long-time friend John Farwell confronted Moody about his shouting and ranting at those who criticized the evangelist, Moody retorted "You are not my boss. God is my boss."⁶³ Farwell urged his friend to take some time for himself, and offered financial

⁶¹ During the War, Moody met General Oliver Otis (O. O.) Howard, who praised the evangelist for his dedication to Christianity and his work among the Union soldiers. Howard, a staunch Christian, later became a supporter of Moody's Schools, and founded Howard University for the higher education of African-Americans. Howard was also instrumental in ensuring that American Indians did not wander from their reservations, and he had no patience with "renegades" who were unwilling to accept the ways of the dominant (and Christian) society.

⁶² The trip marked the first meeting of Emma and Betsey Moody, as well as an opportunity for Dwight to talk with his mother who had been cool to her son since his wedding day.

⁶³ Quoted in Pollock, *Moody, The Biography*, 79.

assistance for the voyage. The couple left in February 1867.

The sea air proved healthful for Emma, and she looked forward to visits with friends and family members whom she had not seen for nearly two decades. Dwight too rested, but only because of his seasickness throughout the voyage. The trans-Atlantic crossing was otherwise uneventful, but the balance of the visit was not. Moody planned to meet George Mueller, whose autobiography, *A Life of Trust*, had greatly influenced him, to visit with George Williams, founder of the YMCA, and to hear the evangelist Charles H. Spurgeon, who, like Moody, was neither well educated nor formally trained as a theologian.⁶⁴ Moody was unaware of his renown in the British Isles, that he and Emma would be sought-after guests for socials, teas, and dinners, or that he would be invited to preach throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. He visited the orphanages established by George Mueller, and met at length with Charles Spurgeon, whom Moody found inspiring, and who provided the evangelist with a new perspective on ministering to an industrialized society.⁶⁵

When the Moodys returned to Chicago in July, Emma's health had improved, as had Dwight's disposition, but the evangelist was barely unpacked when YMCAs outside of Chicago began imploring him to speak at conferences and meetings. His local YMCA engagements and his duties at the Illinois Street Church also required his attention, and within a month of his return his schedule was more hectic than it had been before his break. Farwell, who had been left with the responsibility of administering the Church in Dwight's and Emma's absence, was pleased with their return, but alarmed with Moody's frenzied pace. He was also concerned that the Moody family did not have a

⁶⁴ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 129-30. Baby Emma had been left with the Revells in Chicago so that the Moodys could spend some much needed time alone together. Dwight planned to keep his travels to a minimum while in England, but felt compelled to extend a greeting to the founder of the YMCA, and to attain his personal goals of meeting George Mueller and Charles Spurgeon.

⁶⁵ Moody had great respect for Spurgeon, but was both surprised and disappointed that he did not minister to the children of London, who lived in conditions as bad as, if not worse, than those of the Sands.

home of their own, so he presented them with one of the houses he had built on State Street, and supporters provided the furnishings.⁶⁶ On January 7, 1868, just six days after moving into their new accommodations, a fire swept through the neighborhood, destroying not only the Moody home, but much of the newly constructed Farwell Hall. Dwight immediately set to work on a fundraising effort to rebuild the Hall, and in just over a year the more modest addition was dedicated.⁶⁷ Farwell gave the Moodys another rent-free home, but financial concerns strained the family.

By early 1869 Moody was again exhausted. Emma had given birth to William Revell Moody in March and was in weakened health, Dwight was forced to deny his brother Samuel's request for a loan because of his own financial situation, and the combination of the physical and emotional demands on Moody, as well as his frequent out-of-town commitments left him overwhelmed, guilt ridden, and plagued with the belief that he was not doing enough for his family. "[H]e was even more burdened by a sense of never pleasing God because he could not meet the massive needs he observed everywhere he turned."⁶⁸ Moody wrestled with his emotional and spiritual dilemma, but with no resolution.

On October 8, 1871 Moody's life and the lives of over 100,000 of the city's residents dramatically changed. The great Chicago fire that engulfed over three and one half square miles of the North side of the city, destroyed 18,000 buildings and caused nearly \$200,000,000 worth of damage. Emma, Dwight, and the children left their home with not much more than the clothes on their backs, although Moody did save his

⁶⁶ Farwell had ventured into land development and home construction on the North Side of Chicago near the Church, in part to provide affordable housing within the area. The gesture was one way in which both Farwell and Moody supporters could express their gratitude for Moody's work.

⁶⁷ Cyrus McCormick, the farm equipment manufacturer, and Moody supporter, contributed a major portion of the needed funds. The new Farwell Hall was about half the size of the original; had neither dormitories nor a gym, and the auditorium, and library were smaller.

⁶⁸ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 148.

favorite Bible, and Emma carried away a portrait of her husband which she loved. Neighbors took the children to stay with family friends outside of the city, while Emma and Dwight remained behind to help where they could. The Illinois Street Church was lost, and the city was in chaos. No sooner had the fire subsided than Moody traveled east on a fund-raising mission, while Emma and the children moved in with her sister on the west side of Chicago.

Moody was unstoppable – making appeals in cities throughout the east including Philadelphia, and New York, where he called upon supporters and philanthropists to aid his cause.⁶⁹ Additionally he preached wherever he could, but, before leaving New York, Moody set aside some time alone, walking throughout the city, evaluating his life and his course of action. Moody was in crisis, for he was uncertain about the path he was to take for the future. His desperate prayers had gone unanswered for four months, but as he strolled along Wall Street in the autumn of 1871 he experienced a spiritual awakening that provided him with the direction he sought – to devote his life solely to preaching and to disengage himself from all other obligations. He returned to Chicago, told Emma of his epiphany and his plans to travel to England to study among the great evangelists of the country. But Moody did more than study.

From June through September 1872 Moody worked with the Reverend Mr. John Lessey in London, which resulted in the conversion of 400 souls, and he accepted invitations to preach. At the urging of the Reverend William Pennefather of London, Moody sailed home to gather his family, engage a song leader, and outline a return voyage to England. Pennefather assured Moody that all his expenses would be paid for by himself, Henry Bewley of Dublin, and Cuthbert Bainbridge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and that Moody's sole concern would be his preaching. Moody agreed that he would return the following summer.

⁶⁹ On December 24, a temporary structure was opened near the ruins of the Illinois Street Church, on Chicago Avenue. The new building was named the Chicago Avenue Church.

During the year between crusades in England, Moody established a training school for women home missionaries, which was funded by Cyrus McCormick, and bought and distributed "Christian tracts, small booklets, and papers" to members of the Chicago Avenue Church and the YMCA. He convinced Ira Sankey, his song leader since 1871, to join him on his return mission to England.⁷⁰ When the arrangements were made, John Farwell expressed his desire that Moody not leave Chicago, for he feared Dwight would not return. Perhaps Moody knew that as well, because he gave Farwell his favorite Bible, the one he had rescued from the fire. Farwell gave Moody \$500 for the trip – a generous and providential gift – for when the Moodys and the Sankeys arrived in New York to board the ship, the promised funds for passage had not arrived.⁷¹ Placing faith in his God, Moody and his band set off for the British Isles and the work that lay ahead.

The campaigns in England, Scotland, and Ireland, although occasionally grueling, provided Moody with more free time to spend with his family than he had ever before experienced. He loved and adored his wife and children and was content to play with Emma and William for hours. The evangelist was at peace with his calling yet energized by its demands. Even the obstacles the group encountered seemed insignificant, perhaps because they had the conviction of their purpose, the comfort of their families, and the support of thousands. Moody reveled in his ministering, particularly when he was working among the destitute children of the cities' slums, and the children loved both Moody and his message, as well as the songs of Ira Sankey. Sankey's beautiful voice and natural ability to engage his audience complemented Moody's

⁷⁰ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 175. Sankey and Moody met in 1870 while Moody was preaching in Indianapolis. The singing at the service was dreadful and Sankey was urged to take over. The inspiring singer intrigued Moody who pursued him for several months to join him in Chicago. Sankey acquiesced, but in doing so gave up "his secure and well-paying position with the U. S. Treasury Department" in Pennsylvania.

⁷¹ During the year that Moody was in Chicago, all three of the benefactors – Pennefather, Bewley, and Bainbridge – had died, and no one had informed Moody of their passing.

rousing and inspiring talks, and the team swept through two years of crusading with gratification.⁷² During their evangelizing, Sankey was asked to provide the words for his unfamiliar songs, and so began the first sales of the songbooks, whose royalties would provide income for Moody's future projects.⁷³ Sankey and his hymns were well received, and Moody expanded his notoriety throughout the British Isles. What Moody had not anticipated was the reception he received upon his return to New York on August 14, 1875. The man who left two years earlier as a respected Chicago evangelist returned as an international religious celebrity, greeted by a barge filled with religious leaders from New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, while "eastern newspapers reported their activities in the minutest detail."⁷⁴ The Moodys had to be secreted in a New York hotel until their evening train departure for Hartford, then hurried to the Springfield train before admirers swarmed the family. They arrived in Northfield on August 16.

Moody required rest and Northfield provided the peace that the entire family needed. D. L. roamed the hills he had enjoyed as a child and relished in the peacefulness of the Connecticut River valley, but the living arrangements with his mother and brothers, Edwin and Samuel, were cramped. When Betsey Moody's neighbor, Elisha Alexander, once again complained that Betsey's chickens were invading his corn fields, Dwight approached Alexander to purchase the acreage which the chickens fancied. Alexander instead offered to sell the house, the barns, and twelve acres for \$3500.

⁷² The campaign was not without its problems and irritations, but overall it was a huge success. The demands on Moody and Sankey were tiring, and despite the general appreciation they received the families suffered from homesickness, and at times, exhaustion. Moreover, distance from Chicago did not prevent Moody from worrying about the home mission and D. L. often wrote to John Farwell for news of the status of the Church and fund raising efforts.

⁷³ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 226.; 196-7. Sankey's first songbook *Sacred Songs and Solos, sung by Ira D. Sankey at the Meetings of Mr. Moody of Chicago*, netted royalties of \$35,000 in the summer of 1875; over 90 million copies of his hymnals were in circulation, and by the time of Moody's death in 1899, the trust fund he had established for the royalties had an estimated worth of \$1.25 million.

⁷⁴ Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 190. There were numerous evangelists during the late 19th century, some of whom drew upon donations for living expenses, but neither Moody nor Sankey received personal income from the royalties, or from their ministries, but lived on stipends, honoraria, and financial gifts from supporters, both at home and abroad.

Moody accepted. For the first time in his life he owned property, for the first time since he had left the business world he had no financial worries, and for the first time since he married he had a retreat for his family.⁷⁵ The solace was energizing, and as Emma took on the task of making the farm house into a home, Moody began work on new material for his next campaign.

Moody's acclaim brought visitors, admirers, and supporters to the once quiet New England town, and Emma became hostess to a stream of houseguests. In a letter to her friend Jane Mackinnon in Scotland she wrote

We are in our own home . . . and though in a most delightful spot with such beautiful scenery it is a place where it is very difficult to get servants, and I have had to act in all sorts of capacities. We have had company every day since we came into our house, and [it] has been a pleasure to my husband and myself, but I found my husband's urgent letters took most all of spare time.⁷⁶

The Moody family left Northfield in October 1875 and Moody and Sankey conducted meetings in New York, Philadelphia, Augusta, Georgia, Nashville, Louisville, St. Louis, and Kansas City, returning home in August, 1876. With the financial help of friends and supporters, the small four-room house was renovated and enlarged to accommodate not only the Moodys, but also their guests, and Moody began filling the farm with horses, sheep, chickens, and cows.

The Northfield Seminary

On a fall day in 1876, Dwight and his brother Samuel took a buggy ride to look at cattle. As they drove back through the hills to Northfield they happened upon the farm

⁷⁵ The Englishman, Edward Studd, was a Moody convert, who provided the evangelist with a liberal stipend, part of which was used to purchase the property. Other supporters, including the department store developer, John Wanamaker, regularly contributed to the support of both Moody and Sankey. When Moody purchased the farm, he planned to use it only as a summer retreat.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 214. In addition to the burden of running and maintaining the house, Emma helped her husband with the hundreds of letters he received soliciting him for speaking engagements, eliciting his support of other evangelicals, and requesting his prayers. Additionally, he corresponded with his contacts in Great Britain and the United States.

of Horace Sikes. Sikes was lying on a couch on the porch reading the Greek New Testament to his daughters, who were weaving straw hats. Sikes was an educated man, who had graduated from Oberlin College and taught school, but he had been stricken with a paralyzing illness that ended his career. He had instilled in his two daughters, Julia and Jennie, the value of education, but he was unable to provide for them beyond the meager schooling available in Northfield. Although the sales from the girls' weavings produced the only source of income for the family, they were not bitter. "The limitations of their condition and the apparent hopelessness of their future deeply impressed Mr. Moody. The sight of those women braiding hats in that lonely out-of-the-way place resulted in his determination to meet the peculiar needs of just such girls in neighboring hills and communities."⁷⁷ When Moody inquired as to what they would do with their lives, they replied

Well, Mr. Moody, we would like to get an education, if we could; we have had a common school education, but if we could get a higher education we would possibly be able, as teachers, to earn enough to support our parents, who are so poor. As it is now, Mr. Moody, our time is all taken up, as you see, in this work, from which we earn only enough to keep our family together.⁷⁸

The encounter reinforced Moody's concerns about the school system of Northfield, a topic dear to Samuel, who had often spoken to D. L. about his worry that their sister, Elizabeth, would have no worthwhile future if she had only the inadequate education available in the area. Further, Dwight expressed apprehension about the future of their six nieces, because their brother, George, could not afford to send his children to board in Greenfield where they could attend the public high school.⁷⁹ Samuel pressed Dwight

⁷⁷ Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 319.

⁷⁸ Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 286.

⁷⁹ Donald Austin Wells, "D. L. Moody and His Schools: An Historical Analysis of an Educational Ministry" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1972), fn1, 108.

to consider building a school, but his brother was about to embark on his Chicago campaign and the preparations consumed him.

It was during his Chicago crusade that D. L. realized that his home base should be Northfield. He was torn between the city he loved and the town of his birth, but Northfield offered a temporal comfort which, he found, renewed his spiritual drive. He could enjoy his wife and children, and be close to his siblings, particularly Samuel, for whom he had a special affection. In the midst of the Chicago campaign, Dwight received word of Samuel's death. Moody grieved deeply for his brother, then, no sooner had he returned to Chicago after attending Samuel's funeral, he received word of the death of his close friend and fellow evangelist Paul Bliss. Perhaps these tragedies indicated to Moody a change in his commitment to Chicago, for it was then that D. L. knew he would live in Northfield.

Moody returned in January, 1878 to prepare for his Boston engagement, and made arrangements to stay with Henry Fowle Durant for the duration of the campaign there. Durant was a retired Boston lawyer who had gained both wealth and prominence during his defense of the Goodyear rubber patent, for which he was paid half the patent's gains. Durant and Moody had known each other since 1867, when Durant sought out the evangelist for counsel after the death of his only son, at which time he told Moody of his concern for the education of young women. The two had visited Mount Holyoke Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts, established by Mary Lyon for the benefit of young women, and which impressed both men.⁸⁰ Taken by the school and its purpose, Durant established a similar institution, Wellesley Female Seminary, in 1870. Three years later it was chartered as Wellesley College by the Massachusetts Legislature, opening in 1875 on the grounds of Durant's estate. The purpose of the school

⁸⁰ Burnham Carter, *So Much to Learn: The History of Northfield Mount Hermon School for the One Hundredth Anniversary* (Northfield, MA: Northfield Mount Hermon School, 1976), 62. Mary Lyon was a relative of the Moody family who had begun Mt. Holyoke with \$27,000 in contributions "from 1,800 people in ninety-two towns, in amounts ranging from six cents to \$2,000."

was to provide young women of Christian character and limited funds an opportunity to attend a college that would prepare them for a career. The annual tuition of \$250 was approximately half the actual cost, which made it affordable to a larger number of young women. In structuring the curriculum, time was allocated for each student to work an hour each day, assisting the paid staff. Chores included laundry work, cleaning, or helping in the kitchen or dining rooms. Durant had adopted the idea from Mary Lyon, who believed that each student should be responsible for the maintenance of their home-away-from-home.⁸¹ The chores also underscored the dignity of labor, an elemental belief of Lyon, Durant, and Moody. During Moody's stay at the Durant home, discussions inevitably led to the educational problems of Northfield. Durant took Moody on a tour of Wellesley, which he had founded "to give advanced education, while always giving Christ and the Bible preeminence." Moody marveled at the curriculum and its emphasis on Bible studies, which led to talks about opening a Seminary for young women in Northfield. Durant urged Moody to consider building a school, but Moody, well known for impulsive behavior and limitless resolve, expressed an uncharacteristic reluctance to commit to such an undertaking. Moody declared that he was concerned about funding the enterprise, since most of the money from hymnal royalties was already assigned to other causes.⁸² Durant reminded Moody that there was always a way, and, perhaps to that end, he introduced Moody to a number of prominent Boston businessmen and philanthropists, including H. N. F. Marshall, who, like Durant, used his

⁸¹ See Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of an Educational Ideal*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940, 87-90.

⁸² See Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 270-277; Pollock, *Moody, the Biography*, 223-246. Most of Moody's decisions and courses of action were made with minimal planning and little circumspection, relying instead on his energy, drive, and a positive attitude. He got what he wanted. His hesitation in taking on such a monumental project may have been due to maturity (he was 40 at the time), his concern about the Chicago Avenue Church (which was unable to maintain stability in its preaching staff), his growing affinity to Northfield and the happiness of his family, or his desire to concentrate solely on his campaigns.

considerable wealth and time to advance Christian causes.⁸³ Moody and Durant prayed for guidance, and Moody retreated to the Northfield Homestead.

In June the Moodys had the opportunity to reciprocate the Durants' hospitality during the recent campaign, when the Boston couple invited themselves to Northfield. During the month-long visit, the men discussed the need for a school, and Durant continued to encourage D. L. to move forward, promising to serve on the Board of Trustees and to provide financial support.⁸⁴ Moody finally agreed and contacted H. N. F. Marshall, who arrived at the farm in August to determine a suitable setting for the school.

Moody and Marshall looked at several properties before exploring the land adjacent to Betsey's home. The site, which was owned by the town tinsmith, was about sixteen acres, contained a pond, a small house and outbuildings, and Parson Doolittle's grave. Coincidentally, as the men were discussing the ideal location, the owner walked by. "They asked him if he would sell, and learning his price, invited him into the house, made out papers, and before the owner had recovered from his surprise the land had passed out of his hands." Over the next several months Marshall purchased additional parcels, which increased the site to 100 acres.⁸⁵ The following spring, soon after the birth of Moody's third child, Paul Dwight, in April 1879, construction began on the recitation hall – later renamed Revell Hall – which would hold 58 students.⁸⁶ Dwight departed

⁸³ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 254. Marshall had been instrumental in organizing the Boston campaign, and the introduction also presented Moody with the opportunity to thank Marshall for his invaluable assistance.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 278. The ties between Durant and Moody were strong. Moody had accepted his appointment as a trustee of Wellesley College, which reinforced his allegiance to both Durant and women's education. Certainly Moody's association with the College added credence to its purpose as a Christian institution of higher education.

⁸⁵ Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 320. The property sold for \$2500. Always the savvy businessman, Marshall acquired the additional, untillable, acreage without disclosing the purpose of the purchase, thus keeping the sale price reasonable. Marshall held title to the property until Moody was able to buy it from him at the price originally paid.

⁸⁶ W. R. Moody, *The Story of the Northfield Schools: A History of Half a Century* (Northfield: Privately Printed, 1930), 9, 14. The construction cost for the recitation hall was \$7205; East Hall cost \$37,883 – all of which was paid for with donations and royalty income.

Northfield in October for his campaign in Baltimore, leaving Durant to incorporate the entity, select a board of trustees, formulate a tentative four-year curriculum, and compile and distribute the *Seminary Prospectus*.⁸⁷

The proposed course of study consisted of Algebra, Zoology or Natural History, Grammar, and Geography during year one; Algebra, Physiology, Botany, and Literature during year two; Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Rhetoric, History, and readings from Greek and Latin literature and Ancient Classics in year three; Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, Church History, Intellectual Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Political Science in year four. The ambitious program also required essay writing and public speaking.⁸⁸ Variations of the program allowed for students to choose college preparatory study, general studies, or English emphasis. The 1879 *Prospectus* stressed the use of the Bible and "[o]ther aids in assisting pupils to build strong Christian characters" as well as the needs for "Physical and Social Culture," "The Government," and the "Domestic Department," the latter of which meant that "[t]he girls will aid in the work of the houses and occasional exchange of work will give opportunity for even distribution of

⁸⁷ Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 226-27. Moody was comfortable in leaving the details of the curriculum and the construction under the supervision of men more capable than himself in those areas. John Pollock notes that it was during the winter of 1878-1879 that Moody and Sankey had a falling out and parted ways, and that the incident was known to only the closest of their friends. Moody wanted to conduct "a mission of less intensity, which would enable him to study at the same time." Sankey wanted to return to Europe "to be back among England's notables" but Moody countered that the impending birth of his third child, and his need for Bible and Scripture reading, would mean the postponement of a trip abroad. Sankey left for England on a singing campaign. Moody was then forced to reevaluate the school project, making plans to downsize it to a day school, since the funding he had planned on from the hymnbook royalties, would no longer be available, and "the trustees obviously could not make disproportionate grants to support Moody's pet schemes." (Although Sankey received no personal income from the royalties, they were technically his. Pollock further notes that the rift had nothing to do with money). Sankey's mission in England failed, and he asked Moody to take him back, offering the distribution of the royalty money as Moody saw fit. The two reunited, plans went forward with the recitation hall, and Sankey purchased a summer home in Northfield.

⁸⁸ There is no specificity as to which, if any, organized religion was favored in the Church History course.

different kinds of labor."⁸⁹ The school year was divided into three terms: fall, winter, and spring.

Applicants were to be at least fifteen years old, in good health, of "good bearing," and have a willingness to work in their studies. An annual tuition of \$100 was the charge to each student, which was approximately one-half the actual cost. Tutoring in English was available for \$21.00 per year, but in-class vocal music and drawing were free of charge. Students could also receive "[i]nstruction in Instrumental Music, Latin, or French . . . for which a moderate price will be paid." Each young woman was to "furnish sheets, pillow-cases, towels, napkins and napkin-ring, umbrella and waterproof, and see that every article [was] distinctly marked with the name in full."⁹⁰ With the Prospectus completed and ready for distribution, the next task was to find and hire competent staff and instructors. The first recruit was Harriet Tuttle, a friend of Henry Durant who had attended Wellesley College. Miss Tuttle was appointed principal; Miss Jessie Smith, a Northfield teacher, was hired as an assistant.⁹¹

Although the recitation hall was underway, the dormitory facilities were not. Moody, eager to have classes begin, offered his home as a temporary classroom and living quarters, since he and Emma would be in St. Louis. In typical Moody fashion, he left the details to others – chiefly, Mr. Marshall and Miss Tuttle. The reorganization of the house to accommodate sleeping quarters for the new arrivals also required the installation of a heating system for the top floor of the Homestead. The dining room became both classroom and dining hall, and with a newly hired cook and various supplies, all seemed ready for the opening on Monday, November 3, 1879.⁹² The girls

⁸⁹ *Prospectus: Northfield Young Ladies' Seminary* (Boston: Frank Wood, Printer, 1879), 4, 6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12, 11.

⁹¹ Henry Rankin, *Handbook of the Northfield Seminary and the Mt. Hermon School* (Chicago and New York: Fleming D. Revell, 1889), 18.

⁹² Richard Henry Pratt's Carlisle Indian School opened two days before Moody's Seminary.

began arriving by train the weekend before, but an 18" snowfall required that Marshall and Tuttle find sleighs to transport the students to the new Northfield Young Ladies' Seminary. Added to the confusion was the unanticipated number of students -- eight were expected; 25 arrived, two of whom were Julia and Jennie Sikes.⁹³ Although the Homestead had been expanded, the seventeen additional girls made living and classroom quarters cramped. Moreover, there were no library facilities, the teachers were inexperienced, and some of the students were not at the academic level demanded by the curriculum.⁹⁴ The inconveniences were overshadowed by the reality that these young women had an opportunity to advance their education. Within a month the recitation hall was ready, but it was another year before the dormitory opened. Although there were only four staff members, Harriet Tuttle, Jessie Smith, a matron, and Moody's nephew, Ambert, who was the handyman, the first academic year was underway. A typical day consisted of

6:15 a.m.	Rising
7:00	Breakfast
8:15 – 8:55	First Recitation Period
9:00	Chapel
9:20 – 12:00	Recitation Periods
12:30 p.m.	Dinner
2:00 – 4:30	Recitation Periods
6:00	Supper
6:30	Worship
7:00 – 8:30	Study
8:30 – 9:10	Silent Time
9:30	Retiring ⁹⁵

⁹³ Julia and Jennie Sikes were the farm girls which Moody met on his ride with his brother, George. For the first class the admissions procedures were informal, and communication between the administration – Mr. Marshall, and perhaps Miss Tuttle – and the applicants may have resulted in the additional students. Histories of the school provide no explanation as to why so many young women arrived, nor do the biographies of Moody, written by his sons, offer any insight – it is stated as fact. If correspondence existed regarding the discrepancy, it has been lost.

⁹⁴ Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, 322. The program was adjusted to provide "two full years of elementary instruction" for those students who were lacking in educational background in the basic subjects.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

In addition to class time students participated in their assigned communal work, which was performed "under the supervision of the Matron" and which task was to be executed "cheerfully."⁹⁶ The Seminary was also a working farm with cattle, horses, and pigs. "Milk, hay, apples, and a little pork and beef constitute[d] nearly all the produce of the farm; and, excepting a few of the apples, all [were] used by the farm or the school."⁹⁷ Although the girls were not required to do the farm chores, some offered to help Moody's brother, George, who supervised the property and the workers. The surroundings were homey and supportive, and students, staff, and the Moodys – when they were in residence – were an intimate group. Their lives were so intertwined that there was little room for outside distractions. Those girls who were far from their families and homes especially appreciated the closeness. The Seminary became their home and their fellow students and the staff were their family. Moody would have been pleased with the activity, but his only connection came in the form of infrequent and short letters to Mr. Marshall, Betsey Moody, and his brother Edwin. In the spring of 1880, the Moody family returned to Northfield, and Dwight saw the beginnings of the East Hall dormitory and the completed recitation hall.

At the dedication of the building, Moody declared: "My lack of education has always been a great disadvantage to me. I shall suffer from it as long as I live. I hope after all of us who are here today are dead and gone this school may live and be a blessing to the world, and that missionaries may go out from here and preach the gospel to the heathen, and it may be recognized as a power in bringing souls to Christ."⁹⁸ It was

⁹⁶ *Northfield Seminary Catalogue*, Boston: Frank Wood, Printer, 1883, 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁹⁸ Quoted in Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 232; Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, 288. Carter, *So Much To Learn*, 22. Burnham Carter argues that "[t]he Schools were not primarily concerned with preparation for college. They were to train what Moody called 'gap men:' Christian men and women who were not professional ministers or intellectual leaders, but who would be spokesmen for Christ in their homes and in their places of employment – Bible readers, YMCA secretaries, Sunday School teachers, city missionaries." The formulation of the curriculum by

a gratifying and emotional day for D. L. who, with the considerable support from friends, was able to provide for others the education he never had.

The Mount Hermon Boys' School

The years that Moody had spent in Chicago working among the discarded boys of the Sands, his experiences in England among the orphanages established by George Mueller, and his youthful lack of spiritual direction reinforced his belief that in order for boys and young men to successfully meet the demands of society, they required a solid Christian foundation.⁹⁹ While the rural Connecticut River Valley in western Massachusetts did not offer the same degree of hopelessness as city slums, it also did not present job-related diversity. Like the young women of the area, the young men had farm life, or factory work in the small cities of Clinton or Springfield, as their occupational prospects. Moody wished to provide a school for boys, which, like the Northfield Seminary would be designed for students with high aspirations but limited funds.¹⁰⁰ The plans for the project were encouraged by Hiram Camp, president of the New Haven Watch Company.

Hiram Camp was a wealthy and philanthropic Christian, who arranged for Moody to present a series of sermons in New Haven, Connecticut, beginning in March, 1878. Camp admired Moody and his work, and Moody admired Camp for his devotion to Christianity. For two months the evangelist preached to the poor of the city and to the elite of Yale. By the end of the well-received mission, Camp and Moody had developed

Henry Durant, as included in the *Prospectus*, offered a preparatory course of study, which provided students with options. As an evangelist, Moody wanted to spread the gospel, as his speech, and his life, indicated, but his desire to train missionaries did not necessarily preclude them from attending college. His goal for the school was to provide career choices for attendees and graduates, and missionary work was one of the options. In the *Handbook*, Rankin noted that "the majority [of students] are not looking forward to entering college, or any more advanced school" which was the purpose of providing more than one course of study. Rankin, *Handbook*, 67.

⁹⁹ Moody's desire was that a Christian education would produce both missionaries and evangelists to advance his beliefs.

¹⁰⁰ Wells, D. L. *Moody and His Schools*, 179-182, particularly fn1 page 180 and fn1, page 182. Wells points out that there are conflicting references as to when the idea for the boys' school was originally discussed, and he offers that perhaps the Seminary was established first because of the influence and financial support of such men as Henry Durant.

a deep respect for each other, and Moody offered Camp a position on the Seminary's Board of Trustees. Camp agreed to serve, and he offered long-term financial support for the school.¹⁰¹ Moody discussed with both Camp, specifically, and with the Board, generally, the need for a boys' school in Northfield, but it was not until the summer of 1880 that the plans took shape.

In August 1880 Camp was in Northfield to attend a religious conference as well as to seek Moody's advice. The successful businessman had provided for his family, and he wanted counsel on how to dispose of the remainder of his assets upon his death. D. L. suggested that Camp consider dispersing his wealth while he was still alive, thereby enjoying the good that it would bring not only to the recipients, but also to Camp himself. Camp then issued a challenge to Moody to found a school for boys, which coincided with the news that the Ezra Purple farm was going to public auction.¹⁰² Mrs. John Purple, the widow of one of Purple's sons, made it known that she preferred that the land be obtained by Moody for a "school or ministry purposes rather than have it go to anyone else." On September 10, Camp gave Moody \$25,000 to begin the school, the following day they walked the lands, and, in just over a week, Moody purchased approximately 275 acres of prime farmland on the west side of the Connecticut River for \$13,800.¹⁰³ The property included two farmhouses, two barns, several outbuildings, and a good well. As with the Seminary, the location was ideal because it was "far removed from the notorious 'evils' of a city or even a large town. [Moreover] the hazards of the Girls'

¹⁰¹ Dorsey, *A Passion for Souls*, 283.

¹⁰² This was the same Ezra Purple who had threatened Betsey Moody with eviction shortly after the death of her husband.

¹⁰³ Dorsey, *A Passion for Souls*, 285. Dorsey also notes "[t]he irony of this providential turn of events was not lost on Dwight L. Moody." (284). A detailed explanation of the purchase of the lands can be found in Thomas Coyle (ed.), *The Story of Mount Hermon* (Mount Hermon, MA: Mount Hermon Alumni Association, 1906, 13-17. Discrepancies exist as to the number of parcels of land, and when and how they were purchased. See also Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 23-24.

School nearby were greatly reduced by the fact that there was only a toll bridge across the river, closing at night."¹⁰⁴

During the dedication ceremony for the East Hall dormitory, Moody announced that "I have hoped that money might be given for a boys' school, and now a gentleman who has been here for the last ten days had become interested in my plans, and has given twenty-five thousand dollars toward a school for boys."¹⁰⁵ Moody asked Camp to serve as president of the Board of Trustees of the new institution, and presented Camp with the honor of naming the school. After much thought he "hit upon Mount Hermon: the biblical Mount Hermon was on the far side of the river; it 'shall rejoice in thy name;' and in the great short psalm of unity, Psalm 133, 'there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.'"¹⁰⁶ The Board took shape, drawing upon numerous clergy and businessmen, including Julius Estey, the pipe organ manufacturer from Brattleboro, Vermont. What failed to transpire was an organized plan for the school's operation.

Unlike the Seminary, the new school had no pre-arranged or formalized curriculum, the staff was inadequate, and the farm buildings received only minor alterations. Yet on May 4, 1881, the Mount Hermon Boys' School opened to thirteen boys who took up residence in the North Farmhouse. In July an additional thirteen arrived and were housed in the South Farmhouse. The Seminary's opening had minor problems when compared to those of Mount Hermon. Moody chose to accept boys who were orphaned or indigent, and the children had no understanding of the expectations of a formal school. Further, those between the ages of eight and twelve were undisciplined and inexperienced in farm work and were often bullied by the older boys. The two

¹⁰⁴ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 321.

¹⁰⁶ J. C. Pollock, *Moody: The Biography*, 242. At one time Moody had considered calling the school the Northfield Boys' School, but the school was located in Gill, Massachusetts.

teachers – Miss M. L. Hammond who conducted lessons in the North Farmhouse, and Miss Nettie M. Holton who taught in the South Farmhouse – were on their own to deal with both studies and discipline, and although each house had its own matron, the women were overworked and overwhelmed with cooking, cleaning, and organizing the space which functioned as both dormitory and classroom. A small wooden house was constructed in September of 1881 to act as a recitation hall, but it could accommodate only 24 boys, and for most lessons, the farmhouses remained the primary teaching facility. Classes were further compromised by the need for the boys to work each day on the property.

As at the Seminary, the students were required to contribute to the support of the institution through their communal chores, but at Mount Hermon, the labor of the students was essential to the operation of the farm. George Holton supervised the boys as well as a few hired workers, and the Trustees determined that only boys between the ages of eight to eighteen were to be offered admission. The decision to accept youngsters proved disastrous because they had neither the strength nor the stamina for the physically taxing work. Moreover, in both social and practical terms, the young boys "were just too much trouble to work with," and, after a few years the age for admittance was raised to sixteen.¹⁰⁷ Paul Moody gently referred to the first three years of Mount Hermon's existence as "experimental," but they were, in reality, educationally disastrous, and during that time the school was primarily devoted to farm work and maintaining order. Mount Hermon also operated year round, with four terms of three months each, which allowed the faculty and staff no relief. The outline of the school day was as regimented as the Seminary, but until E. A. Hubbard became the first official principal in

¹⁰⁷ Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 293. The age for admission was raised in 1885.

1884, the schedule was light on academics.¹⁰⁸ Notwithstanding Hubbard's curricula improvements, the students' contribution to the operation of the farm remained an essential part of each day. The boys' routine was demanding.

6:00 A.M.	Rising bell rings.
6:15 A.M.	The officer of the floor (a student) makes a tour of the rooms to make sure that no one has forgotten to get up.
6:30 – 6:50 A.M.	"Silent time" for private devotions
7:00 A.M.	Breakfast, after which beds are made, rooms cleaned, etc.
7:40 – 11:50 A.M.	Study and recitation periods
11:55 A.M.	Chapel exercises, lasting about half an hour
12:30 P.M.	Dinner
1:20 – 3:30 P.M.	Work-time
3:30 – 4:30 P.M.	Study, or other school duties
4:40 – 6:00 P.M.	Recreation
6:00 P.M.	Supper, evening devotions being held just before the meal
7:00 – 9:30 P.M.	Study hours
9:30 – 10:00 P.M.	Evening "silent time"
10:00 P.M.	Lights out, and inspection by the floor officer ¹⁰⁹

Compounding Mount Hermon's problems was the absence of Moody himself. From September 1881 through May 1883 and again from October 1883 to July 1884, Moody was away from the school on evangelical missions in the British Isles and the Continent, while concurrently raising funds for the schools. During his absence, the Girls' School flourished, while the Boys' School languished. The Seminary expanded its faculty and staff, structured an efficient administration, planned and erected several new buildings, and held its first commencement exercise. In contrast, Mount Hermon experienced frequent and numerous changes in both faculty and staff, had no formal administration, and made only minor improvements to the school's buildings and grounds. Also during Moody's crusades, the student body became more culturally diverse, but, while the Seminary garnered praise for its programs, Mount Hermon suffered

¹⁰⁸ Julius Estey served as the unofficial principal of the school during the first three years, but his business commitments permitted infrequent visits to the campus, and little input on curriculum improvements.

¹⁰⁹ Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 328-29.

from a poor reputation in both academics and discipline.¹¹⁰ With D. L. back in residence in 1883, at least for a few months, the Boards of Trustees pleaded for more of his time, and some of his energy. Moody, although again exhausted and needing the tranquility of the Homestead, attended to his obligations.

The poor son of Betsey Moody returned to his home having attained his goal of financial security. D. L. Moody had it all – a loving family, a comfortable lifestyle, and world renown.¹¹¹ At age forty-seven, he was still a robust and energetic man, enthusiastic about the future and optimistic about the influence of his schools. He was pleased with his accomplishments – accomplishments he could not have envisioned when he left western Massachusetts three decades earlier, accomplishments he achieved, not according to his bold, youthful plan, but after giving himself to his God. That Moody's upbringing, experiences and drive to succeed shaped the man and the evangelist is clear. After meeting and accepting a life-altering religious conversion and redirecting his energy toward Christian crusades, he met and accepted his discomfort with his inadequate schooling and established institutions for educationally and financially disadvantaged children. D. L. Moody was a major figure of the nineteenth century, but his legacy, as he prophetically stated, shall be "my school work . . . [and] when I am gone I shall leave some grand men and women behind."¹¹²

¹¹⁰ See Wells, *D. L. Moody and His Schools*, 146-162 and 214-229.

¹¹¹ Moody, *My Father*, 29-32. Although Moody and his family received donations from various supporters, his income was derived from the printing of his sermons. See Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 430. Paul Moody wrote of the material excesses of his father, particularly with regard to the number of horses and farm animals he maintained, and personal items. Paul notes that when D.L. found there was inadequate china in the house "he placed so large an order that barrels of it arrived." When the Homestead was in need of rugs, Moody could not choose among the various Oriental styles presented "so he bought them all, and we could have gone into the retail rug business. . . . When he could not find some things, such as tables or chairs, to his taste he had them made." Paul Moody enumerates other large purchases of "one hundred and forty-four suspenders, large size, all white" and neckties, which Moody "bought by the gross." Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 402. Moody's personal wealth at his death in 1899 was estimated at "only a few hundred dollars, and a house. . . . [but] no one knows how much money was given to him by friends, business leaders, and campaign organizers in various cities." See also fn 73.

¹¹² Quoted in Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 412.

CHAPTER 3

THE NORTHFIELD SCHOOLS: GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY, 1880 – 1970

The opening of the Northfield Schools was eagerly received throughout the national Christian community, and requests for admission poured in from across the country. D. L. Moody, well known for his dedication to the well being of children, found it difficult to refuse such appeals, and, perhaps because of his generosity, entreaties were often made directly to the evangelist.¹ Such was the case for the first American Indian students who entered the Seminary and Mount Hermon in 1880 and 1883 respectively. All of the Christianized young women and men were members of the relocated tribes of Indian Territory, but the extent of their acculturation varied. Whether by choice or suggestion, the new students entered the schools, whose geographical origins had expanded beyond the towns of Western Massachusetts but whose cultural origins remained solidly Anglo-Protestant.² The addition of Native students seemed to present no extraordinary challenges to the faculty and staff; the challenges that arose were those faced by the matriculants themselves: intense academic requirements, separation from their communities, and the uncertainty of new surroundings. It can be argued that much of the student population experienced the same anxieties, but the Native enrollees had the additional burdens of determining which aspects and how much of

¹ Burnham Carter, *So Much to Learn: The History of Northfield Mount Hermon School for the One Hundredth Anniversary* (Northfield, MA: Northfield Mount Herman School, 1976), 30-34. In the early years of the schools Moody made several autonomous decisions to accept students without regard for the resulting burdens placed upon the faculty and staff. D. L. was a man of action, not circumspection, and such instances were not uncommon. For example, Mount Hermon Board member, Henry Rankin was so upset about Moody's pronouncement to add English orphans to the school that he penned a 22 page letter to Mount Hermon Treasurer William Lee, enumerating his frustrations with the decision.

² NMH Archives, Seminary Enrollment Book, Mount Hermon files. Students hailed from Vermont, Connecticut, New York and England. One of the early students at the Boys' School was Thomas Coyle, a Catholic, who was the only boy not associated with a Protestant denomination.

mainstream society they wished to syncretize or adopt, and making those choices with few, if any, other Native students in whom they could confide.³

Between 1880 and 1960 the attendance of American Indians at the Northfield Schools was inconsistent, for there was no specific program of recruitment, and after Moody's death in 1899 the connection with Indian Country and his evangelical and religious network waned.⁴ Of the Native students who did attend, most returned to their communities armed with the skills and knowledge to work and walk within two worlds.

The First Native Students

Early in 1880, while Moody was conducting his Boston mission, the Reverend Robert West, editor of the Congregational weekly, the *Chicago Advance*, contacted the evangelist about the need for Native teachers in Indian Territory/Oklahoma. The relocated members of the Civilized Tribes wished to have their children instructed by tribal members who understood the cultural nuances of their societies as well as the demands of mainstream America, and parents proved more willing to send their children to schools staffed with Native teachers. Further, missionaries who worked among the various Peoples reaffirmed that Christianized Native educators were highly effective in the classroom.⁵ West called upon to Moody to accept young Native women for further schooling in preparation for teaching careers, and D. L. responded to his fellow Christian

³ The challenges and decisions that students faced and made in the 1880s are much the same today, particularly for those students who hail from traditional, close-knit communities.

⁴ Rubendall to Gordon Pryer, NMH Archives. Records indicate that 37 young women attended the Seminary, and 29 young men were at Mount Hermon during the 80-year period. In a January 4, 1956 intra-school memo Mount Hermon headmaster Howard Rubendall asked why the school "no longer had boys from Indian reservations" and "whether the national situation changed such that there is no longer any call for help for such boys."

⁵ Some mission schools employed both Native teachers and staff members, further easing student transition from home life to school regimentation. Marguerite Bigler Stoltz, *The Dove Always Cried: Narratives of Indian School Life* (Blacksburg, VA: Pocahontas Press, Inc., 1994), 45-59; and Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851 - 1909* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 52-71.

by dispatching the Seminary's principal, Harriet Tuttle, to Indian Territory at the close of the 1880 school year.⁶

Tuttle traveled to the eastern region of Indian Territory, visiting the Presbyterian missions and meeting with potential candidates from Eufaula, Wealaka, Vinita, Checotah, and Limestone Gap. Moody had authorized the principal

to receive into the school a dozen [Indian women], if so many candidates might be found, free of expense to themselves. But Miss Tuttle found many more who would have been fitted and glad to go to Northfield had the way been open; and she selected sixteen, who became members of the school with the new year.⁷

Joining the New England girls of the Fall, 1880 incoming class were Mary Jane Colbert, Kate Timberlake, and sisters Jennie and Rose Yargee of the Creek Nation; from the Cherokee Nation came Kate Shaw, Ida Stephens and sisters Fannie and Lydia Keyes; Jessie Anna Ironsides, a Shawnee; sisters Hattie and Nina Ward of the Choctaw; and Ida Beatty, Annie Rogers, Lettie Simmons, Louise Stidham, and Annie Wright, whose tribal affiliation was not given in the records.⁸ These young women were well on their way to acculturation prior to arriving at the Seminary.⁹ The students did not dress in traditional

⁶ Richard K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody: The Biography of the American Evangelist Who Changed the Climate of Life in the United States and Britain at the End of the 19th Century* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), 267. There is no evidence that Moody believed American Indians needed salvation any more than residents of city slums, nor that his acceptance of Native students was based solely on their cultural affiliations. It is also unlikely that he agreed to further assimilation because he was unconcerned about social issues. Throughout his career Moody was repeatedly and harshly criticized by the press and reformers for his lack of involvement in such problems as the exploitation of workers by the robber barons. For example, the Haymarket Riot of May 4, 1886 at the Chicago plant of his friend, Cyrus McCormick, left Moody "hard put to justify the action of the strikers." Given that his campaigns were underwritten by wealthy businessmen, "Moody was exposed to their viewpoints more than to those of the poor laborers."

⁷ Henry Rankin, *Handbook of the Northfield Seminary and the Mt. Hermon School* (Chicago and New York: Fleming D. Revell, 1889), 24. Tuttle was hard pressed to select only sixteen students from the group that applied.

⁸ Ida Beatty was listed as living in Vinita, a predominantly Cherokee town, but it was also home to Creeks and Shawnees; Rogers is a surname associated with the Cherokee Nation, but there is no indication that Annie was Cherokee. Each of these young women was assigned the designation of "Indian Territory" as their home. With the loss of the contents of the student files at the NMH Archives the data has been reconstructed from administrative sources including the enrollment book.

⁹ The enrollment book does not reflect whether the women were of full or mixed blood.

clothing, and they had a good command of the English language. How many years of schooling they had is unknown, but considering that the average age of these young women was 20, and that their sponsors understood the demands of the curriculum, it may be surmised that they were good students.¹⁰ Moreover, they were Christian, which was important, although not a requirement for matriculation.¹¹ Notwithstanding Moody's good intentions, there were problems, not unlike those of federal boarding schools.

The Native women were separated from their families, their communities and their customary ways of living, and, although they had the comfort of each other and could communicate in their first language if they wished, the regimented schedules and academic demands were burdensome and frustrating. Further, the socially conservative town of Northfield, Massachusetts, with its cold, damp, and snowy winters, was unlike the kinship settlements of Indian Territory/Oklahoma with their mild seasons.

Homesickness plagued not only the Native students, but also the other boarding girls, and faculty, staff, and the Moodys strove to help them feel as if they were part of a family.¹² When D. L. was at Northfield, he personally tried to make his students feel welcome, often spending time with the girls in the afternoons and evenings. Once per term, and never with warning, D. L. would burst into the classrooms, and declare the end of the school day; he and all the students would go hiking in the hills. The much-

¹⁰ Although tuition, room and board were free, students had other minor expenses which were paid for by the Presbyterian mission or individuals. Sponsors attested to the moral character and ability of each young woman.

¹¹ Rankin, *Handbook*, 11. The underpinnings of the school were evangelical, but "[n]o constraint is placed upon the religious views of anyone . . . pupils are encouraged to make an independent personal study of the Bible, and to form their own estimate of its value and teaching . . . [t]he chief emphasis of the instruction given is placed upon the life."

¹² *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Northfield Seminary, 1882-1883* (Northfield Mount Hermon Archives), 17. D. L. Moody understood the crushing effects of isolation and loneliness as well as the comfort of being surrounded by caring mentors. His wish to provide a family-like setting was so genuine that publications regarding the school referred to the student body as the family. In the *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Northfield Seminary, 1882-1883*, the section on "Government" states "[t]he requirements in our family (emphasis added) are such as are needful of the comfort of all; and the ultimate end of all discipline is to aid in establishing habits of thoughtfulness, self-government, and politeness."

anticipated event became known as "Mountain Day," which remains a tradition at NMH.¹³

Moody's own experiences with loneliness, isolation, and the stigma of poverty made him acutely responsive to the feelings of the American Indian students and to their cultural roots.

Mr. Moody did not want them to feel homesick, so he thought he would take them for a walk and, before he thought of where he was taking them, found he was leading them past the Indian monument on Pachaug Hill (which tells of a white man being killed and scalped by the Indians.) So, quick as a flash, he said, "Let's run and see who will get to the foot of the hill first."¹⁴

Such consideration was typical of Moody but his thoughtfulness could not erase the reality that distance and the lack of funds prevented the Native students from returning home during winter breaks and summer vacations. The staff did their best to foster a home-like environment, and during the summers, the Native students, and occasionally some non-Native girls, lived in the small cottage known as the Farm House.¹⁵

After less than a year, Lettie Simmons, Annie Wright and Ida Beatty returned to Indian Territory, but the circumstances of their departures are unknown.¹⁶ It is recorded that Annie Wright became a teacher at an Indian school in Atoka (Indian Territory), the capital of the Choctaw Nation, and that Ida Beatty returned to Vinita. The remaining students continued at the Seminary for between two and six years. Kate Shaw, Kate

¹³ Today, seniors have their own "Mountain Day" which is a hike on the nearby 3100' Mt. Monadnock in Keene, NH. The other classes continue the tradition of hiking Northfield Ridge, and as the students progress from freshmen to juniors the trails become more difficult. At the crest of the Ridge, which is also accessible by vehicle, the dining staff has a prepared lunch ready for the students. As Grechen Askins notes "It was a party atmosphere [t]he best part about Mountain Day was that we were not only relieved from attending classes, but we also did not have to go to work/job. Other than Mountain Day there were no other 'days off' from work job. . . . Then we all had to hike back." In 1883, Mt. Holyoke College began the "Mountain Day" tradition.

¹⁴ Mary Eliza Silverthorne and Paul Dwight Moody, *The Life of Evelyn S. Hall, Principal of Northfield Seminary, 1883 to 1911* (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914), 80-81.

¹⁵ Rankin, *Handbook*, 32. In addition to providing a more intimate living arrangement at the Farm House, the dormitory was available to accommodate the many visitors to Northfield who came for summer convocations and religious conferences.

¹⁶ Enrollment book, 1880, NMH Archives.

Timberlake, and Ida Stephens all left after four years, and each became a teacher. Jennie Yargee went on to college. At age 24, Lydia Keyes joined the Seminary's first graduating class in June 1884, having completed the English Course.

Keyes's fondness for the Seminary, and her satisfaction in graduating, led her to write to the "Principal Northfield Seminary" on September 29, 1914 to ask for help.

Being one of the old girls - a member of the class of '84, I feel that I may address you as a friend. I am in trouble - a few years ago my home was destroyed by fire. The most valued possession lost, was my Northfield diploma. Of course it cannot be restored, but could I secure a duplicate? Such a paper would be of great use to me in obtaining a diploma from our State Normal. Please advise me in regard to this matter. Very sincerely,
Lydia Keyes Taylor, Box 511, Tahlequah, Okla.

On October 16, Charles E. Dickerson, the principal, responded, writing that "members of our committee . . . find in favor of granting your request" and asking "to know about your work as one of our graduates." Lydia summarized her life after graduation:

A few days ago the mail brought to me my new diploma. To say "I thank you" does not half express the gratitude I feel. This giving of help and pleasure is the true Northfield spirit. You wish to know somewhat of my life since leaving its shelter in 1884. How shall I condense a life history to a few words? In September 1884 I entered on my duties as girls classroom teacher in Wealaka Mission School among the Creek Indians [sic]. With varying successes, I remained at this school three years. Then wishing to be nearer my mother and younger sisters and brother - I resigned the work at Wealaka to accept a similar position in the Cherokee Orphan Asylum at Salina - Indian Territory. There five happy years were passed - when the extreme illness of a sister called me home. Being at liberty once more, I was transferred to the Female Seminary at Tahlequah - two terms was [sic] spent at this institution. About this time a Missionary Baptist minister, looking for an assistant - persuaded me that I was the one needed. Then followed in quick succession the years of wifehood - motherhood - and now widowhood. Six years ago Mr. Taylor was "called away." My home is gone - but I am anticipating a better one - even "the one not made with hands." My Heavenly Father has been very, very good to me through these changing-busy years. I have tried to fashion my life in accord with our class motto "Freely Ye have received - freely give." Again thank you for your kindness - the continued kindness of Northfield. Yours of '84, Lydia K. Taylor¹⁷

¹⁷ Correspondence from the file of Lydia Keyes, NMH Archives, Northfield School, #46. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions opened a day school in Wealaka (Creek Nation) in 1881, and a boarding school in 1883. The remains of the mission and the Mission cemetery, relocated northwest of present-day Leonard, OK.

Another future teacher was Lydia's classmate, Jessie Ironsides, who remained at the Seminary until 1886, graduating from the Latin Course at age 23. She taught in Rio de Janeiro, and in 1891, began teaching at the Fort Payne Academy in Alabama.

Of the sixteen young Native women who matriculated in 1880, only two received diplomas. Although the percentage may appear low (12.5%), when compared with the general population during approximately the same time, their success rate was comparable. Between 1880 and 1888 there were 59 non-Indian graduates out of the total of 839 non-Indian enrollees, for a graduation rate of 7%.¹⁸ In the late 19th century many of the Seminary's student body attended for a year or more without completing a specified course, yet a few years of formal education provided students with an advantage in the job market. This was true for Mount Hermon as well, which did not graduate its first class until 1887.

Although the stated goals of both schools was to provide a sound Christian education for students of limited financial means, Moody had different aspirations for attendees and graduates of the Boys' School than he had for his Seminary students. In December 1880 Moody declared

My plan is to take boys of unfortunate parents who are not able to educate them; but the boys shall be promising, and such as, if educated, would make good preachers and missionaries.¹⁹

Perhaps because the student body would include indigent, discarded, and orphaned children, Moody felt it was necessary to clarify that the school was not a reformatory, but

¹⁸ Calculations are based on information from the administrative files of the NMH Archives. The total enrollment for the period was 855, with 61 graduates, which included the Native students.

¹⁹ "Mr. Moody's School for Boys." *The Christian* (London), December 30, 1880, 16. NMH Archives. As early as the mid-1860s Moody talked about opening a formal school for boys in Chicago, where he could educate the boys and young men of the Sands and other economically and socially depressed areas, but his subsequent world-wide notoriety, his decision to devote his life to evangelism, and Hiram Camp's monetary support for a boys' school near Northfield, changed the location. See also James Findlay, "Education and Church Controversy: The Latter Career of Dwight L. Moody," *The New England Quarterly*, 39(2), June 1966, 211.

a Christian educational facility.²⁰ Further, Mount Hermon would provide a well rounded environment offering "alternate periods of study, manual labor and play, in such proportion as shall be found best adapted to [the students'] welfare."²¹ The reality was that the boys often worked at their assigned labor more than they studied, and they "could do extra work in their leisure time, for which they were paid a modest hourly wage."²² Moody may have been oblivious to the caliber of Mount Hermon's academics, choosing rather to see that poor boys were receiving more education than they could hope to get elsewhere. When two brothers who had begun their studies at the school's inception informed D. L. that "they were leaving for home, because their mother wanted them to prepare for college," Moody seemed genuinely surprised.²³ His response reaffirmed the purpose of Mount Hermon

The world has too many college men – too many men with book learning – too many smart men. The college is not turning out men needed for today. What we want is [sic] men who can go out as colporteurs, YMCA secretaries, Bible readers and city missionaries. Take a short cut through a preparatory school and get to work.²⁴

²⁰ "Mr. Moody's School for Boys," 16. In 1899, Rankin reiterated that "Mount Hermon is not a reform school." *Handbook*, 101.

²¹ *Circular*, 1881. Also noted in the *Handbook*, 143-44. NMH Archives.

²² Donald Austin Wells, *D. L. Moody and His Schools: An Historical Analysis of an Educational Ministry* (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1972), 209.

²³ Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 291.

²⁴ Colporteurs were ubiquitous during the revivalist period, distributing Bibles and religious tracts. Quoted in Curtis, *They Called Him Mr. Moody*, 291. Moody modified his position over the years. When Tommy Coyle, a member of the class of 1888, told Moody he wished to attend Amherst College, but could not afford the tuition, D. L. offered to provide annual support in the amount of \$300. It is interesting to note that Coyle was a Roman Catholic, the first at Moody's schools. Coyle went on to seminary and ultimately became a pastor on Long Island. He invited Moody to preach to his congregation, after which Coyle took D. L. to meet with one of his parishioners, a Miss Wendell. The woman was so grateful for the visit that she immediately sent Moody a check for \$10,000 for the support of the schools. She and her sisters then rewrote their wills, "which brought to the schools a legacy of \$750,000." *Ibid.*, 293-94. Coyle also contributed to the history of the school by editing *The Story of the Mount Hermon School* in 1906. When Rankin published the *Handbook*, he devoted twenty-five pages to the purpose of Mount Hermon as a foundational institution for Christian "gap men." *Handbook*, 88-112.

Thus, Mount Hermon was the preparatory school for Moody's "gap men," while the Seminary was a path to college.

D. L. felt comfortable recommending his young women students to Henry Durant's Wellesley College or Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke, because of their Christian teachings and his friendships with the respective founders, but for the boys of Mount Hermon "he was fearful that Amherst or Yale might ruin the faith and dispositions instilled in the young people." Such a position appears unwarranted, given that nineteenth century Amherst "was a college that recruited strong Christian faculty," and Moody's sons, William and Paul, both Yale graduates, "were sincere Christians who spent their lives in ministry and education."²⁵ Moody's confidence in the ability of the school faculty to provide a solid Christian education appears to have been unwavering, yet he remained apprehensive that his young men might succumb to temptation outside what he viewed as Mount Hermon's insular and protective environment. The Board of Trustees saw a different institution – one plagued with a lack of educational focus and escalating discipline problems, founded by a charismatic man who was unwilling to contribute to or participate in the organization or day-to-day operation of the school.

The members of the Board were dedicated men, but unlike those of the Seminary, most were active businessmen who worked and lived far from the campus.²⁶ With no input from Moody, coupled with his refusal to involve himself with administrative issues, the frustrated Board struggled to determine the school's direction.²⁷ Julius Estey,

²⁵ Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Life of D. L. Moody: A Passion for Souls* (Chicago, Moody Press, 1997), 298.

²⁶ The president, Hiram Camp was elderly, and lived in New Haven, Connecticut; vice-president, Julius Estey lived in Brattleboro, Vermont; treasurer, William F. Lee, lived in New York City. The only board member to reside in Northfield was Henry Rankin, a Moody convert.

²⁷ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 282. Moody rarely interfered with the running of either school, perhaps because he was trusting of those with more education – even if those involved were inexperienced in the operation of boarding schools. There are numerous examples of Moody's avoiding conflicts among the administration, but one of the more serious incidents resulted in the loss of the Seminary's first principal. The issue of biblical interpretation by Harriet Tuttle became unacceptable to H. N. F. Marshall. Tuttle was a postmillennialist; Marshall a premillennialist, and although Marshall was willing to agree to disagree, he would not allow her to espouse the position

who had attempted to act as headmaster while simultaneously presiding over the Board and running his factory in Brattleboro, became seriously ill and resigned. Although Moody genuinely was concerned about the health of his friend, he remained focused on his missions and the need to raise funds for the schools. Amid these numerous and mounting difficulties, the first Native students arrived at Mount Hermon to begin their education.

Choctaw students Lewis Johnson, Albert Fisk, and George Sexton, and Joseph Thompson of the Cherokee Nation arrived during the second year of operation, on October 16, 1883. All four had been recommended to the Boys' School by the Rev. J. Howard Hobbs of the Hartford Theological Seminary, and their \$100 tuition was funded by their respective tribes.²⁸ Their files do not contain information regarding their ages, educational background, or religious affiliation, or anything about their lives beyond Mount Hermon. Sadly for Moody these students were not to become the "gap men" of the future.²⁹

George Sexton was expelled in September 1884 for disciplinary reasons. Although the nature of his infraction is unknown, it must have been extremely serious, since other students were disciplined for such antics as making cigars, playing cards or sneaking out after curfew, but not one was expelled.³⁰ In his letter to Moody, the Rev. Hobbs declared

to the Seminary's students. When she continued to teach her beliefs, the conflict intensified, yet Moody "refused to intervene." When Tuttle threatened to resign Moody paid for a summer trip to Europe for the principal and Alice Hammond, which he felt would be the break they needed. Once back Tuttle and Marshall "were at loggerheads again. Moody dodged the issue once more, so in mid-autumn 1882 Tuttle resigned."

²⁸ Unlike the first Native students to the Seminary, who were granted tuition waivers, the boys were required to pay. It is unknown if this was due to stretched financial resources, or as an incentive to do well.

²⁹ It is unclear if the application forms, if they existed, were lost, but they are not part of the students' records. The correspondence remains, but nothing more.

³⁰ Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, 294. Curtis notes that a boy who reached into Moody's pocket to extract a confiscated deck of cards was close to expulsion for the prank. The evangelist, who found the incident amusing, defended the boy's actions to a faculty who was "bent on expelling him."

that "[no]ne is more disappointed or vexed at this occurrence than myself, yet I can not shelter the boy, for he has passed beyond my control. I shall be glad to hear of his departure."³¹

After two years at Mount Hermon, Albert Fisk and Joseph Thompson sought to transfer to a school where they would speak "their own language less, in order to learn the Language they are now studying more readily." Both left in September 1885.³² Lewis Johnson continued at Mount Hermon with the aid of the Choctaw Nation and spoke at the first commencement in 1887, "in his native language, for the representatives of the Sioux, Shawnee, and Alaskan tribes in the school."³³ His health began to fail in the early fall of 1889, and, in a letter to Henry Sawyer, then principal of the Boys' School, he lamented that

I am sorry of losing so many days of going to school, and yet I want to stay around here [Ashleyville, Massachusetts] until I feel better. Last night and this morning have suffered a good deal, and yet I hope to be able to come back by next Monday.³⁴

He returned to school briefly, but by October Johnson was home in Indian Territory, from where he wrote to the principal:

Red River County, C. N.
November 6, 1889

Mr. Sawyer,
Dear Sir:

I have reached my native home several weeks ago safely, and have thought so many times to drop you a few words, yet I have been so situated that I have not done it.

³¹ J. H. Hobbs to D. L. Moody, September 8, 1884, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file of George Sexton File, 67.

³² Letter from J. P. Turnbull, Superintendent of Public Schools, Choctaw Nation, to D. L. Moody, July 15, 1885. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file of Albert Fisk, #69.

³³ "Mt. Hermon School: Mr. Moody Sends Out His First Class – An Admirable Address by Prof. Henry Drummond of Scotland" *The Springfield Daily Republican*, June 29, 1887.

³⁴ Letter dated September 23, 1899, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file of Lewis Johnson, #66.

I have had a very pleasant journey on my way home. I had not a trouble until I got off the train at Fort Smith. From there to my uncle's home I have had a great many troubles how to reach home. I thought so many times that I wished to be able to walk, yet I was not so able to walk, and yet I did reach at last and surprised the people and my uncle. He did not know that I was coming. I wrote to him about four times while I was on my way but he did not get it until after a long time.

I am still suffering with my rheumatism and also my health has been very poor but I hope to be able to do some work very soon. I have been to see a physician within a few days and for that reason I think I will have better health.

I have not done anything since I returned home. I was going to Wednesday night meetings but it rains and is cool and so I shall stay home. I do hate to be out in rainy days.

I have thought of establishing a Sunday School and yet I have no Sunday School books.

My uncle's wife is sick in bed and so I must stop writing and cook supper.

Good bye.

Yours truly,

Lewis S. Johnson

Although Johnson did not graduate from Mount Hermon, he was apparently liked and respected by the faculty, for, in April 1900, principal Henry Cutler extended an invitation to attend the school's graduation ceremony. The last communication between Johnson and the school was Lewis' response that he was "so sorry not to come and make a visit to you all."³⁵

The Infant Years: 1882 - 1899

In the fall of 1882, Seminary principal Harriet Tuttle resigned, and the position was filled by Dr. Emmer Angell, a physician who had graduated from Boston University.³⁶ She was a capable administrator and avid proponent of physical education, but she did not possess the outwardly caring nature of her predecessor. At the end of the 1882-83 school year, she left and married the pastor of the Northfield Congregational Church. In September, Evelyn Hall arrived. The twenty-eight year old was a graduate of Wellesley's

³⁵ Letter from Lewis Johnson to Henry Cutler, May 1900, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #66. There is no record as to what Johnson did in his post-Mount Hermon years.

³⁶ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 75.

first class in 1879 and a great admirer of Moody, his work, and the "religious purpose of the School."³⁷ Over the next 28 years, Hall expanded the faculty of Northfield, improved the curriculum, and oversaw the development of the physical plant, all of which transformed the Seminary into a well-respected institution.

During the same period, the Boys' School also underwent positive changes. Henry Sawyer, a Dartmouth graduate, arrived in September 1884 to replace the ailing E. A. Hubbard, who held the position of principal for less than a year.³⁸ The new superintendent not only possessed a Master's Degree, but also had extensive educational experience both as a teacher and as a principal. He immediately raised the age for admission to sixteen, implemented his own educational theory by revamping the curriculum "to make [Mount Hermon] a genuine college preparatory school," added a program in liberal arts, while "maintain[ing] teaching of the English Bible and Christian theology" to comply with D. L. Moody's mandate for Christian underpinnings of the school.³⁹ Over the next few years Sawyer formalized a Biblical Course, which he believed was in keeping with Moody's desires to educate future evangelists. Board member Henry Rankin opposed the program, and the dispute between the two men precipitated the principal's dismissal in 1890.⁴⁰ Sawyer also emphasized the need for discipline and organized the boys "into companies, with regular military drill."⁴¹ He oversaw the construction of the Boys' School Recitation Hall, which was designed to house not only

³⁷ Carter, *So Much To Learn*, 77.

³⁸ E. A. Hubbard, a member of the Board, had been persuaded to act as Superintendent of the School beginning in 1883, but his health forced him to resign by the end of the 1883-4 academic year. His tenure was more as overseer than catalyst.

³⁹ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 286.

⁴⁰ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 44. Carter gives no details of the controversy, only stating that it was Rankin who wanted to "raise the School's scholastic standards," which leads the reader to believe that Sawyer did little else than support a Bible program to the detriment of the curriculum. For a complete discussion of the issues, see David Wells, *D. L. Moody and His Schools*, 230-34.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* See also Thomas Coyle (ed.), *The Story of Mount Hermon* (Mount Hermon, MA: Mount Hermon Alumni Association, 1906), 30.

classrooms but also the library, chapel and museum. Eight new women teachers were hired, including Jennie Sikes, one of the first Seminary graduates, and by January 1, 1885 there were over 90 boys in attendance. By 1886 there was a new dining hall, and a large dormitory – Crossley Hall – which could house 200 students. Admissions requests had risen to over 200 per year at each of the schools, and Moody admirers continued to seek entry for promising students. Julia Pratt, who worked with the Reverend Alfred Riggs, founder of the Santee Normal Training School (for American Indians) in Nebraska, wrote to Moody about Mark Khune, wondering if through

my direct appeal to you, a place could be made next year for one of our Indian young men . . . twenty-two years old, a noble fellow, who will some day, we hope, do great things for the elevation of his people. . . I believe him to be one in a thousand in integrity and Christian character and . . . [to] thus add one more to the efficient workers among the Indians.⁴²

Two months later Ms. Pratt sent an entreaty to Henry Sawyer to accept John Caske, also from the Santee Normal Training School writing

The young man is twenty-four years old, knows very little English, and is starving for knowledge of English. Our boys learn English rapidly when they come to us young enough. John Caske, (this is an Indian name, pronounced Chäskäy) was twenty when he came here. He is extremely diffident, and hesitates to use what knowledge he has of English when he is among his own people, and can use his own language . . . he studies diligently and works hard. I have seen him grow gentle and manly with his growing desire to be something and now his eagerness to go East where he will hear nothing but English, and the manly ways in which he has made known his desire have touched his teachers and they have determined to do all in their power to assist him.⁴³

⁴² Letter from Julia E. Pratt to D. L. Moody, February 4, 1886. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file of Mark Khune, #276. Mark Khune was known as Tatemaza or Iron Wind, one of the few students whose application file indicated his pre-Christian name. The Rev. Riggs was a dedicated missionary who not only taught in the Dakota language, but also had the Bible and hymns translated into the native tongue. The federal government disapproved of Riggs' teaching in Dakota, yet the missionary persisted. In 1893 federal funding was discontinued. The Santee (Industrial) Training School was separate from the Normal School and was designed to teach students manual "arts" as were other contemporary institutions such as Carlisle. The school closed in 1937.

⁴³ Julia E. Pratt to Henry Sawyer, April 10, 1886. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file of John Caske, #275.

Both students arrived in June, with the intention of staying for "a year."⁴⁴ Other details of the application, which were completed by Julia Pratt and approved by the Rev. Riggs, indicated that Mark Khune was a member of the Pilgrim Congregational Church at the Santee Agency and John Caske, a Presbyterian, associated with the Sisseton Agency in Dakota Territory where he was born. Khune's "purpose in life" was to become a physician, while Caske wished "first an English education."⁴⁵ Letters in their files indicated that they were eager to attend the Boys' School, despite the long and arduous journey.⁴⁶ In September they were joined by Victor Ironside of the Shawnee who had directly written to Moody seeking admission to Mount Hermon. Ironside appeared to be the perfect candidate for the school – undereducated, in need of Christian salvation, unafraid of work, and resourceful enough to find a sponsor.

Kansas City, Missouri
August 16, 1886

Rev. Mr. D. L. Moody
Dear Friend,

Through my sister Miss Jessie Ironside who has recently graduated from the Young Ladies Seminary at Northfield, I consider I have received a noble proposition. She wrote that she has received permission for my admission into the Mt. Hermon School, and that I am expected at Northfield this fall, so I write this to let you know that I am coming.

I am eighteen years of age but not far advanced in studies, having had to work for my living since my father died, which has been the elapse of six years. I have not been leading a Christian life not having had such influence, but want an education that I may know what I should do so.

I have not the money to pay for a course at school but Mr. H. M. Moore of Boston has offered to donate sufficient money to pay my tuition at Mt. Hermon.

I have written to W. S. Montgomery at Dover Lake Minn whom I worked for at Winchester, Ind. In '84 he sent me a desirable recommendation. I sent it to my sister Jessie she has not returned it but no doubt she has delivered it to you.

⁴⁴ Application forms of Khune and Caske, question #20. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon files #275, 276.

⁴⁵ Question #11 of the application asked "Has he formed any purpose in life?" Whether these responses were the desires of the applicants or the person completing the form is unknown.

⁴⁶ NMH Archives, Mount Hermon files #275 and #276.

I have none of my photographs now. I had my likeness taken last week. Will procure the pictures before two weeks.

Yours sincerely (sic)
James Ironside⁴⁷

In contrast to the Dakota students, James Ironside completed his own application. His response to whether he had formed any purpose in life was an emphatic "No!" and he admitted to having "bad companionships."⁴⁸ Ironside stayed for three years, but was told not to return to school because of his lack of academic focus and misconduct.⁴⁹ He pleaded with the faculty for another chance, saying that

Your decision concerning my separation has given me great pain of mind. The one thing that grieves me most is my ingratitude to my benefactors which I feel has come from slight regard of duty and obedience. Since my conduct in the past has been so poor, I would like to show that I am compliant of doing better, and if I am permitted to return (one term) I will endeavor to show gratitude to my benefactors by faithful obedience and true devotion to duty.

His request was denied in June 1889. Mark Khune and John Caske stayed for two years, but by the summer of 1888 both had become ill with tuberculosis and returned to the Santee Agency.⁵⁰ Concurrent with the attendance of the Dakota was that of Alaskan Native, Frederick Moore, who arrived at Mount Hermon in January 1887 under the auspices of the recently appointed General Agent of Education in Alaska, the Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson.⁵¹

⁴⁷ NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #348. Ironside was sponsored by businessman and former Seminary President Henry M. Moore, but it is unclear whether it was in addition to or through the permanent scholarship of \$3,000 Moore had established for the education of needy boys.

⁴⁸ Application of Victor James Ironside, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #348. Question 13 asked "Has he had any bad companionships?" to which he answered "Yes!"

⁴⁹ Ibid. Letter of H. M. Moore to Henry Sawyer, October 27, 1886. Moore was President of the Seminary in 1881 and again from 1891-1906, as well as President of the Seminary Board of Trustees from 1890-1906. Moore died in 1906.

⁵⁰ In September Mark Khune died and three years later John Caske was also gone, both victims of the illness.

⁵¹ While in Washington, D.C. Jackson had written to Henry Sawyer in December, 1886 about providing a place for Frederick Moore at Mount Hermon. See letter Sheldon Jackson to Henry Sawyer, December 30, 1886, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

Jackson was a diligent and unrelenting Presbyterian missionary who had devoted more than a decade to the "salvation" of Native Peoples in the western United States before arriving in Alaska Territory in 1877. Like other Indian reformers of the period, Jackson believed that education was the key to civilizing Native Peoples, and throughout his crusade he built schools to advance his cause -- fourteen in the West, and eight in Alaska. However, he opposed the removal of children from their homes to a boarding school environment, arguing that the economic self-sufficiency of the Native communities would be disrupted, if not destroyed, if children were unable to carry on the working traditions of their parents. His schools throughout the Territory were segregated into those for Native and those for non-Native children, on the grounds that education should be in harmony with village life. Those for Alaskan Natives were established near the homes, if not within the communities themselves. All facilities provided lessons in reading, writing, and "Moral Training," and some included industrial arts similar to those taught at Carlisle. Jackson required that teachers train "the heart as well as the mind and hand," and he hoped that some of his students would become missionaries, particularly the young Tlinget, Frederick Moore.⁵²

Moore had lost both of his parents at about nine years of age and was taken in by his uncle Kolkada, with whom he lived and worked as a halibut fisherman for two and a half years. By his own account,

[e]very morning in winter when I get up from my bed my uncle would put me in salt water and tell me to sit in water until he calls me. After he calls me before I feel a little warm he would tell me to go after wood. . . . After I come from cutting wood my uncle would say to me, "Kahusunk I want you to be a strong man, that is why I put you in the water every day. All of your uncles were killed by Wrangel people and if you are strong man you will kill the Wrangel people." But the Lord was leading me and after two years and a half training by my uncle we came to Sitka in winter time. My uncle was out hunting, and I was staying with his wife. She sent me out fishing and when I came home she did not give me no food. I made up my mind to run away before he returns from hunting. The Rev. A. E. Austin and Rev. Sheldon

⁵² Stephen W. Haycox, "Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native Schools and Mission Contracts, 1885-1894," *The Pacific Historian*, 28(1), 21.

Jackson has just opened a training school at Sitka for the Native boys, so that evening I did run away to the school, some native boy interpreting my story to Mr. Austin. This was in 1880.⁵³

The teenager embraced Christianity and with great enthusiasm sought to convert his fellow Tlingets, using every opportunity presented to him to preach about his newfound religion. While at the Sitka Mission School, Moore worked as a cook for the Rev. Austin, but because "he was so reliable & useful . . . he was kept out of the school room much of the time."⁵⁴ Although Moore was behind in his studies, he agreed to join Lieutenant Schwatka, who was preparing to explore the St. Elias Mountains, northwest of Juneau. At age sixteen Moore acted as a cook and interpreter for the expedition party, but when he was not working, he was preaching.⁵⁵ Dr. Jackson saw in the young man a zeal for missionary work, which, he believed, could be properly nurtured and developed at Mount Hermon. Moore's application stated that "He greatly desires to be fitted to return to his people as a missionary. He has already had an invitation from a wild tribe to come to live among them and tell them about God."⁵⁶ While Jackson believed in the spiritual ability of the Tlinget, he was concerned about his manual skills. In a letter to Henry Sawyer, Jackson asked "If you have a carpenter shop in connection with the school, I would prefer his having instruction in that rather than farming. There is no chance for farming in Alaska – too far north. But skills with tools will be of use in his future missionary work."⁵⁷ Even before Moore was accepted, Jackson had been promised financial

⁵³ Frederick Moore account reprinted in *The Record of Christian Work*, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

⁵⁴ Admissions application of Frederick Moore, response to question #6. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon File #400.

⁵⁵ There was no record of Moore's birth. Jackson determined that the boy was perhaps 11 or 12 when he came to the Mission School.

⁵⁶ The application was not completed by Moore, who had only rudimentary English. Response to question #11, Frederick Moore, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

⁵⁷ Jackson to Sawyer, December 30, 1886. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

support for tuition and expenses by members of the Sabbath School of the Presbyterian Church of Georgetown.

Moore stayed at Mount Hermon for three years, "where he [was] remembered for his cheery face, unobtrusive ways and diligent application."⁵⁸ His outward appearance apparently masked his true feelings, because several letters to one of his sponsors, Mrs. J. A. Williamson, revealed his deep homesickness and his desire to return to Alaska. He also spoke of being physically ill as early as December 1887 and, in the spring of 1888, he was again unwell. Throughout the late winter and early spring of 1889 it was necessary for him to take a leave of absence from the school, and during his stay with Lincoln Stewart in Worthington, Massachusetts, Moore wrote to Mrs. Henry Sawyer, telling her that he was having trouble sleeping because he had "to think about my studies." He wanted to return to Mt. Hermon "for work on the farm or work in the kitchen" and to resume his academic life as well.⁵⁹ However, his health improved little, and in June 1889 Moore required "perfect rest . . . with some kind of family in the country where he could do some light work and not tax his brain."⁶⁰ In November, after a short stay on campus, Moore returned to Sitka, where his health apparently improved and he accepted appointments as U. S. Deputy Marshall and U.S. Court Interpreter. Concurrent with his government jobs he assisted the Reverend L. F. Jones of Juneau, preaching in his native language to the Tlinget, but Moore still wished to become a missionary. Using his contacts in Georgetown, he found enough financial support from the Young People of the Presbyterian Woman's Board to begin work on Douglas Island, where he was able to build a church. "Funds for painting the church came from Georgetown, a bell from a

⁵⁸ "An Alaskan Indian Boy: What One Mount Hermon Student has Done for His Own People," pamphlet printed by the Missionary Committee of Mount Hermon Church, July 1903. NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

⁵⁹ Frederick Moore to Mrs. Sawyer, March 22, 1889, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

⁶⁰ Letter of M. I. Woods, sister of Mrs. J. A. Williamson to Henry Sawyer, June 16, 1889, NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

friend in New York, and finally the money for seats from the students of Mount Hermon."⁶¹ He continued his work until his death in October 1902. Mount Hermon's first Native missionary was honored on May 31, 1903 at the campus chapel, where a bronze plaque was unveiled in his memory.

Moore was only one of Jackson's charges sent to the Moody schools; the others included five young women from his Mission School in Sitka, two of whom became teachers.⁶² At the time of their attendance there was only one other Native woman, Cherokee Birdie Trott who, after three years of study, returned to Vinita to teach.⁶³ Between the establishment of the schools and the close of the century, a total of 23 Native women attended the Seminary; six Native men enrolled at Mount Hermon. With no active recruitment program – for none seemed necessary to either Moody or the administration – it is surprising that any Native students wished to attend a remote New England institution. Had it not been for Moody's religious connections and his renown, it seems unlikely that the schools would have been considered as an alternative or a supplement to mission or federal programs, or that they would have attracted American Indian students at all.

The End of an Era

The waning of the revivalist movement had little effect on Moody's popularity. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s he maintained a grueling schedule, conducting fifteen crusades in the United States and Canada, including the 1893 World's Fair, and campaigning for more than a year in the British Isles, Europe, Egypt and Israel. In 1892, while in London, D. L. fell ill, was diagnosed with a bad heart, and given orders to reduce

⁶¹ "An Alaskan Indian Boy" NMH Archives, Mount Hermon file #400.

⁶² The five were Flora Campbell, Olga Hilton, Blanche Crosby Lewis, Minnie Shotter and Florence Wells. Seminary files #753 – 757, NMH Archives.

⁶³ NMH Archives, Northfield file #618N.

his commitments and avoid stress.⁶⁴ Few people knew of his condition, and, despite his added weight, he seemed to have a renewed liveliness. When the evangelist celebrated his sixtieth birthday in 1897 he appeared vigorous and spirited. Although he occasionally suffered from bouts of exhaustion – a cycle which was familiar to friends and family -- his energy belied his age. In the summer of 1899, an overweight, overworked, and anxious Moody again experienced severe chest pains. The 30 pounds he had gained during his California and Southwest missions had slowed him down, but he pressed on, preparing for his next engagements. There was no doubt that he was under stress, but in many respects he was content: with his family, his work, and his educational successes.

The Seminary and Mount Hermon were well regarded among Christian supporters, as was the Chicago Bible Institute which Moody had established in 1889 for the further education of "gap men" and women; The General Conference for Christian Workers held in the summers at Northfield since 1880 continued to draw thousands to the town each year, and the winter program at the Northfield Bible Training School produced several teachers each year.⁶⁵ Moody derived great satisfaction from the growth of his education programs, but the pleasure came at the further expense of his health. Despite generous contributions for the expansion of the physical plants of the schools, funds were needed for the maintenance costs and the balance of tuition fees not paid for by the students. The strain on Moody to procure the funding, in addition to his physical state, contributed to his deteriorating health.

⁶⁴ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 377.

⁶⁵ Wells, *D. L. Moody and His Schools*, 168-178; Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 298-304; 369-70. The Summer Conference continued into the 1930s. As similar programs arose in various parts of the country Northfield became only one of many. The Northfield Training School was established in 1890, strictly for the training of Bible teachers. It was housed in the Northfield Hotel during the winter months when the building would otherwise be vacant. The students of the Training School were older women who had neither the skills nor the desire to attend the Seminary, but who wished to contribute to Moody's Christian work. The school closed in the first part of the 1900s.

In October 1899 Moody set out for Kansas City, leaving Emma in Northfield to attend to the impending birth of William's third child. After stops in Philadelphia and the Bible Institute in Chicago, the ailing evangelist arrived in Missouri in early November to begin an engagement at the Kansas City convention hall. For nearly two weeks, D. L. had been suffering from chest pains, but, fearful that Emma would have prevented his leaving Northfield, he had made no mention of his condition. After two days of preaching to crowds of over 15,000, Moody confided in the choir master, C. C. Case, that he was unwell. Case immediately called for a physician, who examined D. L. and "put a mustard plaster to his chest, which at once relieved the pain. He preached six sermons after that."⁶⁶ Moody delivered his last sermon on Friday, November 17, then boarded a train for Massachusetts. He had sent a telegram to Emma saying "Doctor thinks I need rest. Am on my way home." In rapid succession he sent two more: "Improving rapidly. Have not felt so well for a week" and "Have had a splendid day. No fever. Heart growing better all the time. No pain. Am taking good care of myself, not only for the loved ones, but for the work I think God still has for me to do on earth."⁶⁷ When he arrived in Greenfield, Massachusetts the following day, he seemed improved, although the eleven mile ride to Northfield tired him.

At the Homestead Moody retreated to his second floor bedroom without assistance, but he did not have the strength to join the family for tea. Over the following four-and-a-half weeks he remained in his room, weakening each day. On December 21, as the evangelist hovered near death, his family around him, he issued his last orders: "Will, you will carry on Mount Hermon. Paul will take up the Seminary, when he is older; Fitt (Moody's son-in-law) will look after the Institute, and Ambert (a nephew) will help with

⁶⁶ C.C. Case, quoted in Moody, *The Life of D. L. Moody*, 545.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 549.

the business details."⁶⁸ D. L. spoke further about his love for his wife, children, and grandchildren, and the work he had done during the last 42 years. In the early hours of December 22, 1899, Dwight Lyman Moody died. As his life ended, so did the infant years of his beloved schools.

Coming of Age: 1900 – 1960

Moody's passing left a tangible void. The founder had imparted dignity, value, and purpose to his educational institutions. For the faculty, staff, students, trustees, and supporters for two decades, his presence on campus was missed. Members of the boards knew there would be changes, and perhaps some trustees even breathed a sigh of relief, for along with the loss of the evangelist went the problems he caused.⁶⁹ Lyle Dorsett notes that "D. L. Moody could be abrasive. He sometimes ran roughshod over the boards of the schools, trying to bully them to his mode of operation, even threatening to resign if he could not get his way."⁷⁰ Having dealt with the evangelist for so long, in 1900 the boards were left to deal with William.

At age 31, William (W. R.) Moody stepped in to oversee the operation of Mount Hermon, as his father directed, concurrently holding the vice-presidency on the Board of Trustees for both schools, and becoming the institutions' primary fundraiser. Most of D. L.'s generous benefactors had known Will since boyhood and continued to support both the Seminary and Mount Hermon, not only in honor of the evangelist, but also because his religiously conservative son intended to maintain the Christian educational principles on which the schools were founded. Paul, whom D. L. expected to take charge of the

⁶⁸ Ibid., 552. Paul Moody was attending Yale; Arthur Fitt was Moody's son-in-law.

⁶⁹ As intense as was his avoidance of administrative conflicts or curriculum development, was his determination to do and get what he wanted, in spite of the Boards. Some Moody biographers have made mention of his temper and unwillingness to compromise with regard to his beliefs, but because most do not even mention the schools, there is little written about his firm stand with regard to his actions. Paul Moody's biography, unlike that of William Moody, sheds a different light on Moody and his temperament.

⁷⁰ Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls*, 402.

Seminary upon his graduation from Yale, was more moderate in his religious leanings and goals, which created "a markedly strained relationship" between the brothers.⁷¹ Paul did teach a Bible course at both Mount Hermon and the Seminary between 1903 and 1908 and was a trustee, but otherwise had little influence on policy decisions on either campus. In 1912, when William Moody proposed to incorporate the two schools into *The Northfield Schools*, his brother's supporters accused William of doing so to eliminate Paul as a trustee, thereby leaving William with no resistance in directing the schools as he wished.⁷² The incorporation went through, Paul was removed as trustee, and the rift between the brothers widened.⁷³ The disharmony at the Board level, however, had little impact on the student body, due to the constancy of good administrators and loyal teachers.

What proved more unsettling was the death of Evelyn Hall in 1911, the woman who had skillfully guided the Seminary for nearly three decades.⁷⁴ Hall's accessibility to and rapport with the students, staff, and faculty made her a beloved leader.⁷⁵ She was

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 447 fn 44.

⁷² The Board of Trustees met once or twice yearly to review and discuss specific issues, while William was deeply involved in both fundraising and the daily operation of the schools. William, unlike his father, did not flee from administrative problems.

⁷³ Paul and William were quite opposite in personality, mannerisms, and temperament. In the same year that he was removed from the Board, Paul graduated from Hartford Theological Seminary, was ordained, and accepted a position as a minister in St. Johnsbury, Vermont. He served as the senior chaplain of the American Expeditionary Force in WWI, then as president of Middlebury College for 21 years. He and William eventually reconciled, and Paul was reinstated as a trustee in 1941. Paul's biography of his father, published in 1938, reveals a hint of the emotional distance between the two, and Paul's disdain for his critics. He describes a dream in which Moody kissed him "as he had done when I was a child, though seldom since then. I felt that rough beard on my face in the dream, and woke with a vivid sense of its resemblance to all my boyhood experiences. I have never worried since when I have been accused by those who never even saw him of not understanding him or of being disloyal to his memory." Moody, *My Father*, 199.

⁷⁴ Mary Eliza Silverthorne and Paul Dwight Moody *The Life of Evelyn S. Hall, Principal of Northfield Seminary, 1883 to 1911* (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914). The work is an anecdotal tribute to Hall, which reveals more about the woman than do the annual reports to the Board of Trustees. Silverthorne, a teacher at the Seminary, was greatly admired and respected by her colleagues.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Part of Hall's success must be attributed to her willingness to listen. She solicited suggestions from students and faculty on ways to improve the curriculum, either through additions or alterations

a trusted friend and confidant of Moody, and a sincere Christian, who lost her battle with cancer with dignity and grace. Hall's successor, Charles E. Dickerson, had taught science at Mount Hermon for 22 years, was the right hand of Henry Cutler the Mount Hermon principal, ran the Boys' School in Cutler's absence, and was a well-respected teacher and a capable administrator.

Dickerson's tenure (1911-1925) was one of maintenance rather than progression. His educational philosophy focused on the experience of learning rather than the college entrance examinations, but the Trustees believed that the "educational standards were relaxing, and that the college preparation was inadequate." Their position was validated by the 1924 Smith College evaluation of the Seminary, which stated, in part, that "[t]he teaching in the college preparatory subjects tend to be from average to inferior, with only two or three exceptions."⁷⁶ The Trustees, led by William Moody, judged Dickerson to be entirely responsible for the inadequacies at the Northfield campus and determined that he should be immediately replaced. Dickerson resigned, as did several Northfield faculty members, who did so in support of the principal and in protest against the decision. The repercussions of the Board's decision led Henry Rankin, the long-time friend of D. L. Moody and loyalist of the schools, to attack William Moody for his "hasty prejudices and partialities" and his inability to "tolerate dissent." He further declared that William "made life in Northfield intolerable to his own brother Paul . . . filled with grief the last years for Miss Hall . . . repeatedly humiliated Mr. Dickerson, who

to course selections. At the end of the first quarter century of the Seminary's existence, Hall had raised the graduation rate to 12%.

⁷⁶ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 111, 112. The only previous evaluation of Mount Hermon had been in 1894, under Henry Cutler. The review was the brainchild of Harvard President Charles Elliot, who was eager to improve the teaching methods and curricula of secondary schools which he felt would better prepare students for college work. For \$120 a board of examiners, comprised of university faculty members, would visit a school over several months, and then present a written report. Overall, the report was favorable, and Cutler inaugurated some of the recommendations for improvement, including an elective course for the students. For highlights of the report see Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 87 – 89. Full report in the NMH Archives.

has endured in silence . . . And he humiliated the whole Seminary faculty."⁷⁷ Rankin continued his criticism of William both directly and through letters to alumni, friends, and Trustees. Rankin never reconciled with William, which seemed to bother neither man. The internal strife, squabbles, and power struggles that occurred during the quarter century following D. L. Moody's death shaped and formed the schools' ultimate transformation into true college preparatory institutions, without compromising the founder's goal of providing educational opportunities to students of limited financial means. The schools continued to enroll a diverse population, but from 1900 through 1969 only fourteen Native women and 23 Native men attended the schools. Trustee reports do not indicate any decision that would explain the low enrollment, and it is speculative to attribute the decline to a rise in the number of government schools for Native students between 1900 and 1920, or the assimilation, termination, or relocation of tribes and their members between 1920 and 1970. While the numbers may seem insignificant, the students were not. Several remarkable and outstanding individuals attended and graduated from the schools while also finding for themselves a place in history.

Native Students: 1900 – 1960

Henry Roe Cloud

In May 1901, Henry Cutler received a letter from a 16-year-old Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) youth named Henry Clarence Cloud, seeking admission to Mount Hermon.

Cloud declared that

My ambition was at first to be an engineer, and later to be a musician. Strange to say, my purpose at present is not in accordance with my ambition. Santee (Normal Training School) and its training seems to be God's method of revealing to me His will, with such force that I cannot but bend my will and renounce my former ambition to his submission.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 114.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Thomas Sorci, "Latter Day Father of the Indian Nations," *The News*, Northfield Mount Hermon School, Summer, 1988, 17.

Several months later Henry traveled east, carrying with him high hopes for furthering his education and the \$100 he had earned for a year's tuition.⁷⁹ His long, solo journey from northeastern Nebraska to Massachusetts was typical of the young man's resolve, determination, and desire to make his dream a reality. He had traveled far, not just from his home, but from his beginnings.

Henry Roe Cloud was born on December 28, 1884 to Chayskagah (White Buffalo) and Aboogenewingah (Hummingbird) on the Ho-Chunk reservation. The boy, who by birth became a member of the powerful Bird Clan, was given the name Wonah'ilayhunka (War Chief), although his road would be one of peace.⁸⁰ Wonah'ilayhunka spent his first six years among his extended family and lived in the "circular room of the wigwam" with his parents, his brother and sister, and his maternal grandmother.⁸¹ He was close to his siblings, and when, in 1891, an Indian policeman came to take his brother to the Genoa Indian School (Nebraska) 100 miles southwest of their home, Wonah'ilayhunka begged his parents to let him go as well. When he arrived at Genoa he was immediately given the name Henry Clarence Cloud, stripped of his traditional clothing, and subjected to a new language. Although in adulthood he recalled that at Genoa he "flew kites, fought John Hunter, and slid in the winter," he also remembered the drudgery of his industrial training.⁸²

I worked two years turning a washing machine in a Government school to reduce the running expenses of the institution. It did not take me long to learn how to run the machine and the rest of the two years I nursed a growing hatred for it. Such work is not educative. It begets a hatred for work, especially where there is no pay for such labor. The Indian will work

⁷⁹ Ibid. As a precaution, Cloud sewed the money into his undershirt.

⁸⁰ Another translation is Chief of the Place of Fear (battleground). The might and status of the Bird Clan lay in its ability to initiate or prevent wars.

⁸¹ Henry Roe Cloud, "From Wigwam to Pulpit," *Southern Workman*, 45(7), July 1916, 400. This autobiographical article is the only full account Cloud gave of his life.

⁸² Ibid., 402.

under such conditions because he is under authority, but the moment he becomes free he is going to get as far as he can from it.⁸³

Cloud did get away from the machine by returning home to attend the reservation mission day school, but the two years at Genoa had changed the boy. He spoke only English and could not communicate with his family; his thought and interpretative patterns were more Euro-American than Ho-Chunk, and his belief system had been challenged by Christianity. He was "Wonah'ilayhunka" in name only, and the estrangement from his family was a defining moment in his life. Cloud felt he had to recapture what had been scorned at boarding school, and, within weeks, he regained his language skills and rekindled his knowledge of native traditions. Even at such a young age, Cloud grasped that the Ho-Chunks and other tribal groups were vastly outnumbered by Anglo-Americans, that understanding the victors was as important to Ho-Chunk survival as understanding his own society, and that he could walk in both worlds. For the remainder of his life he worked to speak and think in both cultural contexts.

In 1897, the thirteen-year-old Cloud entered the Reverend Albert Riggs' Santee Normal Training School. When Cloud expressed an interest in learning more about Christianity, Riggs suggested that the boy meet with the local Presbyterian minister, the Reverend William T. Findley. Findley, who had spent sixteen years among the Ho-Chunk but had no religious converts, eagerly accepted Cloud as a student. The boy declared that "he would like to be His [Jesus'] friend," and, after several months of instruction, Findley baptized Cloud. The momentous day was the beginning of a new life which was guided by "Christ alone."⁸⁴ Although Cloud was filled with his new spiritual direction, his family was greatly disappointed in his rejection of their traditions, and his grandmother

⁸³ Cloud at the Annual Meeting of the Friends of American Indians, Lake Mohonk, 1914. Quoted in David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 152.

⁸⁴ Cloud, "From Wigwam to Pulpit," 403. Cloud was the only Ho-Chunk convert of Findley's career.

told him that because he had "taken the wrong road" he would not gain access to the afterlife. Moreover, she assured him that, whether or not he was Christian, he would always be an outsider in white society.⁸⁵ Cloud was disturbed by his grandmother's criticism of his decision, but he was confident in his choice. His faith was strong, but it was tested during the following year when both his parents and his grandmother died.

By age fourteen he was an orphan, and although he was placed under the guardianship of John Nunn, a teacher at the Santee School, he was more under the influence of the Reverends Albert Riggs and William Findley, who encouraged Cloud in his faith and his studies. The young man read the Bible, prayed, and found he was able "to gather new strength" through his religious beliefs.⁸⁶ He was enthusiastic to further his education, and his efforts were supported by both mentors, who suggested that Cloud apply to Mount Hermon. Riggs and Findley provided moral support, but Cloud provided the financing. Because he was unable to secure a sponsor, the young man worked on nearby farms and saved his earnings. He graduated from Santee in May, 1901, and in August set out for Mount Hermon.

The train ride from Nebraska to Greenfield was both exhilarating and exhausting. Although he was a young Indian man traveling alone for the first time among the dominant society, he later recalled only two awkward incidents. He had left his shoes outside his berth one night, only to find that they were not there in the morning. He spoke harshly to the porter in charge of the car, informing him that there was a thief among the passengers. When the porter explained that he had taken Cloud's shoes to clean them, Cloud looked down in embarrassment at the shoes he had not recognized because they were so highly polished. With apologies he retreated to his berth. The remainder of the trip to Greenfield, Massachusetts was uneventful until his ride to

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Northfield, where "[h]e saw for the first time people he thought were other Indians on the train. He eagerly spoke to them in the Winnebago language, but they did not understand him. They were Japanese students coming to Mount Hermon."⁸⁷ Cloud took in the experiences, set aside his temporary discomfort, and immersed himself in Mount Hermon's opportunities.

Henry Clarence Cloud and Mount Hermon were well suited for one another. He excelled in his studies, including Greek and Latin, honed his leadership skills in the Good Government Club, was elected an officer of Crossley, Overton and Hubbard House dormitories, and was president and salutatorian of his 1906 graduating class. Cloud also channeled his energies toward sports, playing both football and baseball for two years, and was a member of the All-Hermon football team in 1905. His zeal extended to YMCA activities, where he served as a district worker for three years and played in the YMCA Orchestra. When his funds ran low, he took a leave of absence from school and worked on a farm in Freehold, New Jersey for a year. In order to keep up with his Greek studies, he attached "verb paradigms to the hump of the plow."⁸⁸ Years later he recalled that "[t]he teachers at Mount Hermon have left an indelible impression upon my life . . . Mount Hermon has been a great welcome and sustaining force to me on life's pathway, and has contributed to it a wholesomeness as well as buoyancy and power."⁸⁹

Henry Cloud went on to Yale, becoming the first American Indian to matriculate and graduate.⁹⁰ During his freshman year he met the missionary Mary Wickham Roe who lectured on the work she and her husband, Walter C. Roe, conducted among the

⁸⁷ Sorci, "Latter Day Father," 18.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, and Cloud, "From Wigwam to Pulpit," 404.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹⁰ Cloud had wanted to attend Dartmouth because of its ties to Native education, but upon the challenge of a classmate, he decided to take the Yale entrance exams. When he passed eight of the fourteen, he decided to go to New Haven. His friend failed all but one.

Peoples of the West. Cloud spent the summer of 1907 with the Roes at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, working and preaching among local tribes. Upon his return to Yale, Cloud became more vocal and articulate regarding the conditions under which Native Peoples were living, and what he saw as an abandonment of their religious welfare. For the May 1909 issue of *The Yale Courant* Cloud wrote an article entitled "Missions to the American Indian" in which he asked

What is to be the future of the American Indian? Is he to continue to be one of the pretty pawns in the game of politics – more insignificant year by year – soothed on the one hand by the sop of mawkish sentiment, later to be scourged for his transgressions to the utmost letter of the law? Can official wisdom find no solution of this grim problem? Is the last wigwam to pass from the prairies of the West before the curtain shall be rung down on this dark drama of blunder, injustice, and greed?⁹¹

Cloud criticized the federal Indian school system, the government's treatment of Native Peoples, and the inadequacies of federal programs, saying that "[t]he agency system as it now stands has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It robs its charges of self-reliance; it makes paupers of those it is intended to aid."⁹² Cloud challenged the Yale community to go to Indian country as missionaries to "[r]ebuild those early Christian communities" and to "[k]indle anew those old fires of devotion" as he planned to do, and to change the way in which Native Peoples were marginalized.⁹³

At Yale, Cloud became an ardent activist. During his sophomore year, he successfully worked for the release of Apache prisoners at Fort Sill and helped secure their relocation to the Mescalero reservation in New Mexico.⁹⁴ He continued his work with Mary and Walter Roe, who were generous in their love and support of Cloud's

⁹¹ H. Cloud, "Missions to the American Indian," *The Yale Courant*, May, 1909, 520.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 222.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁹⁴ The renegades were members of Geronimo's band, who were considered political prisoners because of Geronimo's "war" against the United States.

efforts, and with whom he developed a familial bond. In 1910 or 1911 Henry began referring to himself as Henry Roe Cloud.

Cloud believed that both proper education and the acceptance of Christianity were key to Native survival, and he devoted the remainder of his life to both endeavors. After graduating from Yale with a baccalaureate in psychology and philosophy in 1910, he spent the 1910-11 academic year at Oberlin Theological Seminary, where he studied Hebrew. He was active in the Lake Mohonk conferences of the Friends of the Indian and was instrumental in the founding of the Society of American Indians in 1911. He went on to graduate from Auburn Theological Seminary with a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1913 and was subsequently ordained a Presbyterian minister. In 1912 and 1913 he was the chair of the Winnebago delegation to Washington, and the following year he became a member of the government's Survey Commission on Indian Education. Under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes fund, Cloud investigated the federal Indian school system in both 1914 and 1915, while concurrently working on his Master of Arts degree in anthropology at Yale, which he received in 1914. That summer he visited Mount Hermon and spoke with William Moody about his plans to open a "Mount Hermon for Indians."⁹⁵

Moody was less than enthusiastic, questioning "very much the advisability of his starting a new school . . . and strongly advis[ing] his trying first to infuse some of the principles which he had in mind into some of the already existing schools." Moody also declined the invitation to serve on the Board of Trustees, offering that he felt he "was not qualified to serve on the board . . . because of [his] ignorance in regard to the conditions and needs of [Native Peoples]" and because he knew he would be unable to "attend the meetings of a board of trustees, especially of a school located in Nebraska." Cloud

⁹⁵ William Moody to L. L. Drury, March 24, 1915. NMH Archives, file of Henry Roe Cloud.

apparently felt that Moody was "indifferent to his zeal." Neither Moody's rebuff, nor the death of Walter Roe, however, changed Cloud's plans.⁹⁶

In 1915 Henry Roe Cloud founded the Roe Indian Institute in Wichita, Kansas, the only Indian-run college preparatory school in the country, which he patterned on Mount Hermon.⁹⁷ He was proud of his school, and, in 1921, Cloud wrote to Henry Cutler that "[t]he type of work I am doing is an exact miniature of the Mount Hermon work" which included "the raising up of the native Christian leadership."⁹⁸ Cloud advocated for Indian autonomy, equality and self-determination. As a member of the "Committee of 100" he investigated injustices, and worked to correct federal Indian policy under the administration of Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929). He actively lobbied for passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. His appointment to the Brookings Institute's survey team, which sought to define issues and deficiencies concerning American Indian life, resulted in his contribution to the 1928 "Meriam Report" on *The Problem of Indian Administration* -- the revealing account of the deplorable conditions on reservation lands and the ineffectiveness of the Indian Office. In 1931 Cloud became a field representative for the Indian Service, worked on the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act and its acceptance among various tribes, while concurrently serving as the superintendent of the Haskell Institute, the largest Indian boarding school operated by the federal government.⁹⁹ Despite his full schedule, he attended Emporia College in Kansas, obtaining a doctorate in divinity in 1932.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Walter Roe and Cloud planned the school together. Although Roe died before the opening, Cloud continued the work.

⁹⁷ The name of the institution was changed to the American Indian Institute in 1920.

⁹⁸ Henry Roe Cloud to Henry F. Cutler, April 13, 1921. NMH Archives, file of Henry Roe Cloud.

⁹⁹ Cloud was superintendent from 1933 – 1936. He believed that public activism was the key to Indian equality, so in 1927 he began the process of transferring the American Indian Institute to the National Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

For the next eighteen years, Cloud held positions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and worked with its Commissioner, John Collier. As an educational supervisor within the Bureau, and later as a superintendent of the Umatilla Indian Agency in Oregon, Cloud continued to improve the lives, education, and living conditions for America's First Peoples. Although Henry Roe Cloud believed that Native Americans had to accept assimilation, he also believed that this could be done without having to forsake their heritage. He firmly held that syncretizing the best of Indian and mainstream societies was essential to survival, and that education was the cornerstone for successfully bridging two cultures. By example, Cloud proved that walking in two worlds was possible and beneficial, and that knowledge of and experiences with Anglo-Americans was necessary to advance Native causes. In February 1950, at the age of sixty-five, Henry Roe Cloud died of heart failure, "while researching land claim deeds on behalf of his people."¹⁰⁰

Walter Harper

In 1904 the Episcopal clergyman and social reformer, Hudson Stuck, moved from Texas to work among the settlers and Indigenous Peoples of Alaska. Stuck, an outspoken critic of the treatment of Alaskan Natives by Anglo-Americans, believed that "the survival of the Natives depended upon the church," which led him to become "the champion of Native rights and welfare."¹⁰¹ He worked to Christianize and educate the Peoples, particularly those in remote areas, and he strove to teach them how to deal with (and outsmart) unscrupulous whites. The "Archdeacon of the Yukon" was also an admirer of D. L. Moody and his schools, and he sought enrollment for Alaskan youth he felt would

¹⁰⁰ Sorci, "Latter Day Father," 19.

¹⁰¹ David Dean, *Breaking Trail: Hudson Stuck of Texas and Alaska* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988), 184.

benefit from an education beyond what he could provide.¹⁰² Walter Harper was a promising young man whom Stuck believed would do well at Mount Hermon, and he worked to secure his admission.

In July, 1913, Stuck wrote a follow-up letter of the previous winter to Henry Cutler, indicating that he was "bringing out [to Mount Hermon] . . . this summer . . . Walter Harper, a half-breed youth of 21 who has been my traveling attendant and pupil for the last three years."¹⁰³ Stuck was proud of Harper, his accomplishments, and his versatility, explaining that the young man had been with him "to the top of the mountains and was the first human being ever to set foot upon the highest point in the N. American continent [Denali]." Walter had worked as "a dog-team driver during the winters and pilot and engineer of the launch "Pelican" during the summers, and interpreter and good companion all year round." Stuck also believed that his charge was "the best product of . . . [those] that I have met in Alaska; a clean, upright amicable boy, of gentlemanly manners and pleasing presence" and whom the Archdeacon had educated, albeit "in a very desultory way." Stuck was "very fond of the boy and very ambitious for him" and neither Stuck nor Cutler seemed concerned about Harper's lack of formal education.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Dean's biography of Stuck reveals a colorful and passionate man, who chose to call himself "Archdeacon" a term that was not official, but not opposed to by the Episcopal Church elders.

¹⁰³ Stuck to Cutler, 14 July 1913. NMH Archives, Walter Harper file #7697MH. The file did not contain any correspondence regarding formal acceptance of Harper, and his application, completed by Stuck was submitted on November 25, 1913, three months after Harper matriculated. Numerous books have been written about the Denali climb. See Bradford Washburn and David Roberts, *Mount McKinley, The Conquest of Denali* (New York: Abradale Press, 1991). This text includes numerous photos including that of Harper Glacier, named for Walter Harper. For a more personal insight into the climb, see Hudson Stuck, *The Ascent of Denali: First Complete Ascent of Mt. McKinley, Highest Peak in North America, Containing the Original Diary of Walter Harper, First Man to Achieve Denali's True Summit* (Snohomish, Washington: Snohomish Publishing, 1977) [reprint of 1915 edition published by Scribners, NY]. See also Bradford Washburn and Peter Cheric, *The Dishonorable Dr. Cook* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 2001), which debunks Cook's claim of being the first man to reach the peak of Denali.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Stuck also wanted to use the visit to Mount Hermon to see another Native Alaskan student, Arthur Wright.

Walter was the youngest of eight children born to Jennie Albert, an Athabascan of the Koyukuk region, and Arthur Harper, an Irishman who came to Alaska and earned his living as a prospector and trader. When the couple separated, Jennie returned to her village, where she raised Walter. At age seventeen the young man ventured to the nearby Nenana Mission School, where he met Hudson Stuck, beginning a life-long relationship.¹⁰⁵ Apparently Walter never enrolled at Nenana; his admissions application indicated that Harper had attended no schools, had no training in grammar, no elementary science, a bit of arithmetic, and a "little of U. S. History." Despite the deficiencies, Stuck proposed that Walter attend the "full course" of study, and Harper received approval from Cutler.¹⁰⁶

At age 21, the Alaskan Native entered a regimented world unlike that of his previous occupation of "traveling."¹⁰⁷ For the first two years he progressed in his studies to the point where the vice principal of Mount Hermon asked permission of Stuck to adjust Harper's schedule to include French. The Archdeacon believed that the young man's schedule was "light" and acquiesced to the request, noting that "[I] can only hope that the teaching of that language at Mount Hermon will leave more solid substratum of the language behind it than instruction in French commonly seems to do."¹⁰⁸ However, by the 1916 winter term, Walter was struggling with both his work requirements and his studies.

In February, 1916 Harper wrote to Stuck attempting to explain his mediocre term grades. Walter knew that his mentor would be disappointed with the "Unsatisfactory" mark in conduct, but the young man assured the Archdeacon that it was not due to

¹⁰⁵ Glenda J. Choate, "Honeymoon on 'Sophia'," *Skagway Alaskan*, Summer, 1954, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Admission application, NMH Archives, Walter Harper file #7697MH. Bishop P. T. Rowe, of New York City was responsible for Harper's tuition expenses.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Stuck to L. L. Norton, 15 May 1915. NMH Archives, Walter Harper file #7697MH.

bad behavior, but rather that he had failed to complete his work obligations on the farm in a timely manner. Because the administration considered "work as a part of conduct" he received the unsatisfactory mark.¹⁰⁹ What worried the Alaskan Native more was his academic performance; Walter was overwhelmed and told Stuck that

I am well physically, but slightly stupid. There have been no special interruptions in my work this past term. I am taking [a] fairly good schedule, 24 hrs. in all (per week). My mark in English is so low because it is so hard for me to grasp it as quickly as others, besides I am not a good debater; I dislike debating and arguing, and that is what our English course consists of this term. I failed Geometry because I never really learned the rudiments of Geometry. I have now however. My teacher said that it was really her fault that she let me go on with the higher Geometry with little attention. In our last test I had 85 per cent. In my Algebra, Roman History, and French Language I have an "M[edium]." You referred to my schedule as being light, but you must remember that my mind is not like yours. I have enough to do besides my work hour.¹¹⁰

Walter had faced difficulties throughout his life, but these challenges frustrated the young man to the point of self-doubt. He wanted Stuck to "tell [him] how to study" and added that "I think the chief trouble with me is that I do not know how to apply my mind properly. I am far from being bright, but there are some things which I can do much quicker and with better results if I only knew how to do them."¹¹¹ Stuck was also concerned about Walter's feeling of academic inadequacy, and he wrote to Cutler asking if there was anything that could be done "to help him in the classes in which he seems backward? Is it worth while pursuing his literary education much further? Had I

¹⁰⁹ Harper to Stuck, 24 February 1916. Stuck knew that Harper was a responsible and reliable man, and the Archdeacon believed that the "Unsatisfactory" grade in work completion/conduct was not indicative of Walter's character. Stuck shot off a letter to Cutler in which he declared ". . . I shall venture to suggest that your methods of reporting might be revised with advantage. It was his 'unsatisfactory' conduct that disturbed me most, for never before has any criticism been made of the boy's behaviour: if unsatisfactory work involves unsatisfactory conduct then the latter statement is merely redundant: but I do not so regard conduct and work. I submit, with all respect, that a parent or guardian receiving report that a boy's conduct is unsatisfactory may naturally be expected to assume that some disparagement of behaviour, deportment or demeanor is intended. I shall be glad to be informed whether or not this is the case. I have never known Walter rude or impudent or culpably careless in matters of behaviour . . ." Stuck to Cutler, February 25, 1916. NMH Archives. Walter Harper file #7697MH.

¹¹⁰ Harper to Stuck, 24 February 1916.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

not better take order (sic) while I am yet in the East for some technical training for him?"¹¹²

After several letter exchanges between the Archdeacon and Cutler, Stuck declared that he was "unhappy about the boy's progress" and asked if there was "any use" in encouraging Harper's "ambition of studying medicine" in order to be "of greater use to his own people when he enters upon his life's work?"¹¹³ Cutler stated that Walter was a "medium student, and sometimes we feel that perhaps he could do better in his studies," which was an answer, but not the one Stuck had desired.¹¹⁴ In June Stuck informed Cutler "that circumstances will render it necessary for me to take Walter Harper from school before the conclusion of the summer term," but with barely a pause the Archdeacon requested that Cutler "reserve a place in the school until the end of September for a full-blooded Alaskan Indian, John Frederick (who was also involved in the first ascent of Denali and later became known as John Fredson), whom we propose to bring out for further education."¹¹⁵ Cutler assured Stuck that he would "be glad to give him a place here whenever you can arrange for him to come."¹¹⁶

Stuck and Harper returned to Alaska where Stuck resumed his missionary work and explorations. Walter studied a part of each day in preparation for college and medical school, but during the winter of 1917-1918, he contracted typhoid fever. His recovery at the Fort Yukon Mission Hospital was aided by Frances Wells, with whom Walter fell in love. Harper told Stuck that he wished to marry Frances and enlist in the War as an ambulance driver, making it necessary to postpone his formal education.

¹¹²Stuck to Cutler, February 25, 1916.

¹¹³ Ibid. It is unclear whether it was truly Walter's ambition to become a doctor, or if it was Stuck who wanted this for the young man.

¹¹⁴ Cutler to Stuck, March 2, 1916.

¹¹⁵ Stuck to Cutler June 28, 1916.

¹¹⁶ Cutler to Stuck, June 30, 1916.

Stuck performed the marriage ceremony in September, 1918, and Frances and Walter set sail on the *Princess Sophia* out of Skagway seven weeks later, on their way to Frances's home in Pennsylvania. On October 24, 1918, the Canadian Pacific liner encountered a storm and, because of a navigation error, ran aground on the Vanderbilt Reef. In the early hours of October 25, the craft sank and none of the 343 passengers and crew survived. Hudson Stuck was devastated by the loss of Walter and Frances. When he responded to a general circular sent by the school, his letter to Dr. Cutler in March 1919 was an outpouring of the love and respect he had for Harper. Stuck wrote that Walter "was like a son to me . . . the cleanest and the most amiable youth I have ever known . . . God rest his soul, and give us others of the native blood to tread in his footsteps."¹¹⁷

Walter Harper lived a life filled with extraordinary obstacles, the most difficult of which may have been his time at the Boys' School. Accustomed to overcoming hurdles, Harper was frustrated when he could not academically excel, but he did not back away from his obligations -- that decision was made for him by Hudson Stuck. Although Walter was able to bridge two worlds, he was denied the chance to use what he learned for the good of others. He is remembered for his bravery in scaling Denali, but his courage in scaling Mount Hermon was an equally daunting achievement.

Susie Walking Bear (Yellowtail)

During the 1920s only three Native young women are listed as attending the Seminary: Marion Baker, Virginia Woodruff, and Susie Walking Bear (Crow).¹¹⁸ Walking

¹¹⁷ Stuck to Cutler, March 15, 1919.

¹¹⁸ The eighty-year privacy requirement for access to personal data allowed only for the review of Walking Bear's file. Both Baker and Woodruff graduated in 1928, but neither have listed their tribal affiliations. All three of the attendees are deceased, and the NMH Alumni Office was unable to provide any information regarding next of kin from whom permission could be received for file access.

Bear's road to Northfield was demanding, but even more difficult was her time at the school. Yet she chose to accept each experience as a stepping stone, rather than a stumbling block, on her path to success. Her drive to return to her home and help her Native community enabled her to persist in her studies. Walking Bear returned to the school in her later years to show her appreciation for what she had learned, and she spoke about how she had applied her knowledge.

Twenty-year-old Susie Walking Bear entered the Northfield Academy as a day student in the fall of 1922. Alice Brown, the Principal of the Elementary School of Bacone College, from where Walking Bear had graduated, referred to the young woman as "trustworthy," her mental ability as "average," and her character "above average."¹¹⁹

The daughter of Bear that Walks and Fools (Walking Bear) of the Apsalooke (Crow) Nation, and Kills the Enemy (Jane White Horse), an Oglala Lakota (Sioux) mixed blood, was born on January 27, 1903 near Pryor, Montana.¹²⁰ Her father died before her birth and Susie was raised by her mother and stepfather, Stone Breast. Her schooling began at age eight at the Pryor Catholic Mission, but four years later she was orphaned, and relatives sent Susie to the boarding school at the Crow Agency in Lodge Grass, where she stayed until she was sixteen. In 1919, a Baptist missionary, Frances Shaw (later Mrs. Clifford Field), came to Lodge Grass to recruit students to attend a Baptist convention in Denver, Colorado. Susie expressed an interest in going, with the understanding that she would be returned to the Agency at the conclusion of the meetings. When Susie was sightseeing after the convention, her party left for Montana, leaving her with no way to return home. The missionary, who was traveling on to Bacone Indian School in Muskogee, Oklahoma, suggested that Susie join her and consider furthering her education at the school. At the conclusion of her eighth grade studies, Susie joined Frances and her new husband, Clifford Field, in Northfield,

¹¹⁹ NMH Archives, file of Susie Walking Bear Yellowtail, #7816.

¹²⁰ Apsalooke translates to "children of the large beaked bird," which was interpreted as a crow.

Massachusetts, where Susie worked as a nanny and housekeeper for the family in exchange for room and board. Frances believed that Walking Bear would benefit from the Northfield experience, and offered to enroll the young woman as a day student.

Each class day, Susie walked the mile to school in the morning, walked back to the house to prepare the noontime meal, then back to school, then home for evening meal preparations and care of the Field's children. With a full course of study as well as her home obligations, by the middle of October she was "failing I Ac. English and Arithmetic Review (remain through Decimals) [as well as] failing Physiology." On October 11 Susie "was given a schedule which would keep her from weeping" but the comment "will probably go back" seems to indicate that the unknown author of the report believed that Susie would return to the reservation.¹²¹

In the spring of 1923, Walking Bear applied for a summer job at the Tall Pines Camp for Girls in Bennington, New Hampshire, which was operated by Miss Evelina Manley of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Manley wrote to the school for references, saying that Susie "has applied to me for a position as table girl and dishwasher," and Manley requested details of "her character and ability."¹²² Typed on the top of Manley's letter was a note saying "Will you please tell Mr. Dickerson what to say about this girl, Miss Cooper. Thank you."

Two letters of references were addressed to Miss Manley, one by Mabel Cooper, Dickerson's secretary, dated May 14, the other signed by the principal, Charles Dickerson, on May 19. Both reflected much the same sentiment. Mabel Cooper wrote

I should hesitate to recommend her for waitress' work in a hotel where she would have to remember many and varied orders, but for the simpler camp work she should prove satisfactory . . . She is not always quick to see for herself the small things that would add to the comfort of the household, yet when they are directly requested, she does them promptly and well. So while it might be wise to make clear that we know her only as a Day Student,

¹²¹ File notation October 11, 1922, Yellowtail, #7816.

¹²² Evelina Manley to Northfield Seminary, May 10, 1923. Ibid.

we can recommend her as willing and careful in following directions, and though not especially quick, yet we understand, dependable. In addition, she has certain personal qualities, which should make her an acceptable member of the camp life.¹²³

From Principal Charles Dickerson came the message:

We know Miss Susie Walking Bear only as a day student but can recommend her as willing and careful in following directions and, though not especially quick, yet we understand dependable. In addition, she has certain personal qualities which should make her an acceptable of the camp life.

From the reports which come to us from the homes in which Miss Walking Bear has been a helper, we can speak, I believe, entirely favorably of her for such work as the Girls' Camp will require. We should hesitate to recommend her for waitress' work in a hotel where she would have to remember many and varied orders, but for the simpler camp work, we believe she would prove satisfactory.¹²⁴

On May 12, 1923, Susie submitted the following to the principal: "I am sorry that I neglected to sign the card for next year. I do not plan to return but I did not mean to disobey your request."¹²⁵ No other explanation is provided, but in writing of her mother's time in Northfield, Susie's daughter, Connie Jackson noted:

[Susie's school and housekeeping obligations were] an ordeal for her, as the New England white middle class mentality prevailed. She was under suspicion of being dishonest where she worked for room and board. The Northfield School president insisted that she drop her last name, as it caused a problem for the teachers and students, or to change it completely. She agreed to the shorter "Bear," providing that upon her graduation they use her full name . . . She was evidently under pressure in this household, for she left abruptly and went to a girlfriend in Philadelphia and worked as a waitress for a while.¹²⁶

Despite these difficulties, in 1924, Walking Bear was accepted into the nursing program at the Franklin County Public Hospital in Greenfield. She interned at Boston General Hospital and, on September 27, 1927 she graduated, becoming the first

¹²³ Mable M. Cooper to Evelina Manley (written as Mundee), May 14, 1923. Ibid.

¹²⁴ Charles Dickerson to Evelina Manley, May 19, 1923. Ibid.

¹²⁵ Susie Walking Bear to Charles Dickerson, May 12, 1923. Ibid.

¹²⁶ Excerpt from the twelve page handwritten mini-biography by Yellowtail's daughter, Constance Yellowtail Jackson, written May 11, 1996. NMH Archives, Yellowtail file #7816.

American Indian registered nurse in the country.¹²⁷ She worked in Greenfield for a short period, then headed west to the Crow Reservation for a position with the Public Health Service (PHS) in 1928. Susie was welcomed by community members, who were proud of her accomplishments, but her return was of particular interest to Tom Yellowtail, who had been Susie's childhood sweetheart. Connie Jackson writes:

One Crow woman told me that "your Dad came courting your Mom, while we both worked at the Crow Hospital. He still had braids and wore moccasins and was very handsome. He'd ride his horse from Lodge Grass and tie it up in the park and come across to the hospital back door, where we'd go outside for a break, to visit Susie. We were all so excited, for he cut a dashing figure, and your mother was very beautiful. Everyone was proud of her, for she had just returned from school in the East and was kinda different."¹²⁸

On May 2, 1929 the two were married and moved to a farm on the banks of the Little Horn River. The birth of their three children did not prevent Susie from using her skills within the community or with helping in the delivery of babies. Because of the rapport Susie had with tribal members, and because she was a returning community member, locals, particularly women, preferred her services to that of the PHS Hospital. Serious illnesses or accidents often meant that patients had to travel to non-Indian hospitals, but the two closest were in Billings, Montana, about 100 miles away, and in Sheridan, Wyoming, which was 45 miles away. The lack of nearby and adequate services infuriated Susie, but what angered her more were the non-consent sterilization surgeries that were performed on Crow women. Upon her youngest child's entry into school, she began her crusade for improvements in Indian health and healthcare and for a wider understanding by the general public of the mistreatment of Native Peoples.

¹²⁷ Apparently, Walking Bear held no ill feelings toward Northfield, because three of her grandchildren graduated from NMH: Lesley Jackson Kobotie, 1983; Shannon Yellowtail, 1996; Amber Yellowtail, 1998.

¹²⁸ Jackson, mini-biography, page 2. NMH Archives, Yellowtail file #7816. The pride of the community was not only in Yellowtail's achievement, but also that she used her education to help the Crow Nation.

Susie returned to the PHS Hospital in the early 1940s and also joined the Health Advisory Boards of Montana and Wyoming, advocating and lobbying for improved reservation health services with those states. Her appointment to an advisory position within the PHS sent her throughout the West, visiting reservations and "assessing health, social and educational problems and recommending specific programmatic solutions."¹²⁹ She was respected for her ability to evaluate the unambiguous failure of the federal government to provide for the health and educational needs of Native Peoples, and to articulate Native needs to those in Washington. Susie was outspoken in her desires for change as well as her feelings about her homeland. In 1951 she wrote to a nursing classmate, Marguerite Smith Davenport:

As soon as our claim against the government comes thru (sic), I think I will set aside a sum of that hard to get stuff called money -- & I will take myself a nice long trip back there. (Massachusetts) This claim we have is for millions of acres that "Unky Sam" (sic) decided he could take away from the Crow Indians & use it for homesteads -- & now he's going to have to pay for all those homesteads he handed out to people who wanted them. We lost the best part of the Crow holdings & we have been fighting for a fair settlement -- but we'll be lucky if we get even a third of what that land is worth. Our tribal lawyers are pretty sure of winning the case for us . . .

The gov't also wants to put in the highest dam in the U.S. here on our reservation & want us to accept 1 ½ million dollars for it, but we had a tribal council & turned it down. We decided we'd lease instead of selling outright to them -- our wildlife hunting, fishing, etc. will be ruined if we sell out to them. They expect to get a lot of power & irrigate thousands of acres, etc. They certainly will get a lot out of it, but all we'll have will be the 1 ½ million. That divided among nearly three thousand Crows won't last long -- & besides they probably will fix it so we can't do anything worthwhile with it, the way it will be paid out.

It seems to me & I see it every day, the gov't talks about doing all they can [for] the Indians . . . but they so seldom visit the Indian reservations, that their employees on the reservations do all in their power to hold the Indians back. When I get on this subject, I get so mad -- excuse me for raving -- but I usually feel better after letting off steam.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Fr. Peter J. Powell, "She was Our Bright Morning Star: Susan Yellowtail (1903-1981)," in Therese Hinkell, *Susie Walking Bear Yellowtail: Nurse of the 20th Century* (Privately published, 2000), 10. Powell was one of the Yellowtail's tribally adopted sons.

¹³⁰ Yellowtail to Davenport, March 6, 1951 quoted in Hinkell, 28-9. The Homestead Act of 1862 opened Crow lands to white settlement of 160 acre farm lots. The Crow Act of 1920 allotted all reservation land to members of the Crow Nation, except mountainous areas and those lands not already owned by non-tribal members. 2,055,600 acres were assigned to the Crow Nation while 179,200 of the most fertile lands remained under the ownership of former homesteaders. On

In the 1960s she took her activism to Washington where she met with Congressional members of the Committee on Indian Affairs and presented examples of Indian healthcare shortfalls. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed Yellowtail to the President's Council on Indian Education and Nutrition, and the following year she received the President's Award for Outstanding Nursing and Health Care. Her experiences on the Diné (Navajo) reservation led her again to Washington in 1964, where she exposed the shortcomings of the PHS. She told how Diné mothers had to walk 20 or 30 miles to seek medical help for their children and "some of these children have died on their mother's backs."¹³¹ Yellowtail argued that five hospitals/clinics were insufficient for the 160,000 Diné who lived within their 27,000 square mile homeland. She further argued that it was important to attract physicians who were willing to stay longer than the standard two-year contract. She sought funding from both state and federal governments to assist in the education of American Indian Nurses, and in 1962 she founded the Native American Nurses Association. She spoke often about the need for nursing staff at PHS hospitals, and in 1966 she returned to the Northfield Schools to address students, faculty, and staff on the issue. She spoke also of the importance of being "a bridge between two cultures" and of the necessity of understanding both worlds in order to serve the greater good.¹³²

Throughout the 1970s Susie worked on President Nixon's Council on Indian Education and Welfare, and she was appointed to the Indian Health Advisory Council. In 1977, at the fiftieth reunion of her nursing classmates, Yellowtail was honored for her years of dedication and service, not only to her profession, but also to Native Peoples.

December 22, 1944 the Flood Control Act ordered the construction of a dam on the Crow Reservation. However it was 1961 before construction began, and December 1967 before it was completed.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 11.

The following year the American Indian Nurses Association celebrated her work and named Susie "Grandmother of American Indian Nurses." Susie retired at age 79. Two years later, on Christmas day, she died at her home in Wyola, Montana.

Susie Walking Bear Yellowtail was a woman of determination and action, who improved the quality of health care to American Indian communities by using what she had learned in the white world to advance the causes of her Native world. She understood and served the greater good.

Frela Owl (Beck)

During the 1950s Congress sought to eliminate the trust relationship between the federal government and Native Peoples, with the goal of dividing reservation lands among the tribal members who occupied the area.¹³³ This "termination" of federal obligations to protect tribal lands and treaty rights was touted by Congressional leaders as a(nother) final solution to the "Indian Problem."¹³⁴ Coupled with this new policy was "relocation," a program designed to help reservation Natives to find new homes and new jobs in urban areas. Robert Venables notes that "[r]elocation was a twentieth-century version of removal, except that the government decided that the cities, not the farthest frontier, were to be the dumping grounds."¹³⁵ President Eisenhower (1953-1961) backed these joint efforts of "termination and relocation," viewing the new policies as beneficial to Native Peoples because they offered them "freedom" from government interference and opportunities to find employment away from the depressed economic

¹³³ The trust relationship between the federal government and Indian nations is a cornerstone of Indian Law, whereby the government has a fiduciary responsibility to Native Peoples, dating back to *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* 1831).

¹³⁴ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 235.

¹³⁵ Robert W. Venables, *American Indian History: Five Centuries of Conflict & Coexistence, Volume II Confrontation, Adaptation & Assimilation, 1783-Present* (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 2004) Volume II, 321.

conditions so prevalent on reservations.¹³⁶ The education of Native Americans also changed, as relocated children attended city public schools, reducing the need for reservation and off-reservation institutions. Some Nations, whose reservations were not targeted for termination, opted to send their children to local public schools.¹³⁷ It was during this period that Frela Owl, a Cherokee who was living with her family on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho, had to make a decision as to where she would attend high school.

Frela's parents were from Cherokee, North Carolina, and her father's assignment as a Superintendent with the Bureau of Indian Affairs brought the family to Ft. Hall in southeastern Idaho. Although Frela wanted to graduate from the Blackfoot (Idaho) public high school, her father's belief that "part of education was to introduce you to the whole world" meant that "going to boarding school away from home, and in a different culture was a necessary part of education."¹³⁸ Although Frela had no option but to "go East," it was up to her to narrow the choices. Frela's older sister had attended Abbott Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and it was she who suggested that Frela consider enrolling at Northfield. Because "Northfield also had the domestic work program which made it a little less expensive . . . that's where my folks decided I should go."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ In theory, the programs were to reduce federal expenditures to Indian nations who agreed to, or were forced to terminate their trust relationship. In actuality, the long-term results proved more costly, particularly because of the ultimate reinstatement of terminated tribes. Native Peoples who chose termination found urban living overwhelming, living and working conditions sub-standard to what they had been promised, and discrimination more rampant than in reservation border towns. See, for example, Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

¹³⁷ There were exceptions, including the off-reservation Sherman Institute in Riverside, California which experienced a spike in enrollment. The increase at Sherman is directly attributed to the attendance of Navajo children under the *Special Navajo Five-Year Program*, which sought to correct the lack of formal education that was prevalent on the reservation in the post-World War II era. Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 238-239.

¹³⁸ Ms. Beck described the public high school as "fairly large . . . six to seven hundred students and the education was better than any school I had attended. It was a bit of a challenge." Author's interview, Frela Owl Beck.

¹³⁹ Interview, Frela Owl Beck, October 8, 2003.

In the fall of 1955, fifteen-year-old Frela Owl boarded a train in Pocatella, Idaho and waved good-bye to her parents. It was her first train ride, and a "big adventure." Changing trains in Chicago was a bit overwhelming for the young lady, who had spent most of her life on reservations, but on the morning of her fourth day of travel the real adventure began. When the train stopped in Albany, New York the passengers were informed that floods had washed out some tracks and that alternate routes were necessary. Frela had "no clue what [she] was supposed to do" so she "asked the first train man that walked through" for directions. He was a red cap, whose answer to how she was to get to East Northfield was "Lady, if you don't know where you're going, sure as hell I don't."¹⁴⁰ Frela eventually found a conductor who helped her find the Springfield/Greenfield (Massachusetts) train, and told her which train to take to get to the East Northfield depot. When she arrived at 7:00 a.m., the only people at the station were workers unloading a mail car. One man offered to call the school, and after "quite a while" a limousine arrived.

Frela recalls "I knew my dormitory was Merrill Keep, so the driver showed me where it was and where to register. I got out of the car, put my bags on the sidewalk . . . and went over to register. I went through, paid my fees . . . then I picked up my bags and went into the dormitory."¹⁴¹ The young reservation-raised woman astounded the house mother and other dorm mates with her independence and resourcefulness. But the four days of travel were only the beginning of her new experiences. Classes proved the next hurdle.

Owl had expected that she would be a member of the junior class, but some of the course credits from her former high school did not transfer, leaving her "three credits shy." While technically enrolled as a sophomore, Frela enrolled for several junior level

¹⁴⁰ Frela noted that "now I know better than to ask red caps!"

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

courses, including English. She quickly learned that her educational preparation was not on a level with Northfield's expectations. Having "always been at the top of [her] class with no effort" the first English assignment of writing a friendly letter seemed like "duck soup." The "D" she received proved that it was not as easy as she had anticipated. Frela realized that she did not have the study skills she needed, but she worked to acquire them.

I learned how to outline and I was a diligent student. I was determined to succeed. It would not have been okay to go home. It was expected that I was there for the duration and that was my job. I did what I was supposed to do. It was an overwhelming change for me. Everything was tougher, and I wanted to make up those three credits, trying to figure out how I was going to do that so that I wouldn't be there more than two years. Otherwise, in my mind, I was a failure if I couldn't.¹⁴²

When Frela returned home during the summer she took college-level algebra, earned an "A," and worked with a tutor. She returned to Northfield with the hope that she could pass the Algebra II exam, but her first attempt was unsuccessful and she "flunked flat the Algebra II exam." With additional tutoring, she passed, and with the acceptance of one additional credit for several courses of Home Economics taken at her previous school, Frela entered the senior class in December, 1956. While she was pleased that she had overcome so much, she was in an awkward position.

Straddling class years proved "a bit of a problem," because Frela "didn't have the class identity that most of the students had." She found it bothersome because, as she remembers "there were class choruses and class functions, and I was always in the class behind, in limbo. So when they talk about class reunions at Northfield I am just out of place. There were a few of us in the same position, so we have had little reunions in Connecticut and Arizona." Frela developed friendships, but not with other Native matriculants.

There were very few other American Indian students at Northfield when I was there (1955 - 1957). I didn't have much contact with them - they lived in

¹⁴² Ibid.

different dorms, and we didn't do anything as a group of students except one program. One of my teachers got us together to do an 'Indian Program' of some sort. But, because I couldn't speak Cherokee she booted me out of the group. That was a negative thing. I did feel as if I had something to offer, and could have participated. There was no specific counselor or department for American Indian students [then].

Frela put aside the rejection and immersed herself in campus life. Because her experiences "had been strictly on Indian reservations and with people who came to the reservation," she admitted to having a "pretty good chip on [her] shoulder about white folks," sparked by the reservation teachers who were "either missionary spirited . . . or else rejects from the world . . . and not much in the middle." Frela further acknowledged that she was "a bit of a rebel" who gave the Northfield faculty and staff "a hard time," but she responded to correction.

I remember sitting at dinner and I knew a lot of these students were upper class and beyond me, but some of them were not smart in the ways of the world. One gal was talking about how she had spent the summer at her uncle's farm and she kept talking about these female steers. Well, I couldn't keep quiet, and I wasn't very tactful at that time. I was always talking about things in biology – things about living animals, things they just didn't know, but it wasn't dinner table conversation. The head of the table would always say 'Miss Owl, that is not dinner table conversation, and then she would say 'Miss Owl, your elbow is on the table.' And, trying to be tactful she would say 'Miss Owl, are you tired?' because my elbow was on the table, and I said 'I sure am.' Then I put my second elbow up. Then she said 'I'll see you in my office after dinner.' I guess it was my way of rebelling against the whole system. But, after the first year, which was kind of a struggle, I thought 'Okay, I can do this. This is going to be okay.' And it wouldn't do for me to go home. I think I was just trying to figure out who I was and where I was because it was a totally new world.

The turning point for Frela was at the end of her first year, when one of her teachers who lived in Frela's dorm suggested that she run for Resident Assistant. Frela was shocked. She remembered thinking "'Who ME? I've been fighting you all year.' So my name was put up in nomination and I actually got elected as cop, and for me that was a total turnaround. I felt as if I were part of the community," a community comprised of students from nearby towns and foreign lands, who came from diverse economic and social backgrounds. What intrigued Frela was that all the students "were on an equal

standing" and that even "the really rich girls out of the city cleaned bathrooms." She liked her campus life and she liked Northfield, noting that it was better than where she had lived in northern Minnesota, where she was "an hour from any town." Even the hardship of not being able to return to Idaho except for Christmas and during the summers was eased because she spent the other holidays and breaks at the homes of classmates. Her first trip to New York City was "a real eye opener," and her first exposure to fresh oysters during a visit to Coney Island meant that she "went hungry that night." One Thanksgiving, at the home of her roommate, she had her first alcoholic beverage.

One sip and I thought 'Who in heaven's name would drink this?' It was so bad; it was very dry sherry. So I thought 'Okay, I'll never be an alcoholic. I don't like this!' [My roommates and their families] were wonderful to include me in their homes and to do things with them. I had a nicer exposure to the East because of that. Some of the houses were very old and historic and that was new to me. I had known government housing, which was maple and iron furniture and that was it.

Owl appreciated the excellent academic foundation she had for college, but she also felt that her two years at Northfield put her behind in "heterosexual relationships." In the 1950s Northfield was still a school for young women, and Mount Hermon enrolled only young men. Frela "hadn't been around young non-Indian men, except for a few occasions when we would have a date for a dance or something like that, but there was never any relationship established. That was one of the things that public school would better prepare you for – boy-girl relationships."¹⁴³ Yet, she notes, "I met my husband when I was a freshman in college, so it couldn't have been too bad." Frela chose to make the best of imperfect situations, while absorbing all that she could of her expanding life. She learned to play soccer, which was "a really new thing," enrolled in interpretive dance and swimming to fulfill her physical education requirements, and enjoyed what she might not have had if she were in Idaho. What Frela most appreciated was her self-sufficiency. "I learned many life skills. -- how to plan ahead,

¹⁴³ The schools became co-educational in 1971.

schedule, and do my own laundry. There was no choice. Had I stayed at Blackfoot I don't think I would have been so well prepared [for college life]. Also, it was important for me to get over my rebelliousness, and I may have felt that way no matter where I went to boarding school."¹⁴⁴ Frela graduated in 1957, and returned to Idaho, "but it was never really home again." The next step was college.

Frela's Northfield advisor believed that the young Cherokee woman was best suited for a small college, but a bit of Frela's "rebel attitude" drove her to apply to Cornell, Iowa State and Michigan State University. Frela's plan was to enroll in a Home Economics program, as had her sister, Mary, because "it sounded really interesting." Both Frela and Mary wanted to work among Indians ("because that has been our life") and a degree in Home Economics was a means to securing a position as an Extension Agent on a reservation, where they would work with 4-H groups, women's groups, and teach. Because Frela was accepted to all three institutions "the big decision was where to go." Her method of selection was unusual, and at the end of her first year she realized what she really wanted.

An Indian girl friend in Idaho told me the summer before college that she really wanted to go to school but was not brave enough to go by herself. She asked if she could go where I was going, so she too applied to Cornell, Iowa, and Michigan State. She only got into Michigan State so that's where Elberta and I went. We were roommates and we had a good time. It was interesting for me to see Elberta go through the struggles I had already been through. She studied hard but at the end of the first year she decided to transfer to the University of Idaho because she would not have to pay out-of-state tuition. I had thought of going, because by the time that first year was over I thought 'Oh no, I don't want Home Ec, I really want to be a nurse. I'd always wanted to be a nurse, but when I saw my sister doing these fun things I thought that it would be fun.

¹⁴⁴ When Frela arrived at Northfield she met Mr. Finch, the building maintenance man. She described him as "a very small fellow, very meek and humble." After a few days he asked Frela if she was related to George Owl, from the Army Wildcat Division, with whom he had served. After she told him George was her uncle, Finch took a "special interest" in her and whenever she saw him he would ask about her family and inquire about her progress. Frela stayed in touch with Finch long after she graduated.

Michigan State had a nursing program, and, although entrance was highly competitive, Frela was accepted. She spent her two years of clinical practice in Saginaw, Pontiac, and Detroit, which involved "moving around and readjusting to new environments." For many of her classmates it was a difficult time, but not for Frela. She had moved with her family from North Carolina to live on several Indian reservations, and she had traveled to and lived in the east. Frela "knew how to do that." She also knew how to set priorities and deal with multiple responsibilities. While in college Frela and George Beck married, and after graduation she worked part-time while raising a family. Her greatest challenge in life "besides Northfield" happened while she and her family were living in Michigan.

I was doing part time nursing at a local hospital – our children were grade school age – and I was asked if I would go out to the local community college and help them put together a proposal to the state to start a Practical Nursing program. This was really out in the boonies. It was a four-county Community College – just a little bitty thing. They told me that nobody there had the time to do it, and they didn't know nursing – they didn't even know the difference between RN and LPN and the nuances between them. They needed a nurse who could talk nursing language to write the proposal. Of course they would pay me to do it, so I went. The Dean handed me a book from the State which detailed what needed to be done to get approval for a Practical Nursing program. I read the requirements which involved writing to the various clinical facilities in the area, getting letters of support, gathering statistics. It was like writing a term paper – you had to gather your data and present it. So in four days we wrote a proposal. They paid me for my four days and had a secretary type it. The letters came in and I put them in the proper format with the proposal and it was sent off to the state. About two months later the Dean called me and said the ladies from the State Board of Nursing were coming to visit the clinical facilities and to see the college, and would I like to go along with them? I agreed because I hadn't seen some of the facilities. Talk about naïve. I went out with them to the hospitals, and they asked me some questions and when I didn't know the answers I suggested that we talk to the Director of Nursing. Soon after the Dean called again to say that he had to meet with the Board of Nursing and asked if I would go too since I had written the proposal and I knew the materials. We went to Lansing, they listened to our proposal, and seemed interested. [The Board] suggested that I visit a couple of other community colleges that were doing this, especially ones of similar size and staffing. I went to Wisconsin to visit a school similar to ours. I revised the proposal, patterned on what they were doing; how they divided the classroom and the clinical. Next thing I knew we had approval to start the program.

The Dean offered Frela the Directorship of the program, but she was reluctant to accept because of her young family and her lack of experience in practical nursing. Although there was a well-qualified nurse available who could have run the program, it was Frela who had the nursing degree. For the next four years, (1972-1976) Frela was the Director of Nursing at the community college, and her program "knocked the socks off the scores in the state." The first graduating class was "at the top of the group" in the State Board Exams, and over the next four classes, "no one failed the State Board Exams." In September 2003, Frela visited the school, which now has "a two-level program and 25% of the student body at this community college is in the nursing program." Frela is delighted with her accomplishment, which she calls "a wonderful thing." Although "it was something that kind of happened and I fell into . . . Northfield gets part of the credit for preparing me to take on new challenges."

After sixteen years in Michigan, Frela and her family moved to Cherokee, North Carolina. Frela's parents had gone home to Cherokee after her father's retirement. In 1976, with both her father and mother in failing health, Frela saw that "they needed care and you don't take an Indian out of the Indian environment." The Becks moved, and "we're still here." It was another change, but her attitude remains constant

Any time that something comes up in life that's tough, I think 'Well, if I could go off to Massachusetts when I was fifteen and make a go of it, I can handle this.' Nothing is impossible. The only difference between then and now is that I was naïve. Now I'm not."¹⁴⁵

Since returning to Cherokee, Frela worked for the Head Start Program, and later at the Cherokee High School. She thanks her father for pushing her out into the white world, and for sending her to Northfield, and she thanks Northfield for showing her how to travel the bridge between two cultures.

Between the arrival of the first Native students in 1880 to the close of the 1960s, both Northfield Schools underwent remarkable changes. More remarkable were the

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Frela Owl Beck.

Indian students who attended. They overcame cultural differences in an environment that fostered independence, self-sufficiency, and academic challenges. They adjusted to regimentation, discipline, and a new community. They syncretized what was useful to them in their life after Northfield. They adapted, and many used their experiences and their education to better their home communities. Their accomplishments overshadowed their failures. Over the following thirty years, the numbers of Native students increased, and Northfield Mount Hermon emerged as the "principal independent secondary school for Native Americans."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 219.

CHAPTER 4

DISHARMONY, RESOLUTION, AND STABILITY 1960 - 1990

During the first half of 1961 the administration of the Girls' School disbanded the Domestic Science Department, students held an international weekend on "Africa's Awakening," discontent on both campuses generated organized protests for the first time in the schools' history, and Howard L. Jones became president of the Northfield schools.¹ Jones understood that the call for change that was beating upon the doors of hallowed halls throughout academia had reached D. L. Moody's institutions. He immediately sought to determine how student disquiet could be appeased, how the administration could be more efficient, and how the curriculum could be revamped to reflect students' needs in a turbulent world.² Then Jones did more.

Responding to the call by President John F. Kennedy to assist educationally disadvantaged youth, Jones helped establish the ISTSP – the Independent Schools Talent Search Program – and the summer preparatory program known as ABC – A Better Chance.³ Although both programs initially accepted only African-American boys, they expanded to include young African-American women and American Indians.⁴ By the mid-1970s, enrollment of Native students at the Northfield schools had reached an all-time high, and, by the close of the 1980s over 100 American Indian students had

¹ "Nothing Endures but Change," *NMH Magazine*, Winter, 2004, 6(2), 10; Burnham Carter, *So Much to Learn: The History of Northfield Mount Hermon School for the One Hundredth Anniversary* (Northfield, MA: Northfield Mount Herman School, 1976), 219.

² *Ibid.*, 213.

³ Moody's goal of providing affordable quality education continued to be respected, but the ISTSP became not only a reaffirmation of the founder's wishes, but also an opportunity to involve schools which were less committed to the admission of academically and financially challenged students.

⁴ There were also disadvantaged students of Anglo descent who were selected for the program.

attended NMH.⁵ It was an exciting time for the schools, the administration, and the students, but it was also a period of adjustment.

The young Native men and women who enrolled during the seventies and eighties shared similar social, cultural, and academic challenges, as had their predecessors, but these students were vastly different from earlier American Indian matriculants. As the children and grandchildren of boarding school attendees, many had only remnants of their traditions, but the growing pan-Indian movement of the period fostered renewed pride in and resurgence of Indian cultures that directly affected these young Native students. This new generation of American Indians, who had experienced, on the one hand, the disastrous results of the congressionally mandated termination and relocation programs, and on the other, the ineffectiveness of Native leaders to influence federal Indian policy, wanted an end to Washington's paternalism. Moreover, they recognized that change required articulate advocates. While some of the students who came to the Northfield schools were unaware of the political upheaval occurring in Indian Country, and others distrusted non-Indians, most realized and accepted that learning how to cope with the dominant society was necessary. NMH afforded them the chance to better understand the world outside their homeland. The majority of the Native students embraced the learning process that would lead them to college, while others wanted only to savor the experience of NMH and return home. It was part of a broader development in Indian-non-Indian historical relationships.

Thomas Clarkin notes that "[t]he 1960s was a decade of transition, of moving toward Indian self-determination," while the 1970s and 1980s witnessed an explosion of legislation that defined or redefined the roles of state and federal responsibilities to

⁵ From 1970 through 1979 NMH accepted 52 Native students and between 1980 and 1989 an additional 57 attended. Students stayed for periods of one to four years.

Indian Nations.⁶ Hundreds of new laws empowered tribal councils to control governmental, educational, and social services decisions but few reservations had either the trained Native staff or the infrastructure necessary to immediately implement changes. The demand for Native professionals required more college graduates, yet, in a period where earning even high school diploma was an achievement, a post-secondary degree seemed unattainable to many young Indian men and women.

Complicating the prospect of success in college was the transition from a reservation or border-town public school to a college or university environment, away from the support of family and friends. The goal of the ISTSP and ABC programs was to provide a bridge to college by exposing students to campus life, independent study, and socialization with students from other cultures. For some Native students, it was overwhelming, yet many of the NMH graduates overcame academic and cultural challenges and used their experiences to advance both themselves and their communities. Within the ranks of current tribal college and university (TCU) presidents, writers, attorneys, leaders, and educators are numerous Native graduates of NMH whose accomplishments are testaments to their ability to bridge cultures.

Unwelcome Challenges: Student Unrest and Administrative Response

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, African-Americans, Native Americans, women, and their supporters loudly and publicly hammered the white male-dominated establishment with demands for social, political, and economic equality. Using both non-violent and violent protests, and making wise use of the media to underscore their determination to achieve full citizenship, members of the Civil Rights Movement, the American Indian Movement, and the Women's Movement unreservedly vowed that they

⁶ Thomas Clarkin, *Federal Indian Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, 1961-1969* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2001), x.

would no longer remain second-class Americans.⁷ As turmoil beget turmoil, the youth of the country demonstrated that they were unwilling to be seen and not heard; that they would not remain silent witnesses to the escalation of the Cold War, and the atrocities in Vietnam, the assassinations of Medgar Evers, John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the riots and lawlessness in city ghettos. Centers of learning from Maine to California produced vocal proponents of change – students who wanted a better world than that created by their parents' generation.⁸ Young women and men wanted a voice and a choice; they wanted control, and they wanted it immediately. In the 1960s and early 1970s few campuses were untouched by demonstrations, and the Girls' School and Mount Hermon were no exceptions. The Northfield schools' students, incensed by national and world events, rallied in support of equal opportunities for minorities and in opposition to the war in Southeast Asia, but they also argued for modifications in school policies and a relaxation of school codes. Moody's institutions were restive, and that unease had to be addressed. The person who took on the challenge was Howard L. Jones.

Jones, a former faculty member and vice-president of Colgate, became the sixth president of the Northfield schools in July 1961 and immediately commenced "an almost bewildering series of studies on management, curriculum, finance, students' expectations and problems, [and] long-range planning." The new president realized

⁷ Each of these movements had its roots in previous decades, but it was in the 1960s and 1970s that nationally organized efforts made an impact on mainstream America and the Washington elite. For a history of each see, for example, Sanford Wexler, *The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History* (New York: Facts on File, 1993) and William Terence Martin Riches, *The Civil Rights Movement: Struggle and Resistance* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: New York Press, 1996) and Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler (eds), *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007); Flora Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in American since 1960* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991) and Steven Buechler, *Woman's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

⁸ For an insider's perspective of student radicalism of the era see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993).

that in order to successfully guide the schools through significant changes, he needed additional help, so he turned to the Board of Trustees. Dismissing the "general rule for boarding schools . . . that the trustees were concerned with 'policy' and the president or headmaster was concerned with 'operations,'" Jones charged his Board to help shape the schools' future, which proved to be "a real help in the momentous decisions in the sixties and seventies."⁹ The decisions began almost immediately, beginning with a major change on the Northfield campus.

The Northfield schools, for many years, had followed D. L. Moody's desire for a culturally diverse population. When the Supreme Court handed down its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the intention was to pave the way for correcting the inadequacies of public education for African-American children. What it also did was open the doors to years of resistance to school integration.¹⁰ The *Brown* decision did not apply to private schools which received no federal funding, and whose administrators were free to refuse admission to any applicant. Thus, private schools became a means of circumventing the Court's ruling.¹¹ But, parents who sought to keep their children in a homogenous educational environment by enrolling them in private institutions did not turn to the Northfield schools; African-Americans had been a part of the student body since 1886.¹² Although there were periods with fewer students of color, by the 1950s the

⁹Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 213-215.

¹⁰The Court's May 17th decision stated, in part, that "[s]egregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children" and that "in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." *Brown v. Board of Education* 347 U.S. 483 (1954). See also Harvie Wilkinson, *From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and School Integration, 1954-1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

¹¹President Kennedy stated, in his 1963 address to Congress, that "[t]he Department of Justice has . . . intervened to seek the opening of public schools in the case of Prince Edward County, Virginia, the only county in the Nation where there are no public schools, and where a bitter effort to thwart court decrees requiring desegregation has caused nearly fifteen hundred out of eighteen hundred school-age Negro children to go without any education for more than three years." Harry Golden, *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes* (New York: Crest, 1964), 205-206.

¹²Thomas Nelson Baker entered Mount Hermon on May 24, 1886 at age 25. Although he "began his life as another man's property . . . as part of the plantation owned by one Robert Nottingham"

schools were recommitted to enrolling young women and men from throughout the world, while continuing the tradition of equality among the students.¹³

Despite the egalitarian environment, the Girls' School retained a policy that required "parental permission before letting white and minority girls room together."¹⁴ Early in 1962 the students on the Northfield campus demanded that the policy be abolished, and the administration complied. The victory triggered students on both sides of the river to seek further changes, including student participation in disciplinary procedures, a voice in curricula decisions, the elimination of compulsory chapel attendance, and the unification of the Girls' and Boys' Schools into a coeducational institution. But the ways in which some students demonstrated their need for change and their displeasure with the Establishment unnerved both faculty and staff.¹⁵

In the wake of the 1968 assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, rioting, arson, and vandalism swept throughout the inner cities of America. As college and university students demonstrated their impatience with the status quo by ransacking school buildings, likewise a few students at Mount Hermon vented their frustrations. Over a period of several months, they set the post office afire, smashed

he went on to graduate in 1889. He received his undergraduate degree from Boston University, and his masters and doctorate degrees from Yale. "No Slave to Fortune," Peter Weis, *NMH Magazine*, Fall, 2003, 10-13. African-American Annette Anderson was president of her 1895 Seminary class. Peter Weis, *Diversity*, 1. NMH Archives.

¹³ School admissions bulletins and earlier visitor's guides list percentages as well as actual numbers of foreign students in attendance. For example, the 1914 Mount Hermon Visitor's Guide lists a total enrollment of 421 boys, 77 of whom came from outside the United States (18%). The 34 nationalities included Liberian, Russian, Hebrew, Chilean, Chinese, and Dutch. *Mount Hermon Visitor's Guide, 1914*, NMH Archives. In 2007 the NMH student body comprised 612, nineteen percent of which were students from 25 foreign countries (116). *Northfield Mount Hermon Admission Catalog 2007-2008*, NMH Archives.

¹⁴ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 219.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 219-220. The fight against compulsory chapel was both long and heated. In 1913, Henry Cutler received letters from various Mount Hermon students asking "Why was the Sunday evening chapel service made mandatory?" and stating that "the men of my acquaintance . . . are not enthusiasts over the religious life." Peter Weis, *Diversity*, December, 2001, 5. NMH Archives. Compulsory chapel was eliminated in 1970. In 1971 the two schools became known as the Northfield Mount Hermon School, and became coeducational. "Nothing Endures but Change," *NMH Magazine*, 10.

vending machines, vandalized West Hall, stole "everything that [was] not nailed down" from the language lab, and dismantled and crushed some of the organ pipes in Memorial Chapel. Although the damage was attributed to "a handful of crazies," the long-standing trust among students, teachers, and administrators was damaged.¹⁶ The trust further deteriorated as evidence of drug abuse surfaced. Arthur H. Kiendl, the headmaster of Mount Hermon, reported to the Board of Trustees that "a large percentage of boys were experimenting with drugs on and off campus and that some of them were deeply involved with strong drugs." The response was swift and severe. Kiendl assembled the students and informed them that those engaged in drug use would be asked to leave, that local and state officials were involved in "drying up the sources of supply," and that a forthcoming letter to parents would apprise them of the situation and the administration's proposed resolutions. During the 1968-69 academic year eight boys were dismissed from Mount Hermon and two girls from the Northfield campus, but "the use of milder drugs like marijuana . . . [and] alcohol" continued.¹⁷ Clearly, Moody's schools and the student body had dramatically changed, but amid the unsettling incidents was a rededication to educating the disadvantaged.

Creating New Opportunities:

The Independent Schools Talent Search Program and Project ABC

During the 1920s and 1930s, the student composition at the Northfield schools was less culturally diverse than at any other period before or since. In an effort to make the institutions "look and feel like other college preparatory schools, and by appealing to the more affluent," the Trustees and the administrators made a conscious decision to "recruit

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 222-223.

from a 'whiter' population."¹⁸ It was not until the late 1940s that Mount Hermon headmaster, Howard Rubendall, sought to actively recruit African-American students of limited means and return to one of the founding principles of the schools by providing quality education to a wide range of underprivileged students. Rubendall wrote to Dr. Harry Carman, Chairman of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), offering to "help in any way we can to further the program of drawing more qualified Negro students into our private secondary schools."¹⁹ Rubendall did help by offering scholarships to "promising students of color to Northfield and Mount Hermon." Other Independent secondary schools also agreed to provide scholarships, and, by 1954, the number of participating institutions had risen to 30.²⁰ While the NSSFNS appreciated the enthusiasm and support of the member schools, Dr. Carman lamented that "[a]lthough some of the scholarships offered were large and often the school's maximum, they were insufficient for those families who were only able to pay a few hundred dollars towards the cost of a school year."²¹ NSSFNS chose to subsidize some of the students who received scholarships, but budget constraints led the Board of Directors to terminate the program in 1962. At the behest of the various independent school headmasters, the NSSFNS briefly restored the program, but in January, 1964, NSSFNS president, Richard Plaut, sent letters to the schools stating that "We have enjoyed our 13 years of cordial relations with many of the Independent Schools and we are sorry that

¹⁸ Weis, *Diversity*, 7.

¹⁹ Letter from Howard Rubendall to Harry Carman, November 18, 1949. NMH Archives.

²⁰ Weis, *Diversity*, 7.

²¹ Letter from Harry Carman to Howard Rubendall, October 12, 1954. NMH Archives.

they have to be discontinued at this time."²² The program was truly over. But, prior to its termination, Howard Jones "began exploring other opportunities."²³

Throughout the fall and winter of 1962, Jones contacted the presidents and headmasters of several independent secondary schools, and on February 23, 1963 representatives from 23 institutions met at the Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts "to consider ways in which independent schools could assist promising students from disadvantaged circumstances."²⁴ The result was the Independent Schools Talent Search Program" (ISTSP), whose mission statement vowed "to discover and enroll promising girls and boys from seriously underprivileged circumstances and to assist them to achieve success by being better able to compete for admission and financial aid at our best colleges and universities."²⁵ The idea was eagerly endorsed, although "many [representatives] had some of the same fears and reservations concerning the enrollment of boys and girls from weak academic backgrounds as the colleges and universities were experiencing."²⁶ Just five days after the Andover meeting, President John Kennedy addressed Congress, reiterating the inadequacies of education for African-Americans and stressing the need for integration.

The President's message followed on the heels of his appeal to leading colleges and universities to enroll more minority students, particularly African-Americans. Kennedy wanted the underrepresented to have the same opportunities as mainstream Americans, but enlarging the enrollment pool for minorities was only a first step. Years of racial segregation in elementary, middle, and secondary schools often meant that

²² Letter from Richard L. Plaut to Arthur H. Kiendl, Jr., January 23, 1964.

²³ Weis, *Diversity* 7.

²⁴ *General Explanation, Demonstration Project: The Independent Schools Talent Search Program*, 7. NMH Archives

²⁵ From the *Two Year Report of ISTSP*, i. NMH Archives.

²⁶ *General Explanation*, 7.

African-American children did not build upon the same educational foundations as their white counterparts, which made it more difficult for them to obtain admission into non-black colleges.²⁷ The ISTSP was one way to help African-Americans, and other less fortunate students in expanding and attaining their educational goals, but in many cases their lack of preparedness doomed them to failure in the demanding environment of an independent secondary school. In October, 1963, plans emerged for a summer program to ease the transition to campus life.

Dartmouth College president John Sloan Dickey met with Arthur Kiendl, Howard Jones, and Northfield's principal, Edmond Meany, Jr. at Dr. Jones' residence to propose the creation of an intensive eight-week summer program for incoming ISTSP students; a program that would both increase their skills in English, math, and reading, and provide "exposure to a college campus and atmosphere [which would enable] each student to see first-hand the long-range goal of the Program – a college or university experience."²⁸ Successful completion of the two-month course was a prerequisite for independent school matriculation. Dickey suggested that the first session of Project ABC – A Better Chance – be held at Dartmouth the following year. In July, 1964, 49 African-American boys arrived in Hanover, New Hampshire to begin a new phase of their education. Project ABC was underway.

ABC was intentionally designed to mimic the independent school environment of structured classes and community living. Students lived in dormitories which were grouped into suites of seven to nine students, overseen by an undergraduate or "resident-tutor" who assumed the "many-faceted and difficult role of friend, big brother, tutor, disciplinarian and counselor." The student-to-teacher ratio was generally nine to

²⁷ In Kennedy's address to Congress on February 28, 1963, part II "Education." See Harry Golden, *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes*, 204-206. Despite the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas*, public school desegregation was not universally accepted or practiced.

²⁸ *General Explanation*, 11.

one with "different races . . . represented in the teacher and resident-tutor groups," but the emphasis on academics was tempered with other learning experiences.²⁹ Weekends were more than just a time for further study. Students participated in cultural or social field trips, had dinner with faculty members, or played sports. The students developed their own sense of community and learned that tolerance and cooperation were an essential part of campus life. In September, all 49 students continued on to preparatory schools.³⁰ ABC's first session was a success, and the ISTSP member schools were impressed with the caliber of their new students. When Mount Holyoke offered to hold an ABC program for girls in the summer of 1965, ISTSP members sought to expand the number of scholarships to 100 students. However, the program grew faster than anticipated.³¹

In the spring of 1965 the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) awarded ISTSP a grant of \$376,000 to sponsor "an additional one hundred students," which then allowed ISTSP to "expand in its second year to two hundred students, one hundred and fifty of whom attended an ABC Project." The following year OEO provided an additional \$1,500,000 "to help finance the first one hundred students for their second year and to help finance three hundred new students." Williams College, Duke University and Carleton College added Project ABC to their summer sessions, and "the number of [ISTSP] member schools increased to over one hundred."³² The deep interest in both Project ABC and ISTSP went beyond the member schools and OEO.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 7-8. ISTSP accepted an additional 25 "slightly less disadvantaged students with stronger academic backgrounds [who] enrolled in the member schools without the ABC experience."

³¹ ISTSP members promoted the program to teachers and academic counselors at inter-city schools, who, in turn encouraged talented, but financially underprivileged, students to apply for admission. The response was greater than expected and adjustments were necessary to ensure the future success of ISTSP.

³² Ibid. Also "Federal Grant Assigned for Northfield Program," *Recorder-Gazette*, Greenfield, MA., February 10, 1966.

In the "Two Year Report," ISTSP Chairman, Howard Jones, stated that "[o]ne of the interesting aspects of the program has been the variety of the sources of its financial support." Jones noted that the Charles E. Merrill Trust was a major contributor "from the beginning," and that the Rockefeller Foundation co-sponsored both the Dartmouth and Mount Holyoke ABC projects. As the programs entered their third year, facing increased operating costs, the Danforth Foundation, General Electric Foundation, and Charles Kettering Foundation provided funding for the 1965-66 fiscal year. The member schools, which offered scholarships to the ISTSP students, and who contributed "one dollar per boarding student," carried much of the financial burden of the program, and although the OEO grants helped participating schools by providing them with "\$2500 for three years," the funding did not cover the complete cost of each student.³³ When some of the girls' schools were unable to provide places and scholarships for the anticipated 50 ISTSP students, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund "generously created a matching grant which enabled Mount Holyoke College to enroll the first group of girls in its Project ABC."³⁴ Within a decade, Project ABC, which merged with ISTSP in the mid-1960s, had provided scholarships to over 2,000 boys and girls, of whom nearly 95 percent advanced to college.³⁵ During the first two years of operation, however, member schools were challenged to find "the kind of students ISTSP [was] seeking."³⁶

Potential candidates who were the most needy were also the least likely to have the resources to seek out the program, and many schools in poor areas were unaware of the program's existence. ISTSP expanded its presence by enlisting the assistance of not

³³ Ibid., "Federal Grant."

³⁴ "Two Year Report," 1-2.

³⁵ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 220. Many of the students who participated in Project ABC went on to become doctors, attorneys, businessmen, and at least one governor – Deval Patrick of Massachusetts who graduated from Milton Academy in 1974.

³⁶ *General Explanation*, 8.

only teachers and guidance counselors, but also "social workers, ministers, policemen, lawyers, judges – anyone who has contact with large numbers of poor children and who, because of their insight and sensitivity, [could] make candid, realistic and experienced recommendations to ISTSP."³⁷ These "resource workers" became invaluable contributors to the advancement of students who might not have considered, or been able to achieve, a college or university degree.³⁸ It was through such resource workers that the Northfield schools accepted its first American Indian students into Project ABC, but Native America did not respond with overwhelming enthusiasm.

During the 1960s, tribal leaders and parents remained reluctant to consent to offers of free education, especially at a *boarding school*. Although the ISTSP and Project ABC directors worked to develop resource workers and build relationships within Indian Country, such inroads took time. Relationships fostered trust, but history discouraged confidence. Too many decades of losing children to mainstream institutions were difficult to forget, but in 1965 one young woman from the Crow reservation in Montana agreed to attend the Northfield school.³⁹

Sara Young ('68) "knew by the sixth grade that she wanted to go to college," and she hoped that a year at Northfield would bring her closer to her goal. Like her distant Crow predecessor, Suzie Walking Bear Yellowtail, Sara set aside her fears and, with the support of the tribal council, began the first eight-week ABC program held at Mt. Holyoke College in the summer of 1965. In August Sara entered the Northfield school. "I was lonely," not because her fellow students were unfriendly, but because she was "the only American Indian on campus." "The academic environment was competitive and I had to put a lot of effort into my studies in order to make honor grades for the two terms

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

³⁸ Resource workers remain a critical part of Project ABC, assisting the 251 member schools in 25 states and the District of Columbia.

³⁹ Mount Hermon had one Mohawk student who graduated in 1970.

(I was there)." The regimen at Northfield was "challenging" but "failure was not an option." "I saw how education could change lives; how a quality education made a difference." Sara's education went beyond the classroom that she shared with "people from different countries and economic backgrounds," many of whom missed their families. "My parents did not have a phone, but [while] I never felt deserted, I felt sad for some of those [students] whose family didn't stay in touch with them. . . Education was very important to my parents, and of their eight children two have undergraduate degrees and three have Masters Degrees."

Sara recalls the dynamism of her teachers, their "caliber of knowledge," and their accessibility and willingness to help. The intensity of her experience at Northfield made Sara's undergraduate years at Eastern Montana College "a breeze." After receiving her Masters Degree in School Administration from Montana State University, Sara became a high school principal in Bozeman at age 28. Her new goal was to challenge students, and although parents thought she was "making the school too hard" Sara persisted.⁴⁰ One area in which she wanted to see improvement was math and science. There were few Native American math and science teachers, and that had to change. In 1995 Sara became Director of American Indian Research Opportunities at Montana State University and the Director of the All Nations AMP Teacher Preparation Program, aimed at correcting the underrepresentation of certified American Indian teachers of math and science.⁴¹ Sara's work was recognized with the 2002 *Presidential Award for Excellence in Mathematics, Science and Engineering Mentoring*. Sara continues to promote Native education in the sciences on the Bozeman campus of Montana State University as the

⁴⁰ Interview, Sara L. Young, August 15, 2004.

⁴¹ AMP is the Alliance for Minority Participation and the All Nations Program specifically helps American Indian undergraduates to attain their teaching goals. Most graduates teach at reservation schools.

school's Outreach Director for IDeA Networks of Biomedical Research Excellence – Biomedical Research Infrastructure Network (INBRE/BRIN).

Sara Young's decision to attend Northfield underscored her passion for education, which has benefited thousands of Native American students. More Native students would benefit from the experiences of American Indian graduates of the Northfield schools, and in the 1970s the time was right. Native America was on the verge of monumental changes, and the faculty and staff of the Northfield schools helped Native students understand that they could be a part of those changes.

On the Road to Self-Determination: Nations Unite

The federal Indian policies of termination and relocation, which began during the Truman administration, had a profound effect on Native Peoples. The termination of federal trust responsibilities to Indians was deemed by Congress as a progressive move toward assimilation and Native independence from government supervision and interference. But the termination program included more than the closing of tribal rolls, the selling of tribal lands, and the distribution of the proceeds to tribal members; it also ended the government's obligations and services to Indians. Although the Eighty-third Congress (1953-54) sought "to get out of the Indian business," the policy died an expensively painful death as terminated tribes ultimately sued for reinstatement.⁴² Termination, as a stand-alone directive, was devastating to Native cultures, and, coupled with the relocation plan, Indian Peoples encountered the most direct modern efforts of assimilation.

As Native veterans returned home after their service in World War II, their presence strained tribal economic resources and reservation unemployment soared. Both the government and the Bureau of Indian affairs were convinced that "[t]he

⁴² Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 134.

courageous performance of Native American men abroad and native women in the war industries at home" proved that "Indians possessed an aptitude for working side by side with other Americans."⁴³ Proponents of relocation argued that moving individuals and families from the destitution of their homelands to cities presented more opportunities in job training, employment, education, and, by default, assimilation. Native Americans had voluntarily moved to cities for decades, but this organized "placement" program brought higher concentrations to metropolitan centers such as Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Denver. The enticements of work and better living conditions gave way to employment discrimination, ghetto life, and a rise in alcoholism.⁴⁴ Indian centers, and bars, became meeting places for Native Americans who wanted to be with other Native Americans. These "urban Indians" shared experiences and developed bonds across cultural lines, which gave birth to a pan-Indian spirit that celebrated being American Indian, without regard for lineage, ancestry, or tribal affiliation. Drum groups formed and dancers performed to a blend of rhythms and songs from throughout Indian country. Pow-wows became a means of drawing together various Native Peoples as well as non-Indians who were interested, or curious, about Native traditions. Also emerging during this period was a militancy that demanded the upholding of trust obligations and land claims. Encouraged by the actions of Civil Rights activists, a new generation of American Indians sought to show their dissatisfaction with government policies that ignored treaties and other agreements that ensured specific Native rights and privileges.

⁴³ Ibid., 110. Details on termination are found in Fixico, Chapters 5 and 6. See also Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 1013-1059; Frederick J. Stefon, "The Irony of Termination: 1943-1958," *The Indian Historian* 11 (1978), and Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era In Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁴⁴ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 1081-85.

In 1961, a small group of American Indian college graduates formed the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) "to provide and ensure that every Native American person has an equal opportunity to participate, excel and become a viable member and asset to his/her community."⁴⁵ The NIYC also sought "access to education, health care, social services, employment, housing, leadership in government and economic development" which, they believed, would ensure Indian "dignity and self-respect."⁴⁶ Education had opened the founders' eyes to the pervasive injustices against Native Peoples throughout the country, not just to those affecting their own tribes. Determined to bring specific treaty issues to national attention, the NIYC adopted some of the tactics used by the Civil Rights Movement. Reminiscent of the peaceful "sit-ins" by blacks, the NIYC staged a "fish-in" in Olympia, Washington to protest violations against the 1854 Medicine Creek "Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup, etc." that guaranteed the "right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations," and which had been denied by state officials.⁴⁷ The first "fish-in" garnered media attention because it developed into a "dramatic confrontation between the Indians and the state game wardens," but when celebrities Marlon Brando and Dick Gregory joined a later demonstration on March 2, 1964 to help "some Indians friends fish," the cause reached a broader audience.⁴⁸

"Fish-ins" spread throughout the Northwest, but they were only the beginning of Indian demands. On March 9, 1964 five Sioux landed on Alcatraz, claiming their right to

⁴⁵ From "Mission Statement" of the National Indian Youth Council, 318 Elm Street SE, Albuquerque, NM 87102. The NIYC began in Gallup, NM following the American Indian Charter Convention held in Chicago in June, 1961. See Joan Ablon, "The American Indian Chicago Conference," *Journal of American Indian Education*, 1(2), January, 1962 and Nancy Lurie, "American Indian Chicago Conference," *Current Anthropology*, 11 (5), 1961, 478-500.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, "Mission Statement."

⁴⁷ Article 3, "Treaty with the Nisqualli, Puyallup, etc., 1854" signed at Medicine Creek, Washington Territory, December 16, 1854 in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties* (New York: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1995), Volume II, 662.

⁴⁸ Vine Deloria, Jr. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas, 1985), 26. Alex Tizon, "25 Years after the Boldt Decision: The Fish Tale that Changed History," *Seattle Times*, February 7, 1999.

possession of abandoned federal lands in accordance with a provision of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.⁴⁹ Over the next five and a half years, the recurring visits to and occupation of Alcatraz by over 5,600 supporters of Indian rights, including members of the American Indian Movement (AIM), brought attention to the federal government's disregard for treaty assurances and lack of commitment to Native issues.⁵⁰ The longest occupation of the island lasted from November 20, 1969 through June 11, 1970, during which time President Richard Nixon informed Congress that "the government was wrong to assume that it could abolish its responsibilities to Indians without consulting them" and "quietly signed papers rescinding Termination."⁵¹

Although the majority of Indian Country responded favorably to Nixon's action, the American Indian Movement wanted more sweeping changes. Led by activists Dennis Banks, Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt, and Russell Means, AIM sought to bring national attention to the injustices against Native Americans. Demonstrations at Plimoth Plantation and Plymouth Rock during the 1970 "celebration" of the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, led to the occupation of the *Mayflower II* and the painting of the "rock" in bright red. Russell Means's speech from atop the bronze statue of the Wampanoag, Massasoit, who had welcomed the newcomers in 1620, declared that AIM was the militant voice of Native America and one that would not be easily silenced.⁵² By

⁴⁹ Article 6 of the April 29th "Treaty with the Sioux—Brulé, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee—And Arapaho, 1868" offered land to the tribal members which was not "reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation," a phrase that became the crux of Lakota claims.

⁵⁰ In November 1999 hundreds of Native Peoples from throughout North America assembled on Alcatraz to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the occupation. See Jerry Reynolds, "A Myth in the Making: Alcatraz at 35," *Indian Country Today*, November 19, 2004, 1; Ben Winton "Alcatraz: Taking Back 'The Rock,'" *Native Peoples*, Fall 1999, 26-36.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 201; Winton, "Alcatraz," 29.

⁵² Hundreds of books offer different perspectives regarding the actions and intentions of AIM, including personal accounts from Russell Means in *Where White Men Fear to Tread* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), Dennis Banks, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), and Stanley David Lyman

November 1972, when AIM members descended upon Washington and occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building for a week, the nation knew that changes were necessary to correct centuries of wrongs against Native Peoples.⁵³ The most newsworthy of AIM's actions was the occupation of the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Beginning in February 1973, and culminating 71 days later, the incident shocked America by exposing the realities of reservation life, federal influence in Native governments, and the lengths to which AIM was willing to go to bring attention to their causes.⁵⁴ Coincidentally, in February 1973 Washington Senator Henry M. Jackson introduced a bill to "promote maximum Indian participation in the government and education of Indian people," which supported Nixon's campaign declaration that "[t]he right of self-determination of the Indian people will be respected and their participation in planning their own destiny will actively be encouraged."⁵⁵

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which was signed into law by Gerald Ford on January 4, 1975, "gave Indian tribes the authority to contract with the Federal government to operate programs serving their tribal members and other eligible persons," and that authority placed the education of Indian children into the

Wounded Knee 1973: A Personal Account, Floyd A. O'Neil, June K. Lyman and Susan McKay eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

⁵³ Hank Adams, the president of the Survival of American Indians Association, and a leader in the fight for Native fishing rights, assembled a document entitled "The Twenty Points" which outlined AIM demands for correcting federal injustices toward Native Americans.

⁵⁴ Two FBI agents were killed at Pine Ridge for which Leonard Peltier, an Annishnabe AIM member, is serving consecutive life sentences. The murder of Anna Mae Aquish, another member of AIM remains unsolved. The debate continues as to whether AIM was invited to correct the problems at Pine Ridge, or if the organization created them. See opposing views in Kenneth S. Stern, *Loud Hawk: The United States versus the American Indian Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994) and Joseph H. Trimbach and John M. Trimbach *American Indian Mafia: An FBI Agent's True Story about Wounded Knee, Leonard Peltier and the American Indian Movement (AIM)*, (Parker, CO: Outskirts Press, 2007).

⁵⁵ From Nixon's statement of September 28, 1968. *Indian Record*, January, 1969, 1-2. Of the thirteen co-sponsors of the bill, twelve were from states that had large Indian populations.

hands of tribal leaders.⁵⁶ The Act paved the way for tribal control of elementary, middle, and secondary schools, and the establishment of tribal colleges and universities (TCU) in which school curricula and pedagogy could be designed to teach the values, traditions, and languages of Indian Peoples by Native teachers.⁵⁷ This new direction in federal Indian Policy, while greeted as a positive result of Indian demands, also underscored the need for strong, educated leaders throughout Native America, but reservation infrastructure to support the changes was either insufficient or non-existent. Indian education in the 1970s, whether on or off reservations, remained, for the most part, in the hands of non-Indian teachers. That was to change, and many Native graduates of Northfield Mount Hermon were instrumental in transforming American Indian education within their communities. In addition to the field of education, Native students from the Northfield schools entered occupations that benefited both mainstream and American Indian societies.

The 1970s: A Recommitment to Native Students

At the Northfield schools the end of the 1960s saw the end of compulsory chapel attendance, and, while the changes that the schools had undergone were significant, they were merely a prelude to the challenges of the 1970s. Student discontent with school policies remained considerable, not the least of which was the segregation of the sexes.

In January of 1970 the administration received a petition signed by over 600 Mount Hermon students which stated:

The need for co-education is paramount if both Northfield and Mount Hermon are to continue as vital and worthwhile institutions It is natural and right for the members of the two sexes to be together, not separated,

⁵⁶ Public Law 93-638, 25 CFR Part 900, Background.

⁵⁷ George Pierre Castile, *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960-1975* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Prucha, *The Great Father*, 1111-1170.

especially during this crucial period in the development of their personal identities.⁵⁸

The time was right for integrating the girls of Northfield with the boys of Mount Hermon, but in order to do so, the two schools had to become one. The mechanics of regrouping faculty, eliminating duplicate courses as well as redundant staff and administration, paled when compared with providing new dormitories for boys on the Northfield campus, living quarters for girls on the Mount Hermon site, and the logistics of transporting students to their classes. "[A]n elaborate bus service was planned to carry boys and girls all day long back and forth on the five miles between campuses."⁵⁹ After a year of planning, the combined schools – Northfield Mount Hermon – opened in September 1971 "with 444 boys and 149 girls on the Mount Hermon campus . . . and 174 boys and 367 girls at Northfield."⁶⁰

Amid the restructuring the administration prepared for an influx of American Indian students. Project ABC had made significant progress within Indian Country, and for the 1971-1972 academic year NMH anticipated the arrival of ten Native girls and boys. However, during the summer of 1971, a nearby ABC member – the Lenox School in Lenox, Massachusetts – closed its doors due to financial problems. The twelve American Indian boys who had been accepted into the Lenox program were subsequently offered admission to NMH.⁶¹ To prepare the faculty and staff, the president's office presented a report entitled *An American Indian Cluster*, which sought to provide background information on the various tribes that would be represented in the in-coming class. The students hailed from the Cayuga, Mohawk, Sioux, Comanche and Navajo Nations, and from Navajo came Elwood Pahi.

⁵⁸ Carter, *So Much to Learn*, 246.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

Elwood Pahi ('74) was an eighth-grade student at Tuba City Junior High when his English teacher approached him about the ABC opportunity. "My teacher was very helpful. He did all the paperwork for me. [Then,] I spent the next two years working to improve my grades, and I was picked for the program. I had a couple of friends who went to Lenox and they liked it so I thought if I could get into the program, why not?" The only orientation Elwood had for life at a college preparatory school was a one-week visit to the Lenox School. "I was accepted to Lenox, but when we all got there they told us they were closing the school. That is how I ended up at NMH." Although Pahi had "grown up in a boarding school environment" and was accustomed to the regimentation, NMH was different. "It was hard being so far away from my homeland, and I struggled to get good grades because (NMH) was a better school. Getting a good education was on my parents' dream list so I worked very hard." Although classes were challenging, Elwood's teachers worked with him, and he is grateful that "they took the time to help because they knew it wasn't easy for me." He worked at his studies, but he also played.

"All of the Indian boys who came that year lived at Mount Hermon, and all the girls were at Northfield." Elwood liked the campus because it was "out in the countryside near a good size river . . . [but] . . . New England was a totally different world and the area and the lifestyle were so new to me. . . . I had to overcome some things but I am glad I hung in there." His interests and abilities led him "into sports – cross country, hockey, lacrosse, and soccer" which were a nice diversion from "the stress of studying." Despite the obstacles, Pahi believes that his "college career began [at NMH] because [the school] provided me with the tools to be competitive on all levels – physically, mentally, at the college level, on the job, and in every day activities. NMH provided me with the tools to be responsible, to be a good leader and to give back to the community."

After graduation, Pahi "spent some time at Dartmouth, but finished up at NAU" (Northern Arizona University) with a degree in Mechanical Engineering. Although he is busy as a Senior Engineer with Arizona Public Service he finds the time "to work with the Navajo Nation [including] a venture to bring and improve the telecommunications infrastructure on the reservation." In the late 1990s he worked to "improve the learning and information center for students, parents, educators, tribal leaders and businesses" and he remains "involved in the Holbrook [Arizona] school system as a member of the Indian Education Committee." Pahi is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, the latter of which gives him the opportunity "to take and share road trips with educators and high school students to attend some of these conferences."

Elwood Pahi declares that he "is living a great life because of the opportunity NMH provided me. NMH means a lot to me because it gave me something that I cannot put a price on – life experience to share with family, and people of all nations."⁶² Elwood seized an opportunity, and made the most of it, and he was not alone.

Tina Deschenie ('73), also Diné, had grown up in Crystal, New Mexico in the heart of the Navajo Nation. Although she attended boarding school and spent her freshman year at Crownpoint [New Mexico] Public High School, she was never far from her support system. When family friends invited Tina to live with them and attend a school in the East she moved to Waltham, Massachusetts and enrolled at the Chapel Hill — Chauncy Hall School. During her sophomore year, "it became obvious to [my host family] that I was totally isolated – I was the only Native student in the school. . . and they began to explore other programs in the area which enrolled Native students. They discovered the ABC Program and they were the ones who got me into NMH." Tina arrived on the Northfield campus in the fall of 1971, and was assigned to a dorm with "other Native women, some

⁶² Interview and correspondence with Elwood Pahi, 1997, 2008.

from Diné, and others from all different tribes." Although it was difficult being away from home "we had an advisor, Nol Putnam . . . [who] would gather all the Native students together at his house or on either campus. He was very deliberate about getting us to talk about ourselves . . . He was really good about keeping us up to date on Indian issues, like AIM (American Indian Movement). He was non-native, and he led discussions on what was happening in Indian Country and we talked a lot about the book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.⁶³ He was a really good person – he made us into a community – getting us together and making us think about Native issues. He really glued us together. I felt if I had a problem I could go to him. Just knowing that I could turn to him was enough."

Tina recalls how much she learned about world issues. Her roommate during her first year at NMH "was a Japanese girl . . . I went home with her for one break and her mother was interrogating me about what the Navajos were doing during World War II. I didn't know because we never studied that back home. We never studied the Navajo history and I really didn't know. . . about the Navajo Code Talkers and the important role they played, but then that information wasn't public at the time. I remember [my roommate's mother] being really angry about the War and talking in a very rough way. She was bitter about the bombing of Hiroshima and other issues like Japanese interment. My father was a veteran and all my uncles had fought in different wars, so I was really puzzled about her anger." The visit was a valuable experience for Tina because she "began to put things together" and "realized that there was much more to the world than what I had learned back home." But home was where Tina knew she should be.

Tina spent time at Stanford University, along with classmates Violet Cook, a Lakota from South Dakota, and Willie Long Reed, a Diné from Tuba City, Arizona. "I was

⁶³ Nol Putnam had been a faculty member at the Lenox School but was subsequently hired to teach at Mount Hermon where he continued the role of advisor to Native students as he had done at Lenox. *The News*, Spring 1992, 19.

the first in my immediate family to obtain a college education, although I did have an uncle who attended college. I knew that I wanted to further my education but I only had a general idea about what college was and how I would get there. When I was at NMH, applying to college was part of the process." Tina left Stanford and returned to New Mexico because she "really didn't see [herself] being outside of Navajo." Having been "mostly raised" by her fraternal grandmother "who spoke Navajo and was very traditional," Tina recalls how her grandmother "really grounded me in being a Navajo person, and about where I belonged and how I should serve my own people. So I came back and I have always been here." Although Tina completed her undergraduate degree at Fort Lewis College in Colorado, she returned home and earned a Masters Degree in education administration from the University of New Mexico. Because Tina received Navajo Nation scholarship money to fund her post-secondary education, she worked for the Navajo government on several different occasions.

"There was always talk about giving back to the community if you received funding, and I felt very strongly about doing that." Tina spent sixteen years serving as a teacher, administrator and education specialist within the Navajo school system, before going to work in 1995 for the Native American Preparatory School in Rowe, New Mexico. "It was like Northfield, but it was all Native students from all over. I taught and worked in the administration in a position like an Associate Head of School. It was a very small school and people did everything. . . I tended to gravitate toward schools that were more college prep in nature and that probably was because of my experiences at Chapel Hill – Chauncey Hall and NMH. Also, Nol Putnam's insistence that we should be proud of ourselves . . . our history, and who we were as Native Peoples led me to seek schools which emphasized [Native] cultures and languages. Native education is so different today. The schools I attended [prior to NMH] taught nothing about Native history. I knew very little about Navajo history, about the Long Walk, for example, just

that my parents said it was something that happened. I taught in contract schools which were funded by the Self-Determination Act and where we designed the curricula." Tina became an administrator at the community-based Navajo Prep School whose population hovered at 250 students, then moved on to the challenge of the Central Consolidated School District, which comprised seventeen schools, including three high schools serving three major Navajo communities. Tina thought the latter position would be "different and interesting because there were close to 7,000 Navajo students. It was very different . . . and not for me." As the current editor of the *Tribal College Journal* Tina is still involved with Native education, and the growth and advancement of community colleges throughout Indian Country. "I am having fun," she declares, "and the people I met at NMH and others along the way influenced who I am today. . . . When I returned to Navajo, people knew I had been away, and although they didn't treat me too differently I knew I had missed a lot of important things I could only get at home." Despite her many positive experiences, Tina decided that she "didn't want her children to go to boarding schools for twelve years. . . . I want them to be here."⁶⁴ Throughout the 1970s the largest concentration of students at NMH hailed from Diné (15), Hopi (11), and Haudenosaunee (8), but students also represented Laguna Pueblo, the Creek Nation, and the Northern Plains. From Annishnabe, came Leah Carpenter.⁶⁵

By the time Leah Carpenter arrived at the Northfield campus in 1975, 27 Native students had attended NMH through A Better Chance. Leah, who is Annishnabe and grew up in a reservation border town in Northern Minnesota, had never heard of Northfield Mount Hermon until her junior year in high school. "What the ABC program was doing at the time was using the Upward Bound program to find potential students. I had attended the Upward Bound program back in 1974 . . . so the Director came and

⁶⁴ Interview with Tina Deschenie, 2008.

⁶⁵ Alumni records, NMH. Over a quarter of the attendees or graduates are listed as "Lost" and have no information other than a name.

visited with me and asked if I was interested in attending NMH. I filled out an application and he helped me through the process. I was accepted to NMH under the condition that I repeat my junior year."⁶⁶ Carpenter's willingness to travel to a school she had not heard of was more than a leap of faith – she knew no one who had attended NMH and she knew little more than it was located in Massachusetts.

"I had never been to New England . . . I knew [NMH] was a preparatory school, but I wasn't really sure what that meant." Before classes began Leah went "to Dartmouth for some kind of orientation for ABC students" but the short time did little to prepare her for what was to come. "When I got [to NMH] the first thing I did was move into the dorm . . . right on the Northfield campus. I was in Cottage 5 which actually turned out to be a blessing because it was easier to form relationships – it was a little more intimate, but I was in culture shock and I did not know what to expect." There were "eight or ten" other Native girls in various dormitories on campus, "but they were from the Southwest and they were a lot different from me. They spoke a different language and they relied on each other. At that point I thought that everyone spoke the Ojibwa (Annishnabe) language; that all Indians were from one place." Leah tended to associate with students from disadvantaged economic backgrounds because she, too, had come from "a poor family." "One of my best friends was a southern gal from Alabama, whose mother struggled to send her to [NMH] . . . and there were some black students in Cottage 5 . . . also in the ABC Program. That brought us together." Occasionally there were gatherings with the other Native young women. "We would get together sometimes with the Indian Student Advisor, John Mead, at his house" [or with] "another Indian family there. . . a Crow woman from Montana and her husband who

⁶⁶ Upward Bound, which began in 1965 as a program within the U.S. Department of Education was designed for low income high school students who were interested in attending college. Beginning with basic tutoring in college preparatory courses, the program evolved into a six week summer program which introduces students to campus life. Currently, NMH participates in the Upward Bound program.

was a teacher . . . that was our core – adults we could turn to." Despite the administration's efforts to establish a support system for Native students, Leah was unhappy, and she did not intend to repeat her junior year. "I wanted to keep [my attendance at NMH] to one year, and I went to the Dean and explained to him how I was feeling . . . and I graduated in 1976."

Leah also felt that she was at an academic disadvantage, particularly when it came to religious and Bible studies. No one explained the history of the school to her, who D. L. Moody was, or his educational goals. "I remember resenting that I had to take a religious course . . . It didn't work for me," she recalls. What was particularly frustrating was "finding religious themes in the Bible. . . that was just something I didn't comprehend. I needed someone to guide me and in some ways create the ideas that I could write about. I was just lost."

Leah found the work demanding and, at times, overwhelming because she "had just gone to public school" and, though her selection for ABC was "pretty much based on [her] grades," the caliber of the classes was vastly different. Despite her struggles, she "learned a lot." Leah recalls that she had "very good teachers, very tough, and that's how you learn, and I did come to appreciate that." She also appreciated the positive experiences of visiting the homes of classmates in Princeton, New Jersey and New York City and seeing places "other than NMH." Leah believes that the reason she did not garner as much as she could from the experience was because she "was seventeen when [she] attended NMH and in some respects . . . was independent." She declares that "if I had done it when I was younger I think it would have been different. . . I think I would have learned a lot more and taken more time studying." In retrospect, did Leah believe her NMH experience was worth the sacrifices? "Even now I am still trying to process it."⁶⁷ There was, however, a life-changing aspect to her year-long investment.

⁶⁷ Leah added that "This interview has helped me put it into perspective."

"A good thing that came out of [attending] Northfield was that I was really prepped for college. You got caught up in the sweep of applying to college, and that was the only way to go. That is what you were expected to do, so of course I did that too. I think I got accepted to Wellesley College, but I decided to go back to Minnesota." Leah received her undergraduate degree from Bemidji State University, her Juris Doctor from the University Of Wisconsin School Of Law, and her Ph.D. in American Indian Studies from the University of Arizona. Until December, 2008, Leah was President of Leech Lake Tribal College in Minnesota. The year at NMH was not the most positive of experiences for Leah, but "going to NMH was . . . a real eye opener, and it made me look at the world much differently."⁶⁸

Native students who, like Leah, ventured beyond their homeland, also returned with a new perspective, and a drive to make a difference. Robert Cree ('72), established a language program to teach Mohawk children to speak their Native tongue; Larry Nez ('73), joined the Navajo Government as a Legislative Associate; Willie Long Reed ('74), returned to work at the Tuba City High School [Arizona]; Leonard Harjo ('75), became a Health Administrator for the Creek Nation in Oklahoma; Marshall Namingha ('76), was elected as a Hopi Tribal Council Representative; Lillie Lane ('77), returned to Window Rock, Navajo Nation to become the curator of the Museum of Indian Arts; Perry Honani ('78), worked for the Hopi Tribe Division of Mining in their Department of Reclaim Enforcement; and, Helen Blue-Redner, ('79), became a publications editor for the Oral History Program at the University of Nevada-Reno, and later, tribal chair of the Upper Sioux Community.⁶⁹

All of the graduates who had attended NMH did so during their high school years, but as the 1980s progressed, the, administration realized that the school could provide a

⁶⁸ Interview and correspondence with Leah Carpenter, 1998, 2004.

⁶⁹ NMH Alumni Office.

new bridge in education to prepare students who had graduated from high school, and who had been provisionally accepted to a college. The new program that emerged was designed "to help capable Native American, Black, Hispanic and foreign students from developing countries make the transition between secondary education and the demands of college work and life."⁷⁰ The Dodge Transition-Year Program (TYP) accepted its first students in the fall of 1983, establishing another tool for advancing minorities and bridging cultures.

Expanding Opportunities: Native Students and Native Leadership

The reputation of NMH as an institution for advancement, rather than a *boarding school*, generated further interest within Indian Country as graduates encouraged friends and siblings to take advantage of an educational opportunity. The 1980s, in many respects, extended the success of the previous decade by building upon relationships with tribal leaders, Native educators, and a cadre of contacts, but the new, and official, position of Native American Student Coordinator was, as one Native student declared, an "Invaluable" addition to the community. While NMH sought to enhance the academic and social experiences of its Native attendees, whether as a high school or a post-graduate student participating in the TYP, it also sought to expand its presence in Indian Country. In 1987 the school sent Bill Knipe, the NMH Admission Officer who solicited Native enrollment, to visit with high school counselors, agency directors, and former graduates to enlist their help in recruiting additional students. Noting that NMH had its "strongest base [in] the Navajo Nation, followed by the Cherokee Nation [Western Band]," Knipe also reported that NMH was "without question, the best known independent boarding school among the Navajos and we have a proven track

⁷⁰ Dodge Transition-Year Program brochure, nd, 4. NMH Archives.

record."⁷¹ During the 1980s Navajo students accounted for a significant percentage of enrollees, but efforts were underway to recruit more Mohawk (Haudenosaunee) students from the St. Regis / Akwesasne Reservation in New York State. One such enrollee was Lorraine White.⁷²

Lorraine credits her mother with pushing her "to leave the reservation to attend four years at Northfield Mount Hermon." Although a few Mohawk students had previously attended, including Robert Cree and Ronald Cree, "it was rare for a Mohawk to attend NMH, much less go for four years." White recalls that "I was all of thirteen [and] my first time off the reservation. When my parents brought me down and dropped me off, I was in culture shock." She was also the only Mohawk on campus at that time, and although she had the support of the Native American Student Coordinator, Vicki Blackgoat Sorci, Lorraine remained quiet and shy until her love of, and skill in, lacrosse secured her a place on the school's team. Her participation provided her with additional confidence, and helped in making new friends. That confidence sustained her, and, before her graduation in 1987, she had determined that she would become an attorney who would "fight for Indian rights and serve her tribe." Lorraine received her undergraduate degree from Connecticut College and her Juris Doctor from the University of Connecticut School of Law.

The new attorney began her career as legal counsel for other tribes, but Lorraine and her non-Native husband chose to return to Akwesasne so that their first child could be born among Lorraine's family. Although the couple planned to stay for only a short while, White became "the tribe's first Mohawk legal counsel in 2001." Facing "her

⁷¹ "Sabbatical Report," William Knipe, Fall 1987. NMH Archives.

⁷² At least one other Mohawk attended during the same period as Lorraine White, but the specific number of students cannot be determined from the records provided by the NMH Alumni Office because the data does not contain their tribal affiliation. Also, some records do not include addresses, and although surnames are a possible indication, no assumptions have been drawn based on insufficient information.

people's problems" on a daily basis made White realize that she should do more. She had planned to "someday serve as a chief, maybe in her 50s, after she'd become more seasoned" but in 2003 she gave up her job as tribal attorney and ran for the office of chief.⁷³ She lost the hotly contested post "by a wide margin." Undeterred, White spent the next two years, working to become a more visible member of Akwesasne. "In our community, the only way to really get a message across is to sit across the coffee table and spend time talking to people, and I did that for months." White listened and learned that "a more balanced approach" was important to winning. She also "aligned herself with an older subchief who, unlike her, was fluent in the Mohawk language." The formula proved successful, and White was elected to a three-year term, which expired in 2008. The NMH graduate has faced enormous challenges as a Mohawk leader: the problems of cigarette smuggling into Canada, drug-running through the reservation, inadequate tribal health care, and "two superfund sites that have polluted the reservation." Income from the Akwesasne Mohawk Casino (AMC), located on the reservation in Hogansburg, New York, has helped improve economic conditions by employing over 700 men and women, and, although White is pleased with the progress at St. Regis, she remains adamant about further improvement. "As a Mohawk person, you have passion – it's innate; you were born with it in your gut. Then you become educated, and you have passion and brains. God forbid we Indians have money on top of all that! And a passionate, educated, financially independent, and successful Mohawk woman, forget it!" Although leaving the reservation for NMH was frightening, White admits that it was "her mother's greatest gift" which set her on a path to making a difference.⁷⁴

⁷³ The Mohawk government is comprised of three elected chiefs and three subchiefs.

⁷⁴ Adam Orth, "Bright Star Rising," NMH Magazine, Fall, 2006, 25-28. The AMC annually provides millions of dollars of income to the state of New York. In February, 2008 White gave testimony before the House Natural Resources Committee opposing the "Interior Department's recently released 'guidance' on taking land into trust for tribes." See Lorraine White, "White: We Won't Let Interior Off the Hook So Easily," Indian Country Today, March 7, 2008.

From the other side of the country came a Hopi who is also making a difference. Lance Polingyouma arrived at the Northfield campus in August, 1985. "I came in a round about way. My sister Lynn was offered an ABC scholarship, but she was a senior in high school in California, and she did not want to change schools. She told the people who had offered her the opportunity that she had a brother in the eighth grade and that I would need a place to go because at the time Hopi didn't have its own high school. My Dad encouraged me to go, so I did." The trip from Third Mesa to NMH was the first challenge. "My Mom put me on an airplane in Albuquerque and I got off the plane in Hartford, Connecticut. Even though the airport was really small then it didn't help. I didn't know what to do; I didn't even have a phone number [for the school]. I knew I was supposed to be in Massachusetts, but I was in Connecticut! Then I heard the loud speaker 'blah, blah, Holyoke, blah, blah, Greenfield' and I remembered that Greenfield was somewhere near NMH. So I bought a bus ticket to Greenfield. When I arrived in Greenfield I was standing near a grocery store wondering what to do next and this girl looked at me and said 'Hey, are you going to NMH?' When I said 'yeah' she opened the taxi door and said 'great, get in the cab.' When I arrived on campus I went to the Overton dorm. Hughes Pack, the dorm head, asked me where I was going or who I was looking for. I said Mr. Suggs. Mr. Pack placed a call and Mr. Suggs . . . who thought I was lost in Connecticut. He asked me to look out the window, and he said 'See those people waving, that's us – welcome home.'" Lance was escorted to his room where he met his non-Native dorm mate. "I guess I was expecting that I would have a Native American roommate, but I didn't." The next surprise was that he was one of only a few American Indians on the Northfield campus.

"I don't know why, but the majority of the Native American students were at Mount Hermon, and for some reason I ended up on Northfield. Tom Sorci and his wife held functions for the Native students, and although I went to a couple I never really got

involved. It was important to me to know that there was a Navajo woman who came from my neighborhood in Arizona and it was nice to know she was there and that I could go over to her place and somebody would make me fry bread." Getting to that comfort level, however, took some time.

"For the first 90 days I was completely afraid. When I went home after the first semester I told my father that I didn't want to go back to NMH. I said I wasn't going to make it through the rest of the year, but he told me to finish the next semester, adding that I could 'always come back and . . . go to school.' He promised that when I finished the first year we could talk about what was next. We never had another discussion about it." There were reasons that Lance chose to stay, including Bill Knipe and his wife Nancy, who became part of his special support system. "They took care of me, and they went out of their way when my Uncle died . . . they bought me a plane ticket with their own money so that I could go home. They treated me like one of their children." After the first year, Lance settled into the NMH lifestyle.

"I was not the best student academically because, to me, NMH was all about the total experience – the students, the culture, the campus life. I learned the importance of knowing how to dress, how to speak English, how to act, how to network and schmooze and all the other intangibles you learn from hanging out with your friends. I knew that going to NMH was a once-in-a-lifetime experience that I would never have again and I knew I had to pay attention. The experience changed me. Today, people who meet me after speaking with me on the phone are surprised that I am not White just because of the way I talk."

As a graduate of an Eastern preparatory school, Lance was not eagerly accepted by his Native college classmates in Arizona. "I didn't make any [Native] friends there. I played lacrosse, so all my friends were from the team. . . There are interesting dynamics that occur between those from the reservation and city Indians.

People from the reservation look down on those from the city as being sold out or apples [Red on the outside; White on the inside] . . . and not as 'Indian' as they are. The city Indians look down on the reservation Indians because they do not have the financial advantages of those off the reservation. There were both [reservation and city Indians] in my classes at the University, and none of them liked me. I got to know a couple of them and it was interesting to find out that it wasn't necessarily anger or hatred that they felt toward me, it was jealousy because my life was just that much better because of where I had gone to school." But how did the NMH experience fit within Hopi traditions?

"Hopis are notorious pragmatists. I grew up in a culture that doesn't value the individual. It never has and never will be. I was taught as a Hopi person to value the group; to look out for other people. Whatever you do must be for the good of the whole and you do things with other people in mind. I went to a prep school which valued individual achievement which was at the cost of the whole. I could never rectify the fact that the dominant educational paradigm [of NMH] flew in the face of the ideology into which I was born. The contradictions in the two ways of thinking remain a conflict in my life." Yet, when reflecting on his years at NMH, Lance declares that "[m]y experience at NMH was extremely positive. I think of that as one of the most positive experiences of my life. It was by far *the* defining moment, thus far, and I consider that to be probably the greatest thing I've ever done."

After attending the University of Massachusetts and Arizona State University, Lance remained in Arizona, where he has shared his love of lacrosse with high school students in Maricopa County and has worked as an archaeological and Indian cultures guide for Walk Softly Tours. Although Lance did not return to Third Mesa, he has not abandoned his Hopi roots. As the Director of the Native American and Environmental Learning Center located at the Hyatt Regency in Scottsdale, Lance has the opportunity

to introduce visitors to the Hopi story. "I enjoy what I do. I like talking to people, and I get paid for doing what I like."⁷⁵

Other alumni have gone on to occupations that have proven rewarding and which have drawn upon specific cultural connections and their NMH education. Lesley Jackson Kabotie ('83), is an artist and Native art consultant; Tracey LeBeau ('86), is a partner and principal with Red Mountain Tribal Energy, a company that assists tribal entities in establishing their own utilities; Taylor Keen ('87), became Vice President of Development for Cherokee Nation Enterprises in Tahlequah, Oklahoma; Ceni Myles ('89), spent several years at the National Museum for the American Indian as the coordinator of seminars and symposia; and Sarah Magpie ('89), worked for the Native American Sports Council in Albuquerque.⁷⁶ The graduates of NMH during the 1980s were separated from the first Native attendees of the Northfield Seminary by over a century, and while Moody's "opportunity school" continued to respect people from all cultures, the greatest difference between the various generations of Native students lay in the expanded educational, social, and financial prospects that were available. The turmoil of the 1960s produced the advancements of the 1980s.

Over three very different decades, America recognized and corrected some of the injustices that had plagued her history; over three very different decades NMH returned to D. L. Moody's goal of providing quality education to the less fortunate; and over three very different decades, Native American graduates of NMH used the educational tools they were offered and chose to make a difference within their communities. In fewer than twenty years (1970-1989) more American Indian students graduated from NMH than during any other time in the school's history. They were among the people who made self-determination a reality, not just a possibility; they were

⁷⁵ Interview with Lance Polingyouma, July, 2006.

⁷⁶ Because the exact tribal affiliations are not known for all of the listed graduates, none has been included.

among the people who, because of their ability to bridge cultures, were able to effectively serve in leadership roles, and, they were among the people who demonstrated that educational advancement could be a community benefit, not just a personal achievement.

EPILOGUE

For the NMH community the 1990s was a period of economic uncertainty and the last full decade in which the school functioned on two campuses. The new century began with increased concerns about the future of the school, and after years of struggling to maintain both the Northfield and Mount Hermon facilities, and three years of studies to formulate a solution to the financial crisis, the Board of Trustees voted in January 2004 to close the Northfield campus. In order for NMH to survive, it was necessary to adapt. It was agreed that by merging the two locations and reducing the size of the student body, the actions would ensure the continuation of the school.

Since the 1971 unification of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools into NMH, operating costs for the elaborate transportation system, the duplication of classes and faculty at two sites, maintenance of tuition below similar college preparatory institutions, and a consistent population of more than 1,000 students (forty-five percent of whom received some form of financial aid) placed an escalating strain on the school's resources.

For years there had been speculation that one campus would close, but there was no official position put forth by either the administration or the Trustees.¹ In October, 1999 Richard W. Mueller sent a letter to alumni, parents, and friends with the salutation of "Dear Member of the NMH Family." The Head of School, who had taken the helm in 1998 and who was also a 1962 graduate of Mount Hermon, opened with a summary of his return to NMH after years of living "abroad as an American diplomat," then segued

¹ As early as 1989 I had been told by former and current members of the administration that the school was in financial trouble and that the solution was to close one campus in order to save the school. For the next decade, letters from the Heads of School, alumni news and other publications offered no official statement about such an action.

into a predictable account of the diversity of the student body which hailed from "over 40 countries and from around the United States." He added that "half of our students received financial aid," slightly more than in years past, but the statement appeared to reinforce the school's commitment to accessible and affordable education. Mueller's observation "that among our students some had to borrow a coat, tie, or skirt simply to dress for the occasion [of the Welcome Convocation]," may have been a reference to the economic mixture of the student body, or it could have been interpreted as displeasure with the casual dress adopted by the community. Then the tone of the letter abruptly changed as Mueller declared:

Most of us know the difference our school has made in our lives and continues to make worldwide. But perhaps you have forgotten that the Annual Fund supports all we do – from scholarships to salaries, from books to boarding costs – or how critically important you are to us. In recent years, only one of every four members of the NMH family has made an annual gift. We simply have to change that, with your help. If you've been a loyal supporter, I thank you for your generosity and hope I can count on you again this year. On the other hand, if you thought your gift to NMH wouldn't make a difference or wouldn't be missed, nothing could be further from the truth. Please recommit yourself to our shared vision.²

This departure from the routine recitation of plans for the coming academic year, the retirement and addition of faculty, and the achievements of students and graduates, was disturbing. Money issues were customarily assigned to specific appeals, development events, or the Annual Fund envelope included with the *NMH Magazine*. Rumors resurfaced that the school would be reduced to one site and, fueled by the renovation of West Hall on Mount Hermon, some were certain that Northfield would close.³ In the Winter issue of *NMH Magazine*, Richard Mueller did little to quash the notion in his announcement to the community that

² Richard Mueller to Members of the NMH Family, October, 1999. Personal records. See also Mary Seymour, "Head, Heart, and Plans: An Interview with Richard Mueller," *NMH Magazine*, 1(1), Fall, 1998

³ The class of 1950 donated funds for the redesign and upgrading of West Hall, which was renamed Alumni Hall. See *NMH Magazine*, Spring 2000, 5.

NMH is in need of financial shock absorbers [because] we have little that would allow us to remain as we are in the face of severe economic downturns. . . . At the same time, we inventoried our physical space – buildings, acreage, and other resources, and hired . . . facilities consultants . . . to help us rethink our physical space. . . With all recommendations in the mix, all arguments pro and con heard, and careful analysis projected as far as we might see, I will present outlines to the board of trustees this winter [and after] undertaking additional research . . . I will present a final draft for the board's approval in May [2001].⁴

For the extended Northfield Mount Hermon community, the news was disheartening, but the world outside of NMH continued to view "the largest U.S. boarding school" as "a champion of diversity," where, as Mueller reaffirmed, "we're teaching tolerance and understanding."⁵

In his Spring, 2001 column in the *NMH News*, the Headmaster further expounded on the diversity of the student body, the desire to attract more international students, and his hopes for NMH graduates:

We have students . . . from Native American tribal lands in the American West and East, from cities on six continents, from the suburbs, rural farmlands, trailer parks and apartments, mansions and manses. No economic class is exempt and no religious background is ignored. . . .[W]e would like to attract students from countries where our name is not known. We are committed to the idea that having a roommate from Japan, Bulgaria, or Kenya is a wonderful thing. That holds true whether you are from Columbia, Missouri or Bogota, Columbia . . . The possibilities are enormous! The possibilities are the world. These students will, perforce, be citizens of the world, and they must learn how to do that well, here in the Connecticut River Valley – and everywhere.⁶

Mueller went on to say that there were plans to send students "to study art in native areas in the American Northwest" and that there would be "a senior seminar to the American Southwest" in 2002.⁷ The tone was positive, and there was no mention of the

⁴ Richard W. Mueller, "Opening Lines," *NMH Magazine*, Winter, 2001, 3.

⁵ "Special Report: Boarding Schools," *U. S. News & World Report*, May 14, 2001, 61-2. The article did not overlook the 1999 incident at NMH where "two PG (post graduate) students left after they were arrested for carving 'homo' on the back of a 17-year-old classmate."

⁶ Richard Mueller, "Opening Lines," *NMH Magazine*, Spring, 2001, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

financial problems. By September, 2003, though, the outlook was grim, and in his fall letter, Mueller indicated "that a smaller student body could help us better realize our educational goals." He added that "[n]o decisions or recommendations have yet been made about our desired path to the future."⁸

Four months later, a joint statement issued by William R. Rhodes, Chair of the NMH Board of Trustees, the Board of Trustees, and Richard Mueller, declared "new directions for the school." Citing the results of "extensive studies of Northfield Mount Hermon School over several years," the decision was made to "operate on one campus at Mount Hermon in September, 2005" with a reduced enrollment of "approximately 600-750 students." The mailing assured the community that "the Moody legacy buildings will remain a part of Northfield Mount Hermon and that the entire campus [will] be used in a way that continues to fulfill our institutional mission." The leaflet also extended an invitation to visit the newly created website for "details" and to send a message to the Office of the Head of School.⁹ The community responded with acceptance and support, as well as frustration and anger.¹⁰ Shortly after the announcement, Richard Mueller was named President of the School, and Thomas K. Sturtevant was named Head.¹¹ Less than a year later, on January 25, 2005, Mueller submitted his resignation to Board Chair, William Rhodes, stating that "[a]fter considerable reflection I have decided this seventh year of leading Northfield Mount Hermon will be my final year."¹² The announcement was not unexpected, but it was, nonetheless, unfortunate. NMH had lost

⁸ Richard Mueller, Letter "To the Northfield Mount Hermon Community," September 8, 2003.

⁹ Pamphlet entitled "Envisioning Our Future" issued in January, 2004.

¹⁰ The NMH website lists the responses to the September 2007 alumni survey, which asked what should be done with the Northfield campus. The remarks range from "Bring it back!!!" (NMH '00) to "Plow it under" (MH '71). It is not surprising that those who responded and listed their school as MH (Mount Hermon) were in agreement with the decision. There are alumni/ae who no longer contribute to the school because "their" campus is closed.

¹¹ Sturtevant had been Associate Head of School for nearly three years.

¹² Letter sent to Northfield community members, dated January 25, 2005. Personal records.

not only a campus, but also a highly communicative Head of School.¹³ These were only the beginnings of the changes that took place.

In September 2005 two new student houses opened on Mount Hermon. In May 2008 there was a groundbreaking ceremony for the new admission building, Bolger House; in September that year, the Rhodes Arts Center was completed, and in October, Thorndike Field and McLamore received their improvements. The campus was busy with new construction and renovation projects, much of which was funded by contributions.

In his fall letter, Thomas Sturtevant noted that

[d]uring this past year, our alumni, parents, students, and friends have invested in an education for the head, heart, and hand more than ever before. While generously providing over \$3.3 million to the Annual Fund for day-to-day operations, our donors also set records for total gifts and pledges (\$17 million) and for cash (\$12 million). We are well on our way to meeting the \$80 million goal for our 130th Anniversary Campaign. We have raised over \$70 million toward that ambitious goal – that's more than the total funds raised in all seven previous campaigns combined.¹⁴

The financial stability of the school has improved, although the fate of the Northfield campus remains uncertain. The Trustees have been clear that they are "open to lease, joint venture, or sale of the property," but there have been no seriously interested parties.¹⁵ Alumni events have been held on the campus, and during 2007 the facilities were used for a summer program for *American Idol* hopefuls.¹⁶ On the other side of the river, academically successful hopefuls have settled into life on one campus.

Although the configuration of the school has changed once again, the mission has not. Moreover, the consolidation fosters a robust sense of community, and facilitates

¹³ More than any Head or President before or since his tenure at NMH, Mueller made a personal effort to keep the community informed of student achievements, school plans, and faculty appointments through his column in the *NMH Magazine*, and frequent letters.

¹⁴ August 19, 2008 letter from Thomas K. Sturtevant, Head of School to "Alumni, Parents and Friends."

¹⁵ "Letter from President and Head of School about Northfield Campus Plans," April 5, 2005.

¹⁶ The maintenance of the Northfield buildings and grounds is costly, and with no long range interest in the property, the Board permitted the rental of the facilities for the summer camp.

stronger communication and interaction. For American Indian students there has been little in the way of adjustment to a one campus school, because many of the attendees are single-year Post-Graduate Program students.¹⁷

Throughout the 1990s and into the new century, the school continued to recruit and attract "about five new [Native] students each year," from both on and off the reservation.¹⁸ Some of these students have lived in large cities; some have never been outside of their homeland. These young Native men and women are more technologically sophisticated than their predecessors, are more comfortable with their traditions, and are unashamed of their heritage. Like previous American Indian students, they, too, are sustained by the NMH community – that has not changed. Much indeed has changed since 1879, when D. L. Moody opened the Northfield Seminary for the affordable education of young women, but in the history of American Indian education, even more has changed since 1879, when Richard Henry Pratt opened the Carlisle Industrial School for the forced education of Native children.

In 2007 Jamestown, Virginia celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the "seminal event in American history . . . that sparked a series of cultural encounters that helped shape the nation and the world."¹⁹ Notwithstanding the social, economic, and political turmoil that resulted from Spanish and French incursions on the Western Hemisphere, it was the aftermath of that first permanent English settlement in the

¹⁷ The shift from multiple to single year enrollment may be attributed to more demanding educational standards at the tribal high school level, and the coming of age of the tribal college and university (TCU) system, both of which offer Native students challenges and alternatives that are among the benefits of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. PG students come to NMH to hone certain skills or take particular courses that make them more attractive to specific post-secondary institutions.

¹⁸ Information provided by the NMH Alumni Office.

¹⁹ Jamestown brochure, 2007.

Chesapeake that produced the most extensive changes to Native societies throughout America. Among those changes was the determination by Europeans to transform the nature and meaning of "education" for Native Peoples.

In 1606, *The First Charter of Virginia*, by James I, authorized the colonization of the region, the exploitation of its resources, and the propagation of the "Christian Religion" to the "Infidels and Savages." The directive to convert Native Peoples was neither a priority nor even a serious consideration for decades after the arrival of the adventurers and entrepreneurs. The Pilgrims who settled in present day Massachusetts in 1620 and the Puritans who arrived a decade later were, like their Jamestown counterparts, preoccupied with survival rather than saving souls, and, although the sources of the colonists' deliverance were the local Indigenous, the newcomers dismissed Native Peoples as inferior beings who needed to be civilized or annihilated. The pervasive attitude of cultural superiority spawned centuries of missionaries, government agents, military personnel, and reformers, who believed they knew how to cope with or eliminate the "Indian problem." Where disease and armies with sophisticated weaponry had failed to completely destabilize Indian societies, it was expected that the "civilizing" process of religious or secular "education" would.

The objectives of converting and educating the savage were both sporadic and inconsistent until individuals, as well as colonies, determined the efforts could be financially profitable. The establishment and subsequent funding of Harvard Indian College (1636), the Indian School at William and Mary (1693), and Moor's Indian Charity School at Dartmouth College (1754) were intended to advance Native "civilization," but none of these institutions, nor the individuals who accepted donations, channeled *all* of the collected monies into Indian education. The honorable cause of conversion became a convenient source of income. The eloquent Indian missionary, Mohawk, Samson Occom returned from a year in Great Britain with £11,000 for Eleazar Wheelock's

Indian Charity School at Dartmouth, only to have the majority of the funds used for non-Native students. While Wheelock's actions were reprehensible, they demonstrate that the motivation to *civilize* the Indian was sometimes financial, not altruistic. As the influx of colonists and adventurers eventually outnumbered the remaining Indigenous, the Native Peoples had few choices – adaptation to a new lifestyle or relocation.

When the American colonies declared their independence and Great Britain abandoned its Native allies, the new United States was unready to address the *Indian problem*. The federal government could neither control the growing number of westward-bound settlers who ignored federally-designated and protected Native lands, nor the anger of American Indians who willingly fought and died to defend what they had been promised by treaty. Spurred by the California Gold Rush, the Homestead Act and the entitlement notion of Manifest Destiny, waves of invaders overtook Native territories, as America's leaders failed to respect the boundaries and obligations of the treaties they had signed with tribal representatives. Bloody conflicts frustrated presidential administrations throughout the 1800s and contradictory policies and directives issued by Congress neither appeased settlers nor ensured peaceful relations with Indian tribes. Exacerbating the inconsistency of Federal Indian Policy was the way in which the government shifted the responsibility for managing the *Indian problem* between the Indian Bureau and the Department of War or the U.S. Army. As western pioneers battled for their perceived rights to settle "unoccupied" and "unused" lands, other Americans romanticized the *vanishing American*. Perceptions of the status and treatment of Native Peoples abounded in contradictions, underscored by events including Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, the 1893 Columbian Exposition, and Bill Cody's Wild West show. American Indians, their traditions ignored, remained an enigma to mainstream

society.²⁰

By the late 19th century, major confrontations between the U. S. Army and Native Peoples were over, the great Indian war leaders were either dead or imprisoned, and most of the larger tribes were confined to reservation lands. Social reformers, dedicated to achieving "equality" for American Indians and angered by the lack of progress, badgered Congress into action. When Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt proposed the systematic removal of Indian children from their families and their subsequent immersion in American education as a means to assimilate the younger generation of Native Peoples into white society, the plan was eagerly endorsed by ranking members of Congress, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Secretary of the Interior. In 1879, the Carlisle Industrial School became the first of dozens of like institutions which taught Indian children that their future lay in the abandonment of their traditions and the acceptance of mainstream customs. The "boarding school experience" produced generations of American Indians who were outsiders in both the society of their birth and the society that imposed "education" upon them. Reformers believed that the radical undoing of Indigenous cultures and the subsequent substitution of mainstream values was the only way to "save" Native Peoples. For Captain Pratt and supporters of Indian reform, exposure to all that was "American" was a suitable alternative to reservation life, and, more importantly, to extinction. Further, if American Indians, like freedmen, received formal education and guidance, they could become productive members of the changing industrial workforce. Yet, while graduates of federally supported Indian boarding schools trained for occupations such as harness makers and domestics, a boarding school in Western Massachusetts, which also opened in 1879, offered its graduates the educational tools that would allow them to advance to college. For its

²⁰ See Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), particularly Part I "And Then There Were None: A 'Bold, but Wasting Race' of Men" which discusses American views of the "noble savage."

founder, the evangelist D. L. Moody, the Northfield Seminary (and later Mount Hermon School) was a suitable alternative to farm or factory work in the Connecticut River Valley.

An analysis of Moody's life and actions reveals a man of deep determination, driven in his youth by the desire for material wealth, and focused in adulthood on saving souls. His pro-active motives, particularly with regard to education, were directly linked to his lack of formal schooling. His educational shortcomings were a source of personal embarrassment, but they were also the stimulus for helping uneducated or undereducated youth. In his rise to evangelical prominence in the late nineteenth century, Moody found himself surrounded and supported by a number of wealthy Christians who eagerly offered the necessary funds to establish and maintain the Seminary and Mount Hermon schools for financially disadvantaged students. As word of the schools spread throughout the Christian community, young Native women and men along with local youth, matriculated at the Seminary and Mount Hermon, and thus commenced the relationship with Indian Country that continues to the present. From this relationship comes the heart of this work and its argument: that the egalitarian environment and positive cultural immersion provided American Indian students with the tools to bridge Native and mainstream cultures, rather than trapping them between the two. Moody's institutions respected the individuals and their ethnic roots, and many Native students have benefited from living within an academic community that cultivates diversity. Native Peoples, in turn, have benefited from the contributions of those graduates, both on and off reservations.

The story of American Indian students at the Northfield schools was influenced by distinct but intertwining factors: the attitudes of mainstream society and the federal government toward American Indians, their cultures, and their rights; the Native students who attended Northfield and Mount Hermon; and the administrative focus and financial stability of the schools. While each of these components contributes to an

understanding of the history and on-going narrative of NMH, they also form a small, but significant, chapter in the history of American Indian education – a chapter that covers nearly 130 years.

Societal perceptions of Native Americans alternately vilified and romanticized the Indigenous, while governmental decisions were informed by the Supreme Court's paternalistic ruling in the *Cherokee Cases* of the 1830s and the confrontations of settlers and western tribes. Federal Indian Policy invaded and regulated every aspect of Native cultures, from religious practices to "self-governance," until a minority of Native Peoples rekindled the warrior spirit. Drawing upon their renewed self-respect and their own justified entitlement, militants of the 1960s staged "fish-ins" to call attention to the federal government's continued position of ignoring its treaty obligations. The occupation of Alcatraz was, according to contemporary scholars, the pivotal act of civil disobedience that confirmed to Washington and the general public that Native Peoples were unwilling to remain a silent minority.²¹ The American Indian Movement (AIM) and its newsworthy demonstrations showed the country that there was a pressing need to address issues of sovereignty, education, health, and poverty that specifically affected American Indians both on and off reservation lands.²² Native Peoples spoke loudly, and Washington had to listen. The actions and voices of American Indians produced results throughout the subsequent four decades as Native Peoples recaptured their rights to practice their belief systems, to control their tribal governments, and to teach their children. Over the same period, Native educators have taken charge of tribally specific curricula

²¹ Troy Johnson, Duane Champagne, and Joan Nagel discuss the importance of the occupation of Alcatraz in "American Indian Activism and Transformation: Lessons from Alcatraz," in *American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 9-44. See also Troy R. Johnson, *The American Indian Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Red Power and Self-Determination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

²² First hand accounts about the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, DC, and the occupation of Wounded Knee – often referred to as "Wounded Knee II," are detailed in Russell Means, *Where White Men Fear to Tread*, 230-35 and 257-293; Dennis Banks' *Ojibwa Warrior*, 126-144 and 157-209.

development in elementary, middle, and high schools, and expanded the role of tribal colleges and universities (TCU) in the post-secondary training of their youth.²³ Education has become a vehicle for reinforcing the relevance of American Indian cultures, not a means of undermining them. Providing a supportive and egalitarian academic environment for Native students may assuage the memories of humiliation and shame that characterized the federal boarding school era, but the American Indians who attended D. L. Moody's schools did not have to wait generations for the experience.

The experiences of Native students at Moody's schools began in 1880 with the arrival of sixteen young women from Indian Territory. These first matriculants, like most of the Alaskan Natives and American Indians enrolled through the 1920s, spoke their Native language, were Christian converts, capable of writing and speaking English with varying degrees of competency, and attended either Northfield or Mount Hermon at the urging or recommendation of a Christian guardian, sponsor, or parent. The limited data on these students that remains in their files raise a number of questions which cannot be answered, but with the information that is available, we know that not all of these young men and women had exceptional academic strengths. Yet, each excelled in some way. Moody's schools presented opportunities that would not have been possible within the federal school system, but whether these potential "gap men" (and "gap women") would have successfully bridged cultures without the benefit of the Seminary or Mount Hermon cannot be known. Certainly, most of the matriculants were acculturated, particularly those who were members of the Civilized Tribes, but that neither guaranteed

²³ See Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 251-330; Cary Michael Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999). For background on the development of tribally-specific schools see Robert J. Havinghurst, "Indian Education Since 1960," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 436, March 1978, 13-26; Kathryn Manuelito, "The Role of Education in American Indian Self-determination: Lessons from the Ramah Navajo Community School," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36(1), March 2005, 73-87 and John Collier, Jr. "Survival at Rough Rock: A Historical Overview of Rough Rock Demonstration School," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 19(3) Sept., 1988, 253-269.

their acceptance in both Native and non-Native societies nor diminished their achievements after leaving the protected educational environment of the schools.

Those who went on to the Massachusetts colleges of Mt. Holyoke and Wellesley probably would not have gone had they not attended Moody's schools, because it was his friendships with the founders of those institutions which provided the advantage to his promising Native students. The American Indians who chose careers in teaching, nursing, administration, and business were able to help their communities because they had successfully retained their cultural affiliations and their kinship relationships, while also applying their knowledge of the functions of mainstream society to obtain their goals. There is ample evidence that many Native students benefited from their experiences at the schools, but it is also clear that most would not have attended without the intervention of an adult. It is possible, that without the initial plea from a Moody admirer, Native students might not have attended until the establishment of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program and Project ABC in the 1960s.

The first young women were invited to attend after the Reverend Robert West, editor of the Congregational weekly, the *Chicago Advance*, notified D.L. Moody of the need for Native teachers in Indian Territory/Oklahoma, and Lewis Johnson, Albert Fisk, George Sexton, and Joseph Thompson, all from Indian Territory, were recommended to the Boys' School by the Reverend J. Howard Hobbs of the Hartford Theological Seminary. Mark Khune and John Caske were accepted at Mount Hermon at the behest of Julia Pratt, who worked with the Reverend Alfred Riggs, founder of the Santee Normal Training School (for American Indians) in Nebraska, and most of the Alaskan Native students arrived with, or were sent by, the Reverend Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Henry Roe Cloud was supported by the Reverend Riggs and the missionary William Findlay; Walter Harper by the Episcopal clergyman, Hudson Stuck; Susie Walking Bear Yellowtail by the Baptist missionary Frances Shaw. Clearly, members of the various Protestant denominations felt

comfortable in sending their charges to Moody's schools, but what remains unclear is why they chose the Seminary and Mount Hermon. Was their selection based solely on the Christian underpinnings of the curriculum or even Moody's evangelistic notoriety? Was it *because* the institutions were known to include a diverse community and a supportive academic environment, which could further Native acculturation or even accelerate assimilation? Were the sponsors attempting to "prove" that American Indians were capable of more than marginal occupations? Or, were they simply offering promising young men and women the chance to take advantage of Moody's "opportunity schools?"

The available data indicates that each matriculant held some potential for mainstream success, at least in the mind of the sponsor. The correspondence of Julia Pratt to Moody regarding Mark Khune shows that she hoped he would "do great things for the elevation of his people" because he had expressed his intention to become a physician. In a subsequent letter to Mount Hermon's principal, Henry Sawyer, regarding John Caske, Pratt spoke of Caske's "growing desire to be something."²⁴ Sheldon Jackson hoped that Tlinget Frederick Moore would become a missionary, but why send the young man from Sitka, Alaska to Massachusetts? Several of Jackson's young Alaskan Native women became teachers within their communities after attending the schools. (Jackson built his schools within the communities they were to serve – he did not subscribe to the separation of children from their families.) But again, why did Jackson believe these young women should travel so far to acquire skills that were also available at, for example, the Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska? Why did Frances Shaw enroll Susie Walking-Bear Yellowtail as a day student at the Seminary – as compensation for the work Yellowtail performed as nanny and housekeeper, or to demonstrate to Yellowtail that without an education she could expect little more than the jobs she

²⁴ See Chapter 3, footnote 42.

performed?²⁵ Without benefit of the Northfield experience, would Henry Roe Cloud have become a lobbyist in support of improved Indian education, a member of the committee advising the federal government on *The Problem of Indian Administration* (the Meriam Report) and founder of the Roe Indian Institute, which he called "an exact miniature of . . . Mount Hermon?" Would Walter Harper or Mark Khune have even considered becoming physicians without the support of their sponsors and their time at the schools?²⁶ Would Susie Walking-Bear Yellowtail have become the first Native American registered nurse if she had not studied at the Girls' School?²⁷ Each of these students was highly motivated to help their Native communities, and, sponsor motivations notwithstanding, each Native student left the schools with social, religious, and academic experiences they might not have had elsewhere; experiences that grew within a culturally respectful community; experiences that helped them understand that not all members of mainstream society viewed Native Peoples as inferior. The unflagging academic and emotional support, as well as the egalitarianism of the schools, continued to sustain American Indian students well beyond the boarding school era.

Although Frela Owl ('57) came to Northfield with a "chip on [her] shoulder about white folks" and a rebelliousness that, during her first year, put her at odds with some faculty members, she chose to enjoy the positive aspects of the school. Frela's world became larger, she learned life skills, and, by the time she graduated, she felt at ease both off and on the reservation. Owl dedicated her life to nursing and teaching, and she readily acknowledges that "Northfield gets part of the credit for preparing me to take on new challenges," but she concedes that she would not have gone without her father's

²⁵ Yellowtail had attended Bacone College but only through the eighth grade when Frances Shaw (Field) sent for her. Why Yellowtail did not stay on at Bacone is unknown.

²⁶ Both Harper and Khune were overwhelmed by the academic demands of Mount Hermon, and although Harper continued to prepare for college after returning to Alaska, he died before achieving his goal. Mark Khune was stricken with tuberculosis and never went to college.

²⁷ Yellowtail studied nursing in Greenfield, Massachusetts.

insistence that she attend a "boarding school away from home and in a different culture," which, he contended, was "a necessary part of education."²⁸ While Frela is grateful for her Northfield experience, not every student felt that the experience was worth the sacrifice.

During her time at NMH, Tina Deschenie ('73), who hailed from Crystal, New Mexico in the heart of the Navajo Nation, learned more about Navajo history, contemporary Native issues, and world events, than she had learned "back home" but home was where she wanted to be. Although she has many positive memories of NMH, she believes it was a sacrifice to be absent from Navajo, and that experience is the basis for her choice not to send her children away to a boarding school. Tina has devoted her life to giving back to her community through teaching and educational administration, and, in her current position as editor of the *Tribal College Journal* she is close not only to the field of education, but also to home.²⁹

By contrast, another member of Diné believes that he is "living a great life because of the opportunity NMH provided me." For Elwood Pahi ('74) his years at NMH provided him with the foundation and the tools to obtain an engineering degree, to upgrade the telecommunications infrastructure on the Navajo reservation, and to improve the Holbrook school system as a member of the Indian Education Committee. Pahi attributes his ability "to be competitive on all levels – physically, mentally, at the college level, on the job, and in everyday activities" to the supportive environment of the school, but he could not have done it without his own will to succeed both on and off the reservation.³⁰ He wanted to return home so that he could apply what he had learned.

²⁸ Interview, Frela Owl Beck.

²⁹ The Navajo Preparatory School, in Farmington, NM, is a highly respected institution and close to Deschenie's home. Interview, Tina Deschenie.

³⁰ Interview, Elwood Pahi.

Each student has made choices after graduating from NMH and the American Indians included in this study revealed how they coped with the NMH experience as well as how they incorporated it into their lives. Each came for his or her own reason; some came because they knew NMH offered the academic rigor they needed to enter a mainstream college.

As the number of Native alumni increases, so too does the connection between Indian Country and the school. Over the past decades the long-standing relationship with the Navajo, Hopi, Crow, Western Band of Cherokee, and Mohawk nations has brought dozens of tribal members to NMH. Some students attend because they had friends or relatives who attended -- for example, at least three members of the Yellowtail family -- Lesley Kabotie ('83) and Shannon ('96) and Amber ('98) Yellowtail -- traveled from Wyoming to western Massachusetts. Some students have come to NMH in response to the expanded recruitment efforts of the school; some because of a renewed commitment by ABC to enroll Native students in college preparatory institutions.³¹ For one Crow student, leaving the reservation was her salvation.

Izzy BullTail ('06), who grew up on reservations in Montana and North Dakota, wanted to go to college, and, at the suggestion of her sister, the first family member to obtain an undergraduate degree, Izzy applied "to NMH as a scholarship student." BullTail's life in a blended family of fifteen was difficult, without a car and running water, and, for Izzy, her surroundings proved dangerous. During one four-year period the teenager "lost her father, two brothers, two grandfathers, and an uncle, all in alcohol-related deaths." In high school, BullTail became involved with drugs and alcohol, but "when she realized the dead-end path that lay before her, she ran toward something

³¹ Bobbie Whitehead, "A Better Chance Program Seeks American Indian Applicants," *Indian Country Today*, November 2, 2007. Mount Hermon graduate, Larry Nez ('73), was interviewed for the article and spoke of his experience with ABC and urged students to "explore different options in terms of high school, and give serious consideration to these [ABC] private schools as an alternative to high school."

better." She refocused her energies on track and won a Montana state championship in her junior year, then channeled her efforts toward her studies and became valedictorian of her graduating class. Although she had taken control of her life, she understood that she needed more preparation for college and applied to NMH for a post-graduate year.

As Izzy adjusted to her new surroundings and challenging academics, she again found that track helped her focus on her goals. However, during her first semester, BullTail received news from home that her brother, a police officer, had been killed. Although her performance suffered, by the spring semester she was again in top form. Her coach, Sarah Rebick, appreciated Izzy's perseverance, noting that "[i]t would be so easy for her to give up, to be on the reservation, drinking, having a kid, no job. Being at NMH was hard for her in ways I know I can't understand, yet she still smiled and laughed and wanted to be here."³²

BullTail completed her Post-Graduate Program in 2006 and matriculated at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina, where she joined the track team as a freshman. Her career goal is to work in forestry, and, although she has the ability to bridge cultures, she may not return permanently to the reservation to do so. "The reservation is like a bucket of crabs – when one crab looks like it's about to get out, the rest knock it back into the bucket . . . Home is always home and I'll always go back, but I realize how destructive it really is."³³ Although Izzy recognizes and accepts the reality of the reservation, the decision to change the course of her life took courage.

Courage to pursue a goal comes in many forms. For Frank Redner ('09) leaving the comfort of his community was his challenge. Redner is a second-generation NMHer, whose mother, Helen Blue-Redner ('79), was a 1985 graduate of Princeton, former tribal chair of the Upper Sioux Community, and a leader in the cause to revitalize the Dakota

³² Izzy BullTail Shoots for a Better Life," *NMH Magazine*, Spring, 2006, 8.

³³ Ibid.

language.³⁴ Frank also has an interest in languages, and it is his proficiency in Russian that has earned him consecutive gold medals in the New England Regional Olympiada of Spoken Russian as well as the title of Russian Scholar Laureate for 2007. It is his "passion for language [that] has inspired another undertaking . . . closer to home," where he plans to learn the Dakota language from his grandfather, one of five or six remaining speakers. Redner understands that the preservation of a language is critical to the survival of a culture – whether Russian or Dakota – and while there is little doubt that Frank will use his skill in Russian in his chosen profession, his efforts in preserving the Dakota language may be his greatest gift to the Sioux Community.³⁵ Giving back is a tradition within Redner's family, but it is also a tradition within the NMH family.

In 1921, when Henry Roe Cloud described the school he had founded for the education of Indian youth as an "exact miniature of the Mount Hermon work," he validated the importance of the model as beneficial to Native students.³⁶ That model remains an effective and successful one for contemporary American Indians. Most of those interviewed acknowledged that it was at NMH that they acquired the tools they used to improve their Native communities, but whether they would have or could have done so without the opportunity they accepted, is unknown – even the graduates themselves are unsure. All identified one or more aspects of their NMH experience as pivotal. Some believe it was their exposure to students of other cultures and economic backgrounds that moderated their uncertainties about non-Indians or, that adjusting to a campus environment in rural Western Massachusetts strengthened their adaptability to new situations. Others acknowledged the classroom demands of presenting, defending and perfecting an argument, of respectfully disagreeing with an opposing position, and

³⁴ For additional information on Helen Blue-Redner see Kathy Davis Graves, Elizabeth Ebbott for the League of Women Voters, *Indians in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

³⁵ Nancy Pfoutz, "A Russian Scholar with a Sioux Heritage," *NMH Magazine*, Winter, 2008, 5.

³⁶ See Chapter 3, fn 98.

negotiating and compromising as instrumental in developing academic as well as life skills. All agreed that their time at the school expanded their world views. They learned that one's perspective is informed by culture, economic background, and life experiences, and whether a person is from Saudi Arabia, Japan, or the Navajo reservation, each deserves to be heard.³⁷ Moreover, the NMH community reinforced the importance of participation; that the success of the community depends upon the involvement of its members, and each member is to be respected – not unlike the structure of many Native communities. Some graduates specified their "defining moments," but their stories reveal that it was the NMH experience, as a whole, with its egalitarian environment and positive cultural immersion that provided them with the tools to achieve their goals.

Just as NMH continues to foster the spirit of cooperation and giving, so too, have Native graduates of the school who have dedicated themselves to improving the lives of others as they walk and work between two worlds, bridging cultures, without having to choose one or the other. Their stories are inspiring, but there are more that remain untold.

This study showed that Moody's schools have changed the lives of the Native American students who attended – whether they arrived in 1880 or 2008, that the schools have changed, but the focus has not, that attitudes toward American Indians have changed, but they still have far to go, and that a small chapter in the history of American Indian education is started and awaiting expansion.

³⁷ I had the opportunity to observe several classes in which students demonstrated their debating skills.

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APPENDIX A:

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Office of Sponsored Research
Service Building
51 College Road
Durham, New Hampshire 03824-3585
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LAST NAME	<i>Askins</i>	FIRST NAME	<i>Kathryn</i>
DEPT	<i>History Department, Horton SSC</i>	APP'L DATE	<i>3/12/2003</i>
OFF-CAMPUS ADDRESS (if applicable)	<i>24 S. Spring Street Concord, NH 03301</i>	IRB #	<i>2911</i>
		REVIEW LEVEL	<i>EXE</i>
		DATE OF NOTICE	<i>3/13/2003</i>

PROJECT TITLE *Northfield Mount Hermon: An Alternative American Indian Boarding School*

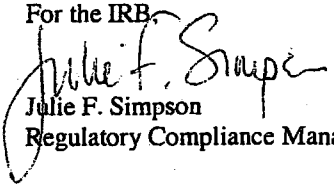
The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research has reviewed and approved the protocol for your study as Exempt as described in Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46, Subsection 101 (b), category 2.

Approval is granted to conduct your study as described in your protocol. **Prior to implementing any changes in your protocol, you must submit them to the IRB for review and gain written, unconditional approval. If you experience any unusual or unanticipated results with regard to the participation of human subjects, report such events to this office within one working day of occurrence.** Upon completion of your study, please complete the enclosed pink Exempt Study Final Report form and return it to this office along with a report of your findings.

The protection of human subjects in your study is an ongoing process for which you hold primary responsibility. In receiving IRB approval for your protocol, you agree to conduct the study in accordance with the ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects in research, as described in the following three reports: Belmont Report; Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 46; and UNH's Federalwide Assurance of Protection of Human Subjects. The full text of these documents is available on the Office of Sponsored Research (OSR) website at http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/Regulatory_Compliance.html and by request from OSR.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 862-2003. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,


Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager

cc: File
Lucy Salyer, History