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The role of western Massachusetts in the development of American Indian education reform through the Hampton Institute's summer outing program (1878-1912).

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THE ROLE OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION
REFORM THROUGH THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE'S
SUMMER OUTING PROGRAM (1878 - 1912)

A Dissertation Presented

by

DEIRDRE ANN ALMEIDA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1992

School of Education

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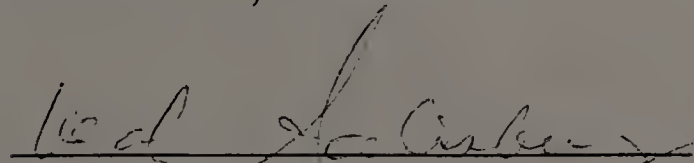
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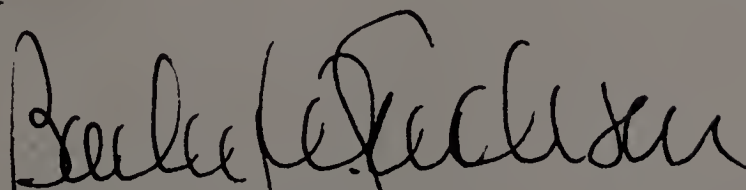
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To my mother, Esther Almeida and
to my daughter, Mariah Almeida-American Horse

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION
REFORM THROUGH THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE'S
SUMMER OUTING PROGRAM (1878 - 1912)

SEPTEMBER 1992

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The question of how to design educational programs which are relevant to Native American Indians, has plagued both Indian and non-Indian educators for more than a century. How does an educational system provide instruction which is vital for survival in mainstream society and at the same time, maintain a Native student's rights to think and exist in the world as an indigenous person? The devastating shortage of Native American Indian teachers, and administrators, as well as the urgent need for bilingual education and culturally appropriate curriculum, continue as unresolved obstacles. Perhaps in order to constructively alleviate the dilemmas of contemporary Indian education, one must look to the past and determine where failings and successes occurred.

Historically, a major contributor to the American Indian education of the twentieth century, has been the off-reservation boarding school system. Both the school system and the educational training programs have had a direct effect on Native American Indian cultures. The model for the off-reservation boarding school was established in 1878 at Hampton Agricultural and Normal School, in Hampton, Virginia. The Hampton Indian educational plan had two major components, the instruction of English and the development of vocational skills. In 1879, Hampton Institute established a summer outing system program.

The study presents a historical record of the significant events which lead to the development of the Hampton Institute's outing program in western Massachusetts, its influences on Indian education and its historical connection to the Americanization policies for Native American Indians during the late nineteenth century. The time period examined by this research is from 1878 to 1912, the years during which Hampton's Indian educational program received funding from the United States government.

The process of using education as a means of Americanizing Indian students continues to exist in contemporary times. The research conducted for this study further reveals and confirms this and provides some broad generalizations and recommendations which may lead to the development of Native and non-Native educators guiding principals for modification of current and future Indian educational programs.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

...The Indian, by the very sense of duty, should become his own historian, giving his account of the race-fairer and fewer accounts of the wars and more of statecraft, legends, languages, oratory, and philosophical conceptions.

...No longer should the Indian be dehumanized in order to make material lurid and cheap fiction to embellish street-stands. Rather, a fair and correct history of native America should be incorporated in the curriculum of the public school. Indians should be taught their own history...the creation of schools where tribal art and Indian thought would be taught by Indian instructors (Luther Standing Bear [1933]).

Statement of the Problem

These words of concern quoted above were made by Luther Standing Bear of the Rosebud Sioux nation, approximately fifty-nine years ago. Standing Bear was educated at the Carlisle Industrial boarding school in Pennsylvania. Though he had been through the Americanization process of the late nineteenth century Indian boarding school system, Standing Bear realized that it was not a culturally appropriate educational system for Native American Indians. The issues which are presented by this quote continue to haunt contemporary Native American Indian educators, tribal leaders, parents and concerned tribal members. Apparently something is amiss for these needs to have gone unaddressed for over half a century. The question of how to design educational programs which are relevant to Native American Indians, still plagues both Indian and non-Indian educators.

How does one go about providing instruction of subjects which are vital for survival in mainstream society and at the same time, convey to student how to think and exist in the world as an indigenous person? What does it really mean to be a Shawnee, Mohawk, Wampanoag, Navajo, or any of the other original nations of Turtle Island (North America)? There continues to be a devastating shortage of Native American Indian teachers, and administrators. There is also an urgent need for bilingual education and for culturally appropriate curriculums. Based on the words of Standing Bear, perhaps in order to constructively alleviate the dilemmas of contemporary Indian education, one must look to the past and determine where the failings and successes first occurred.

Adams (1988) and Holm (1979) contend that the late nineteenth century Eastern boarding schools played a central role in the effort to educate Native American Indians in the ways of Euro-Americans. Prucha (1973) suggests the educational policies of the Indian boarding schools were so powerful that the conditions of a Native American Indians today can be understood by making an attempt to understand what Indian students were subjected to during the high tide of Americanization (1878-1912), which sought to destroy Native American Indians as nations and as a race of people.

Historically, a major contributing factor to American Indian education of the twentieth century, has been the off reservation boarding school system, and their teacher training programs, which were implemented during the nineteenth century. Both the schools and their educational training programs, had a direct effect on

Native American cultures, by influencing the development of negative attitudes on the part of Native American Indians towards traditional languages, religions, and traditional ways of life. The ramifications from this nineteenth century Indian educational philosophy continue to effect Indian students today. The conception of the model for the off-reservation boarding school occurred in 1878, at the Hampton Agricultural and Normal School in Hampton, Virginia. This educational institution, with a curriculum designed to promote the acculturation of Native American Indians has transcended more than a century. During the 1880's, Euro-American educators, clergymen, and politicians, pushed for the Americanization of Native nations. The concept of Americanization evolved and became known by the term of non-discrimination during the 1980's.

Szasz (1983) notes, during the many decades that have elapsed between the late 1400's and the late 1900's, Native people have under gone extensive trauma in the arena of education. On hundreds of occasions across the continent, they have been asked to relinquish their children for schooling by non-Indians. They have been told, either explicitly or implicitly, that non-Indian schooling was superior to their own integrated systems of education.

Szasz asserts that like their ancestors who attended Euro-American Indian children face almost irresolvable conflicts in the environment of their modern schools. Both non-Indian teachers and Western oriented texts reflect moral and ethnical ideals of mainstream America. Thus Indian children encounter the types of ambivalence expressed in these contradictory concepts: competition vs.

cooperation, dominance over nature vs harmony with nature, individualism vs. reliance on extended family, clan, and nation. When Indian homes and communities teach one thing and schools teach another, Indian youth are torn in several directions.

Zintz (1973), Heath (1972), Deloria (1978), and Davis and Pyatskowitz (1976) reveal that from the beginning, education has attempted to assimilate Native American Indian children into the dominant culture. Since most teachers are not versed in the values and practices of Native American cultures, they are unaware of the discontinuity between values embedded in their curriculums and those of Native cultures. This condition depreciates the Native student's identity.

Native American Indians have been educated in mission and private schools, federal and public schools. Fischbacher (1967) reviewed the historical context of Native American education and noted that while the form and structure has changed over time, he contends that the ultimate goal of such education has been to encourage cultural assimilation of Native American Indian children into the dominant society.

Szasz (1983) concludes that present day challenges in Native American education maybe as difficult as those of the past. Contemporary educators, both Native and non-Native, could learn much from studying historic concepts of Indian education and the role it has played in the development of Indian communities. An awareness of this could ease the path for contemporary Native American Indian students and their nations.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute had been established in 1867 for the education of African Americans following the Civil War. It was founded by General Samuel C. Armstrong. The son of missionaries, and a graduate of Williams College, Armstrong was an advocate of Euro-American attitudes and policies towards the abolishment of Native American Indian traditions. On April 13, 1878, American Indians arrived at Hampton. This was the beginning of the off-reservation boarding school system and a major means for accomplishing the Americanization of Native people.

In many ways Indians had become the national experiment in education as well as in social reform and welfare. It appears that every idea and plan that was designed for the betterment of the poor, the illiterate, and the socially marginal, was tried out first on Native American Indians. Indian policy, church policy, federal policy, all the ideas and actions that characterized the interaction between Indian and Euro-American peoples in the "New World," created the Indian experience in education (Greene, 1989).

As the primary instruments of assimilation, Hampton and the other federal boarding schools, which were modeled after it, were very much like other Euro-American schools of the time. Indian students at Hampton were encouraged, and sometimes forced, to participate in mainstream activities that would promote an acceptance of a foreign civilization.

Schall, (1977) described Hampton's educational plan as being steered between the two extremes of cultural absolutism in some matters and cultural relativism in

others. Cultural absolutism would bring about complete change in Native American Indians' ideals, values, morals, customs, religion and outlook on life. On the other hand, cultural relativism would result in Native American Indians' preserving some of the basic elements of their cultures while becoming acclimated to the Euro-Americans' culture in ways necessary to Native survival and successful functioning within mainstream society. That is to say that Native Americans would learn competence of the English language and the vocational skills required to be a productive farmer and housekeeper, as well as to adopt Euro-American morals and material values.

The Hampton education plan had two major components. The practical aspect, aimed mainly at "self-support" included learning to read, write, and speak English, and to use numbers correctly. Native students were also instructed in agricultural and vocational trades.

In 1879, Hampton Institute implemented the first work-study program in the United States' education. Many of the Native students did not return to their home reservations during the summer. Instead, they participated in a program called an outing. This project placed Native American Indian boys and girls in homes with Euro-American families in the Northeast, primarily in western Massachusetts. The males were to learn farming and the females were to learn first hand housekeeping skills, from a Euro-American perspective. In addition, they were to be exposed to Euro-American family and farm life as well as to Euro-American morals and manners.

Tingey (1978), Schall (1977), and Robinson (1954) all contend that some of the Euro-American sponsors for the summer outing students looked upon the system as a training ground for household servitude and remarked that these outings were doing nothing but making domestic servants out of the Indian students. Like other aspects of the Hampton Indian educational system, the outing program originally was tentative and experimental. However, it became permanent when it was determined that the outing program not only aided the acculturation of Indian students, but also benefitted Hampton in reducing summer costs. Having found to be a sound economical tool, the outing program was expanded from just summers, to the entire school year.

Massachusetts was known during the nineteenth century as the philanthropic capital. It was for this reason, plus the large number of associates Hampton's founder, Samuel Armstrong, had acquired through his attendance of William's College, that western Massachusetts was selected as the site for the outing program. The outing program was coordinated by two Berkshire farmers, Alexander Hyde, and later Marshall Bidwell. Their duties included locating placements for the students, monitoring their progress and dealing with any problems that might arise. The outing system was unquestionably a major experiment in the educative process, achieving sometimes positive and sometimes negative results. There were social advantages to it, such as native Americans being inspired to enter college and obtaining training in various professions, as well as it being an instrument to further eliminate Native American cultures.

Limited research has been conducted into the role of the outing system program in the development of nineteenth century Indian educational programs. The influence of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on Indian education and its contribution to the acculturation of Native American Indian nations deserves an in depth study.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to present a record of the significant events which attended to the development of the Hampton Institute's outing program in western Massachusetts, its influences, positive and negative, on Indian education and its historical connection to the Americanization policies for Native American Indians during the late nineteenth century. The time period covered by this research is from 1878 to 1912. These are the years in which the Hampton Indian educational program received funding from the federal government. This study examines the relationships between the outing program and the federal policies to fully assimilate Native American Indian nations into the dominant society, and thus "put an end to the Indian problem of the nineteenth century" (Robinson, 1954). Specifically, this study examines, (1) the impact of the outing system program on the cultural structures of Native nations; (2) the role of former outing participants as leaders and spokespersons for Native Americans, and (3) the participation of former outing program participants as experts in the professional fields of education, and the arts.

The process of using education as a means of Americanizing Indian students continues to exist in contemporary times, it is hoped that the research presented in this study will further reveal and confirm these similarities and thus provide some broad generalizations which may enable Native and non-Native educators and administrators, guiding principals for modification of current and future Indian educational programs.

Significance of the Study

This study should prove to be of significance for several reasons. First, Hampton Institute was the first attempt by the federal government to provide institutionalized education in the East for Native American Indians (Robinson, 1954). It was the educational testing grounds for the experiment in Indian education which Euro-American politicians and reformers, hoped would result in an answer to the highly controversial question: "Can the Indian be civilized?" (Robinson, 1954) Hampton established the educational model for other Indian schools including Carlisle, Haskell and Chilocco. The summer outing system was a component of the Hampton Indian educational plan which was incorporated into the curriculum of these other institutions (Green, 1989). Very little focus in past studies has been given to the relationship between western Massachusetts and the Hampton Indian education program. Major leaders of the Indian reform movement hailed from western Massachusetts. One of the more famous reformers was Senator Henry L. Dawes of Pittsfield, who was the sponsor of the 1887 General

Allotment Act. Many affluent people of Amherst and Northampton were sponsors for Native American students attending Hampton. Indian alumni of Hampton went on to attend and graduate from Smith College, Boston Museum of Fine Arts School, and Framingham Normal School.

Previous studies have not provided in depth research or discussion of the influential role Massachusetts has had on the development of Indian education. Currently as the Five College Consortium embarks on developing and implementing an American Indian studies program, it would appear to be vital that there be some reflection on the historical commitment of these institutions of higher education.

The history of the Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute has been researched by numerous scholars. The first to present in depth studies were members of Hampton's staff, primarily Cora Folsom, Elaine Goodale, Caroline Andrus and Helen Ludlow. Contemporary dissertations include, Robinson (1954), Tingey (1978) and most recently Lindsey (1988), all of whom are non-Native Americans. They all present an overall historical examination of the founding of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, with this being the primary focus of Robinson's study. He does include a very brief discussion on the outing program. Tingey presents a comparison between Hampton's Afro-American education program and its Indian education program, and how they demonstrated an attempt of biracial education.

Each of the past studies presented non-Indian points of views and analyzed the data from a non-Indian perspective. This study and its research is one of the few existing in depth discussions of Hampton Institute's Indian educational program which is exclusively from a contemporary Native American Indian perspective. The research has been conducted and data analyzed by a Native American, which provides for a different interpretation of Hampton, its Indian educational and outing programs.

Definition of Terms

Due to the historical content of this study, there is a need to use certain interchangeable terms. Racial identifying terms changed during various eras to suit the time period and the general public attitudes. It is important to identify and define these terms so that there will be no confusion to understanding the study.

The terms Native American, American Indian, Indian, Native American Indian, and Native, are used to describe or identify an individual, a community or group of one of the indigenous nations of North America.

The terms nation and tribe are both used to describe a group of Native American Indians who share a common culture, history, language, religious beliefs, customs, values, and view of the world. Examples would be the Lakota, the Shawnee, the Mohawk, the Wampanoag, and the Blackfeet nations. The difference between the two terms is tribe is more of an anthropological term, and nation is more of a political term. Tribe is not accepted by many Native American

Indian people, while nation is, for it acknowledges the sovereignty of Native American Indians.

Euro-American, European American, Anglo, American, and white, are used when discussing the descendants of one of the colonizing European countries. It is also used to identify an immigrant or a descendant, individual, group, or community, from one of the countries of Europe. These terms will vary depending on the time period when the reference was written.

Traditional leader is used to describe a spokesperson, chief, clan mother, society or religious leader of a Native American Indian community or nation.

Assimilation, acculturation, Americanization, and non-discrimination, are used interchangeably when discussing the process by which Native American Indians were or are being forced to accept Euro-American values and customs. All of the terms refer to the breakdown of traditional Indian cultures, lifestyles, religious beliefs, lost of language, and knowledge and practice of customs. This process has been connected to federal policies and the underlying purpose to the development of Indian educational programs.

Limitation of the Study

Several dissertations and thesis have been written which trace the establishment of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. These studies present a historical perspective of the founding, educational, and cultural policies, and the significant events which influenced the development of Hampton's Indian educational

programs. This study does not discuss the history of Hampton of the Indian educational program in great depth, but does briefly summarize its establishment and its influence on Indian education.

The role of federal Indian policies of the nineteenth century is a vital topic to understanding the creation of and the continuance of Hampton's program for the education of Indian students. The most influential policy being the General Allotment Act of 1887. This piece of legislation is recognized primarily for its promotion of division of reservation land into private holdings, and was used as an instrument to justify the Americanization process. This act is also deeply connected to the establishment and development of Indian educational programs, which would train Native American Indian students to assume the roles of good Christian farmers and housekeepers. Limited research has been conducted on the experience of the Indian participants of the outing program. The focus of this study is to look at the role residents of western Massachusetts played in Indian education by sponsoring and providing placement in their homes, for the summer outing system students. What was the extent of these sponsors' influence to the Americanization process?

Many of the Hampton Indian alumni who participated in the outing program, went on to obtain notability as professionals and advocates for native American Indian education. This study has limited its research to three Native Americans whose connection to Massachusetts through their participation in the outing program and their association with educational sponsors, influenced them in their

private and professional experiences. Anna Dawson, Arikara from North Dakota and one of the first female Indian students to enroll at Hampton, attended Framingham Normal School after completing her studies at Hampton. She graduated from Framingham in 1889 with her teaching certificate. She later went on to be one of the most influential advocates in the area of Indian education. Frank Blackhawk, Sioux from North Dakota and the first student from a western reservation of African American and Native American descent. His participation as a student at Hampton and in the outing system were not as positive as others. His Hampton education had an impact on Blackhawk's life and reflects the conflicts that could come about from the Americanization process. Angel Decora, Winnebago from Nebraska, became a famous artist, she spent her outing program in western Massachusetts and in 1896 graduated from Smith College in Northampton.

The time period researched by this study has been limited to 1878 to 1912, or from the year of the establishment of the Indian educational program at Hampton through to the year when the federal government withdrew its financial support.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The history of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute has been researched by numerous scholars. The early studies were conducted by members of Hampton's staff and faculty. One such account is, Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study, by Edith Armstrong Talbot (1904).

This biography was written by Armstrong's daughter, and includes information about his family background and the pertinent events which shaped his life. His parents' experiences as missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, where Armstrong was born and raised, appears to have had a major influence on his attitudes towards educational programs for Native American Indians. Armstrong's days as a student at Williams College and his tour of duty as an officer in the United States army during the Civil War are also discussed.

The important aspect of this biography is the documentation of Armstrong's role as the founder and principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. The chapters on the arrival of the American Indian students to Hampton provides insight to the attitudes of not only Armstrong, but those of other Euro-Americans of the nineteenth century, to the development of off reservation boarding schools and their role in the elimination of Native American Indian cultures.

Talbot has included numerous quotes of Armstrong's opinion on the Hampton's Indian educational model, and his view of the lifestyle of Indians living on reservations, along with his observations of Hampton Indian alumni who had returned to their home communities. The biography is biased, being that it was written by the subject's daughter. It portrays Armstrong as being sincerely supportive of Native Americans, and as being the only person willing to help Americanize them. If the reader has an understanding of the relationship between Euro-Americans and Native Americans during this time period, then there is useful information as the rationale for the development of the Hampton model for off-reservation boarding schools in this study. Also, the political and philosophical attitudes of the nineteenth century towards Native people are brought out by Talbot and are of value. The present study attempts to show how Armstrong's beliefs in the acculturation of Native American Indian nations, were reflected through his development of the outing program and how these attitudes were also shared by the Euro-American families he placed the Hampton Indian student participants with.

Helen Ludlow, a staff member of the Hampton Institute, compiled a report on its Afro-American and Native American Indian alumni entitled Twenty-two Years' Work of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, (1891). A primary resource, this report is a detailed account of students who attended Hampton between the years of 1868 to 1890.

Short biographical sketches on the Indian students includes their name, age, date of arrival at Hampton, sex, tribal affiliation, blood quantum, and family

background. A review of the progress of the students was compiled by Ludlow based on visits she made to the homes of all the Indian alumni that she could locate. Students were rated on how close their own lifestyle came to that of Euro-Americans. This is an important primary resource for researching information on the early participants of the Hampton Indian education program. It provides relevant information useful in locating specific Indian student files or records from the Hampton Institute's archives. However, the tone of this report is written from an Euro-American point of view and supports the desire for Indian Americanization. The comments by Ludlow demonstrates this as she praised those Indian alumni who turned away from their Native traditions, and condemned those who had returned to their original lifestyles. The present study shows how Hampton's educational program, specifically the outing program, contributed to the cultural conflicts many Indian alumni experienced upon returning to their home reservations and communities. What influenced some alumni to return home and reject their traditional lifestyles, while others rejected the ideology instilled in them by Hampton, and resumed their original values and beliefs?

Francis Greenwood Peabody, was a member of Hampton Institute's Board of Trustees from 1890-1936, and in his book, Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute (1969), presents an account of the first fifty years of the Institute. This study includes a detailed report of Armstrong's administration but does not discuss fully the administration of the second principal of Hampton, Hollis Burke Frissell.

The study appears to be an attempt to bring together the various information on Hampton Institute, which had been gathered by Hampton's staff, of what they deemed as being of importance. Peabody then utilized only information which he saw to be relevant. Therefore, the study is based on solely a Euro-American perspective, and does not include those of Native American Indian students or staff.

In keeping with previous studies, Peabody presents a limited Euro-American based look at the Hampton Institute's Indian education and outing system programs. The present study presents some of the materials included in Peabody's writings but from a Native American Indian interpretation.

The only published dissertation on the topic of Hampton Institute is by William H. Robinson, Hampton Institute, 1868-1949 (1954). It is a detailed factual based study tracing the historical development of the institute. The primary focus of the study is on the Afro-American education program. One chapter of the dissertation is dedicated to discussing the Indian education program, with a brief mention of the outing program.

Robinson does attempt to fill in a great deal of the information eliminated by the previously mentioned authors. He utilized primary resources from the Hampton Institute's archives, such as correspondence and reports by Armstrong and the school staff. Statistical information on the location and status of returned students, as well as interesting findings on the health issues of the Hampton Indian alumni, have been included.

Robinson presents a comparison between the educational programs at Hampton and those of other off reservation boarding schools, in particular Carlisle Indian Industrial School. He does provide some meaningful interpretation of the role of Hampton Institute in the development of American Indian education and examines the issues which resulted in the withdrawal of government support of the Indian education program. However, twenty pages is not a significant amount of discussion on the topic of Hampton's Indian education program.

The dissertation by Robinson is primarily factual, but it provides limited discussion on the analysis of the federal policies and of the Euro-American attitudes towards American Indians which existed during the nineteenth century. Robinson presents an exact historical development account of the events which lead up to the establishment of Hampton Institute, but eliminates any examination of the events which lead up to the development of the off reservation boarding school system. This study provides a broader examination of the Indian education program and presents the historical importance of Hampton Institute, as well as its contemporary influence on Native American Indian educational issues.

Keith L. Schall presents a collection of individual essays on Hampton Institute by various scholars in The Stony Road, Chapters in the History of Hampton Institute (1977). Robinson authored the essay which traces history of Indian education between the years of 1878-1912. In this article, Robinson touches on the issues between Euro-Americans and American Indians during this time period. He does bring up the controversies over the true purpose of the boarding schools as a

means for civilizing American Indians. The role of Christian ideology towards Native American traditional religious values and practices are also discussed.

Robinson includes a discussion pertaining to the major concerns of Euro-American Indian reformers and the United States government over the education of Afro-Americans and Native American Indians together. He examines their concern of whether Indians together could be civilized and if upon returning home would maintain these teachings or revert to their traditional lifestyle.

The description of the academic and vocational programs at Hampton Institute are informative as in the description of the summer outing system program and its role as the first work study program in the United States. The concepts of cultural relativism and cultural absolutism are examined. Robinson points out how these two concepts were instrumental in the development of the Indian education program at Hampton Institute. He also examines the issues centering around institutional racism which existed at the institute.

While being informative, the essay is biased in that Robinson portrays Armstrong and Hampton Institute's Indian education model as being supportive of American Indians. The work performed by Hampton to civilize Native people is highly praised with no discussion of the negative effects which attempted to destroy Indian cultures. This study examines how the concepts of cultural relativism and absolutism were major instruments in the development of the Hampton educational program and related directly to the establishment of the summer outing program.

Joseph Tingey, conducted research for his unpublished dissertation on the topic of, *Indians and Blacks together: An experiment in biracial education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923)* (1978). Tingey provides a comparison study between the Black and Indian educational programs at Hampton. The study utilizes a broad variety of research methods including interviews with former Hampton employees and alumni. These interviews provide valuable insight to the experiences of Afro-American staff and Native American Indian students while at Hampton.

Tingey's study offers an in-depth historical review and analysis of the Hampton Indian educational program. He contributes a large portion of his research to the early stages of the program with emphasis on the first delegation of Indian students which arrived in 1878 from Fort Marion prison. He draws intimate information from student records and files, administrative reports, correspondence between Hampton's administration and staff, with politicians and Indian reform advocates. The substantial amount of primary materials make this study a significant resource for conducting research on Hampton Institute.

There is a gap in the study. Tingey's main focus is on the relationship between the Afro-American and Indian students, which is a vital topic, however, this being the area of concentration, there is limited information and discussion on the outing program. Though the study does provide more discussion on the outing program than any of the previous mentioned studies, it is still a limited one. This study expands on Tingey's observations and extends the development and effects of

the outing system program on not only nineteenth century Indian students, but also to look at how these effects have transpired to contemporary times.

Research into the area of Hampton Institute would not be complete without examining writings by and those pertaining to Native American Indians. It is through these sources that the direct effects of the off reservation boarding school experience can be understood. The involvement and opinions of Native American Indian leaders, educators and students are rarely taken into consideration as resources when researching this topic.

A crucial starting point is the mission boarding school, which were located on the reservations and provided many of the Hampton Indian students with their first Euro-American educational experience. The Middle Five (1963), by Francis LaFlesche, reflects his own early school days at the mission boarding school on the Omaha reservation in Nebraska. LaFlesche was the eldest son of Iron Eyes, chief of the Omaha nation. He went on to become not only a published author, but also an interpreter for the United States government and later worked in the area of cultural anthropology, in Washington, D. C.

The Middle Five, is a useful resource in that it is written from a Native American point of view and reflects both the positive and negative aspects of attending a boarding school. The book discusses cultural conflicts that arose between students, their families, and their teachers. It also examines the relationships which did develop between the students and their teachers, as well as

amongst their classmates. This study also conveys the American Indian experience of boarding schools as LaFlesche did in his writings. The conflicts which students dealt with while attending Hampton, were also present while they were in summer placements through the outing system. The positive and negative experiences of Indian students involved in the outing program is discussed in this study.

In her book, Iron Eyes' Family (1969) Norma Kidd Green, gives an interesting insight into the transitions which took place within the Omaha nation prior to and following their relocation to a reservation in Nebraska. This is done through biographies on the various family members of Chief Joseph LaFlesche (Iron Eyes), the father of Francis LaFlesche. Green discusses the instrumental role which Iron Eyes and his children played in all aspect of Omaha tribal government and reservation development.

Many of the LaFlesche children attended off reservation boarding schools in the East. Their father was highly favorable of incorporating Euro-American culture and ideology into the Omaha nation. Two outstanding students of the Hampton Institute were Marguerite and Susan LaFlesche. Susan graduated with honors and went on to attend medical school, becoming the first American Indian woman medical physician in the United States.

The chapters in Green's book which discuss the experiences of these two young women's endeavors at Hampton are valuable for gaining insight of the

educational programs offered to Indian students during the late 1880's. Green draws quotes and excerpts from letters and diaries of both Susan and Marguerite, as primary resources.

Green concentrates on recapitulating the history of the LaFlesche family and the events of the nineteenth century from a Native American viewpoint. However, the author does tend to be romantic in her interpretation of the LaFlesche family and their accomplishments. Green does not include any discussion around the negative Euro-American attitudes of the time period, nor of the emphasis of federal Indian policies for Americanization of Indian nations. All of the Euro-Americans in the book are portrayed as being supportive of American Indians, and made to appear almost saintly. There is no mention of the racism which was obviously present during the late 1800's. This study utilized primary resources as Green did, to demonstrate how the experiences of Hampton Indian students had both a positive and negative effect on their lives. Emphasis has been placed on three different students who went on to have unique experiences following their departure from Hampton.

Two autobiographies by alumni of Hampton and Carlisle Indian education programs provide the most accurate accounts of the off reservation boarding school experience. The first autobiography is that of Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux (1975) traces the transitions of the Rosebud Sioux from their traditional lifestyle to that of the reservation system. Standing Bear provides insight to the freedom his people had prior to their forced removal and confinement the

reservation in South Dakota. He discusses the inadequacies on the part of the United States government to assist the Sioux nations into adjusting to a new way of life.

Standing Bear discusses the effect of federal policies, especially the General Allotment Act of 1887, had on his nation both politically and culturally. His father was a traditional chief, who realized his nation would never regain what they had before, and in order to cope with their new lifestyle, the Sioux would have to become knowledgeable in the ways of Euro-Americans. It is with this in mind that he sent his son Luther to attend Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Standing Bear's descriptions of his year at Carlisle allows for a fuller understanding of the pleasures and hardships Native American Indian students were subjected to. He also provides insight to the cultural conflicts that effected the students, their families, and communities, as well as the boarding school staff. Standing Bear shares his personal experiences with an outing program similar to that at Hampton. His discussion of Carlisle's administration and his employer demonstrates the patronizing attitude of many Euro-Americans of the time period.

Throughout his book, Standing Bear continually acknowledges the failure of federal policies and the educational system for Native Americans as being due to the lack of input from Indian nations. Standing Bear recognizes the political situation of native nations would have had the same final results, however, the transitions from the traditional lifestyle to that of the reservation, could have been

eased, had Native American Indians been allowed to incorporate their ideas and values into the policies.

This is an excellent primary resource as it is written entirely from a Native American point of view. Even though Standing Bear was educated in a Euro-American system, and supported change in the structure of his community, he still maintained his commitment to protect and live by his traditional beliefs and values. This study has further investigated the experiences of Hampton Indian students, who like Standing Bear, believed in the need for input from Indian people into all aspects of their reservations' and communities' development. The rationale of these students for attending eastern boarding schools and taking part in the outing program has been given an in-depth discussion.

Thomas Wildcat Alford, in his autobiography, Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnees (1979), provides a remarkable description of the cultural conflicts caused by the Americanization process, and by the educational programs at Hampton Institute. Alford was one of the first graduates of Hampton's Indian education program. He also provides insight to the changes in his nation's lifestyle prior to and following their relocation to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). His discussion of his childhood and youth demonstrates the importance of the extended family and of traditional values to Native American communities.

Alford, in the chapters on Hampton Institute, gives an interesting account of the Indian education program and its teaching staff. He also shares his mixed emotions about obtaining an education at the sacrifice of his traditional beliefs.

Alford provides the opportunity to understand the hardships experienced by many Hampton graduates when they returned to their home communities. He describes how he was not trusted by his family and his Native nation due to the changes in his mannerisms, and his attitude. He went for a long period of time without being able to utilize his Hampton vocational training, and eventually went into a different profession.

Alford is a prime example of the life and experiences of a Hampton Indian student. His personal conflicts between himself and his Indian nation were common for Hampton alumni. Alford eventually was forced to choose between his traditional ways and those he had acquired at Hampton. He did not view his traditional ways as being of service to him and therefore maintained his Americanization.

Similar to Standing Bear, this autobiography is also important as a primary resource. It is directly related to the topic of Hampton Institute and not only provides an understanding of the experiences of an Indian student while attending Hampton, but also provides insight to what happened to the students after they left and returned to their Native communities. This study seeks to investigate the influences of Hampton Indian alumni on their Indian communities and also discusses how that influence is still present during contemporary times.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

The research method followed in this study was primarily historical. Historical research has been defined as the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draws conclusions about past events (Cohen & Mahion, 1980). The act of historical research involves the identification and limitations of a problem or an area of study; the formulation of a hypothesis or a set of questions; the collection, organization, verification, validation, analysis and selection of data testing the hypothesis, or answering the questions where appropriate; and writing a research study. This sequence leads to a new understanding of the past and its relevance to the present and future (Cohen & Mahion, 1980).

The values of historical research have been categorized as follows: (a) it enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past; (b) it throws light on present and future trends; (c) it stresses the relative importance and the effects of the various interactions that are to be found within all cultures; and (d) it allows for the revaluation of data in relation to selected hypotheses, theories, and generalizations that are presently held about the past. The ability of history to employ the past, gives it dual and unique quality which makes it useful for various studies and research.

The particular value of historical research in field of education is that the outcomes of this form of research can bring great benefit to educationalist and the community at large. It can for example, yield insights into some educational problems that could not be achieved by any other means. Further, the historical study of an educational idea or institution can do much to help understand how a present educational system has come about; and this form of understanding can in turn help to establish a sound basis for further progress. Historical research in education can also show how and why educational theories and practices developed. It enables educationalist to use former practices to evaluate newer, emerging ones.

Using historical research, this study on the role of western Massachusetts in the development of American Indian education reform through the Hampton Institute's summer outing program, investigates the answer to the following questions: (1) What was the historical effect of the establishment of Hampton Institute's Indian education program on Native American Indian nations and their cultures? (2) How did the Indian reform movement of Massachusetts contribute to the Americanization process of American Indians through the development of specialized educational programs of the off reservation boarding schools? (3) What were the experiences of the Indian students at Hampton Institute in the following educational areas, academics and vocational training, religious instructions and their experiences while participating in the summer outing system program in

western Massachusetts? (4) How did the outing program contribute to the acculturation of its Indian participants in both a positive and negative way?

(5) What comparisons can be made between the educational and Americanization processes of the late nineteenth century with those of contemporary times?

The purpose of this study was not to present an in-depth discussion of the history of the Hampton Institute. Instead this study briefly summarizes the establishment of the Hampton Institute and its Indian education program. This study focuses on the experiences of the Indian participants of the outing program, the roles of the Euro-American sponsors of western Massachusetts, and the positive and negative effects of the outing system program through research on three historically known participants, Anna Dawson, Frank Blackhawk, and Angel Decora.

Because a historical method of research was used to conduct this study, various sources were utilized in order to acquire the data. Local sources include the libraries at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Smith College, Mount Holyoke College and William's College. Other libraries included the Forbes Library in Northampton, and the Jones Library in Amherst. All of these libraries possess extensive primary and secondary resources relevant to this study. The Jones Library and Smith College house the papers of prominent Indian reformers such as Elaine Goodale and her husband Dr. Charles Eastman. William's College has a collection of Samuel C. Armstrong's papers and letters.

Records and information on Angel Decora are located in the archives at Smith College in Northampton. Angel was associated with Northampton through her attendance of the Burnham School for girls and is also an alumni of Smith College, class of 1896.

The University of Massachusetts' library contains books and journal articles published and unpublished dissertations on the establishment of Hampton Institute and the Indian reform movement. There are also collections of the Hampton Institute's school publication, The Southern Workman, in the libraries at the University of Massachusetts and Mount Holyoke College.

The key sources of primary and secondary reference materials on the Hampton Institute's outing system program, are the archives and museum located on the campus of Hampton University. The archives house the files and records of all the Indian students who attended Hampton Institute, correspondence between the administration and the western Massachusetts sponsors and reports in the progress of students who participated in the outing program. The two weeks spent at the Hampton University archives as a visiting scholar through the American Indian Graduate Program, assisted in the acquisition of the primary documentation necessary for the successful completion of this study.

The primary data has been supplemented by secondary resources from the Five Colleges, Amherst Public and Northampton Public libraries. References which pertain to the issues of Native American Indian education, social and political policies during the nineteenth century, as well as any information on these areas

that discusses current policies have been utilized. Other secondary sources used are articles from such standard publications as the Journal of American Indian Education, and The Northeast Indian Quarterly, as well as any other relevant publication on the status of Indian education that the United States government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, might have available. General and educational histories have been researched to provide a background of information on the topic of off reservation boarding schools, the Indian reform movement, and federal Indian policies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Publications of case studies, federal reports, and other investigations into contemporary American Indian educational issues have been utilized to develop a comparison between the two eras and to develop recommendations for the future.

Outline of Dissertation Chapters

Chapter I: Introduction, this chapter provides information as to the procedure of the study, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, the definition of terms and the limitations of the study.

Chapter II: This chapter is a review of the prominent literature relevant to the topics of Hampton Institute, the off reservation boarding school system and American Indian education reform.

Chapter III: Is a discussion of the design and procedures of the study. Also included is an outline of the chapters of the study.

Chapter IV: This chapter provides a brief historical account of the establishment of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, and its Indian education program. The effects of the educational established by Hampton along with the influence of Christianity on the acculturation of Native students is discussed. Also examined are the social and cultural situations of Native American Indian students attending Hampton from 1878 to 1912.

Chapter V: An in-depth account of the establishment of the summer outing system program is the main focus of this chapter. The administrative process of the program and the responsible staff for the management of the outing program are explained. Also included in this chapter is a discussion of the outing system's role as an instrument of the Americanization process.

Chapter VI: This chapter is a discussion of the information obtained through research for this study. The role of Hampton Institute's Indian education program, with emphasis on the summer outing program, on the acculturation of American Indian nations is presented. How did the summers in Massachusetts effect the Indian students? What contributions did this experience have, both in a negative and positive way, in reshaping Native American Indian cultures, lifestyles, and family systems?

Chapter VII: This chapter presents profiles of three Hampton Indian students whose participation in the outing system program had a major influence on the private and professional aspects of their lives. The students who are profiled include, Anna Dawson, Frank Blackhawk, and Angel Decora.

Chapter VIII: This chapter is the conclusion to the study. Recommendations as to how the information based on the research conducted for this study can be utilized to understand the historical implications of the Hampton Indian education and outing programs on contemporary Indian social, political, cultural and educational needs. Suggestions for the establishment of progressive educational and cultural programs that can be drawn from this study and its research will also be presented.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE'S INDIAN EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

During the small hours of the morning of April 13, 1878 an event took place which resulted in the restructuring of Native American Indian education.

Forty-nine Native American Indians arrived at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. This arrival marked the beginning of the off-reservation boarding school system and became a major means of accomplishing the Americanization of Native people.

The first group of Native American Indians to arrive at Hampton had been hostages of war, who had been incarcerated at the Fort Marion prison in St. Augustine, Florida. They were members of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche nations of Oklahoma, and had been sent to Fort Marion to serve time for their supposed "war crimes." Arrangements for their admittance to Hampton was coordinated by Captain Richard H. Pratt. For the three years prior, Pratt had been responsible for the total population of seventy hostages. While at Fort Marion, Pratt with the assistance of "a few interested and good ladies" had instructed the Indian hostages "to read, to count, about God, about justice and truth¹." Their instructions were not limited to the basic academics, it expanded and included several other subjects. The hostages were provided U.S. military uniforms to wear, they performed drills and carried out work details, and were eventually trusted enough and organized their own guard duties². The hostages

were also provided with art materials and were said to have eased their homesickness by drawing scenes from their Native cultures. Many of these ledger drawings were given away as gifts or sold to tourists and residents of the St. Augustine area³.

When the hostages were released from Fort Marion they were given the choice of returning to Oklahoma or remaining in the east "to learn more about the white man's road⁴." Pratt had sought admission for the Indian hostages from several agricultural and labor schools. He was unsuccessful in these attempts and he felt the reason for their denials was due to prejudgment on the part of the schools, he made the following remarks:

The several I have applied to hesitated to undertake the bad Indians. Their case was prejudged because they were prisoners of war with reputation and atrocities⁵.

The only school that gave a positive response was the Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute in Hampton, Virginia. Its founder and first principal, Samuel Chapman Armstrong initially agreed to Pratt's desires, and accepted one Indian student on an experimental basis. He was later convinced by Pratt to accept all of the students who were not going into private placement. Armstrong expressed his reaction to this decision:

It was not the original plan of the school that any but Negroes should be received, though the liberal state charter made no limit as to color; but when in 1878, a 'Macadamian cry' came from some Indian ex-prisoners of war in Florida...seventeen were accepted, at private expenses...⁶

The Hampton Institute was established in 1868, its main purpose was to educate Afro-Americans following the Civil War, in academic and vocational skills. Its founder General Armstrong had been a union Army officer. He was born in Hawaii in 1839, the son of missionary parents. He attended Williams College in Massachusetts and graduated in 1862. He led an Afro-American regiment during the Civil War, and went on to establish the Hampton Institute as a private, nondenominational school in April of 1868⁷.

On April 13, 1878, seventeen of the Fort Marion hostages were admitted into Hampton after traveling by steamer from Florida. The event was described by the Hampton Institute's monthly journal, The Southern Workman, as follows:

No one who witnessed that midnight raid on Hampton Institute will ever forget it. The camp was ready for the raiders with coffee and words of welcome. The next night old chief Lone Wolf told the large audience gathered to hear him: 'We have started on God's road now, because God's road is the same for the red man as for the white man⁸.'

It would appear that Armstrong was immediately aware of the tremendous opportunity this educational experiment offered to his school. He wrote of the arrival of the Indian students to Hampton in a letter to his wife:

...They are a new step of ahead and make the school very strong and really, Kitty, they are a big card for the school and will diminish my gray hairs. There's money in them I tell you⁹.

Armstrong also informed the school's Board of Trustees of the new educational adventure: "Curiously, without effort on our part or expense to the school, there are seventeen Indian youth¹⁰." It is obvious that Armstrong's motive for accepting the Indian students was not solely out of a desire to assist Native American Indians in their survival. Hampton's ability to financially profit from its new educational endeavor was an underlying motivation. Thus the first Native American Indian students who enrolled in the Hampton Institute were not really scholars in search of education but hostages of war, who were not fully aware of where they were going and why¹¹.

Hampton's most unique feature was the racial composition of its student body. It was also the most controversial feature. Even though its experience educating Afro-American students assisted Hampton in quickly developing a parallel Indian educational program, the biracial education issue was, "always the subject of interested inquiry, and sometimes of adverse prophecy and criticism¹²." Hampton was the only all African American educational institution to admit Indian students, which resulted in widespread criticism in the press and from the public. Even those associated with Hampton feared trouble and had "very serious misgivings over so radical an innovation¹³." Some feared the influence of Afro-Americans upon Native American Indians and others the influence of Native American Indians

upon Afro-Americans. Perhaps the two issues worried about the most were, that members of the two racial groups would fight or fall in love. When introducing the Fort Marion party to the Hampton student body and staff, Pratt insisted: "There will be no collision between the races here. These Indians have come to work¹⁴." However, the Fort Marion Indian students had a different attitude about their biracial educational setting and their Afro-American classmates. In a speech made the same night, the Comanche chief Minimic expressed, "...Now the skins of the people he meets here, and their own (Indians students) are just alike--colored" (speech translated by Pratt)¹⁵.

Hampton's means of civilizing the Native American Indians was an education that stressed basic skills and industrial and agricultural training. Two major objectives were sought: to help Native American Indians regain their "self-respect" and to make them "self-supporting." Armstrong's conviction was that the educational plan Hampton developed for African-American men would also enable Native American Indian men to obtain these two objectives¹⁶.

The Hampton education plan had two major components. The practical aspect, aimed mainly at "self-support," included learning to read, speak and write English and to use numbers correctly. Native students were also instructed in agriculture and trades, including carpentry, shoemaking, butchering, tinsmithing, printing, wheelwrighting, harness making and basic engineering. When Native American Indian women were admitted to Hampton in 1879, they were instructed in domestic skills, housekeeping, cooking, sewing, child care, and proper etiquette¹⁷.

Education to develop "self-respect," especially as a forced "member" of Euro-American culture was very complicated for both the school and the Native students. It involved destroying traditional values, ideas and life-styles, and the acquisition of alien ones. Native American Indian students would be forced to develop new ways of looking at the world, their communities, Euro-Americans, and most of all their individual selves¹⁸.

Native American Indian students were trained in the trades and agriculture so that they could become self-supporting. Philosophically, it meant assisting Native people in regaining in Euro-American culture what Euro-Americans had taken away from Native American Indians--their status as human beings. Certainly Native peoples had great self-respect before the European invasion of North America. But the social milieu in which this self-respect was attained and maintained was radically altered by a different set of values introduced into the Native American Indian cultural system. Euro-Americans so completely reversed the Native American Indian's self-image that the crucial question became whether Native American Indians could regain their self-respect as Native people or whether they had to become white men culturally in order to survive as fulfilled human beings¹⁹.

Hampton's educational plan steered between the two extremes of cultural absolutism in some matters and cultural relativism in others. Cultural absolutism would bring about complete change in Native American Indians' ideals, values, morals, customs, religion and outlook on life. On the other hand, cultural

relativism would result in the Native American Indians' preserving some of the basic elements of their cultures while becoming acclimated to the Euro-Americans' culture in ways necessary to Native survival and successful functioning within "mainstream" society²⁰.

Armstrong believed the way for Native American Indians to regain their "self-respect" was to adopt the "white man's road." It is clear from many of his utterances on Christianity and Native American Indians that Armstrong believed Native people could gain their self-respect as well as the respect of Euro-Americans only by becoming Christians. All of the staff and supporters of Hampton Institute's Indian education programs saw Christianity as the way to change Native American Indians from savages of less than human stature to self-respecting and respected human beings²¹.

Recruitment for new students began immediately following the arrival of the first group of Native students to Hampton. Captain Pratt was instructed to return to the Western plains and secure twenty-five males and twenty-five females from the upper Missouri. Pratt returned on November 5, 1878 with forty boys and nine girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty years of age, mainly Sioux. Each of these students by the United States government were appropriated annually one hundred and sixty-seven dollars to cover the cost of board and clothing. The arrival of these students was described as follows:

On November 5th the young strangers arrived, a wild-looking set most of them in full Indian costume, blankets, leggings, and moccasins, with dishevelled locks hanging half-way down to their knees, or braided with strips of red flannel down each side of their faces, yet with an expression of intelligent and earnest desire to learn the white man's way²².

Hampton's experiment in Native American Indian education continued to be scrutinized as the program increased. In his message to Congress, President Rutherford B. Hayes declared that the result of the experiment was "destined to become an important factor in the advancement of civilization among Indians." In his next message, the President reported that the Hampton experiment "has led to results so promising that it was thought expedient to turn over the cavalry barracks at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, to the Interior Department for the establishment of an Indian school on a larger scale²³." Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened in October, 1879 with Captain Pratt in charge. Thirteen of the Fort Marion students followed him there, becoming pioneers in a second educational program²⁴.

General Armstrong undertook many trips among the western reservations in order to recruit new students to Hampton. During these trips Armstrong visited many of the reservations which were home to former Hampton students. He saw with his own eyes the conditions which the returned students lived in. He found much in the lifestyles of the West which differed from the dominant of the period. He stated:

If the West knows anything, it knows that you can't improve the prairie Indian. Crossing the continent twice of late, I found the universal creed to be, 'There is no good Indian but a dead one,' which has been adopted by over half the intelligent people of the East²⁵.

Armstrong never ceased in his efforts to enroll more Native American Indian female students. However, he was never able to reach the fifty-fifty quota that he desired. Armstrong introduced to Native education the concept of providing education for young married couples and their children. The purpose of this aspect of the Native American Indian program was to eliminate traditional Native parenting skills and to replace them with Euro-American ones. Armstrong supported this by his observations on student families:

It is interesting to note, as side issues in this experiment, the increase of courtesy in the "brave" and his wife and the growing care of the mother for her child, and the effort she makes to keep her husband's possessions, her room, and her babe, and last of all herself, clean and tidy. It is touching, too, to watch the increasing tenderness of the father to his child. At first the father evidently regarded tending the little bit of humanity with scorn, and the woman carried the heavy baby, while the man walked unburdened beside her. But the father grows to take great pride in his body, and often relieves the mother now part of the burden. He is never urged to this course, but is probably aware that it gives great satisfaction²⁶.

It is obvious from this statement that Armstrong maintained the ethnocentric attitudes of Euro-Americans of that time period. If Armstrong had been supportive of cultural relativism, he would have understood that the traditional lifestyle of Native people of the time required parents to assume roles that contradicted

Euro-American family structure. Native American Indian men of the western plains were responsible for protecting the family. He had to be able to respond to any dangers which might have arisen while traveling on the plains. This could not be done if the father was carrying a child. By having the mother, whose responsibility was caring for the family, transport the child, her husband was free to protect them. The mother and child could also escape to safety more rapidly. However, Armstrong being supportive of cultural absolutism, was unable to understand this.

The Native American Indian students who attended Hampton between the years 1878 to 1912 came from many regions. Students were recruited from North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Idaho, Oklahoma, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, Kansas, Wisconsin, New York, and North Carolina. The primary area of representation was from the Dakotas and the Northern Plains region.

The Native students attended Hampton for various reasons. However, the changes in traditional Native American Indian lifestyles, which were brought on by federal policies such as the General Allotment Act, were the major influences. Native American Indian parents and tribal leaders began to realize the need to have members of their nations who were familiar with the ideology and attitudes of Euro-Americans and their government. It was recognized that in order to acquire what was rightfully theirs, Native nations would have to have negotiators from within their own communities. Interpreters who could be relied upon to provide correct translations of policies and laws were needed by both the Native American

Indians as well as the Euro-Americans. A firm command of the English language and a solid knowledge of United States history and federal laws would be needed to do this. An understanding of Euro-American cultures and lifestyles was also required. Education was a means to obtain all of these things, as well as to the elimination of traditional Native American Indian cultures.

Many of the Hampton Native students came with previous educational experiences which had been acquired in mission schools. The students came to the school with such varied levels of preparation that it was impossible to employ the usual placement by grades or by annual progression. To cope with this situation, Hampton established divisions representing seven levels of academic competency. This arrangement enabled each student to stand at the level at which he or she was able to perform and to move at his or her own pace as he or she improved academically. Each student started at the appropriate level when they enrolled: some at the lowest level--first division--and others at more advanced levels. The students would complete the requirements for as many levels as possible during the time they attended school. Occasionally the students who had spent several years at a mission school would start in the upper divisions and would enter the normal school before leaving, sometimes completing the normal course for teachers²⁷.

When an Indian student was deemed academically proficient, they attended classes with Afro-American students and followed a curriculum that was equivalent to an 1880s grammar school education. This included courses in English, arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, natural history, and teacher-training.

The last was the culmination of Hampton Institute's academic program; as Armstrong proclaimed, "Let us make the teachers and we will make the people²⁸." Students practiced teaching at the nearby Butler School from 1878 until 1887, at which time they applied their pedagogical skills in Hampton's newly constructed Whittier School²⁹.

Native American Indian students were housed in their own resident halls separate from the Afro-American students. The males resided in a hall known as the Wigwam, and the female students in Winona Lodge. The home life of female Indian students in Winona Lodge followed a strict schedule but lacked the rigid military structure imposed on the male students. A home-like atmosphere pervaded the residence, in part because of the number of female faculty who resided there. Winona Lodge not only functioned as a place where adjustments were made under the supervision of a maternal matron to life off the reservation, but also served as a vehicle for increasing the self-respect and self-help of its residents. To accomplish the latter, the young women were encouraged to feel that the whole residence belonged to them and were given responsibilities for its daily maintenance, such as scrubbing the floors. Older girls were assigned to help younger and newer residents and "to be helpful, and in a degree responsible for them, trying in various ways to be real 'Winona'--elder sisters³⁰."

Both Wigwam and Winona Lodge also contained areas for social functions because the social life of the Indian students was viewed as an important dimension of Hampton training, "touching one side of the growing character and doing its

part toward their general upbuilding³¹." Secret clubs, temperance meetings, debating societies, and service organizations such as the Christian Endeavor Society were among the diverse activities centered in the students' campus homes³². The Native American Indian students came from varied social backgrounds. Many were the children of prominent tribal leaders. Older siblings and relatives who had attended or were currently enrolled at Hampton encouraged others to travel East to attend school. Mission school teachers and agency workers also influenced students to leave the reservation and their cultures and to take on the values of Euro-Americans. These students were made to believe that there was "a better way to live than what their people knew." They accepted the Euro-American attitudes that only by substituting their Native beliefs and values with Euro-American ones would their lives change. However, Hampton student Thomas Wildcat Alford pointed out, Native students soon realized there were similar values between their own people and Euro-Americans. Alford stated:

At Hampton we were taught the usages of polite society in vogue at that time, the so-called Victorian era...and in this we found the foundation of good breeding to be just the same principle as the simple teachings of our own people, namely, consideration for the rights of others, respect for our superiors (elders), and unselfishness³³.

Native American Indian students were often sponsored by a Euro-American philanthropist. These sponsors assisted the students by offering scholarships to supplement the cost of their Hampton education. Many took a personal interest in

the students they funded. However, these sponsors often treated the Native students in a patronizing manner. More prestigious students, children or relatives of prominent tribal leaders, were invited to vacation at their sponsors' homes, where they were displayed for their sponsors' associates. Students were used to show that the Native American Indian could adapt Euro-American lifestyles.

Perhaps the most difficult area of Hampton's education program for the Native American Indian students was the acceptance of Christianity. Many of these students felt pressured by the Hampton staff and their sponsors to convert to Christianity. Religious studies were part of the Hampton curriculum which forced Native students to be exposed to Christian doctrines.

In some cases, Native students had vowed not to convert to Christianity. Before departing for Hampton, Thomas Wildcat Alford and John King promised their uncles, two Shawnee chiefs, that they would not accept Christianity:

Very solemnly the chiefs spoke to us. They reminded us of the responsibility we had assumed for our people when we consented to undertake the mission. We were not to go as individuals, but as representatives of the Shawnee tribe. The honor, the dignity, and the integrity of the tribe was placed in our hands. They told us of their desire that we should learn the white man's wisdom. How to read in books, how to understand all that was written or spoken to and about our people and the government. We should learn all this in order that when we came back we would be able to direct the affairs of our tribe and to assume the duties and position of chiefs at the death of the present chiefs. They pledged their words that we should be made chiefs of our respective clans. But there was a promise attached to the promise that we would be chiefs--a positive demand that we should not accept the white man's religion; we must remain true to the Shawnee faith. If we did accept the new teachings, we would forfeit all hope of becoming chiefs³⁴.

Native students also noted similarities between the teachings of their traditional religions and Christianity. Despite this, students eventually succumbed to the pressure of their teachers and peers, and adopted Christian beliefs. Native American Indian students returned to their home communities believing that their old religious beliefs were barbaric and destructive. These students contributed to the assimilation of their people by rejecting the very foundation of their cultures, their religious philosophies and beliefs.

When the first group of Native American Indian arrived at Hampton, giving birth to the off-reservation education system, the initial question among Euro-Americans was whether the Native American Indian could be "civilized." Those who doubted that the Indian could be "civilized" were probably in the majority, as noted by Armstrong:

Some experienced teachers and army officers prophesy a relapse of educated Indians on their return to their homes, from opposition, from ridicule and shock at the old life, and from the force of circumstance³⁵.

This statement summarizes the second question concerning off-reservation education, "If the Indian is civilized, will he/she remain civilized or will he/she return to the 'blanket'³⁶."

Most Native American Indian students returned to their home communities upon completion of their Hampton academic and trade programs. It was the goal

of Hampton and the returned students, to work within their home communities or other Native communities. The desire was for the returned students to assist their people to be prepared to deal with the transitions that were taking on the reservations during this period of time. Though the methods used to make these transitions take place were Euro-American based, the desire of the returned Indian students to help others and to share with their communities was rooted in their Native traditions and values.

Upon returning to their reservations, Hampton Native American Indian graduates were not always able to find employment in the areas they had been trained in. Many were forced to assume positions in other fields of labor.

Thomas Wildcat Alford was one of the first Indian to graduate from Hampton who experienced difficulties upon his return to his home community. In 1882 he returned to Oklahoma:

My homecoming was a bitter disappointment to me. Noticing at once the change in my dress and manner, in my speech and conduct, my people received me coldly and with suspicion. Almost at once they suspected that I had taken up the white man's religion, along with his habits and manners of conduct. There was no happy gathering of family and friends as I had so fondly dreamed there might be. Instead of being eager to learn the new ideas I had to teach them, they gave me to understand very plainly that they did not approve of me. I had no real home to go to, my relatives did not welcome my presence.

After the first disappointment of homecoming was over, I began to look about for work. Being so eager to work and to use the Knowledge I had labored so hard to acquire, it was a keen disappointment when I could find no lucrative opening³⁷.

As mentioned above by Wildcat Alford, returned Indian students had difficulties adjusting to living on the reservation. They had become accustomed to the regimental lifestyle of Hampton. Many missed the conveniences of school and struggled to tolerate the demands of an agricultural life. Though family and community members at first were suspicious of the returning students, eventually they came to trust them and confided in them. Returned students always were willing to assist their families in any way possible. Often the Hampton staff criticized students and ridiculed their families for this:

Mary Walker, half-blood Gros Ventre, she returned home May 26, '84, because unable to obtain permission to remain longer. She went to a home presided over by a heathen grandmother, and very soon yielded to the influences thrown about her. Her record, as far as simple fact are concerned was for a time bad, but when circumstances are considered, there is little blame due her. In the fall of 1890, she married an industrious young man, brother of Susie Nagle, and there is reason to hope that a better life is now open before her³⁸.

Grace Decore, full blood. She was a bright girl, with a very unusual taste and skill in music but deformed by curvature of the spine and unable to do hard work. We would gladly have kept her longer, but it was impossible to persuade her heathen parents that it was best, and we were forced to let her go, June 2, 1887. In the home to which she returned there is no chance for growth except backwards, and life has been hard. In her letters she says: 'I don't want you to think that because I live like an Indian I have forgotten what I have learned. I am Christian though my people are not...³⁹.'

Just as returned students who were living among their relatives were criticized, the Hampton staff highly praised those students whom they considered to be "civilized." Twenty-two years following the implementation of the off-reservation

educational program, Hampton Indian department teacher, Helen Ludlow conducted a survey of all returned students by visiting as many as possible on their reservations. This report reflects the Euro-American ethnocentric attitudes of the time period. Students were rated by how closely their lifestyles compared to those of Euro-Americans. This report contained statements similar to the following:

Jennie No Ears, Noga-Wanicawin, half-blood from Standing Rock Sioux agency. She returned September 30, 1884, and the following February married Louis Primean, then and now the agency interpreter, and went with him to teach a day school on Grand River. She was reported by the agent as 'doing better than nine-tenths of the white teachers' and besides being 'one of the better cooks in the country.' She died at her school in May 1886, leaving a beautiful baby whose photograph, in the neatest and prettiest of white dresses, kid shoes and no beads or ornaments...⁴⁰.

Mitchell Mequimetas, full blooded Memomonee. He spoke some English when he came and did well in school and at the wheelwright's trade, but was not satisfactory in character and was sent home in June 1883, for a year at the end of which time he might return if he could show a satisfactory record. He came back in February 1888, and was graduated. Since his return home he has worked some at his trade, logged in winter, and opened up a farm of his own near Keshena. The agent reports that 'he provides for his home, and treats his wife with as much consideration as a white man would⁴¹.'

The acceptance of Christianity greatly contributed to the returned Indian students' conflicts within their reservations. Most of the returned students allied themselves with the local mission and encouraged family and other Native community members to abandon their traditional religious beliefs and to accept the teachings of Christ. Some, such as the daughters of the famous Omaha chief,

Joseph La Flesche, held prominent positions within reservation churches.

Regardless of the position they held, these Hampton Indian alumni were being used by the Euro-Americans to assimilate their own people. The United States government and the Hampton staff were well aware of the role traditional religions played as the foundation of Native cultures. Once religion was eliminated, it was easier to manipulate the people.

A test of the Hampton theories that Indians could be "civilized" and upon returning home would not "return to the blanket," occurred in December 1890 in the Dakotas. As a last attempt to salvage traditional Sioux lifestyle, the Ghost Dance religion developed and spread throughout many of the reservations of the region. The majority of The Hampton Indian alumni rejected the Ghost Dance religion and stayed out of the politics surrounding it. These students also looked unfavorably on participating in powwows and other traditional dances and ceremonies. They would also reported back to Hampton the names of any alumni that they were aware of who were involved with any aspect of their traditional religion or dances. The negative Euro-American attitudes towards traditional religious beliefs were passed on by the Hampton-trained Native American Indian teachers to their students, their parents, and other Native community members.

Some Native American Indians who were graduates of Hampton did go on to be very influential in their communities. These Hampton graduates are:

Thomas Wildcat Alford, whose great grandfather was the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh. Upon returning to Oklahoma, Wildcat Alford taught at the Chilocco

Industrial School. He gave up teaching and served as an interpreter during the allotment of lands to the Shawnee Nation.

William Jones, Megasiawa Black Eagle, Sauk and Fox from Iowa. Jones spent three years at Hampton, where he trained to be a carpenter. Following graduation from Hampton he went on to Andover Academy and graduated from Harvard University in 1900. Jones went on to Columbia University where he earned a doctorate in anthropology in 1904. He did research with Native American Indians in the United States. He undertook an exploration to study the native peoples of the Philippine Islands. In 1909, at the age of forty, Dr. Jones was murdered by some members of the Ilongots nation in the Philippines.

Susan La Flesche-Picotte, daughter of the famous Omaha chief Joseph La Flesche and sister of Susette and Francis, both spokespersons for the Omaha Nation and Indian rights. Susan a 1886 Hampton graduate, distinguished herself by becoming the first female Native American Indian medical physician in the United States. Upon her graduation from medical school in Philadelphia, Susan returned to Nebraska to establish a hospital for her Omaha people, which was later named in her honor.

All of these graduates were viewed by Hampton as being very successful because they had completely accepted the values and lifestyles of Euro-Americans. Like many of their returned Hampton peers, they were never able to resume the traditional values of their people and maintained lifestyles different from the rest of their Indian communities.

Hampton Institute's Indian educational program became the model on which other off-reservation schools were subsequently patterned after. The first such school was Carlisle Industrial School, others included Haskell and Chilocco Industrial Schools of Kansas and Oklahoma. The Hampton model suited the Euro-Americans' policies of eliminating Native American Indian culture. The off-reservation educational program removed Native American youth from their families and communities. This contributed to the breakdown of traditional child rearing skills and the eventual rejection of Native cultures and religions.

The Hampton Indian educational program existed unchanged from 1878 until 1912, when the government withdrew its financial support. There were strong feelings against non-reservation schools for Native American Indians. It was felt that too many had been built in response to the demand upon U.S. Senators by their constituencies. There was also an opinion by Hampton's administration that the government withdrew its support because it considered the educating of both Native American Indians and African American students to be undesirable⁴².

The same Euro-American ethnocentric philosophy which created the Hampton Indian educational program was utilized to end its existence. Native American Indian students continued to attend Hampton until 1923 when the last Native American Indian student graduated from the Hampton Indian education department. The primary supporters of the Indian students who continued on after the federal funds were withdrawn, were the returned Indian students, Hampton Indian education department alumni.

The key teaching and administrative staff at Hampton Institute who contributed to the development of the Indian education department and to the Indian reform movement included:

Cora Mae Folsom: Hired as a nurse for the Indian students in 1880. She expanded her responsibilities to include teacher, editor of Indian news for Southern Workman, director of pageants and exhibitions, advisor for Talks and Thoughts, and museum curator. Also served as Indian corresponding secretary, making her Hampton's best-informed staff member on Indians.

Dr. Martha Waldron: Resident physician at Hampton from 1881-1910. Her work at Hampton assisted her in becoming a national expert on Indian students' health issues.

Elaine Goodale Eastman: Teacher at Hampton from 1883-1886. It was the beginning of her long career as an author, teacher, and advocate of Indian rights. She later married the Sioux physician, Dr. Charles Eastman. She and her family returned to her home town of Northampton, Massachusetts and also resided in the town of Amherst, Massachusetts for a period of time.

Fredric Gleason: Originally from Milton, Massachusetts, he offered his services to Hampton in 1892. He was the supervisor of the Indian male dormitory, as well as serving as a teacher, clerk, and purchasing and field agents. He also was coordinator of the summer outing system until his death in 1910.

Caroline Andrus: Folsom's assistant and later successor. She was involved in the maintenance of the school's comprehensive Indian records, which included

photographs, letters and reports from 1895-1923. She took over as supervisor for the outing system in 1910⁴³.

Two other teaching and administrative staff who were also in the Indian education department were Miss Ludlow and Miss Richards, They were involved as assistants to Armstrong and correspondents for the Indian students. Miss Richards assisted with placements for students who were in the outing system and Miss Ludlow maintained contact with returned students. Both women were also involved with supervising the Winona Lodge.

An outstanding feature of the Hampton Indian education program which was utilized by other boarding schools, especially Carlisle, was a work study program, called the outing system. It was the first work-study program in United States education and its impact was recalled by Cora Mae Folsom, "from this small beginning grew, in a few years, not only Hampton's outing system but the far larger one of Carlisle⁴⁴."

CHAPTER V

THE OUTING SYSTEM: ORIGIN, IMPLEMENTATION, AND SUPERVISION

The origin of the concept of the outing system has been a topic of scholarly controversy. Researchers have credited both Armstrong and Pratt with the conception and the development of the outing system program. Others who have also been identified as the originators of the outing program include Helen and Jessie Townsend of Monterey, Massachusetts. The daughters of the Deacon Townsend, both were employed as teachers at Hampton Institute. According to the book, New England Monterey: Stories of the Town - Its Church, the following passage appears:

...His daughters became teachers at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. When summer vacation came many of the Indian students in the school preferred working rather than spending their meager cash paying carfare back to their homes in Oklahoma. Miss Helen Townsend and Miss Jessie Townsend lent their influence in having them come to Monterey to work on the farms...¹.

This statement can be disputed based on Helen Townsend's own account of the arrival of the second group of outing system students to Monterey in 1880, when she was a small girl. Her memories of her family's involvement with the outing system were included in Cora Mae Folsom's unpublished manuscript, "Indian Days At Hampton":

...The Indians had long since left the Berkshire Hills, the Stockbridge tribe being the last to go, we had gained our opinion of the red man from history and the tales we had read. What wonder that there was great excitement over the proposal by Deacon Hyde a Hampton trustee, that a party of Indian braves, then students of Hampton Institute, were to be scattered in the farm homes of our little community...².

Based on her own statement it is obvious that neither Helen nor Jessie Townsend were the founders of the outing system. If anyone were to be given credit, based on Helen Townsend's account, it would be Alexander Hyde, who actually served as a host farmer and as the field supervisor for the outing system participants.

The reoccurring debate over as to who is the creator of the outing system is between Armstrong vs. Pratt. In his autobiography, Battlefield and Classroom, Pratt claimed to have been the one whom the idea originated with. He also states that Armstrong was not open to accepting the program, "I argued quite a little for it with General Armstrong, urging that it was the best method possible for removing prejudice between the races." Scholars such as Carmelita Ryan, credit Pratt by implying it was "Pratt's most lasting contribution to Indian education³."

Those who identify Armstrong as the founder of the outing system include Joseph Tingey who point out that as early as 1870 in a speech at the Boston Music Hall, Armstrong did address the notion of an outing work program. Tingey also mentions that Afro-American students were known to have participated on outing from Hampton, but it is not clear if this practice began prior to 1878⁴.

Helen Townsend is another who acknowledges Armstrong as the responsible person for the concept of the outing system. Her account of her own family's involvement goes on to say:

...General Armstrong, with his stupendous ability for accomplishment, considered how he could most quickly transform these boys into intelligent, self-supporting American citizens. No doubt remembrance of the beauty and health of this locality, where he spent his college days and won his bride, suggested the plan of placing these boys in certain families here...⁵.

Perhaps one of the key documents in determining Armstrong as the originator of the concept of an outing system is a letter dated January 26, 1878 from the General to Pratt. In this letter Armstrong presents the following conditions for admitting the St. Augustine students to Hampton:

...School continues from October first thru the middle of June for closing during vacations from June fifteenth to October first they, if really valuable hands will be paid ten dollars per month. If less eight dollars per month beside board. We don't want them at all in the summer unless they are pretty good men in all subjects. They can do time studying summer evenings, if not tired⁶.

This letter which was written prior to the enrollment of Indian students at Hampton, clearly makes it known that Armstrong expected the Indian students to engage in some type of work during the summer months when Hampton's official educational program was closed.

Regardless of who the founder of the outing system was, the rationale for the program was consistent. The purpose behind the outing system was to expedite the

Americanization process of the Indian students. There was a concern on the part of Indian education reformers that Native American students might revert to their reservation lifestyles. They worried that students would not be able to maintain their academic and social skills over the summer without reinforcement. The outing system was the ideal solution to this dilemma because it also freed Hampton of housing, board, and educational responsibilities for the summer. It provided a vehicle to continue the Indian students' English, vocational, social and religious skills training. This conclusion is supported in the minutes from an Indian faculty meeting:

The plan of keeping a number of Indians among the farmers of Berkshire County was discussed. They could be supported there at less expense than here and thought it would not seem best to send those who had just arrived from the West. It might be a part of their Hampton course...It is desirable that the boys generally should have a knowledge of farming⁷.

The Annual Report of Hampton Institute included this description of the outing system and its purpose:

...Places for summer in the Berkshire County, Massachusetts, have been secured for twenty-five Indian boys and girls, each one in a separate home to work out his living expenses under the care of kind and excellent people, with whom they will learn our language rapidly and get a three and a half months' drill in practical living and health will be improving by change⁸.

As mentioned in the above quote, a contributing factor to the need for the outing system was the health issues of the Indian students and their ability to cope with

the hot humid summers of Virginia. Many of the Native American Indian students who came to Hampton during the first two years of the program, were in poor health. Their traditional way of life had drastically changed from subsisting on a diet of wild game and natural foods, to existing off of government rations. The rations consisted of foods which Native people were unaccustomed to and there were no instructions provided as to the proper preparation of them. These foods were of no nutritional value, high in sugar and easily addictive. Luther Standing Bear of the Rosebud Sioux recalls the early government rations distribution:

...About this time I was beginning to be old enough to notice what was going on around me. I observed that the Government was trying to pay us back for some of the land they had taken from us. They had made an agreement with the Sioux that they would pay for the land by issuing rations and annuity goods. It makes me laugh nowadays to recall those times, because the Government did such foolish things and they always issued goods at the wrong times...

...One of the most foolish rations issued to the Indians was the flour in hundred-pound sacks. We had never seen flour, as we ate no bread we did not understand its use. Most of the women did not know what to do with it. The Government failed to send teachers along with the flour to instruct our women in making of bread...

...We kept getting more sweet stuff, and we liked the taste of it. But this sort of food was not good for us...⁹.

These changes in dietary habits along with Euro-American style homes, clothing and lifestyles physically weakened many Native American Indians and their communities. Indians were also having more contact with Euro-Americans and therefore became more susceptible to diseases for which they lack immunities to.

Many of the Indian students who came to Hampton were not in the best of health. Some were allowed to come east by their parents who viewed boarding schools as a way for their children to escape the poverty and starvation which was occurring on many reservations.

This weakened state of health combined with the fact that the early Indian students originated from the dry climate of the western plains, became an issue of concern for the Hampton administration and teaching staff. It had been recommended by the medical staff at Hampton that due their inability to cope with the humidity, it would be best to allow the Indian students to have less strenuous work and study schedules during the summer months. It was felt that this easier lifestyle would provide those students who were not physically well the opportunity to regain their health. It was also suggested that ideally the best approach was to remove the students from Virginia during the summer and relocate them to a less humid area, such as the Berkshires of Massachusetts.

...Mr. Talbot reported a general desire among the boys to go north the coming summer. Their going is to depend much on behavior, health...¹⁰.

...Dr. Waldron advised that Spotted Eyes, Arthur Crow Boy and Charlie McBribe go - they needed the change on account of ill health...¹¹.

The first summer of the outing system was in 1879, one year following the arrival of the St. Augustine students. The first outing attempts were tentative and experimental¹². The establishment of the program had not been an easy task. The

twelve students who were the first participants were open to the idea of spending the summer in New England. They were eager to improve their English skills. The reluctance was on the part of the Euro-American farmers of Massachusetts, to take in the Indian students. It is probable that the farmers' leering was due to a lack of contact with Native people, and only having stereotypical hearsay and media images to base their attitudes on.

The Berkshire County area of Massachusetts was selected for the outing site. This was the area where the General and Mrs. Armstrong's families had come from. They still had relatives, as well as, religious, academic, political, and professional associates residing there. One of the key people was Alexander Hyde of Lee, Massachusetts, who served as a member of the Hampton Board of Trustees. He was approached by Armstrong and possibly also by Pratt, with the concept of the outing system. Hyde was asked to assist Hampton by arranging sites for the students amongst the Euro-American farm families of Berkshire County. He was also requested to serve as the field agent and monitor the students in their placements. Hyde was a strong supporter of Hampton and its efforts to expose Indian males to Euro-American farming techniques. Hyde who was a farmer himself, recognized the importance of hands-on training for the Hampton students. He was very enthusiastic about the outing system.

Hyde's attitude was not shared by his fellow New England farmers and their families. His attempts to recruit host families in the Lee area had little success. The families did not appear to be interested in having the Indian students come.

Fear based on stereotypes of western Indians were perhaps one of the major hold backs.

...Action followed fast on the heels of thought in General Armstrong's alert mind; and so it came to pass that the door of our home was opened to an Indian, though not without forebodings. He would be too dirty and too uncouth to take into the bosom of the family life, he might even bring vermin unmentionable. He would not know how to do anything, and be lazy withal. Indians were deceitful and revengeful and should you chance to rouse one's temper he might burn the roof over your head. If things did not go right what could be done with Hampton and General Armstrong hundreds of miles away?¹³.

When word reached Hampton of the reluctance Hyde had encountered, Armstrong requested that Pratt take Etahdleuh a Kiowa, to Massachusetts to help promote the outing system. It was felt that meeting Etahdleuh and seeing what effect Hampton's educational program had on its Indian students would alleviate the New England farmers' fears and the stereotyped images of Indian people. The plan was a success and twelve Indian students were placed with families in the Lee area for the summer. This was the beginning of the Indian outing system.

On July 10, 1879, the Indian students were placed in the care of the farmers of Berkshire, County. Their activities were reported on by Alexander Hyde. Helen Townsend reflected on her childhood memories of her first encounter with her family's summer outing student:

...Nevertheless, the experiment was to be tried and no sooner was it decided than the cloud of anxiety was changed (in the minds of the younger member of the family at least) to a rainbow of

anticipation and curiosity, and they were allowed to sit up long after the usual bedtime to get a glimpse of the newcomers, for Father was to bring a neighbor's boy in company with ours, the long nine miles' ride from the station.

Instead of being the fierce, unmanageable characters that we had pictured, were timid, observant, silent boys who aroused our immediate pity, and from that time our home was a refuge in trouble, a place of resort for a good time, and, whenever opportunity permitted, a place where Indians found a welcome¹⁴.

The reluctance about the first outing system placement was not limited solely to the Massachusetts farmers and their families. The Hampton Indian students who participated, also had their own fears and concerns about leaving the familiar, safe environment of Hampton. The Kiowa student, Koba, summed up his own feelings in a June, 1879 letter to Hampton:

...I am write a letter for you and I think very often about you. All the boys seemed to like their new homes. One thing am very strange that I did not know anybody at Lee and did not talk with them much because I am a little afraid of them, and they afraid of me...¹⁵.

The mutual feelings of apprehension diminished as the summer went on. As the host families and the Native students became more familiar with each other many of the negative attitudes and sentiments were replaced with positive ones, which were reflected upon by the New England families, "I am told that there are those who hold these early Indians, of whom they have no further knowledge, in grateful remembrance¹⁶."

Hampton was pleased with the success of the first outing system. When the students returned in the fall the change in them was obvious. The Southern Workman, November 1879 issue, reported the following:

...with the same party White Breast and Ashley, former Indian student here. The former with twelve other students, passed the summer in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, with a farmer and appear much improved in strength, as well as English¹⁷.

Based on this statement it was apparent the outing system was successful in contributing to the Americanization process. The Indian students had developed their English and vocational skills and their health had also improved. Not all of the students returned from New England, some asked to continue their outing training through the fall and winter months. One such student was a Kiowa named Tsadletah, who remained with the Hyde family in Lee. Unfortunately he did not survive the duration of his extended outing. It was reported in The Southern Workman that Tsadletah died on October 6, 1879 from the effects of an old injury. A horse had stepped on him years prior to his enrollment at Hampton, this injury occasionally caused reoccurring hemorrhage. Tsadletah had shown improvement while he was at Hampton, but it was a matter of time before it would become fatal. Tsadletah was cared for at the home of Alexander Hyde, and following his death was buried among the Hyde family graves in Lee¹⁸.

With the success of the first outing system placement of Indian students, it evolved from being an experiment to being an official program of the Hampton

Institute's Indian Department. As the number of Native students at Hampton increased so did the need to find outing host families. Alexander Hyde continued as the field supervisor until his sudden death in 1881. He was remembered by the staff and the Indian students at Hampton with the following words:

...For the two summers that the Hampton Indian students have spent among the farmers of the Berkshires, Mr. Hyde has kindly taken upon himself the general supervision of all, a supervision not merely business like but fatherly...¹⁹.

The overall supervision of the outing system program appears to have been the responsibility of Hampton's principal General Armstrong. He was advised by the teaching staff of the Indian education department as to determining which students would participate in the program. The Indian students simply made their desires to attend outing known to one of the teaching or administrative staff. This request would then be submitted to the entire Indian department staff in their meetings for discussion. The entire staff would debate which of the Indian students were qualified to take part in the outing system, and which should remain at Hampton for the summer. A student's educational skills, both academic and vocational, were taken into consideration, along with their health needs. Though the views of the staff and the Native students were taken into consideration, the final decision rested with Armstrong. He established the following guidelines for selecting outing system participants:

...General Armstrong said that in selecting boys to go consideration must be made first to contract work - then length of time boys have been here, then their health²⁰.

Availability of host families was always a major influence on which students went to New England. This did not remain a hindrance for a long time, as soon as word about the outing system and the positive experiences of the Berkshire farmers spread, there were often more requests for students than Hampton could place. Quite often interested New England families would solicit the assistance of the Indian students in their care to request Hampton to identify other students for placement with other local farmers:

...Mrs. Painter mentioned something about asking General some time ago about having an Indian girl sent up for a friend of hers and she asked Mrs. Brewer to see about it while at Hampton. She seemed to be very anxious to have one...²¹.

Many of the Hampton Indian Department's teaching staff were originally from Western Massachusetts, or they spent time vacationing in the Berkshires during the summer. While in the area the teachers would take time to visit the Indian students and their host families. The teachers would also identify names of farmers interested in hosting an outing system student:

Miss Richards to write to Monterey and Great Barrington asking how many places there are open for Indians and find out the general sentiment of people as to Indians coming²².

Hampton maintained strict policies pertaining to the responsibilities of the Indian students and their outing system host families. The staff made sure those students who were allowed to participate in outing were considered to exhibit the appropriate behavior according to Hampton's criterion. There were guidelines for the Berkshire County farmers which were designed to assist them in the supervision of their outing students:

...Those who go are not to leave their places at the North. Each farmer is to take care of the boy with him, if the boy leaves notify the sheriff have him (boy) locked up if necessary, any such expense to come out of boy's pay each farmer to pay what he can afford and he thinks fair. When a boy goes North out of his turn he is to pay his own expenses²³.

The outing system was not limited to male Indian students, the female students obtained outing privileges through a side door as it were. The school needed to make space available for five young Omaha women, but felt obligated to the twenty young women from the Dakotas who had previously enrolled at Hampton. The solution to the dilemma was the outing system:

...If some of the girls now here, say those from Standing Rock should go to Massachusetts for a year, then probably the five Omahas could be received. The General suggested the plan of putting some of the girls into families about the place, under the same terms as with the Berkshire farmers²⁴.

Responsibility for placement of the female Indian students into outing system homes was assumed by the women who were part of the teaching staff at

Hampton. There appeared to have been less apprehension on the part of both the Hampton staff and the New England families, in regards to taking in the young Indian women for summer outing. The same guidelines for the supervision of the male Indian students applied to the female ones:

...Girls in small families where chores not heavy and wife can teach them skills. Paid seventy-five cents to two dollars per week...Work varies, household waiters, and nursery maids. Afternoons off to read or sew...²⁵.

By the late 1880's the background of the Indian students entering the Hampton Indian Department had changed. The majority of students enrolling at Hampton had previously attended agency schools. A lack of knowledge of English and basic academic skills, no longer were issues for Hampton. This change in students' backgrounds also resulted in a revision as to the purpose of the outing system. No longer was the development of Indian students' English language skills and their academic abilities the primary focus for the outing program. The emphasis shifted more to the vocational training, along with the desire to expose Indian students to Euro-American religious, cultural and social values.

The outing system continued also to be utilized as an outlet for soliciting financial support for the Indian Education Department. During his administration as principal, General Armstrong visited the outing system students while in their summer placements. Often he would take advantage of the opportunity to have the students who were considered to be more Americanized accompany him on his

eastern fundraising speaking tour. This tour included the cities of Boston, Massachusetts; Norwich, Connecticut; and New York City, New York. It usually took place at the end of the summer when the Indian students had completed their outing program and were traveling back to Hampton:

...Met Armstrong at Adam's house Sunday, went to Trinity Church. Boston is a good city, very handsome.

...Went to Norwich, Connecticut. Went to American Missionary Association meeting. Armstrong spoke, as he had in Boston, about Indians and coloreds, and Indian students sang a hymn. Went back to New York City to meet with Episcopal ministers before returning to Hampton²⁶.

The outing system not only alleviated Hampton's concerns about summer room and board expenses for its Indian students, but it also provided the institute with a means of soliciting additional funds, which Armstrong took full advantage of.

The summer of 1888 marked the first time the outing system included sites in the Boston area. By 1894, Hampton was placing Indian students not only throughout Western Massachusetts and the Boston area, but also in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Students were also remaining in New England throughout the regular academic year. Some stayed to continue their vocational training, others to attend public and private schools to enhance their academic backgrounds, and some to earn additional funds so as to continue their Hampton education.

In 1892 the Hampton staff responsible for supervising the male Indian students was the purchasing agent, Frank Gleason, and Caroline Andrus was the supervisor

for the female students. During this period, placement of participants in the outing system included more input than before from the students themselves. They were consulted as to where and with which family they preferred to spend the summer. Indian students were also asked to recommend which of their peers would be appropriate matches to the numerous requests for outing students that Hampton received from interested host families:

...Gilbert has decided that he cannot do the out of door work required on a farm, and that this summer he will try another place where he will be entirely in the house...²⁷.

...I always feel any details from me are rather unnecessary for the boys talk things over amongst themselves and know usually all about the places²⁸.

...I knew Gilbert Lowe knew you and your work and thought his judgment would be good, and he thinks Eli Bird can do the work all right...

...we know of his work in school and shop and from the other boys of his tribe say but they are boys whom we can trust...²⁹.

Gleason who supervised the male Indian students until his death in July, 1910, made it a practice of finding work for the students during the summer months. This was accomplished through yearly correspondence with the New England host farm families from the previous years. Gleason became well acquainted with each individual family and stressed the importance of the role they played in the Indian Americanization process. He also visited the Indian students while they were in outing from time to time. The purpose of these visits was to keep the Indian

students thoroughly interested in their work and in maintaining the ideals of Hampton³⁰.

Caroline Andrus took over as supervisor for the Indian outing system program following Gleason's death, and she continued working with the program until her retirement in 1922. Andrus maintained the same level of personal involvement as Gleason had. However, because she was unfamiliar with the placement of the male Indian students in the outing system, Andrus relied more on the input from the New England host families and from the Indian students to guide her decisions. She was a strong advocate of the students. In addition to negotiating salaries for the Indian outing students, Andrus also arranged the students' travel itinerary and their housing and work arrangements.

The outing system was an educational process which sometimes produced positive effects and sometimes negative ones. The experiences of both the Hampton Indian students and those of their Berkshire host families were not forgotten:

...The impression made upon the youthful mind by this contact with practical life is often more lasting than the lessons of the classroom. Years after he left school, one of Hampton's earlier Indian students was asked how long he had been at school. 'Two years at Hampton and one summer in Massachusetts,' he said³¹.

This response demonstrates that one summer in Massachusetts for outing was too great of an influence to be omitted from the Hampton Indian students' educational experiences.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE HAMPTON INDIAN STUDENTS WHILE PARTICIPATING IN THE SUMMER OUTING SYSTEM

An examination of the Hampton outing system would not be complete unless it included an in-depth discussion of the experiences of the Native American Indian student participants. The experiences of these students varied throughout the outing system program's existence. Changes which occurred within the composition of the Hampton Indian student body and the Indian education department, as well as the socio-political and cultural transitions within Native American Indian nations, all effected the development of the outing system.

As the needs of the Hampton Indian students changed from 1879 to 1912, so did the purpose of the outing system. During its early years, 1879 through 1882, the focus of the outing system was to promote the development of English language skills. The middle years, 1883 to 1899, the program's emphasis was on training in the areas of vocational and Euro-American social skills. This was due to the fact that a number of the Indian students entered Hampton with previous academic experiences and a solid understanding of the English language. The latter years, 1900 to 1912, finds the outing system expanding to include one year long placements, with Indian students remaining in Massachusetts to attend public and private high schools to improve their academic studies. Some students remained

for the entire academic years so as to work in order to acquire additional funds which were necessary to finance their Hampton education.

The Hampton Indian students throughout these forty-three years continued to have both positive and negative experiences while in the outing program. Both of these types of experiences warrant discussion in order to provide an inclusive examination of the effects of the outing system. Also, the relationships which developed between the Indian student participants and their Euro-American New England host families and employers, requires a discussion. Some students experiences being treated as a family member, while others were not viewed as being equals, but instead were treated as hired farmhands, household domestics, boarders and servants.

The contact with New England which the outing system lead to some of the Hampton Indian students to return to Massachusetts upon their departure from Virginia. This contributed in some incidents to former Hampton Indian students embarking on careers which had tremendous impact on Native American people. In other cases the outing system contributed further to the Indian students' conflicts and struggles with the Americanization process.

The first recorded experiences of outing system participants were those of the Fort Marion hostages. During the months of June and July of 1879, Hampton placed twelve students on farms in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. The Indian students were scattered amongst the Euro-American farm families the purpose

being so they would "be obliged to learn the English language and thus one barrier to helpful understanding would be broken down¹."

Development of their knowledge of the English language was not the sole purpose of the outing system. Indian students were sent to the Berkshires to improve both their health and their vocational skills. This first group of students utilized the outing system to supplement the agricultural training they had begun to learn at Hampton. They performed such chores as planting, milking, harvesting of crops, and the maintenance of farm equipment and buildings. Hampton's goal for this practical summer work experience was to "quickly transfer these boys into intelligent, self-supporting American citizens²."

The outing system students traveled by steamer boat from Virginia to New York and then on by train to Massachusetts. The first group of participants maintained a close contact with Hampton through written correspondence. Their letters were published in the August 1879 edition of The Southern Workman. The Indian students shared with the Hampton staff their reactions to being in the Berkshires and to participating in outing:

...I like here very much and the people have been kind to me...
I am happy to see great many good things and good people here I
am enjoyed very much here to learn good many things here..³.

...I like here very well and work out the doors in good air and
getting stronger. I am happy here to see great many beautiful
mountains around here and rivers...⁴.

Not all of the first group of outing system participants were able to enjoy their summer in the Berkshires. One unidentified student wrote to Hampton and requested to leave his placement. The student had received a letter from his brother in Indian Territory which contained some disturbing news. He asked if he could return to Hampton and accompany Captain Pratt when he went to the west to do recruitment, so that the student could have the opportunity to visit his family.

The early outing students were monitored by Alexander Hyde who frequently visited the students in their placement. General Armstrong also traveled to Massachusetts to check on the progress of the first group of outing system participants. Contact with the Hampton Institute's administrator was a welcomed event for the Indian students, "We saw General Armstrong yesterday he went all over to see boys and we very glad to see him⁵."

The first group of outing system participants appear primarily to have had positive relationships with their host families. This was very important for had they been unable to have gotten along with the Massachusetts farmers and host families, Hampton might not have continued the summer outing system program. The Indian students' letters to Hampton shared their feelings towards the Euro-American host families:

...One man work with me he is very kind man he never speak cross words to me, I like him very much to work with him⁶.

There were negative incidents which occurred and were reported by the students either directly to Hampton or to other members of the host families. Helen Townsend recalled an incident with one of the earlier outing system participants, he informed Townsend's parents that he was, "'fraid -- man talk big --' fraid kill?" The student's employer had lost his patience and scolded him because the employer had interpreted the Indian student's unfamiliarity with the English language for perverseness or stupidity⁷.

Contributing also to the first group of Indian student's positive reactions was the factor that the outing system continued to provide them with as one student phrased it, "Good food and place to sleep⁸." For this particular group of outing system participants this was an important aspect. The Fort Marion hostages had been subjected to inhuman living conditions while in St. Augustine. They were placed in chains, slept on the bare floor in cells and were fed poor quality food. Hampton had provided them with appropriate sleeping quarters and regular meals. The outing system continued to provide these Indian students with similar types of lodging and board. This contributed to the earlier outing participants' respect and trust of their Massachusetts host families.

The students expressed pleasure in the vocational skills which they were developing. They felt for the most part that they were acquiring useful knowledge. The students did acknowledge at times the work was strenuous and as in one incident wrote to Hampton to inform the school that even though the student liked their host family and the placement, "Sometimes I get very tired of work⁹."

Socializing amongst the students was a very important aspect of the outing system program. Hampton, unlike Carlisle, who did not allow any contact between its Indian students while in outing, encouraged it. The first outing participants frequently saw one another. Helen Townsend remembered informal meetings between the students:

Often a whistle or a peculiar bird call would be heard and until answered, not a human being would be visible. When the reply from our boy came, a figure would glide quietly from behind one of the large maples and in a roundabout way a meeting would be effected¹⁰.

Attendance of church and other religious services was also utilized by the Indian students as a means of visiting with each other, "All the boys came together on Sunday at Mr. Hyde's house and have reading; we went to church today¹¹." While the Hampton administration and the host families utilized these Sunday meetings to promote Christianity amongst the outing participants, the Indian students utilized them as a means of visiting with one another.

The Euro-American community members of the towns that the outing students resided in also welcomed the opportunity to mingle with the Native American Indian students. Hampton was informed that when the Lee Farmer's Club held a meeting at Beebe's Plantation on Bear Mountain, The Club invited the Indian students to attend. The outing system participants also accompanied their host families to events such as annual county fairs. Helen Townsend shared a childhood memory of a Hampton Indian student's first visit to the fair:

...A family load of us were returning from the county fair, and someone questioned a large, tall fellow who had accompanied us as to what was the very best thing he had seen. There was no hesitation whatever; with right arm extended, he swung it majestically round and round as he enthusiastically announced: 'Horses - go round.' Naturally, we saw the race course represented and the fine, blooded racing horses. Imagine how quickly the illusion vanished when his friend, with better command of English, made plain to us that he was describing the merry-go-round on which he had spent most of his finances, his long legs and dignified satisfaction adding much to the merriment of the bystanders¹².

The cultural exchange between this first group of outing system participants, their host families and the Euro-American community, continued through until the time for the students' departure for Hampton in the fall. The party of Indian students gathered at the Townsend home on a Sunday, where speeches were given. The students also were concerned about the return trip, for in coming to Massachusetts all of them suffered from seasickness and they thought they could not bear to repeat such an ordeal. They then planned to each request a day off from their employer so that they could go in a body, traveling the ten to twelve miles to discuss their travel arrangements with Hyde. They beseeched that they should not return by boat for, "boat make seek¹³."

Upon their arrival back at Hampton it was confirmed by the administration that the summer outing system to Berkshire County, Massachusetts had been a beneficial experience for the first group of participants. The students appeared much healthier, and more knowledgeable in the vocational and English language skills. The positive experiences of this first outing system endeavor also affected

the New England farm families. After this initial encounter with the Hampton Indian students, there followed a term of years in which some Massachusetts families would host two or three outing system participants.

The next two decades, 1880 to 1899, brought about many changes for the Hampton Indian educational program. As the academic, social and cultural profiles of the entering students became more acculturated the purpose of the outing system shifted to accommodate the needs of its participants. There was a steady increase in the numbers of Native students who entered the Indian department with prior schooling and a stronger command of English. Indian students' contact with non-Indians, also increased due to federal involvement on the reservation, employment opportunities, and an increase in the Euro-American population residing in the West. These influences contributed to the acculturation experiences of the entering Hampton Indian students. This meant that by the 1890's the outing system goals for the Indian participants shifted from being a means of increasing the students English and vocational skills, to serving as an alternative academic and professional training program, and as a means for the Indian students to earn supplementary funds to continue on at Hampton in the fall. The outing system was also utilized as a disciplinary program for those students who violated school rules and were in need of some time off without being dismissed.

The first ten years of this era of the outing system utilized the administration and faculty of Hampton to determine which students would participate in outing

and which host family they would be assigned to. Students would verbally or in writing communicate their desire to spend the summer in Massachusetts. In some incidents the student and the host family would mutually request each other, this was usually based on the experiences from previous outings. An example of a student's request is a joint letter written by two male students, Frank Wankicum and Barney Red Stone, who in 1888, made the following request:

We want write to you a few words and ask you if we can go to Massachusetts...We Know already how to milk cows and haul hay or any that kind work.

We been here one year therefore we want go to Mass. and try our best see what we can do.

Please I wish you think over this letter with the teachers and officers and let us know what you think about it...P.S. We mean next month¹⁴.

The male Indian students continued to work primarily as farmhands during the 1880's. Their chores varied depending on their employer's needs. The most common chores were milking, picking apples and potatoes, tending to corn and tobacco crops, learning to operate farm equipment, such as plows and mowers, assisting with the upkeep of the buildings and fences by utilizing painting and carpentry skills. Male Indian students would share their learning experiences with their classmates and teachers at Hampton through letters. Some were published in the student journal, Talks and Thoughts:

...I am living with an old gentleman about three miles from Monterey, there are a number of our boys in this neighborhood. I see a few indications of stone cropping out of the hillsides. The first thing I did here was to help make garden, then I helped the man plough he drove the oxen while I held the plow or tried to. The field is nothing but a stone quarry. I soon learned to keep arms length from the plough handles in order to preserve my ribs and stomach...The next thing will be to plant corn; the man will use a gun or pistol to shoot the corn into the ground¹⁵.

...Though most of the Indian boys that spent three months in Mass. worked on extensive farms, I was confined to a small garden which my 'boss' as we call the Yankee for whom we work, said I could be the sole manager, of course, on condition that I worked it. Well feeling the great responsibility of being the sole manager of a garden, and having very little knowledge of gardening, I began to think what to put into my garden. My research was soon rewarded. I found Yankees are great bean-eaters, so I filled our corner of my garden with big white beans and then in another corner I put in early and late peas, and another cabbage and tomatoes, and whenever there was a space between the rocks in the center of my garden I put in potatoes... the gentle rain and bright warm rays of the sun only brought out weeds in great abundance. Though I was greatly disappointed I was not discouraged. I began to root out the weeds, and in a few days the young plants began to peep out...

...my corn, and peas and potatoes were doing very well...At the end of the week I came back, and as I looked at the beans and tomatoes it was a great satisfaction and pleasure when I thought of how much work I had spent on them. But when I came to my potatoes I was greatly discouraged. The potatoes bugs were just devouring the vines, and soon were actually eaten up and nothing but a slim little stem remained standing...

...In conclusion I wish to say a greater sympathy for farmers, and especially my people who are just beginning the lives of farmers and contend with weeds, grasshoppers, and potatoes bugs¹⁶.

Perhaps the most interesting transition of the outing system during the 1880's was the inclusion of female Indian students as participants. The female students

assisted with the housekeeping responsibilities. They would wash, iron and mend clothing, prepare daily meals, bake bread and cakes, wash dishes, look after rooms by sweeping and scrubbing floors, make up beds and attend to any small children in the home. The amount of chores for the female Indian students varied depending on the needs and attitudes of the host families. In 1883 an outing system student named Hattie Miles worked in Sheffield caring for a family that number sixteen members. Some participants had only a few daily chores and were given time off during the day to relax. Others were not even allowed daily breaks and some never received a day off, not even Sundays or holidays. For the most part during the 1880's, female Indian students' records show that the majority had positive experiences while participating in the outing system.

The female Indian outing system students appeared to have been quicker at adapting the Euro-American customs and values of their host families. This was noticed by the Hampton staff and was the topic of an article appearing in The Southern Workman in 1881:

...Learning to speak the English language more correctly was not the only thing accomplished by these Indian girls. They have fallen out with their old ways of doing things. The hair must now be arranged becomingly, the colors that adorn their persons must correspond and there is a certain dignity exhibited in their carriage which rather encourages one. There is nothing that tends more to excite the ambition and draws out the best qualities of a race than the example of those who stand high in that race. 'The Mass. girls' ideas are the leading ideas among the girls. There is not one of them who would not gladly be a 'Mass. girl'¹⁷.

The outing system did not only utilize vocational training to promote assimilation amongst the Indian participants. Socializing on Sundays and holidays was also a means of achieving Americanization. The Indian students would gather together on Sundays following church to visit one another. The male students would often play baseball, while the female students would pick berries and flowers. They would also as a group, participate in bible readings and the singing of hymns. A letter from an outing student named Samuel DeFond described his Fourth of July in 1887 while in Monterey:

On Sunday Mr. Townsend asked me invite all the Indians that I could see to come to his house on the morrow, so I did. The next morning I got up and went down to the barn to milk and after I got through with my part I was coming up I looked up and saw a good size flag on the top of the house and that reminds me of our Emancipation Day. I went upstairs and commence to play 'My Country Tis of Thee' with my old cornet, and one of the lady told me that some of my friends had come so I stopped and took my Dakota Hymnal and went downstairs...I seated myself by the organ and played some Dakota airs and they all join in singing. In the afternoon I took down some items of food to the woods under a nice shade and then I came after them in the buggy and we all went down and played some games such as 'dropping handkerchief' and 'I Spy' then had our dinner...After that we played another game called 'Fox and Geese,' then I made a short address in thanking Mr. Townsend for giving us a nice picnic, then I turned around and asked my friends to say 'I!' for showing them their thanks, and they all shouted 'I!'¹⁸.

Socializing of this kind was not exclusive only to the Indian students it also included members of the Euro-American host families, their friends and neighbors:

Our home was a general meeting place on Sunday afternoons, and boys from neighboring towns were usually present. As most of them were Sioux boys from Dakota they would sing hymns translated into their own language. This developed into a Sioux prayer meeting to which the Indian girls and our family were invited. We learned enough of the Sioux language to sing and read from the Sioux Bible; but, with Indian courtesy, it was always the rule that there should be one speech or prayer in English for our benefits¹⁹.

During the early years of the 1880's the outing system students primarily showed positive reactions to their summers in Massachusetts and towards the host families. It is in 1883 that evidence of any negative reactions on the part of the Indian students towards their placement is given. In August 1883 while visiting the outing system students and their host families that Armstrong attends a picnic at which time he is said to have heard grievances if any of the Indian students had one. Mr. Bidwell, who was Hampton's field agent in Massachusetts following Hyde's death, described the 1883 outing system Indian student participants as follows:

...Brightest set we have ever had more, intelligent, quicker in movement and understanding and compared favorably with white boys, when taken into account limited experiences...

Because of their intelligence less easily controlled and more independent in their feelings and actions but giving general satisfaction to employers.

Girls pleasant more social in natures, kind to and fond of children. Like good clothes and respectable appearance. Careful of reputations and honors²⁰

In 1885, it appears that the Hampton Indian education department became more selective as to which students were sent on summer outing. "This summer none have been sent except for good character, we hope they will do much towards wiping out the unpleasant name made there by some very unreliable ones during the past few summers²¹." The main concerns of the Hampton administration was not for how a negative outing experience would effect the Indian students but how it would effect the New England host families. The administration's attitude towards the Euro-American farm families was one of admiration. This attitude was instilled in the Indian students who participated in the outing program. The following two statements are reflections of these attitudes. The first was made by Elaine Goodale, a teacher in the Indian department, the second is by Mercy Conger, Indian student in outing placement in Westfield in 1886:

...Their expressions of gratitude, and even love towards the good people who have opened their homes and hearts to take in and teach these ignorant and often patience-trying young people is universal²².

...I think is very good and kind in the white people to be willing to take us Indians to live with them and feel very thankful to them...As I have lived with the white people and seen their work and their actions in so many good ways I think I can be a better girl, and a better housekeeper. When you come to South Dakota you will find my house in a good order²³.

The relationships and opinions towards each other varied amongst the students and the host families. Official evaluations of the students participating in outing consisted of letters and verbal statements to the Hampton administration from the

Indian students and their employers. Some of the New England families became very attached to their summer visitors and gave the Indian students outstanding evaluations:

...She was pleasant, ladylike girl who was capable and willing to do work whenever there was work to be done and enjoyed a good time afterwards.

...I never had a better boy, and if he comes to Mass. again, I shall want him.

...She was as sweet as a child as one could often see. I saw nothing in her which made me unwilling to have her come in daily contact with my three children. She was fond of my baby and he of her.

...My boys came May 27th and took right hold of business on the farm, plowed my corn ground on which we raised about 100 bushels ears of seed corn, and six wagon loads of pumpkins, planted over an acre of potatoes, cut about 35 tons of hay harvested 63 shocks of oats...I have no other help...They were always cheerful and ready to assist in whatever work I was engaged in, pleasant to have around...They won my regards and affection...²⁴.

Not all of the outing students and employers had positive experiences and working relationships. In one incident during the 1888 outing program, an individual Indian student was able to influence his male classmates and caused a disruption in the program:

...Nine students supervised, satisfactory performance except for one...Had it not been for the disturbing influence of one boy who did badly himself, and did much to incite the others to a spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction...²⁵.

Employers also gave negative evaluations based on the Indian student's abilities to perform assigned chores and personal habits:

...Have had a boy two summers. No fault to find with the first one-he was a good boy - seemed to want to please and a fair worker. The other boy a poor worker did not earn his board - an awful eater - seemed to want to do as little as possible...²⁶.

...We have had four girls, very good-two extra good, altogether very satisfactory experience, except with the last one. She was always asleep. She was a poor worker, not honest, shouldn't want her back, but would try another...²⁷.

The host families were not the only people to provide Hampton with the reactions to the outing system and the Indian student participants. The western Massachusetts farming community members also provided input. Just as with the host families their reaction varied, some negative, and some positive. Both views were reported to Hampton through the field agents:

...The general effect and bearing of the students upon the streets this summer has been excellent...²⁸.

...A gentleman in a small Mass. town where we have quiet a number of Indian boys at work for the summer, says they are doing so well that someone has been moved to express an objection to the importation of 'cheap heathen labor' into the place.²⁹.

...I have thus far succeeded in finding one family who want an Indian girl. I saw the family yesterday and the lady said then she was afraid to try an Indian girl for she had been told by a certain lady in Sheffield who has had an Indian girl that they were lazy and could not be trusted.³⁰.

The attitudes of both the New England host families, and the communities did not go unnoticed by the Indian participants. Prior to the 1890's there are very few recorded negative statements by the Indian students about their employers and their placement sites. However according to Helen Townsend, the outing participants, "...were never assuming. If we had guests who did not like Indians they were quick to feel it and keep well in the background, but on other occasions when our visitors expressed interest in Indians and desire to see them, they were equally accommodating and answered questions in a modest gentle manner³¹."

The one issues which the Indian students in the outing system during the 1880's did express was that of being homesick, for both Hampton and the Native communities:

...I will tell you this, that I don't like it because it is too far in the timber, I can't see people around here...It is very lonesome, there are four or five houses around. I must tell you that I want to move I can't stand it here...³².

...I am here against my will, home is the place I wanted to go, and go I must before many months...³³.

The procedure for placing and supervising the Hampton Indian students participating in the outing system remained the same throughout the 1890's. Changes occurred in the area of students' purpose for utilizing the program. During the 1890's Hampton was enrolling more Native American students who had prior educational training as well as a command of the English language. Gradually the number of Indian students needing to participate in outing system for the

purpose of developing their English language skills dwindled. Occupational training and exposure to Euro-American values became the major objectives of the outing system program. Also, the program was a means of assisting Indian students to earn the extra money needed to supplement the federal stipend for attendance of Hampton. These revisions in the outing system were included in the Indian department's annual report of 1898

...The summer, however, gives them an opportunity to lay by something for a rainy day. In the beginning of the outing system, when most boys knew but little of the English or farming, wages were not much considered. If a boy received a dollar a week he did well financially. Now many of our boys are of such real value to the farmers who employ them that they can earn from \$8.00 to \$18.00 per month...³⁴.

For the female Indian students the focus was more on the vocational skills development:

...The actual everyday housework in Winnona Lodge under careful supervision, the making, mending, and laundering of their clothes and bedding and the summer experience in the Northern kitchens and households teach them the work of real life...³⁵.

As stated in the first quote from the 1898 annual report the New England families had come to rely on the Hampton Indian students to assist them on their farms during the summer months. Many of the summer employers expressed their approval of employing the Indian students:

...Farmers like the Indians because he is so much steadier than the average farm hand and also because he is more intelligent than any of the foreign laborers, excepting perhaps the Scandinavians³⁶.

They seem just like our folks Indians maybe depended upon to do his work faithfully, not always swiftly but when it is done it is complete. Gentle with animals and especially good hand in caring for horses. Not always at first successful as a milker³⁷.

Girls work in small families where chores not heavy and wife can teach them skills. Paid seventy-five cents to two dollars per week. More applications for girls than can place. Work varies, household waiters and nursery maids. Afternoons off to read and sew. Some near Pittsfield. Very highly spoken of by employers³⁸.

The 1890's also saw an interest being taken in the Indian students development of their artistic talents while participating in outing. Evidence of this began appearing in 1889, when Talks and Thoughts mentioned that a student named Jonas Skenandore "is gaining strength and happiness in Monterey and spends his evening over a very good E cornet, lent him by his employer³⁹." Other students were encouraged to use their musical singing and playing talents to become more involved with the New England communities:

Willie Harrison is playing with the band of Great Barrington⁴⁰.

It is said that our renowned bass singer of the Seneca tribe, creates a good deal of notice when he lets his voice out on Sunday at the village church. We have heard some very favorable comments on the quality of his voice⁴¹.

A number of our girls had the pleasure of singing for friends one evening, after which one of the ladies presented them with some silver for bon-bons. The girls, however, put their heads together and agreed to lay it aside for the missionary box...⁴².

A shift develops in the length of time which some of the Indian students are allowed to remain in an outing placement. It is during the 1890's when there is an increase in the number of outing participants who remain in New England throughout the academic year, October through May. The rationale for these extended placements varied. Some Indian students continued on in the North to attend public and private schools so as to improve their academic skills. One student, Emily Brooks is mentioned in Talks and Thoughts in December of 1896. She attended high school in Pittsfield, and rode over everyday from Richmond, Massachusetts. She was reported to have been happy with her Euro-American schoolmates and it was felt that the experience would make her a much better senior, especially from being among English speaking people⁴³. Another student, Jessie Lambert in 1897 continued his education in New England, "instead of coming back to the senior class here has entered Mt. Hermon school in Massachusetts. We hear he passed a good entrance examination⁴⁴."

The Hampton Indian students had been remaining in the outing system past the summer months to develop their vocational skills since the beginning of the program. This practice continued and increased during the 1890's. Both male and female students were allowed to remain in the North during the academic year to develop occupational knowledge and skills. A student from Oklahoma Territory named Charlie Forman, remained in Massachusetts for five years working on a farm.

Lizzie Young, a Wyandotte from Indian Territory and Kate Patterson, a Tuscarora from New York, were two female students who continued on in their outing placements so as to learn more about Euro-American domestic and social skills. Young lived with the Bryant family of Northampton, Massachusetts from 1891 through 1892. She wrote to her classmates and teachers at Hampton, sharing her experiences and impressions of Northampton:

...I like my home very much, only once in awhile I get lonesome when it rains, for I do not know what to do with myself. Yesterday Mr. B. invited us down to see him play a scientific game of croquet. That was the first time I ever did see a game of that kind. It was quiet interesting, Mr. B. beat and I was so glad.

They are kind to me. There are just three of us in the family, but just now Mrs. B.'s mother is here visiting her, so there are four of us. I do not do anything but the cooking. Another woman lives across the street does the washing.

This morning we went to church and this afternoon we went to hear a sermon preached to the Smith College girls. Oh, there are lots of them.

There are four big schools around here, Smith College, Amherst school, the kindergarten and Deaf and Dumb school. Poor things! I saw the deaf and dumb children going to school this morning.

We are going to visit all of the schools this summer⁴⁵.

Lizzie would write at a later date to Hampton informing them that she was involved in developing secretarial skills:

As you see Miss Richards, I am learning how to use the typewriter. Please excuse mistakes this time, for I am not an expert yet, but I hope I may be some day.

Mr. Bryant is giving me lessons. I am glad I have such a good chance and I am going to make the best of it. I always wanted to learn this, as I told you before I left Hampton. I am also going to try to learn shorthand this winter for I have plenty of time to learn it⁴⁶.

There were reports of other Hampton Indian female students residing in Massachusetts for the same year as Lizzie Young. Two students, Maggie Crow and Mary Goodfur, were placed in Southampton where it was hoped the one year in New England homes would have given them an experience in the right sort of housekeeping skills and compelled them to speak English⁴⁷.

Kate Patterson spent the winter of 1895 living in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Her year long placement was described in Talks and Thoughts as follows:

Kate Patterson of A Middle Class is not to return this year. She is expected to spend the winter in Pittsfield, Mass.

Kate was a bright and intelligent little girl and was able to keep up in her studies with the pupils of her class. No doubt but that she would have kept up with those in the Middle Class we hope the may return next year much benefited by her year's outing⁴⁸.

During the winter of 1898 a total of nine students took part in the outing system program through the academic year. The use of an extended outing placement continued to be utilized in order to increase the Americanization process of the Hampton Indian students. It was also fused as a means of disciplinary actions. Instead of expelling a student for violation of school rules and regulations, Hampton in some incidents would send the student for a year long outing placement. It was hoped that the work and exposure to Euro-American

values would result in a "positive change of attitudes" on the student's part. This also allowed Hampton to hold a slot open for the student in the Indian department as well as assured the continuation of federal payment for the student's attendance.

The Indian students who participated in the outing system throughout the 1890's showed signs of being more open about discussing their opinions about their experiences, both positive and negative. This would become more prevalent from 1900 to 1912 when the students began to have more input concerning their placements. Examples of student's reactions from the 1890's were serious as well as humorous:

I spent my summer in Westfield, Mass..I use to wash, iron, make beds and sweep the parlor and sitting room once a week, and keep the house when they all go away. When I came away they gave me \$10.50. I never had a regular holiday but once that was when we went to Sunday School picnic. I never went to visit any city or interesting place, but the Whip Manufacturing at Westfield. Went to church every Sunday and to Sunday school. In the evening I study or either sew. I used to read Springfield newspaper⁴⁹.

...This morning we went to church in Lenox. What do you think? I went to sleep in church last Sunday, when I woke up the minister was looking straight at me, I felt so cheap⁵⁰.

When you were up North last summer what was the most tiresome kind work you had to do? 'Picking pickles' was the reply and his face grew sad as he remembered the terrible backaches he used to have after picking them⁵¹.

...I left Great Barrington yesterday. It is a little cold to work on the farm on such a farm as that on where I did work.

I can not stand the weather and on the farm the same common everyday labor all year around and I think I learned enough for my own use in line of farming⁵².

John Badger has been seen riding the streets of Amherst on a old-fashioned ordinary. We heard he bought it for \$4.00. Not long since he took a header when coasting down hill and broke one side of his handle bar⁵³.

The 1900's saw the expansion of the outing system. The usage of the program was not limited to solely to Hampton, in 1909 an article appeared in The Southern Workman stated, "This system has long been vogue at Hampton and Carlisle and has been adopted in some measures by some other Indian schools⁵⁴." The outing system was now viewed by Hampton as an important training tool because the exposure it provided Indian students to Euro-American values and lifestyles. The Hampton Indian education department believed that, "The impression made upon the youthful mind by this contact with practical life is often more lasting than the lessons on the classroom⁵⁵." It is during this phase of the outing system that a more formal evaluation method was implemented. This evaluation was not limited only to the Euro-American farmers, and the Hampton staff, but was inclusive of the opinions of the Indian participants.

During the early 1900's Mr. Fredrick Gleason was the Hampton staff responsible for the supervision of the outing system. He located host families, assign students to the appropriate placement, and monitored their progress. Gleason carried out this duties until his death in 1910. Following his death supervision of the outing system program was assumed by Caroline Andrus. Both Gleason and Andrus utilized input from the Indian students in regards to their outing placement. The Native students attending Hampton during this time period

were far more outspoken. Many had prior exposure to Euro-American educational systems and lifestyles. Students were not apprehensive to state where they preferred to spend their outing, what types of work they were willing to do, and how much they expected to have earned. Often Gleason and Andrus served as the negotiator between the Indian students and the employer:

I am writing to know if you will want any of our boys this coming summer...You might in any case prefer new boys, and I think we would be able to send you good ones, for we have an unusual number of satisfactory pupils this year. In case you want a boy or two boys I would be very glad to have you tell me any special requirements when you write⁵⁶.

...Do you want a boy to milk, and will he have a good deal of the handling of horses? And also what do want to pay this season⁵⁷?

...I write now to tell you that I am not at all sure that we will have a boy less than fifteen dollars a month. I will keep your request in mind and will be glad to send you a boy if possible, but I think last year we sent no one out for less than fifteen, and it is not likely that we will have any at the price you mention...⁵⁸.

...Gilbert has decided that he cannot do the out-of-door work required on a farm, and that this summer he will try another place where he will be entirely in the house...⁵⁹.

...He (Littlebear) plans to go to you, but thinks he ought to have more wages this summer, and wants me to say that he thinks he ought to have sixteen dollars the first two months and eighteen dollars the last two...⁶⁰.

During the 1900's Hampton implemented the use of a standardized evaluation form. Prior to this time, employers and students utilized letters to Hampton to share their comments and opinions of how they perceived their outing system

experiences. The new evaluation form was completed by both the host family and the student participants, and it became part of the Indian student's Hampton file. The evaluation form contained questions concerning the type of work performed, monthly wages, and health status of the student. The employer was asked to discuss the Indian student's conduct, ability to perform the required work and personal appearance. The student was asked to evaluate his/her employer on twenty-three different points, the additional questions for the students pertained to, what did they do with their monthly wages, were presents or clothes given to them, were holidays and time off allowed, did they attend church, what was the quality of the bedroom provided by the host family, were meals taken with the family, number of people in the home, was the family Christian, what was the student's attitude towards their employer, number of hired men and women working at the farm/home, what did the student learn that was of value, what were the best and worst things about the placement, would the student want to return there again and what were other complaints the student had?

The most common complaints of both the male and female Indian students about their outing placements were pertaining to issues of getting along with their employer, types of work they had to perform, and their salary. The students appeared to have been straight forward in their discussions of the issues:

Everything all right as a farm. Mr. Richardson very particular. Wants everything done just so⁶¹.

Work too hard-so much wrong can't tell all the things⁶².

Hours too long. 18 rooms in house have to clean every week whether occupied or not-cleaned thoroughly⁶³.

Pulling suckers (worms) off tobacco makes me sick on a hot day. Too hard work for \$13.00. Man got \$26.00 for same work⁶⁴.

Mrs. Clark expected great deal at times. Do a thing once and she always wanted you to do it...Difficult woman to get on with⁶⁵.

A contributing factor to the outspokenness on the part of the Hampton Indian students' criticism of the outing system and their summer placements could have been the family backgrounds of some of these students. There was a segment of the Hampton Indian students of the 1900's who were known as "Hampton grandchildren." These students were the daughters and sons of returned Hampton Indian students. For many of the Hampton grandchildren the Americanization process had been a continual influence on their cultural development. This was due to their parents' attendance of Hampton. The ability of the Hampton grandchildren to adapted quickly to the routines of the school both academically and socially, assisted many in the completion of their Hampton education. Some students, such as Pierpont Alford, the son of Thomas Alford, one of the first Indian graduates of Hampton, followed in his father's footsteps by becoming the first Hampton grand-child to graduate in 1906. Pierpont who spent a summer in outing in Northampton, went on to apply for admission to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1907 and in 1908 attended the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Not all the Hampton grandchildren had the same experiences as Alford. One student, Fredrick Pattee was the son of a Sioux father and a Cherokee mother, enrolled in Hampton in 1909. During the summer 1911 Pattee was placed in outing on a farm in Amherst, Massachusetts, which was owned by W. H. Hayward. Upon his arrival at his placement Pattee was approached by a contractor who was in need of a painter. Pattee had training in this area from Hampton. He wrote to Caroline Andrus of his decision to change his outing position. His desire to leave Hayward resulted in much correspondence between Hampton, Hayward, and Pattee. Andrus sent the following reply to Pattee:

...I have just written Mr. Hayward to the effect that is for him to settle. If he still needs and wants you we think you should stay, but if he is willing you should go it will be all right with the school. Of course you would earn more at your trade but you must remember that you would also spend a good deal more...

I hope sincerely that you will think carefully, and look at the matter from Mr. Hayward's point of view as well as your own before taking any step.

...If you leave Mr. Hayward in a lurch, or go to this other job without his full and free consent, it will not only put you in a bad light but the school as well. Of course I want you to earn all the money you can, but that 'A good name is more to be desired than great riches' seems to apply just now pretty well. I hope it will come out all right. Have a good, frank talk with Mr. Hayward, and tell him as much about your circumstances as seem wise. If you do stay make a splendid record, and justify the recommendations that I gave when I wrote about you⁶⁶.

The Haywards expressed their own feelings on the situation in a letter to Andrus on June 30, 1911:

...But suppose you heard from Fred Pattee that he left us at once on hearing from you. It was a great disappointment to Mr. Hayward as he had so much on his hands to do at that time, but he knew it would not be best to try to keep him as he had about let himself to the other man as quick as he arrived in Amherst and I really think farm work would not have satisfied him. Although he took hold and done the best he could the little while he stayed and we should have tried to have got along⁶⁷.

Pattee sent the following response to Andrus on dated June 12, 1911:

My wanting to change does seem very hasty, but I know it is best for me. The farm is not the kind that you would like after visiting. I had to milk four cows this morning and my trunk with work clothes has not arrived yet, this formed a bad impression in my mind the first thing.

McIntosh thought you would send Big Thunder or some other who did not care much. He does not like the place. Mr. Hayward lost his other man owing to it not being a good place.

The contractor wants a tradesman and I have painted a good deal before going to Hampton. The work is simple house-painting and you can understand that I get the best place I can, since I must earn enough for all next year.

I am a better painter than farmer, as you must know. Depend upon it I am doing my best and the school will not be sorry⁶⁸.

Pattee obvious had his own reasons for desiring to leave the Haywards' farm. He did not see any sense of his being forced into an occupational training which was of no interest to him. He must have felt he was to take advantage of the

opportunity to further develop his skills as a painter. He wrote throughout the summer to Hampton keeping them informed of his progress. In one letter to Andrus he continued his explanation of why he left the farm. From the letter there was another issue besides the work which influenced his decision:

Yes, Miss Andrus, I had Mr. Hayward's consent before leaving. You know I would not do anything to cause the school's disfavor. Considering conditions as they are now. I wouldn't like to repeat my experience on his farm--two women there kept saying 'You're our boy now, aren't you Fred?' Well, I wouldn't say anything until my third day. I said--'Why really--I didn't know that I was'--they stopped. I won't say anymore about them because I want my letter to you to be a nice one⁶⁹.

Pattee spent the summer in Amherst paying for his own lodging and board. He also had the opportunity to visit with Elaine and Dr. Charles Eastman who were residing in Amherst:

I am rooming in a boarding house right in the center of this little city--it is the only place I could find--and I looked a long time. I have such a nice room all to myself--in my next letter I'll tell you about everything. My board, lodging and laundry will be nearly twenty-six dollars a month. I need my laundry to be steam laundry.

I am a painter--not an easy job--but I like it. I can tell you later what earn--and--Oh! I have so many things I want to tell you⁷⁰.

...I have had some nice times at Mrs. Eastman's home. I tell her about Hampton and then the other interesting things I happen to think about the west. Mrs. Eastman has five daughters and a son. I did not expect to meet anyone near my age...⁷¹.

This afternoon I may go out to 'Lodestone'--Dr. Eastman's home. Mrs. Eastman is away and Dr. Eastman has not yet returned from an extended trip. Miss Dora Goodale the children's aunt is

there with them. This is the first letter I have written today, I spent the morning reading 'The Balance of Power.' I bought the book yesterday the name looked as if it might help me intellectually so I decided to read it⁷².

Pattee continued in his outing for the entire academic year. He had been suspended for breaking school rules about leaving the campus at night. He moved to Dedham and attended high school there. Other students also made requests to leave their employers during the summer of 1911. Another student was a close friend of Pattee's, his name was James Mannington a Pawnee from Oklahoma. Mannington's reason for wanting to leave his employer was due to homesickness. His desire to return to Oklahoma was also influenced by the arrival of a per capita check from the Pawnee nation. However, according to communication between Mannington and his employer, there was mention of illness which contributed to his desire to leave.

In my last letter I told you that I was working steadily, well, I am yet doing it, but somehow I feel myself out of place, I don't feel very well. To tell the truth, I as homesick, I have been every since I came here. While it is early in the vacation, I would like to see if I can go home. I will pay my fare to Oklahoma and back to Hampton providing the school pays my way home in 1912.

I didn't feel so well while at school, and I thought, if by coming here, it would be a change and do me good, but it has not. If possible I would like to leave on the latter part of this month or by July first.

I have not cashed the check yet. There is nothing between Charly and I, but friendship. I only want to go home. I am not doing the work as I ought to be doing it, but I am doing it the best as I know how.

I have been at Hampton for three years and every vacation I have wanted to go home, but my application for the school, permitted me not to go. But since my time has expired, I would like to go for a change and will be back on the date indicated on our promotion cards⁷³.

Charles Agar, Mannington's outing employer wrote his opinions of the situation in a letter to Andrus on June 19, 1911:

Mannington has really been enjoying himself and liked his work and did well, and evenings he would play ball and other games with the young people around here, but he has an attack of homesickness now and I really feel sorry for him.

He was all right until he received a check from home and that seemed to upset his summer plans completely.

He now wants to go home and that, the last of this month, and that would leave me at my busy time, haying.

I would like to have him stay all summer, but if that is not possible, could you not persuade him to stay with me until the last of July, he seems to pay more attention to your talks, than all I can say to him, and if you cannot persuade him, would you be able to let me have another boy⁷⁴?

Agar and Andrus continued to correspond concerning Mannington's summer outing throughout the summer:

Your kind letter received and I have had a long talk with James and he is determined to go home right away. I told him it did not seem right to leave me so quickly, but he did not seem to care, and said he should not go back to Hampton either.

...I have already given James \$5.00 of his wages as his monthly allowance of spending money and he says he should have the rest, but I will not let him until I hear from you⁷⁵.

Your welcome letter received and I tried to persuade James to stay the two weeks, but really did not urge him very much as I knew how he felt and he would not have taken any interest in doing his work, so he has probably reached school by this time. It really leaves me alone, for the fellow I thought I could get had let for another month, but I shall find someone.

Now James has made a full confession and I should like to have you have him make the same to you, as I do not really feel at liberty to tell you what was told me in confidence. You would be greatly surprised.

I will say however, that James is not the same boy he was two years ago, and I should say that he is not well, and I am afraid his going home will not improve him.

I enclose receipt for James' monthly allowance, and he prefers I send the balance \$13.00 back to school...⁷⁶.

Mannington's exact illness was not recorded in his Hampton records. However a letter from Fred Pattee to Miss Folsom mentions about Mannington's leaving his outing position and infers there was an issue with alcohol consumption, "Last week I received a short letter from Mannington. He is Pawnee and in the fall intends to go to some school in the west. He says he will never touch a drop of---again⁷⁷." Whether Mannington attended school in the west is not included in his Hampton records either. A letter was sent from the federal agent at the Pawnee Agency in Oklahoma to Hampton which stated that Mannington was applying for enrollment at Mount Hermon in Northfield, Massachusetts.

Indian students continued the practice of remaining in outing for the entire academic year. The main purpose at this time was educational. There are reports

in Talks and Thoughts and The Southern Workman of students who remained in the north to attend both public and private high schools:

Martin Powless writes from Sheffield, Mass. and says he is well and enjoying the privilege of attending a public school⁷⁸.

John Martinez, now a student at Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass. where he is paying his way largely by his own exertions, spent his Christmas holiday at Hampton⁷⁹.

Redmon Metoxen, an Oneida Indian who is working this winter on a farm at Sheffield, Mass. added much to the pleasure of the Indians at Hampton by sending them a barrel of apples for their Xmas tree⁸⁰.

Henry Bear was returned to his home at Winnebago, Nebraska in September and after a few days visit there started for the East with the intentions of taking a position on a farm in Amherst, Mass⁸¹.

The experiences of the Hampton Indian students while the outing system did not end with the conclusion of their participation in the program or with their graduation from Hampton. For some students their summers in Massachusetts contributed to their future personal, academic, and professional endeavors.

CHAPTER VII

STUDENT PROFILES

Three students have been selected to be profiled as to exemplify the contrasting influences of the Hampton Indian education and summer outing system programs. Three profiles will attempt to demonstrate both positive and negative effects on the lives of each individual both during and after their attendance of Hampton.

Anna Dawson (Arikara), Frank Blackhawk (Sioux) and Angel Decora (Winnebago) each contributed to the history of Hampton in their own way. All three utilized their Hampton educational and vocational experiences and contributed to the educating of other Native Americans. Dawson and Decora were employed professionally as educators, while Blackhawk did his work on a more informal and voluntary basis.

Hampton and other scholars have acknowledged the contributions of Dawson and Decora, while Blackhawk has received limited recognition. However, with all three there has only been brief mention and discussion of their experiences while in Massachusetts. Both Dawson and Decora pursued college degrees at institutes of higher learning in Framingham and Northampton, Massachusetts. It is obvious that Hampton and their contact with Massachusetts had an impact on the lives of these three individuals. Those influences are worthy of a scholarly discussion.

Anna Dawson: First American Indian Female Student

When Hampton decided to open its Indian education department to include female students they had no knowledge as to whether or not it would be successful. Native American males had adapted to being educated while at Fort Marion, and later at Hampton. Would Native American Indian women be open to sharing the educational experiences of their male counterparts? Indian reformers were fully aware that the Americanization of Native American Indian communities could not be guaranteed if women were excluded from the educational process. With this in mind Hampton set out to be the first off-reservation boarding school to admit Native women. It would not be known if the educational process could be conducted with Indian women unless Hampton tried.

Anna Dawson came to Hampton in November 1878 with Captain Richard Pratt. She was a member of the first party of students to be recruited from the west, and one of the first nine female students to enroll at Hampton. Her official student records list her as being eight years old and identify her as a member of the Arickree nation from Fort Berthold, North Dakota. Anna's mother was identified as being a full blood and her father as being Euro-American. Anna's Indian name was Spahananaka, which translates into Wild Rose. She was said not to have had any previous education and entered the Indian class.

The recruitment of young women from Indian communities to Hampton was not an easy task. Racial prejudice, not on the part of the Indians, but by Euro-American federal agents, influenced the numbers of Indian girls who actually

attended Hampton during its early years of Indian education. Local Euro-American educators working with Indian communities would dissuade female students as well as their parents' decision from, agreeing to allowing their daughters from attending Hampton because it was viewed as an Afro-American school. Another factor influencing the number of Indian females enrolling at Hampton was the role of young Native American women within their families. Indian girls were valued as workers by their parents and extended families. They assisted with household duties and the care of younger siblings. Their role within the family workforce could not be spared or replaced¹.

Perhaps it was due to these attitudes that Anna's mother, Mary Dawson, age twenty-five years old, accompanied her daughter to Hampton. According to an article appearing in the Hampton student journal, The Southern Workman in November 1879, "Mary Dawson came to Hampton because she would not let her little girl come so far away without her²," but after she found out how happy Anna was, and how much she had learned, Mary decided her daughter was safe. Other reports believed that Mary came with Anna to make sure the school was appropriate because Mary knew she herself had consumption and would not live long. Mary wanted to find a safe place for Anna. During the journey to Virginia Mary Dawson served as an interpreter for the "new recruits." Mary Dawson remained at Hampton for one year, and in November 1879, she left with Captain Pratt when he returned back to the Dakotas. It is said that Mary Dawson had grown nostalgic, missing her home in North Dakota and needing to return to care

for her own aged mother³. Not wanting to disrupt Anna's education and trusting the Hampton staff to care for her daughter, Mary Dawson left. She died during the winter leaving Anna, or little Annie, as she was now called, as a ward of the Hampton Institute. Anna soon became Hampton's "darling" and was used as an example of Hampton's Indian work⁴.

Anna continued her education at Hampton after her mother's departure and death. She was reported to have been an excellent student. During her academic years at Hampton she participated in the summer outing program. Anna spent two summers in Curtisville, Massachusetts, and one in Monterey, Massachusetts, and a fourth summer in the Longmeadow, Massachusetts area. It appeared that Anna enjoyed her participation in the outing program. She would often write to the staff at Hampton sharing her experiences of the summer. Due probably to her young age, Anna did not earn wages during her 1880 and 1882 outings. Later in 1884 and 1885, while in Monterey and in Longmeadow, Anna received six dollars a month. It is quite likely due to her special status of being Hampton's ward, that Anna's outing placements were more like a relaxing summer vacation. Her letters contained stories of picnics by the lakes, outings to nearby towns, and leisure time to go berry picking:

...Mrs Dresser, Lillie, and I went to Pittsfield last Saturday, and I had my pictures taken but I have not got them yet for they are not all finished.

...Last Monday Mrs. Dresser, Clara, Lilly and I went over to the mountains blackberrying got fifteen quarts within two hours.

...Mrs. Dresser, Clara, and Lillie wanted me to teach them how to swim so we have been down to the Lake⁵.

Summer outings also provided Anna with the opportunity to expand and develop her academic knowledge and skills. During her 1885 placement in Longmeadow, Anna wrote the following in a letter to her Hampton teacher Miss Richards:

...I have read my History and am now trying to study a little Botany. Oh Miss Richards how much there is to read and learn. They have good many nice books here which I would like very much to read but there is so little time. Miss Mattie has given me three other books to read after I finish 'How the Plants Behave,' the other is 'Geology' and the third is 'Newman's Rhetoric' and others I wish I could read them all before going to Hampton⁶.

Perhaps it was this type of academic exposure and support which assisted Anna in completing her Hampton education. She graduated in 1885 at the age of sixteen. Anna remained at Hampton for two more years as a teacher in both the Indian department and in the night school. The Indian student journal, Talks and Thoughts, reported, "Miss Annie Dawson is now one of the regular night school teachers. She says she enjoys teaching the colored students because they always behave and are so anxious to learn⁷."

Anna Dawson's teaching experiences at Hampton led her to decide to further her training as an educator. In the fall of 1887, she left Hampton to enroll in the

Normal School at Framingham, Massachusetts. There is very little information pertaining to Anna's experiences while attending Framingham. In a letter to Hampton written during her second year, Anna responded to a question concerning the academic subjects which she has studied:

...In fuller answer to the fourth question I have been here a year and half. In that time, have studied, Geography, Logic, Geometry, Zoology, Botany, Arithmetic, Physiology, Psychology, English Grammar, Reading, Writing, Singing and Drawing; also United States History⁸.

Not all of Anna's time at Framingham was devoted to her academic studies. She found time to become involved with the Indian Reform Movement. She along with another Hampton Indian alumni, Walter Battice, who was attending the Normal School at Bridgewater, spoke before Indian associations in the Boston area. One such event was mentioned in The Southern Workman. The brief article read as follows:

Annie Dawson and Walter Battice have been called upon to speak before the Indian Association of Jamaica Plains, Mass. and are reported as having done exceedingly well⁹.

Anna also found time to write letters of support for Hampton when controversy arose over its success at educating Afro-Americans and Native American Indians together. In a letter to General Armstrong, dated February 1888, Anna wrote:

...I heard that there has been a considerable and unfavorable talk concerning the Negroes and their influence over the Indians at Hampton. As I feel greatly interested and also thankful, for what Hampton has done and is doing for my race and me, I feel it my duty to say something in regard to that matter.

...Since my arrival at Hampton in the fall of 1879 till my departure from there last August, I found the Negroes friendly, and of great help to the Indians in many good ways, instead of an hindrance to us by our contact with them¹⁰.

Anna's presences at Framingham did not go unnoticed. Though there is very little by way of official records, it would appear that she was able to adapt to her new institution of learning without any problem of adjustment. Anna's involvement with Indian educational reform had a lasting impression on Framingham for years following her graduation. When a lecture on Indian Rights was held at Framingham in 1892 the following reflection was conveyed:

A lecture on Indian Rights in November 1892 reflected the national concern with 'Indian Relocation' as the Western frontier gradually closed. Many of the students and teachers remembered Annie Dawson, an Arikara Indian from the Dakota Territory, who was graduated with the class of 1889, and they must have listened with great interest and sympathy for the cause of protecting Indian rights¹¹.

Anna completed her course work at Framingham in three years, graduating in 1890. In the fall of 1890 she returned to the west to work as a teacher on the Santee Sioux reservation in Nebraska. She remained at Santee until 1893. Following a summer vacation to her home at Fort Berthold, which proved to be a strange and trying experience," shattering the old ideals and revealing the real

conditions of her people," Anna returned to Santee, but she was convinced that her true work was to be as a field matron working directly in the homes of her people rather than in the classrooms¹². Anna saved enough money to allow her to return to Boston in order to continue her studies in domestic science at the YWCA.

During the next two years, Anna worked diligently, not only studying but also writing, speaking and organizing around the issues of living conditions on Native American Indian reservations. She became something of a celebrity in Boston.

She mingled with prominent persons in literary, social and religious circles¹³.

"One of her closest friends in the East was Miss Alice Longfellow, daughter of the poet. She often visited Miss Alice at 'Craigie House' and a picture of her still (1968) hangs in the hall of the Longfellow home¹⁴." Even though Anna many friends and supporters for her cause, she nearly broke down from the pressure and strain of her work¹⁵. In 1895 Anna completed her studies at the YWCA and returned to her home at Fort Berthold.

Upon her arrival at Fort Berthold, Anna began fulfilling her responsibilities as a government appointed field matron. Field matrons were used by the United States government to perpetuate the assimilation of Indian people to reservation life. Anna, like other field matrons, was hired to teach the men and women of her community how to set up their homes and farms. She instructed the women in sewing, cooking, and other Euro-American based domestic skills. She cared for the sick and elderly as well. Anna also used her position and lifestyle to encourage

young women and men from Fort Berthold to go away to school, so that they too could come back and take part in the Americanization of their own people.

Anna Dawson served for seventeen years as a field matron at Fort Berthold. During this time she married Byron Wilde, a graduate of the Carlisle Indian school and the North Dakota Agricultural College in Fargo. They were wed on June 26, 1902 in a Christian ceremony held at the Arikara Congregational Chapel in Fort Berthold. Later in their marriage, Anna and Byron would adopt three of Byron's brother's children, as well as caring for a number of others, both Indian and Euro-American. They also provided a home for several elderly Indians.

In 1912 Anna retired from her position as field matron and devoted her time to her family, their ranch, and her community. She remained active and alert, corresponding with both Hampton and Framingham. In an undated alumni survey conducted by Framingham, Anna mentioned being sent in 1948 as a delegate to Washington, D.C. to represent Indian people. She would have been eighty years old. Anna lived to be one hundred years old, with her death on July 11, 1968, two weeks following a stroke. Her only surviving family member, a son, wrote:

...Her influence and that of her husband cannot be estimated, so many were the people whom they helped, morally, financially, or in any other way. It pleases her surviving foster son to think that Anna Dawson Wilde's footsteps were started along the path that she was to follow through her long life, by the devoted teachers and friends who guided her at Hampton Institute¹⁶.

Anna Dawson proved Native women could successfully complete and succeed in the Euro-American educational system. She set the way for those who would follow, both female and male. Her experiences were probably eased due to her unusual kinship to Hampton. She arrived on campus at an early age and the death of her mother allowed her to lose contact with her Native community. Anna's formative years were spent amongst Euro-Americans, with limited influence from her Indian nation on her development. Perhaps because she did not experience any confusion as to her identity and loyalties, Anna was able to exist in the Euro-American society without conflicts.

Anna's times in the outing system are of importance. She was one of the first Native female students to participate in the program. Her positive experiences allowed for her to feel confident when deciding to return to Massachusetts to attend Framingham and later to the YWCA school in Boston. Not only did she set an example for Native women and men, but she also showed Euro-Americans the capabilities of American Indian people.

A Forgotten Ancestor: Frank Blackhawk
The Story of an Afro-American Indian

Black Indians? The very words make most people shake their heads in disbelief or smile at what appears to be a joke, a play on words. No one remembers any such person in a school text, history book, or western novel. None ever appeared¹⁷.

These words by William Loren Katz are very poignant. They represent an attitude held by many people of all racial backgrounds. However, these words show how exclusive the history of the United States can be. Katz defines Black Indians as being people who have a dual ancestry (American Indian and African/Afro-American), or Africans and Afro-Americans who lived for some time as part of a Native American Indian community. The number of Afro-Americans with an Native American ancestor was once estimated to be about one-third of the total population of Afro-Americans. They represent the close relationship between Africans and Native American Indians, which began with the first European landings in North America¹⁸.

The historical relationships between Native American Indians and European and between Africans and Europeans have both been thoroughly studied. However, the relationship between Africans and Native American Indians has been neglected. Thus the history of Afro-American Indians has remained invisible¹⁹.

When historians and other scholars assume that a people have no history worth mentioning, then they are likely to believe these people have no humanity worth

defending. A historical legacy strengthens a country and its people. Denying a people's heritage questions their legitimacy²⁰.

The history of Afro-American Indians began at the time of Columbus, and encompass the North and South Americas and the Caribbean islands. The first paths to freedom taken by runaway slaves often led to Native American villages. There African men and women found friendship and an accepting adoption system and culture. The offspring of African-Indian marriages shaped the early days of the fur trade, added a new dimension to frontier diplomacy, and made a daring contribution to the fight for Euro-American liberty.

When Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was established in 1868, its main purpose was to be a school for the education of Afro-American students. Ten years later when Hampton became the first off reservation boarding school for American Indians, its administration hoped that both its Afro-American and Native American graduates would return to their communities to be leaders and teachers of change. Alumni would be responsible for contributing to the Americanization of their own people²¹.

This early commitment to bi-racial education drew much attention, both supportive and critical. The educating of American Indians and Afro-Americans together was ongoing throughout the history of Hampton Institute. Many sponsors of the school, as well as political and religious leaders, did not feel the association of the two racial groups would be beneficial to either. Some felt that the Afro-American students would have a negative effect on the Indian students.

Others worried about the Indian students holding back the progress of the Afro-American students. The concern most feared was that of inter-marriage between the two races.

There were no conflicts between the Afro-American and Indian students. They were segregated as far as dormitories but attended classes together and some social events, during which time they were closely supervised. The two groups of students respected one another, and earlier Indian students asked to associate with the Afro-American students, so as to develop their English speaking skills. Even though the Hampton Institute's staff maintained its stand that the two races remain completely segregated, students' records verify that inter-marriages did take place.

In October of 1881 a party of students from the Dakota Territory, were escorted to Hampton Institute by Captain LeRoy Brown, among the new students was a fifteen and a half years old young man named Frank Blackhawk. He was the first Afro-American Indian student from the west to enroll in the Hampton Indian education department. His official student records at Hampton described him as, "bright, kind, lazy and intemperate²²."

Frank entered the Indian class and is recorded at Hampton as a member of the Standing Rock Sioux nation of North Dakota. His father's name is given as Blackhawk; however, an article which appeared in The Southern Workman, in November 1881, identifies Frank's parentage to have been by a Sioux mother and an Afro-American father. Both of his parents were deceased at the time of his enrollment.

It is not clear how Frank Blackhawk was selected to attend Hampton. Being an orphan would have been an important factor. Also, The Southern Workman article of November 1881 states Frank had attended school for two to three years on an irregular basis. He was also bilingual, speaking English fairly well, and could speak, read and write his Dakota language. This previous schooling would have made him a prime recruitment candidate for Hampton.

Frank Blackhawk's arrival on the Hampton campus did not go unnoticed by the two races of students, as well as by the entire staff. A later article which appeared in the January 1882, edition of The Southern Workman read as follows:

In our previous years, our Indians have been mixed, full-blood and half breed, some were of English, French, and Spanish parentage on one side; but not until now have we had any of African parentage. When Capt. Brown arrived, he brought with him a boy named Frank Blackhawk, whose father was a colored man. Frank is a very bright boy, speaking very good English, but at the same times loves better his Native tongue, the Sioux language. It seemed to cause general satisfaction among the colored students, when they saw him. He likes colored boys very well but Indian better. He mostly associates with Indian boys. Who seem to appreciate him as much as any among them²³.

There is very little information on Frank Blackhawk's daily and even yearly experiences at Hampton. While at Hampton he was considered to be a fair scholar and workman. His vocational training was in the area of carpentry. He was considered intelligent and good natured by his teachers and the school staff. There must have been some forms of emotional conflicts taking place for Frank due to being away from his past reservation lifestyle of total self-supporting and now

having to abide by a set of unfamiliar rules and regulations. However, his school records do not include any major disciplinary action against him.

Evidence of Frank's struggle to fit into Hampton's Americanization program appeared in 1883 while he was taking part in the summer outing program. In July of that year Frank was placed to work in the home of Francis Brocher of the town of Monterey, Massachusetts for three months, earning thirteen dollars a month doing farm work. While in Massachusetts Frank decided to withdraw from the Hampton Institute's authority. He remained in Massachusetts from November 1883 until September 1884. He supported himself by drifting from town to town doing odd jobs. He later wrote of this decision to leave Hampton and his time in Massachusetts in a letter to a former teacher of his. He deeply expressed his remorse for making this choice in the following passage:

...Do you remember in eighty three one day I saw you in Great Barrington Mass. and I told you that I was going away from Monterey to another county and you told me if I did not do what the school want me to do that I would get into trouble by going from one place to another. And now it has come true. I went from one town to another until I get here, where I am thinking over all that I have done for myself and others²⁴.

Frank Blackhawk returned to Hampton in September 1884. His records state that he appeared to have "improved in his attitude towards learning." His educational program progressed with no mention of issues until March 1885. According to the minutes from the March 1885 teacher's meeting, Frank had made a request to change his academic program. The entry reads:

...Frank Blackhawk asked to go to night school. He seems discouraged about school. Finally that he would like to go to Shell Banks or if not there, prefers to remain in day school²⁵.

There is no record as to whether Frank's request was honored or not. Even if it was, there evidently was no change in his attitude towards his studies. In the June 11, 1885 teacher's meeting minutes, Frank's name appears on the list of students scheduled to return to their homes. He was listed as being eighteen years old and the reason for his leaving, according to his official student records, was an expiration of his time at Hampton. There appears to be some contradiction in the records as to the real reason for Frank Blackhawk's departure. According to the teacher's meeting minutes of June 11, 1885, Frank was leaving because, "his time has expired, but he is sent home as a bad boy whose influence in the school is very pernicious²⁶." The returned student records list him as returning home on July 6, 1885 due to bad lungs²⁷.

Frank Blackhawk returned to his home community on the Standing Rock Sioux reservation in North Dakota. In his home record he was viewed by the Hampton staff as being and poor not industrious. He worked as a laborer until 1887 when he was incarcerated in the United States Penitentiary in Sioux Falls. The charge against him was providing alcohol to the Indians.

While in prison, Frank began to correspond with one of his teachers from Hampton Institute, Miss Folsom. It is through one of his letters that the true character of Frank Blackhawk is displayed. In a letter dated December 11, 1887,

Frank shares with his former teacher his remorse for his past decisions. His writing shows his sensitivity:

...And was very good to hear from you. And to hear that all of those teachers whom I use to know are thinking of me. I have thought of all of them. But I never could write to them after I turned from them...

...Now I know what way is the best to live, and what kind of people to go with. And not to get into trouble like this. There have been many a man who got into trouble like this. There have been many a man who got into a place like this, and was made better men of them. And I know this will open my eyes and straighten me so that I never shall bend again as long as I live. Sometimes one medicine will not do a person any good. But another will. So if Hampton did not do me any good, this will²⁸.

Frank Blackhawk was released from prison after serving two years. He returned to Standing Rock and continued to work as a laborer. In 1895 his occupation was listed as gravedigger. The real work that Frank was doing was not through his daily occupation, but through his influence on his community. Frank was being sought out by boys and girls in his community who were interested in learning to read and write English. Also, he was utilized as an interpreter by many of the older traditional Indians, who spoke little or no English. In a letter to Hampton Institute, Frank shared his new experiences and outlook:

...I cannot say that I am teaching because they don't come every day, but they come every week. I got some books from the school here. Some Indians want me to teach and some want me to interper, so I don't know which I shall do yet. I have turned over a new leaf. I shall try to do better hereafter²⁹.

Frank Blackhawk continued to live and work on the the Standing Rock reservation through 1897. It was during the spring of the year that Frank along with four other Indian men were charged with the murder of an Euro-American family by the name of Spicer. The newspaper coverage of the arrests and the trial were very biased against the defendants. Blackhawk denied that he had any connection to the murders. The case was to be decided by a public jury in Bismark, North Dakota. This could not be considered as a jury of their peers for the five defendants. The newspapers did not see any obstacles in the trial which would prevent all of the defendants from being found guilty and eventually executed. The trial took an unusual turn, when one of the five Indian men was tried and found guilty of the murders. When the news that the request for a new trial had been granted reached the local townspeople of Williamsport, North Dakota, they reacted violently. The townspeople stormed the jail where the alleged convicted defendant and two of the others were being held. The three Indian prisoners were taken from the jail by the angry mob and lynched. Frank Blackhawk was not in the Williamsport jail. He had remained incarcerated with the fifth defendant in Bismark. His life was spared. Later the evidence against the two surviving defendants somehow was destroyed and they were released.

Frank Blackhawk returned to the Standing Rock reservation where he lived with little occurrence. On March 29, 1901, Frank Blackhawk, died after being ill with paralysis. He never ventured east of the Missouri River after his release from prison. Frank Blackhawk's presence on the Hampton Institute's campus is

remembered. He was the first Afro-American Indian to attend there, but he was not the last. Others followed, including Frank's younger brother Peter. Peter Blackhawk was emotionally supported in his educational endeavors by his older brother. Frank expressed his interest in his brother's education in his 1897 letter:

...I hope Peter and Allyellow will stay there until they know how to speak the English language well and read and write because when they were at home they were always asking me many things in speaking English and writing and reading. Tell them I am glad that they are there where they can learn all they want³⁰.

Peter Blackhawk successfully completed the Indian education program. He returned to Standing Rock and took up farming.

Frank Blackhawk's difficulties at Hampton might not have been brought on entirely by himself. The past experiences which he brought along to Hampton could not have been positive ones. He was an orphan and forced to survive on his own. More than likely he was viewed by his Indian community as an outcast due to his background. Based on the statements made in his letters about the types of people he associated with he could not have always felt like a welcome member of his community. The underlying cause of these feelings could have been caused by his bi-racial background. As a youth, he might not have felt he was fully accepted by his community. Therefore Frank might have felt compelled to associate with others who were also outcasts.

Hampton provided Frank with the opportunity to be with other Indian students who were learning academic and vocational skills. Even more important his

enrollment at Hampton offered Frank his first experience of being with other Afro-Americans who were also working towards high achievements in their studies both academically and vocationally. He was openly accepted by both races of students at Hampton. His new peers were probably very different from those of his past. However, it would not appear that the Hampton Institute's staff overlooked Frank's past. From his initial enrollment he was viewed in a negative light. Even though he was considered to be bright and friendly, it does not appear that he was given the support he needed to enhance these qualities and overcome the less desirable ones. The staff minutes and comments do not focus on Frank Blackhawk's achievements, but rather on his errors.

Angel Decora: Indian Student, Artist, and Educator

The association between Hampton's Indian education department and the Indian reform movement is best reflected through the educational and professional development of a Native American Indian woman named Angel Decora.

The educational, social, and cultural experiences of this woman exemplify the types of experiences which members of the Indian reform movement hoped that for Native students to have. Angel Decora became one of the shining examples of how "civilization" could be brought to the Indians.

Angel Decora was born on May 3, 1871, on the Winnebago reservation in Nebraska. Her Indian name was Hinook-Mahiwi-Kilinaka, which means Woman Coming on the Clouds in Glory, and roughly translates into English as Angel. She

entered the Hampton Indian education department in November of 1883. Angel was listed on her official student records to have been thirteen years old at the time of enrollment.

Angel's degree of Indian blood varies with sources. Her Hampton records list her as being one half and a member of the Winnebago nation. In her autobiography which appeared in the Carlisle Industrial school's journal, The Red Man, in March 1911, Angel states that her father was the son of the hereditary chief of the Winnebagos, and her mother was an "industrious Indian wife"³¹. Angel's mother was a member of the Le Mere family, also prominent among the Winnebago, and she had been educated at a convent.

Angel describes her childhood as being ideal. She appears to have been brought up with strong ties to her Winnebago traditions and customs. She made the following statement in her autobiography:

...Under the influence of such precepts and customs, I acquired the general bearings of a well-counseled Indian child, rather reserved, respectful, and mild in manner³².

Angel briefly enrolled in a reservation school during November 1883. It was during this time that she was recruited by a former Hampton student, Julia St. Cyr, who was also Winnebago and was acting as an agent in recruiting students for Hampton. Julia convinced Angel's parents to allow her to enroll at Hampton. Angel in her autobiography claims that she was approached by a white man, who through an interpreter, asked her if she would like a ride in a steam car. Angel

and six other children accepted the offer and the next day were taken by a wagon to the railroad station. They were given the promised ride and three days later arrived at Hampton. Angel claims that her parents found out about her departure when it was too late to stop her³³.

Regardless of how she came to enroll in the Hampton Indian program, Angel demonstrated a positive attitude towards education. Cora Mae Folsom, described Angel's childhood personality:

...She was brought to Hampton with practically no education and very few words of English language. She was pretty, bright and affectionate, painfully shy and scarcely able to endure the sound of her own voice in the classroom³⁴.

Angel completed five years of schooling at Hampton, and returned to Nebraska in response to the government's regulation which required Indian students attending boarding schools to return home after their fifth year. When Angel arrived home in 1888, she found that both her father and paternal grandfather had died. In her Carlisle autobiography Angel stated that upon her return to the reservation the old ways of life were gone. She could not cope with the loss of her family. In the fall of 1888, Angel returned to Hampton. It was not an easy task as reported by Miss Folsom:

A representative from Hampton found her living with her grandmother and very unhappy. Old and new customs were at that time strongly conflicting currents, and a young girl had hardly more

weight than a leaf between them. It was not easy to get her out from the stronger of these two currents, but it was accomplished and she was brought back to Hampton³⁵.

Hampton had a special interest in Native American Indian art. The first group of students, who were the prisoners of war from Fort Marion, produced drawings and other crafts for the Hampton staff and their financial supporters. It was while attending Hampton that Angel first showed an ability in art and music. It has been reported that her interest in art arose spontaneously and was not discouraged. It has never been determined if there was one particular teacher at Hampton who took an interest in Angel's artistic and musical talents³⁶.

During the summer of 1890, Angel participated in the outing program. She spent her summer with Frances Sparhawk of Newton Centre, Massachusetts. A letter dated June 26, 1890 from Sparhawk to Cora Mae Folsom, mentions Angel's artistic abilities:

...She certainly has a great taste for drawing; I have not seen enough yet to know how much talent for it, and I may not be a judge; but more than usual with white people. Is not this an average with Indians³⁷?

Later in August of that same year a brief article appeared in the Hampton Indian students' journal, Talks and Thoughts, which stated while spending the summer with Sparhawk, Angel was taking drawing lessons and was very happy in her pleasant home³⁸.

Angel remained at Hampton until her graduation in 1891. She graduated as an outstanding student and the fact that she was able to complete the course of study was exceptional as it was rare for the early Native students at Hampton to do so. Angel's musical and artistic talents led to the Hampton principals to arrange for her to continue her studies in the North. They sponsored her to take part in a course of musical study at Burnham's Classical School for girls in Northampton, Massachusetts. Founded in 1877, by Mary A. Burnham, it was a preparatory school for young women from affluent families. Academics focused on the basics, literature, geography, mathematics, including algebra, foreign languages, music and art.

Angel's attendance of the Burnham school was not for entirely the same reasons as those of her financially secure classmates. She did not have a family to rely on for financial support, nor did she have any plans for utilizing her education to enhance her prospects of marrying into a prestigious Euro-American family. Angel knew from her own Hampton training and her personal experiences, as well as those of her older Hampton classmates, that she would have to be self-supporting. Any educational training she received would be used to guarantee her some source of employment.

Angel, for the first time in her educational career, experienced being the only Native American student. She had left the protective biracial environment of Hampton. She was culturally isolated and at times deeply missed her friends and teachers back at Hampton. Angel shared some of her feelings about the Burnham

school in a letter to Miss Folsom dated February 7, 1892, in which she discussed her attempts to transfer to another private school. She wrote the following:

...I asked Mrs. Clapp about Northfield but she doesn't know anything definite, only that it is a boarding school. I will be only too glad to go wherever it is possible for Addie and I to be together, but I don't think Burnham school is meant for us.

...it is hard to get along in some ways. Besides we get many of the studies at Hampton that they have excepting the language and algebra...

...I think it is a very fine school but Mrs. C. says it is very aristocratic I knew it the very first day³⁹.

Despite feeling unwelcome at the Burnham school, Angel successfully completed one year of studies there. It was during this time that Angel and those working closely with her realized her true talent was in art not music. One of her most remembered pieces of artwork created during this time was a crayon portrait of Hampton's founder and then principal, General Armstrong.

Last week a good size box came to Miss Richards, containing a crayon portrait of Miss Angel Decora. Upon opening it we rejoiced to behold our dear Principal's face, an excellent likeness. Angel had copied and enlarged it accurately from one of his small photographs. The General was much pleased with it too⁴⁰.

The portrait was included in a Hampton exhibit at Chicago in the fall of 1893. The present location of the portrait is unknown.

In the fall of 1892 Angel started on the academic road to becoming an artist by entering the Art School at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. Once

again Angel's racial background and her financial situation immediately set her apart from her classmates. She did not have the financial support of a family to cover her college expenses. Instead Angel earned the money for her tuition by serving as a custodian for the Smith College museum of art.

During this time period young women attending Smith College had two options for housing. First, they could take a room in one of the college dwelling houses or they could obtain room and board with a private family. Angel had been living in Northampton for one year at the time of her admission to Smith. Despite her success at the Burnham school, and her adjustment to the area, she still faced racism when it came to locating a place to live.

Based on the contents of a letter written on August 27, 1892, Angel was to reside in one of the college dwelling houses. Angel's Native American background apparently was an issue of concern for the woman who cared for the house. She wrote the following:

...I have wondered how the little Indian girl would get on with my other young ladies and have thought perhaps it would be better for her to board in a more private family where her feelings would be less likely to be hurt in anyway⁴¹.

Angel remained in her college dwelling during her first year at Smith. She then moved in with the Clapp family on Paradise Road, and resided there from the fall of 1893 until 1896. Angel became very close to Mrs. Gertrude Clapp and

relied on her guidance and emotional support throughout her academic years in Northampton.

The art department of Smith College offered Angel the opportunity to broaden her knowledge and talents in many new techniques and forms of art. Her letters from this period of her life express a great excitement about her studies. The most influential relationship she developed while at Smith was with Dwight Tryon, who himself was a successful Euro-American artist of the day. Angel often wrote of his influence on her in letters to her Hampton teachers:

...Since I began my work in the Art school I have been getting very mild criticism from Professor Tryon til last week. It was rather severe but it had its intended effect on me for I've a double determination in my heart to do better work⁴².

She later wrote in her Carlisle autobiography about her feelings towards her time studying under Professor Tryon she said, "The instruction I received and the influence I gained from Mr. Tryon has left a lasting impression on me⁴³."

Many of the techniques which were used in her drawings and paintings Angel learnt from Professor Tryon. Her art courses and her double determination were eventually acknowledged as Angel won several awards for her pieces of art work, which she entered into the annual Smith College art show held at the Hillyer Art Gallery. During her sophomore year in 1893, she was awarded the undergraduate prize for a cast drawing in charcoal. Later in 1896 she had "special mention in

two color studies, specially meritorious work for a drawing from casts and modeling and for a sketch entitled - A Nocturne⁴⁴."

Angel was modest about her work and often did not feel it was a reflection of her true capabilities. When interviewed by the Boston Journal following her 1893 award, Angle expressed her feelings:

...in repeated declarations that her work was undeserving of special mention and that the other prize winners did much better work. She said she had had every advantage enjoyed by other students, and says that as yet she had only begun her study of art⁴⁵.

Angel's art studies with Tryon were not just limited for developing award winning techniques. She probably also acquired a broad knowledge of art history since his philosophy was that "theory and practice should go hand in hand⁴⁶."

Angel's financial situation did not allow her the extra time that her classmates had for socializing. Her free time was taken up by her position as a janitor for the art museum and her personal needs. When she did have the time she would spend it visiting Mrs. Clapp. Attempts were made by Angel's classmates to include her in their social activities. She wrote about attending a Freshman reception which was given by the Sophomores in a 1892 letter to Miss Folsom:

The sophomores are going to give a reception to the Freshmen on Thursday and one of the girls have invited me. I am 'awfully' bashful but it was so nice of her I accepted her invitation⁴⁷.

In a letter dated November 27, 1892, Angel tells Miss Folsom about her Thanksgiving dinner with the Clapps and on the weekend going for a hike up Mt. Tom with some of her classmates. Her classmates remembered Angel in 1919 as having, "little opportunity to mingle with classmates and her retiring nature added to the difficulty of knowing her so her unique personality and sweet nature were lost to most of us⁴⁸."

Once again, as at the Burnham school, Angel experienced cultural isolation. She was the only, and perhaps the first, Native American woman to attend Smith College. She continued to miss her friends and the staff at Hampton. Angel was able to spend some of her summer vacations in outing system placements. This provided her the opportunity to be with her Hampton Indian friends. She expressed her enjoyment and sadness at the end of her 1894 summer placement:

The college has opened and I am happy. We haven't many in the Art School yet but they usually wait till the last minute before they make their appearance. I miss the Indian girls so much. I appreciated their gentle manners more than I ever did before..they were an unusually quiet set and possessed no end of patience. I wish I were going back to Hampton this fall⁴⁹.

Angel remained a reserved student while at Smith. She was in an ambiguous situation. She was viewed as both a typical Euro-American female college student of the period, as well as an archetypical "Indian princess, similar in concept to Longfellow's Nokomis. On one hand she was encouraged by teachers and friends

to integrate and forget her 'Indianess' and on the other hand her racial background and her achievements made her the object of fellow students' curiosity⁵⁰."

The relationship which Angel had developed with Northampton did not end with her 1896 graduation from Smith College. She continued her art training at the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia. It was here that she developed her talents in the art of illustration. She combined her artistic talent with her knowledge of various Indian cultures to become a reknowned illustrator of Native American magazine articles and novels, including two of her own works which appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine in 1899.

In 1899, Angel returned to Massachusetts, this time to the Boston area to continue her studies at the Cowles Art School. She maintained a studio at 62 Rutland Square in Boston from 1899 to 1902. In 1900 Angel began her studies at the Museum of Fine Arts School in Boston. Upon completion of her training she moved to New York to open a studio. During the years of 1900 to 1906 Angel supported herself as an illustrator. Her works appeared in numerous books on Indian topics such as Francis LaFlesche's "The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School"; Zitkala-sa's, "Old Indian Legends"; and Natile Curtis' "The Indian Book."

Angel's artistic skills brought her to the attention of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp, who offerd her an appointment as an instructor of Native Indian arts at the Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania. Leupp believed that the music and art of American Indians should not be totally wiped out in order to

"Americanize" them. He felt that these art forms were valuable and required preservation⁵¹. Angel had to be persuaded to accept the position, she was involved with her own career, but she was also suspicious of federal programs and educational systems for Native Americans. She stated that she would take the position only if "I shall not be expected to teach in the white man's way, but shall be given complete liberty to develop the art of my own race and to apply this, as far as possible, to various forms of art, industries and crafts⁵²."

During the years of 1906 to 1915 Angel attempted to provide her students with the same outlook towards art as she had at Smith. However her views and those of the government were not the same. To combine the artistry of the Indian with the practical products appealing to the white market was the economic-oriented goal of Leupp administration. To encourage Indian students to be artist just for the sake of art was an impossibility at first⁵³." In the nine years that Angel worked at Carlisle, she developed a philosophy and methodology teaching art to Indian pupils. Carlisle, itself eventually did certain things which assisted Angel in teaching and fostering an interest in the students of Native arts⁵⁴.

It was also during this period of time that Angel became involved addressing the need to maintain traditional Indian art on a national level. She worked on art exhibits, spoke at national conventions and promoted traditional artists from the western plains and southwestern reservations. In July of 1908, Angel married William Lone Star Dietz, a Sioux Indian, and her prized art student at Carlisle. Together they worked in the promotion of Native American art⁵⁵.

Angel maintained her contact with Northampton through correspondence and visits with Mrs. Clapp, as well as attendance at Smith College reunions. On several occasions the Red Man, Carlisle's Indian student journal, reported visits to the Ditezes by Mrs. Clapp and her daughter. In 1915, the year Angel resigned from her teaching position at Carlisle, she returned to Northampton. In a letter to Miss Folsom, Angel shared her feelings of closeness with Mrs. Clapp and the possibility of her relocating to Northampton:

...I came here to attend my little 'sister's' wedding the little child that came to Hampton with me, Mrs. Clapp's daughter. It was a beautiful affair and everyone was happy. Lone Star was to have given her away but as he couldn't arrange his affairs so quickly the mother gave her away herself. I remained this long to comfort the mother over the daughter's leaving. She takes it very hard as she is the only child and the last of the family on every side. Should anything happen to her I was considered their only heir...

...Billie (Lone Star) is still in the west but he is now negotiating for an eastern job in football coaching and we may make Northampton our home in the future as they make so many inducements for our living here. One is-they have a wonderful municipal theater here and Billie is a dramatic fellow and very much stage struck. Friends here are ready to help him on so he may yet shine as a Lone Star...⁵⁶.

Angel and her husband did not relocate to Northampton in 1915. Instead she joined him at his post at Washington State University, in Pullman. She remained there until 1918. During the summer of that year she once again came east to work at summer camp which was run by a former Hampton teacher, Elaine Goodale Eastman and her husband Dr. Charles Eastman⁵⁷. The Eastmans and their children were residing in Amherst, and had established a summer camp for young

ladies called Camp Oahe. The camp was located in New Hampshire, and its purpose was to expose the daughters of affluent New England families to the arts and culture of Native American Indians. Angel along with the three older Eastman daughters, was hired as an instructor of art. She spent that summer instructing the campers in various aspects of Indian arts and crafts.

On November 30, 1918, Angel Decora and William Dietz were divorced in Spokane, Washington. She remained in the east and eventually resumed her career as an illustrator for the New York State Museum at Albany. Angel once again returned to Northampton, in December of 1918, perhaps to spend the holidays with Mrs. Clapp. It was during this visit that she contracted pneumonia which became complicated by influenza. On February 6, 1919, Angel Decora died. Her funeral was held on February 9, 1918 at the Unitarian Church, and she was buried in an unmarked grave in the Bridge Street Cemetery in Northampton. It is quite likely that she was laid to rest in the W. H. Clapp family plot.

Angel represented the ideal role model for Native women of her time period. She was educated, cultured, and professionally motivated, all the things that the Indian reformers hoped would come out of their educational programs. However, what the reformers chose to ignore was the cultural conflicts and struggles that Angel was forced to cope with. She made continual attempts to achieve a balance between carrying on her Winnebago traditions and adapting to the ways of Euro-Americans. Angel's feelings of isolation and apprehensiveness about

mingling with her Euro-American classmates, continues to be experienced by contemporary Native American college students.

The educational, professional, social, and cultural achievements of Angel Decora should be glorified. Not only was she able to obtain an education and professional training in the arts, but she went on to utilize this knowledge to develop a career and a name for herself as an artist. More important, Angel drew from her experiences to train other Native American artists. She worked hard to expose and enlighten non-Native Americans to the beauty and value of traditional forms of Native art. Angel realized the political and social connections between traditional Indian art and the survival of indigenous nations.

She used her association with members of the Indian reform movement to promote federal policies which would not result in the further genocide of Native cultures. Dawson, Blackhawk and Decora are only three examples which can be used to illustrate the outcomes of the lives of Hampton Indian students. There are many others whose life experiences are deserving of separate studies. Students such as Walter Battice, (Sac & Fox), who attended Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts at the same time Dawson was at Framingham, or Stephen Jones (Santee Sioux), who studied the secretary's course at the International YMCA Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts, along with numerous other Hampton Indian students who attended private and public high schools.

There were also students like Charles Frost (Omaha) and Maude Goodwin (Chippewa), both of whom married individuals from Massachusetts. Frost married

Cora Tinker, a Euro-American school teacher from Great Barrington, in 1899, they lived in Kanasa where Frost worked in real estate. Goodwin, married Guy Gardner, an Afro-American student from Hampton in 1912. They resided in Pittsfield and later Springfield, Massachusetts. Then there are those Indian students who came to Massachusetts through the outing system and whose lives ended while in the program. Tsadletah (Kiowa), one of the Fort Marion hostages, died in 1879 and is buried in Stockbridge. Fannie Frazier (Santee Sioux), the sister of George Frazier, who later became a medical physician, died in Quincy, Massachusetts, of typhoid fever on July 9, 1892. She is buried in Boston. Bertha Mountain Sheep (Crow), was residing in West Boyford, Massachusetts, in 1909 when she died. Her remains were returned to her family in Montana.

Each of the Hampton Indian students who took part in the summer outing system program has their own story to be researched and discussed. The topic of research are endless and intriguing.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION: A NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

1912 saw the cutoff of federal financial support for Hampton's Indian Education Department. Though the number of students began to dwindle at this point, Indians continued to enroll at Hampton until 1923. The reputation of Hampton and the support of Native American alumni, contributed to the maintenance of the Indian Education Department. In 1923 seven out of the eleven students enrolled at Hampton were "grandchildren," the sons and daughters of returned students.

The Indian students who continued after the federal cutoff of funds were referred to as the "Plucky class." These students were responsible for paying for most of their education. This had a definite effect on the purpose of the outing system program. Students continued to participate in outing to develop academic and vocational skills, however the main objective of outing during this era was to provide the Indian students with an opportunity to earn the finances need to pay for their Hampton education. The outing system allowed Indian students to acquire funds to cover the cost of their room, board, clothing, travel, and to purchase any required vocational tools or materials. Hampton continued to use scholarships from private sponsors to cover tuition.

In 1928, just five years after Hampton's Indian Education Department graduated its last students, the United States Senate released its commissioned

report on the federal boarding school system. The Meriam Report concluded that the federal boarding school system had failed in its attempts to educate Indian students, to improve their health and to enhance their ability to work in (Euro-American) society. In discussing the outing system's role in Indian education, the Meriam Report supported the outing system in principle, calling it

the nearest approach...to the cooperative part-time plan (part-work and part-study)¹.

The Meriam Report does mention the specific influence of the Hampton outing system, stating: "It is certainly true that some of the most successful Indians met were those who were on the outing system at Carlisle or had similar training at Hampton Institute²." However, the Meriam Report attacks the outing system in its practice. The Report claimed that the students were placed in demeaning positions and cited examples from the various boarding schools. There were a few examples of complaints that the Hampton Indian students had been given demeaning jobs, the main issue was that of a male student who objected to washing dishes for a household of women. It was felt that the outing system did not allow its participants to be viewed as equals to their Euro-American employers and their families. They were seen as hired help, domestics, and borders.

The area in which the Meriam Report condemned the boarding school system the hardest was the role they played in the breakdown of Indian families. The

Report declared the practice of removing Indian students from their natural homes was unsuitable:

The permanent breaking of family ties but provided for children a substitute for their own family life by placing them in good homes with whites for vacations or sometimes longer, the so-called 'outing system.' The plan failed, partly because it was weak on the vocational side, but largely by reason of its artificiality³.

...Whatever the necessity may once have been, the philosophy underlying the establishment of Indian boarding schools, that the way to civilize the Indian is to take Indian children, even very young children, as completely as possible away from their home and family life, is at variance with modern views of education and social work, which regard home and family ties as essential social institutions⁴.

The Meriam report strongly recommended the federal government increase funding for Indian education. In the 1930's under the leadership of John Collier, the Bureau of Indian Affairs abandoned its policies of utilizing schools for the purpose of civilizing and assimilating Indian students⁵.

Hampton's Indian Education Department and the summer outing system program each had tremendous effects on both the Native American Indian and the Euro-American participants. The history of Hampton and the outing system are not restricted solely to Native American Indian histories, but also has a place in the histories of of the Euro-American communities of Western Massachusetts. Each of these two races of people were affected by Hampton and the summer outing system.

Hampton and the summer outing system offered Indian students experiences which were both positive and negative. Studies of the boarding school era often focus only on mainly the negative aspects and do not discuss the positive aspects, or visa versa.

Academically, Hampton allowed Indian students to develop skills which the administration felt were necessary for the Indian student's survival in the changing social, cultural, and political aspects of their Native communities. Hampton provided Indian students an alternate means of acquiring a basic knowledge of reading, writing, and mathematics. It also gave the students an insight into the foundations of mainstream Euro-American society. By being exposed to Euro-American academic subjects and philosophy, the Indian students were provided an opportunity to better understand how Euro-Americans, and particularly the United States government, viewed the world and what they saw their roles to be in the world. When Native American Indian leaders agreed to allow their children and young adults to attend Hampton, there was a desire to have these students return to their Native communities with the skills needed for them to assume the roles of mediators and negotiators for their people with the U.S. government. It was hoped these educated Indian people would assure their Native nations' abilities to negotiate with the federal government on a more equal political basis.

Academically, Hampton and the outing system also provided Indian students the opportunity to prove that they were capable of competing educationally with

Euro-American. These students shattered stereotypes of Native people being ignorant, heathens, and savages. They demonstrated that Indians could be educated in a foreign system and succeed. Without Hampton there might never would have been such Indian scholars and professionals as Thomas Wildcat Alford, Susan LaFlesche Picotte, Anna Dawson-Wilder, Angel Decora-Dietz, and William Jones, for the many others who went on to be highly successful in their own professions. Hampton in this aspect provided contemporary Native American Indian students and professionals with role models who confronted and overcame many of the same obstacles which Native American students face today.

The negative side of the educating of Indian students at Hampton, as well as their participation in the outing system, lies with the primary goal of these two programs. The main objective of educating and training Indians at Hampton and having them participate in outing, was to transform those students into agents of cultural change. The goal of Hampton's administration was to have these assimilated students return to their Native communities and work towards the Americanization of their own Indian people. Through its Indian alumni, Hampton sought to contribute to the "civilizing" of Native nations and thus put an end to the "Indian problem." On one hand Hampton encouraged the development of many outstanding Indian scholars and professionals, and on the other hand Hampton encouraged Indian students to return home and take an active role in the genocidal destruction of their own nations.

The outing system influenced the vocational skills training aspect of Hampton's Indian Education Department. Through the outing program Indian students were provided opportunities to utilize the skills they had studied at Hampton. Male students were exposed to the various requirements of successful farm management. In some incidents the male students were able to use the more specialized vocational skills that they trained for at Hampton. The Indian students also developed skills in the areas of time management and positive work ethics. They were responsible for being on time and for the satisfactory completion of their assigned chores. Female students were also provided the opportunity to further develop their training in housekeeping and domestic management. These new housekeeping skills were to be used to assist Native families in making the transition from traditional lifestyles to those of the reservation.

The Euro-American host families benefited from the vocational training aspect of the outing system as well. Working with and supervising the Indian students also contributed to the breakdown of negative stereotypes of Native Americans. The Euro-American employers realized that Indians were not lazy and stupid, that the Indian students were diligent and reliable. In some instances the outing program provided the Western Massachusetts farmers with the extra laborers needed to make that farming season a success.

The negative aspect of the outing system's role in the vocational development of the Indian students was the exploitation of them as laborers. Many of the students did not receive a justifiable salary for the amount of work they were

responsible for. Students in some cases worked long daily hours and would rarely have a day off. This would have also contributed to instilling in the Indian students low self image. The students would not have felt his/her labor was worth as high a salary as an Euro-American would receive. They would have used the low pay rate they received during the outing program as the basis for establishing their wages. However, there is evidence that a number of the Indian students did question the long hours, excessive workload and the low pay that they did receive during outing.

The most controversial area which the outing system and Hampton's educational program influenced was the cultural backgrounds of the Indian students. Hampton's administration saw its program as improving the Indian students' chances of success by exposing them to Euro-American Christian values and lifestyles. It was hoped the Indian students would eagerly shed their traditional cultural and religious values and beliefs for these new ones. Hampton did encourage the Native students to maintain some knowledge of their traditional languages and arts. This was done with the understanding that both of these could be used to perpetuate the Americanization process. Knowledge of Native language was needed if the Hampton Indian graduates were to return to their home communities to encourage and instruct others to accept assimilation. Traditional arts were viewed as a source of extra income by making and selling items to nineteenth and early twentieth century tourists.

The outing system was criticized for its contribution to the breakdown of traditional ties between the Indian students and their families. Often the Hampton Indian student and their outing system family did become very attached to one another. This however was not an appropriate replacement for the student's cultural and traditional family.

These two qualities-pride of ancestry and love of offspring-will make good citizens...There is great hope for a race with these high traits of character⁶.

The effects of the Hampton's Indian educational and outing system programs were often the cause of the difficulties experienced when students returned to their Native communities. The students were led to believe that their communities would instantly accept the changes which they now represented. This was not the reaction of the Indian communities in many cases. There was usually a distrust on the part of the traditional community leaders towards the returned students. The Hampton Indian students were viewed as having turned against their traditional beliefs and values. The Meriam Report declared, "the government has in effect destroyed Indian tribal community without substituting anything valuable for it⁷." The skills and knowledge which the Hampton Indian student brought back to the reservation were not always relevant to the cultural, social, and political aspects of their Native nations.

The attempted transformation of the Indian by the white man and the chaos that has resulted are but the fruits of the white man's disobedience of a fundamental and spiritual law. The pressure that has brought to bear upon the Native force conformity of custom and has caused a reaction more destructive than war, and the injury has not only affected Indian, but has extended to the white population as well. Tyranny, stupidity, and the lack of vision have brought about the situation now alluded to as the 'Indian problem'.⁸

These words were written in 1933 by Luther Standing Bear, a Sioux chief and a graduate of the off-reservation boarding school system. Standing Bear was attempting to express the Native American perspective on the effects of the off-reservation boarding school educational system. He was demonstrating that the "Indian problem" was not brought about by Native nations alone. Standing Bear wanted Euro-Americans to recognize that they had a responsibility to acknowledge their role in the development of the issues facing Indian people.

The effects of the off-reservation boarding school system has influenced contemporary Native American Indian education. Native American Indians continue to find ways of incorporating their own cultures and histories into school curriculums. There is still a need for Native educators, administrators, and professionals, though the numbers are on an increase. "The dream of educating Indian children remains, but these days the dream is shared by Indian parents and tribes. Indeed, Indians have become farmers and ministers, sawyers and seamstresses, but they have also become scholars, tribal religious and political leaders, and voices of sovereignty, as well as activists in the restoration of

tribal languages. If anything, schooling finally worked to defeat the original purpose of the missionaries and government officials who sought total Indian assimilation⁹."

These transitions in Indian education are not secure from federal policies. During the 1980's the United States government began to cut off funding to Native controlled schools, both on and off reservations. The majority of these schools had incorporated the study of traditional language, history, and cultural values into their curriculums. Many of these schools were forced to close as a result of the lack of financial support from the federal government. Native students from these schools have been forced into mainstream public schools. This latest attempt at assimilation has been termed "non-discrimination" by the federal government.

Both Native American Indians and Euro-Americans must look to past educational systems and policies when designing for the future. The positive and negative aspects of programs such as the ones at Hampton must be researched and discussed. Hampton and the schools which followed its model, cannot be labeled as only good or only bad; a balanced perspective must be presented. Research of this type is not without its difficulties. Rayna Green, Director of American Indian Programs at the National Museum of American History, delivered the following comments as part of a speech on the Hampton Indian Education Program. She expressed her thoughts about institutional histories and the need to bring it forward, especially the story of Hampton's Indian educational programs:

Tackling institutional history, no matter which institution it is, is one of the most frightening and one of the most important things we can do. To examine the histories of institutions, to look in the institutional mirror is often an act of deep bravery for people for what they find and what they might find¹⁰.

...The doors to the archives are opening. The doors to the museums are opening Indians may walk in, other people may walk in and claim what they wish out of those archives. The power of the past is becoming ours once again¹¹.

...Sadly, many of our people through the years have been told that they have no story with merit, no history with merit, no people with merit. If we do not resurrect those stories where merit truly lies, we leave all our people without a history, and so history will become irrelevant¹².

The story of Hampton Institute is our story, all of us. We bear responsibility for it, we must take it forward. There are other stories out there that need to be told...¹³.

The history of Hampton's outing system program is one of those stories which needed to be told. It has an important place in the history of Western Massachusetts. An examination of the summer outing system allows for the recognition of Western Massachusetts' contributions to the development of the Indian educational reform movement. The summer outing system as well as the entire Hampton Indian Education Department are evidence that the history of Indian education is not exclusive to the western plains and reservations.

The history of Hampton's summer outing system program is a history which is shared by two sets of descendants, those of the Indian student participants, and those of the Euro-American host families of Western Massachusetts. Each of these two groups of descendants must acknowledge this common family history.

Euro-American and Native American descendants should be encouraged to search their own family archives for artifacts from this common history. The stories and artifacts which might be locked away in an old family trunk could be a major contribution to better understanding the history of Hampton, the outing system program, and the history of Indian education as well as the connection of Euro-Americans from Massachusetts to it all. A key factor of Indian educational reform, past and future, could be waiting to be revealed. Together Native Americans and Euro-Americans must work to bring about the best reforms for today as well as for seven generations into the future.

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