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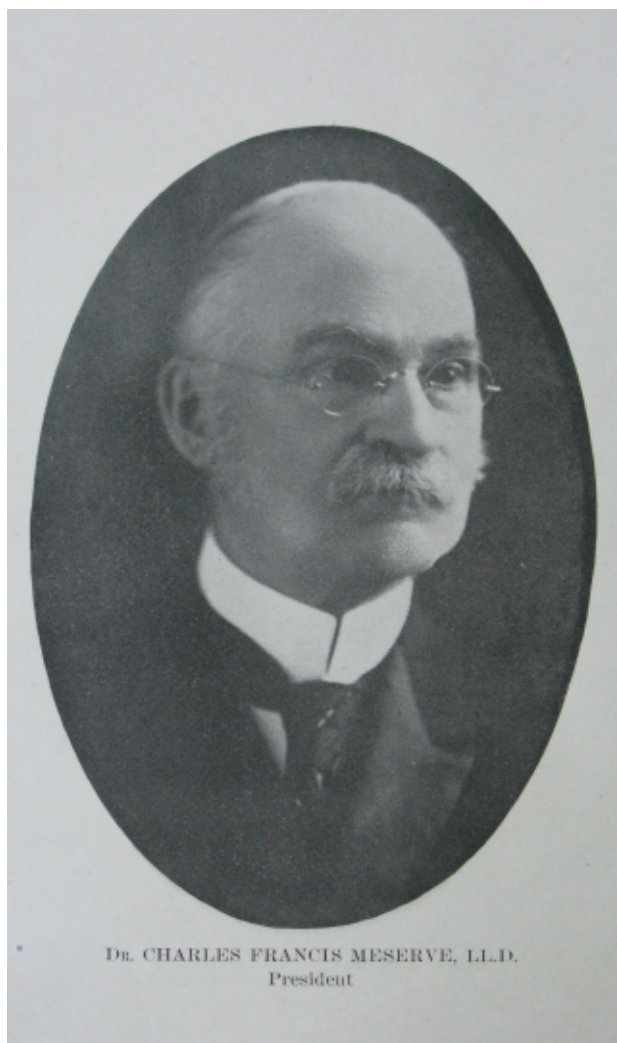


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A native of Massachusetts, Charles Meserve was a well-known educator at institutions of higher learning for America's racial minorities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While president of Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, Meserve spent summers on Squirrel Island, Maine. From Minnie Davis, William L. Cook, and Frank Mowery, Jr., eds. *The Sunrise* (Raleigh, NC: Shaw University, 1919). Courtesy of the author.

Research Note:

THE LIBRARY OF PROFESSOR MESERVE

BY DANIEL ROSENBERG¹

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LIKE MANY of Maine's summer colonies, Squirrel Island is an island of books. Its lovingly maintained public library still does things the old-fashioned way, with rubber stamps and checkout cards filled by hand. But on Squirrel, the community library is only the tip of the literary iceberg. Most of the creaky nineteenth-century cottages scattered over the mile-long island have some kind of book collection: books that washed up with summer visitors and then took up permanent residence, staying months and then years, and sometimes more than a century after their owners headed home. And each one of these small libraries tells a story.

A few years ago, I spent a summer on Squirrel in a sprawling Victorian cottage with no insulation and nothing inside covering its bare wooden bones other than shelves of well-worn books. Being a bookworm, I found lots to distract me on rainy days. At first, it was mostly the odd title that caught my attention, like *Old Age Deferred*, first published in German in 1909, though I was more than a little disappointed to learn that people who read in bed "often do not present a healthy appearance." *How to Live*, from 1916, proved a bit more encouraging, promoting singing (though *not* dancing) and vigorous use of the "air bath" or "nude cure." In general, the books in the cottage provide abundant advice on mastication.² All of this could be chalked up to the health-consciousness of New Englanders in the first decades of the twentieth century.

The accumulation of popular children's books, historical novels, and

biographies was also easy to explain. But some of the other books in the cottage were more puzzling: a signed copy of the history of Kansas, written by its first governor in 1892; a 1919 yearbook from Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, one of the early institutions of higher learning established during Reconstruction for the education of African Americans; prayer books and Bibles in Native American languages; a well-worn copy of the *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts*. What were these books doing on Squirrel Island, and what were they doing together?

The first clue was a name: Chas. F. Meserve. I found it handwritten in a lot of the books. Eventually, with enough poking around, the books themselves told his story. Charles Francis Meserve was an early summer resident of Squirrel Island and an important educational reformer around the turn of the twentieth century. Meserve attended the Classical Institute in Waterville, Maine ('72), then Colby College ('77). In 1878, he married Abbie Whittier, who attended the Classical Institute. Their daughter, Alice, was also a teacher, first in Massachusetts, then North Carolina, then in Arizona. After Abbie's early death, Charles married one of her classmates, Fannie Philbrick, whose father, John W. Philbrick, built a house on Squirrel Island. Eventually, the Philbrick cottage passed to the Meserves and become home to their books.³

Knowing Charles Meserve's origins, the 1884 *History of Plymouth County* could be explained. That was where he was born, and in that fat, tattered volume is one of his earliest articles, on the history of Abington, Massachusetts, from pre-colonial times to the present.⁴ In the mid-1880s, Meserve worked as a school principal in Rockland, Massachusetts (1877–1885), and then in Springfield (1885–1889). He was a respected administrator, but not well known outside of the area. So that still did not explain the Mohawk prayers or the Shaw University yearbook.

For this, the Kansas history books, signed by the author, gave the clue. In 1889, Meserve was chosen by the new United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. J. Morgan, to run the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, the second largest Indian school in the country. Morgan's account of his three years as commissioner – a carbon copy of the manuscript is there in Meserve's cottage – singles out the appointment of Meserve as one of the true successes of Morgan's administration. Morgan wrote:

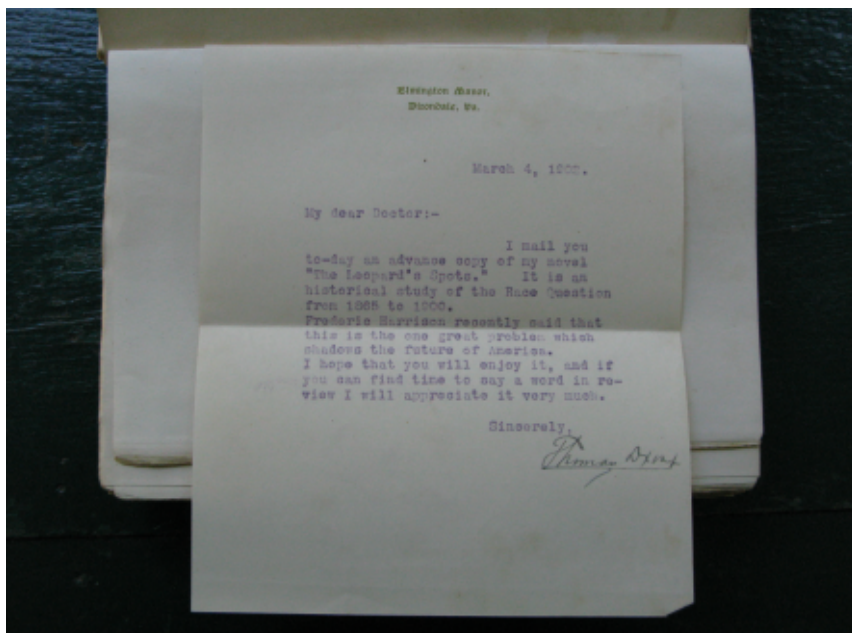
one of the early and difficult questions presented to me was the selection of a superintendent for Haskell Institute, one of the most important institutions in the entire chain. The school up to that time had not



Located in Raleigh, Shaw University was the first institution of higher education established for African Americans in North Carolina. Meserve served as president of Shaw from 1894 to 1920. From Minnie Davis, William L. Cook, and Frank Mowery, Jr., eds. *The Sunrise* (Raleigh, NC: Shaw University, 1919). Courtesy of the author.

been successful and in some respects was greatly demoralized. It was of the highest importance that a thoroughly competent school man should be selected for its superintendent. After correspondence, I chose for the position Mr. C. F. Meserve, Principal of the Grammar School in Springfield, Mass., who, although a stranger, came to me with such high testimonials that I had no reason to doubt his capacity and fitness for the place, and his work during the past three years has more than vindicated my judgment.

The manuscript also identifies it as one of the commissioner's most controversial acts. At the time of appointment, Meserve was essentially unknown in Kansas, and the choice of an outsider to run Haskell Institute rankled local interests. Kansas senator John Ingalls went so far as to protest the appointment to President Benjamin Harrison. According to Morgan, soon after Meserve's appointment, he was prevailed upon by Senator Ingalls to replace Meserve with an important friend of Ingalls's, one Mr. Rankin. When Morgan refused, Ingalls and fellow senator Preston Plumb appealed unsuccessfully to President Harrison. According to



Author Thomas Dixon sent Meserve a review copy of his novel *The Leopard's Spots* in 1902. Dixon, a native of North Carolina, became famous for writing novels that glorified Ku Klux Klan members as the saviors of white southerners during Reconstruction. Meserve kept Dixon's letter in the book, which is still held in the Meserve cottage library. Courtesy of the author.

Morgan, Ingalls was rebuked and told that Haskell belonged not to the state of Kansas but to the United States of America.⁵

While Senator Ingalls resisted Meserve's appointment, it was welcomed by Charles Robinson, governor of the new state. Meserve's conduct in the position made him an appealing example in the civil service. In 1892 Meserve was also singled out by United States Civil Service Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt for his stand against the influence of politics in education.⁶ Though a committed Baptist, for the next forty years, Meserve preached the gospel of an Indian Service divorced from both politics and religious sectarianism.⁷

By the time of his resignation from Haskell Institute, Meserve had earned a national reputation as an educational administrator and reformer. The 1894 report of Superintendent of Indian Schools Daniel Dorchester to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs expressed serious anxiety about maintaining the gains made at Haskell during Meserve's tenure:

Meserve has achieved rare success.... Supt. Meserve is not a man of one idea, but constantly surveys the entire field and sees every part. No department suffers because of his special interest in another part of the work. As an educator, as a superintendent of farming, trades, and of details, as a disciplinarian, as a financier, as a Government officer mingling with the public at large, as a promoter of good moral and social life, he leaves little to be desired to fill up the round of duty.... Supt. Meserve has instituted such a system of work, study, play and control that the discipline is so silent and automatic, it attracts no attention from an outsider – an evidence of the highest wisdom in administration which bears fruit under a steady hand and after a term of years. I have seldom seen pupils so busy in recitation rooms – as tho deeply interested. No one idle or listless. The teachers have a faculty of awakening, in the minds of the children, a desire for knowledge and then spurring the pupils along to secure it.⁸

Meserve was committed to educational access, and his statements on the subject were unequivocal. Harvard College, he noted in one speech, was founded for the teaching of “English and Indian youth,” and what was good enough for Harvard, should be good enough for the rest of America.⁹ On the other hand, Meserve thought that Native America was backward, and he had no qualms about separating Indian children from their families in order to give them what he viewed as a proper upbringing.¹⁰ Good enough for Harvard cut two ways.

In a speech in the summer of 1892, Meserve discussed the possible fates of Native America. If things went well, the Indian would be fully assimilated into American society. That process, he believed, was already underway, as it was for all of the other races in the American population. The new American, the product of the blending and civilizing of many races, he believed, had not yet emerged:

This may seem idle speculation, but it is not, for the process that is to determine what he shall be is already actively going on. The various agents and reagents, the social alkalies and acids [*sic*], the positive and negative poles of the economic fabric are all at work, and amalgamation, absorption and final assimilation will be the result. There are at Haskell to-day children whose parents are Indians, Jews, Negroes, Irish, French, Americans, and doubtless of other nationalities. We are accustomed to speak of ourselves as Americans, but the typical American has not yet appeared. When emigration has finally ceased and sufficient time has elapsed to develop a universally characteristic people, the typical American will exist, and not before, and he will be the product of the differentiation and coordination of the various peoples that to-day inhabit all our states and territories.¹¹

Unlike other Indian schools, Haskell provided private accommodations. The common dormitory room, Meserve said, smacked too much of the reservation.¹² In 1896 Meserve published an influential report to the Indian Rights Association – a published copy is still there in the Squirrel Island house – supporting the re-allotment of large portions of reservation lands as private, rather than communal, property.¹³ Meserve believed that private ownership of land would encourage economic betterment. Indians raised under the old reservation system, he believed, could hardly be blamed for their poverty. Again, Meserve's idea cut both ways: poor Indians off the reservation bore responsibility for their lot.¹⁴

In 1896 Meserve was commissioned by the Indian Rights Association to travel to several midwestern and southwestern Indian Reservations to investigate the impact of the allotment of land imposed upon Native Americans by the 1887 Dawes Act. Though he identified difficulties, Meserve found allotment to be a good policy and argued the evils that it sought to address were much greater than any possible negative consequences of the policy itself. In his report, Meserve characterized the policy as enacting an exchange of sovereignty for private property. Republican Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts rejected this notion, arguing that Indians had no sovereignty to alienate. Meserve emphasized too that effective implementation of the act could only be brought about by negotiation, not by force. Yet he believed that implementation had to be swift, as the situation in Indian country was dire: white squatters were rapidly appropriating Native American land, and he believed that without immediate Federal intervention the Indian Nations would effectively lose any territorial control they still retained. Meserve wrote, "the Indian in the Indian Territory will soon be a 'man without a country' unless the United States steps in to aid him in the preservation of his domain and the maintenance of his property and political rights." When you enter Indian country, he continued, "Whom do you see? *White men, white men everywhere....* When I asked a white man in the Seminole Nation to give me a definition of an Indian of the present day, he promptly replied, 'An Indian is a trustee of the title to the land in the interest of the white man.' He thoroughly understood the situation."¹⁵ Meserve's report was widely influential both within the association and without. And despite their differences, the sponsor of the act, Senator Dawes, credited Meserve with making possible the future success of the work of his commission.

Some of the books preserved on Squirrel Island have Meserve's hand-written notes in them. In *Rough Riders*, Theodore Roosevelt's

memoir of the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt wrote fondly of a laconic Pawnee Indian named William Pollock who served as regimental clerk. In the margin of his copy of the book is a note by Meserve: "One of my boys at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans. 1889–1894. He was a fine fellow."¹⁶ Meserve's keepsakes from Kansas include works in Mohawk, prints, and a wall-sized historical map of the acquisition of new U.S. territories, water-stained now, but a striking portrait of a nation still young at the turn of the twentieth century.

After Haskell, Meserve was forever associated with the struggle for educational access for American racial minorities, and the collection on Squirrel Island tells this part of the story, too. A photo of Meserve appears on the front cover of the March 1902 *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* filed among commencement addresses, college yearbooks, and other documents pertaining to Meserve's next position, the one he would hold from 1894 until the end of his professional career in 1920, President of Shaw University. A Baptist school, but latitudinarian under Meserve, Shaw was the first institution of higher education established for blacks in North Carolina, and one of the first such institutions in the



The faculty of Shaw University (with Meserve seated fourth from the left) helped to make Shaw one of the best institutions of higher education for African Americans in the country by the turn of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the university was not well funded, and this later hampered its educational mission. From Minnie Davis, William L. Cook, and Frank Mowery, Jr., eds. *The Sunrise* (Raleigh, NC: Shaw University, 1919). Courtesy of the author.

South.¹⁷ Meserve's commencement addresses for Shaw, preserved at Squirrel Island, reflect the fierceness of his commitment to African American education and the careful balancing act of a northern Baptist interloper in the South.

As President of Shaw University, Meserve became an important figure in African-American education. He knew Booker T. Washington well and appeared with him before a vast audience at the Fifth Tuskegee Negro Conference in 1896.¹⁸ During Meserve's years as president, the Leonard Medical School at Shaw graduated 438 black doctors, a number that put it among the most prolific black medical schools of its era.¹⁹ Meserve promoted professional education in many fields for blacks, but he singled out the mission of the medical school as being of particular importance. A lack of doctors in black communities, he argued, was one of the principal causes of the appalling disparity in black and white mortality rates.²⁰ Meserve complained that white medical schools did not admit black students, while the American Medical Association resisted accrediting black schools. Furthermore, he argued, poor secondary preparation prevented many talented black students from qualifying for college at all. At Shaw, Meserve promoted a policy of admitting students without traditional qualifications, arguing that disadvantages at lower levels of education prevented qualified men and women from moving forward; he argued that the excellent performance of students enrolled at Shaw served as abundant evidence of qualification.²¹

Once installed at Shaw, Meserve's reputation spread throughout the South, and though he was careful in his public engagements, he was in no way silent in matters of importance. Four years after arriving at Shaw, for example, Meserve inserted himself into a racial conflict in Georgia that made the newspapers. In 1899, a black army regiment stationed near Atlanta was accused of disorderly conduct. Meserve traveled to Georgia, inspected the unit personally, and published an emphatic report on their decorum, morale, and toughness. "If I was a soldier in a white regiment and was pitted against them, my regiment would have to do some mightily lively work to clean them out," Meserve wrote.²²

Meserve was careful enough to maintain conversations across political lines.²³ He was a gradualist, and while he encouraged the black graduates of Shaw to reject social injustice, he believed that the mechanism of their response should be personal improvement and professional engagement rather than through politics, and he called upon the language of faith to bolster his case. The text of his 1906 commencement address for Shaw gives a good indication of the path he treaded:

Today, 46 free young men, taught, trained, made proficient by Southern white men are going out into the world ready for service and with a belief on the part of their teachers that they will be an honor to their race. Let us never say there is no opportunity for colored men, when we consider that this marked change has been brought about in the brief period of less than half a century.

We are apt to be impatient. We want to reach out and grasp today that which requires years of training and patient waiting. We are impatient to reach out and attain those results that have been attained by other races only through centuries and centuries of effort, of toil, of struggle, of sacrifice, and even of death. We need to learn the great lesson that God moves in cycles, not in hours, days or years, and we need also to learn the important lesson that a man who has strength has patience, and patience and persistent perseverance are bound to win the day.

It is a grand time in which we live, for while it is the day of opportunity, it is also the day of opposition, of struggle, of conflict, and we should ever remember that the thickest of the fight is the best place for the brave man. Sometimes there comes up a feeling of dissatisfaction, and the resolution to oppose present conditions, even at the cost of life itself. When these thoughts come to us, we must remember that social and racial conditions never have been and never will be changed by legislation. You need to learn the great lesson that in proportion as you make yourselves necessary, exactly in that proportion will you make yourselves desirable. There is and always will be a place for men who can do something, who can fill important wants, who can supply deficiencies, who can meet the great demands that are made in a community in all lines of industry, in society, in religion and in education.²⁴

When he reread his own text, Meserve made some changes. It is hard to know what exactly motivated these. Perhaps he felt that even his gradualism might sound too strong to the white faculty and sponsors in his audience. Perhaps, to the contrary, he sensed that this group deserved special praise for their participation in the educational project. Whichever it was, in his own hand, he changed the first line of the passage above. Where the typed text read, "46 free young men, taught, trained, made proficient by Southern white men," Meserve wrote instead, "46 free young men, taught, trained, made proficient by *highly educated and cultured* Southern white men."²⁵

His role at Shaw made Meserve an important arbiter in conversations about race in North Carolina. In 1902, the North Carolina novelist Thomas Dixon sent Meserve a review copy of his book, *The Leopard's Spots*, an attack on Reconstruction and a romanticization of the Ku Klux Klan, which also served as the inspiration for D. W. Griffith's film, *Birth*

of a Nation (1915). Dixon wrote Meserve a personal note, which is preserved in the Squirrel Island copy, asking for Meserve's approbation. It appears that Meserve never published his own review of Dixon's book, though he clearly considered it. In the copy of the book that Dixon sent him, Meserve pasted the author's letter and clippings of several scathing articles on the book, including one that he must have particularly liked, a double review from a Baptist newspaper in Texas that juxtaposed Booker T. Washington's newly-released memoir, *Up from Slavery*, with Dixon's novel, praising the former as cause for "hope" and condemning the latter as evidence of "blood on our hands."²⁶

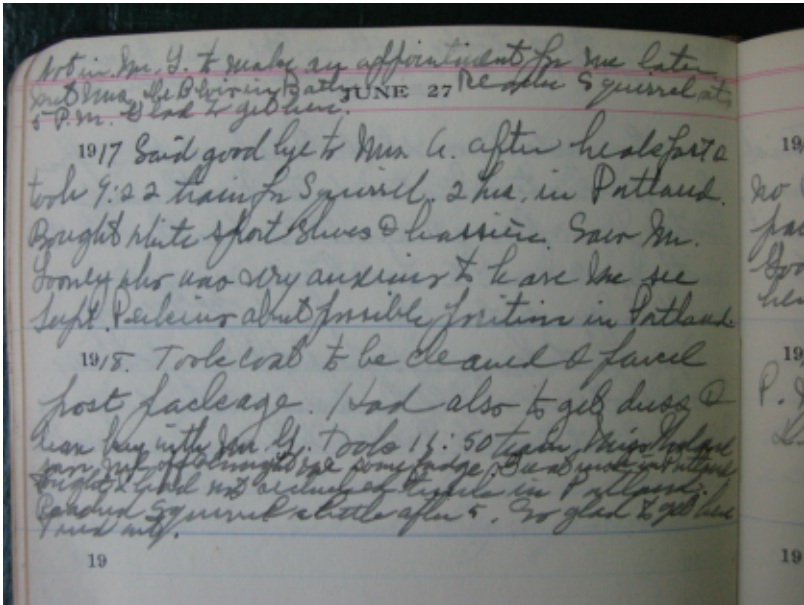
At the turn of the century, Shaw University was producing more black doctors, pharmacists, and lawyers than any other American institution except Howard University in Washington, D.C. But Shaw was run on a shoestring and lacked facilities, resources, and depth of faculty.²⁷ All of this, Meserve knew well, and – as annual reports on the shelves of the cottage show – he repeatedly cautioned supporters that Shaw risked losing its professional schools. For the first sixteen years of his presidency, crisis was deferred year after year, but in 1910 the sword fell quickly for Shaw's most prestigious unit, the Leonard Medical School.

In 1906, the American Medical Association began a campaign to raise standards for medical schools; in support of this effort, the Carnegie Foundation sponsored a nationwide study by the educational scholar Abraham Flexner. Published in 1910, the Flexner report proposed a massive winnowing of the field of training institutions involving "the development of the requisite number of properly supported institutions and the speedy demise of all others."²⁸ In the case of the black medical schools, the Flexner report recommended that funding be concentrated in only two institutions, Howard University and Meharry Medical College in Nashville. Shaw narrowly missed the cut. The report was devastating. Foundation grants dried up and students transferred. In 1918, Leonard Medical School was closed.

The books that Charles Meserve brought to Squirrel Island during his later years show him still active in education, politics, and the Baptist Church. In 1909, Meserve had invited his longtime acquaintance from the Association of Friends of the Indian, the progressive minister and social reformer Lyman Abbott, to speak at Shaw University. In 1922, Abbott penned a tribute to Meserve in a copy of his new book, *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries*: "men and women of faith, optimists to the front.... My compliments to Charles F. Meserve for his splendid work done for so many years at the front."²⁹ On August 15, 1918, Meserve introduced



Meserve's daughter Alice made short entries in this *Ward's Line-a-Day Book* in 1917 and 1918. The diary is still held in the Meserve cottage library. Courtesy of the author.



Alice's diary entries from June 27, 1917, and 1918. The brief entries describe the daily summertime activities of the Meserves on Squirrel Island. Courtesy of the author.

Harry Emerson Fosdick of the Riverside Church in New York City (and a summer resident of nearby Mouse Island), a leading liberal Baptist of the day, when he spoke in the Casino on Squirrel Island. On July 8, 1917, Meserve himself led services on Squirrel, reading a sermon by the Presbyterian minister, civil servant, and educational reformer Henry Roe Cloud, one of the most prominent Native American figures of the day. A Winnebago Indian from Nebraska, Henry Roe Cloud had been Meserve's student at Haskell and had later gone on to study at Northfield Mount Hermon and Yale. From 1933 to 1935, Roe Cloud himself served as Superintendent at Haskell Institute.³⁰

Perhaps the greatest treasure in the Meserve collection does not come from Charles Meserve but from his daughter, Alice: it is a short diary in an ingenious format, *Ward's Line-a-Day Book*, which places the same dates from five different years on each page. In it, Alice penned short entries of daily events from 1917 and 1918. The parallel of years captures the feeling of familiar repetition that anyone who visits the same Maine island year after year surely knows: raspberry and blueberry picking; evening reading; endless visiting of cottages. Most striking are the entries at the beginning and end of each summer: the name of the ferryboat was written with the familiarity of an old friend. "June 27, 1917: Reached Squirrel at 5 p.m. Glad to get here." "September 20, 1917: So sorry to leave. Friends see us off on ten o'clock Nellie G."

Judging by the dates inscribed in his books, after his retirement from Shaw, Charles Meserve seems to have come to Squirrel Island earlier in the year and to have left later. The year of his retirement, Meserve was still on the island on October 23, as the chill of fall set in. Alice Meserve continued to spend summers at Squirrel long after her father and "Auntie Fanny" passed away, even after she took a job teaching Latin and French in Tucson, Arizona. Professor Meserve left a legacy to the history of higher education in America, and he also left a legacy to Maine. After retiring from Shaw University, Charles Meserve continued to live in Raleigh, North Carolina, nine months out of the year, but he increasingly thought of Squirrel Island as home and of his house in North Carolina as the place that he visited during the winter. After his retirement from Shaw University, he signed his published works the same way he inscribed the books in his library, "Chas. F. Meserve, Squirrel Island, Maine."³¹

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank the Wyman Family, Archie Hobson, the Squirrel Island Historical Society, and the other Squirrel Islanders who assisted with this article.
2. Arnold Lorand, *Old Age Deferred: The Causes of Old Age and Its Postponement*, English translation (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Co., 1928); Irving Fisher and Eugene Lyman Fisk, *How to Live: Rules for Healthful Living Based on Modern Science, Authorized By and Prepared in Collaboration with the Hygiene Reference Board of the Life Extension Institute, Inc.* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1916).
3. "Necrology for Charles Francis Meserve," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 14 (December, 1936): 524–5.
4. D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1884).
5. T. J. Morgan, "Sketch," December 20, 1892, pp. 15–18. A typed copy of Morgan's manuscript is in the Meserve Collection.
6. "Blackmailing in Politics: Discoveries Made by Mr. Roosevelt in the West," *New York Times*, October 14, 1892; Herbert Welsh, *Civilization Among the Sioux Indians: Report of a Visit to Some of the Reservations in South Dakota and Nebraska* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1893), pp. 4–5.
7. Charles F. Meserve, "Indian Education" (manuscript, undated), p. 16.
8. Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, Report on Haskell Institute to D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1894, pp. 10–14.
9. Charles F. Meserve, "Educational Work," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, no. 15 (Lake Mohonk, NY: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1897), p. 52.
10. Charles F. Meserve, "The Present Status of Higher Education for the Indian," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, no. 9 (Lake Mohonk, NY: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1891), p. 17.
11. Charles F. Meserve, "Some Steps in the Solution of the Indian Problem," typescript, p. 21.
12. Charles F. Meserve, Report on Haskell Institute, cited in F.W. Blackmar, "Haskell Institute as Illustrating Indian Progress," *Review of Reviews* 5 (June 1892): 571. See also Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), pp. 37–38; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995). Meserve generally opposed the organization of Indian schools as paramilitary training institutes. See Meserve's comments in *Board of Indian Commissioners, 25th Annual Report of the Year 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894).
13. Charles F. Meserve, *The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1896).

14. Meserve, "Present Status of Higher Education for the Indian"; "Some Steps in the Solution of the Indian Problem"; "Indian Education"; *A Tour of Observations Among Indians and Indian Schools in Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Kansas* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1894).

15. Charles F. Meserve, "The Five Nations," in *Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian. Proceedings of the . . . Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*: 44-60. On Dawes, see also "Charles F. Meserve" in *20th Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* vol. 7 (Boston: Biographical Society, 1904), p. 360.

16. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899), p. 21. Opposite Meserve's handwriting is the following passage: "One of the gamest fighters and best soldiers in the regiment was Pollock, a full-blooded Pawnee. He had been educated, like most of the other Indians, at one of those admirable Indian schools which have added so much to the total of the small credit account with which the White race balances the very unpleasant debit account of its dealings with the Red." A photo of William Pollock in European clothing and his father in Native American clothing appears in F.W. Blackmar, "Haskell Institute as Illustrating Indian Progress," p. 559.

17. The Shaw University *Sunrise*, its yearbook from 1919, praises Meserve and features his portrait. See Minnie Davis, William L. Cook, and Frank Mowery, Jr., eds. *The Sunrise* (Raleigh, NC: Shaw University, 1919); William Stuart Nelson, *Shaw University Annual Report of the President of the University to the Board of Trustees* (Raleigh, NC: Shaw University, 1934). For a basic biography, see Samuel A. Ashe, ed., *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present*, vol. 7 (C. L. Van Noppen, 1908), pp. 343-8; *Who's Who in America, 1931-1932* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1932), p. 1553. On Meserve's attitude toward religion and education, see W. N. Hartshorn and George W. Penniman, *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro since his Emancipation* (Boston: Priscilla Pub. Co., 1910), p. 91.

18. John Quincy Johnson, *Report of the Fifth Tuskegee Negro Conference* (Baltimore: Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1896), pp. 7-8.

19. Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Diamond Jubilee, Seventy-Fifth Annual Session* (Raleigh, N.C.: Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, 1928), p. 143. See also Darlene Clark Hine, "The Anatomy of Failure: Medical Education Reform and the Leonard Medical School of Shaw University, 1882-1920," *Journal of Negro Education* 54 (Autumn 1985): 517.

20. Charles F. Meserve, "The Negro Physician (Leonard Medical School, Raleigh, NC)," November 9, 1909, typescript.

21. Hine, "The Anatomy of Failure," p. 517.

22. Edward A. Johnson, *A School History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1890: Combined with the History of the Negro Soldiers in the Spanish-American War, Also a Short Sketch of Liberia* (New York: Isaac Goldmann, 1911), pp. 359-65. The book contains Meserve's report on the incident and a photograph of him.

23. One of the notable artifacts in this respect is from Henry G. Connor, a prominent North Carolina segregationist. In Meserve's copy of Connor's *John Archibald Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853–1861* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), the inscription reads, "Hon. Dr. Chas. F. Meserve – Accept this book as an expression of my high esteem and appreciation of his [unselfish] and invaluable service to the people of this state as President of Shaw University. Sincerely, H. G. Connor. Raleigh, N.C., Dec. 9th, 1921."
24. Charles F. Meserve, "Parting Address to the Class of 1906," typescript, pp. 6–7.
25. Meserve, "Parting Address to the Class of 1906," p. 6.
26. Thomas Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865–1900* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902); J. B. Crantill, "Review of *The Leopard's Spots and Up from Slavery*," *Baptist Standard* (Dallas, Texas), November 27, 1902, p. 1. The founding story of Shaw University, as related by Meserve, involves direct defiance of the Ku Klux Klan. See Hartshorn and Penningman, *Era of Progress*, 87–92.
27. Todd L. Savitt, "The Education of Physicians at Shaw University, 1882–1918: Problems of Quality and Quantity," in *Black Americans in North Carolina and the South*, ed., Jeffrey Crow and Flora J. Hatley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp. 160–188; John M. Heffron, "'To Form a More Perfect Union': The Moral Example of Southern Baptist Thought and Education," *Religion and American Culture* 8 (Summer 1998): 200. See also Savitt, "Training the 'Concentrated, Skillful, Christian Physician': Documents Illustrating Student Life at Leonard Medical School, 1882–1918," *North Carolina Historical Review* 75 (July 1998): 250–276; Savitt, "Entering a White Profession: Black Physicians in the New South 1880–1920," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987): 507–540; Savitt, "Money Versus Mission at an African-American Medical School: Knoxville College Medical Department, 1895–1900," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75 (2001): 680–716; Adam Fairclough, *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007).
28. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada; Medical Education in Europe: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910); see also Stephen J. Kunitz, "Professionalism and Social Control in the Progressive Era: The Case of the Flexner Report," *Social Problems* 22 (1974): 16–27.
29. Lyman Abbott, *Silhouettes of My Contemporaries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921).
30. Alice Whittier Meserve, Diary for 1917 and 1918 kept in *Ward's Line-A-Day Book: A Condensed, Comparative Record for Five Years* (1892), Meserve collection. Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Harry Emerson Fosdick and John R. Mott, *The Meaning of Prayer* (New York: Association Press, 1915).
31. For example, in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, no. 47 (Lake Mohonk, NY: Lake Mohonk Con-

ference, 1929), p. 177; and in his manuscript, *Abington's Part in the Building of a Great Commonwealth and a Powerful Nation*, 1930, Colby College Library Special Collections, Waterville, ME.