

DARTMOUTH ALUMNI IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Kathleen Garrett*

The *Dartmouth College Bulletin* for the year 1952-1953 contains the following statements: "Ever since its founding 183 years ago Dartmouth College has had two unbroken traditions; one that it is predominantly an undergraduate college and not a university, and the other, that it offers a liberal arts education preparing men for useful citizenship."

The *Bulletin* also quotes a portion of King George III's Royal Charter which stipulated,

"that there be a College erected in our said Province of New Hampshire . . . for the education & instruction of Youths of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading writing & all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing & christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences; and also of English Youth and any others. . . ."

The purpose of this study is to show how certain youths of the Cherokee and Choctaw tribes availed themselves of this liberal arts education meant to prepare men for useful citizenship and returned to their Indian Territory homes to become commissioners of education, teachers and heads of educational institutions, lawyers and codifiers of law, and editors.

Dartmouth College is today and has been primarily an institution for the education of white youth, yet for 125 years a fund existed in connection with the institution for the sole purpose of educating Indian youth, a fund which did in fact educate Indian youth.

The writer has known all her life of the "Dartmouth fund," but it is only recently from reading an essay by Professor Leon B. Richardson, published in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*¹ in June, 1930, that the details of the fund became known to her, details which appear not to be generally known to historians of Indian and Oklahoma matters.

* Author's note: "I am deeply indebted to Miss Hazel E. Joslyn, archivist of the Dartmouth College Library, for her kindness in supplying information and in making available much valuable material. Dr. Angle Debo, curator of maps at Oklahoma A. and M. College, merits my sincere and grateful thanks for generously checking the manuscript for facts and for giving excellent editorial advice. Mrs. Rella Looney, archivist, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, has graciously checked records in her department for details. I have drawn heavily on Professor Richardson's essay in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*. I am glad to acknowledge the debt."

¹ Leon B. Richardson, "The Dartmouth Indians," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, XXII (June, 1930), 524-27.

Dartmouth College was the outgrowth of a school founded for the "Christian education" of Indians in 1754 by the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock at his home in Lebanon, Connecticut, and named Moor's Indian Charity School to honor a Joshua Moor, who had made a gift of a house and two acres of land to the school. The school was so successful in its aim of training Indians for missionary work among their own people that it was decided to move the school to more spacious surroundings nearer to the Indian tribes and to extend its activities into the college field. In 1767-68 a deputation was sent to England to collect funds. It was made up of a colleague of Wheelock, the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker and a Mohegan pupil, Samson Occum. Occum had proved a successful pupil and had become a "Christian preacher of much force and distinction" and he proved a successful fund gatherer. Over ten thousand pounds was raised—eight thousand in England, two thousand five hundred in Scotland. And therein lies a fact of much interest and some amusement to those considering the problem years later, of some trial and tribulation to school officials of the time, and of much importance to Indian students.

The money raised in England was under the control of an English board of trustees headed by the Earl of Dartmouth, for whom Dartmouth College was named, when in 1770 Moor's School was reorganized, chartered, and became a college. The Scottish money was under the control of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

As Dartmouth grew and the educating of Indians became secondary (Moor's School had been soon dissociated to facilitate the drawing of foreign funds), the need for money for buildings and for faculty arose and was met by the English fund. And by the last quarter of the eighteenth century the English collections had been entirely dispersed and the English fund came to an end.

Not so the Scottish fund. It had been raised to educate Indian youth, and for the education of Indian youth it was to be used. No matter how hard the early presidents of the college (Eleazer Wheelock and later his son John) tried to "dislodge" the Scottish funds for other legitimate uses, they were met with Scottish obstinancy. No matter how great the need (and what college does not have great needs) the Scottish fund—for any other purpose than educating Indian youth—was inviolate.

Nor was it always easy to draw funds to pay for such items as room and board for the Indian students themselves, for all that the money had been given for such purpose. Professor Richardson has some revealing remarks to make on the correspondence that passed between Scotland and New Hampshire in those early years.

The history of the fund is somewhat checkered: At one period it was withheld by the Scottish society as a result of the famous

Dartmouth College case; at some periods it seems to have lain idle; at others it was reluctantly paid. But in 1826 an annual sum was set (increased in 1840) and continued to be paid until 1893.

At the last date the college president endeavored to bring about a change in policy with respect to the fund. Moor's School had been closed in 1849, and the president considered reopening it. He wrote to the Scottish society asking that the fund be used to pay teachers for the institution which was to receive both white and Indian students. But the society answered in what Professor Richardson calls "very cold terms." This letter, refusing to give consent to the plan and withdrawing the grants until the whole matter could be reconsidered, is, recorded Professor Richardson in 1930, the last document concerning the Scottish fund in the Dartmouth archives. And any further knowledge of the fund Professor Richardson thought at that time must be found in Scotland.

But the intervening twenty-odd years have apparently brought some adjustment, for a recent report from the Treasurer's office of the College states that of June, 1953, the principal of the Scottish fund was \$27,454.97, that the income was \$1,092.49, and that the income is used for general purposes (and that these facts are listed in the Treasurer's report, 1952-1953, under Moor's Charity School).²

So it would seem that what the Wheelocks, father and son, had not been able to do has at last been accomplished. The Scottish fund seems to have been converted to the general fund. And although no special fund is now ear-marked for the education of Indians, money for scholarships has been increasingly available at Dartmouth in recent years, and some of the scholarship money would go for the education of Indians, if any enrolled.³

Although Moor's School closed in the mid-nineteenth century, Indian students continued to be educated at Dartmouth and its branches, specifically the Chandler School of Arts and Sciences, established in 1857 and now known as the Chandler Scientific School, and the Agricultural College, then located at Hanover with the College proper. Various academies, among them Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, New Hampshire, and Thetford Academy, Thetford, Vermont, also accommodated Indian students. The number participating in the fund at any one time during its most stable period ranged from one to five.

Concluding Professor Richardson's essay is a valuable list of the Indian students who attended Dartmouth and its associated schools as participants in the Scottish fund from 1800 to 1893. A brief survey of the list may be of interest.

² Information courtesy Miss Hazel E. Joslyn, Archivist, Dartmouth College Library.

³ *Ibid.*

The list consists of the date the student was received, his name, the date he left, and a comment, varying in every case, but including for the most part his tribe, his age, the school he attended (Moor's School, Academic Department, Kimball Union Academy, etc.), and in some cases the reason for leaving, his activities after leaving, and pertinent statements on the student's character and ability made by the president at the time.

In the early part of the century the pupils participating in the fund were, with one exception, members of northern tribes—Mohawk, Algonquin, Seneca, Oneida, and especially St. Francis. Of the thirty-two who were recipients between the years 1800-1844 nineteen were from the St. Francis tribe.

These early pupils were for the most part teenagers, attending Moor's School rather than the college. Their ages varied from eight to seventeen, excluding two little fellows of four, placed as an experiment in a private home to be brought up as members of the family. This experiment was a revival of an earlier idea of "capturing" the boys young," but was not a success.

With lads in their early teens, attending probably with no real wish of their own, with youth thrust into an environment wholly different from its native sphere, with a language barrier to overcome, with little tradition for "campus living" it is not surprising that comments such as "A poor student" and "Fickle and unstable" and "He will be another instance of Indian fickleness and lawlessness which have always been proverbial on this ground" are to be found.

Yet the same president (President Lord, 1828-1863) who wrote the last comment wrote of another Indian student, "The best Indian I have ever seen, intelligent, pious, stable, a good scholar" and of a third, "He excelled all those who have been under my care during my term of thirty-four years."

Under the date 1838 appears the first Indian student from the Five Civilized Tribes—a Choctaw. However of the twenty-six students listed as attending between the years 1844-1893, fourteen are Indian Territory Indians. Twelve are definitely listed as Cherokee or Choctaw; one listed as a "Western Indian" has been identified as Cherokee; one is listed "From Indian Territory, tribe not specified."

The students attending during this period were in truth college men: They were of college age; some were nearly fitted for college when they arrived; some were already graduates of their national seminaries. The comments that follow these students' names make to glow the hearts not only of those of Indian ancestry, but of all who appreciate scholarship and character wherever it is found. Perhaps the most widely known name on the list is that of Charles A. Eastman of the Sioux tribe, but within the former Indian Territory



SIMON R. WALKING STICK
Non-grad., 1915



DEWITT DUNCAN
Class of 1861



ALBERT BARNES
Class of 1861



ALBERT CARNEY
Non-grad., 1875

DARTMOUTH STUDENTS

Professor at Dartmouth College

itself many names on the list arouse pride at their mention: Jonathan E. Dwight, Joseph P. Folsom, De Witt Duncan, Rollin K. Adair, Harvey W. C. Shelton, Ellis Cornelius Alberty.

Another of the pleasing aspects that a study of the list reveals is that some of the students were sons of former pupils. The famous chief of the Six Nations (Iroquois), Joseph Brant, who had attended the Lebanon, Connecticut, school later sent his two sons, Joseph Jr. and Jacob. Father and son by the name of Annance were also pupils, and John Stanislaus and John Jr. were in attendance at the same time. In later years Mavis Pierce and his son Edward both attended Dartmouth. It is also interesting to note that in one or two cases when students were sent home for lack of funds or other reasons they returned for further study or to complete their courses.

Indian students have attended Dartmouth since 1893, but the fund raised in Scotland in 1767-68 by Oconnor and his associate has not been available to them. Cherokees who have attended Dartmouth within the present century are David Hogan Markham of Tahlequah, who entered in 1911 and was graduated in 1915 and Simon Ralph Walkingstick, formerly of Tahlequah, but now living in Syracuse, New York, who entered in 1914 and is a non-graduate of the class of 1918. And Oklahomans attend Dartmouth today; five of the student body of 2,600 men are from Oklahoma.

The first Cherokee to make use of the Scottish fund was apparently Jeremiah Everts Foreman. Although listed in Professor Richardson's list as a "Western Indian," he was the second son of the Reverend Stephen Foreman, a figure well known and respected in the Cherokee Nation.

Everts, as he was called by the family, was named for Jeremiah Everts, a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with whom Mr. Foreman had had contact personally and by letter. Mr. Foreman had bestowed on his children, or at least most of them, the names of important people whom he admired; one he named Jennie Lind Foreman after hearing the famous singer in Boston.

Everts was graduated from the Cherokee National Male Seminary in February, 1856, in the second graduating class of that institution. He is listed as being received at Dartmouth the same year. There seems to be confusion as to when he left, one source giving the date at 1857, another listing him as a special student in 1858 and a non-graduate of the class of 1859. It seems possible that he ceased to be a beneficiary of the fund in 1857, a fact which would account for the former date, and became a special student, being financed independently of the fund, a fact which would equally account for the latter dates. His granddaughter, Ann Foreman Graham, has a photograph of him as a member of the Dartmouth Canoeing Club, and in the crossed oars of the symbol on the jacket are the numbers

59. Back in the Cherokee Nation he joined the Confederate army and served under General Stand Watie when the Civil War involved the Indian tribes of the Indian Territory.

In 1852 Everts Foreman was married to Celestia Stidham, a Creek Indian, whose father had held many official positions in the Creek Nation. The Reverend Mr. Foreman, who married them, has left an interesting account of the wedding—a wedding similar, one suspects, to many a pioneer wedding:

This (March 17, 1862) being Everts' wedding day, we started pretty early in order to make the trip before night, the distance to the Creek Agency being about thirty miles. We stopped a short time at Ft. Gibson and made some purchases necessary for the wedding. . . . We got to the Agency about four o'clock P. M. just in time to escape a heavy rain which began to fall soon after we arrived. The wind also blew very hard and cold from the North. About dark the people from the town and country side began to come to witness the ceremony and to help eat the supper. Some considerable time after dark notice was given that the wedding would take place. The parlor was put in order, candles were lighted, and the guests were seated to overflowing around the room. A center table was placed in the middle of the parlor on which two lighted candles were placed. Soon after the bride and groom appeared and halted near the table. I then arose and took my stand on the opposite side of the table and performed the ceremony, making two persons one. In about three minutes all was over, and the young married couple took their seats among the crowd. Not a great while after, supper came on, and all that could seated themselves around the table loaded with all the good things the country afforded. Altogether the affair was a novel one:—the wedding was in the Creek Nation; the couple married were Indians, one a Cherokee, the other a Creek, and the minister who performed the ceremony was a Cherokee, and the father of the bridegroom.

Everts Foreman's contribution to his community was to be made through his descendants, for unfortunately poor health forced his withdrawal from the army and caused his death two years and nine months after his marriage. He died before the birth of his twin sons, only one of whom survived birth. This son, named Everts for his father, grew to manhood and raised a family of eight children, who in turn had families of their own. Of Everts Foreman's grandchildren, his granddaughter says, "We all have tried to be good citizens."

In 1857 another Cherokee entered Dartmouth. He was Albert Barnes, a cousin of Everts Foreman, his mother being a sister of Everts' father. There is no record of Albert Barnes having graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary, but he probably attended. The Seminary closed in October, 1856, for lack of funds and did not reopen until after the Civil War, and he might well have been one of the students affected by the closing. He enrolled in the Chandler School and received his degree in 1861—sharing with De Witt Duncan, who was graduated the same year from the Academic Department, the honor of being the first Cherokee graduates of Dartmouth.

Albert Barnes merited the comment by college authorities of his time of "Assiduous and faithful, liked by his fellows."

What meager records exist show him at home again in the Indian Territory devoting himself to the cause of education and evidencing interest in the political efforts of the Indian tribes to establish a central government.

He too was affected by the Civil War. He is reported in 1862 as coming from Dwight Mission to Park Hill and commenting on the general feeling of alarm—a feeling of danger with no explanation for it. During the war period both the federal and confederate Cherokees maintained a government. Unlike his cousin, Barnes espoused the federal cause and served the federal government, not as a soldier, but as superintendent of education (jointly with Henry Dobson Reese).⁴

In a more stable period (1875) Barnes as Commissioner of the Third Educational District wrote from Fort Gibson to Colonel William P. Ross, principal chief, expressing grave concern over the condition of the schools of his district. Barnes' first concern in his letter was illness:⁵

The schools have been in the usual flourishing condition until the commencement of the present session. The present sickly season has had a very injurious effect upon the schools, some of which have been suspended temporarily by the sickness of the pupils or sickness in their families which compelled absence. The season still continues very sickly especially on the main water courses and the school located there are still languishing, though most of them are now in operation.

He himself had been disabled in the summer by "a sudden and severe attack of sickness" while on his rounds visiting the schools in Sequoyah District. His recovery had been slow, but had not hindered him from "communicating with the different schools."

His second concern was with the school buildings themselves and the care of the school supplies. "More uniform construction of comfortable school rooms" and means for the "better preservation of school books and parlors during term time and vacation" were suggested as "absolutely essential to the due usefulness of our common schools."

He is further concerned that the "blank books" with which the Board of Education had decided to supply each school so that the teacher might keep a "weekly record" of every pupil had not been furnished his office for distribution. He urges that they be supplied as he feels they "will be a very serviceable expedient to insure better attendance and work." The bright spot in the letter

⁴ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 299.

⁵ Copies of Miscellaneous Papers, *Cherokee Biography*, (unpublished), collected and arranged by T. L. Ballenger, p. 22. This letter is quoted by courtesy of the Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

is Barnes' remark about "good teachers." The Third District had been and was well supplied in this respect.

In 1870 and the years following an attempt was made to bring all the Indian Territory tribes together into "one consolidated government" and in pursuance of this ideal an inter-tribal council was held at Okmulgee. Although the attempt was not successful, the council continued to meet annually from 1870 through 1875. Albert Barnes may or may not have been at the 1870 meeting; he was certainly at the meetings held in 1873 and 1875. He attended with his uncle, braving cold, anxiety over sick relatives, and unprepossessing lodgings!

Another Dartmouth graduate was present at the Okmulgee Council, serving his tribe as delegate and interpreter. Although the Choctaw Joseph P. Folsom had graduated from Dartmouth some three years before Barnes entered, might the two not have paused during the political deliberations to recall days at their Alma Mater?

It was of De Witt Clinton Duncan that President Lord made the statement quoted above, "He excelled all those who have been under my care during my term of thirty-four years." And it is of him too that Professor Richardson's list records, "His standing as a student was excellent." He was "nearly fitted for college" when he arrived (1857). He entered the Academic Department with the class of 1861 and graduated with his class.

R. Roger Eubanks knew D. W. C. Duncan (he was always known by the three initials) when Mr. Duncan was in his sixties, "I remember him as a handsome man with gray hair and beard and piercing black eyes. He wore his hair in ringlets that reached his shoulders. He wore black-rimmed nose glasses with a black silk cord attached."

But it is Mr. Eubanks' further statement that stimulates the imagination and shows that human nature is the same, Indian or white: "It is said that when he returned from college he returned to the home-spun hunting coat with its broad strips of brilliant red and blue and to beaded moccasins. He was a candidate for solicitor [prosecuting attorney] for Saline District, but was defeated by an illiterate!"

D. W. C. Duncan served his nation as teacher, lawyer, and writer.⁶ He was language teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary

⁶ *A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers* by Mary Hays Marable and Elaine Boylan (Norman, 1939), pp. 55-6, gives details of Duncan's literary activities and statements of his position as a writer. Poems presenting subjects from the Indian's point of view seem to have been his contribution. "He was one of the most powerful writers in this part of the country" state the writers of *A Handbook*. "So great," they write, "did his influence become both by pen and word that rarely were questions pertaining to tribal affairs or educational questions discussed without his being present."

and at one time principal of the Seminary.⁶ He taught English, Latin, and Greek. "He was exceptionally proficient in these subjects," writes Mr. Eubanks. "His pronounciation was perfect and he could talk indefinitely without making a grammatical error."

Dr. Angie Debo and her researches into Creek history offer a happy illustration of Duncan's legal ability in the employ of his fellow Indians. The occasion was an episode in the "Boomer invasion" during those years when David L. Payne and his followers made determined effort to open a portion of central Oklahoma to white settlement. The outline of the invasion is well known: the forced ceding of portions of the land of the Five Civilized Tribes to the United States to be used as a home for other Indians, the assignment to tribes removed from Kansas and other states and to the hunting tribes of the Southwest of portions of the lands for homes, the contention of the Boomers that the remaining unassigned portion was public lands subject to homestead entry, and the subsequent numerous attempts at settlement.

Through various acts and proclamations, the United States government was under obligation to remove the intruders and it did so. But no sooner had the soldiers removed one group than another, or perhaps the same, made its appearance, or reappearance. In 1880, the soldiers arrested Payne and sent him up for prosecution. The concern of the Indians was acute, for they saw that if the court decided in favor of Payne and established that the lands were in fact public lands, those lands would be open to settlement. For with one foot in the door and a portion of the Indian Territory open to white settlement, total entrance would follow, and their own turn would come as eventually it did.

At the suggestion of Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead, chief of the Cherokees, the five chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, or their representatives, met for considration of the problem. A member of each tribe was appointed to attend the trial, and the group was authorized to employ an attorney to aid the Department of Justice in the prosecution of the case against Payne. The group decided not to engage outside counsel, "but to entrust the Indian cause to D. W. C. Duncan, the Cherokee member." The decision came in May, 1881, and established that Oklahoma was not public lands subject to homestead entry.⁷

⁶ Duncan is listed by Professor Richardson as teacher, lawyer, and editor, but of what he was editor search has not revealed. Carolyn Thomas Foreman's comprehensive volume *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936) does not list him, but interestingly enough it does list his wife, Helen Rosencrans Duncan, in an editorial capacity. The August 30, 1898, edition of the *Tahlequah Telephone* contains the name of Mrs. Helen R. Duncan as the "editress" not of a women's department as might be expected but of an educational department. The editor of the paper at that time, it might be noted, was H. W. C. Shelton, a Dartmouth alumnus.

⁷ Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), p. 258.

The conduct of this case offers a pleasing contrast to the usual marksmanship of Indian litigation. The Council had appropriated five hundred dollars to compensate Grayson (the Creek member), and the Creeks had expected to pay \$1,000 as their share of the estimated five thousand dollars to an attorney. Grayson thriftily returned \$320.70 of his allowance to the treasury, and reported that no attorney's fee was due except a voluntary payment to himself. The Council therefore voted to pay the able Cherokee four hundred dollars. The Creeks had paid and were yet to pay excessive fees to attorneys for rendering no service and equally excessive fees for services that should have been freely rendered by the Federal government, but for \$579.90 they won the most important victory in the history of their relations with the United States.

Mr. Duncan and his wife, Helen R. Duncan had no children. But Mr. Duncan's brother, the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, was founder and superintendent for many years of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum. Surely Mr. and Mrs. Duncan were frequent visitors and concerned themselves with the welfare of the children. Certainly, Mrs. Duncan wrote a little poem⁸ especially for the *Cherokee Orphan Asylum Press*, the small four-paged newspaper printed at the Asylum and containing the children's compositions and various items concerning the boys and girls:

THE SNOWFLAKES

Little snowflakes, light and fair,
Dancing, laughing in the air:
Come and rest upon my hand.
Tell me; where's thy native land?

"Far above the ether's glow,
Far beyond this land of woe;
Souls up there forget to mourn
There, dear mortal, I was born."

Thank you for the answer given;
Thou hast come just down from heaven.
Tell me of my saluted mother!
Hast thou seen my little brother?

"Little brother? yea; and mother—"
Then the snowflakes spoke no further,
Died away, and, as a balm,
Left a tear-drop in my palm.

The evidences of success are legion; perhaps not the least is the complimentary bestowal of one's name upon the young or the taking on occasion by the young themselves of the names of those they admire. Nephews De Witt and nieces Helen Rosencranz, as well as other De Witts and Helens, not by blood bound, attest to the esteem in which the Duncans were held in the Cherokee Nation.

Rollin Kirk Adair entered the Agricultural College, then a part of Dartmouth, in 1874. His early education had been obtained in

⁸ Poem from a scrapbook made around 1891 by the Reverend W. A. Duncan's step-daughter, Florence Calab, and now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. C. F. Korhank.

the elementary schools of the Cherokee Nation, but any advanced education had to be sought elsewhere, for the Cherokee Male Seminary had not yet been reopened after its closing because of financial difficulties and the Civil War.

Not only had Rollin Adair the universal stimulus for obtaining education held by the Cherokees; he had a particular stimulus in his uncle William Penn Adair, who cared for and educated him and his three brothers under a promise made to their dead soldier-father, killed during the first year of the Civil War. William Penn Adair⁴ was a graduate in law, a senator of the Cherokee Nation, a member of the Supreme Court, a delegate to Washington, being there in the terms of three presidents; and he might well have inspired his young nephew to further his education.

Three years after entrance, Rollin Adair was graduated with the class of 1877. After graduation he "followed the career of teacher." But in 1881 when he married he gave up the career of teacher for that of farmer, taking over his father's estate which had been managed by his uncle. Later he added the career of merchant to his activities by establishing a store at Chelsea, the town near which his farm was located.

As mayor of the town of Chelsea, as townsite commissioner, appointed with two others to lay out townsites in the Nation and to prepare "correct and proper plats" of each town so laid out, as councillor to the national legislative body, Rollin K. Adair proved himself a useful citizen to his community and his nation. From 1895 to 1899 he was superintendent of the Cherokee Male Seminary, a position involving the purchasing of supplies, managing of appropriations, collecting of bills, and managing of the domestic department and one in which his varied experience must have proved of value.⁵

Estimates of Rollin Adair's character show an admirable consistency. The first, dating from his college days, comes from Professor Richardson's Indian list, "President Smith had a high opinion of his merits." His daughter-in-law (Janie Ross Adair) says, "My husband's father was considered a very well educated man and was always interested in civil and national affairs." A cousin, Cherric Adair Moore, in whose home Rollin spent a part of his youth writes of him, "He had a natural dignity and always took life very seriously." One comment reads: "Mr. Adair . . . is a wide awake, progressive, energetic man, educated far above the majority and it may be added that he is one of that type of men whose ex-

⁴ Cherric Adair Moore, "William Penn Adair," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1951), pp. 32-41.
⁵ *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 672.

ample invariably stimulates a new country, or a young settlement, to rapid development in civilization."¹²

It was through Harvey W. C. Shelton, who spent four years in school in the East and returned to teach in his native territory, that at least one little girl in Oklahoma was made to sense the place in human experience of sheer intellectual brilliance.

Two teachers were a part of her experience long before she had any teachers of her own. One was Miss A. Florence Wilson, long-time principal of the Cherokee Female Seminary, stern and highly respected and in a degree beloved, who had been one of her mother's teachers; and the other was Harvey Shelton, who had taught her father. What Harvey Shelton had said and done and thought permeated the academic side of her childhood. Not only was his name always on her father's lips in quotation, but an experience of her own contributed to her belief in Mr. Shelton's mental powers.

Books were very much a part of the home and she had many of her own, but one day she was investigating the family books and came across a small, thin volume. Since she was a little girl, all little books were hers by right and she appropriated this one. Unbounded was her disappointment when she found that she could not make heads or tails out of its contents. In despair she took it to her parents. "Oh, that," said her father, "is a book that Harvey Shelton had us study in English at the Seminary." And the book that Harvey Shelton had chosen for his English classes at the Cherokee Male Seminary? De Quincey's *Flight of a Tartar Tribe*.

Harvey Wirt Courtland Shelton was graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1862 and attended Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, New Hampshire, during the academic year of 1862-1863. He entered the Academic Department of Dartmouth College with the class of 1867, but did not graduate, having to leave college in his junior year (1866) because of illness in his family.

That Dartmouth did her work well in stimulating her young men to inquire into their own beliefs and to do their own thinking is illustrated by a delightful story of Harvey Shelton and his Uncle Hooley Bell, which Mrs. T. L. Bullenger of Tahlequah tells, and which she has very kindly given permission to be retold here.

Lucien Burr Bell, known throughout the Cherokee Nation as Hooley Bell because "hooley" is the Cherokee word for "bell," was a man of standing; he was a delegate to Washington, a member of the "convention" which set up the Cherokee confederate government, a sheriff of Delaware District, a senator from Delaware Dis-

¹² H. F. and E. S. O'Beirac, *The Indian Territory; its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men*. (St. Louis, 1892), p. 315.

trict several times, a clerk of the senate, and a president of the senate. He was a brother of Mrs. Ann Shelton, the mother of Harvey, and he helped his nephew financially with his college education.

After Harvey Shelton had been in college for a time, he wrote his uncle that he had been doing some serious thinking and that he felt he could no longer accept some of the religious doctrines he had been taught, that he could no longer subscribe to some of the beliefs he had formerly held. He was somewhat disturbed and asked his uncle what he should do. Uncle Hooley lost no time in sending his advice. "Come on home," he wrote his nephew. "You can go to hell in Tahlequah as easily as you can go to hell at Dartmouth."

Among the twenty definitions of the word "smart" listed in *The American College Dictionary* is the following: having or showing quick intelligence or ready capability. Perhaps no other word has as often been used to describe a person as has the word "smart" been used to describe Harvey Shelton. Impractical, perhaps somewhat eccentric, he impressed his students with his conspicuous mental ability. And Mr. Shelton married an equally smart wife. Mary Anna Elizabeth Duncan was the daughter of the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, educator and preacher, and founder of the national orphan institution. She, like her husband, devoted her life to teaching. It was "Miss Mae," gentle and kind, who took the girls of the Cherokee Female Seminary through their Caesar and Cicero and Vergil. The names of Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Shelton must surely be added to any list of those who have inspired and guided youth.

Although not an alumnus of Dartmouth, Ellis Cornelius Alberty took advantage of the Scottish fund administered by Dartmouth authorities and went to Kimball Union Academy for advanced study. He and Harvey Shelton enrolled in the same year (1882), but Alberty continued at the Academy, graduating from it in 1885. His daughter believes he enrolled in the Dartmouth law school, but attended only a short time (perhaps in the autumn of 1885) because of the illness of his aunt and foster-mother.

Cecil E. Alberty, a son, remembers hearing his father tell of working in the New Hampshire hay fields during the summer to earn extra money for college expenses. He remembers hearing that his father pitched for a baseball club; the catcher on the team was Dr. Charles A. Eastman, physician, lecturer, author, whose "subsequent career," Professor Richardson points out, "is too well known to require comment." There must also have been picnics or trips to the beach, for the family had for many years a shark's tooth which had been picked up on Nantucket Beach.

Richardson lists Alberty as being at the Academy from 1882 to 1887, but apparently the latter date is incorrect for in 1886 on his return Alberty became a teacher at the Cherokee Male Seminary.

He taught at different periods at the Seminary as he also did at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, serving as its last superintendent on its unfortunate destruction by fire in 1903. Mr. Sam J. Starr, who was a pupil of Mr. Alberty, says, "I liked Professor Alberty as an instructor. He took special care and patience to help me."

In 1891 Mr. Alberty left the teaching field for the legal field and was elected prosecuting attorney for Cooweescoowee District, a position he held for four years. He has been characterized as "a fine, tall, intelligent-looking gentleman of good manners and address." Their comment continues, "He is well educated and as a prosecuting attorney has given every satisfaction gaining the confidence and respect of his people."¹²

Apparently no Cherokees after H. W. C. Shelton and E. G. Alberty made use of the Scottish fund. Two Choctaws attended Kimball Union Academy between the years of 1891 and 1893, Zachariah T. Carshall, attending for two years, George H. Hughes, for one year. But for some years after 1893 the Scottish fund seems to have become a Scottish mystery.

Education had long been a tradition among the Choctaws. Missions and schools were established among them in the early nineteenth century and the elders of the tribe, themselves with little or no formal education, encouraged attendance of the young at the mission schools. The story is told of an aged Choctaw who took his grandson and daughter to a school conducted by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and said to the missionary, "I now give them to you, to take them by the hand and heart, and to hold them fast. I will now only hold them by the end of their fingers."¹³

Education was a tradition too in the Choctaw family of Folsom. David Folsom, the first chief elected of the Choctaws under a written constitution, himself the recipient of only six months of schooling, but whose epitaph recorded him as being a promoter, among other things, of education, was writing to a minister friend in 1818 of the "great work" that had "just come to hand" in the "establishment of a school" and of his advising his people to turn their attention to industry and farming and to lay aside their hunting.

Writing to another friend in 1822 he says of the scholars at Maybew Mission School, "The children go out to work cheerfully and come in the school cheerfully and mind their teacher cheerfully and on the whole I think they improve most handsomely."¹⁴ Folsoms have provided their nation with ministers, judges, editors, doctors, and lawyers.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 377-8.

¹³ H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899), p. 147.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

Joseph P. Folsom was received at Moor's School in 1844 and remained there until 1850. He then entered Dartmouth College and was graduated with the class of 1854, being the first and only Choctaw to graduate from the College, unless some have done so since 1893. Professor Richardson quotes President Lord as saying of Folsom, "He conducted himself with great propriety; a truly Christian man, a respectable scholar, and truly faithful to all trusts."

An opinion attributed to Folsom and quoted in the Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1870, brings a smile and gives a glimpse of the effect of classical education. "He is profound," says the Report, "in Latin and Greek and thinks the English nothing but a borrowed language."

After his ten years' schooling in the East, Folsom returned to take a very active part in the political life of the Choctaw Nation. Because he was a lawyer, he is found in historical books and studies drawing up and presenting resolutions to the Council; he is found, too, serving as delegate on some occasions when his nation's business needed transacting at home or in Washington.

He was a Choctaw delegate and the interpreter for the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes at the inter-tribal council held in Okmulgee in 1870 for the purpose of consolidating the Indian Territory tribes into one government. Folsom was chosen one of the twelve members of the committee to draft a constitution. The result was the "Okmulgee Constitution," which has been termed "a model of brevity and conciseness," counted as the first constitution drawn up and considered for the territory that later became Oklahoma.

Richardson's list of Indian Students states that Joseph P. Folsom "was much respected and esteemed by his people." Folsom's greatest achievement was codifying the Choctaw law in 1869. All the laws enacted before that date and still in effect were compiled by him and published "in a neat printed volume" as *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation and Treaties of 1855, 1856, and 1866* (New York, 1869). This is one of several codes published at different times by order of the Choctaw General Council, and is particularly known as the "J. P. Code" remaining the basic law book for the Nation until the close of the Choctaw government just before Oklahoma became a state.¹⁵

Richardson lists the name of the first Choctaw student at Dartmouth as "J. S. Dwight," the middle initial being a typographical error.¹⁶ The student referred to here was Jonathan Edwards Dwight, who 116 years ago so shortly after the Choctaws had made their tragic journey west, ventured east alone when many of the Indian

¹⁵ Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law, 1834 to 1884," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953), p. 5 p. 78; and the facsimile of the title page of the "J. P. Code," opposite p. 88. *Ibid.*—*ibid.*

¹⁶ Correction here by the Editor, Marjell H. Wright.

students went in pairs for their education. Professor Richardson tells us that "he was a man of maturity," and he is further spoken of "as one of the Indians who justified the expense of his training."

There are many references in records relating to the Choctaws on J. B. Dwight, or Jonathan Edwards Dwight, as a preacher, interpreter and editor among his people. He read proof on various Choctaw publications in the 1840's for the Mission Press at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation; he was co-editor of the *Choctaw Intelligencer* through 1850;¹⁷ he was "continued in the employment" of the Choctaw Nation by order of the General Council in 1857, to translate the acts and resolutions of the council session, in collaboration with Jacob Folsom;¹⁸ and he translated hymns for the sixth edition of the Choctaw Hymn Book, compiled by the Rev. Alfred Wright in the early 1850's.¹⁹

To the Reverend Jonathan B. Dwight goes full praise that he aided his fellow man not only by his work with the printed word but also by his interpretation of Biblical passages. Fourteen-year-old Dickson Durant, a Choctaw youth who years later became a minister, was so impressed with Dwight's interpretation of the fourteenth verse of the Third Chapter of John that he became a convert to Christianity and determined to learn English in order to penetrate the "mystery of Christ."²⁰

And to Jonathan Edwards Dwight, listed as "J. S. Dwight," goes praise too.²¹ He is the first of any of the Five Civilized Tribes from the Indian Territory to participate in the Scottish fund, attending no doubt Meer's School or one of the academies, for he did

¹⁷ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 40. (Also, see "Jonathan Edwards Dwight" in list of assistant translators to the Presbyterian missionaries, A. E. C. F. M., whose works were published at the Park Hill Mission Press, in Lester Hargrett's *Oklahoma Imprints, 1845 to 1890* (New York, 1951), p. 41; and for a list of Choctaw publications at the Park Hill Mission Press, see Worcester's report in Commissioner of Indian Affairs' *Report, 1848*.—Ed.)

¹⁸ Resolution of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, "authorizing J. E. Dwight and Jacob Folsom to translate the laws," approved November 4, 1857 (*Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, published by Joseph P. Folsom commissioned for the purpose, Chahia Tamaha, 1869, pp. 161-2).—Ed.

¹⁹ The sixth edition of the *Choctaw Hymn Book* was compiled by the Rev. Alfred Wright before his death in 1853, and was published at Boston in 1858, for which "Rev. J. E. Dwight, a native" contributed translations of several hymns. This sixth edition was reprinted at Richmond, Virginia, in 1872, by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication under the direction of the Rev. Allen Wright, of Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation. For references to these two printings see James Constantine Fillius, *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages* (Washington, 1897), pp. 96-99.—Ed.

²⁰ H. F. O'Beiras, *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory* (Chicago, 1891), Vol. 1, p. 33.

²¹ J. E. Dwight was a member of the Choctaw Convention at Skullyville, Choctaw Nation, that wrote a new constitution for the Nation, known as the "Skullyville Constitution," in 1857.—Ed.

not attend the College.²² But the courage and ambition of the lone Choctaw, making his long and tedious journey east for his education, fire the imagination and elicit pride.

In 1848, ten years after Dwight's entrance and four years after Joseph P. Folsom was received at Moor's School, another Choctaw, Simon James, was received at Kimball Union Academy, and remained there six years. He enrolled as a freshman in Dartmouth, but did not continue beyond the freshman year, leaving in 1855. It is a pleasure to read after his name on the Indian list the words, "Highly commended."

Albert Carney was in New Hampshire from 1857 to 1873, attending first the Agricultural College, then Kimball Union Academy, then enrolling in the Academic Department and remaining there for two years.

An entry in the Kimball Union Academy Catalogue lists Albert Carney as a Commissioner of the Court of Claims, Indian Territory. This court of claims has been identified as the Choctaw Court of Claims of 1875 and 1876; and the fact of Carney's being a member is indeed interesting.

The Court was the result of long effort on the part of the Choctaws to obtain compensation for losses sustained on their removal from Mississippi in the early 1830's. Complicated legal proceedings both within the tribe and with the United States government prolonged the payment of compensation. However in 1875 courts of claims, one for each of the three districts—Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Apukshunubbee—of the Choctaw Nation were formed, and commissioners were chosen by the principal chief and the senate (the commissioners were to elect one of themselves to be chief commissioner). The commissioners were to hold court in places convenient to claimants and to receive and adjudicate claims.

These claims, assembled during the years 1875 and 1876, seem to have fallen under three heads: (1) lost property, which included live stock left behind or lost by death or otherwise on the way, growing crops abandoned on removal, even lost iron pots, (2) self-emigration, which was a charge of \$46.50 for subsistence for each member of the family and slave and a claim of \$25 for a rifle promised to each Indian man, (3) land, which was not allotted to some members who chose to remain in Mississippi.

And although the money promised by the United States government was not forthcoming at the time the adjudication was completed, the individual claims were so carefully judged that when at last the

²² "Jonathan Dwight, a Choctaw young man who has spent some years in the northern states, and the latter portion of the time at Moore's [sic] School, Hanover, N. H., returned to his own people . . . where it is hoped he may be useful as a teacher, for which his education well qualifies him" (*The Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXXV, No. 12 [December, 1839], p. 484).—Ed.

appropriation was made in 1868 and a commission was created to make final determination, there was little left for it to do in the way of adjudication but to examine a few claims that had been overlooked and determine the heirs to claimants who had died in the intervening years.²³

Albert Carney was thirty-three years of age when the Court of Claims was set up. He had been home from college for two years; he had returned after six years of study in New England. It is not surprising that the chief and the senate appointed him a commissioner—for the Pushmataha District—nor that his fellow commissioners elected him chief commissioner.

His signature and statement of attestation on claims in the Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, are not examples of the world's best penmanship, but it is not ignorant nor labored writing; it is rather the poor writing that educated people sometimes allow themselves to lapse into.²⁴

Z. T. Carball, a student in Kimball Union Academy from 1891 to 1893, was by 1899 the county clerk of Sugar Loaf county, Choctaw Nation. Endorsed checks and receipts in the archives of the Historical Society²⁵ indicate some of the financial transactions of "Zach Carball (student)" in respect to his schooling in New Hampshire.

In any group of students there are unfortunately casualties. But of the fourteen Cherokees and Choctaws who attended school or college on the Dartmouth fund only one is labeled "Not a success." Tragedy in the form of insanity seems to have overtaken one. The Indian list says of him, "Commended for his diligence although his scholarship was not good" and gives President Bartlett's comment, "Some of his actions indicated almost a case of insanity."

In 1885 a student recorded by his surname only—Miles—was received and remained until 1888. He is listed as being from the Indian Territory, but the tribe is not specified. He had wished to study medicine, but President Bartlett had not thought such use of the fund legitimate. A Cherokee, Alonzo H. Mitchell, was in school in 1865-66, but the records of the Dartmouth fund during the war years are very incomplete, even the date in question, and no identification of him has as yet been made at the Oklahoma end.

Dartmouth College's motto is *Vox Clamantis in Deserto* ("The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness"), chosen by its founder almost two centuries ago when he set up in the woods of New

²³ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), pp. 205, 207, 210.

²⁴ Records of Choctaw Court of Claims, No. 1591, 1875-1876, Indian Archives Division, OHS.

²⁵ "Choctaw Students in the States," Indian Archives Division, OHS, Nos. 22300, 22315.

Hampshire the institution which was to have as one of its traditions the preparing of men through a liberal arts education for useful citizenship. The voice sounded two thousand miles away and was answered by fourteen Cherokee and Choctaw youths who almost without exception gave concrete illustration of this education for useful citizenship in their own Indian Territory.