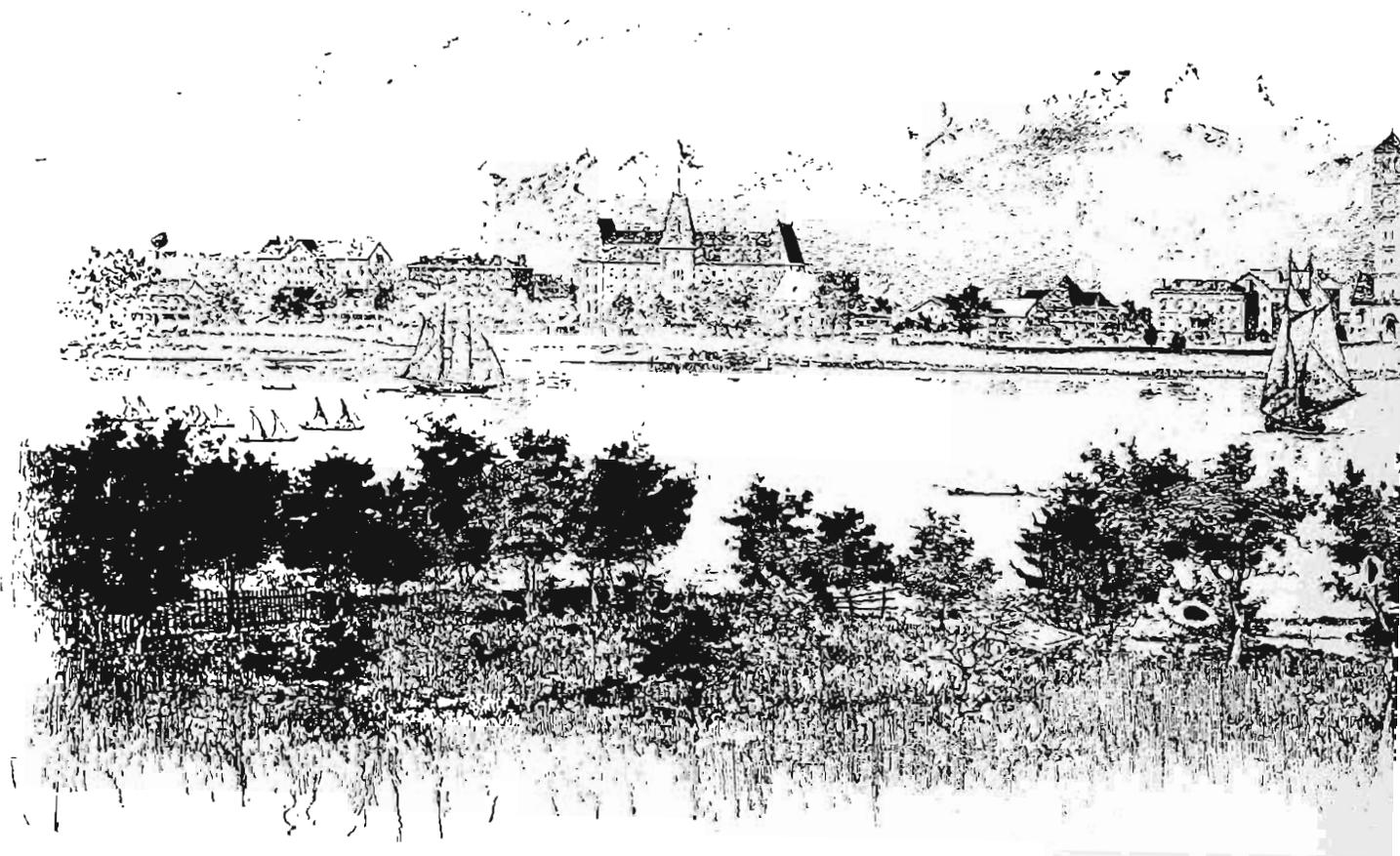


“Training the hand

INDIAN EDUCATION
at
HAMPTON INSTITUTE

Paulette Fairbanks Molin



"the head, and the heart"

"I LEFT HOME to come here at Hampton on Sept. 14, '97 on Monday evening and arrived here at Hampton Thursday evening, coming on my way I saw some of the largest cities I ever saw and was greatly surprised such as Milwaukee, Racine, Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Richmond capital of Virginia." Thus Alexander La Rock, one of the first Chippewa (Ojibway) to attend Hampton Institute in Virginia, described his 1897 trip from Wisconsin to the school. He continued: "Coming over the Alleghany [sic] Mountains I got scared sometimes the limited we were on was going 58 seconds a mile running right on the edges of the mountains. I expect it would run off the track every minute. Anyhow I arrived safely and thank God for it very much as everybody ought to do."

¹ Alexander La Rock to scholarship benefactor, Nov. 4, 1897, La Rock student file, Hampton University Archives (HUA), Hampton, Va. The terms for tribal affiliation—Chippewa and Sioux rather than Ojibway and Dakota—are used in this article as they appear in HUA materials.

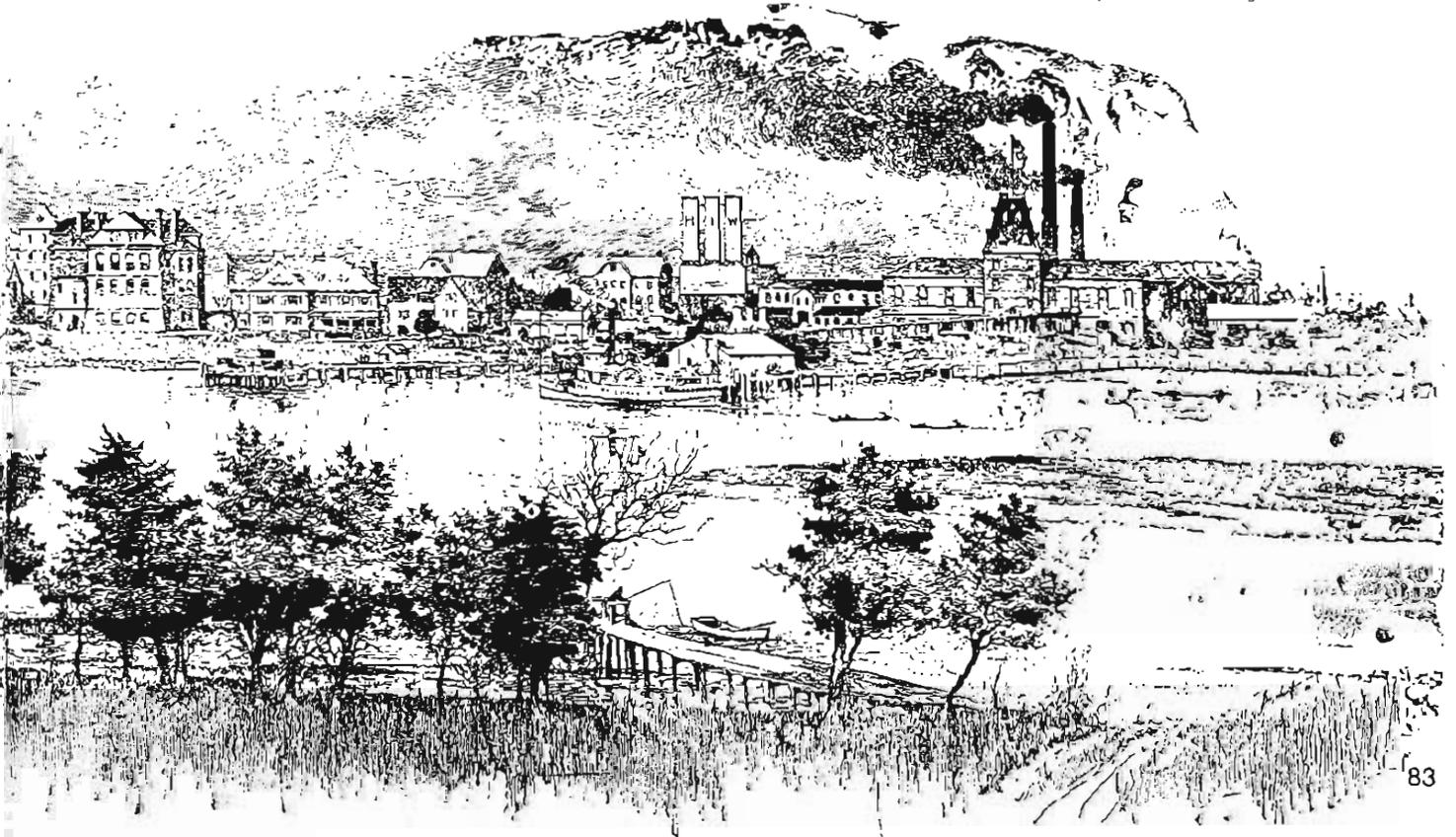
The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of archivist Fritz J. Malval and his staff at Hampton University.

² Helen W. Ludlow, ed., *Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1888), n.p. (unpagged front material).

Journeys of American Indian students to the school, located on an arm of Chesapeake Bay, began in 1878. At that time, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, already an established school for blacks, began an experiment in Indian education. Its Indian Department became the forerunner of a system of government schools designed to assimilate Indians into the dominant culture. The aim of the private, nondenominational school was to train "the hand, the head and the heart" of selected youths "to be examples to, and teachers of, their people."

Perhaps, in part, because its Indian enrollment was kept small, Hampton Institute's role in Indian education has been largely neglected. Its program was, in fact, a historic, pioneering model in academic instruction and manual-technical training. The Hampton plan included now-familiar components of off-reservation boarding schools: removing students long distances from their homes to regulate every detail of their training; emphasizing "civilized" language, religion, and culture at the expense of native traditions:

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establishing a summer outing system, where students were placed in white homes to learn English and "citizen customs" more quickly, and organizing students in military fashion, with drills, inspections, and divisions.

Hampton Institute, however, differed from the government schools to follow in many respects. The experience of educating black students enabled the school to implement quickly a parallel program for Indians; in fact, Hampton's racial composition was unprecedented, making it a constant "subject of interested inquiry, and sometimes of adverse prophecy and criticism." The school's mission of training pupils to set examples and to teach their people may have contributed to its relatively moderate stance on Indian assimilation. Recognizing that many students would choose to return home after their training ended, Hampton sought to inspire them with "a missionary sentiment, itself the strongest possible educator and elevator and strengthener of the human character."³

The institute also differed from later Indian schools in that it was not under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Initially, its Indian students were supported through private benevolence. When the experiment was proved successful to the government, the institute received federal support. From the outset, however, Hampton combined private contributions and student earnings with its BIA contracts. An annual government grant of \$167 per Indian student, allocated from 1878 to 1912, paid for board, clothing, and incidental support expenses. Tuition and industrial training costs were paid, as they were for black students, by scholarships. And when federal appropriations, always difficult to maintain, ended in 1912, Hampton Institute continued the Indian Department on its own until 1923.⁴

Between 1878 and 1923 approximately 1,388 Indian students, representing 65 tribes, attended the school. The Sioux, with 473 pupils, were the largest group, followed by Oneida, 194; Seneca, 112; Omaha, 64; Winnebago, 63; Cherokee, 61; and Chippewa, 51. The remaining tribes were all represented by fewer than 50, in many cases only a single student. One writer estimated that blacks always outnumbered Indians at least four to one at Hampton.⁵

By 1897 the school's Indian Department had been in existence for nearly 20 years. It began more by accident than by design with a party of newly released hostages from Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. Among them were Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Arapaho men who had been taken prisoner by the U.S. military in 1875, following the Red River War on the southern plains. The officer in charge of the hostages was Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who "believed in education also—even for Indians." At Fort Marion, he and "a few interested and good ladies" began to teach them "to

read, to count, about God, about justice and truth."⁶

After three years at Fort Marion, the War Department released the hostages. They were given the choice of returning home or remaining in the East to "learn more of the white man's road" for three years or longer. Pratt and some of his volunteers had made contacts to obtain sponsors and funds to continue the instruction started at Fort Marion. They had also corresponded with several agriculture and labor schools requesting admission of the hostages. Pratt commented: "the several I applied to hesitated to undertake the bad Indians. Their case was pre-judged because they were prisoners of war with reputation for atrocities."⁷

Sarah Mather, one of the teacher volunteers, knew Hampton Institute's founder, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, personally and wrote to him. Initially, he agreed to take one prisoner, but Pratt convinced him to take all of those not privately placed. Armstrong explained that "It was not in 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 'Macedonian cry' came from some Indian ex-prisoners of war in Florida . . . seventeen were accepted, at private expense, Bishop [Henry B.] Whipple providing for five of them."⁸

Like Pratt, General Armstrong was a Union Army officer. The son of missionaries and a leader of a black regiment during the Civil War, he had founded Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in April, 1868, to provide training to newly freed slaves. Armstrong firmly believed in the principle of self-help and in preparing students to return home with useful skills, not with facts and ideas they could put to no use. Hampton graduates, he stated, "are to be not only good teachers, but skilled workers, able to build homes and earn a

³ Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work*, 13, 37.

⁴ *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute*, U.S. Department of the Interior Bulletin no. 27 (Washington, D.C., 1923), 89-90.

⁵ Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's thesis, Brown University, 1970), appendix 3; Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923)," (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), 3.

⁶ [Helen W. Ludlow et al.], *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1893), 311; "An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute," *Southern Workman* 7 (May, 1878): 36. On the Red River War, see Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 536, 547.

⁷ [Ludlow et al.], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 312; Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 190.

⁸ [Ludlow et al.], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 9.

HAMPTON
founder
General Samuel
C. Armstrong



living for themselves and encourage others to do the same."⁹

Of the former hostages 22 decided to remain in the East, and 15 stayed at Hampton Institute, joined later by two of the seven who had gone to private placements in New York State. The Fort Marion Indians arrived in Hampton on April 13, 1878, by steamer from Florida, some to remain as students, others to continue their journeys after a short stay. The newcomers began their

⁹ Here and below, see [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 2, 313.

¹⁰ Cora M. Folsom, "Indian Work at Hampton," 8, unpublished, undated manuscript, HUA: [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 313.

¹¹ [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 314; Helen W. Ludlow, "Captain Pratt's Campaign," *Southern Workman* 7 (Dec., 1878): 91.

instruction and were assigned to various departments, such as the carpenter shop and the school farm. Besides working, they received instruction in English, writing, arithmetic, and geography. They also attended Sunday school classes and prayer meetings. Koba, one of the Kiowa students, wrote from Hampton: "I pray every day and hoe onions."

FROM ITS INCEPTION, the experiment attracted a great deal of attention as well as comments about the propriety of educating blacks and Indians together, a recurring criticism during the history of the school's Indian work. Some feared the influence of the blacks upon the Indians and others the effect of the Indians upon the blacks. Still others thought that members of the two races would either fight or fall in love. Pratt addressed these concerns early on, stating: "There will be no collision between the races here. These Indians have come to work." Dire predictions about the experiment "were disposed of when the seventeen braves fell cheerfully into line, with spade and plow and hoe, awl and hammer, side by side with their comrades of the other race."¹⁰

Several weeks after the arrival of the Fort Marion Indians, General Armstrong met with Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior, to suggest that the experiment in "Indian civilization be tried more fully by bringing some younger material, girls especially." Subsequently, the department appropriated funds to support the education of 50 Indian youths at the school. Captain Pratt, detailed from the War Department to help with the Hampton experiment, traveled to agencies in Dakota Territory to recruit additional Indian students. In this government-supported continuation of the experiment, "the Sioux were selected on the principle of taking the most pains with those who give the most trouble."¹¹

After traveling in Dakota Territory along the Mis-

THIRTEEN of the 17
Fort Marion Indian
students at Hampton
Institute, 1878



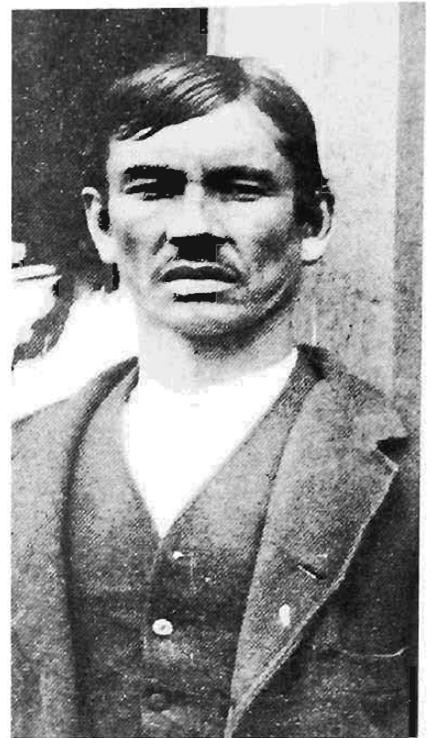
souri River from Fort Berthold down to Yankton Agency. Pratt returned to Hampton on November 5, 1878, with 40 boys and nine girls. These newcomers were primarily Sioux, with some Mandan, Arikara, and Gros Ventre, ranging in age from 10 to 25. From one-third to half of the group had received no previous schooling, while the rest had been taught mainly in the Dakota language. A few could speak English and two were described as speaking it quite well, including John Robb from Cheyenne River Agency, who acted as interpreter. Little Chief, Con-way-how-nif, a Cheyenne from the Fort Marion group, "was one of the first to bid them welcome, and, in the sign language which they understood, offer them sympathy and assistance."¹²

Four of the new students joined the 17 Fort Marion men in the most advanced Indian class. Two were admitted to the school's regular preparatory course while one, the interpreter, entered its junior program. The remaining 42 students from Dakota Territory were divided into two sections, following the division of the Fort Marion students, for both work and study. Two hours of industrial training a day were alternated with academic instruction. English received the greatest emphasis "even in connection with the lessons in elementary arithmetic and geography which with the elements of vocal music" made up their academic studies. Within a month the students petitioned to have black roommates in order to learn English more quickly. For the most part, however, the Indian Department became a separate program with its own staff, classes, and dormitories. Elaine Goodale, an early teacher, described it as a "school within a school."¹³

As Hampton's Indian program grew, it continued to be closely observed. President Rutherford B. Hayes stated in a message to Congress that the result of the experiment, if favorable, could be "destined to become an important factor in the advancement of civilization among Indians." The work was subsequently considered "so promising" that in Hayes's next message to Congress, he reported "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 scale."¹⁴ Carlisle Indian Industrial School started in 1879 with Captain Pratt in charge. Most of the Fort Marion students followed him there, where they formed a nucleus of experience and support for the reservation youths to follow. Consequently, the same individuals were pioneers of both programs.

At Hampton Indian education work rapidly became routine as additional parties of students arrived from reservations. The school soon reached its limit of 120 Indian students per year aided by the government; from 15 to 20 more were supported by private benevolence. Initially, Indians resisted having their children

JOSEPH
BEAUPRE
in 1884



taken away to school. In an 1884 council, for example, Sioux leaders told Hampton recruiters: "They have taken away our tobacco and we will give up our rations; but we will *not* give up our children." Eventually, however, "twice as many" applied as the school could take, but Armstrong did not wish to increase the Indian enrollment beyond the government-established limit of 120, explaining: "Our Indian work is illustrative rather than exhaustive."¹⁵

MOST CHIPPEWA attended Hampton Institute after 1897, but there was one exception. Joseph Beaupre, 24, the son of Alex Bopray [*sic*], arrived at the school on November 4, 1888. Beaupre had been working at Yankton Agency, was reportedly anxious to attend school, and traveled a distance to join a party of Sioux students. A school report noted: "As permission had been given to bring Sioux only, he could not join the party . . . but was so earnest about it that he was ac-

¹² Ludlow, "Captain Pratt's Campaign," 93-94; [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 327. See also "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 371 (April, 1881): 662.

¹³ Helen W. Ludlow, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," *Southern Workman* 8 (April, 1879): 44; Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work*, 13; Kay Graber, ed., *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman 1885-91* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 19.

¹⁴ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 53 Cong., 2d sess., serial 3265, p. 503, 577.

¹⁵ Folsom, "Indian Work at Hampton," 124; [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 9.

cepted on the basis of a work student, independent of Government aid."¹⁶

Subsequently placed on the list of students assisted with federal funds, Beaupre worked in the carpenter shop for two years and a year on the school farm. In September, 1887, *Talks and Thoughts*, the Indian student publication at the school, noted: "Sergeant Beaupre is acting janitor of the Wigwam, and is doing real well." He participated in outings to Massachusetts, at Stockbridge in 1886 and Lincoln in 1888. Beaupre remained at Hampton Institute for four years, until the scheduled expiration of his training time. Soon after his return home on September 25, 1888, with the Reverend John J. Gravatt, he reportedly went to Omaha to help Charles Picotte (Yankton Sioux, Hampton Institute, class of 1886), stayed there a year or more, then found employment with Thomas Sloan (Omaha, Hampton Institute, class of 1889). While Sloan attended to his law practice and surveying interests, Beaupre ran his place for him. According to this Chippewa student's file, his date of death was unknown: "People at Yankton told CWA [Caroline W. Andrus] in '18 that he had been dead for years."¹⁷

Beaupre left the school before the arrival of any other Chippewa students. It was another nine years, in 1897, before Alexander La Rock, Charles Isham, Edward Demar, and Martha Van Wert arrived. And by 1912, the year federal assistance ended, only seven

¹⁶ Joseph Beaupre student file. HUA; Beaupre's mother was not identified, but he was sometimes listed as Chippewa and Sioux.

¹⁷ Beaupre student file. HUA; *Talks and Thoughts*, Sept., 1887, p. 4.

Chippewa students entered the school, the last two enrolling in 1920. They did not arrive in large parties with other students from their tribe, as the case had been with earlier groups. The largest number of Chippewa to enroll in any one year was six in 1903, 1910, and 1911 (see Table 1).

Of the 51 Chippewa students, 29 (56.8 percent) were from Minnesota, 20 from Wisconsin (39.2 percent), and one each from Michigan and South Dakota (two percent each). Most of the Minnesota Chippewa were from White Earth Agency (27 of the 29); one was from Fond du Lac; and one, from Barnum, was not enrolled at an agency. The majority of the Wisconsin Chippewa were from La Pointe Agency, mainly from Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau reservations. Of the students, 32 were male (62.7 percent) and 19 female (37.3 percent). The youngest Chippewa, George Bender and James Poler, were 15 years old, while the oldest, Joseph Beaupre and John Medegan, were 24; the majority were in the 17-20 age range.

Experiences of Chippewa varied, as they did for all of Hampton's Indian students. Among them were "vanguard, rank and file, stragglers or deserters." The largest percentage left the school without graduating, but this was consistent with the small scale of Hampton's Indian enrollment and its even smaller number of graduates. Excluding those in attendance less than a year, "the Institute graduated or taught only 843 Indian students during its entire program: 521 male and 322 female," according to one study. Thirty of the 51 Chippewa (58.8 percent) left the school for a variety of reasons, which included Hampton's loss of its government appropriation in 1912, military service during

THE HAMPTON Indian girl students shown below at the left are Lula Owl, Maude Goodwin and Emma Bender (both Chippewa), Emma Corn, and Abigail Johnson; the boys, shown below at the right in their uniforms, are Thomas Swan, John Medegan, and Louis Hamlin (all Chippewa), with classmate Redmond Metoxen.

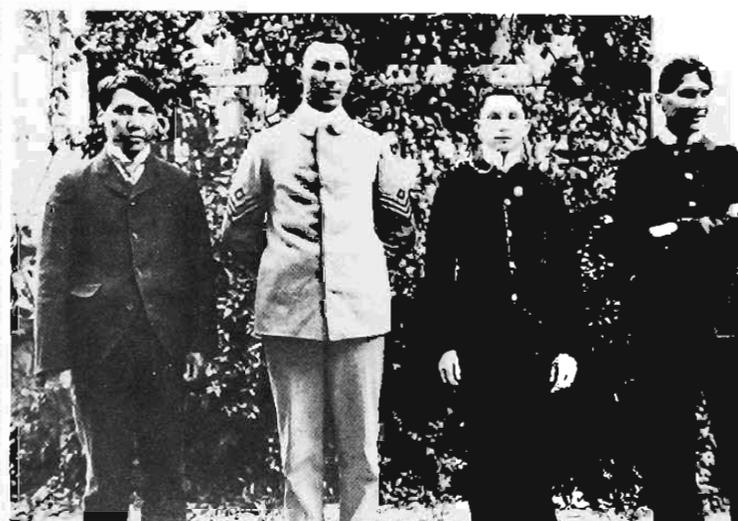


TABLE 1

CHIPPEWA STUDENTS AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE

<i>Name</i>	<i>Agency/Home</i>	<i>Age at Entrance</i>	<i>Years Attended</i>	<i>Reason for Leaving</i>
Beaupre, Joseph	Yankton, S.D.	24	1884-88	Expiration of time
Bellecour, Andrew	White Earth	20	1911-12	"Failure gov't. appropriation"
Bender, Anna	White Earth	17	1902-06	Graduation
Bender, Elizabeth	White Earth	16?	1903-07 1908, 1914-15	Graduation Postgraduate work in teaching
Bender, Emma	White Earth	(File misplaced; two years younger than Elizabeth; known to be at Hampton when brother Fred applied.)		
Bender, Fred	White Earth	17	1911-15	Graduation
Bender, George	White Earth	15	1914-15	"Dissatisfied because he could not get trade next year."
Bisonigijig, Henry	Lac du Flambeau, Wis.	18	1908-11	Expiration of time
Bobidosh, Alex	Lac du Flambeau	19	1908-10	Poor health
Boutang, Albert	White Earth	18	1903-05	"Request of father & 'capacity' of boy"
Boutang, Irving	White Earth	20	1903-05	"Request of father & 'capacity' of boy"
Broker, Claudia	White Earth	18	1915-18	Marriage
Broker, Mary	White Earth	18	1908-11	Graduation
Brown, George	Lac du Flambeau	19	1908-13	Graduation
Carpenter, Louis	White Earth	19	1903-05	Conduct
Chippewa, Louise	Cross Village, Mich.	19	1911-12	"Illness at home"
Chisholm, William	Lac Courte Oreilles, Wis.	22	1911-12	"Failure gov't. appropriation"
Chosa, Joseph	Lac du Flambeau	17	1908-09	Conduct
Cobe, Albert	Lac du Flambeau	16	1920-21	"Discouraged because Thos. Cross went"
Coffey, Amos	Fond du Lac	20	1911-15	Completion of trade course
Cross, Thomas	Lac du Flambeau	19	1920-21	"Discouraged"
Demar, Edward	Lac Courte Oreilles	18	1897-98	Conduct
Emery, Charles	White Earth	21	1915-18	"To adjust land troubles at home"
Giard, Antoine	White Earth	17	1902-05	Expiration of time
Giard, Celena	White Earth	20	1902-05 1905-07	Vacation Expiration of time
Giard, Emma	White Earth	18	1905-09	Graduation
Giard, Madeline	White Earth	16	1906-09	Not cited

TABLE 1 (cont.)

CHIPPEWA STUDENTS AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE

<i>Name</i>	<i>Agency/Home</i>	<i>Age at Entrance</i>	<i>Years Attended</i>	<i>Reason for Leaving</i>
Gokey, Agnes	Lac Courte Oreilles	17	1910-12	"Because of loss of appropriation"
Gokey, John	Red Cliff, Wis.	19	1910-12	Conduct
Goodwin, Maude	White Earth	18	1909-12	"Failure gov't appropriation"
Gregory, Alfred	White Earth	17	1903-05	Conduct
Curnoe, George	Red Cliff	18	1910-15 1916	Graduation (Trade Certificate) Graduation (Normal academic)
Curnoe, Joseph	Red Cliff	20	1916-18	"To enlist"
Hamlin, George	White Earth	17	1900-03	Graduation
Hamlin, Louis	White Earth	23	1901-03 1903-05	"Father died when L. enroute to Hampton & caused his return." Graduation
Isham, Charles	Lac Courte Oreilles	17	1897-98	Conduct
La Rock, Alexander	Lac Courte Oreilles	18	1897-1901	Expiration of time
Medegan, John	La Pointe: Odanah, Wis.	24	1901-02	"is gaining little"
O'Donnell, John	White Earth	18	1914-17	To help at home
O'Donnell, Nellie	White Earth	19	1911-14	Graduation
O'Donnell, Stella	White Earth	17	1904-09 1910	Graduation Diploma, Teacher's Course
Oliver, Agnes	Barnum	20	1905-10	Graduation
Poler, James	Pearson, Wis.	15	1907-08	"Homesickness Father sent ticket"
St. Martin, Susie	Cadott, Wis.	19	1910-14	Graduation
Selkirk, Lily	White Earth	16	1903-05 1906-09	Ill health Expiration of time
Sherer, Emma	White Earth	(File misplaced; married Michael Wolfe, class of 1913, who wrote that she attended Hills Business College and "stood second in Commercial Law and tied for first in Business Arithmetic" out of 286 students.)		
Summers, George	Lac Courte Oreilles	19	1910-12	"Had become discontented & was simply trying to be sent home"
Swan, Thomas	White Earth	23	1901-02	"Ran away from summer place on hearing his father was ill."
Van Wert, Martha	White Earth	20	1897-98	Poor eyes
Wolfe, Michael	Lac Courte Oreilles	18	1909-13	Graduation
Wolfe, Susie	Lac Courte Oreilles	17	1910-12	"For vacation, own expense"

World War I, poor health, homesickness, conduct, and because they were needed at home. Some of these students continued their education later in other schools.¹⁴

Fourteen of the 51 Chippewa students (27.5 percent) graduated from Hampton Institute (see Table 2)—eight females (15.7 percent) and six males (11.8 percent). The first Chippewa graduates were White Earth enrollees: George Hamlin in 1903, followed by his brother Louis in 1905, and Anna Bender in 1906. Nine graduated before 1912 and the remainder from 1913 to 1916. Among them were siblings from three Chippewa families: Bender (two sisters and a brother), Hamlin (two brothers), and O'Donnell (two sisters).

Two Chippewa students earned both trade certificates and academic diplomas: George Brown, a 1910 carpentry trade certificate and an academic diploma in 1913, and George Gurnoe, the last Chippewa to gradu-

ate, a printing trade certificate in 1915 and an academic diploma a year later. Two young Chippewa women, Elizabeth Bender and Stella O'Donnell, returned to Hampton Institute for postgraduate work in teaching. O'Donnell was granted a special diploma in 1910 for the teacher's course.

Seven Chippewa students (13.7 percent) stayed at the school until the scheduled expiration of time for their programs, mainly trades: Joseph Beaupre, Amos Coffey, Alexander La Rock, Antoine Giard, Celena Giard, Lily Selkirk, and Henry Bisonigijig. Two students were studying carpentry (Beaupre and Antoine

¹⁴ [Ludlow *et al.*], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 316; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 326. Two other Minnesota Indians attended Hampton at this time; they were Sioux students Esther Moose and Walter J. Shepard.

TABLE 2

Chippewa Graduates of Hampton Institute

<i>Student</i>	<i>Selected follow-up data</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Selected follow-up data</i>
Bender, Anna	Academic diploma, 1906; graduation, Haskell (Kansas) Institute commercial course, 1908; clerk, government school, Chemawa, Oregon; died 1911.	Hamlin, George	Academic diploma, 1903; died of tuberculosis at White Earth Reservation, 1905.
Bender, Elizabeth	Academic diploma, 1907; teacher, Indian schools in Montana and Carlisle; postgraduate work in teaching, Hampton; nurse's training; helped develop Roe Institute, Wichita, Kansas; American Mother of the Year, 1950.	Hamlin, Louis	Academic diploma, 1905; disciplinarian and later night watchman, Beaulieu; selling lamps and chickens, Mahnomen; rural mail carrier, Mahnomen, 1920.
Bender, Fred	Academic diploma, 1915; clerk in brother's store, Philadelphia; farming; sales; military service; further education, Roe Institute; employed by the State Highway Commission, Ames, Iowa, 1922.	O'Donnell, Nellie	Academic diploma, 1914; assistant matron, Pawnee, Oklahoma; student in Pawnee business college; stenographer, Osage Agency, Oklahoma; housekeeper, Pawnee.
Broker, Mary	Academic diploma, 1911; completed nurse's training, City and County Hospital, St. Paul; head nurse at government hospital, Red Lake Reservation; Red Cross nurse, World War I.	O'Donnell, Stella	Academic diploma, 1908; Special diploma, teacher's course, 1910; teacher, Bena and Onigum; graduation, Haskell Institute commercial course, 1913; stenographer, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Brown, George	Carpentry Trade Certificate, 1910; academic diploma, 1913; mechanic, Yankton Indian School; carpenter, Pipestone Boarding School and Lac du Flambeau's Indian school.	Oliver, Agnes	Academic diploma, 1910; assistant matron, Crow Agency, Montana; housekeeper, Crow Agency.
Giard, Emma	Academic diploma, 1909; teacher at Waubun, Beaulieu, and Cass Lake; matron, government school, Cass Lake.	St. Martin, Susie	Academic diploma, 1914; nurse's training, City and County Hospital, St. Paul; assistant nurse at government hospital, Red Lake Reservation; Red Cross nurse in France, World War I.
Gurnoe, George	Printing Trade Certificate, 1915; Academic diploma, 1916; printer for El Paso, Texas, newspaper; disciplinarian, government school, Hayward, Wisconsin; other positions in the Indian Service.	Wolfe, Michael	Academic diploma, 1913; disciplinarian, Rainy Mountain School, Cotebo, Oklahoma; teacher, Rosebud Reservation, S.D.; district farmer, Cherry Creek, S.D.

Giard); one, Bisonigijig, blacksmithing; one, Coffey, steamfitting; and one, La Rock, three years of wheelwrighting and one year of blacksmithing. Lily Selkirk and Celena Giard identified dressmaking and housekeeping, respectively, as the subjects they wanted to learn at Hampton Institute.

BECAUSE the Chippewa attended Hampton later, their experiences differed in some respects from earlier students. General Armstrong died in 1893 and was succeeded by Hollis Burke Frissell, who served as principal from 1893 to 1917; James Edgar Gregg held the post from 1918 to 1929. Other staff members had left to follow new pursuits, including Elaine Goodale, who had taught in the Indian Department for three years, and Booker T. Washington, the noted black educator who, as a young man in 1879, had accepted Armstrong's job offer "to be a sort of 'house father' to the Indian young men," in charge of their discipline, clothing, and rooms.¹⁹

The illustrious achievements of many Hampton graduates were used as proof of the effectiveness of the program. Anna Dawson, Arikara, class of 1885, who was with the first party of students from Dakota Territory, subsequently taught at Hampton Institute, Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska, and served as a field matron at Fort Berthold in North Dakota. Other noted graduates were Susan LaFlesche, Omaha, class of 1886, salutatorian, the first female American Indian physician; Angel DeCora, Winnebago, class of 1891, a gifted artist who continued her studies at Smith College, Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, and the Boston Art School; and William Jones, Sac and Fox, class of 1892, who resumed his education at Andover, Harvard, and then Columbia University, where he graduated with a Ph.D. in ethnology.²⁰

The incoming students had also changed. Many already had significant exposure to the "white man's road" from the system of boarding and day schools developed on and off reservation following the establishment of Hampton's Indian Department in 1878 and Carlisle in 1879. Pressures on the students to assimilate had begun years earlier in other school settings. Out-

ward changes required of the students had already been made, such as the wearing of "citizen's dress" and approved hair styles. Other aspects of the school program were likewise familiar. Charles Isham, who arrived in 1897, commented: "I have been to school before but I have never been to a large school not as large as this one is. . . . I drilled before so it is nothing new to me."²¹

Previous schooling experiences also varied for the Chippewa students. Some attended school on their home reservations, while others went to off-reservation boarding schools; some attended mission schools, others went to government schools or a combination of the two. Their stays ranged from a few years to as many as 13. In 1897, for example, the four Chippewa students who enrolled at Hampton had previously attended schools in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania.²²

In some instances, school had, in effect, become home. Contact with family and tribe was negligible. One White Earth student, Lily Selkirk, commented: "I have been away from home most of the time so I do not know much about the place." Another, Susie St. Martin from Cadott, Wisconsin, remarked: "I have never had anything but institutional life and naturally everything was new and strange to me when I got out of training that I hardly knew how to act." She was sent to Tomah Industrial School before she was four years old, shortly after the death of her father. The superintendent kept her there, and she was called "the baby of the school."²³

Earlier school experiences often meant that students could enter a regular program of instruction rather than going to preparatory classes first. One staff member observed in 1896 that "The scholars are now far more advanced, far less a 'peculiar people,' and the plan is by another fall to merge these Indian preparatory classes . . . into the regular Academic Department." Points of special contact were still deemed desirable for all of the Indian students. These included Sunday school, dormitory life, and association with staff members who had visited their homes or had special opportunities to study the problems confronting Indians.²⁴

Despite changes at Hampton there was continuity in the school's work with Indian students. Principal Frissell reported in 1898 that while in the third decade of its work, "Hampton has held itself with no less tenacity than formerly to the making of teachers, the training has been broadened on the side of manual training, the trades and agricultural instruction." The institute's offerings for 1897-98 included the academic course, day or night school; the normal school course; trade school; industrial training; and preparatory classes. Requirements varied for each. Candidates for admission to the day school academic course, for example, were expected "to be able to read and write, to

¹⁹ Louis R. Harlan and John W. Blassingame, eds., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 1:267.

²⁰ [Ludlow et al.], *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 330, 403, 414; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 208; Muir, "Indian Education," 91, 92.

²¹ Charles Isham student file, HUA.

²² Isham, La Rock, Edward Demar, and Martha Van Wert student files, HUA.

²³ Lily Selkirk and Susie St. Martin student files, HUA.

²⁴ [Hollis B. Frissell], *Principal's Report for the Year Ending June 30th, 1896* (Hampton: The Institute, 1897), 26.

pass a satisfactory examination in numeration, the first four rules in arithmetic through long division, and to have an elementary knowledge of fractions and decimals." They were also expected to write correct sentences, to capitalize and punctuate, and to write a "credit-able letter."²⁵

Hampton Institute's three classes—junior, middle, and senior—continued, preceded by preparatory courses if needed. Of the four Chippewa who enrolled in 1897, for example, Martha Van Wert entered the junior class. Edward Demar, Charles Isham, and Alexander La Rock were placed in "A Preparatory Class," where studies included arithmetic, reading, elementary science, geography, English, Bible, and manual training. A second class, "B Preparatory," offered essentially the same curriculum as "A Preparatory," but demanded less work.²⁶

Trade school courses in 1897–98 included carpentry, painting, bricklaying, plastering, wheelwrighting, and machine work. In addition, there were courses in steam engineering, tinsmithing, tailoring, shoemaking, harness-making, printing, and mechanical drawing. Applicants to the trade school had to be at least 16 years of age and pass the same entrance exam as for admission to the academic department. They were required to study academics, "believed to be of as great importance to the craftsman as practice at his trade."

Daily schedules included eight hours devoted to their trades, two hours of recitations, and attendance at evening study periods. Students had to spend time in industries on the school grounds to gain skill in their areas of study. The length of the trade school courses was three years; however, certificates were awarded for attainment in skill rather than length of enrollment.

Besides academic requirements, Hampton Institute continued to have rules regarding dress, discipline, and worship. Boys wore a uniform, virtually unchanged from the early years, consisting of "a plain sack coat and pantaloons of blue cloth, and a military cap" to be worn "at drills and inspections, on all public occasions, and always when off the school grounds." The tailoring department of the institute made the uniforms, which were furnished to the students at reasonable prices. Girls were required to "bring a gossamer and rubbers," and those entering the work department were expected to wear "plain, easy-fitting wash dresses and aprons" as well as "Warner waists." Students were subject to suspension or discharge for unsatisfactory study, conduct, or labor. As before, they were required to be present at daily devotional exercises and to attend Sunday school and church services.²⁷

THE SUMMER OUTING system, first tried with some of the Fort Marion men, expanded over the years to include most of the students. When outings began,

Armstrong believed that by scattering the students in individual families they would be taught "innumerable lessons best learned in a well-ordered home." Students generally worked in the Berkshires, boys as farmhands, girls as housekeepers. They were paid a few dollars a month, and the experience was evaluated by both the student and the family. The results were mixed. Some students gave favorable evaluations and indicated a wish to return to the same placement; others reported negative experiences or ran away. Joseph Beaupre, the first Chippewa to participate in Hampton's outing program, left his 1888 placement in Lincoln, Massachusetts, "without permission from the school." He subsequently found other work in the area for two months at \$20 per month. Another Chippewa student, Irving Boutang, when asked if he had learned much of value from his outing, wrote: "Knew it all before. Learned to eat apples."²⁸

Indian students continued to live in their own dormitories, the girls in Winona Lodge (constructed in 1882, demolished in 1950) and the boys in the Wigwam (built in 1879, listed on the National Register of Historic Landmarks, and still in use at present-day Hampton University). They also had contact with some staff members who had been at the institute for many years. Cora M. Folsom, for example, was employed at the school from 1880 to 1922, nearly the entire duration of the Indian Department. Working initially as a nurse, she subsequently filled many other roles, including teacher and Indian corresponding secretary. In 1884 General Armstrong sent her west with the Reverend Gravatt and his wife, Indie Wray Gravatt, to take some Indian students home and to recruit others. (Joseph Beaupre was among the students brought to Hampton that year.) During the course of Folsom's employment, she made 12 trips west, greatly enhancing her knowledge of Indian life.²⁹

From the visits to returned students and other contacts, the school developed a department of Indian records. Documentation was essential, especially in the early years of the program, when "the whole matter of Eastern schools and Indian education hung literally upon these particular records." Because of concern that students would "go back to the blanket," or return to

²⁵ [Frissell], *Principal's Report for the Year Ending June 30th, 1898* (Hampton: The Institute, 1898), 2; *Catalogue of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute . . . for 1897-98* (Hampton: The Institute, 1898), 12.

²⁶ Here and below, see *Catalogue . . . for 1897-98*, 12, 40, 41. See also pertinent student files.

²⁷ *Catalogue . . . for 1897-98*, 15, 16.

²⁸ Folsom, "Indian Work at Hampton," 41, 42; Beaupre and Irving Boutang student files, HUA.

²⁹ J. E. Davis, Foreword to Folsom, "Indian Work at Hampton," n.p.



WINONA LODGE (top), the Indian girls' dormitory at Hampton; the Wigwam (below), for Indian boys, is still in use at Hampton University.

tribal ways as soon as they reached home, extensive contacts were made with them after they left Hampton. Such follow-up reinforced the education Indians had received at the school, proved to critics that returned students were demonstrating in their daily lives the lessons they had learned, and convinced politicians and others of the value of appropriating funds for Indian education.³⁰

³⁰ Here and below, see Folsom, "Indian Work at Hampton," 134, 137. Folsom, who kept Hampton's Indian records for 30 years until 1911, said that the government tried at Carlisle and elsewhere to follow the institute's practice of contacting returned students but was hampered by the constant changes in BIA personnel.

³¹ Fred Bender and Thomas Cross student files, HUA; George Brown to Caroline W. Andrus, Feb. 16, 1920, HUA.

Another facet of follow-up was letters. "Don't forget to write us about yourself," students were encouraged, and for the most part, they remembered. Individual files contain letters, notes, and cards to staff members, some written years after they left the school. Many of the letters are candid, informative, and sometimes humorous. George Brown, for example, wrote of his recruiting efforts for Hampton Institute after he returned to Lac du Flambeau: "I think I've got a few boys and girls interested at least I've had five or six to come and asked [*sic*] me further about Hampton. . . . Now before I ask them who's who and why of Hampton I wish they could learn more of Hampton.

"Now I'll tell you what I think will help there. We have here in the school chapel a moving picture machine (I do the cranking) which also can be used with slides (stereopticon) and also a *reflectoscope* if I've got it spelt right and if you can get any pictures or views and better yet a picture film of the real student activities of Hampton I think we can produce results. . . . Let me know what you have that will help me to kick some of these children off the earth."³¹

Besides letters, many of the students wrote articles, both published and unpublished. One of the most complete accounts of a Chippewa student's experiences at Hampton Institute was Anna Bender's. Her unpublished essay included descriptions of her family background, early childhood, and path to Hampton. The Bender family followed a pattern that was fairly typical in that siblings and other relatives continued to at-

CORA FOLSOM worked in the Hampton Indian Department for over 40 years.



tend Hampton.³² In addition to the Benders, Chippewa families like the Boutangs, Brokers, Giards, Gurnoes, Hamlins, O'Donnells, and Wolfes were represented by siblings. Other kin included a number of cousins: Agnes and John Gokey, Louis Carpenter and the Boutang brothers, and George Brown, Alex Bobidosh, and Henry Bisonigijig.

THE FIRST MEMBER of a family often paved the way for younger relatives at the school. Anna Bender was the first of five brothers and sisters to enroll, the largest number to attend from one Chippewa family. The other siblings were Elizabeth (class of 1907), Emma (file misplaced at Hampton, but two years younger than Elizabeth), Fred (class of 1915), and George (enrolled from 1914 to 1915). Anna, the first Chippewa woman to graduate from Hampton, was born in Brainerd on February 22, 1885, to Mary Razor Bender, the daughter of a medicine man, and Albertus Bliss Bender, a German homesteader. According to Anna, Albertus left his childhood home because of ill treatment by his adoptive parents, an aunt and uncle. He went to work in the logging camps of northern Minnesota, where he learned to speak the Ojibway language

SUSIE and Michael Wolfe, Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa descendants of Père Marquette's guide



ANNA BENDER, Hampton's first Chippewa woman graduate

and met Mary Razor. After marrying, Albertus continued to earn a living by logging, supplemented by hunting and fishing. By the time Anna was born, the couple already had three sons, John, Frank, and Charles (who later gained fame as a pitcher for the Philadelphia Athletics and subsequent membership in the National Baseball Hall of Fame). When Anna was a year old, the family moved to White Earth Reservation, where Albertus built a log house, granary, and farm on his wife's 160-acre allotment.³³

Anna's boarding school experiences started at an

³² Anna Bender, "The Story of My Life," undated manuscript, Anna Bender student file, HUA.

³³ Here and five paragraphs below, see Bender, "Story of My Life," 2, 3, and n.p.

early age. By the time she went to Hampton in 1902, she had already spent most of her young life away from home. Her schooling started at age six, when she was sent to the Lincoln Institute in Philadelphia; two of her brothers, Charles and John, went to the nearby "Educational Home on forty-ninth street," an offshoot of Lincoln. Anna could not remember her trip from Minnesota to the school, but she had happy memories of Lincoln, the "only home I can distinctly remember." She especially enjoyed the summer months spent in the country near Valley Forge. After seven years, when she was to return to Minnesota, her brothers had already gone home. "I had no reason for wanting to go home," she wrote, "except that other students went to theirs. I seldom heard from my parents and was so young when I came away that I did not even remember them. . . ."

"How miserable I felt when the time came to go! It was to me the leaving of a home instead of returning to one. The trip was very pleasant at first for there was a crowd of us returning, but when we got to Chicago I was made sad and lonely again by the departure of my friends. From St. Paul I had to travel all alone, not for long as my home was just fifty miles from there.

"My mother met me at the station bringing with her my two younger sisters and two younger brothers whom I had never seen. They greeted me kindly but they and everything being so new and strange that I burst into tears. To comfort me my mother took me into a store close by and bought me a bag of apples. As the house was only about a mile from the station we all walked home thro the woods while my sisters tried to cheer me up by telling me about places we passed and the good times they had. . . ."

"As we gathered around the table later a great wave of homesickness came over me. I could not eat for the lump in my throat and presently I put my head down and cried good and hard, while the children looked on in surprise. When my father returned from work he greeted me kindly but scanned me from head to foot. He asked me if I remembered him & I had to answer no. He talked to me kindly and tried to help me recall my early childhood, but I had never known many men and was very shy of him. At last he told me I had changed greatly from a loving child to a stranger."

After becoming acquainted with her sister Elizabeth, Anna felt less lonely, but she stated "I had much to learn and much to endure those next few months that I cannot tell you here." Anna's family was living in her father's childhood community, "the only Indians

anywhere around," on land and in a house given to Albertus by an aunt. Unhappy there, Mary Bender returned to the reservation with the children. Anna spent about three months at White Earth, then prepared to leave for Pipestone Boarding School, accompanied by her brothers and sisters. "I well remember the day my brothers and sisters & I went away. It was a bitter cold day and we were six miles away from the station. We did not know that a team was coming for us so we started off early in the morning and got three miles before the team came and picked us up, and we went on to Pipestone we [and] two other students."

Anna commented that she was glad they went there because the school grounds joined Pipestone quarry, made famous by Longfellow's "Hiawatha" as the meeting place of the tribes. Her sister Elizabeth described the program at Pipestone as a half day of school all year, the other half day spent in manual training. For girls, that training consisted of work in the sewing room, laundry, kitchen, or bakery, and for boys, work in the tailor shop, carpentry shop, and on the school farm. The students had to stay a term of three years before they were allowed to go home.³⁴

When Anna's three-year term at Pipestone expired in 1902, she again returned home, commenting that she was able to see the beauty of the lakes, prairie, and woodland. "I have never been at home in the spring of the year but I have heard my mother say that when the rain falls and the snow melts the greater part of the land is one vast lake so that in order to go any where one must go everywhere in his canoe. Even to go from the house to the barn one has to jump into his canoe & paddle round and round." According to Anna, nothing eventful happened during her three months at home, but she used to go out canoeing and fishing a great deal. She also learned something more of "the condition of my people."³⁵

Before leaving Pipestone, Anna had decided that unless she was needed at home, she would attend Hampton Institute in the fall. She first became interested in going there through a teacher at Pipestone, a former Hampton Institute student, who "could do almost anything when anybody was sick she could take their places from office work to cooking including sewing [,] matron, nursing and teaching. We used to call her Jack of All Trades and I used to think to myself, 'If that is the way they educate people at Hampton, there is the place I want to go.' so the next fall I boarded the train for Hampton." This example was consistent with the school's approach: "We say 'training' not teaching, because the Hampton method is to fit both head and hands for usefulness." Anna's goal was to become a typist, and she sought a "general education" in the program.³⁶

Elizabeth Bender provided some insight into her

³⁴ Elizabeth Bender to scholarship benefactor, Feb., 1905, E. Bender student file, HUA.

³⁵ A. Bender, "Story of My Life," 6, and n.p.

³⁶ Anna Bender to Mrs. Pierce, scholarship benefactor, May 4, 1903, A. Bender student file, HUA; *Southern Workman* 8 (June, 1879): 68.

Hampton Normal Institute
Hampton Virginia
February 19'06

Miss Mary O. Duncney

Dear Miss Duncney:-

I think it is just about a year since you heard from me and a number of things have happened since that time. My sister and I are still struggling for an education. She is now in the Senior Middle class and I am in the Senior class. Ho b. 1-

A LETTER to a benefactor,
written during Anna
Bender's final year at
Hampton

parents' attitudes about their children's schooling. "My mother is mostly all Indian, and she thought we were smart enough after going to school [at Pipestone] three years, therefore she did not want us [to] go to school anymore." Anna went to Hampton, however, and Elizabeth, with younger sister Emma and two younger brothers (most likely Albertus and Fred) returned to Pipestone. Elizabeth remarked: "It was with some difficulty before we could persuade our dear mother to let us go." In contrast, her father "was very willing to have us go back to school again."³⁷

ANNA traveled to Hampton with two other students from White Earth, Antoine Giard and his sister Celenia. Traveling without an escort, they left home on Wednesday, October 1, 1902, and arrived at Hampton four days later. Anna described "The pleasantest part of the journey . . . through the mountains and around the river sides."³⁸

"We saw red soil which was new to us and many of the houses were built in the old fashioned way.

"I have not been here long enough to see much of the place but what I seen [sic] I have liked.

"I think it is a lovely place the sail-boats are so pretty on the water. The employees make us feel right at home and I hope we will all get along nicely together." The Indian student paper also reported the arrival of the three Chippewa students. "It had been raining all day, no one expected them, and they had to find their way the best they could from the station in Hampton." A year later, in 1903, Elizabeth followed her sister to the school.

As a student Anna Bender was "very promising," according to a report from the school to White Earth Agency. Agent Simon Michelet quoted from the correspondence about her and another reservation student, Louis Hamlin, in a December, 1904, issue of the *Chippewa Herald*: "You may be interested to know that these two young people seem very promising. Hamlin is the captain of our Indian company, and Annie Bender ranks very high among the girls."

Anna was active in several student organizations at Hampton Institute. She was vice-president of the Josephines, a literary society organized by the young women of Winona Lodge, and secretary of the Christian Endeavor Society, one of several service organizations at the school. With three other students—Josephine Hill (Oneida), Joseph Black Hawk (Winnebago), and John Clifford (Sioux)—she was an editor of *Talks and Thoughts*. Among several articles she published in the paper, "An Indian Girl in Boston" described a fall visit to that city with her sister Elizabeth. They visited Harvard College and its museum, "which contains the world-famous glass flowers." She commented: "However interesting the flowers, we were obliged to continue our sight-seeing to the department of preserved bones, of stuffed birds and of animals. Different kinds of monkeys were placed in a row leading up to man. It was surprising to see the gradual

³⁷ E. Bender to scholarship benefactor, Feb., 1905.

³⁸ Here and four paragraphs below, see A. Bender to Dr. H. B. Frissell, n.d., A. Bender student file, HUA; *Talks and Thoughts*, Oct., 1902, p. 2.

change of the monkey to man. I could see the reason why some people get the idea that we were once monkeys. I was glad to see that as the skeletons increased in size from monkeys through different races of man, the Indian stood last and the tallest."³⁹

Like other Hampton students, Anna participated in the outing system. Her first summer placement, in 1903, was with the family of a Congregational minister in Richmond, Massachusetts, where she did general housework. She reported learning "Yankee thrift," earning \$1.75 per week, and finding the location beautiful. When asked if she would like to return, however, she wrote "no."⁴⁰

The following summer, Anna went to Hanover, Massachusetts, where she cooked and cleaned for a family of eight, earning \$34.00 in 17 weeks. She enjoyed this placement, especially because Elizabeth worked just half a mile away. "[W]e had many happy times together taking walks and twice we had the pleasure of going to the seashore and in bathing. The name of one of the beaches was Duxbury and from this place we could see the town of Plymouth also the statue of Miles Standish. As I looked at it, the lady I worked for remarked, 'It is the highest in the world.' I was somewhat surprised because I had never heard of that before so I said, 'It doesn't look so,' to which she replied, 'It is miles in the air!'"⁴¹

Because Hanover was close to Boston, Anna and Elizabeth did not want "to lose the opportunity of seeing that noted city." Their first visit occurred when their brother Charles, who was playing baseball for Philadelphia against Boston in the American League, went to Hanover and escorted his two sisters to Boston. They attended the game at which the Philadelphia team was beaten by "one score." On their next trip, they stayed three days with friends and went sightseeing, and the visit became the basis of Anna's article.

When Anna returned to Hampton from Hanover in the fall of 1904, she began her studies in the second year middle class, which was next to the senior year. She explained that the course had been lengthened from three to four years. Her studies included English,

³⁹ Annie Bender, "An Indian Girl in Boston," *Talks and Thoughts*, Dec., 1904, p. 4. Other published work by Anna included "Quital's First Hunt," "The First Squirrel," "A Glimpse of the Old Indian Religion," and "The Big Dipper," based primarily on tribal legends.

⁴⁰ A. Bender student file.

⁴¹ Here and below, see A. Bender to Mary P. Quincey, scholarship benefactor, Nov. 28, 1904, A. Bender student file.

⁴² Bender to Quincey, Nov. 28, 1904.

⁴³ "Report after leaving Hampton," A. Bender student file.

⁴⁴ A. Bender to Caroline W. Andrus, June 5, 1911, A. Bender student file.

⁴⁵ A. Bender student file.

American history, music, and drawing. For manual training, she had sewing. "The first thing we have in the morning," she wrote, "is news and in this period we bring up some of the political subjects which are being discussed in the newspapers. Our class was very much interested in watching how the election went. In the classroom our teacher let us vote just to see how it was done. Nearly every candidate was voted for but [Theodore] Roosevelt received the majority. In literature we are taking up Scott's 'Talisman' which is so interesting that we sometimes read far beyond the lesson."⁴² Following the 1904-05 school year, she returned to the same family in Hanover for her outing.

After Anna's 1906 graduation, she did clerical work for a lumber company in Devils Lake, North Dakota, where she lived with a married sister. Later that year, she enrolled at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, to take a commercial course; she graduated there in 1908 and then obtained a job as an assistant clerk at the government school in Chemawa, Oregon. In 1910, she was promoted to property clerk. On July 23, 1910, she married Reuben Saunders (also spelled Sanders in her file), boys' industrial teacher at the school.⁴³

Anna's last letter to Hampton Institute was dated June 5, 1911, when she wrote to Caroline Andrus, thanking her for inquiring about her health. Anna had undergone two operations for appendicitis, the second one because of a perforation left by the first. She also commented on a picnic and fishing trip—"The part I enjoyed the most was lying flat on my stomach looking down into the Santiam River"—and reported that she and her husband planned more trips during the summer.⁴⁴

A few months later, however, the *Chemawa American*, in an October 6, 1911, article, reported that "Death, the great leveler, claimed Mrs. Anna Bender-Sanders on Friday night, Sept. 29. A few days before she had submitted to a surgical operation for the removal of a tumor. Mrs. Sanders had been employed until quite recently as one of the force of clerks at Chemawa, having been appointed to this position about three years ago on her graduation from Haskell Institute. She was a very intelligent and capable woman, and was aged 26 years." Anna was interred at the Chemawa cemetery.⁴⁵

FOUR of Anna Bender's siblings followed her to Hampton. Her sister Elizabeth's years paralleled hers. Active in many of the same student organizations, Elizabeth did well in her studies and wrote articles for *Talks and Thoughts*. After graduation in 1907, she pursued postgraduate work in teaching at Hampton and took nurse's training in Philadelphia. She taught among the Blackfeet in Browning, Montana, on the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana, and at Carlisle.

She married Henry Roe Cloud, Winnebago graduate of Yale University, and helped him develop Roe Institute for Indian boys in Wichita. Many years later, in 1950, she was named American Mother of the Year at an awards ceremony in New York, the first Indian woman to win the national honor. On her trip east at that time she visited Hampton Institute.⁴⁶

Less is known about the third Bender sister, Emma. In Fred Bender's 1911 application to the institute, however, Emma is named as a present "friend at Hampton." She was not listed as a graduate of the school, but there are references to her in Elizabeth's file. In a 1920 letter, Elizabeth said that Emma was in Battle Creek, Michigan, where she was in charge of a department in a sanitarium.

Fred Bender, a talented athlete, played quarterback on Hampton's football team when it broke into intercollegiate prominence. According to one writer, "He faked a forward pass to beat Howard University six to nothing . . . and was also an outstanding punter." Fred played basketball at the school and later, in the military, again played football. He followed his sisters' example at Hampton Institute by writing for publication. In one article he argued the case for an Indian college, stating: "If they had been taught by people of their own race they would undoubtedly have been taught the vital needs of their own people and the way to bring about a remedy for them." Although Fred was accepted for admission to Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, his record indicated that he went to work after his 1915 graduation. Following military service, he attended Roe Institute, and in 1922, the last entry in his file, he was employed by the State Highway Commission in Ames, Iowa.⁴⁷

George Bender attended Hampton Institute from October 13, 1914, to May 27, 1915. Evidently he experienced problems in school. Elizabeth, at one point, remarked about George: "You can't make a whistle out of a pig's tail." He quit Roe Institute twice and, as Fred commented, "we could not make him stay at Hampton." Fred added: "He also ran away from Haskell, but that is a mark of distinction, to my way of thinking." According to Elizabeth, however, George "finally found himself" and became the "star pupil" at Roe Institute. The last entry in his file was dated February, 1922, and noted that he was a sophomore in college.⁴⁸

Many of the Chippewa students, like Anna and Elizabeth Bender, worked in the Indian Service following their schooling. Employed in their trades and as instructors, disciplinarians, and matrons, they followed

GEORGE
BENDER,
about 1915



through on Hampton Institute's aim for its students, "to be examples to, and teachers of, their people" whether they worked at home or in other Indian communities across the country. This article has concentrated on the lives of some of Hampton's students, the Chippewa. Equally rich material awaits scholars of other Indian groups.

⁴⁶ Here and below, see Elizabeth Bender to "Mother Townsend," Jan. 14, 1920, E. Bender student file, HUA. Her writing included "The Grain Fields of North Dakota," "The Land of Hiawatha," and "From Hampton to New York," in which she described a trip with Anna to speak for Hampton Institute; besides speaking, the sisters sang a few Ojibway songs together.

⁴⁷ Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 257, 258; Fred Bender, "Higher Academic Training for Indians," *American Indian Magazine*, Summer, 1917, p. 106, copy in F. Bender student file, HUA. Another outstanding athlete during this time was George Gurnoe, "one of the finest basketball players Hampton ever had."

⁴⁸ E. Bender to Caroline Andrus, May 15, 1915 (in George Bender file), May 12, 1919, and Fred Bender to Andrus, May 24, 1920, in respective student files, HUA.

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