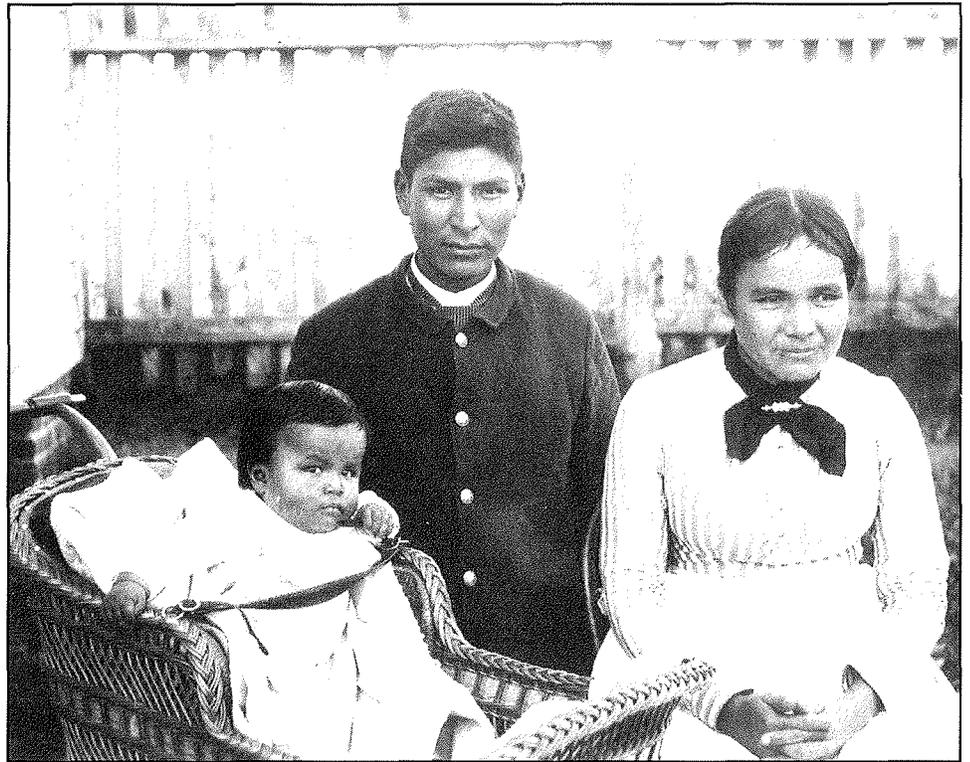


"To Be Examples to . . . Their People"

Standing Rock Sioux Students at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923 (Part Two)

by Mary Lou Hultgren

John Tiaokasin (Looks-into-the Lodge) and Rosa Pleets Tiaokasin (WaSicuwin), with son Richard (Young Eagle), 1888. Both John and Rosa had attended Hampton prior to their marriage. John was enrolled from 1881 to 1884 and 1885 until January 1887 while Rosa attended from 1878 to 1881 and 1884 to 1886. Richard was born at Hampton on March 4, 1888, while his parents were enrolled in the model family program. All the photographs and illustrations in this article are courtesy of the Hampton University Archives unless otherwise noted.



This is the second of a two-part article devoted to students from the Standing Rock Reservation who attended Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia, between 1878 and 1923. "To Be Examples to . . . Their People" is a continuation of the research undertaken by the authors, Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, in conjunction with the photographic exhibition, *To Lead and To Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923*, that traveled to North Dakota in 1993. Part one of the article, which appeared in Volume 68, Number 2 (2001) of *North Dakota History*, details early recruitment patterns and chronicles the challenges Hampton faculty

and staff faced in developing a curriculum and social setting that would hasten the assimilation of the students into Euro-American society, with a focus on the students' reactions to these efforts. Part two continues the themes of continuity and change by examining the ongoing evolution of Hampton's curriculum over the decades as well as the various pressures exerted on communities at Standing Rock to adopt Euro-American values and lifestyle. Significant events that occur during this time include the enrollment of the second-generation students, called "Hampton grandchildren," the Ghost Dance movement, the Wounded Knee massacre, and World War I.

The rich archival collection of writings, reports, letters and photographs in the Hampton University Archives provided the primary materials used in "'To Be Examples to . . . Their People.'" Following a narrative and contextual approach to the subject, the authors have, insofar as possible, sought to reveal the voices of the principal participants in Hampton's historic education program. The contemporary perspective of descendant JoAllyn Archambault in part one added an important voice to this study.

Part Two

"By far the largest number from any one tribe have been the Sioux, from Dakota," reported a Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute official in an 1888 publication summarizing the first decade of the school's historic forty-five-year experiment in educating American Indians.¹ On August 19, 1886, the largest group of students from Standing Rock Reservation to enroll at Hampton in any one year, a total of twenty students, arrived at the school's waterfront campus, situated along an arm of the Chesapeake Bay in southeastern Virginia.² Mr. J. H. McDowell, the manager of the school's Indian training shops, was the staff member delegated to escort the new academic recruits from Dakota Territory. He reported:

all were cheerful, observant, and ready to take in all they saw on their journey, and were unusually ready to talk to those who were, as usual, ready to interview them. Indian etiquette of *nil admirari* was proof, however, against all its succession of novelties and wonders, until on their way to the Capitol in Washington, they almost flew out of the street car in their astonishment and delight at the sight of a goat carriage, driven by a small boy. The ice thus broken they allowed themselves exclamations of *Tanka! Tanka! 'Big! Big!'* at the bird's eye view from the top of the dome.³

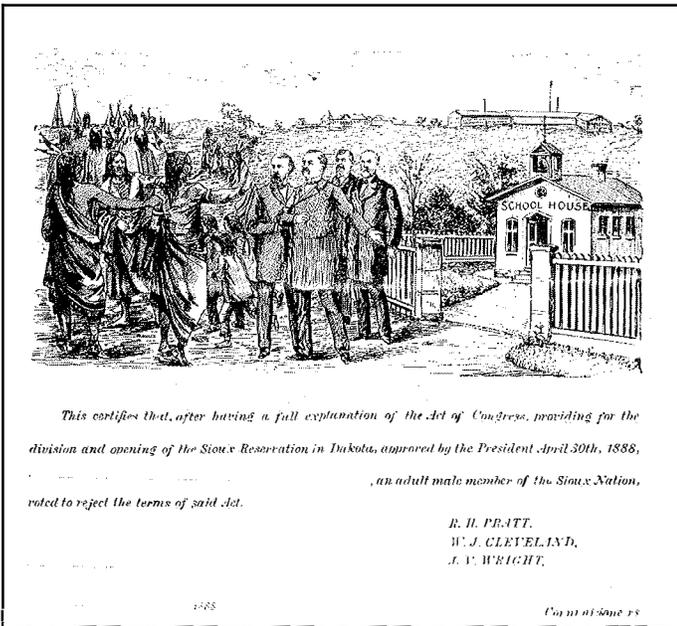
The account of the Standing Rock arrivals that appeared in a school publication stated:

We give the names as they come to us. It is not the custom at Hampton to change them, unless, as may seem likely to be the case with some of the present party the students themselves, after awhile, prefer a more euphonious or civilized one. . . . they all looked very civilized, in full citizen's dress, and with hair neatly cut. The party seems indeed, with few exceptions, a very good one in all respects.⁴

Half of the new recruits were female.⁵ The goal of educating females at Hampton can be traced to the school's beginnings in 1868 as a coeducational institution. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder and principal of the school, articulated the importance of educating females during the fundraising campaign for Winona Lodge, a girls' dormitory: "The condition of woman is the test of progress."⁶ Of the ten girls in the group, eight had previous experience in a Euro-American school. According to a *Southern Workman* report, Fannie Cross Bear (Psicawin), 17, and Katherine Cross Bear (Takiniwin), 14, "daughters of Chief Cross-Bear, attended a reservation day school, taught by a Hampton girl and her husband. They walked five miles to school, and never missed a day all last winter." Annie Eagle (Wambdiwin), 16, Madeline Currier (Tawahintka), 18, and Annie Red Cane (Tasagye-luta), 14, studied at the government school, while Julia Kathleen (Susbeca luta), 21, spent a year at an agency mission school. Fifteen-year-old Lucy No Ears (Noga-wanica), singled out as "the girl who speaks English," was described as a "bright scholar in the government boarding school, and a mainstay in the housekeeping department. She was parted with regretfully by her teachers, for her own good."⁷

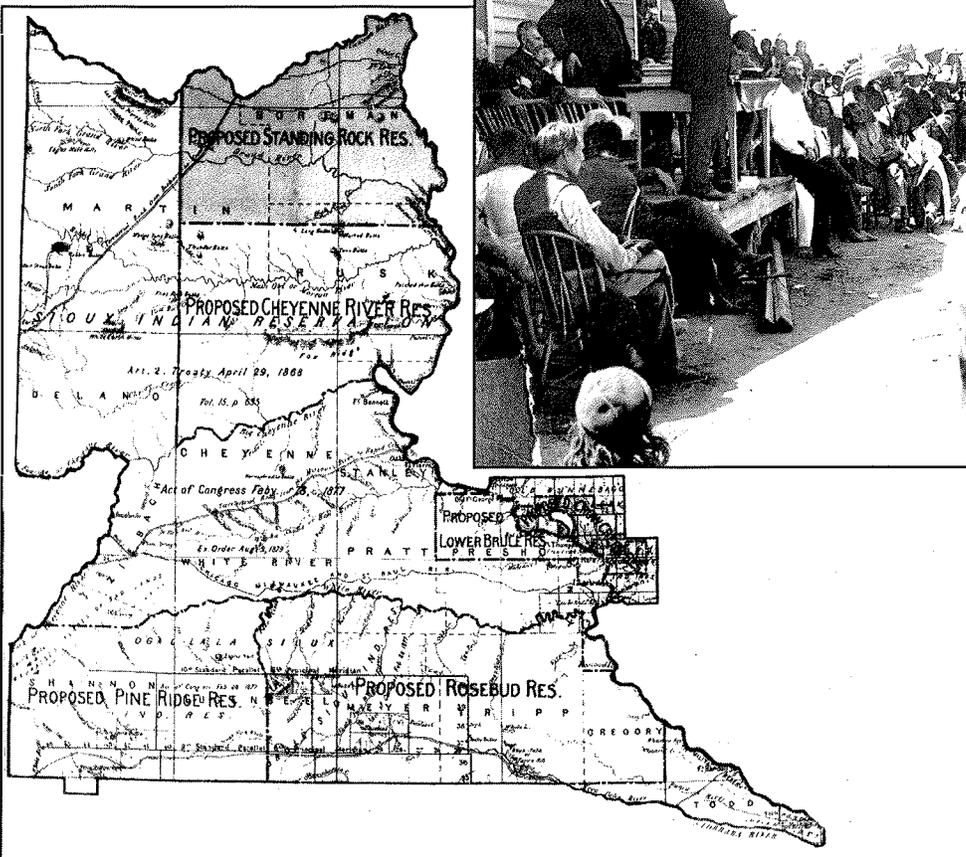
Seventeen-year-old Mary Bird (Zitkanawin), whose record indicates no prior formal schooling, "improved much in many ways" and remained at Hampton until her three-year term of study expired.⁸ On the other hand, Happy Road (Tacanku yuskipiwin) and Clara Virgin (Witasnawin), two of the students who had not been exposed to a Euro-American educational experience prior to Hampton, returned home after two months. School records indicate that Happy Road was "an unhappy misnomer." The sixteen-year-old girl "wept for two months, night and day, and then returned home."⁹ Clara Virgin, 21, "was a warm friend of Happy Road and so much in sympathy with her that she, too, wept most of the time, and being also consumptive, was returned with her friend two months later."¹⁰

To address the problems of adjusting to boarding schools in the East, Major James McLaughlin, who was appointed the agent at Standing Rock in 1881, preferred to have students from his reservation "make a regular ascent from the district day school, through the agency boarding school, to eastern schools, for as many as can be taken east." Thus students would "pass the first seasoning to school life at home, making the change less trying and more beneficial."¹¹ There were, however, times when homesickness could not be overcome. As long-tenured teacher Cora Mae Folsom stated: "Love of kindred is exceedingly strong in the Indian."¹²



Certificate used by the 1888 Sioux Commission. This certificate would indicate a refusal to accept the terms of the sale of reservation land.

Members of the 1888 Sioux Commission "inducing the Indians to sell their reservation at \$1.25 an acre." Seated, left to right, on the platform: Commissioner Captain Richard H. Pratt, of the Carlisle Indian School, and Standing Rock Agent James McLaughlin. Standing behind table: Commissioner Judge John V. Wright of Tennessee. Hampton's principal, Samuel Armstrong, and Cora Mae Folsom were among the audience.



Map showing "Boundaries of the Proposed Diminished Sioux Indian Reservations in Dakota Territory, 1888." The 1888 Sioux commission unsuccessfully proposed to the Lakota/Dakota that they should agree to the division of the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller reservations.

In contrast to the girls, the majority of the male students had not been "seasoned" to Euro-American school life prior to their 1886 arrival at Hampton. Six of the male students, John Running With (Agnaynank), 23, Joseph Red-Horse (Sunka-sda), 18, Martin Hawk (Cetan), 22, James Shot Twice (Nonpaopi), 19, Paul Elk (Hupan), 20, and Cassimir Fire Elk (Heraka-peta), 23, had no previous experience in a government or mission school. Although Martin Hawk had not formally studied English, he was somewhat fluent in the language. During the trip from Dakota Territory to Virginia, he is reported to have gathered "the boys about him every evening on the cars to teach them English words, and to count to one hundred."¹³

On the other hand, both James Bear Robe (Matohasina), 18, and Jerome Iron Bear (Mato-maza), 12, who was the son of Shave Head, a chief and an agency policeman, attended the government school at Standing Rock Agency for one year, while Antoine DeRockbrain (Makcan), 15, the cousin of Sitting Bull and grandson of John Gall, had been enrolled in the government day school at the agency for two years. However, Claude Bow (Itazipa), 23, who came to Hampton to be "qualified" as a teacher, outdistanced them all in Euro-American schooling. Bow, who "had been injured in childhood and was badly deformed," attended the agency school for four years.¹⁴ He also spent eight months in Feehanville School in Illinois.¹⁵ From May to June 1886, Bow had been teaching at the newly established Day School No. 1 located in the upper Yanktonnais settlement some twenty-eight miles north of the Standing Rock Agency. According to Major McLaughlin, Bow "gave a good satisfaction, and controlled the children very well, but is desirous of going to school another term in order to improve his English before resuming his teaching."¹⁶

In order to further develop their English language skills, all twenty of the 1886 arrivals were placed in one of seven divisions of the Indian department.¹⁷ At the end of their first term, Josephine E. Richards, the department's head, reported that "many of these, those fresh from camp life, with little or no English or book knowledge, have proved excellent material, eager to learn, quiet and faithful."¹⁸

The male students, who resided in the dormitory known as the Wigwam, were assigned "according to their preferences and prospects at the agency, to various trades" in the Indian training shops. Manager J. M. McDowell's first-hand observations at various agencies in Dakota Territory allowed him to assess the opportunities for possible work in the "mechanical industries" for students once they returned home. He reported that

"blacksmithing and wheelwrighting are of first importance, then carpentry, then harness-making and shoemaking."¹⁹ In addition to these trades, Claude Bow studied tailoring, James Shot Twice learned painting, and Antoine De Rockbrain spent his final year at Hampton studying agriculture. Several of the Standing Rock males participated in the newly established technical department in which they rotated between carpentry, wheelwright, and blacksmith classes every two months to acquire a generalized training in several trades so that they might have greater job flexibility.²⁰

Besides the training in the areas of laundry, sewing, and housework in Winona Lodge, some of the Standing Rock girls may have participated in the rotation of classes in the technical shop. Beginning in 1886, these classes were also open to female students, who would learn the names of tools, such basic skills as making a simple box, and "the art of putting in glass," in order to become more self-sufficient.

In June 1888 eight of the 1886 arrivals joined forty-nine other native students on outing, the largest outing group ever sent north since the work program was initiated for native students in 1879.²¹ Hampton's outing program placed American Indian students with Euro-American families in New England, primarily in western Massachusetts, to learn farming and housekeeping and to be immersed in a "civilized," Christian environment. School officials considered it "a reward of good conduct to be permitted to go North to work all day at moderate wages among the thrifty farmers of Berkshire County" in Massachusetts.²²

Folsom, who was in charge of the Indian Department in 1888, reported in August that several students "asked to be allowed to remain with their northern friends for a year or more." The main reason that some of these requests were honored was the fact that remaining in a northern climate would "be most beneficial" to some students.²³ Lucy No Ears was the only Standing Rock student who remained in the Berkshires, staying ten months with the F. F. Cooper family in Ashley Falls. In a post-Christmas letter to Hampton, No Ears wrote: "I am getting along very well, indeed. . . . I think it is very nice places, and I like very much indeed."²⁴ During the summer of 1889, three Standing Rock students went to Massachusetts and one student, Fannie Cross Bear, spent the summer working on Long Island, New York.

On September 24, 1889, after three years at Hampton, eight of the original twenty members of the 1886 arrival group returned to Standing Rock.²⁵ Their escort, the Reverend C. W. Freeland, recalled:



McDowell Party, 1886. Male members of the largest group of students recruited from Standing Rock on arrival at Hampton in 1886. Front row, left to right: Paul Elk, Antoine DeRockbrain, Jerome Iron Bear, John Running With, Claude Bow. Back row, left to right: James Shot Twice, Joseph Red Horse, Martin Hawk, Cassimer Fire Elk, James Bear Robe.

We left Mandan in two springless wagons, the girls in one and the boys in another, jolted away across these strange and beautiful Dakota hills, grey and pink and blue and purple, along the line of the Missouri. . . . As soon as we came within three miles of the agency, we began to encounter the Indian camps (having previously driven through many permanent villages), in which were encamped the Indians from all quarters of the reservation, who had come in on Saturday to get the bi-weekly supply of rations.²⁶

After returning his charges, Freeland visited many returned students, literally going from house to house. He concluded that they were "living decently and as the white people live." Their homes had "good supplies of furniture and in most cases with ornaments and simple pictures about the walls, and always with an evident pride in themselves and their belongings which seemed to me to be as encouraging a sign, as under the present circumstances one could ask for."²⁷

The presence of a "Christian home" was an important symbol of progress for assimilationists. A major concern expressed by Hampton faculty and staff was that pressure on returned students to follow tribal marriage traditions would defeat the school's efforts toward training students in Euro-American ways. Cora Mae Folsom noted: "The first, and generally the severest test of character the returned student has to meet is in regard to the marriage and the public sentiment of the less advanced Indian in regard to it."²⁸ In order to

assure that there were native couples to "to be examples to . . . their people," Hampton initiated a program for training selected young married couples to become model families.²⁹ The Standing Rock couples who participated in the program included James and Jane All Yellow, 1887-1888; Edwin and Ellen Phelps, 1887-1888; and alumni John and Rosa Pleets Tiaokasin, 1887-1889. It was hoped that their reservation homes would become "bright little centres of influence."³⁰

By the end of the decade, the training of native students at Hampton had become routine.³¹ The goal of the school remained to prepare American Indians "for the duties of life and citizenship anywhere, - the world before them, as to all American citizens."³² To this end, learning the English language remained a primary objective, and was "pushed in every way, from first to last."³³ Industrial training continued to be developed with the goals of building character, giving the students a means to earn a living, and helping students support themselves while attending the private school. An important part of a Hampton education took place outside the classroom, where the social, moral, and religious lives of students were highly regulated. Day in and day out, the students from Standing Rock who attended Hampton encountered intense pressure to assimilate into Euro-American society and abandon native tradition.

However, those individuals who remained on or returned to the northern plains reservation were also under extreme pressure to abandon their tribal cultures,

as politicians, missionaries, and reformers began their "campaign to assimilate the Indians."³⁴ The most powerful single force to impose change in the Standing Rock tribal community was Agent James McLaughlin. Described by Armstrong as "an excellent agent," McLaughlin headed an agency considered by Hampton's principal to be "one of the most important and best managed in the country."³⁵

Letters and reports from at least ten Hampton faculty and staff who visited Standing Rock in the 1880s, coupled with published accounts from returned students, government officials, and missionaries, offer glimpses of some of the changes occurring with respect to land use, subsistence, housing, dress, and education at Standing Rock.³⁶ One of the most visible changes among the Lakota/Dakota noted by these eastern visitors was the use of land. In a letter from Standing Rock written in 1886, J. B. Harrison, a field agent for the Indian Rights Association, described the extent of newly introduced Euro-American agricultural practices:

The Indians on this reserve cultivate about 3500 acres of land. Most of it is fenced and cared for. This year's new breaking amounts to about 750 acres. . . . Every family cultivates its own field or garden patch, all the work being done by individuals. Nothing is held in common except a few mowing machines for the general use of certain bands.

Harrison continued, "Twenty-five per cent, of these Indians subsist by their own labor in civilized pursuits, 5 per cent, by fishing, hunting, root gathering, etc., and 70 percent, live upon government rations."³⁷

McLaughlin believed that the Indians at Standing Rock should become self-supporting, adopting Euro-American agricultural practices. Because agriculture was "equated with civilization," farming individually held lands was favored over cattle herding, even though the land was more suited for grazing.³⁸ To this end, Armstrong and other Indian rights advocates, as well as government officials, overwhelmingly supported the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. Also referred to as the Allotment Act and the Dawes Allotment Act, this legislation allowed the head of a nuclear family to receive a patent for 160 acres of land, with other family members receiving smaller allotments. In turn, the federal government would hold the allotment in trust for twenty-five years, at which time citizenship would be granted the allottees. The land remaining after allotment would be opened up to settlement under the Homestead Act of 1862.³⁹

Armstrong made his first visit to Standing Rock Agency in 1888 and commented on the changes relating to agriculture that he observed during his two-day drive over part of the reservation. He wrote:

Nothing could be more cheerful than the sight of the harvested hay and grain that was piled up by every house. Indian farms are from one to thirty acres in extent, and corn, wheat, oats, barley and vegetables, are staple products. . . . Dakota potatoes are wonderfully large and good and its melons are a delight.⁴⁰

Armstrong failed to mention the severe weather problems that could affect crops, such as the severe droughts of 1883 and 1886.

In addition to problems created by the severe climatic conditions of the northern plains, Standing Rock's neophyte farmers faced other challenges not alluded to by Armstrong. For example, Euro-American values with regard to land use were diametrically opposed to native notions of land use. Dakota ethnologist Ella Deloria later wrote of the change from buffalo hunting to sedentary farming: "For unknown generations they [the Lakota/Dakota] had been on the move, and they liked it. They were deep in the groove, both physically and spiritually. . . . Their habits as roaming



Thomas Frosted and family, 1888. Described as an "earnest and industrial man," Thomas Frosted was a twenty-six-year-old with a wife and family at Standing Rock when he arrived at Hampton in 1885. He returned to Standing Rock in 1887 and worked as a carpenter, farmer, scout, and chief of police. His oldest son Philip studied at Hampton from 1901 to 1902.

hunters were almost unalterably fixed." She also noted the difficult "spiritual and social adjustments" to living in small family groups on individual allotments often miles from other relatives as opposed to living "'happily and cooperatively" in large extended family groups [*tiyospaye*]. One result was "frightful loneliness."⁴¹

Hampton's principal described what he referred to as other "signs of progress" at Standing Rock. For example, Armstrong stated:

Nearly the entire tribe live in mud-roofed log houses which are warm in winter and cold in summer; many have outhouses; and generally in summer the picturesque and graceful teepee stands alongside the squatty hut, for it is convenient for cooking, for extra sleeping room and in case of illness. . . . Every house has a box wood-stove, given by the agent; often a cook stove, and always a bedstead and a chair. . . . Just as citizen's clothing has almost universally displaced Indian dress, even in this remote region, so the white man's customs as well as clothing have come to stay.⁴²

The greatest pressure for change confronting the Lakota/Dakota at the end of the decade of the 1880s was the federal government's legislation to further reduce the tribal land base.⁴³ Armstrong and Folsom traveled to Standing Rock as unofficial representatives to observe the proceedings of the 1888 Sioux Commission, a federal commission composed of Captain Richard H. Pratt, Judge John V. Wright, and the Reverend William J. Cleveland, sent to gain approval to break up the Great Sioux Reservation. According to McLaughlin, the commission was to negotiate the "cession of all lands west of the 102d degree of west longitude, and between the Cheyenne and White Rivers; these lands to be added to the public domain, and the Sioux to be compensated at the rate of fifty cents per acre for all disposed of, the money to be credited to the Sioux nation."⁴⁴ In addition to allotting the land to native families and opening up non-allotted lands to homesteaders, the goal of the commission was dividing the existing reservation into six smaller reservations.⁴⁵

After negotiating for more than a month, the three-man commission failed to convince the Lakota/Dakota to give up nine million acres of land. Armstrong then arranged a separate meeting with the leaders at Standing Rock to speak to them as someone "not sent by the government, but at his own expense. . . ." Tribal leaders John Grass, Running Antelope, Mad Bear, Gall, and Sitting Bull gathered with McLaughlin, a few officers from Fort Yates, and approximately two hun-

dred people while Armstrong expressed to them, through an interpreter, his own position stressing "the importance of farming and the need of self support."⁴⁶ Armstrong wrote that these leaders spoke

like men who know their own minds but it was only of the past. . . . Civilization means loss of power to the chiefs; their human nature is against parting with their lands; the old people don't wish it. The young men of thirty years and under are leaven and the hope of the red man: education has done much to direct their youth and not a little influence has reached them through Eastern schools.

Armstrong concluded that the "teachers and missionaries at the agencies have done the most of all: the latter have been the real and best leaven, for they alone have given their lives to the red race."⁴⁷

In 1889 a second commission headed by Major General George Crook attempted to obtain the necessary number of signatures to convince Congress that the Lakota/Dakota agreed to the breakup of the twenty-six-million-acre Great Sioux Reservation. The Sioux Act of 1889 resulted in the creation of Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge Reservations. On February 10, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison declared by proclamation that the reservation was opened to entry under the homestead law. As a result, Standing Rock was "reduced to 2.4 million acres," and the tribe lost "most good farmlands."⁴⁸

Hampton's students who returned to Standing Rock in 1890 found the community challenged by a number of problems. According to former Hampton teacher Elaine Goodale Eastman, who traveled through the Lakota/Dakota communities in 1890, the people "expected to receive cows, farm tools, and (most pressing at the moment) an increased beef ration."⁴⁹ However, no immediate benefits to compensate them for the loss of the land became a reality. She continued:

To make matters worse, that summer of 1890 was one of a cycle of dry years. . . . A veritable "Dust Bowl" extended from the Missouri River almost to the Black Hills. In the persistent hot winds the pitiful little gardens of the Indians curled up and died. Even the native hay crop was a failure. I had never before seen so much sickness. The appearance of the people shocked me . . . many now displayed gaunt forms, lackluster faces, and sad, deep-sunken eyes.⁵⁰

Former student Joseph Archambault, who attended Hampton from 1881 to 1884, described other recent hardships faced by students due to severe weather. He reported that, during the winter of 1887, "the Indians lost one thousand head of cattle and horses. Most of the Indians have no horses and they have to come by foot for these rations." The following winter he wrote that "there are (150) men frozen to death in (Dakota Territory) and we expect to find some more. I don't know how many cattle and horses died."⁵¹ Maurice Martin, who returned from two years at Hampton in June 1890, wrote back to the school from Fort Yates the following month about the difficulty of getting jobs. Martin described some of the returned students as "low low down."⁵²

It was in this setting that the message of an "Indian Messiah" reached Standing Rock and resulted in what school officials called the "wave of fanaticism" that they hoped would not overcome returned students.⁵³ The messiah was a Paiute prophet named Wovoka living in Nevada, who had visions promising the rebirth of the earth, the return of the buffalo, and freedom from Euro-American settlers.⁵⁴ The Lakota/Dakota followers of Wovoka's Ghost Dance adopted the new religion's beliefs into their native system of values. Followers of the religion, which spread across the plains and beyond, performed a ritual dance accompanied by songs and culminating in visions.⁵⁵ Among the Lakota/Dakota the dance became a symbol of the religion. If they danced the prescribed ritual dance, the Lakota/Dakota would improve the serious social and economic problems that they faced in light of the continued assaults on their tribal way of life.⁵⁶

During the fall of 1890, Hampton's faculty and staff were so concerned over the reports coming from the Dakotas that the students were interrogated "girls and boys separately, by two of their most trusted teachers, as to what they may have heard from home about the Indian 'Messiah.'" Although it was noted that a "great number of letters constantly passed" between the students at Hampton and their friends and family, "only two of the boys and two or three of the girls" received any mention of the matter from the West." For example, Robert Higheagle (Kohektakoya) received "from his father by mail, an eagle's feather, to wear as a charm in case the troubles predicted should possibly come to pass." Herbert Welsh (Mahpiya-mato), who was described as an "authority in our 'Wigwam,' as well as in the West," had Higheagle "break up the feather and throw it away, which he was quite ready himself to do."⁵⁷ The destruction of such a sacred object illustrates the pressures that students in off-reservation boarding

schools faced to reject tribal religions and adopt Christianity.

Additionally, letters from returned students, such as John Tiaokasin, who was described by the school as "one of our most reliable young men," were published in the *Southern Workman*. In a letter dated December 2, 1890, Tiaokasin wrote:

In this place there is not more than a hundred Indians who have believed in the new Christ. Sitting Bull's men are the ones who believe in the new Christ. . . . I heard that the white people are talking about, saying that the Indians want to fight, but I say that the Indians do not want to fight. . . . Those who are saying about fighting, they are fooling themselves or maybe they afraid of Indians, but as I say, the Indians are all right and they are quiet.⁵⁸

Andrew Fox was the sole Hampton student identified by school officials as an adherent of the Ghost Dance. This was noted by returned student Thomas P. Fly, who wrote to the school that he cautioned Fox not to go to Sitting Bull's camp and stated, "I am very sorry for him."⁵⁹ Agent McLaughlin's reports characterized Fox as a "worthless fellow, Sitting Bull's son-in-law and consequently one of his supporters." He described Fox's general influence as "very bad," adding that he was a "leader" of the Ghost Dance craze.⁶⁰ Fox had moved from Crow Creek to Standing Rock in 1884 and married Walks Looking, the younger daughter of Sitting Bull and Snow-on-Her, by "Indian custom" rather than by the officially preferred Christian marriage. In 1887 Walks Looking died "suddenly of disease" at the age of nineteen, leaving behind an infant son. After his wife's death, Fox continued to serve as the chief's interpreter and secretary, and was with Sitting Bull at the time of his arrest.⁶¹

McLaughlin considered Sitting Bull an obstacle to change at Standing Rock and described his followers as the more "ignorant, obstinate and non-progressive of the Sioux."⁶² Elaine Goodale Eastman noted the agent's negative view of the chief, writing: "McLaughlin . . . in his way an able executive, hated and distrusted Sitting Bull, whom he had long tried to suppress."⁶³ McLaughlin's goal of suppressing Sitting Bull was enhanced in the spring of 1890 by the unfounded rumors of a Lakota/Dakota uprising against non-Indian communities. This climate of fear strengthened McLaughlin's resolve to remove the troublesome Sitting Bull from Standing Rock, even though Sitting Bull did not personally participate in the Ghost Dance.

Robert Placidus Higheagle (Kohektakoya)

Robert, seventeen, arrived at Hampton with a group of students recruited by the Reverend C. W. Freeland in August 1890. The son of High Eagle, he had previously attended Catholic mission schools at Devils Lake and Standing Rock. During his tenure at Hampton, from 1890 to 1895, he served as an editor of *Talks and Thoughts*, vice president of the Wigwam Literary Society, and as a musician in the school band. In 1892 his recitation, "Courage to Act," won the school's second Demorest award. After graduating in 1895, he began a teaching career, initially at Lower Brule agency and later at Fort Yates and Fort Totten in Dakota Territory. Robert is best known for assisting the ethnologist Frances Densmore with her classic publication, *Teton Sioux Music*. In Densmore's acknowledgment of Robert's contributions, she wrote that he had "a good grasp of the subject, the confidence of the old men, and a thoroughly trained use of English." Besides being "one of the best interpreters," Robert also served as a judge on the court of Indian offenses and as secretary of the tribal council at Standing Rock. His sister Florence also attended Hampton (1902 to 1904).



Excerpt from "Tipi-iyokihe" by Robert Higheagle

In the olden times, when the Indians used to live together in their villages of white tents, which sometimes extended for five or six miles, there prevailed certain customs that were very much like those of civilized nations. Among these there existed one among the Sioux tribe called Tipi-iyokihe.

The village was built up in a circular form. In the centre of the circle no animals were allowed, only persons. Sometimes some rich Indian would present a large tent, large enough to accommodate two or three hundred people. In one of these enormous tents the old men would gather. Another would be given up to old women, and another to children.

*Each tent had its special amusements. The tent for the young people was generally used for dancing, while those used by the older people were given up to councils and other public exercises. These tents were not obtained by taxing the Indians, but were given by individuals who were interested in certain classes of people. In some cases the donor gave it for fame; while others gave for their kind spirit towards others, that were not able to enjoy the advantages of the giver. Some of these benevolent men are yet in the minds of our people. In some places these very tents have been kept. . . . From *Talks and Thoughts*, 1895*

McLaughlin's plan to arrest Sitting Bull was realized on December 15, 1890.⁶⁴ Eastman later concluded that this plan led "to the tragedy of a patriot's death at the hands of his own people . . . and—as a fairly direct consequence—to the many times multiplied tragedy of Wounded Knee."⁶⁵

Letters were quickly sent from Standing Rock to Hampton detailing Sitting Bull's death and assuring the faculty and students that the "civilized Indians" were not in danger. For example, four days after the failed arrest, Claude Bow wrote to General Armstrong that "Sitting Bull & his son & also six of his man were killed [and] Indian Police too. And they arrested all the children & women. The other civilized Indians still remain in their houses, they don't care about the fighting. . . . Dear Gen. Armstrong, I wish you tell the Indian students don't be scare about it."⁶⁶ In addition to the individuals mentioned by Bow, Andrew Fox was also arrested and imprisoned for several months at Fort Sully. During this time Fox taught at one of the fort's schools and was commended by the officers in charge for both his work and his behavior.⁶⁷

Hampton's faculty and staff considered the "ghost craze" the test of the "spiritual side" of the school's work and deemed the outcome "victorious."⁶⁸ However, the mood on campus after learning of the "troubles in Dakota" was not one of joyous celebration. For example, the school's 1891 Indian Citizenship Day ceremony, held annually on February 8 in celebration of the signing of the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act, was "observed with a quiet but deeply interesting and impressive service."⁶⁹ Although there was no immediate opposition to the planned program, a school official reported there was "a decided lack of enthusiasm" on the part of the students. The report continued:

The next day a note was handed in by one of the most thoughtful and loyal of our students, which reads as follows:—'Please excuse me this Indian Day. You know I am always will [sic] to help, but I ask you to let me off this time. Many of my people have been killed and I do not feel right to speak that day.' This was so evidently and truly heart-felt, that quiet inquiry was made and the feeling against a holiday and congratulatory speeches was found to be so strong, that the matter was considered and left, even more entirely than was at first intended, in the hands of the students themselves.⁷⁰

In his autobiography, *My Friend the Indian*, McLaughlin wrote that Sitting Bull's death, "put a stop forever to the domination of the ancient regime among the Sioux of the Standing Rock reservation."⁷¹ In the aftermath of the death of Sitting Bull, the Ghost Dance, and the Wounded Knee massacre, many former Hampton students at Standing Rock, who comprised a "progressive" element on the reservation, continued to be "pioneers in civilization." In February of 1891 they formed an Indian Christian Association with Claude Bow serving as the first president. Similar support groups sprang up among other communities of returned students in the Dakotas to offer "mutual help and encouragement." Cora Mae Folsom referred to these communities as "little nuclei of civilization at different points, planning and working together."⁷²

By the turn of the century, Standing Rock had a large and active returned student association numbering about forty men who met twice a month at the YMCA house. Members engaged in such activities as petitioning for lower prices at reservation stores and discussing issues such as leasing of land. Referred to by school officials as "forces for good" on reservations, these organizations were seen both to assist in the advance of individual returned students and to improve "the welfare of their whole people."⁷³

The last decade of the nineteenth century brought changes in leadership both at Hampton and Standing Rock. On May 11, 1893, just fifteen years after the first Standing Rock students arrived at Hampton, Samuel Chapman Armstrong died at the age of fifty-four.⁷⁴ Vice Principal Hollis Burke Frissell (1851-1917) succeeded Armstrong. Having traveled to the Dakotas in 1884 and again in the summer of 1895, Frissell was familiar with the background of Standing Rock students.⁷⁵ During his first visit to Standing Rock, Frissell established a relationship with Agent McLaughlin, whom he characterized as a "wise and kind friend to returned students."⁷⁶

However, McLaughlin was no longer the agent at Standing Rock during Frissell's second visit. In a letter dated February 4, 1895, Josephine McCarthy Waggonner wrote from Standing Rock: "Our agent Maj. McLaughlin is going away for good and a new agent is coming."⁷⁷ A month earlier, President Grover Cleveland had appointed McLaughlin as a United States Indian Inspector for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.⁷⁸

At the time Frissell became principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, there were only three students from Standing Rock enrolled at the school.⁷⁹ An 1895 principal's report noted that "a comparatively small number" of students now come from "Sioux country." Frissell continued: "A number of Indian schools have been established in Dakota, and there seems not to be so much reason for aid in that direction. . . . It is desirable that we should bring a small number of advanced students each year from the banks of the Missouri, where the results of the School's work are manifest in many ways."⁸⁰ This was important to Frissell because he believed that, "the solution to the Indian Problem, as of the Negro problem, lies in sending out competent leaders of their own race who shall, both by precept and example, show them how to live." To accomplish this, he proffered that the admission of native students to eastern schools like Hampton should be limited to "selected students" who completed their



Female members of the group from Standing Rock recruited by J. M. McDowell, photographed in front of Bethesda Chapel on arrival at Hampton in 1886. Front row, seated left to right: Annie Red Cane, Fannie Cross Bear, Katherine Cross Bear. Middle row left to right: Mary Bird, Happy Road, Julia Kathleen, Clara Virgin. Back row, left to right: Annie Eagle, Lucy No Ears, Madeline Currier.

course of studies in the reservation schools. The additional education in the East would provide these students with a "broader knowledge which comes from seeing the country, coming into contact with life outside the reservation, and having careful instruction in methods of teaching and industrial training."⁸¹

One of the most significant changes at Hampton under Frissell's administration was the emphasis on training the "hand, head and heart," which was accomplished by expanding industrial education.⁸² In addition to increasing the courses offered in the trade school, academic instruction was tied more closely to the trade courses and admission standards were raised. Subsequent reports indicate that after 1896, "greater care than ever" was involved in the selection of Hampton's native students. In 1898 Frissell stated that "coming to Hampton is being held out as a reward of merit to the members of the Western Schools and instead of taking students from the blanket we are able to select those who have had good opportunities in government and missionary schools."⁸³ Other major changes around this time included the following: a shift in student arrival patterns from escorted groups to unescorted students traveling alone or in small groups; recruitment primarily through the influence of former Hampton students; and admission based on passing the school's regular entrance examination.⁸⁴

On October 2, 1901, nine Lakota/Dakota students from Standing Rock arrived at Hampton.⁸⁵ The group included three "Hampton grandchildren": Jesse Pleets, Joseph Fly (Tokeye wakuwa), and Philip Frosted (Heyinkpa wambdi). These second-generation Hampton students were the children of former students.⁸⁶ As early as 1896, former Standing Rock student John Pleets had written to Hampton that he hoped to send his son Jesse to the school because "Hampton is a good place . . . for learning English fast."⁸⁷ Pleets and his sister Rosa were two of the pioneering students from Dakota Territory recruited by Richard Henry Pratt in 1878.⁸⁸ In September 1901, twenty years to the month after John Pleets left Hampton, he wrote to Principal Frissell asking him to take "good care" of his son, seventeen-year-old Jesse. He continued, "Hampton is the best school in the world, so that is the reason I always thinking about to send my children there & now today that I sent my first loving son Jesse Cloud Pleets."⁸⁹

The father of fifteen-year-old Joseph Fly, Thomas P. Fly, was also one of the 1878 pioneers.⁹⁰ After returning to Standing Rock in 1881, Fly worked as an assistant agency carpenter. When Hollis Frissell was the school's chaplain and visited Standing Rock in 1884, he called on Fly and his wife Many Horses at the camp of her father,

Sitting Bull.⁹¹ Many Horses died in 1887, a year after their only son Joseph was born. When his son was three years old, Thomas Fly married Alma Ramsey, a former Hampton student. Joseph, who was an accomplished pianist, attended reservation schools at Standing Rock for nine years prior enrolling at Hampton. However, eye problems limited his time at the school to one month, and he returned to Standing Rock in late October 1901.⁹²

Philip Frosted was the only one of the three "grandchildren" to have attended a federal off-reservation boarding school prior to enrolling at Hampton. After attending reservation schools at Standing Rock for nine years, he spent three years at Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, which was established in 1884 in Oklahoma.⁹³ Frosted was twenty years old when he enrolled at Hampton, where he remained for one year. School records reported that Philip's father Thomas, who attended Hampton from 1885 to 1887, "had his little boy dressed in full citizen's clothes."⁹⁴ In addition to working as a carpenter, farmer, and a member of the Indian police, the elder Frosted served as the president of the Returned Students Association the year that his son entered Hampton.

All nine of the 1901 Standing Rock students entered Hampton's regular course of study. The separate Indian department with its preparatory classes was eliminated at this time, and American Indian and African American students at the school were said to "mingle freely . . . in the shops and schoolrooms."⁹⁵ However, Winona Lodge and Wigwam remained exclusively for native students, and separate tables in the dining room continued to be reserved for Indian students. The following academic year all American Indian applicants were required to "satisfactorily" complete Hampton's "application blanks" as the school continued to make a "more careful selection" of students. By 1903 Principal Frissell reported: "By raising the standard we have lessened the number of Indians but have greatly improved the quality of the material."⁹⁶

The application for admission completed in 1903 by Ralph Emerson White (John Loans Him Arrows) provides a glimpse at this improved quality. White studied reading, penmanship, arithmetic, geography, history, physics, chemistry, and vocal and instrumental music at Grand River Boarding School and Santee Normal Training School. J. M. Dankwardt, his teacher at Grand River, recommended White as an "exemplary young man both morally and industrially."⁹⁷ Trained in farming, blacksmithing, carpentry, and printing before coming to Hampton in 1904, the twenty-year-old White became the printer for Hampton's native student publication

Joseph Fly (Tokeye wakuwa, Chases First)

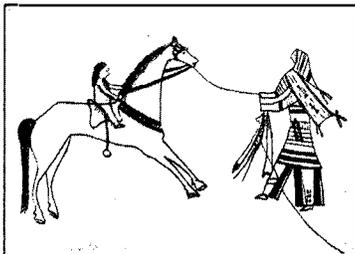
Joseph, the son of early student Uihakkeumpa or Thomas Fly, attended Hampton, October 2 - 26, 1901. Known as an "Indian grandchild" at Hampton because he was a second-generation student, he was also the grandson of Chief Sitting Bull. During his brief tenure at the school, he provided a reminiscence of his famous grandfather. After leaving Hampton because of "trouble with [his] eyes," Joseph attended Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian

school in 1902. Carlisle's student publication noted: "When Joseph Fly, a new boy, came into Miss Moore's music room to begin taking lessons, several girls who were practicing ran out into the hall to listen, thinking he was only a beginner, but to their great surprise he played a classical selection. They silently went back to their practicing." On his return to Standing Rock, Joseph worked as a laborer. He died of consumption on September 20, 1912.

TALKS AND THOUGHTS

OF THE HAMPTON INDIAN STUDENTS.

XV. No 8. HAMPTON, VA., JANUARY, 1902. 25c. per year.



A Kind Grandfather.

A Reminiscence of Sitting Bull's Grandson.

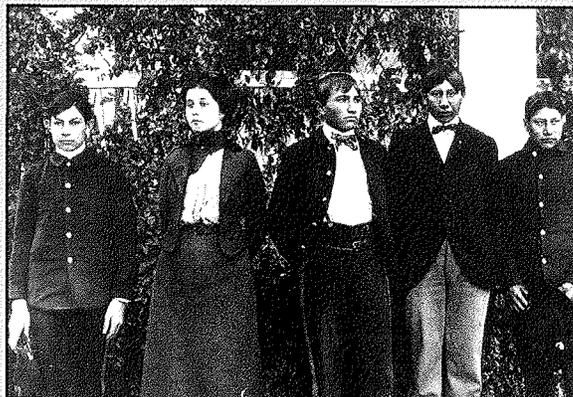
About ten years ago when I was six years old I was out playing in the wood. I was gay as a bird, singing the only song I knew. It was towards evening. I heard my aunt calling so I ran up to the bank and saw her. She told me that my grandfather had come from my father's home to take me back. So I ran home as fast as my feet could run and there I saw my dear old grandfather, Sitting Bull. He told me that my father was going away to Black Horse Hill and that he wanted to take me along, so I got ready. I put on my moccasins, my fur mittens, and buck-skin pants. And my grandfather put me on the back of the horse and we started on our trip. It seemed to me that it would never come to an end. When I was tired he would stop and give me rest for a while on the way.

My grandfather was very kind to me. He would not ride the horse himself but led it all the way. It was after sundown now and I felt pretty hungry, so we stopped and had some pounded meat (wasna) to eat. Then my grandfather took his pipe and smoked while I was playing a round him. The moon had stolen from behind the clouds and lighted up the atmosphere. Oh! How beautiful everything looked! A little ways was a creek, said to be haunted, which I of course was afraid to go through. But my grandfather said it was not so. I used to believe everything that I was told. It was said that a woman dressed in white was

buried there and came to haunt the little creek. Quite a little ways from it was a house. I told my grandfather I would like to stay there over night, but he told me we must reach home before dawn, so we passed the house. On our way to the little creek, as we came to it we began to see something white standing in our road. I began to shudder and tremble from head to foot; the horse began to snort and prick his ears up.

He ran off the road and tried to run away but my grandfather tied a handkerchief around his eyes and led him back to the road. As we went along the white object began to move, but my fears were over when I saw that the ghost was only a white calf which had gone astray to the creek to get a drink. We passed the creek in safety and all night we went our way through the moonlight. I had never felt so happy before. I asked my grandfather if he would like to ride with me, but he said he would rather walk by my side. A little ways more then we will be home. Again we sit down and take a bite of pounded meat and some bread and a little bacon which my grandfather carried in his wallet. It is not very far, and says he, we will reach home in a short while, so he sits down and lights his pipe and smokes; he also tells of wondrous tales of the war with the Crows, one of which he told me had been told to him. Of course I did not realize what he was saying but I remember what he told. I think there must be some truth in it. He told me that the Siouxs were once in camp. They were ready to fight any time they would hear the words, "Crows are coming!" They had started on the war-path the very night they had camped, so they took their arrows, hatchets and ropes and started on the trail. As they were going along silently they seemed to hear some one singing. They stopped and heard the voice of some one that seemed to be singing behind the hill they were passing, so they went to the spot whence the sounds came from. When they reached the place where it was, the singer was an old coyote sitting on his hind legs. They went to it, but it never moved from its place. They sat around

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the coyote and saw that there were some cactus thorns in his feet. They pulled them out for him and stuck some tobacco around the place where the coyote was sitting. They spread a blanket and set him on the blanket. They painted his tail with red clay and gave it something to eat. Then they began to ask the coyote to help them on the war trail, but he never said a word to them. Afterward they went on and left the coyote sitting on the blanket. They went to the Crows camp and took their best horses and took scalps of some of them and stated home. Next morning they came to the place where the coyote had been sitting, but it was not there. All that was left was the blanket which it was sitting on, the things were gone. Then they began to think that the Great Spirit had sent him to help them. "Since that time" says my grandfather "the Crows were always beaten in every fight."

Well it is nearly day dawn and we go on with our trip; and soon we can see our house a little ways off. We get there and see my father sitting in the chair waiting for us. My grandfather carried me to bed and soon I was safe asleep in bed, because I had been tired by sitting on the back of the horse most of the night. My grandfather must have been tired by walking all the way. I think it was kind of him to do such a thing for his little grandson.

JOSEPH FLY.

In the photograph above are three of Hampton's "grandchildren" from Standing Rock. Left to right: Pierrepont Alford (Absentee Shawnee), Winona Keith (Sioux, Pine Ridge), Jesse Pleets (Sioux, Standing Rock), Philip Frosted (Sioux, Standing Rock), Joseph Fly (Sioux, Standing Rock). Joseph Fly contributed this reminiscence of his grandfather, Sitting Bull, to Hampton's student newspaper, Talks and Thoughts, in January 1902.



Former Hampton students, part of an official delegation to Washington, D.C., visited the campus in 1910. Left to right from Standing Rock: Antoine DeRockbrain, Thomas Frosted, Robert Higheagle, Joseph Archambault, John Tiaokasin. Left to right from Cheyenne River: William Benoist, Henry Fielder, James Crow Feather.

Talks and Thoughts. In 1908 White became the third Standing Rock student to graduate from Hampton. As evidence of the advancement of the students, fourteen American Indian students were in White's graduating class, the largest number in any one year of the school's history. He returned to Hampton the next fall and completed a postgraduate course in business at the school in 1910. White, who edited the Sioux news for the *McLaughlin Messenger* in South Dakota after his return to Standing Rock, was the last student from Standing Rock to attend Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute during the era of federal support.

During April of White's final semester at Hampton, a group of former students from Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Reservations, who were described as "workers and leaders," visited the campus. These eight native alumni were members of a delegation selected to go to Washington, D.C., to represent their people regarding land issues. The school's report of the visit noted Hampton's "pride and pleasure" at the accomplishments of these men, who exemplified "upright and useful and successful lives."⁹⁸ Their school-approved achievements included Joseph Archambault's career as a businessman and position as vice president of the First National Bank of McIntosh, South Dakota; Antoine DeRockbrain's service as the commissioner of Corson County and work as both a stockman and assistant cashier at the First State Bank of McLaughlin, South Dakota; Thomas Frosted's career as a farmer and police officer; Robert Higheagle's position as the field manager of the Continental Land Company and vice president of McLaughlin State Bank; and John Tiaokasin's career as a

stockman at Fort Yates. Each of these Hampton-educated men reflected the school's stated aim of training students "to be examples to . . . their people."

For thirty-four years, from the arrival of Richard Henry Pratt's 1878 Dakota Territory recruits until 1912, Hampton received appropriations for Indian education. Throughout the years there had been attempts to eliminate the funding on the part of those who opposed eastern boarding schools or government support of sectarian schools.⁹⁹ However, it was the most distinctive feature of the school, the education of African American and American Indians together, that became the reason for the termination of federal appropriations by the Sixty-second Congress.¹⁰⁰

In effect, the American Indian students who chose to attend Hampton after 1912, including five from Standing Rock Reservation, had to pay for expenses other than tuition, which was provided through private benevolence. Caroline W. Andrus, in charge of the Indian records, later wrote: "That these young people chose to stay, and that even a few more were willing to come, was in itself a tribute to the training which Indians had received at Hampton and the reputation the former students had made on their reservations."¹⁰¹

Frank David Blackhoop (Hewetate), the first student from Standing Rock to attend Hampton after the loss of appropriations, was one of thirty-eight native students enrolled at the school for the 1915-1916 academic session.¹⁰² Blackhoop, a nineteen-year-old graduate of Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska and friend of former student Robert Higheagle, traveled to Hamp-

ton alone in November 1915-1916. For the first year he was a "work student" assigned to the steamfitting department during the day and attended night school.¹⁰³ The goal of the work plan was to provide opportunities for students, who were paid according to their "speed and skill," to earn money to pay the annual expenses and to amass "sufficient credit with the school to defray, partly or wholly, the expense of the next year."¹⁰⁴ At this juncture, Blackhoop had the option of four regular four-year courses of study for male students: academic-normal, agricultural, trade, and business. The business course of study which Blackhoop selected was designed to meet the growing demand for young men trained in business methods, included special subjects such as bookkeeping and accounting, commercial correspondence, office practice, shorthand, and typewriting.¹⁰⁵

World War I was one of the overarching events to impact on the school and its students during the time period that Blackhoop attended Hampton.¹⁰⁶ Beginning in the spring of 1917, several mass meetings with the themes of patriotism and preparedness were held on the campus that also involved many people from the community. These meetings culminated with a speech entitled "Why We Are In The War" delivered to the student body on April 26, 1917, by the president of Hampton's Board of Trustees, William Howard Taft.¹⁰⁷

A school publication noted that preparations for war were "in evidence on every hand, and one need not even leave the school grounds to see aeroplanes, warships or soldiers."¹⁰⁸ Five military installations nearby were the source of intense military activity. Hampton students assisted with war efforts in various ways and a spirit of patriotism prevailed in student organizations. For example, male trade school students worked on equipment for the navy, coast artillery, and air corps, as well as for various embarkation camps. Female students in domestic science classes sewed pajamas and shirts for the Red Cross, while the YWCA sponsored classes for making bandages and surgical dressings for use overseas.¹⁰⁹

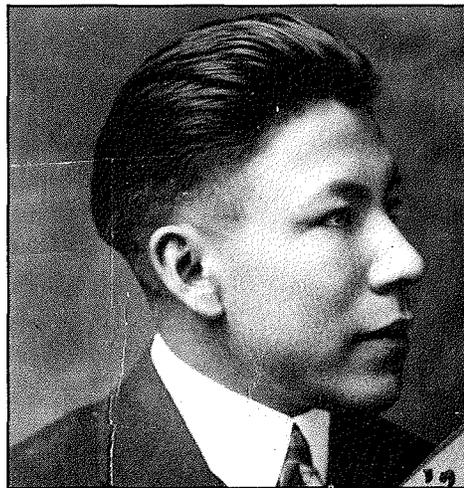
By the end of 1917, more than one hundred of Hampton's male students and staff were either in active service in France or in training camps at home with additional students "being called to the colors almost every day."¹¹⁰ Within three months the number had more than doubled.¹¹¹ Legislation of the draft, beginning on June 5, 1917, accounted for some of this increase. Prior to this time, military service was voluntary. After this date all males between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were required to register for the draft at their local draft board. Even though more than one-third of all American Indians were not deemed

United States citizens, the government still required them to register for the draft, although only those native people with citizen status legally could be drafted. American Indians could continue, however, to volunteer for service.¹¹² Because some reservations were located great distances from local draft boards, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was given the power to supervise registration in native communities with agency superintendents, clerks, and physicians serving on the draft boards. This was the case on Standing Rock Reservation.¹¹³

According to Hampton native graduate Henry O. Owl (Eastern Band of Cherokee), students who entered the army from off-reservation boarding schools such as Hampton, Carlisle, and Haskell, "where military training constitutes part of the school curriculum, make good records which are an honor to our race and to the school. . . ." ¹¹⁴ Military department was a primary component of a Hampton male student's moral education. The school's 1918 catalogue stated that all male students were required to wear a school uniform "always except when at work."¹¹⁵ All males were also required to be members of the school's battalion, which was made up of six companies with student officers who were under the guidance of a faculty commandant of cadets. As "battalion men," they were "required to drill without arms, to perform guard duty and to police the [school] grounds."¹¹⁶ Companies within the battalion marched to meals and religious services daily. School officials held that experiences of this nature encouraged the development of self-discipline and leadership.

Frank Blackhoop anticipated that he would be drafted in 1918. He wrote from his summer outing work in Minnewaska, New York: "I'll be so glad when my times comes to go to France."¹¹⁷ Late in September Blackhoop received notice that he would be drafted into the service at the end of the month. However, there was some question on the part of Hampton officials concerning his draft eligibility: neither Blackhoop nor his father were citizens and, as non-citizen American Indians, they should be exempted from the draft. Because he wanted to be sure to see his family again in case he was sent overseas, Blackhoop returned home. When he arrived at Standing Rock, Blackhoop was informed that, as a non-citizen Indian, he could not be drafted without his consent. In a letter sent back to Hampton, Blackhoop expressed his frustration over the lack of information given to him and his people. He wrote: "I went to the local Board office where I had all I wanted to say. They didn't use this regulation of exempting non-citizen because these Sioux were simply ignorant about the

Frank David Blackhoop (Hewetate or Wind on the Forehead), 1921. Blackhoop, son of Benedict and Agnes Blackhoop, attended Hampton from 1915 until 1921 when he became the fourth and last student from Standing Rock to graduate from Hampton. These "Liberty" Moccasins, ca. 1918, characterized by the American flag motifs, were made by an aunt of Frank David Blackhoop "to wear to France."



draft so they sent all the non-citizen Indian without their consent. It is a shame the way they have treated my ignorant Sioux."¹¹⁸

In order to finish his education at Hampton, Blackhoop chose to return to the school, even though this meant incurring additional expenses for transportation.¹¹⁹ Several months later, he addressed Hampton's student body at the annual Emancipation Day ceremonies and spoke of the patriotism at Standing Rock. He reported: "While visiting my home I saw the great patriotic work among my tribe, and the spirit that aroused the Indians. In the evening I heard the melodious voices of the men and women whose sons have gone to the front, singing their victory songs. They had dances also, and there the money was contributed for the Red Cross and other branches of war work." Blackhoop, who was an accomplished musician, continued: "A new war-song which I shall sing for you is worded carefully about the Kaiser and the War. When this song was sung all the dancers held American flags in their hands and waved the stars and stripes. The words are, 'Kaiser you wanted war for forty years but when you see the Sioux Indians coming you are asking for peace.'¹²⁰

The spirit of patriotism expressed by former Standing Rock students was reported in a *Southern Workman* article that described a community send-off for seven volunteers for service from Bullhead, a settlement on the reservation. After residents marched to the town hall, a program was presented in which Robert P. Higheagle, Class of 1895 and teacher at the Bullhead Day School, addressed the group on "Why We Are Assembled Here." The invocation was given by Joseph White Plume (Itecanhin-ska), who attended Hampton from 1888 to 1891 and served as a catechist in charge of

the Episcopal church at Bullhead. Antoine DeRockbrain, a Hampton student from 1886 to 1889, gave a speech entitled the "Conservation of Foods during the War."¹²¹

Acts of patriotism on the part of civilian native peoples extended across the country. As one student wrote: "The Indians are not only fighting with the rifle but are also manifesting their patriotism at home."¹²² These homefront efforts included Red Cross work, the purchase of Liberty bonds, and attempts to boost Indian agricultural products.¹²³ In the light of dwindling native enrollments at Hampton, school officials pointed to these types of activities on the part of former students, in some cases decades after leaving the school, to verify school officials' belief that "Hampton trained Indians are community assets."¹²⁴ The nation also recognized the contributions of Indian people to World War I in the military and on the homefront. In 1919 those native veterans who served in the military during the war were granted citizenship and five years later Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act granting citizenship to all American Indians.¹²⁵

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's relationship to Hampton extended throughout the forty-five years of

the historic American Indian education program. During the last academic year of the program, 1922-1923, three of the eleven native students at Hampton were from Standing Rock. Charles Archambault, Joseph Jerry Gabe (Running Soldier), and Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr. (Tatanka-iyotake) were Hampton "grandchildren."¹²⁶

The backgrounds of the last group of Indian "grandchildren" exemplify several changes in reservation communities reported by the school, most notably the fact that reservation land was being broken up into individually owned parcels and that more schools were available for the education of native people.¹²⁷ Student records indicate that each of the last three Hampton Standing Rock students owned at least 160 acres of land themselves. This is consistent with the fact that a large number of official allotments of land had taken place since 1906.¹²⁸ In addition, school records show that the three "grandchildren" and their thirteen siblings attended nine different schools, including government boarding schools both on and off the reservation, mission day and boarding schools, public schools, and a private military academy.¹²⁹

Hampton alumni Frank David Blackhoop recruited Joseph Gabe during a visit that he made to Gabe's hometown, Wakpala, South Dakota, in 1920. When Andrus sent an application to Gabe at his current school, Flandreau Indian School, she wrote in a letter: "I hope that you will decide to come to here, and will be glad to do anything I can to help you toward that end. The Indians at Hampton have no Government help, but we have had money given us with which we can pay

traveling expenses for those who cannot come without help, and the scholarship, or tuition, of \$100.00 per year is paid for all who maintain a good standing in character and work."¹³⁰

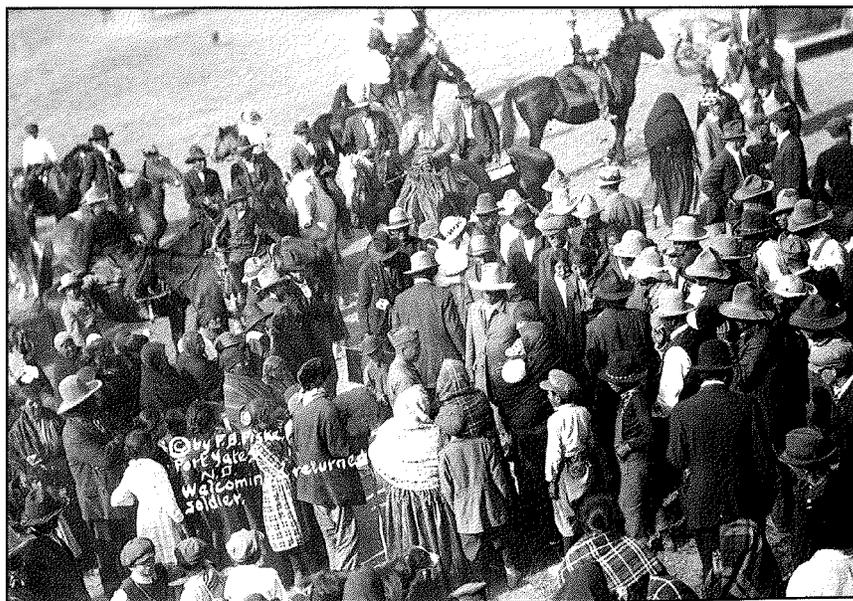
Joseph Gabe, along with fellow Flandreau classmate Charles Archambault, arrived at Hampton on September 16, 1921.¹³¹ They joined a student body totaling 873, that included a total of twenty-nine American Indians.¹³² In a letter to the chief of police in Minneapolis, Andrus, who coordinated their trip, described a major problem that the two students had en route:

They had some time to wait [at the train station] so put their suit case somewhere in the station, just set it down on the floor, and expected to find it when they returned. It contained their clothing, and about \$83.00 in cash. When they returned it was not there, much to their surprise. . . . Of course I realize that unless a miracle has taken place it will never come back to them, but at the same time thought it would do no harm to write.¹³³

The suitcase and money, part of which was to cover their school entrance fees and first month's board, were never recovered.

To afford their stay at Hampton, both students participated in the "Work Year," assigned to roads and ground and the agricultural department during the day and taking classes in the night school. In the spring, the school sent appeals to their fathers to send money to help pay for outstanding expenses in board. By the fall, both students had accumulated some credit to pay for

This Frank Fiske photograph, ca. 1919, shows residents of Standing Rock gathered to welcome a soldier from World War I.



Fiske 2012

the next school year's expenses. Archambault enrolled in the trade school's auto mechanics program while Gabe enrolled in the Academy, formally referred to as the Academic Department.

On November 6, 1922, they were joined by Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr., from Cannonball, South Dakota. Welsh, who was twenty years old when he arrived at Hampton, was a veteran of the recent war, having served in the army from May 28, 1918, until June 13, 1922.¹³⁴ Shortly after his arrival, Welsh joined the school's football team, which won the 1922 Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the Middle Atlantic States Championship.

Hampton's 1922-23 academic year was described as one of "new teachers, new courses, [and] new methods."¹³⁵ A "considerable number" of long-tenured faculty and staff were retiring, among them some of the people who had labored so long in the education of Hampton's native students, such as Folsom and Andrus. There was no longer a distinct Indian record office, as the records of American Indian and African American students merged into one office. As such, there was no longer a knowledgeable staff to assist the native students with their affairs. For as Andrus indicated in one of her last reports, "I firmly believe that having someone to whom they can go as their own special friend, someone who knows their homes and their people, is what keeps most of them here."¹³⁶

At the end of the term, Herbert Welsh, Jr., was diagnosed with "suspicious" tuberculosis and returned home for rest and fresh air on June 7, 1923. In a letter to Hampton, his father thanked Principal James E.

Gregg and "all of the employees of the school for the education which you have given to my son, Herbert Welsh, Jr., and which will be remembered always."¹³⁷ Herbert Jr. traveled home with Joseph Gabe who was behind in some of his subjects and "probably advised either not to return or to come for [a] special program."¹³⁸ Charles Archambault, who spent the summer working at Camp Red Cloud in Pennsylvania, wrote to Andrus on July 11, 1923, that he was "anxious to know when the old students should arrive at Hampton next fall."¹³⁹ However, six weeks later he wrote to Hampton asking his records be forwarded to Friends School in Baltimore, Maryland.¹⁴⁰ In the fall of 1923, none of the native students enrolled the previous year returned to Hampton and "no new Indians" entered the school. The following spring Principal Gregg stated in his Annual Report: "Hampton will keep an open door and a welcome for any who wish to come and are qualified in scholarship and character."¹⁴¹ However, the school's historic experiment in American Indian education had ended.

The experiences of the 126 Standing Rock students who traveled to the distant shores of the Chesapeake Bay to participate in Hampton's early Indian education program can be viewed in terms of both continuity and change. One factor constant in both the students' personal histories and the larger histories of the school and the tribe was the relentless pressure exerted on the Lakota/Dakota by Hampton and government authorities to assimilate into Euro-American society. During the forty-five-year time span, both the school and students

English-Indian class with teacher Miss Louise Cleveland, ca. 1893. From 1879 until 1901 a separate Indian department offered remedial instruction in English to many of the Standing Rock students. Instructors used objects such as the chrysanthemums worn by the students in this photograph as teaching resources.



Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr., (standing on far left, third row), was the only American Indian on the 1922 football squad of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.



also underwent significant changes. Hampton's curriculum went through a transformation from the equivalent of an 1880s grammar school offering to a four-year secondary school in 1916. By the final year of Hampton's pioneering work educating American Indians, the school had its first collegiate program conferring a Bachelor of Science degree. During the period of time that the majority of the 126 Standing Rock students enrolled at Hampton, 1881 to 1891, most of the participants were assigned to specially designed academic classes separate from those offered to African American students. Increased exposure to the extensive network of boarding schools, located both on and off of the reservation, resulted in improved English and other academic skills thus eliminating the need for separate classes by 1901. Throughout the years, training in Euro-American sanctioned work, reinforced through participation in the off-campus outing program, remained a consistent part of the students' Hampton experience.

The value of a Hampton education to Standing Rock students is reflected in the fact that siblings, parents, other relatives, and friends who attended the school became the major source of student recruitment by the turn of the century. Some families continued to send students to the school after the 1912 termination of federal support, even though it involved financial hardship.

Although faculty and staff visits to the reservation became less frequent in the later years, correspondence between school officials and former students continued to flourish. Hampton publications heralded the accom-

plishments of students after they returned home, noting their adoption of American lifestyles and their determination to remain firm in rejecting tribal religions such as the Ghost Dance. Hampton's dedicated corps of mentors consistently remained a powerful force for change. Many possessed an untiring missionary zeal and faithfully encouraged students to exhibit progressive individualism and "to be examples to . . . their people" of industrious, Christian citizens.

The stories of these Standing Rock students combine to create a unique chapter in the history of the Standing Rock Sioux Nation. Recorded in letters, reports, school publications, photographs and other archival sources, their voices present a multifaceted history. They also reveal the complexities of being a Lakota/Dakota in a Euro-American society and the strength and adaptability of the Standing Rock Sioux people.

Mary Lou Hultgren is curator of collections at Hampton University Museum. Along with Dr. Paulette F. Molin, she co-curated the museum's permanent American Indian Gallery, *Enduring Legacy: Native Peoples, Native Arts at Hampton*, which includes many objects dating from the school's historic American Indian education program.

Standing Rock Students at Hampton Institute,
1878-1923

Compiled by Paulette F. Molin

<u>Name</u>	<u>Years at Hampton</u>		
Agard, Louis	1881-1883		
All-Yellow, James	1887-1888		
All-Yellow, Jane Eagle Face	1887-1888		
Ankle, Matthew	1890-1896, 1896-1898, 1900-1902		
Archambeau, Joseph	1881-1884		
Archambault, Charles Jerome	1921-1923		
Arrow, Claude	1890-1893		
Arrow, Joseph	1884-1885		
Bagola, George	1888-1892		
Bear Face, Rosa	1881-1884, 1887-1888		
Bear Robe, James	1886-1888		
Bird, Mary	1886-1889		
Black Hawk, Frank	1881-1885		
Black Hawk, Peter	1887-1890		
Blackhoop, Frank David	1915-1918, 1918-1921		
Blue Boy, Jack	1885-1888		
Blue Cloud, Martin	1890-1892		
Blue Lips, Eugene	1918-1919		
Bone Club, Felix	1890-1893		
Bow, Claude	1886-1889		
Bullhead, Louisa	1879-1880		
Cadocte, John	1878-1879		
Cihila, Benedict	1884-1886		
Cross Bear, Fannie	1886-1889		
Cross Bear, Katherine	1886-1889		
Crow Man, John (Kill Crow Indian)	1889-1891		
Currier, Madeline	1886-1889		
Delay, Daniel Issador (Ankle)	1888-1890		
De Rockbrain, Antoine	1886-1889		
Eagle, Annie	1886-1889		
Eagle Dog, Mary	1901-1902		
Elbow, Carrie	1885-1888		
Elk, Paul	1886-1886		
Fire Elk, Cassimer	1886-1886		
Fly, Joseph	1901		
Four Swords, Henry	1885-1886		
Frosted, Philip	1901-1902		
Gabe, Joseph Jerry	1921-1923		
Goodfur, Benjamin	1889-1891		
Goodfur, Mary (or Stella)	1889-1891		
Goodwind, Robert	1890-1892		
Goodwood, Maggie	1885-1886, 1887-1889		
Goodwood, Thomas	1881-1885, 1885-1888		
Graham, Mark Willis	1903-1904		
Happy Road	1886-1886		
Has Horns, Ben	1903-1903		
Hawk, Martin	1886-1888		
Hawk, William	1892-1893		
Hebda, Martin	1887-1890, 1891-1892		
Hebda, William	1891-1894		
Higheagle, Florence	1902-1904		
Higheagle, Robert Placidus	1890-1893, 1893-1895		
Howard, Innocent	1892-1897		
Ho-Waste (Good Voice)	1885-1886		
Huhuna, Lucy	1885-1888		
Industrious, Lawrence	1884-1885		
Iron Bear, Jerome	1886-1887		
Iron Necklace, Eugene	1884-1887		
Kathleen, Julia	1886-1887		
Killed, Louis (chg'd. to Goodiron)	1890-1893		
Lariat, John	1888-1891		
Last, Thomas	1890-1892		
Left Hand, John	1887-1888		
Long Girl, Louisa	1885-1885		
Lowdog, Louisa	1901-1902		
Lowdog, Luke	1901-1905		
Martin, Maurice	1888-1890		
Matonapi, Robert	1891-1892		
Maza, Amelia [Iron, Amelia]	1889-1892		
McCarthy, Josephine	1881-1884, 1885-1888		
Medicine Rock, Sarah	1879-1880		
Menz, Joseph (also Mentz)	1901-1905, 1905-1907		
No Ears, Jennie	1881-1884		
No Ears, Lucy	1886-1889		
Ota Akdi, Charles	1885-1886, 1887-1890		
Pamani, Celeste	1884-1885		
Phelps, Edwin	1886-1887		
Phelps, Ellen	1886-1887		
<i>Phelps, Ella</i>	<i>1886-1887*</i>		
<i>Phelps, Gideon</i>	<i>1886-1887</i>		
<i>Phelps, Matteos</i>	<i>1886-1887</i>		
<i>Phelps, Obed</i>	<i>Born at Hampton, 1887</i>		
Place Together, Agnes	1879-1880		
Pleets, Jesse	1901-1904		
Pleets, John	1878-1881		
Pleets, Joseph H.	1887-1890		
Pleets, Marcella	1887-1888		
Pleets, Rosa	1878-1881, 1884-1886, 1887-1889		
Plenty, David	1889-1891		
Porcupine, Paul	1888-1891		
Pretty Bird, Mary	1884-1885		
Pretty Flute, Charles	1885-1888		
Rabbit, Charles	1884-1884		
Ramsey, Alma	1885-1888		
Ramsey, Charles Dick	1891-1894		
Red Cane, Annie	1886-1888, 1888-1891		
Red Eagle, Agnes	1885-1885		
Red Fox, Emma	1901-1904		
Red Hawk, John	1887-1890		
Red Horse, Joseph	1886-1889, 1891-1892		
Red Stone, Barney	1887-1889		
Running Girl, Kate	1885-1886		
Running With, John	1886-1889		
Shield, Lucas	1884-1885		
Shot Twice, James	1886-1889		
Siyaka, Clarence	1901-1902		
Smite, William	1891-1892		
Standing Crow, George	1885-1886		
Striped Face, John (Goodhouse)	1894-1897		
Tiakan, Martin	1887-1890		
Tiaokasin, John	1881-1884, 1885-1887, 1887-1889		
<i>Tiaokasin, Richard</i>	<i>Born at Hampton, 1888</i>		
Uhahkeumpa (Carries Flying) Thomas P. Fly	1878-1881		
Virgin, Clara or Flora	1886-1886		
Walking Eagle, Joseph	1891-1893		
Walking Medicine, Fidelia	1881-1884		
Wankikun, Frank (LaFramboise)	1887-1890		
Welsh, Crescentius	1892-1893		
Welsh, Herbert	1888-1891		
Welsh, Herbert Hawkshield, Jr.	1922-1923		
White, Ralph Emerson	1904-1906, 1906-1908, 1908-1910		
White Cow, Frances	1881-1884		
White Plume, Joseph	1888-1891		
Wise, Adolph	1890-1893		
Wosica, Jerome	1884-1887		
Young Eagle, Matthew	1885-1889		

*Names listed in italics are those of children associated with Hampton's model family program.

NOTES

1. Helen W. Ludlow, ed., *Ten Years' Work for Indians at Hampton Institute, Virginia* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1888), 11. See also Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "'Long Rides Across the Plains': Fort Berthold Students at Hampton Institute," *North Dakota History*, 61, 2 (1994), 10-36.
2. The 1886-87 academic year began on October 1, 1886, with a student body numbering 618. The native students totaled 111 (38 females and 73 males). *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 11 (1886), 110. According to the official student record of James Bear Robe (Matohasina), he arrived from Standing Rock in May 1886. However, the various published accounts of the August arrivals indicate that he arrived with the August group. Two other students from Standing Rock, Edwin Phelps and his wife Ellen Phelps, 30, arrived at the school on November 26, 1886, with their three small children, Matteos, Gideon, and Ella. The Phelps family was one of several Standing Rock families to enroll at Hampton as part of the school's model family program.
3. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 9 (1886), 98.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Thirty-seven of the 126 students to attend Hampton from Standing Rock were female, with nearly a quarter of these girls arriving in 1886.
6. Cora Mae Folsom, "Indian Days at Hampton" (unpublished manuscript, 1918, Hampton University Archives), 83. Winona Lodge, built in 1882 to house American Indian students, was both a home and learning laboratory for native female students. The building was razed in 1950 to make room for a more modern dormitory.
7. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 9 (1886), 98. Lucy No Ears attended the government school at Standing Rock for four years before coming to Hampton. Her younger sister Jennie attended Hampton 1881-1884, and was teaching on the reservation in 1886.
8. Helen W. Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1893), 448.
9. *Ibid.*, 450.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 3 (1886), 34. James McLaughlin (1842-1923) came to Standing Rock after serving as Indian agent at Devils Lake from 1876 to 1881. He was aided in his work in the Dakotas by Marie Louise Buisson (1842-1899), his wife of thirty-five years. Of Mdewakanton Sioux descent, Mrs. McLaughlin was "one of the best interpreters among the Sioux" and could bridge Lakota/Dakota and Euro-American cultures. Louis L. Pfaller, O.S.B., *James McLaughlin: The Man with an Indian Heart* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 102.
12. Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 323. For Lakota/Dakota recollections of feelings of loneliness and other adjustment problems at boarding school, see Carole Barrett and Marcia Wolter Britton, "'You Didn't Dare Try to be Indian': Oral Histories of Former Indian Boarding School Students," *North Dakota History*, 64, 2 (1997), 4-25.
13. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 9 (1886), 98.
14. Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 446. DeRockbrain also appears as DeRockbraine in the records.
15. *Southern Workman*, XVI, no. 3 (1887), 21. The *Southern Workman* announcement of the 1886 arrivals indicates that Bow attended reservation schools for seven years.
16. *Ibid.* Bow is reported to have brought along his books and studied during the trip to Hampton.
17. The Indian department, organized in 1879 with five divisions, provided instruction in English through object teaching and the use of pictures. When the students' English language skills reached the appropriate level, they were assigned to regular courses of instruction for the African American students.
18. *Southern Workman*, XVI, no. 9 (1887), 66. At the time of his return to Standing Rock in 1889, Bow had advanced to the junior class in the Normal School academic program.
19. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 9 (1886), 98.
20. *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Annual Reports for the Academic and Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1888* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1888), 66.
21. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 8 (1888), 87.
22. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 6 (1888), 64.
23. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 8 (1888), 87.
24. *Southern Workman*, XVIII, no. 2 (1889), 20.
25. Ten students returned home prior to the expiration of the time permitted in the east due to ill health or conduct. Bow and DeRockbrain returned in July of 1889.
26. *Southern Workman*, XVIII, no. 11 (1889), 117.
27. *Ibid.*, 127.
28. Cora Mae Folsom, "Record of Returned Indian Students," in Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 318.
29. Between 1882 and 1891, some twenty-three families, the majority Lakota, participated in the program. See also W. Roger Buffalohead and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "'A Nucleus of Civilization': Families at Hampton Institute," in *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 116-133.
30. *The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Annual Reports for the Year Ending June 30, 1890* (Hampton: Normal School Press, 1890), 30. The Phelps brought three young children to campus with them and the Tiaokasins had a son born to them at Hampton. A fourth family participant included Celeste Pamani from Standing Rock, whose husband Frank Pamani was from Crow Creek Reservation. Neither the All-Yellows nor the Pamanis had children with them at Hampton.
31. After ten years of educating Indians, Hampton had enrolled a total of 467 native students (320 males and 147 females) representing twenty-seven tribes. The Lakota/Dakota students from Yankton, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock agencies comprised the largest tribal group. Helen W. Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work for Indians*, 11. Nationally, the education of American Indians was also becoming more institutionalized with ten federally funded off-reservation boarding schools established between 1879 and 1890. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 55-59.
32. Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work for Indians*, 37.
33. *Ibid.*, 31.
34. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 244.
35. *Southern Workman*, XIII, no. 9 (1884), 94. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 11 (1888), 107. According to historian Robert M. Utley, McLaughlin was "a strong minded agent, effective in imposing his will on his charges. . . . Even though with paternalistic condescension, he genuinely liked and respected them [Indians] and devoted his life to their well-being as he saw it. As agent, he labored with them to promote the program of 'civilization.'" Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 249. For Lakota perspectives on Utley's scholarship in *The Lance and the Shield*, see Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 94-95.
36. The staff included Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Francis Chickering Briggs, George LeRoy Brown, George L. Curtis, Cora Mae Folsom, the Reverend C. Freeland, the Reverend Hollis B. Frissell, the Reverend J. J. Gravatt, Helen W. Ludlow, and J. H. McDowell.
37. *Southern Workman*, XV, no. 12 (1886), 129. The entitlement to

rations, specified quantities of food stuff, can be traced to Article 10 of the Fort Laramie Treaty of April 29, 1868. The text of this treaty appears in Carole Barrett et al., *The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate* (Bismarck: North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995), 87-94.

38. Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 76.

39. For a discussion of the ramifications of the Dawes Act, see Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Assault on Tribalism: The General Allotment (Dawes Act) of 1887* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975).

40. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 11 (1888), 114.

41. Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998, Bison Book edition), 90-92.

42. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 11 (1888), 114. Ella Deloria later described these early log houses as "small, one-room affairs, low and dark—and dank, because of the dirt floor. Compared with the well constructed tipis with their manageable windflaps for ample ventilating, the cabins were hot and stuffy. Germs lurked everywhere, causing general sickness, and the death rate increased." Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, 91.

43. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, Vols. 1-2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) provides an introduction to the history of the relations between the United States and American Indian tribes. For a report on Lakota/Dakota land issues see: Robert T. Coulter, Curtis G. Berkey and J. David Lehman, "The Forced Reduction of the Great Sioux Reservation: An Examination of United States-Sioux Nation Relations during the Period of 1868-1889" (Washington, D.C.: Indian Law Resource Center, 1980), reprinted in Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground*, 257-291.

44. James McLaughlin, *My Friend The Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), 274.

45. The Great Sioux Reservation, which extended from the southern to just beyond the northern border of what is now South Dakota, isolated the Black Hills from the eastern part of the territory and prevented extending the railroad west of the Missouri River through this area.

46. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 11 (1888), 111. Dakota scholar Ella Deloria wrote of the challenge of changing the Lakota/Dakota from buffalo hunters to farmers: "It would take the most painstaking, patient, and understanding re-education to change their reflexes—a fact not always recognized by the sincere friends who wanted to save them; who naively imagined that a change of costume, and plough handles in the grasp, would turn the trick." Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, 91.

47. *Southern Workman*, XVII, no. 11 (1888), 111.

48. Barrett et al., *Standing Rock Oyate*, 38.

49. Kay Graber, ed., *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1885-91* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 137. Goodale, a former teacher at Hampton, was school inspector for government schools during this time.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Joseph Archambault file, HUA.

52. Maurice Martin file, HUA.

53. *Southern Workman*, XX, no. 6 (1891), 199.

54. For additional background on the life of Wovoka (Jack Wilson) and his prophecies, see Michael Hittman and Donald Lynch, eds., *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

55. Ella Deloria recorded a Lakota oral historian's recollection of the dance, songs, and visions associated with the Ghost Dance that she observed as a child at Pine Ridge. Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, 81-83.

56. For a discussion of changing religious values among the Lakota/Dakota, see Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," *Pacific Historical Review*, 51 (November 1982), 385-405. See also Renee Sanson Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee: Spirit of the Lakota* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 47-54, for

accounts of violence committed by ranchers, cowboys, and the Home Guard Militia against the Lakota.

57. *Southern Workman*, XIX, no. 12 (1890), 121.

58. *Ibid.* Tiaokasin's observations concerning the overreaction of Euro-Americans to the Ghost Dance have confirmed the conclusion of historian Raymond J. DeMallie, who writes that the white settlers of the region were "nervous about Indians dancing; in the old pioneer tales, whenever Indians danced, war and pillage followed. They clamored for military protection." Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Sioux in Dakota and Montana Territories: Cultural and Historical Background of the Ogden B. Read Collection," in Glenn E. Markoe, ed., *Vestiges of a Proud Nation* (Burlington: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, 1986), 63.

59. Thomas Fly file, HUA. Thomas Fly, who attended Hampton from 1878 to 1881, was known then as Uihakkeumpa (Carries Flying). He married Many Horses, the eldest daughter of Sitting Bull and Snow-on-Her, and they had one child. In 1889, after her death, Fly married former Hampton student Alma Ramsey. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 270.

60. Andrew Fox file, HUA.

61. *Ibid.*, 270.

62. Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 129.

63. Eastman, *Sister to the Sioux*, 157.

64. According to historian Raymond DeMallie: "Agent McLaughlin had been clamoring for the old chief's arrest and removal from the reservation for some time, ever since Sitting Bull had refused to take up farming and be a model 'progressive' Indian, to use McLaughlin's own term." DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," 394.

65. *Ibid.* On December 29, 1890, more than 300 Lakota were massacred by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Included in this number were members of Sitting Bull's followers who had sought shelter with Big Foot's band after Sitting Bull's death. Barrett et al., *The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate*, 21. For a Lakota account of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre see Alice Ghost Horse, "They Killed My Father and Brother . . . for no reason at all." reprinted in Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground*, 15-21. See also Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, 27-46, for details of the massacre from military participants and Lakota survivors.

66. Claude Bow file, HUA. See also William T. Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 82-103.

67. Andrew Fox file, HUA.

68. Folsom, "Record of Returned Students" in Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 489.

69. *Southern Workman*, XX, no. 6 (June, 1891), 199. At Hampton, Indian Citizenship Day, was counterpart to the Emancipation Day celebration for African American students.

70. *Southern Workman*, XX, no. 2 (1891), 155.

71. McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 221.

72. *Southern Workman*, XXI, no. 6 (1892), 103.

73. F. C. Gleason, "Forces for Good on Indian Reservations," *Southern Workman*, XXX, no. 11 (1902), 626-627. See also Wilbert H. Ahern, "The Returned Indians: Hampton Institute and Its Indian Alumni, 1879-1893," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 10, no. 4 (1983), 101-124, and Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian Service, 1881-1908," *Ethnohistory*, 44, no. 2 (1997), 263-304.

74. Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 166. Armstrong suffered a stroke in 1891 and was partially paralyzed. His health gradually deteriorated until his death two years later.

75. Frissell served as the school's chaplain from 1880 to 1886, at which time he was appointed vice principal. In May of 1893, Vice Principal Hollis B. Frissell was signing correspondence as "Acting

Principal." *Ibid.*, 197. Frissell served as principal of Hampton until his death in 1917.

76. *Southern Workman*, XIII, no. 9 (1884), 95. In June 1884 Frissell traveled to Standing Rock while escorting four female students home and recruiting twelve new students from that reservation.

77. Josephine McCarthy file, HUA.

78. Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 188. McLaughlin's successor was John Cramsie, who was also his brother-in-law.

79. The students were Robert Higheagle, who graduated in 1895; Charles Dick Ramsey, who returned to Standing Rock in 1894 after a year at Hampton; and Matthew Ankle, who in 1898 became the second Standing Rock student to graduate from Hampton.

80. "Indians at Hampton: Report of the Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916," HUA, 13.

81. *Ibid.*, 12.

82. Wilma King Hunter, "Coming of Age: Hollis B. Frissell and the Emergence of Hampton Institute, 1893-1919," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1982), 51.

83. "Indians at Hampton: Report of the Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction 1878-1916," 14.

84. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

85. The group, which consisted of four females and five males who were escorted by William Lincoln Brown, a cashier in Hampton's business office, was the last Standing Rock group to be recruited and accompanied to the school by a school official.

86. In 1901 there were a total of five native students enrolled at Hampton who were second-generation Indian students.

87. *Southern Workman*, XXV, no.11 (1896), 220.

88. Three other children of George Pleets, Rosa, Joseph, and Marcella, also attended Hampton, making this the largest family group from Standing Rock at Hampton. John Pleets's wife, Mary Two Packs, was the sister of another Hampton student, Herbert Welsh.

89. John Pleets to Hollis Frissell, September 26, 1901, John Pleets file, HUA. Pleets, who returned to Standing Rock in September 1881, was in charge of the agency stables for ten years and then worked as the agency butcher and farmer. Jesse remained at Hampton until 1904, at which time he returned to Standing Rock for health reasons. He worked as a clerk for many years after his return to Fort Yates.

90. At the time of Fly's enrollment at Hampton the name of the nephew of Chief Wild Goose was recorded as Uahahkeumpa (Carries Flying).

91. *Southern Workman*, XIII, no. 9 (1884), 95.

92. Joseph Fly file, HUA. During the troubles with Sitting Bull in the 1890s, Thomas Fly enlisted as a scout at Fort Yates. When his son attended Hampton, he was a blacksmith at the Rock Creek substation.

93. For a history of Chilocco, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

94. Ludlow et al., *Twenty-Two Years' Work*, 334. Thomas Frosted (Arewanke) is also referred to as Thomas Frost and Thomas White Bear. Originally from Crow Creek Agency, the elder Frost was twenty-six years old when he entered Hampton. When he returned west, he settled at Standing Rock where he had a wife, Susie Left Hand Bull, and two sons, one of whom was Philip. Thomas Frost file, HUA.

95. "Indians at Hampton: Report of the Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916," 15.

96. *Ibid.*, 17. At this point, no new female students from Standing Rock enrolled at Hampton and the last two girls to attend the school, Emma Red Fox and Florence Higheagle, returned home in 1904.

97. *Application for Admission to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia*, Ralph White file, HUA.

98. *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, no. 4 (1910), 251.

99. Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 220-235. Concerns about health issues, discipline, and the success rate of returned students who adopted assimilationist standards were also raised by those who opposed funding \$167 per capita for up to a maximum of 120 native students per year at Hampton.

100. *Ibid.*, 252-258.

101. Caroline W. Andrus, "Education of Indians at Hampton," 1922, 3, HUA. In 1911-1912, the school's enrollment of Indians numbered eighty-one and in the 1912-1913 school year the number was forty-four, which included eight new students and thirty-six returning students.

102. The school's enrollment for 1915-1916 was more than 900 boarding students. *Forty-Eighth Annual Catalogue: The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1916* (Hampton: The Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1916), 18.

103. According to a clipping from the December 1916 *Peace Pipe*, Blackhoop "learned something of this trade while he attended the Government school" at Standing Rock. Blackhoop's academic scholarship was paid for by Rosamund Freeman. Frank Blackhoop file, HUA.

104. Andrus, "Education of Indians at Hampton," 4.

105. Blackhoop completed this course of study in 1921 and became the fourth and final student from Standing Rock to graduate from Hampton. See also Barrett et al., *The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate*, 61, for information on Blackhoop's role as tribal chairperson.

106. The death of Principal Hollis Burke Frissell on August 5, 1917, and the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, are examples of other significant events in the school's history during Blackhoop's years as a student.

107. *Southern Workman*, XLVII, no. 6 (1918), 333-334. Taft, who served as the twenty-seventh president of the United States from 1909 to 1913, was president of the Board of Trustees of Hampton Institute from 1914 until his death in 1930.

108. *Southern Workman*, XLVI, no. 1 (1917), 655.

109. *Ibid.* Matthew Ankle was the only Hampton Standing Rock student wounded during the war. Ankle, who remained in the East after his schooling, enlisted in the army and from 1919 to 1921 served in France. As a result of being gassed, he developed severe lung problems that led to an early death. In honor of his service to his country, on his death in 1930, Ankle was given a military funeral and buried in Arlington Cemetery. Matthew Ankle file, HUA.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Southern Workman*, XLVII, no. 4 (1918), 202.

112. In September 1918 the *Southern Workman* reported that at least 75 percent of the more than 5,000 American Indians in training camps or active service were volunteers. *Southern Workman*, XLVII, no. 9 (1918), 463.

113. Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 52. According to Britten, the federal government drafted more than 6,500 American Indian men for duty during the war and thousands more enlisted for service. Between 12,000 and 12,500 American Indians, or approximately 5 percent of the adult male Indian population, served during the war. Native soldiers were involved in every significant engagement on the Western Front in 1918. *Ibid.*, 73-84.

114. Henry O. Owl, "The Indian in the War," *Southern Workman*, XLVII, no. 6 (1918), 354. Thomas A. Britten estimates that 90 percent of the Indian school students who fought in World War I volunteered for service. Britten, *American Indians in World War I*, 67.

115. *Fiftieth Annual Catalogue: The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1918* (Hampton: The Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1918), 27. The school adopted uniforms for males in 1878, the first year native students enrolled at Hampton. In

1918 the uniform, which consisted of a coat, trousers, and a cap, was made in the school's tailoring department and cost the student \$15.00.

116. *Ibid.*, 28-29. Blackhoop held the ranks of private, chief musician and ROTC band leader while at Hampton. Frank David Blackhoop file, HUA.

117. Frank Blackhoop to Miss Andrus, September 8, 1918, Frank Blackhoop file, HUA.

118. Frank Blackhoop to Miss Andrus, October 3, 1918, Frank Blackhoop file, HUA. In addition to those drafted into service during World War I, many non-citizen Indians across the country enlisted in the armed services. The first North Dakota Indian to enlist was Richard Blue Earth from the Standing Rock community of Cannonball. Barrett et al., *Standing Rock Oyate*, 38.

119. During his time at Standing Rock, Blackhoop recruited seventeen-year-old Eugene Bluelips to apply to Hampton. Bluelips, who arrived at the school on December 11, 1918, remained only two months when he was sent to a hospital in Toledo, Ohio, to be treated for a "tubercular leg." Poor health prevented him from returning to Hampton. Eugene Bluelips student file, HUA.

120. Frank Blackhoop, "Emancipation Day," 1919, unpublished speech, HUA.

121. *Southern Workman*, XLVII, no. 5 (1918), 256.

122. Owl, "The Indian in the War," 354.

123. Britten, *American Indians in World War I*, 132-144. Britten's work provides an overview of the government's war efforts and a discussion of how these were also seen as vehicles to self-support and assimilation thus solving the "Indian problem."

124. Andrus, "Education of Indians at Hampton," 5.

125. Britten, *American Indians in World War I*, 181. According to Britten, scholars have concluded that the meritorious service of American Indians in the military during World War I was "perhaps the most important factor" influencing Congress to pass the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

126. Joseph Archambault attended Hampton from 1881 to 1884 and was county treasurer at the time his son Charles enrolled at

Hampton. Baptiste Gabe, who was originally from Crow Creek Reservation, attended Hampton from 1881 to 1884 and was an assistant farmer at Wakpala in 1921 when Joseph enrolled at Hampton. Herbert Welsh, an Episcopal rector at Cannon Ball in 1922, attended Hampton from 1888 to 1891.

127. Andrus, "Education of Indians at Hampton," 10.

128. Barrett et al., *Standing Rock Oyate*, 21.

129. Charles Archambault, Joseph Gabe, and Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr., files, HUA. Gabe and Welsh both attended Kearney Military Academy in Kearney, Nebraska.

130. Caroline W. Andrus to Mr. Joseph Gabe, February 1, 1921. Joseph Gabe file, HUA.

131. Charles Archambault indicated that he was influenced to attend Hampton by former student Eugene Bluelips and Baptiste Gabe, the father of Joseph Gabe. Charles Archambault file, HUA.

132. *Southern Workman*, LI, no. 6 (1922), 266-68.

133. Caroline W. Andrus to chief of police, Minneapolis, September 16, 1921, Joseph Gabe file, HUA.

134. He was stationed in Panama for nine months and Germany for twenty-eight months, where his duty was as a musician and drum major for the Fifth Infantry. Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr. file, HUA.

135. *Southern Workman*, LII, no. 6 (1923), 269.

136. Caroline W. Andrus, "Report of the Indian Record Office," February 21, 1921, 2.

137. Herbert H. Welsh to Mr. James E. Gregg, May 21, 1923. Herbert Hawkshield Welsh, Jr., file, HUA.

138. Joseph Gabe file, HUA.

139. Charles J. Archambault to Caroline W. Andrus, July 11, 1923, Charles Archambault file, HUA.

140. Charles J. Archambault to Dear Sirs, August 30, 1923, Charles Archambault file, HUA. Subsequent reports indicate that he attended Friends School the next year. In 1927 his father wrote to Hampton that he had a son attending college at the University of Maryland. *Ibid.*

141. *Southern Workman*, LIII, no. 6 (1924), 257.

