

© 2015

Elisabeth Eittreim

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE TEACHERS' DILEMMA: GENDER, EDUCATION, AND EMPIRE, 1879-1918

by

ELISABETH MARIE EITTREIM

A dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate School-New Brunswick  
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in History

Written under the direction of

Nancy Hewitt

Benjamin Justice

And approved by

---

---

---

---

New Brunswick, New Jersey

October 2015

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Teachers' Dilemma: Gender, Empire, and Education, 1879-1918

By ELISABETH MARIE EITTREIM

Dissertation Directors:

Nancy Hewitt

Benjamin Justice

This dissertation examines two experiments in U.S. imperial education at the turn of the twentieth century by analyzing the role of teachers tasked with “civilizing” colonized peoples at home and abroad. As the United States gained control over new territories—including American Indian and Filipino homelands—it developed policies to assimilate peoples resistant to its authority. These policies framed the teachers’ dilemma.

Translating national policy into practice proved challenging. Founded in 1879, white female faculty at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania—the nation’s first off-reservation boarding school—sought to acculturate Indian youth to norms of the dominant society. These societal norms suggested that women were especially suited for the work of nurturing the young. Twenty years later—after receiving the Philippine Islands as a bounty of the War of 1898—the U.S. government

recruited primarily men to establish a U.S.-style school system in the islands.

Administrators perceived men as better equipped to withstand the rugged, isolated environment and take on leadership roles. This study demonstrates that teachers' racial assumptions—especially white superiority—shaped the work of cultural transformation more than gender. Still, gender affected teachers' experiences in other ways, including internal power dynamics, salary differentials, the formation of friendships, and marriages that shaped their lives in these intense, immersive environments.

A close analysis of teachers' experiences and perspectives at Carlisle and in the Philippines exposes the fragility of U.S. endeavors to build an empire through the intimate spaces of schooling. In both case studies, teachers' personal and political needs often conflicted with the broader mission. Some teachers challenged their supervisors' authority or questioned the "benevolence" of their colleagues, countrymen, and national policy. Other teachers navigated their role as cultural mediators boldly, if carefully, as they faced resistance from students and families. Nearly all encountered death and disease, which periodically plagued the Indian boarding school and was ever-present in the Philippines where military and biological violence profoundly shaped teachers' experiences. Ultimately, despite such challenges, teachers demonstrated considerable agency at Carlisle and the Philippines, helping to shape generations of students as well as the U.S. empire and its legacy.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been at all possible without the dedication and commitment of my advisor, Nancy Hewitt. Her guidance, constructive criticism, and brilliance have supported and propelled every stage of my work. Her thorough and timely critiques enabled me to write, revise, and rewrite several drafts of each chapter, and knowing that I could count on her insights and optimism inspired me to continue moving forward. As co-advisor, Benjamin Justice offered enthusiasm and knowledge that similarly motivated me to pursue this work. His suggestions of primary and secondary sources and brainstorming on theoretical frameworks enriched and guided my scholarly journey, and his steadfast support throughout the many years of researching and writing helped to sustain my commitment to the project. I would also like to thank Judy Gerson and Cami Townsend for their expertise and service on the dissertation committee. From the dissertation proposal to the final draft, they pushed me to consider new ways of understanding this project, both inside and outside of the historical discipline. Their advice improved my methodology and ensured that I considered multiple perspectives in the final analysis. A final thank you to Suzanne Lebsock, who also provided me with critical feedback in the planning stages.

My work has been supported by the Rutgers University History Department, the Warren and Beatrice Susman Dissertation Completion Fellowship at Rutgers University, the Mellon Foundation History Department Summer Grants, and the Rutgers-Newark Teacher Scholar Program. I would like to extend a warm thank you to the Rutgers History Department faculty and staff for their continual guidance, support, and assistance.

This dissertation took me to archives near and far. Thank you to all of the archivists, librarians, and researchers who gave me access to the thousands of primary documents that form the basis of this work. In particular, I would like to thank the archivists with whom I worked at the Cumberland County Historical Society in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the National Personnel Research Center in St. Louis, Missouri, the Bentley Historical Library and the Special Collections Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the National Archives in Washington, DC and in College Park, Maryland, the Library of Congress, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. In addition, I would like to thank all of the individuals who assisted in my research at universities I was unable to visit but who made photocopies and digital images in my stead. Thank you all for your commitment to preserving, organizing, and making available the sources that make the writing of history possible.

I would also like to thank and acknowledge my family – both immediate and extended – for their inspiration, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate work. My gratitude extends to the many caretakers who helped me to balance my home and work life. Thank you to my parents, in-laws, and sister, who helped care for my children as I studied and researched. Thank you to Geta, Beth, Ann, Dawn, and Kerry who also managed the household while I researched and wrote. And, a special thank you to my husband, Tommy Harbison, who encouraged me throughout the adventures of dissertating and turned the many research trips into family vacations for the kids. Finally, thank you to Cole, Benjamin, and Alice for your patience, love, hugs, and giggles. This project is for you.

## DEDICATION

And then there were three.

For Alice, Benjamin, and Cole.

## CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One The Journey to Teach	39
Chapter Two Life at Carlisle, 1879-1918	102
Chapter Three Life and Death on the Islands, 1901-1918	186
Chapter Four After The(ir) Service: Reflections on Imperial Education	238
Conclusion Legacies of Imperial Education	294
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Carlisle Teachers, including Work Immediately After Carlisle	303
Appendix 2: Philippines Teachers (Thomasites), including Work Immediately After Philippines	306
Appendix 3: "Philippine Islands Map" (from David P. Barrows, <i>A History of the Philippines</i> . New York: American Book Co., 1905)	308
Appendix 4: "Races and Peoples of the Philippines Map," (from David P. Barrows, <i>A History of the Philippines</i> . New York: American Book Co., 1905)	309
Bibliography	310



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Carlisle Teachers' Gender and Marital Status (while teaching at Carlisle)	63
Table 2:	Indian Service Employment Records of Teachers Who Worked at Carlisle Between 1900 and 1918	75
Table 3:	Student Attendance at Carlisle	131
Table 4:	Categories from Indian Service "Efficiency Reports" used at Carlisle, 1909-1918	134
Table 5:	Marital Status by Gender/Year Hired	136
Table 6:	Teachers' Work Experiences In Years Immediately Following Carlisle	251
Table 7:	Teachers' Work Experiences In Years Immediately Following the Philippines Civil Service	251

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Image 1:	Illustration from <i>Puck</i> 44, no. 1142, (January 25, 1899) Centerfold, Louis Dalrymple	1
----------	---	---

## INTRODUCTION

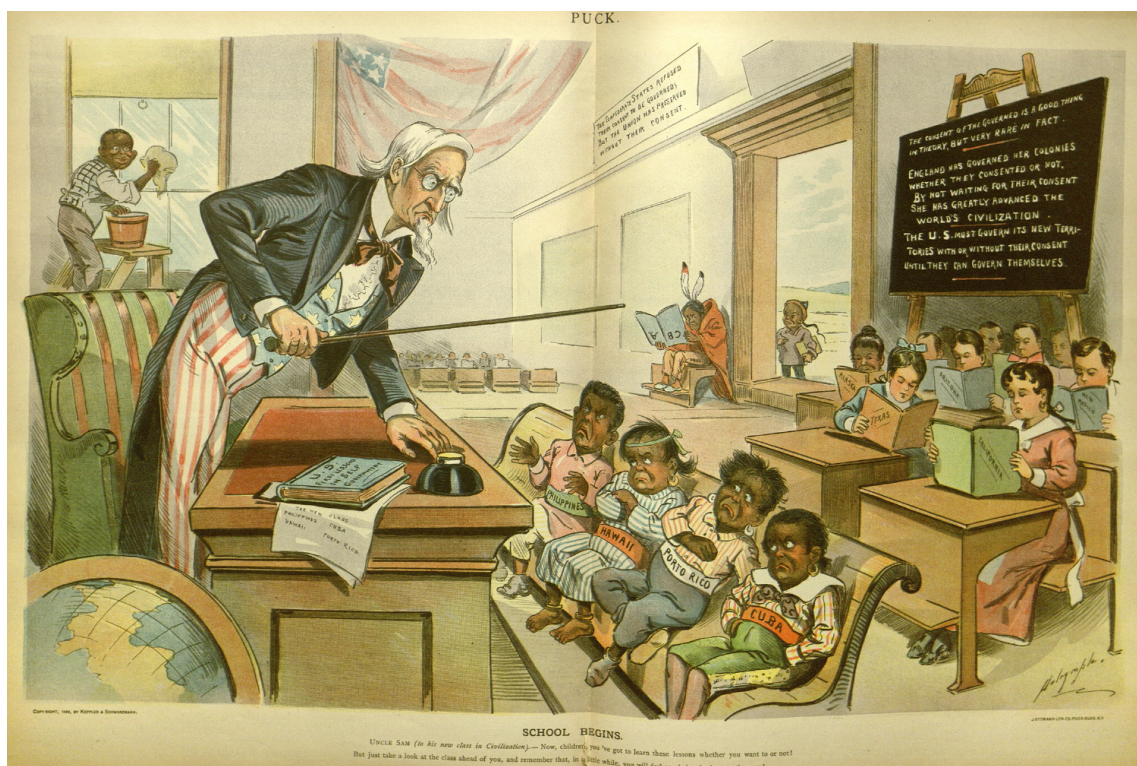


Image 1: Caption: Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization) Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are! Illus. from *Puck*, v. 44, no. 1142, (1899 January 25), centerfold; Louis Dalrymple, artist

Uncle Sam towers over his desk, wielding a pointer and glaring at the newest group of students requiring an education in “Civilization.” Four dark-skinned students stare back—frowning at their old, white teacher. The one named “Philippines” appears frightened yet also shocked and angry with his hands in a defensive posture. Sitting in the back of the classroom, an American Indian slouches over an upside-down alphabet book but seems engrossed in his reading. Several figures represent other peoples and places that encountered or were taught about the superiority of U.S. customs and values, some more learned (and welcomed) than others. Yet as a whole the image undermines

the presumed benevolence claimed by U.S. imperial education. Published as a centerfold illustration in the January 25, 1899 issue of the satirical magazine *Puck*—over twenty years after the first off-reservation boarding school for American Indians opened and only a month since the U.S. took control of the Philippine islands following the War of 1898—artist Louis Dalrymple both mocked and questioned the consequences of U.S. imperial ambition, particularly its promotion of “Civilization.”

As Dalrymple suggests, at the turn of the twentieth century the U.S. government celebrated a particular brand of civilization—one that held mainstream Anglo-American culture in the highest esteem and would benefit “others” who adopted that culture’s norms and ideals.<sup>1</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the debate among white Americans over whether Indians could be “civilized” was considered part of a broader “Indian problem”—how to deal with a people who insisted on maintaining their autonomy in spite of U.S. domination of their homelands. For many reformers, education offered one crucial answer, and in 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened its doors in hopes that re-educating Indian youth would “save” the race via cultural transformation. As the U.S. extended its boundaries across the Pacific and gained control of the Philippine Islands in 1898, reformers again touted education as the best means to assimilate the American empire’s newest colonial subjects. Beginning in 1901, the U.S. government sent hundreds of teachers across the Pacific to set up a modern school system amid a continuing rebellion launched by Filipinos. Both experiments—the Indian

---

<sup>1</sup> See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Bederman complicates the meaning of “civilization,” illustrating how its use changed over time, was wielded for different purposes by various individuals, and had particular implications for gender and race.

boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the educational initiative in the Philippines—became an integral component of the government’s efforts to appease, and from its perspective, “civilize” a “backward” people. Ultimately, the imperial dilemma over how to assimilate a people who did not seem to “fit in” became the teachers’ dilemma.

The dilemma of translating imperial policy into practice proved difficult as teachers at Carlisle and in the Philippines faced a series of complications. They struggled to attract and retain students while striving to effectively displace native customs with American cultural norms. Moreover, they sought to meet expectations of policy bureaucrats and supervisors while tending to personal and political needs on the ground. To different degrees, they encountered disease and death, risking their lives and those of their students; and in the Philippines, they also confronted an ongoing military conflict. In both projects, teachers faced problems common to all classrooms—how to manage students and convey knowledge—but in the imperial classroom, the stakes seemed higher.

How might some of the teachers who worked on behalf of American empire at Carlisle and in the Philippines have reacted to Dalrymple’s depiction of their work? Although perspectives would have varied, two teachers—Emma Lovewell of Carlisle and Frederick Behner of the Philippines—illustrate what working on behalf of U.S. imperial education looked like on the ground and allow us to speculate on their reactions to this satirical portrait. Their stories reveal both the complexity and fragility of implementing U.S. imperial education policy and signal the importance of understanding teachers’ perspectives. While government authorities and education leaders imagined the classroom as an intimate space—one where teachers could effect profound cultural

change through their personal interactions and relationships with students—building an empire from the bottom-up proved tenuous as teachers often prioritized their personal and professional needs above that of the larger mission. In addition, ideal visions of benevolent assimilation or cultural dominance did not take into account the reality of specific situations. While it is true that teachers developed a unique understanding of their students by virtue of living and working among them, translating education policy into practice remained a complicated and often fraught endeavor.

In 1869, a decade before Carlisle opened its doors, fifteen-year-old Emma Lovewell began teaching.<sup>2</sup> At twenty-one, she married and left the classroom, committing the next fifteen years to motherhood and domesticity. When Lovewell's husband died in 1890, she returned to teaching to support herself and her only son.<sup>3</sup> She taught in public schools until she joined the Indian Service in 1904, initially working as a matron and seamstress at the school in Flathead, Montana. Like many Indian Service employees, she moved frequently. Over the next two years, she transferred to Indian schools in Oklahoma and then North Carolina, working as an assistant matron. In 1907, Lovewell passed the Indian Service teacher examination and was sent to work at the Indian school in Fort Shaw, Montana for two years before transferring to Carlisle in 1909.<sup>4</sup> She was happy to leave the bitter cold behind and settle closer to her son, who

---

<sup>2</sup> "Lovewell" became Emma's married name in 1890 but it is used here because her maiden name is unknown (except that it began with the letter C).

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum: Emma C. Lovewell, 19 November 1915, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, National Personnel Records Center (NPRC), Saint Louis, MO; Personal Record of Emma C. Lovewell, 11 May 1911, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>4</sup> Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E.B. Merritt to Emma Lovewell, 6 May 1922, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

was then living in Washington, DC.<sup>5</sup> By the time Lovewell joined the teaching force at Carlisle, she was fifty-five, older than most teachers in the broader Indian Service, but not unusual for those at the Pennsylvania boarding school.<sup>6</sup>

At Carlisle, Lovewell first taught fourth grade and took up the “voluntary work” expected of all teachers at the school, including “decorating on special occasions, taking part in Sunday School work, drilling for entertainments and the like.”<sup>7</sup> In general, she was liked by her colleagues and recognized for her strong work ethic and was promoted to the more challenging seventh grade class after a couple of years, which led her to request a raise.<sup>8</sup> However, on at least one occasion, a fellow employee criticized Lovewell. In 1912, the music director wrote a letter to school authorities questioning the merit and professionalism exhibited by a student performance she had organized. She defended herself and her students by noting that the audience had demanded an encore and colleagues commended her for organizing the concert. Moreover, the song they presented aligned with temperance values prioritized by the Indian Office. Lovewell then wrote to her supervisor, “I have never presented a number but that would help raise the moral standard of the school, for I have the Indian at heart.”<sup>9</sup> In this and other cases, Lovewell presented herself as firmly committed to her students, the school, and the

---

<sup>5</sup> Emma Lovewell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp, 28 February 1908, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum: Emma C. Lovewell, 19 November 1915, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC; Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918” (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1998), 46, 158; Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 89.

<sup>7</sup> Emma Lovewell to Inspector of the Office of Indian Affairs E.B. Linnen, 5 September 1914, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Emma Lovewell to Mr. J. Whitwell, 23 October 1912, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

broader Indian Service, believing in its mission of education and assimilation. It seems likely, then, that Lovewell would have rejected Dalrymple's characterization of U.S. imperial education, defending herself and others whose work, she believed, strove to "raise the moral standard of the school" and that of the Indian. Assuming a gentle though strong-willed posture, rather than the overbearing, almost brutal Uncle Sam, Lovewell sought to instill lessons to improve her students' lives while holding "the Indian at heart."

Of course, teaching at Carlisle had many challenges, including instances of students' insubordination. Even then, Lovewell claimed that she addressed disorderly students by giving them "gentle reprimands and good motherly talks."<sup>10</sup> When this was not enough, she isolated an "insolent" student from the rest of the class, sometimes making the student scrub floors. Still, Lovewell expressed concern for even the most misbehaved child and held out hope that such students could reform their behavior.<sup>11</sup> Rather than giving up on a child—as the *Puck* cartoon suggests by the isolated Indian at the edge of the classroom reading a book upside-down—Lovewell proclaimed her commitment to even the most difficult student. Moreover, she would certainly have defended the broader Indian education system against critics who accused it of ignoring Indians' humanity, instead citing teachers' efforts to meet student needs, however challenging.

Yet over her many years in the Indian Service, Lovewell became conflicted about its mission, or at least its leadership. Although evaluations described her as "a good instructor, pleasant in the school room and tries to see that her pupils thoroughly understand a lesson before it is passed" and as "a diligent teacher and [having] plenty of

---

<sup>10</sup> Emma C. Lovewell to Mr. J. Whitwell, 9 April 1914, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

energy and interest,” age began to take its toll.<sup>12</sup> Several evaluations alluded to her old age, including one that described her as “a good teacher, [although] her work lacks the life and spirit necessary for complete success.”<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, Lovewell resigned in 1914 at the age of sixty after having been hospitalized for about a month. At the time, her attending physician advised her not to return to the “arduous duties required of an employee in the Indian School Service.”<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Lovewell sought reinstatement but quickly recanted when she became furious with the bureau’s leadership.<sup>15</sup> Although Lovewell’s particular complaints are unknown, she was clearly outraged by the Indian Service authorities and, in that area, might have agreed with some of the cynicism captured in Dalrymple’s political cartoon.

Still, Lovewell was proud of her work at Carlisle. She once wrote, “I believe my influence has been a power for good. I feel an interest – personal interest in the Indian and I have always worked for his uplift.”<sup>16</sup> Although she ultimately chose not to return to the classroom, her record suggests that she believed in the work of “uplift” as a benevolent means of helping native peoples. Like the hundreds of other Indian Service teachers, Lovewell worked on behalf of a government that strove to assimilate its “wards” into the ways of the dominant culture through schooling. Still, she was not just a cog in

---

<sup>12</sup> Efficiency Report: Emma C. Lovewell, 15 January 1912, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC; Efficiency Report: Emma C. Lovewell, 19 December 1914, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>13</sup> Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs F.H. Abbot to U.S. Senator Carroll S. Page, 6 March 1912, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>14</sup> Carlisle Supervisor in Charge O.H. Lipps to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 30 December 1914, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>15</sup> Emma C. Lovewell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 10 December 1915, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>16</sup> Emma C. Lovewell to E.B. Linnen, 5 September 1914, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.



the machine nor was Dalrymple's overbearing tyrant; instead, her strong will and genuine interest in Indians guided Lovewell even as her assumptions about how best to achieve their advancement were partially constrained by dominant cultural assumptions.

Like Lovewell, Frederick Behner faced many challenges working on behalf of U.S. empire, although his experiences demonstrate how teaching in the Philippines oftentimes posed severe even life-threatening risks. Born in 1874 in northwestern Ohio, Behner had no formal schooling until he attended North Central College in Illinois, where he graduated as valedictorian of his class. Like many other teachers sent to the Philippines, his high academic achievements earned him a place aboard the *USS Thomas* in July 1901.<sup>17</sup> He was one of several hundred nominated by colleges and universities across the country to venture across the Pacific to establish U.S.-style schools.<sup>18</sup> Soon after arriving in the islands, Behner and another teacher, B.N. Blakeslee, were assigned to teach in Banton, several days journey from Manila.<sup>19</sup> There, they reported being the only white men on the island, after U.S. soldiers left to tend outbreaks of violence elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> Given weapons for self-protection, they remained almost constant companions over the next year. They faced typhoons and earthquakes, took care of one another during illness, and helped local Filipinos who were sick or injured, all while teaching day and night

---

<sup>17</sup> Frederick G. Behner, "Rags to Riches in the Ministry," Frederick G. Behner Biographical Information Folder, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (BHL), 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Amparo Santamaria Lardizabal, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1956), 11-12; John Charles Muerman, "The Philippine School Under the Americans" (PhD dissertation, George Washington University, 1922), 42, 144.

<sup>19</sup> Frederick G. Behner, Diary Entries 25, 26, 28 September 1901, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>20</sup> Frederick G. Behner, 5 October 1901, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

schools that often challenged village norms.<sup>21</sup> A year later, as Behner recorded dozens of people dying of cholera each day, he admitted that he sometimes found his responsibilities overwhelming.<sup>22</sup> Soon after, Blakeslee was sent home due to illness and Behner was transferred to Boac on the island of Magpag.<sup>23</sup>

Over the next three years, Behner continued to face daunting challenges as he battled disease in a region ravaged by military violence, and until 1904—when he was reassigned to work among a group of Americans—he often did so without the company of any countrymen. Considering the trying and often unpredictable factors that influenced Behner’s efforts to educate Filipinos, he likely disagreed with Dalrymple’s depiction of Uncle Sam as a domineering, seemingly unchallenged, presence in the classroom of “Civilization.” Although Behner, like Uncle Sam, was often the only symbol of U.S. power in a given community—granting him a certain level of authority—he was also at times paralyzed by his isolation and unable to effect significant change. Moreover, insurrection, disease, and environmental crises all made his—and “Uncle Sam’s”—job much harder. Still, Behner remained in the islands beyond his three-year contract after many of his colleagues had left. Despite his personal suffering—evident through diaries in which he logged his headaches, fevers, delirium, and other illnesses as

---

<sup>21</sup> For illness, see Fredrick G. Behner, “Rags to Riches,” 3-4; Behner, February to March, May, August, September 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL. For village norms, see Behner 28 February 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL. For environmental disturbances, see Behner, 3, 15 December 1901, 27 February and 7-15 July 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>22</sup> Behner, 12 September 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>23</sup> Behner, 17, 31 October 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

well as the violence of war and crippling isolation—he remained resolute, continuing to establish schools and teach Filipinos in an often hostile environment.<sup>24</sup>

During Behner’s tenure in the Philippines, he transferred job assignments four times, not unusual for teachers in the islands. At each new post, he compared his new students with his old, noting their relative intelligence and academic experience. In the Boac elementary schools, he found the children to be “brighter” than those at Banton.<sup>25</sup> The following year he moved up to the high school in Boac, and at year’s end regretted having to leave, although he believed that the students “could not be improved upon in P.I.”<sup>26</sup> Soon after moving to his final post in Lucena Behner wrote, “These people know much more Geography than those at Boac but, aside from that I think the old Boac people surpass them and in speaking Eng.”<sup>27</sup> Yet, by year’s end, Behner reported that all of the Lucena high school students passed their exams, “the only school where I have heard of no failures.”<sup>28</sup> In this and other ways, Behner noted differences among the communities and peoples with whom he worked in the archipelago. For him, moving among schools and grade levels alerted him to Filipinos’ varied intellectual abilities and influenced his beliefs regarding students’ potential.

Yet despite his varied experiences and his recognitions of the conditions that constrained Filipino schooling, Behner persisted over nearly four years in implementing U.S. imperial education efforts in the islands. Although other teachers facing disease, death, and military violence revealed doubts about their mission, Behner repeatedly noted

---

<sup>24</sup> Behner, “Rages to Riches in the Ministry”; Diaries 1901-1902 Folder; Diaries 1903-1905 Folder, BHL.

<sup>25</sup> Behner, 11 Tuesday 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>26</sup> Behner, 14 June 1904, Diaries 1903-1905 Folder, BHL.

<sup>27</sup> Behner, 2 July 1904, Diaries 1903-1905 Folder, BHL.

<sup>28</sup> Behner, 9 April 1905, Diaries 1903-1905 Folder, BHL.

in his diaries his continued faith in the larger U.S. mission. He also voiced his pride in being a champion of morality in the islands, not surprising considering his ultimate vocation as a minister. Early on, he wrote of Filipinos' propensity to "lie, gamble, and cheat all possible ways" and wrote in his diary "hope[d] that my record will be for righting such serious drawbacks to civilization."<sup>29</sup> By the end of four school years, Behner concluded:

A year of teaching gone. Its fiestas came and went with their usual music, lunching and dancing which is the Philippines passime[sic]. This and their church are their only diversions except cockfighting. The last is prohibited, the second is corrupt that it may be for the best that they have dancing until something can be substituted. Nearly four years have taught me that the Philippines is unmoral rather than immoral but decidedly immoral from one standpoint.<sup>30</sup>

For Behner, Filipinos appeared amoral. Their culture was not necessarily depraved but offered them few "moral" or "right" options. Ultimately, he felt conflicted about the people among whom he had worked for so long, but still largely supported U.S. intervention in the archipelago—militarily, educationally, and morally.

From Behner's perspective, Dalrymple did not capture the differences among Filipinos (and perhaps among colonized groups generally) nor recognize the many constraints on Uncle Sam's ability to implement his civilizing vision. Still, he seems to have embraced the kind of imperialist views that Dalrymple captures and thus continued to believe that U.S. educational intervention was among the tools necessary for Filipinos and others to be assimilated into Anglo-American "civilization."

As briefly illustrated by the cases of Emma Lovewell and Frederick Behner, this study uses teachers as a lens to better understand how U.S. imperial education policies

---

<sup>29</sup> Behner, 31 July 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>30</sup> Behner, 9 April 1905, Diaries 1903-1905 Folder, BHL.

were implemented on the ground. Teachers' perspectives reveal the crucial role of personal relationships and intimate experiences in building empires while, at the same time, exposing the vulnerabilities of a seemingly omnipresent imperial power and the programs it designed. Like the hundreds of other teachers who worked for the Indian and Filipino School Services around the turn of the twentieth century, Lovewell and Behner were driven by diverse motivations, demonstrated commitment to their work, were frustrated by the conditions they faced or the authorities who controlled their destiny, and confronted both common and uncommon challenges. Like all teachers, they experienced varied levels of "success" in educating and "civilizing" their subjects, reflecting the tenuous and subjective nature of such work. At the same time, Lovewell and Behner represent the gendered character of U.S. imperial education with government leaders recruiting largely women to teach in the Indian Service and men for the Philippine Service, believing each particularly suited for such work. Overall, although entangled in U.S. imperial ambitions and gendered assumptions, teachers exhibited significant agency, wielding their authority with students and the institutions they worked for and negotiating their roles as powerful purveyors of cultural knowledge, alternately reinforcing and challenging dominant understandings of "civilization."

The Carlisle and Philippines missions overlap in time and purpose, with both projects aiming to civilize distinct populations via education around the turn of the twentieth century. This study uses the years of Carlisle's operation—from 1879 to 1918—as the chronological framework for understanding both projects. Although efforts to educate North America's native peoples had begun as early as European settlement, Carlisle's opening in 1879 signaled the increasing role of the U.S. government in Indian

education as well as its growing confidence in schooling to effect rapid cultural transformation and assimilation.<sup>31</sup> Carlisle was established as part of a larger Indian School Service, a national program designed to teach Indian children—both on and off reservations—the ways of the dominant culture.<sup>32</sup> Twenty years after Carlisle opened, the U.S. was granted the Philippine Islands in the treaty with Spain that ended the War of 1898 and soon after, government officials endeavored to implement a program in the islands similar to that which had been used among American Indians.<sup>33</sup>

In establishing the Indian School and Philippine Civil Services, reformers imagined these institutions as temporary, necessary only until the targeted populations became assimilated to white culture. For Indians the measuring stick was their adherence to U.S. law and customs; for Filipinos, their capacity for self-government. In fact, both services persisted for several decades, beyond the one-generation initially thought necessary for assimilation and self-sufficiency. Ultimately, U.S. involvement in World War I forced Carlisle to close its doors in 1918, at a point when national interests, politics, and funding shifted away from education as the path to assimilation.<sup>34</sup> U.S. involvement in Filipino education also changed significantly in 1918. Although the program continued, American teachers' initial work building a school system in the islands was firmly established by this point, and with U.S. entrance into World War I, fewer U.S.

---

<sup>31</sup> Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 53-54.

<sup>32</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 30-32. Cahill notes that the Indian Bureau was modeled upon the Freedmen's Bureau, also designed to fill needs presumed temporary.

<sup>33</sup> Julian Go, "Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines" in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 8; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> The Indian Service continued into the 1920s.

teachers were recruited to go abroad. Thus, it was between 1879 and 1918 that U.S. government efforts to assimilate American Indians and Filipinos rested predominately, in both word and deed, on teachers.

The U.S. government launched the Carlisle and Philippine experiments during a period of heightened U.S. imperialism, or what scholars refer to as the Age of Empire.<sup>35</sup> In terms of formal empire building, the U.S. significantly increased its territorial holdings abroad in 1898, annexing Hawaii and occupying Cuba, Puerto, and the Philippines.<sup>36</sup> However, the U.S. demonstrated its imperial appetite well before 1898. In fact, as several scholars have shown, imperial desires helped to found the United States and continued to inspire cross-continental and transpacific expansion into the mid-nineteenth century. By the time Carlisle opened its doors in 1879, the U.S. was well versed in what historian Walter Nugent characterized as the “habits of empire.”<sup>37</sup> Scholarship on U.S. empire building flourished in the 1960s, with historians like William Appleman Williams asserting that the United States consistently used its authority to control less-powerful peoples to its own advantage.<sup>38</sup> Williams and others recognized that U.S. imperialism was distinctive in its “informal” character, which they defined broadly as government

---

<sup>35</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987).

<sup>36</sup> For more on United States and formal empire, see Ernest May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of the United States as Great Power* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008); Benjamin Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun: The Origins of American Imperial Education and the Case of the Philippines,” in *American Post-Conflict Educational Reform: From the Spanish-American War to Iraq*, ed. Noah W. Sobe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 19-52.

<sup>38</sup> William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1988; c1959); Frank Ninkovich, “The United States and Imperialism,” in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert D. Schulzinger (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 80.

control over other peoples or states via political, social, cultural, and most often, economic structures. Viewed in this way, U.S. education efforts among Indians and Filipinos were an extension of a much longer history of American empire. Still, Julian Go argues profound continuities and discontinuities existed between the American Indian and Philippine imperial projects—including their different legal and economic terms—forcing U.S. administrators to adapt to the unique circumstances of each situation.<sup>39</sup> Building on this rich scholarship, this study frames the U.S. experiments at Carlisle and the Philippines as part of a long history of American expansion while, at the same time, examining their distinctive goals and unique characteristics.

In addition to the imperial implications of U.S. intervention in American Indian and Filipino education, these projects were shaped by reform efforts typical of the Progressive Era. In the decades from roughly 1890 to 1920, the problems wrought by rapid industrialization, urbanization and immigration inspired social activists to offer education, alternative home environments, and workplace improvements to people suffering from poverty and other social ills. Like many who worked on behalf of American Indians and Filipinos, those who embraced progressive reforms believed that the nation could be improved by “uplifting” those who had not yet gained entrée to the American way of life. This perspective, however, materialized in a variety of ways, fostering social as well as political change, prompting, for instance, grassroots activists to establish settlement homes and government officials to impose increased regulations. At the same time, many progressives lauded efforts that promoted efficiency, ridding society of the burdens of waste and corruption. As the Age of Empire overlapped with an “age

---

<sup>39</sup> Go, “Introduction: Global Perspectives,” 8.



of reform,” many political leaders and reformers embraced education as an answer to both domestic and imperial challenges. Streamlining American Indian education and establishing a public school system in the Philippines emerged in this context, and teachers, influenced by the political and social norms of the time period, were central to these efforts.<sup>40</sup>

The Carlisle and Philippine ventures did not emerge full-blown in the late nineteenth century, however, but followed a half-century of educational reform. Beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, a common school movement sought to establish elementary schools across the nation, aiming to provide children with academic and moral training to prepare them to be capable, conscientious, and productive citizens. Reformers imagined that such a system would equip (mainly white, native-born) children with the skills they needed to thrive individually and to help build a prosperous nation. Moreover, such an educational structure would enhance a developing sense of nationhood, reduce societal ills, and promote a distinctive American culture among the diverse groups that inhabited the United States. Of course, not all children or cultures were welcomed into the schoolhouse. Catholics formed parochial schools to counter the Protestant values endorsed by the common schools, racial segregation kept most non-white children out, and many white working class families could not send their children to school since they

---

<sup>40</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Knopf, 1955); Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); John Louis Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement: Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Daniel T. Rogers, “In Search of Progressivism,” *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4, (1982), 113-132; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

relied on their labor or income.<sup>41</sup>

By 1880, an educational structure had been established that largely maintained existing class and racial boundaries and thus reflected a seemingly natural hierarchy of power within the nation. Carlisle, which opened at this critical moment in U.S. educational history, merged a schooling structure that too often entrenched inequality with the effort to assimilate people not considered properly “American” into the body politic. The educational bureaucracy that blossomed in the 1870s and 1880s to address the needs of newly-emancipated African Americans, immigrants and American Indians was further expanded two decades later to forge “Americans” out of populations, like Filipinos, brought into the U.S. orbit by wars of empire.<sup>42</sup>

While outgrowths of educational reform, both the American Indian and Philippines experiments also exemplify U.S. imperial efforts. Scholars often discuss imperial education in terms of formal empires, whereby a colonial power forcibly wields its authority to establish an educational structure within newly acquired overseas territories. This schooling system then mimics the uneven power relations between the

---

<sup>41</sup> Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*; Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995); William J. Reese, *America's Public Schools: From the Common School to "No Child Left Behind,"* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011; Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-1985* (New York: Longman, 1986); David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

<sup>42</sup> Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), xvi-xvii; Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

colonizer and the colonized, ultimately reinforcing colonial rule.<sup>43</sup> Such policies apply to the U.S. government's relations with North America's indigenous population as well as with Filipinos, effectively creating "outsiders" within and beyond the physical borders of the nation. U.S. intervention in American Indian and Filipino education developed within traditional spheres of empire—based, in part, on the heightened military and political power of the metropole—as well as part of an intensifying cultural imperialism.<sup>44</sup> In each case the goal was to displace a people's way of life with one deemed superior. Of course, post-colonial scholars have challenged the terms "colonizer" and "colonized," demonstrating the fluidity of such categories. They have similarly debunked the seemingly impervious divide between "insiders" and "outsiders," East and West. In this way, the ubiquitous power of empire has been undermined, challenged, and proven fallible as "colonized peoples" found ways to demonstrate agency and shape the "empire."<sup>45</sup> Still, uneven power relations continued to exist between the metropole and periphery. In the cases of state-sponsored schooling among American Indians and in the

---

<sup>43</sup> Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Longman, 1974): Carnoy argues that imperial powers consistently used schooling to dominate and reproduce politically and economically dependent colonized populations and in chapter 6 explores U.S. internal colonialism. See also: A.J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools*, xvi.

<sup>44</sup> For more on "cultural imperialism," see Amy Kaplan, "Left Alone in America," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 3-21; Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

<sup>45</sup> For broader works that discuss empire, race, and gender beyond the Philippines but from a post-colonial perspective, see Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Philippines, the projects fundamentally sought to expand U.S. power at the expense of others' sovereignty, attempting to reinforce the state's control over marginalized peoples through education.<sup>46</sup> And despite significant resistance among those subject to such efforts, both educational regimes shaped Indian and Filipino life, and lives, in crucial ways.

While situating the American Indian and Philippine educational experiments in the broader framework of imperial relations helps to explain the macro-politics of setting up schools in colonial contexts, it is equally important to analyze the intimacy of teaching. American political leaders' rhetoric regarding the need to save unfortunate "others" was largely enabled by particular raced and gendered beliefs, but those same beliefs were tested in the daily interactions among teachers, students, administrators, and local communities. Depictions of dark-skinned, hyper-sexualized savages reinforced the need for a beneficent state's intervention, but to enact significant cultural transformations required changes at a very personal level, a level that was most immediately experienced by teachers and their pupils. With the guidance of white male supervisors, white women—the majority of the teaching workforce by the late nineteenth century—were deemed ideal figures to nurture and discipline students. The faculty at Carlisle largely

---

<sup>46</sup> Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun": Benjamin Justice speaks to empire in both American Indian and Filipino contexts. For more on empire and the American Indian experience, see Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. For sources on empire and the Philippines, see Angulo, *Empire and Education*; Julian Go, "Introduction: Global Perspectives"; Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: the American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); William J. Pomeroy, *American Neocolonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (New York: International Publishers, 1970).

reflected this societal and maternal ideal, with women comprising the vast majority of the school's teaching force throughout its forty-year history. In the Philippines, however, concerns about female vulnerability, particularly when far removed from the conditions and protections assumed to exist at home, resulted in a very different gender dynamic. The U.S. government intentionally recruited male teachers believing that their manliness could help them better withstand the rustic conditions in the archipelago. Of course, men *and* women taught in both locations. Still, gender played a significant role in shaping the imperial projects, both in policymakers' imaginations and on the ground. Since efforts to educate students in the ways of the dominant culture occurred in intimate spaces, their distinct racial and gender dynamics shaped the daily experiences of teachers as well as students.<sup>47</sup>

The U.S. government described the Carlisle and Philippines projects as benevolent, intended to help otherwise "backward" peoples. U.S. economic, political, and cultural exploitation was thus reframed as a gesture of goodwill and a means of conveying modernity to a people otherwise condemned to a life of barbarism. In this way, imperialists viewed the nation and its assimilationist efforts as exceptional, unlike its European cousins who ostensibly grabbed territory out of greed.<sup>48</sup> Of course, U.S. benevolence was a matter of perspective, despite policymakers' efforts to rationalize and

---

<sup>47</sup> For more on "the intimate" in the context of empire, see Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*. For more on women's activism regarding the issue of "saving" or "rescuing," see Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For more on gender and empire, see Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

<sup>48</sup> For more on U.S. exceptionalism and empire, see Go "Introduction: Global Perspectives"; Kaplan, "Left Alone in America"; Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun,"; Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*; Akira Iriye, "Exceptionalism Revisited," *Reviews in American History* (June 1988): 291-297.

soften their interventions. Carlisle opened as the last phase of U.S. conquest of the Indian, yet whites heralded the school as a means of rescuing a “dying race.” The U.S. government’s efforts to educate American Indians was rationalized as a matter of “education or extinction,” with white reformers believing that schools could help to assimilate Indians into the dominant culture and thereby save the race from disappearing altogether.<sup>49</sup> However, as David Wallace Adams argues, Indian boarding schools often served “as a method of saving Indians by destroying them”—severing children from their homes, families, and cultures.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, in the case of the Philippines, Benjamin Justice characterizes U.S. schooling in the islands as “education at the end of a gun,” pointing to the profound disconnect between American policy on the ground and the celebratory rhetoric of U.S. salvation.<sup>51</sup> Despite policymakers’ efforts to frame their intervention as altruistic, the U.S. occupation of the Philippines brought violence, both military and cultural. In both situations, teachers were acutely aware of the dissonance between rhetorical justifications and the reality in the communities where they worked, although they reacted to such dissonance in a variety of ways.

The literature on imperial education and educational reform points to interesting connections between the American Indian and Philippine experiments, although no

---

<sup>49</sup> Given the devastating rates of disease, decreasing access to land and resources, as well as warfare with white frontiersmen, the Indian population declined precipitously over the course of the nineteenth century—almost to the point of extinction. See David J. Hacker and Michael R. Haines, “American Indian Mortality in the Late Nineteenth Century: the Impact of Federal Assimilation Policies on a Vulnerable Population,” *Annales de Démographie Historique* 2 (2005); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

<sup>50</sup> David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1995), x.

<sup>51</sup> Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun.”

scholar has produced an in-depth comparison of domestic and overseas schooling in this period. And those who address such comparisons focus far more on policy and rhetoric than on its implementation by teachers. In *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, Cathleen Cahill acknowledges the similarities between the civil service programs that the U.S. government designed for American Indians and Filipinos, although her primary focus is on the multifaceted Indian Service, of which schooling was one part. In presenting a social history of the Indian Service, she uses Ann Laura Stoler's theoretical framework of "intimate colonialism" to better understand how government employees "translated policy into practice on the Indian reservations and in the schools," and the significance that gender played in shaping their work.<sup>52</sup> However, Cahill's analysis does not explore teachers' classroom work or their interactions with students beyond a theoretical level. Ultimately, Cahill argues that the Indian Service strengthened U.S. empire as it gained increasing control over its Indian wards but does not attempt a close reading of teachers' everyday work or interrogate the extent to which they truly served as agents of empire. This dissertation repurposes Stoler's study of "the intimate" to interrogate teachers' daily lives—their interactions inside and outside of the classroom—and argues that their personal desires and political agency shaped the lives of students as well as the complex schooling structures which they helped to create, ultimately revealing the dependence and fragility of U.S. efforts to expand its power.

In "Education at the End of a Gun," Justice locates U.S. schooling in the Philippines in a much longer history of American imperial education, including a fraught

---

<sup>52</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 6; Cahill also notes how the Philippine Service, established in the early 1900s, was largely modeled on the Indian Service and that both incorporated a large teaching force, see 209; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

attempt to educate American Indians in seventeenth-century Massachusetts. In doing so, he notes the connection between U.S. internal colonialism and more formal imperial education projects. Still, similar to Cahill's treatment of the Indian Service, Justice does not explore teachers' personal experiences in the Philippines, leaving room for a more nuanced account of the meaning of empire building at an intimate level as well as an in-depth account of the multilayered challenges that teachers faced. Overall, neither Cahill nor Justice fully explore the continuities and discontinuities between the American Indian and Philippine initiatives or the particular place of teachers in each.<sup>53</sup>

Far more attention has been given to the separate projects of American Indian and Filipino educational ventures, though again with only limited analysis of the role of teachers. Several scholars have explored American Indian education and most recognize Carlisle's profound influence on the development of the entire Indian school system. David Wallace Adam's *Education For Extinction* examines how the U.S. government used schools for Indian children to indoctrinate them with "American ways of thinking and living."<sup>54</sup> He discusses the founding of Carlisle and its role in promoting ideas and practices of "civilization," rationalized by reformers committed to "saving" the Indian peoples from permanent destruction and their own ignorance.<sup>55</sup> Jacqueline Fear-Segal's *White Man's Club* offers an intricate perspective on U.S. Indian schools as sites of negotiation, where whites worked to indoctrinate Indian children with ideas that privileged the dominant culture and Indians then rejected and adapted to this effort. She highlights Carlisle, examining the ways that it functioned to maintain control over its

---

<sup>53</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun."

<sup>54</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, ix.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 1, 8, 48-57, 84, 337.



students.<sup>56</sup> In addition, in the introductory chapter of *Boarding School Blues*, authors Clifford. E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc trace the history of Carlisle and other Indian boarding schools and pay tribute to the students who survived them. At the same time, they acknowledge the complexity of the system, including the varied experiences that students had—both positive and negative—as well as the mixed intentions of teachers and other employees.<sup>57</sup> Some scholars explore Indian education more broadly, demonstrating the reform movement’s significance both for American Indians and for the nation, while others analyze individual Indian schools, which are useful in exploring similarities and differences among the many locations.<sup>58</sup>

Two recent doctoral dissertations focus on Carlisle specifically, highlighting the varied ways that the school worked to establish new norms for Indian youth while, at the

---

<sup>56</sup> Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System,” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

<sup>58</sup> For more on American Indian education, see: Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education* (Billings: Eastern Montana College, 1989); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club*; Trafzer, et al., “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System.” Works on specific American Indian schools in this time period include: Sonciray Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880 to 1980” (PhD dissertation, Dartmouth College, 1997); Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School, 1890-1990* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

same time, recognizing student agency. However, neither pays much attention to teachers. Matthew Steven Bentley's "'Kill the Indian, Save the Man': Manhood at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" argues that ideas regarding proper notions of masculinity changed over time. Initial efforts to promote "civilized" manliness, he claims, were later supplanted by ideals that lauded physical strength and power, as shown through athletic prowess. However, Bentley does not explore teachers' role in effecting such change.<sup>59</sup> Genevieve Bell's "Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" demonstrates how this first off-reservation institution functioned as a site of negotiation between the federal government and Indian children. Bell's research provides an in-depth analysis of hundreds of student records and focuses on how Indians who attended Carlisle helped to define their own identities. Yet, she only briefly acknowledges teachers' role, noting how Carlisle was intended as a place where staff members would indoctrinate students with particular values.<sup>60</sup>

Although these two scholarly works offer new insight into Carlisle as a place of contested and shifting meaning, neither explore the teachers' dilemma, particularly that of enacting U.S. policy in the classroom by assimilating youth into the dominant culture, nor do they illuminate the complexities of building an empire through the intimate and delicate negotiations more evident in a comparative project.

Although scholarly work on U.S. educational interventions in the Philippines addresses teachers' work more deeply than studies focused on Carlisle, it is more limited and offers a narrower, interpretive scope. Neither of the two dissertations that discuss the

---

<sup>59</sup> Matthew Bentley, "'Kill the Indian, Save the Man': Manhood at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" (PhD dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School."

U.S. experiment in the islands, written in the 1920s and 1950s, offers a critical perspective. The first, by John Muerman provides an insider's look into teachers' experiences, as Muerman taught in the islands alongside other Thomasites beginning in 1901.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately when he wrote his dissertation in the early 1920s, he failed to include details of his personal experiences and offered instead a romanticized account of U.S. involvement in the region.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, writing in 1956, Amparo Lardizabal assumes the success and benevolence of U.S. teachers' work and their mission in the Philippines. She created and conducted an extensive survey of teachers' memories of their experiences—some of which have proved useful for this study—but in her analysis, Lardizabal focuses almost solely on teachers' positive recollections, leaving little room for a balanced account of U.S. schooling in the Philippines.<sup>63</sup>

Other scholarly accounts of American education in the Philippines point to the complexity of the situation, beset by inconsistent leadership and further complicated by teachers' intentions, deemed alternately humanitarian and condescending. Glen Anthony May argues in *Social Engineering in the Philippines* that U.S. policies, including schooling, largely failed to institute fundamental changes, in part due to the difficult circumstances on the ground as well as the conflicting tactics promoted by various U.S. leaders. Tracing the programming developed over the course of three different education administrations between 1901 and 1913, May declared U.S. efforts at “social engineering”

---

<sup>61</sup> In July 1901, over five hundred teachers traveled to the Philippines aboard the *USS Thomas*, and the term “Thomasites” was coined to identify all American teachers sent to the islands; Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans.”

<sup>62</sup> Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans.”

<sup>63</sup> Lardizabal, “Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education.”

a failure.<sup>64</sup> Two other books place the Philippines in the much broader sweep of U.S. history. In *Empire and Education*, A.J. Angulo provides a historical overview of American expansion over the course of the twentieth century, arguing that in the Philippines as elsewhere, humanitarian and commercial interests vied for control, with teachers forming the vanguard of the humanitarian forces.<sup>65</sup> Alternatively, Jonathan Zimmerman argues in *Innocents Abroad* that U.S. teachers who taught overseas in the early twentieth century believed in their mission as a positive good while those who went abroad following World War II became more cognizant of issues of western dominance and more critical of their “missionary” endeavors. Beginning with the Philippines project, Zimmerman finds that teachers blamed Filipinos for their own failings and inability to adapt to progressive pedagogies, ultimately believing themselves superior to their subjects.<sup>66</sup> Although each of these studies offer unique insights into U.S. education in the Philippines, they do not reflect the varied experiences of teachers who worked in the islands since their primary goal is to lay out much broader arguments about the U.S. version of imperial education.

Still, other scholars point to the significance of race in understanding U.S. policies in the Philippines and toward American Indians, but most do not focus specifically on schooling. Analyzing Philippine-U.S. relations, Paul A. Kramer argues that the dynamic nature of race both formed and informed U.S. expansion in the islands and that such understandings of race and power changed over time as well as between and within

---

<sup>64</sup> Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*.

<sup>65</sup> Angulo, *Empire and Education*.

<sup>66</sup> Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

metropolises and outlying regions.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Fear-Segal, who does address education directly, notes how Indian education reformers changed tactics over time, both influenced by and influencing notions of race. Carlisle's founders, she argues, believed that Indians could assimilate to the dominant culture quickly—within a generation—while later reformers adopted a racially charged evolutionary stance, believing that assimilation could only happen over centuries.<sup>68</sup> These studies and others underscore that teachers' work of cultural translations were profoundly shaped by personal, political, and, in some cases, transnational remakings of race.

Other scholars examine ways in which gender influenced empire, although only a few focus on education. As discussed, this dissertation applies Stoler's focus on "the intimate" to better understand U.S. schooling experiments in Carlisle and the Philippines and reveals more about teachers' everyday motivations and experiences than Cahill is able to do in her broader survey of the Indian Service. Still, Cahill's gendered analysis is important for this study. It extends the historical beginnings of the "maternalist welfare state"—framed by Linda Gordon and Theda Skopcol as beginning in the 1910s—by arguing that decades earlier the U.S. government recruited women for the Indian Service, believing they were more nurturing and better suited to work with American Indians. According to Cahill, these "federal mothers" of the Indian Service worked to "restructur[e] Native households according to white middle-class gender norms," bolstering U.S. westward expansion via settler colonialism.<sup>69</sup> Scholarship on the

---

<sup>67</sup> Kramer, *The Blood of Government*.

<sup>68</sup> Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 121-123.

<sup>69</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 3-7; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); Theda Skopcol, *Protecting*

Philippine Service does not focus on gender to the extent that Cahill does although issues particular to men's and women's experiences are considered. For example, Jonathan Zimmerman argues that U.S. efforts to recruit men to teach in the Philippines and promote them at higher rates than women reflected American biases "regarding gender and power" rather than, as sometimes claimed by U.S. officials, Filipinos' beliefs. Moreover, Zimmerman points to American norms regarding sex that resulted in the dismissal of several women teachers in the mission's first two years, although no men were sent home for similar transgressions.<sup>70</sup> Although not examining education or intimacy, Kristin Hoganson expands the impact that gender had in shaping U.S. imperial reach into the Philippines, arguing that calls for or against war were framed in terms of the need to protect American manhood.<sup>71</sup> Considering these and other issues demonstrates how gender shaped both the design and implementation of these imperial projects, although as this dissertation will show, sometimes teachers wielded agency in ways that defied gendered expectations.

Overall, existing scholarship on empire, education, and reform provides an important background for better understanding the Carlisle and Philippine education projects. This literature demonstrates that these experiments did not occur spontaneously but grew out of larger movements intended to address societal ills and fulfill U.S. political and imperial desires. Scholars' recognition of the "long history" of American empire as well as the particular histories of U.S. westward expansion and intervention in the Philippines demonstrates both continuities and discontinuities between these projects,

---

*Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>70</sup> Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*, 94-96, 104.

<sup>71</sup> Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

including their raced and gendered significance, and complicates the broader narrative of U.S. history. Yet, present works do not analyze the Carlisle and Philippine experiments comparatively nor do they address the particular experiences and perspectives of teachers. This study examines the Carlisle and Philippines projects together, deepening the historical narrative of U.S. empire at the turn of the century and expanding upon ideas regarding the role of race and gender in imperial education. It considers the contextual details of each schooling initiative, showing similarities and differences between them, and proves the complexity and fragility of each, as well as the greater empire. Moreover, by focusing on teachers, it demonstrates how they addressed the dilemmas created by seeking to acculturate American Indian and Filipino youth through schooling. Such an analysis complicates understandings of U.S. imperial education, showing that teachers were more than agents of empire; they were also individuals working to meet their own needs and desires, often above that of the greater mission.

The case studies of Carlisle and the Philippines are largely based on unique sources and types of archival evidence. There are similarities, however, in a few areas. To understand the lives and work of Carlisle teachers, many kinds of primary sources were pieced together, revealing significant evidence about fifty-five teachers. One of the richest Carlisle sources comes from the personal papers of the school's founding superintendent, Richard Henry Pratt, which includes his outgoing correspondence as well as letters from some of the school's founding teachers. After Pratt's twenty years in charge, scandals plagued two of the school's next superintendents. Teachers' perspectives on these scandals were gleaned from Congressional hearings as well as the papers of the Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs housed at Haverford

College. Other Carlisle teachers' voices are captured in personnel files housed primarily at the St. Louis Archive and National Archives in Washington, D.C., although these archives mainly contain files on those who worked at the school over its last two decades. Further information about Carlisle teachers is gleaned from various sources, including Pratt's memoir, *Battlefield and Classroom*, as well as a few student memoirs, including those by Luther Standing Bear, Jason Betzinez, and Asa Daklugie. A source unique to Carlisle is a treasure trove of school newspapers that were published throughout the school's forty years and written for school students, staff, and the broader public as a form of propaganda. Still, these newspapers served other functions as well and oftentimes reflected the views and experiences of the school's teachers. Other important Carlisle sources include Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and additional documents that reflect views of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Overall, the story of Carlisle teachers draws from a wide array of sources and perspectives.

Documentation regarding the Philippine teachers is primarily derived from their own writing and thus reveals their voices and opinions more clearly than that of the Carlisle teachers. Of the thirty-three Thomasites featured here, several have personal papers housed at universities or national archives. These varied collections include teachers' correspondence, unpublished memoirs, diaries, speeches, and newspaper clippings. The St. Louis Personnel Record Center holds files on several teachers who worked for the Philippine Civil Service as does the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland, which also houses more general information published by and about the Philippine Civil Service. A couple of published memoirs recount teachers' experiences as do dissertations written about (and one by) the Thomasites. In addition, a publication



titled *The Log of the Thomas*, written by recruits as they traveled overseas, details their initial voyage and includes other information about some of the teachers. Together, these sources reveal a rich, personal account of teachers working abroad on behalf of the growing U.S. empire.

Organized into four body chapters, this dissertation frames “the teachers’ dilemma” as one that can be best understood by using a comparative lens that leaves room for critical analyses of each case study. As such, the first and last chapters discuss both Carlisle and the Philippines while the second and third chapters each examine teachers’ work at one of the locations. The conclusion considers the broader legacies of imperial education.

Chapter one examines “The Journey to Teach” and provides a historical background for each mission as well as a context for understanding them as part of turn-of-the-century U.S. imperial ambitions. A comparative analysis reveals that although both the Indian and Philippine Service developed into highly bureaucratized systems, in both cases teachers demonstrated agency, helping to meet their personal goals at the same time that they joined education movements that aimed to quickly (and, ostensibly, “kindly”) resolve the Indian and Filipino “problems.” Still, the source material available for Carlisle and the Philippines offers different degrees of intimacy in analyzing the meaning of the “journey” for teachers.

Moving beyond what scholars have already suggested concerning the brutal disconnect between education authorities’ goals and American Indians’ needs, chapter one considers teachers’ motivations in joining the Carlisle faculty and how this changed

over time.<sup>72</sup> Drawing from teachers and administrators' personal writing as well as government documents, it identifies the school's narrow though ambitious beginnings and traces the way hiring practices switched from reliance on an intimate social network centered around the school's founding superintendent to a more bureaucratic process centralized in Washington, D.C, a shift that significantly shaped teachers' experiences. Ultimately, characterizing teachers as individuals—with personal and professional goals—complicates the current scholarship that focuses on political rhetoric and renders teachers voiceless, or conflates their intentions with national policy.<sup>73</sup>

Placing the initial experiences of Carlisle teachers in conversation with their Philippine counterparts demonstrates differences between these two imperial initiatives, including their scale, and creates a more grounded analysis of imperial education, often lacking in more theoretical scholarship.<sup>74</sup> While Carlisle teachers were part of a small, intimate experiment—only later consumed by the larger work of the Indian Office—teachers headed west to the Philippines were part of a grand effort justified by imperial claims from the start. As the United States celebrated and defended its rule in the

---

<sup>72</sup> Many scholars examine how federal involvement in Indian education clashed with needs of American Indian communities. Examples include Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School"; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education*; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*; Trafzer, et al., "Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System."

<sup>73</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, x. Adams notes the lack of scholarship on teachers' experiences. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*. Coleman points to disagreements among scholars regarding the extent to which educators' roles or intentions in implementing assimilation policies changed over time, although here, too, teachers' perspectives are largely not engaged. See Coleman on Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, Vol. 2* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 46. See Coleman on Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 46. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*. Fear-Segal discusses a few teachers' experiences and intentions, although this is not the focus of her study.

<sup>74</sup> Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*.

islands—its “benevolent empire”—many teachers venturing west across the continent and Pacific detailed their journeys in diaries and letters home. Analyzing such writing shows both the individual and collective significance of teachers’ westward journey, adding teachers’ voices to scholarship that either romanticizes their reasoning for heading overseas or ignores their agency. Unlike their Carlisle counterparts, Philippine Service teachers developed a collective identity and considered their journey a significant rite of passage as they moved from U.S. soil to a foreign land, mimicking the reach of imperial power. Moreover, the chapter also introduces five individuals who worked both in the Philippines and at Carlisle, that is, “crossover teachers,” and discusses some of the challenges they faced, moving from one imperial project to another.

Chapter two chronicles “Life at Carlisle” and demonstrates the significance of assimilation efforts at the school for students, teachers, superintendents, and the nation. Those efforts were part of a much longer history of U.S. government intervention in Indian education, yet Carlisle was distinguished by the vision of its founder, Richard Henry Pratt, who had a profound influence on the school and its teachers. As Pratt intended, Carlisle served as a deliberate site of cultural transformation. His vision was captured in the school’s slogan: “To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay.”<sup>75</sup> Teachers played varied roles in pursuit of these goals, both over time and inside and outside the classroom.

Complicating current scholarship that largely highlights the devastation wrought by Indian education, this chapter focuses on everyday life at Carlisle from the perspective

---

<sup>75</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, edited by Robert M. Utley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 283.

of teachers, highlighting their challenges and achievements.<sup>76</sup> It presents teachers both as individuals and a collective, noting their unique and common experiences. Although their work had imperial implications—as it reinforced the power of the dominant culture at the expense of Indian customs—teachers focused their energy on the details of daily life, including both its practical and divine intentions: to uplift a race and save souls. Mostly white, single women, they served as cultural translators, working to convey what they viewed as the finest attributes of Christian, middle-class culture. At the same time, most cared about their students and proudly served as maternal figures, whether or not they were perceived by students in this way, earning both respect and revulsion. Moreover, they faced disease and stood up against scandal-ridden administrations, proving their agency. Over time, several formed close friendships with one another and came to rely on such companionship. Overall, work at Carlisle was all consuming, and some teachers thrived in this atmosphere while others floundered.

Chapter three discusses “Life and Death on the Islands” as teachers adjusted to a new environment, including severe hardships. In addition to dealing with cultural differences between the U.S. and the Philippines, teachers had to adapt to living in a place consumed by violence. As representatives from the occupying country, teachers played a somewhat dubious role as they worked to teach children English while American soldiers fought against their Filipino families and neighbors and engaged in

---

<sup>76</sup> In-depth scholarship on the negative impact of Indian schools includes Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School”; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club*; Trafzer, et al., “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System.” See Trafzer as well as the studies of particular schools including Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School”; Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*; Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*.

torturing Filipino rebels and their suspected accomplices. Complicating an already tense situation, they found that they had to do much more than establish schools, sometimes taking up arms for their own protection or, alternately, countering the devastation wrought by the disease and environmental disasters that also plagued the archipelago. While some teachers thrived in the uncertainties that island life created, others felt desperate to return home, even those who began to question their country's methods of "civilization."

Adding to recent literature that discusses U.S. schooling efforts in the Philippines as an example of imperial education, chapter three demonstrates the role that teachers played in both building and destabilizing such an endeavor.<sup>77</sup> Although the United States billed its occupation of the Philippines as a way to save a depraved people, teachers witnessed and represented its vulnerabilities. Suffering through military conflict, disease, and environmental disaster, they doubted their own and their country's effectiveness, particularly as minimal resources compounded their sense of isolation. Moreover, racial biases simultaneously justified and undermined their sense of purpose, many believing their work necessary yet useless. Ultimately, teachers' experiences and perspectives expose the fragility of U.S. benevolence.

Chapter four addresses teachers professional lives "After The(ir) Service" at Carlisle and in the Philippines. Some teachers reflected consciously on their work, but others left more ambiguous evidence of how they felt about their experiences. Revisiting the "crossover teachers" reveals that all five who worked in the Philippines before going to Carlisle dedicated the remainder of their working life to education and/or Indian affairs.

---

<sup>77</sup> Angulo, *Empire and Education*; Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun"; Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*.

Some Thomasites, including several who married during their time overseas, committed their entire careers to education in the Philippines while the career paths of others suggest that their experiences abroad influenced their professional choices in other ways. Some Carlisle teachers also continued teaching in the Indian Service or otherwise worked on behalf of Indian rights, both within and against the D.C. Indian bureaucracy, while others continued teaching in other capacities. Ultimately, whether teachers remained in the Indian or Philippine Service or chose another path, they helped to define U.S. empire.

Building on scholarship that examines the historical significance of educators who worked on behalf of empire, chapter four follows teachers after their Carlisle and Philippines experiences, showing that their hand in imperial education often influenced the rest of their careers, as it did the momentum of the movement.<sup>78</sup> Understanding teachers' experiences in the broader context of their careers as well as that of U.S. empire demonstrates that imperial education is a process, not simply a product, of power. As such, it changes over time, reflecting the needs and desires of education authorities who—working from the top, middle, and bottom strata—seek to meet certain goals: personal, professional, and structural. For many, their work in either project was part of a much longer education profession, although some sought to distance themselves from these experiences. Taking a long approach to the history of imperial education shows that for some individuals involved, Carlisle and the Philippines defined their careers, while for most it proved a significant though transient moment. Still, such work continued after they left, guided by other teachers as cultural translators, in other

---

<sup>78</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun”; Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad*.

locations, imbued with other meanings. And, as imperial education continued to evolve, so did they.

“The Teachers’ Dilemma” examines teachers collectively and as individuals, analyzing the extent to which personal, political, and imperial interests affected them and their work at Carlisle and in the Philippines. This study complicates the historical understandings of U.S. expansion and demonstrates how teachers’ agency shaped the structure of schooling, and ultimately, the American empire. Although most teachers in the Philippines and at Carlisle initially viewed their efforts as largely benevolent, their personal diaries and letters reveal how their perceptions of this work changed over time. While some teachers became more familiar with their students, more confident in their own teaching, and more committed to Indian or Filipino “uplift,” others became increasingly disillusioned as the hardships they faced on the ground created impenetrable roadblocks for effective schooling. Moreover, their varied and changeable needs and desires created an unstable foundation for building an empire, evident, for example, in high turnover as well as their direct challenges to official policy. Still, teachers’ promotion of the dominant culture within and beyond their classrooms furthered U.S. imperial ambitions, disseminating ideas regarding the righteousness of white, middle class ideals, even as some students and communities rejected such teachings. As mediators, teachers profoundly shaped the experiences of their students as they translated government policies on the ground and helped to build an empire, however fragile, often transforming themselves in the process.

## CHAPTER 1: THE JOURNEY TO TEACH

On June 21, 1901, recent University of Michigan graduate student Ralph Wendell Taylor wrote to his mother, “A rather startling proposition was made me today, in fact about minutes ago. The Secretary of the Appointment Committee asked me if I would care to teach in the Philippines...I could not give him an answer and will not need to for a few days,— that is till I hear from you.”<sup>79</sup> Eager to have his mother’s blessing before venturing overseas, Taylor, and hundreds of other American teachers like him, had to make a quick and potentially life-changing decision: whether to leave loved ones behind to set up schools in a distant land—one that the U.S. had recently acquired from Spain following the War of 1898. Explaining the opportunity to his mother, Taylor admitted, “I find myself recalling some indistinct dreams I have had in recent months of going to some place like the Philippine Islands to teach or to take advantage of some of the opportunities there might be in other lives...I have no definite prospect for a school here.”<sup>80</sup> Taylor chose to follow his “indistinct dreams” and in less than a month he and hundreds of men and women from around the country journeyed to San Francisco where they boarded the *USS Thomas* on July 23, 1901. Bound for Manila, the decommissioned naval carrier transported 509 teachers—the largest group selected to set up schools in the Philippines. Although additional teachers traveled via other ships, they all came to be known as “Thomasites.”<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Ralph Wendell Taylor to Mother, 21 June 21 1901, Box 1, Taylor family Correspondence June to December 1901 Folder, Taylor Family Papers, BHL.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> *The Log of the “Thomas,” July 23 – August 21, 1901*, ed. Ronald P. Gleason, 67-68, <http://openlibrary.org>.



While the U.S. government sought to set up schools for an entire nation in the Philippines—employing hundreds of teachers like Taylor—it had tried similar experiments before. In 1879 the government established the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first of several off-reservation institutions that would, over time, become part of what developed into a highly stratified Indian Education Service. The Service promised to uplift American Indians through education, thereby civilizing the colonized peoples living within its borders.<sup>82</sup> Carlisle, the first Indian boarding school established outside of tribal lands, endeavored to assimilate indigenous children into U.S. culture and society more effectively and efficiently than on-reservation day or boarding schools. For reformers, the key to Carlisle was its location in the East, far removed from what some perceived as the regressive influences of the children’s home life. Examining Carlisle alongside the Philippine initiative reveals how U.S. leaders wielded education at the turn of the twentieth century as a means of appeasing and transforming their colonial subjects.

Government leaders, education reformers, advocates for Indian and Filipino advancement, and teachers—all, for various reasons, rushed to open schools for colonized peoples in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. In 1883, a significant group of education reformers and Indian advocates organized the first Mohonk Conference for “Friends of the Indians.”<sup>83</sup> This group then held a major conference to address reformers’ concerns regarding American Indians, which evolved into an effort, as reformer Elaine Goodale Eastman described it, to engage “the problems of other ‘dependent peoples’ belonging to our colonial empire.” Goodale elaborated

---

<sup>82</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Adams, *Education for Extinction*.

<sup>83</sup> Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 102.

further: Mohonk conferences “brought together nearly all of the leading workers, and not a few advanced Indians and Filipinos spoke for themselves.”<sup>84</sup> Thus, from the reformers’ perspective, American Indians and Filipinos shared, at least in some ways, the burdens and problems faced by many “dependent peoples,” a fact apparently recognized by some Indian and Filipino leaders.

Still, in discussing the U.S. involvement in these experiments in Filipino and Indian “civilization,” it is crucial to highlight their differences as well as similarities to demonstrate how U.S. imperial aims were entangled with education reforms in each case. Central to both of these stories is the speed with which reformers and the federal government implemented each experiment, as they rushed to resolve the Indian and Filipino “problems.” Equally important to explore, as this chapter will show, are teachers’ motivations and the hiring practices involved in the two cases. Teachers willing to venture to the Philippines often had different reasons for their decisions than those who initially staffed Carlisle, where the school’s leaders depended on a pre-existing social network to recruit faculty. But eventually the Carlisle School, like the Philippines had from the beginning, depended on a growing federal bureaucracy. While some early Carlisle teachers and staff knew each other before arriving at the school, Philippine teachers experienced a kind of a rite of passage as they journeyed to the islands, which helped them develop personal relationships and form a collective identity. Moreover, one group is particularly important in analyzing the two projects, and that is the small cohort of crossover teachers—those who worked both in the Philippines and Carlisle. They considered the missions comparable but had varying levels of success in the two

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 106.

locations. For them, as for all the teachers involved, issues of gender, race, class, and bureaucracy shaped their efforts, as did the long history of education as a “civilizing” tool.

Indian education emerged long before Carlisle opened its doors in 1879. Beginning in the colonial era, missionaries and reformers alike strove to “civilize” American Indians by establishing schools across the continent. By 1868, the federal government “promised a schoolhouse and a teacher for every thirty [Indian] children,” although funding for the program did not increase dramatically for another decade.<sup>85</sup> As historian Frederick Hoxie points out, “1879 marked the beginning of a new era in federal Indian education,” with monies rising from \$75,000 to over \$2 million over the next fifteen years.<sup>86</sup> During this time, the U.S. government established twenty off-reservation boarding schools, of which Carlisle was the first, and a federally operated school was opened on every Indian reservation in the country by 1890. In regard to Carlisle in particular, its opening marked a shift from an older, evangelical style of Indian education to a supposedly more progressive approach devoted to the progress and assimilation of the entire race.<sup>87</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, reformers and advocates of Indian education believed that if American Indians did not assimilate to the dominant culture, they would die out.<sup>88</sup> Carlisle’s founder, Richard Henry Pratt, had come to this realization after his experiences in the army. In 1867, a couple of years after his service in the Civil War, Pratt returned to the army and served as a second lieutenant of an all-black regiment, the Tenth United States Cavalry, “sent west to keep the peace and to fight Indians.” As

---

<sup>85</sup> Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 53.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 53-54.

<sup>88</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*.

historian David Wallace Adams argues in *Education For Extinction*, during the eight years Pratt led his regiment in the west, the lieutenant “came to believe that Indians needed to assimilate to survive.”<sup>89</sup> In the spring of 1875, Pratt was ordered to transport and then oversee a group of seventy-two Indian prisoners of war from Fort Sill, Indian Territory to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. During the few years that Pratt oversaw the Florida prison, he replaced the inmates’ traditional clothing with military uniforms and cut their hair, arranged for them to work in the town, and developed an ad-hoc school for the captives, relying upon local sympathizers to teach English.<sup>90</sup> This marked the beginning of Pratt’s direct involvement with Indian education. He witnessed firsthand as these prisoners adapted to white cultural norms, and did so quickly. A few years later, he looked to some of the most active volunteers at Fort Marion to help him recruit and teach the first class at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Pratt was committed to Indian education as a means of accelerating the “uplift” of the race and sought to convince the federal government of its effectiveness. In 1878, three years into his tenure at Fort Marion, Pratt received federal permission to release the prisoners. Eager to continue his education work, Pratt took twenty-two former prisoners with him to the Hampton Institute in Virginia for further schooling. Hampton Institute had been established a decade earlier as an industrial training school to “uplift” the black race through cultural, moral, and manual training, or what its founder Samuel Armstrong characterized as work of “the head, the heart, and the hand.”<sup>91</sup> Pratt spent a little over a year at Hampton and oversaw the former Indian prisoners’ education. During this time,

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 36-43.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 44-45.

U.S. officials asked Pratt to “secure” fifty Indian children from the Nez Perce tribe and the Missouri River agencies by receiving parental permission, and bring them back to the Virginia industrial school.<sup>92</sup> In doing so, the U.S. government showed both its confidence in Pratt and in the potential of education to, perhaps quickly, remedy the Indian “problem.” These recruitment trips proved foundational for Pratt as he soon ventured west to Indian territory to fill the Carlisle classrooms.<sup>93</sup>

Within a year of arriving at Hampton, Pratt had developed a new vision: to initiate a school strictly dedicated to the Indian. By early 1879, Pratt felt eager to leave the Hampton Institute, believing his duties were “no longer necessary.”<sup>94</sup> In addition, he wanted to distance his Indian charges from the racial discrimination borne by blacks at Hampton and hoped to better integrate the Indians into a white community.<sup>95</sup> When Pratt learned that his position at Hampton might become permanent, he rushed to Washington, DC in the summer of 1879 to discuss alternative appointments. After several meetings with government leaders, and upon his own suggestion, he received orders to transform the abandoned army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania into a school for Indians. Pratt wrote to his wife, Laura, on August 21, 1879: “Carlisle ‘is ours and fairly now.’ General Sherman [of the Army] approves...Now the work begins.”<sup>96</sup> The next day, Pratt again wrote to his wife, this time reassuring her of their next assignment: “Your letter of yesterday told me you were feeling quite badly. I hope dear, little wife that the news I

---

<sup>92</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 195-197.

<sup>93</sup> Over his twenty years as superintendent of Carlisle, Pratt would repeat this journey west countless times.

<sup>94</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 213.

<sup>95</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 47-48.

<sup>96</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Laura Pratt, 21 August 1879, Box 18, Folder 613, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), Yale University.

sent you will be good medicine. If we can quietly settle down at Carlisle for a few years, I hope we both may gather up more vigor, and that we may otherwise better our condition.”<sup>97</sup> Not knowing the particulars of Laura or Pratt’s “condition,” it seems likely that after many years of army life, moving had taken a toll on her and the couple. Laura—and, to a certain extent, Pratt—understandably felt anxious to “settle down” somewhere that seemed a bit more permanent. Carlisle became “home” for the Pratts for the next twenty-five years.

Less than two months after having received consent from Sherman, Pratt converted Carlisle’s dilapidated army quarters into a school. With approval from the War Department, the barracks at Carlisle were officially turned over to the Department of the Interior on September 6, 1879 with the intention of beginning an Indian boarding school.<sup>98</sup> The school opened its doors just one month later, on October 6, 1879. Moving with amazing speed, between late August and early October, Pratt recruited Indian students and hired staff members while his wife moved their family to Pennsylvania and helped to prepare the run-down buildings for the arrival of Carlisle’s first pupils. Pratt’s expeditious work in opening the school doors was rooted in his experiences out West and in Florida. He firmly believed now that Indians needed to assimilate quickly into mainstream society to avoid the race’s demise.<sup>99</sup> Although much of his work “keeping the peace” in the West involved fighting Indians, his experiences in Florida proved that Indians could adapt to white cultural norms. The improvised schooling Pratt helped to

---

<sup>97</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Laura Pratt, 22 August, 1879, Box 18, Folder 613, BRBML.

<sup>98</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle,” 59<sup>th</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1890* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890), 309, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>.

<sup>99</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 53.

initiate at Fort Marion had worked; his Indian prisoners learned English and adopted other white customs. Thus, Pratt concluded that extensive planning was not needed for effective teaching and learning to take place. Rather, he believed that the imminent danger of race extinction necessitated the immediate availability of a school in which Indian youth would be removed from both the corrupting influences of reservation life and the racial prejudice faced by blacks. At a moment when Pratt felt pressure to redirect his military career, Carlisle offered a critical opportunity, both personally and professionally.

In addition to Pratt's individual ambitions in establishing Carlisle, by 1879 the federal government was becoming increasingly desperate to resolve "the Indian problem." Fighting over land and resources had plagued Indian-white relations ever since European settlement, compounding the already devastating rates of disease, which along with conquest and the forced removal from lands, resulted in more than an 85 percent loss of the North American indigenous population between 1492 and 1900.<sup>100</sup> By the late 1820s, U.S. government policies forced Indians from their native lands and relocated them west of the Mississippi River. Beginning in the 1850s and increasing steadily by the 1870s, new policies confined Indians to tracts of land or reservations, limiting their access to food and continuing to destroy indigenous ways of life.<sup>101</sup> As more and more whites moved west, fighting over land and resources continued, resulting in decades of bloody warfare. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the population of American Indians

---

<sup>100</sup> David J. Hacker and Michael R. Haines, "American Indian Mortality in the Late Nineteenth Century: the Impact of Federal Assimilation Policies on a Vulnerable Population," *Annales de Démographie Historique* 2 (2005): 19; Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*.

<sup>101</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 7.

fell from 600,000 in 1800 to a low point of 237,000 by the 1890s.<sup>102</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the rates of American Indian mortality were “approximately 62 percent higher than that for the white population.”<sup>103</sup>

Having gained increasing control over western lands and Indian peoples’ livelihoods, in 1871 the U.S. government officially declared the Indians “wards of the government, a colonized people.”<sup>104</sup> At the same time, Congress approved the Indian Appropriations Act, which prevented American Indians from making further treaties with the U.S. government. This legislation took away their national sovereignty and ultimately created a fully colonized population within the continent’s borders. Although Indian rights advocates had long been critical of brutal government policies that decimated Indian tribes and diminished their autonomy, by 1880 they generally agreed with the public consensus that Indians needed to be saved from such ruthless policies as well as from themselves.<sup>105</sup> The reality of high mortality rates among American Indians—due to disease, warfare, and starvation—motivated reformers to try to “save” the “dying race.” Thus, by the time Carlisle was proposed as a means of assimilating Indians into white society, government officials and reformers both eagerly supported Pratt’s endeavor.

Within two decades, other “wards of the government” joined American Indians as groups that needed embrace the U.S. rule of law and adapt to its customs. Beginning in 1899, political leaders sought to assimilate the nation’s newest colonial subjects—Filipinos—via a similar educational program. Soon after the U.S. acquired the Philippine

---

<sup>102</sup> Hacker, 17.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>104</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 7.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 5-9.



Islands, U.S. officials and reformers pointed to parallels between the nation's newest and oldest colonial subjects, Filipinos and American Indians respectively. According to this logic, both groups were colonized peoples without full rights of citizenship and both lacked "civilization." Of course, many differences existed between these two peoples, including their particular relationship to the American empire. As Julian Go and other scholars argue, the forcible removal of American Indians from their land (and subsequent efforts to assimilate them into mainstream culture) can be understood as an example of "settler colonialism" while the Philippines project falls under the category of "administrative colonialism," whereby the United States sought to exploit the islands' resources and strategic location *without* displacing the Filipino people.<sup>106</sup> Despite these differences, both the Carlisle and Philippines projects are examples of U.S. imperial design. And, in both cases, the U.S. government used education to pacify and transform colonized peoples, claiming purely benevolent intentions while working to strengthen the American empire.

Unlike the long history of American involvement with Indian schools, U.S. interests in Philippine education emerged only after it occupied the islands following the War of 1898. Moreover, the education mission to the Philippines marked the first time that the U.S. government sent teachers overseas. This particular initiative grew out of a policy dubbed "benevolent assimilation"—a term coined by President William McKinley in a December 1898 speech in which he proclaimed the nation's moral authority following its victory in the war. According to McKinley, the U.S. mission was to assure

---

<sup>106</sup> Julian Go, "Imperial Power and Its Limits: America's Colonial Empire in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin W. Moore (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2006), 202-203.

the Filipino people that its occupation of their country would be “substituting the mild sway of justice and right for [the] arbitrary rule” they had known under Spanish dominion.<sup>107</sup> Although the acquisition of the Philippines began as part of a war of conquest, American imperialists framed the war and its aftermath as a progressive movement aimed at helping the Filipino people and thereby distinguishing their efforts from those of European imperialists.<sup>108</sup>

As at Carlisle, the U.S. government moved swiftly to initiate education efforts in the Philippines. Official plans emerged shortly after the Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898. Just over a month later, on January 20, 1899, President McKinley created the First Philippine Commission charged with assessing the conditions on the ground, including the status of schools. Tasked with assuming civilian authority over the islands and setting up an American-style government and society, the Philippine Commission was responsible for convincing Filipinos of its government’s “benevolent” intentions. Establishing an educational system modeled on the United States became an integral component of these efforts to appease, and from its perspective, civilize, a war-ravaged people.<sup>109</sup> In April 1900, McKinley established the Second Philippine Commission with the primary purpose of focusing on education. On January 21, 1901, the Commission passed Act No. 74 which sanctioned the hiring of 1,000 American

---

<sup>107</sup> As quoted in Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun,” 35.

<sup>108</sup> For more on American imperial “exceptionalism” in the Philippines see Julian Go, “Introduction: Global Perspectives,” 12.

<sup>109</sup> “Finding Aid for Dean C. Worcester Papers, 1887-1925,” Dean C. Worcester Papers, BHL, accessed June 30, 2013, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu>; Marjorie Barritt, “American-Philippine Relations: A Guide to the Resources in the Michigan Historical Collections,” BHL, accessed June 28, 2013, <http://bentley.umich.edu/research/guides/philippines/philint.php>; Daniel Roderick Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1913); Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*.

schoolteachers to be sent to the Philippines for the purposes of establishing a public school system akin to that in the United States. Less than six months later, hundreds of American teachers ventured across the Pacific.<sup>110</sup> Thus, within two and a half years of having overthrown the Spanish empire in the Philippines, the U.S. had surveyed its newest territory, developed policies for its governance, and approved the hiring of one thousand American teachers to establish a U.S.-style school system.

Yet, before recruiting and transporting these American teachers, the U.S. called upon soldiers to both quell Filipino unrest and demonstrate U.S. benevolence. Filipino rebels' resistance to the American occupation began shortly after the islands were handed over from one imperial power to another. This resistance became increasingly hostile, ultimately sparking the Philippine-American War in February 1899. Soon after this next round of military combat ensued, the U.S. Army commissioned soldiers to set up schools as part of its efforts to prove American goodwill to Filipino civilians. Thus, as the U.S. waged war against Filipino rebels, it simultaneously worked to win the hearts and minds of the islands' people through education and other altruistic gestures.<sup>111</sup> In this way, the first phase of the American occupation *overtly* relied upon guns *and* books to ensure Filipino compliance. In fact, the U.S. rushed to send American teachers overseas in 1901, more than a year before it declared the Philippine-American War over in July 1902. Thus, U.S. involvement in Filipino education was mired in military conflict from the beginning,

---

<sup>110</sup> Lardizabal, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education," 8-16.

<sup>111</sup> Justice, "Education at the End of a Gun"; Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, xxvi. Glenn Anthony May discusses U.S. involvement in building infrastructure, including installing sanitation services. Muerman, "The Philippine School Under the Americans," 25: Muerman wrote of U.S. soldiers' involvement in teaching Filipinos English, arguing that they "made no attempt to organize a system of public instruction" but were ordered to teach "conversational English" in existing Filipino schools.

forcing this new colonial power to act quickly to pacify Filipinos and secure American authority in the islands.

Despite complications created by the ongoing war, efforts to recruit American teachers persisted, and perhaps even accelerated. In 1901, Superintendent of Instruction in the Philippines, Fred W. Atkinson, largely deferred his power of appointment to educational and political leaders around the country. There were many aspects of the project to oversee and having local leaders select instructors made the grand task more manageable. Although no more than 926 teachers ever served at a time, sorting through the recorded eight thousand applications for employment within a short amount of time required a large staff.<sup>112</sup> As teachers' personal records suggest, most were likely approached by university and normal school administrators to consider working in the Philippines and, in this way, they were virtually hand-selected, speeding up the hiring process.<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, the large number of applications and the more than nine hundred teachers hired within a matter of months suggests that there were effective employment practices in place as well as teachers eager to participate.

Although leaders in the "benevolent" empire sought teachers for the Philippines in order to protect U.S. security and further economic and humanitarian interests,

---

<sup>112</sup> Muerman, "The Philippine School Under the Americans," 35; Lardizabal, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education," 11-12, 298-300.

<sup>113</sup> For example, several teachers in this study were appointed by their respective universities, including Ralph Taylor from the University of Michigan and Clara Donaldson of Cornell [See Taylor to Mother, 21 June 21 1901; Clara R. Donaldson to Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, DC, 18 September 1920, Clara R. Donaldson File, Record Group 350, Box 365, Entry 21, National Archives at College Park, Maryland (NAMD)]. As valedictorian of his graduating class, it is likely that Frederick Behner was also nominated by administrators at North Central College at Naperville, Illinois.

teachers had their own reasons for going.<sup>114</sup> In most cases, they did not consider themselves as part of an imperial project but rather ventured across the Pacific for personal or pragmatic reasons. They were not simply instruments of empire, but individuals who exhibited agency—choosing to do what was best for their careers or what might prove most interesting for them as individuals. Nevertheless, teachers worked within a new world order, one where the United States strove to prove itself on the global stage. As officials eagerly sought to fill the teaching positions and begin the education experiment, teachers often found they had to decide quickly whether they should participate in this bold new experiment. Ultimately, understanding teachers' motivations reveals a more nuanced sense of U.S. imperial education at the turn of the twentieth century.

American teachers sent to the Philippines were a highly educated group, most with significant teaching experience and many eager to apply their skill and knowledge to a new environment. John Muerman, who received three degrees after teaching in the Philippines, wrote his dissertation in 1925 on the educational experiment there and noted the exceptional qualifications of the Thomasites. Before boarding the *USS Thomas* in July 1901, Muerman had taught for eleven years and served as the Superintendent of Schools in Moscow, Idaho.<sup>115</sup> In his dissertation, he argued, “So far as education and experience goes, it was perhaps the finest trained body of instructors that any nation has ever attempted to send from its shores.”<sup>116</sup> More than thirty years later, Amparo Lardizabal analyzed the *Log of Thomas*, a publication written by Thomasites recounting

---

<sup>114</sup> For more on how humanitarian and commercial interests vied for power as the U.S. Empire expanded to include the Philippines, see Angulo, *Empire and Education*.

<sup>115</sup> *Log of the Thomas*, 55.

<sup>116</sup> Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans,” 42.

their voyage across the Pacific and listing the teachers' names and backgrounds. Of the more than five hundred teachers on board with Muerman in summer 1901, Lardizabal found that thirty-one had not received a degree or certificate beyond a high school diploma. Over half held Normal (104) or undergraduate degrees (160), and over one hundred others earned an additional degree (116), while 57 earned two (48) or more degrees (9). Although one-fifth of the teachers aboard the *Thomas* did not have teaching experience, Lardizabal argues that even those individuals had graduated from prestigious universities, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Cornell, among others.<sup>117</sup> With such strong professional and education backgrounds, teachers felt confident in their abilities and eager to prove themselves or try something new.

In spite of the romantic bias evident in Lardizabal and Muerman's studies, examined together, they begin to illuminate some of the motivations that sent teachers abroad in the early twentieth century. Lardizabal's survey of fifty Thomasites—whom she defined as American teachers who worked in the Philippines between 1900 and 1916—reveals some interesting patterns.<sup>118</sup> In particular, the responses to her open-ended question, "How did you happen to go there [the Philippines]?" are intriguing.<sup>119</sup> The most common reason given by the fifty responders was an interest in educating the Filipinos, although no further explanation is provided. But Muerman's dissertation,

---

<sup>117</sup> Lardizabal, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education," 17-22.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 314-15. On November 15, 1955, Lardizabal sent out a cover letter and survey in hopes of finding out more about the Thomasites' experiences. Considering that Lardizabal completed the dissertation five months later, in April 1956, and that she describes herself as "racing against time," her collection and analysis of the fifty responders was hurried.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 316.

written thirty years earlier by a Thomasite, helps to explain what they might have meant.

He wrote:

Few Americans went to the Philippines with the intention of making that country their permanent home. In fact the number is so small that it is not worth considering. It is true some went for the pure adventure and to see the world, but the great majority entered the service honestly to give their best to the Filipino children; to educate these children in terms of Filipino life and yet to give them as good an education as the conditions permitted.<sup>120</sup>

Although other evidence challenges such optimistic, heartfelt sentiments as the motivating factor for the majority of subjects in this study, such enthusiasm undoubtedly inspired some, including Ralph Taylor whose “indistinct dreams” were met by the invitation to teach in the Philippines. Certainly, teachers ventured overseas for multiple reasons, including altruistic ones for some.

Although some generalizations are important for finding continuities among educators who worked on behalf of U.S. empire, it is also important to examine the discontinuities, including the particular motives that moved individuals to join such endeavors. While older scholarship offers an overly optimistic interpretation of teachers involved in U.S. imperial education, in part assuming the righteousness of Thomasites’ motives, more recent scholarship is sometimes overly critical, either emphasizing teachers’ greed and racism or their indifference, both claimed as evidence of the empire’s malevolent intentions. A more nuanced analysis demonstrates that Thomasites worked on behalf of the United States in a context of war, but that as individuals, they went to the islands for varied reasons, some benevolent and some more practical. Finding common motivations helps to create a strong narrative, but without also noting particular discontinuities, such an account can overshadow teachers’ agency as well as the

---

<sup>120</sup> Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans,” 144.

complexities of executing imperial policy. In this way, depictions of U.S. empire are also overly simplified.

Still, respondents to Lardizabal's 1955 survey offered other rationales as well that are worth further discussion. Teachers' second and third most popular explanations for venturing overseas included, respectively, an almost equal number of people eager to be with their significant other and those with a strong desire to travel and see the world. A smaller number, including Walter Marquardt examined here, claimed they went to the Philippines because they needed a job.<sup>121</sup> Others ended up in the Philippines by what Lardizabal characterizes as "chance," as in the case of Muerman, who apparently did not initiate his application but was instead nominated by former students who had become army lieutenants and secured their former teacher a job offer. Finally, a few felt motivated by a "missionary or pioneer spirit" while two others hoped to establish a career in the Philippines or back in the United States after their stint in the islands.<sup>122</sup>

Consistent with Lardizabal's study, some teachers examined for this dissertation also explained their motivations in terms of career and travel goals, which they did not necessarily see as contradictory. For example, Walter Marquardt responded in a straightforward way to an undated questionnaire which asked, "What was the nature of the impulse that influenced you to volunteer?" Marquardt answered, "A chance to see foreign countries and to do work in which I was interested at the same time," essentially conveying sentiments similar to the majority of Lardizabal's subjects: 1) to teach and 2)

---

<sup>121</sup> Lardizabal, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education." Lardizabal wrongfully listed as "M.M. Marquardt" on page 26, though he is listed correctly in the Bibliography as Walter W. Marquardt on page 335.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 23-32.



to travel.<sup>123</sup> A more sentimental yet revealing account is captured in Mary Fee's 1912 memoir. She wrote, "I was going to see the world, and I was one of an army of enthusiasts enlisted to instruct our little brown brother, and to pass the torch of Occidental knowledge several degrees east of the international date-line."<sup>124</sup> In addition to expressing her personal interest in travel, Fee's use of the language "little brown brother"—coined by the 1901 American Governor-General of the Philippines, William Howard Taft—drew attention to the racialized framework of the U.S. intervention in the Philippines, which lauded white teachers for bringing western knowledge to their darker skinned "brothers" across the Pacific. As Stuart Creighton Miller argues in *Benevolent Assimilation*, such language was not intended as derogatory but was rather an example of "paternalist racism."<sup>125</sup> As such, this imagery suggests that Fee believed that U.S. involvement in the islands was both entirely benevolent and necessary to properly care for an otherwise "backward" people.<sup>126</sup> Other teachers, perhaps even Marquardt, likely shared her ideals.

Still, some teachers claimed more pragmatic reasons for choosing to go to the Philippines, including two teachers who wanted to leave behind difficulties they faced in

---

<sup>123</sup> Questionnaire: Walter W. Marquardt, Box 7, Biographical Folder, BHL.

<sup>124</sup> Mary Helen Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910), 12.

<sup>125</sup> Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 134.

<sup>126</sup> Significantly, other Thomasites examined here used the term "little brown brother" in their personal writing, demonstrating its relative commonality: Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 2 April 1902, Blaine Free Moore Papers, Box 1, Correspondence January to June 1902 Folder, Library of Congress (LOC), Washington, DC; Blaine Free Moore to Brother, 11 May 1903, Box 1, Correspondence January to June 1903 Folder, LOC; Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 8 July 1903, Box 1, Correspondence July to December 1903, LOC; Harrie Cole to Mother, 22 April 1904, Harry Newton Cole Papers, 1904 Folder, BHL; Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961).

the United States. John Early remembered feeling “glad of a chance to see the other side of the world” while also detailing some of his troubles in his unpublished memoir titled “Reminiscences.” Having worked in the Idaho territory for several years as a newspaper editor, Early wrote that homesteaders were forced to use all of their money on “living expenses” including water instead of cultivating the land since the government was three years behind in providing the people with water. Eager to leave the harsh, impoverished landscape, he welcomed the opportunity to go abroad.<sup>127</sup> Similarly, George Carrothers recalled wanting to escape his dire situation, recounting in his memoir and an interview the desire to leave his Indiana farm so as not to burden his mother with yet another dying son. The family doctor predicted his early demise. Moreover, having grown up in poverty, Carrothers yearned to see the world despite (or perhaps because of) his grim medical diagnosis.<sup>128</sup> In spite of such troubled backgrounds, both Early and Carrothers went on to having great success teaching in the islands. And, in both cases, their personal memoirs expose a more nuanced understanding of their reasoning, one far removed from the imperialist aims of U.S. policy.

However, most Thomasites failed to explain their reasons for accepting an appointment in the Philippines, even in their personal diaries and letters to loved ones. While Ralph Taylor suggested that he had dreamt of such an adventure and noted he did not have a “definite prospect” for a job in the States and Harrie Cole wrote of needing to

---

<sup>127</sup> John C. Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” John C. Early Papers, John Early Reminiscences Folder, BHL.

<sup>128</sup> George Ezra Carrothers, interview, July 27, 1965, transcript, 1, George E. Carrothers Papers, BHL; Carrothers, “A Sojourn in the Philippines,” 3, Biographical Reminiscences 1952-1955 and 1964 Folder, BHL.

earn money, others offered less direct evidence of their reasoning.<sup>129</sup> Still, it seems clear that several went to the islands for practical reasons, like being with loved ones. For example, prior to finishing her undergraduate degree at the University of Michigan, Mary Cole decided to accompany her husband, Harrie, who had already been selected to teach in the Philippines. She then successfully sought a teaching job for herself there. Similarly, Maude Bordner ventured across the Pacific with her husband, Harvey, who had been appointed an administrator, and she then also received a teaching assignment. Other spouses also received positions, such as Willa Early who married John five years into his teaching venture and accompanied him back to the islands after his visit home. In fact, as historian Cathleen Cahill notes, by 1915 single women were prohibited from taking the civil service exam to work in the Philippines, as only married women accompanying husbands were allowed entry as teachers. Some teachers, including the Coles and others who married in the islands, like Walter Marquardt and Alice Hollister, depended on two incomes to build up their savings while supporting themselves.<sup>130</sup> Thus, particularly for some women, love and practicality influenced them to teach in the archipelago.

Other Thomasites left even less evidence regarding their motivation for heading to the islands. Blaine Moore did not explain why he chose to go but did make a point of saying that he would not tell his family until his appointment was finalized, “for I dreaded the somber emotion and apprehension of impending danger that a trip of \_\_\_\_

---

<sup>129</sup> Taylor to Mother, 21 June 1901; Harrie Cole to Mother, 20 October 1901, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>130</sup> Harrie to Mother, 20 October 1901; Mary to Folks at home, 10 April 1902, April to May 1902 Folder, BHL; Marquardt, Diary entries 18 March, 1904, 1 April 1904, Diary 1 September 1903 to 21 March 1905, Box 6, Diaries and Notes 1900-1935 Folder, BHL; Marquardt, Diary entry 10 August 1904, Box 7, untitled bound book.

miles would engender.”<sup>131</sup> A bit of an adventurer, Moore recorded such thoughts in his private diary, but was clearly loathe to tell even close family members of his plans. Although John Evans’ motivation for boarding the *USS Thomas* in July 1901 is not evident, most likely his younger brother, Glen, headed to the Philippines three years later to follow in his brother’s footsteps. A newspaper clipping described the brothers as “restless young men who had to see what lay beyond the confining horizons of an Episcopalian upbringing in Midwest America” and John’s letters home may have inspired Glen to head east as well, but their experiences greatly diverged once in the islands.<sup>132</sup> While John remained in the Philippines for sixteen years during which time he rose to be the Governor of the Mountain Provinces, Glen lasted less than a year and was eager to return stateside. The career paths of others—including Frank Cheney—also suggest that some teachers simply wanted to see the world. Cheney taught at schools across the United States and around the world over the course of his fifty-six year career, including a twelve-year stint in the Philippines. Perhaps the diversity of teaching opportunities in the Philippines encouraged Cheney to remain for so many years since he managed to teach at several locations throughout the islands and travelled extensively while stationed there.<sup>133</sup> For many teachers, only their actions offer insight into why they chose to teach in the Philippines.

---

<sup>131</sup> Blaine Free, Notes about numbers of letters per year, Box 1, Diary 1/4 Folder.

<sup>132</sup> “Two contributions” and “A Sense of Humor,” Clips about Evans family Folder, Evans Family Papers 1904-1974, BHL; “John H. Evans Dies Today At Home of Son: Was Formerly Governor of Mountain Provinces in Philippines,” Report/Letter 1909 Folder, BHL.

<sup>133</sup> Untitled Newspaper Clipping, 2 September 1965, Frank W. Cheney Papers, BHL; James T. Golden, “Colorful, Versatile ‘Unk’ Cheney,” Frank W. Cheney Papers, BHL.

American leaders in charge of the Philippine schools, on the other hand, openly revealed their preferences regarding teaching personnel, particularly regarding sex. While most schoolteachers in the United States by the turn of the twentieth century were women, government officials purposefully recruited both men *and* women for the education experiment in the Philippines, believing each sex to be best suited for a particular kind of work. In fact, the majority of Thomasites were men, reflecting, in part, the preference given to men (as well as the bias evident in recordkeeping and the archives).<sup>134</sup> In brief, women were deemed better suited to teach in more established schools and towns while men were thought more capable of maintaining the rustic lifestyle necessary to oversee schools in rural areas. A few years into the grand experiment, a December 15, 1904 publication by the Philippine Bureau of Education explained:

Women teachers, almost without exception, are assigned to duty in the provincial high schools or intermediate schools, where they can have the advantages of American society and an American home... The work of school district supervision, however, is pursued under very different conditions. The teacher usually lives alone in a town separated by some miles from other communities, and very frequently he is the only American resident in a large area... traveling sometimes on foot or by horse and vehicle, and sometimes by banca or canoe... This is work which can obviously only be done by a man. For this reason, the greater majority of the teaching force are men. In many cases, however, a man and wife are assigned together to a town, the man carrying the work of supervision and the woman the instruction of the advanced classes in the central municipal school.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Men's personal papers seem to have been preserved, more accessible.

<sup>135</sup> "The Bureau of Education: A Statement of organization and aims published for general information," *The Philippine Teacher* 1, no. 1 (December 15, 1904), Library Materials Vol. 674, Record Group 350, Philippines Miscellaneous, NAMD.

Education officials deemed men's and women's capabilities as fundamentally different, and only in cases of marriage and the support of a husband was it thought that a woman might be able to withstand the pressures of life outside of conventional social comforts.

Of course, this line of thinking largely ignored the historical reality of female pioneers who had ventured into the American West, sometimes alone or soon widowed, and created homes, schools, and towns well beyond the reach of established society.<sup>136</sup> And while gendered assumptions about the nature of work largely guided teachers' assignments in the Philippines, "exceptions" did exist. In fact, Thomasite John Muerman reported years later:

Over 90% [of teachers] that left Manila [to work in remote villages] stuck to their posts a year, accepted conditions and made the best of them. It was not always the bravest talking pedagogue who proved the best. Often it was a timid young maiden who withstood the hardships with the most fortitude.<sup>137</sup>

Thus, in spite of the Bureau's best guess, sometimes single women proved to be the most effective teachers in the challenging circumstances that defined teaching in the Philippines. Defying stereotypes concerning women's dependence on men or on societal comforts, some women remained steadfast in their educational endeavors despite "rustic" island conditions. Indeed, as in western American towns, some women thrived beyond traditional societal confines.<sup>138</sup>

Twenty years earlier, at Carlisle's founding in 1879, the sex of teachers was never overtly considered. Instead hiring at the Indian boarding school reflected the national

---

<sup>136</sup> For example, see: Jurgen Herbst, *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

<sup>137</sup> Muerman, "The Philippine School Under the Americans," 54.

<sup>138</sup> Yet, the historical record too often masks such independence. For this dissertation, most of the female Thomasites' records were buried in their respective husbands' personal papers or personnel files, including Alice Hollister Marquardt, Mary Cole, Maude Ethel Martin Bordner, and Willa Rhodes Early.

trend whereby single, white women comprised the vast majority of teachers. At Carlisle, this pattern continued throughout its forty-year history. In fact, the school's first teachers were all women, and this remained true into the 1890s.<sup>139</sup> In the early years Superintendent Richard Henry Pratt had complete control over hiring at Carlisle, and he probably automatically turned to women who had, by 1879, become commonly accepted as particularly suited for the teaching profession and for the care of the "needy." Over the course of the nineteenth century, women became the majority of teachers across the country. Economic demands on public school systems coupled with beliefs concerning women's innate nurturing qualities helped to reshape teaching from a male to a female profession in this period. At the same time, men rose to leadership or "principal" positions to oversee pupils as well as schools' largely female employees.<sup>140</sup> Thus, by 1879, it had become increasingly common for a male school superintendent, like Pratt, to direct a female teaching faculty.

---

<sup>139</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 158.

<sup>140</sup> In the mid nineteenth century, female teachers, on average, earned wages that were 40 to 60 percent of what males earned. Reformers argued that female teachers were needed not only to save money, but also because women would help to ease the transition from home to school for children. Presumed to be nurturing by nature, reformers argued that female teachers would be more motherly and help young children adjust to their new school environment. Some people objected to having female teachers and argued that women would not be able to teach the higher subjects or control a classroom of older, rowdier students. To quell such concerns, male overseers were installed to help discipline students and meet the academic needs of more advanced students. These male overseers, or principals, became more common as the number of female teachers rose. Except for dame schools or private lessons, in 1800, most teachers were male. By 1900, most teachers were women—about 70 percent of instructors below the college level were women nationwide. In general, female teachers' careers were brief. Young women often began teaching in their late teenage years and would stop in their early twenties upon marriage, usually only teaching for a total of two to three years. See B.A. Hinsdale, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*; Spring, *The American School*; Tyack, *The One Best System*.

<b>Table 1: Carlisle Teachers' Gender and Marital Status (while teaching at Carlisle)</b>						
Gender	Single	Likely Single	Married	Widow	N/A	Total
Female	25	13	4 *	4	2	48
Male	2	-	4 *	0	1	7
Total	27	13	8	4	3	55
*One couple met at Carlisle and married.						

To staff the new school and alleviate his own uncertainties, Pratt largely looked to women whom he trusted; and they, in turn, looked to one another for inspiration and encouragement. In this way, Carlisle's early hiring differed dramatically from the bureaucratic process used in the Philippines two decades later. At Carlisle a more intimate social network forged the school's foundation. As Pratt explained, "Finding suitable teachers and employees was a part of the anxieties" in establishing the school.<sup>141</sup> The first person he approached was Sarah Mather, who had taught the Indian prisoners under his care at Fort Marion. Pratt asked Mather to help him recruit students from western reservations to fill the seats at Carlisle. In reply, Mather suggested that he ask C.M. Semple whom she believed "would be equally ready" to assist with the work.<sup>142</sup> Pratt had become well acquainted with Miss Semple, Superintendent of schools in St. Augustine, Florida, during his years at Fort Marion and trusted her enough to hire her "to take charge of the schoolroom work" during Carlisle's initial stages.<sup>143</sup> Pratt remembered her as "a most efficient New England woman." Another St. Augustine friend of the Indian, J.W. Gibbs, was also hired to teach at Carlisle and was delighted to hear that she would be joining Miss Semple's there. Acknowledging her own professional shortcomings, Gibbs wrote, "I am so glad to know that Miss Semple is...at the head of

<sup>141</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 231.

<sup>142</sup> Sarah Mather to Richard Henry Pratt, n.d., Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 6, Letters from SA Mather to Pratt Undated Folder 195, BRBML.

<sup>143</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 231.



the school, as I know she will be sweet and gentle [with] one as inexperienced in teaching as myself.”<sup>144</sup> Rather than emphasizing Gibbs’ inexperience, Pratt remembered her as “most faithful and enthusiastic,” qualities which he found critical to his pioneering endeavor.<sup>145</sup>

These early hires at Carlisle show how heavily Pratt relied upon people whom he knew and had worked with before and, at the same time, suggests how such personal relationships influenced teachers to join the Indian school faculty. A true start-up enterprise, the founder wanted to ensure that he could trust his employees to make the school successful from the beginning.<sup>146</sup> At the same time, teachers were more likely to venture to Carlisle if they felt that they could trust the school’s leader. Mather and Semple had worked with Pratt and were excited by the possibilities that Carlisle offered, trusting that their superintendent would provide solid leadership. In addition, Mather’s quick acceptance of the job likely influenced Semple to follow her friend and take a chance on a new venture like Carlisle. This same sentiment also influenced Miss Gibbs to accept a post in spite of her inexperience. Given the short amount of time available to staff the school, Pratt looked to people whom he knew; they, in turn, looked to one

---

<sup>144</sup> J.W. Gibbs to Miss Perritt, October 15 (likely 1879), Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 13, Folder 455, BRBML: Gibbs asked to begin her work at Carlisle come January 1880, to give her time to rest after having cared for her children who had recently been ill.

<sup>145</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 121: Pratt references Mrs. Cooper Gibbs and Mrs. King Gibbs, “widows of two brothers in the Confederate service during the Civil War” who supported his endeavors in St. Augustine. Likely one of these “Gibbs” was the same who joined Carlisle. Another early Carlisle hire was Miss Perritt (also originally from New England) who had worked with Pratt in in St. Augustine.

<sup>146</sup> This was particularly important since Pratt often left the school grounds for weeks on end as he recruited students to fill the classrooms, thus leaving the teachers on their own to run the school.

another, ultimately building a united staff from the beginning.<sup>147</sup> The informal social network on which Carlisle was built likely strengthened the teaching force in Carlisle's earliest years, as evident by the profound commitment that several founding teachers exhibited.

Two founding teachers came as a team. Marianna Burgess and Ann Ely were deeply committed to Indian education and helped to guide Carlisle from its earliest days into the early twentieth century. At the age of twenty-six, Marianna Burgess sought a position at the school, revealing her forthright disposition in a letter to Lieutenant Pratt, dated October 21, 1879:

I have seen [in]...several prominent papers of the country extended notices of your enterprise of starting an Indian school at Carlisle, Pa. Thousands of people are looking with anxious expectancy to see whether it proves a success or a failure, and a great many more dogmatical unsympathizing individuals are eager for the whole thing to prove an utter failure in order to substantiate the popular theory that the Indian cannot be civilized. I have been a teacher among the Pawnee Indians for more than five years, and very well know the many insurmountable obstacles to meet in attempting to educate Indian children, shrouded as they are by so many counteracting home influences, and can readily see the great advantage of having them removed from the tribe...The object of this letter is to inquire whether I can be of any service to you as teacher.<sup>148</sup>

Having taught Indian children for several years in Nebraska's Indian territory, Burgess believed in the promise of Carlisle and endeavored to gain a position there.<sup>149</sup> She was especially supportive of an institution that took children away from the "many counteracting home influences" that she thought hampered the progress of her Pawnee

---

<sup>147</sup> Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (May 1973): 1374, 1377; Paul McLean, "Using Network Analysis in Comparative-Historical Research," *Trajectories: Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology Section* 22, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 10-14.

<sup>148</sup> Marianne Burgess to Richard Henry Pratt, 21 October 1879, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 2, Folder 42, BRBML.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, Burgess was also eager to leave the "sickly climate" which contributed to her bout with malaria over the previous year.

students. Despite the difficulties such separation imposed, Burgess—like Pratt—firmly believed that boarding schools distant from Indian reservations offered the best hope of civilizing, and thus saving, Indian youth. While Indian day as well as on-reservation boarding schools exposed children to western education, an off-reservation boarding school like Carlisle promised speedier transformations. Revealing her strong convictions, Burgess wanted to prove those who doubted the benefits that education could have on uplifting Indians wrong.<sup>150</sup>

Although young, Burgess' experience teaching Indians and her forthrightness gained her a position at the school as well as her friend, Ann Ely. Significantly older than Burgess, Ely was forty-six when hired at Carlisle and an experienced educator.<sup>151</sup> Her most recent post had been teaching the Pawnee alongside Burgess. Pratt hired the two women because of their prior work with Indians, professed commitment to Indian education, and glowing recommendation letters from leading Friends.<sup>152</sup> Both Quakers, Burgess and Ely worked for Pratt at Carlisle for more than twenty years during which

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., Ultimately, Burgess believed in Indian education and in herself as an effective and sympathetic teacher. In addition to describing her credentials, Burgess wanted to prove her ability to earn the Indians' trust, claiming, "I have many friends in the Pawnee tribe who entrusted their children to my care, and who earnestly begged for me to remain longer with them." To further bolster her letter of application, Burgess suggested, "I could obtain a number of Pawnee Children, whose parents would be glad to have them accompany me, should you conclude to need my services." Anticipating one of the greatest challenges that Carlisle would face—that of convincing Indian parents to send their children far away from home for several years of schooling among virtual strangers—Burgess sold herself as a valuable asset, an experienced, eager, committed teacher who was also capable of attracting students to the school.

<sup>151</sup> "In the Spotlight," *FWProgrammer* 82, no. 2 (December/March 1982), 2, Carlisle Barracks, PA, PI-2-8-10 Folder, CCHS.

<sup>152</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 232; Burgess taught among the Pawnee where her father served as the Indian agent. It is unknown how Ely came to work among the Pawnee. Both women were originally from Pennsylvania. See Marianna Burgess, "Service Record Card," and Anne S. Ely "Service Record Card," Service Record Cards Folder, NPRC.

time their friendship strengthened.<sup>153</sup> And, like Mather, Semper, and Gibbs, their association with one another helped them secure positions at the school.

Yet not everyone was in favor of recruiting Burgess for Carlisle. In spite of Pratt's optimism, he recalled that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs expressed great dismay when he learned of her appointment. The Commissioner referred to Burgess as that "little red-headed thing" and regarded her as "not a suitable teacher," having discharged her from the Indian Service during her time among the Pawnee.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, the Commissioner agreed to give her a trial period to assess her fitness for the position since Pratt insisted that her "experience" with Indians was invaluable to his work. As Pratt later explained, "Among the many qualities I need here is experience, and persons who know Indians and understand what they will have to do are the ones who can advise and help me best."<sup>155</sup> Ultimately, Burgess proved herself invaluable to Pratt and the school, remaining at Carlisle for over twenty-five years. Indeed, years later Pratt characterized her years later as "among its ablest and most devoted helpers."<sup>156</sup>

Of the fifty-five Carlisle teachers studied here, a few of the pioneer teachers expressed their enthusiasm and dedication to Indian education and to Carlisle's founder in both word and deed. Sarah Mather's correspondence with Pratt indicates her profound interest in helping to establish a boarding school dedicated to teaching Indians, as she had helped to do at Fort Marion. Similarly, Marianna Burgess' letter of application discussed above clearly reveals her interest in Indian education and in Carlisle as a model for such

---

<sup>153</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 232; Anne S. Ely "Service Record Card," Service Record Cards Folder, NPRC.

<sup>154</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 236.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

endeavors. Her twenty-five year career at the school, followed by over a decade of activism around Indian education, make clear her dedication to this work. Like Burgess, the lengthy Carlisle careers of Ann Ely and Emma Cutter reveal their commitment to Indian education. Ely, a Carlisle faculty member for twenty-eight years, served in many roles including teacher and manager of the Outing Program. That program sent Carlisle students to live with white families, work the land, attend public school, and learn white customs.<sup>157</sup> Cutter also taught at Carlisle for twenty-eight years and in 1933 expressed her continued admiration for Pratt and the institution's work, explaining, "There was and still is among pupils and employees a spirit of friendliness and loyalty called the 'Carlisle spirit' by those in the Indian Office and others in close contact with work among the Indians, that was due to Gen. Pratt's influence."<sup>158</sup> Although Pratt is often credited with having inspired such sentiment, teachers were equally crucial to fostering this "spirit" at the school and beyond. Indeed, that "spirit" was likely an outgrowth of the shared experience and general rapport that developed among teachers who believed in the school's civilizing mission.

A few other teachers who nurtured this "spirit" seem to have made more spontaneous decisions to join the Carlisle experiment in the fall and winter of 1879-1880. These included Miss Haskins and Mary Hyde of Massachusetts, as well as Laura Spencer of Carlisle, all single women who joined the faculty without any particular experience with teaching Indians. Spencer may have been the woman Pratt found living on the grounds of Carlisle in a vacant building with her mother, a widow of an army officer.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 1 (September 4, 1914), CCHS.

<sup>158</sup> Emma A. Cutter to R.L. Brunhouse, 17 April 1933, Box 13, Folder 450, BRBML.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*; Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 231.

Whomever she was, Pratt either empathized with this young woman's plight, found her sympathetic to Indian education, or, perhaps felt desperate enough to hire any woman that seemed "capable," as hundreds of Indian students made their way east to Carlisle. Whatever his rationale, he hired all three women despite their lack of connection to the networks that provided his first recruits. Regardless of how teachers found their way to Carlisle, they all shared in the unique experience that characterized the school at its foundational stage, and many of them enjoyed the camaraderie that developed over the next several years.

Over time, however, hiring practices at Carlisle changed drastically often undercutting the personal relationships that had helped to establish the school. Over the first two decades, Pratt hired teachers without much interference. He relied upon his firsthand knowledge of applicants as well as recommendations from friends and colleagues, and he read teachers' letters of application personally. Thus, he decided who best could nurture Indian youth into accepting and adopting white cultural norms.<sup>160</sup> By the late nineteenth century, Pratt's authority began to weaken as the federal Indian Service standardized the employee application process. These policies threatened the personal relationships that had helped to create the school's spirit and the teachers'

---

<sup>160</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 65, 158: According to scholar Genevieve Bell, all twelve teachers in 1885 were single, white women between the ages of twenty-two to fifty-five. By 1904, there were twenty-one teachers—all white—seventeen of whom were female, with only one having taught at the school since its opening and three others with the school since the 1890s. However, Bell writes elsewhere in her dissertation, "Pratt had a staff of thirty teachers in 1882; this number increased to forty by 1885 and sixty by 1893—the number remained constant until the end of his tenure." Primary sources suggest that Bell's lower numbers (twelve teachers in 1885) count academic teachers while the higher numbers (thirty teachers in 1882) count both academic and industrial teachers: see "Daily Morning Reports," 1 July 1887 to 1 July 1891, Record Group 75, Entry 1331, National Archives, Washington, DC (NADC).

loyalty. By the late 1880s, Carlisle's hiring process—like that of other Indian boarding schools—became increasingly bureaucratized. Applicants for the Indian Service received a standardized letter detailing the Department of Indian Affairs' high expectations of its employees. This letter explained that:

the exigencies of Indian schools are such as to require a higher order of talent to secure success than is required in ordinary teaching. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that those who are engaged in the Indian school service should be persons of maturity, of vigorous health, with some experience in teaching, and with special fitness for the work.<sup>161</sup>

Over Carlisle's first decades, Pratt had looked for similar qualities in his employees, knowing the importance of teaching experience, good health, and affinity for the particular work of Indian education. While Pratt trusted his own instincts, by 1889 the Indian Service asked candidates' references to comment specifically upon an applicant's moral character and qualities and explained that, "Special stress is laid upon the moral fitness of the candidates, and, though no religious test is applied, those are preferred who are able to exert a positive religious influence over their pupils."<sup>162</sup> Just as Pratt expected his teachers to conduct moral and religious training with students, both by example and practice, the Department of Indian Affairs sought candidates guided by strong moral and religious beliefs.<sup>163</sup> Ultimately, in spite of their differences in hiring practices, both Pratt and the federal Indian bureaucracy maintained similar standards. Nevertheless, Pratt did

---

<sup>161</sup> *58<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1889* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889), 4-5, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>.

<sup>162</sup> *58<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1889*, 6.

<sup>163</sup> Several of Carlisle's early employees were Quakers, including Marianne Burgess and Anne Ely, as was Pratt's assistant superintendent, Alfred J. Standing. See *Battlefield and Classroom*, 230, 236; Marianna Burgess to Richard Henry Pratt, 4 August 1917, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 2, Folder 42, BRBML; Good Bear to Anne Ely, 4 April 1894, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 13, Folder 456, BRBML. Others professed and exhibited their Christian devotion, as discussed further in Chapter 2.

not trust Washington bureaucrats whose influence began to jeopardize the relationships that he had created and developed at Carlisle.

The Department of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC made repeated efforts to streamline its expanding Indian School Service to the great dismay of the Carlisle superintendent. By the 1890s, the Indian Office instituted a civil service exam and appointed teachers to Carlisle based, in part, on their test scores.<sup>164</sup> Pratt became increasingly agitated by the federal government's interference in the school's affairs, and the intimacy of the social networks that had fostered the school's development was further threatened. In particular, Pratt found some of the teachers sent by the Indian Service unfit for work at Carlisle and considered the entire hiring process too slow. In an April 1897 letter to U.S. Senator Knute Nelson, Pratt expressed his outrage:

That a superintendent of a great school like this [Carlisle] or any of the larger schools in the Indian Service shall be treated with such absolute contempt as to not be allowed to know one iota about a single employe[sic] until that employe[sic] is ordered to report to him, or does report to him, and that the selections for over 200 schools can all be so nicely adjusted and attended to by one person in Washington assisted by his clerk, and in his absence attended to entirely by his clerk, is a proposition so nonsensical and preposterous as to not need any practical demonstration of its harmfulness...The employes[sic] selected and sent to me by the superintendent [of Indian Schools in Washington, DC] have without exception, been incapable of performing their duties.<sup>165</sup>

Clearly, Pratt detested the centralization of hiring in Washington, DC, believing it to be inefficient and ineffective in finding the most qualified candidates for his institution.<sup>166</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 109-11. Cahill discusses civil service employee exemptions from the exam in 1895, which suggests that the exam had, by that time, been made mandatory.

<sup>165</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Knute Nelson, 19 April 1897, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 10, Folder 343, BRBML.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. Pratt thought the then Superintendent of Indian Schools, Dr. Hailman, had worked to undermine the success of Carlisle ever since Hailman's daughter resigned from her position at Carlisle three years prior.



In addition, this process disrupted the fundamental trust among the staff members who had helped build Carlisle. In fact, Pratt thought the then Superintendent of Indian Schools, Dr. Hailman, had worked to undermine the success of Carlisle ever since Hailman's daughter had resigned from her position at Carlisle three years prior. In this way, Pratt took the government's intervention as a personal affront and the bureaucratic hiring practices as an attack on the school.

Moreover, Pratt argued that centralized hiring had detrimental effects on the school's ability to function. In September 1898, Pratt included the following in the school's Nineteenth Annual Report:

The work in the schoolrooms began September 1, 1897, and lasted to the end of June, 1898. Several of the grades were without teachers at the opening of the year, and temporary supplies had to be used. The lack of promptness with which appointments are made by the civil service to fill teachers' vacancies becomes a source of great loss to the pupils and demoralization to the educational work, while the changes necessary because of the unfitness of many of the appointees is most disheartening.<sup>167</sup>

As Pratt continued to lose control over hiring, he explained how the inefficiencies and impersonal nature of the Indian Office bureaucracy negatively affected the school, forcing it to begin the year without a complete teaching staff. Published within a Department of Interior document that reported on the status of Indian schools more broadly, Pratt made others in the Department aware of his discontent and effectively challenged the federal bureau's oversight of hiring for all Indian schools.

In spite of these difficulties, Pratt and the DC bureaucrats whom he undercut likely agreed on many things regarding employment in the Indian Service. For example,

---

<sup>167</sup> R.H. Pratt, "Report of School at Carlisle, PA," 28 September 1898, *19<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898: Indian Affairs* 55<sup>th</sup> Congress, 3rd Session, House of Representatives, Document No. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 390, The Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org>.

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs explained in his 1901 Annual Report that he sought teachers for the Indian School Service that were “fitted by natural aptitude and training to carry on the arduous work of Indian civilization.”<sup>168</sup> Pratt also believed that educating Indians was particularly demanding work and that teachers needed both innate and learned skills to be successful. Yet, in his experience, the government’s hiring practices had time and again failed to appoint teachers fully prepared for work at Carlisle perhaps, in part, because of their impersonal nature. Ultimately, Pratt’s refusal to quietly accept federal involvement led to publicized clashes between the Carlisle superintendent and the national leadership, resulting in his forced dismissal in 1904.

For many teachers who worked for the Indian Service in the 1900s and 1910s, Carlisle was only one of several Indian schools in which they taught over the course of their careers. Unfortunately, it is difficult to compare the hiring records before and after Pratt’s tenure, as the records are inconsistent and many are missing for the early years. Yet, in the 1890s it is known that the Indian Office considered teacher turnover a great problem and noted poor attrition and high transfer rates. Historian Adams notes, “In 1897 the Indian Office released figures showing that by 1896, over two-thirds of the teachers and three-quarters of the superintendents employed in 1892 had left the service.” Although Adams acknowledges that “high turnover” was similarly a problem in public schools in the late nineteenth century, he points to a challenge unique to the Indian Service: the “great frequency with which employees transferred from school to school”

---

<sup>168</sup> “Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs” in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901: Indian Affairs Part I, Report of the Commissioner and Appendixes* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 31, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>.

both at their own request or that of their supervisors.<sup>169</sup> Cahill notes that, “As late as 1911, the commissioner of Indian affairs was still complaining about the ‘large numbers of transfers, resignations, and declinations of appointment,’” resulting in teacher shortages.<sup>170</sup> This proved true for several Carlisle teachers, some of whom transferred several times.

Because teachers’ employment in the school’s first two decades is not as well documented as in later years, the table below focuses on the data available regarding thirty-six of the teachers who worked at Carlisle in its last two decades and illustrates the high turnover rates. Of these teachers, only seven did not work at other Indian schools during their careers. Jessie Cook worked at the largest number of Indian schools in her thirty-year teaching career in the Indian Service—ten schools.<sup>171</sup> The twenty-seven teachers who worked at multiple schools served at an average of three locations. In addition, ten teachers also worked at public schools over the course of their teaching careers. Thus, movement and change characterized the life of Carlisle teachers in the twentieth century, as they became fully integrated into the larger Indian Service rather than developing loyalty to Carlisle itself.

For teachers working at Carlisle over its last two decades, the question of choice was nearly irrelevant; they taught where the federal government appointed them. However, some teachers revealed their reasons for wanting to work in Indian education or at Carlisle in particular. Prior to working at Carlisle, Jessie Cook had experience

---

<sup>169</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 87; see footnote 54 for details on public schools.

<sup>170</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 89.

<sup>171</sup> Employment Card: Jessie W. Cook, Jessie W. Cook Folder, NPRC.

<b>Table 2: Indian Service Employment Records of Teachers Who Worked at Carlisle Between 1900 and 1918<sup>172</sup></b>				
Teacher	Years taught in Indian Service PRIOR to Carlisle	Years at Carlisle	Years taught in Indian Service AFTER Carlisle	TOTAL Years in Indian Service
Elizabeth Bender	5	1915-1916 [1]	N/A	6 minimum
Lucy Case	3	1913-1915 [2]	3	8
Jessie Cook	4	1898-1904 [6]	20	30
Mabel Curtis	4	1911 [1]	3	8
Angel DeCora	0	1906-1915* [9]	0	9
Elizabeth DeHuff	0 (Phils)	1914	0 (Santa Fe sub)	<1
John DeHuff	0 (Phils)	1914-1916 [2]	9	11
Nellie R. Denny	0	1896-1918	0	22
Clara Donaldson	0 (Phils)	1914-1918 [4]	2+pub. sch.	6
Verna Dunagan	0 + pub. sch.	1915-1918 [3]	DC	3
Clara May Ellis	0	1908 [1]	0	1
Emma Foster	4	1902-1918 [16]	0	20
Lottie Georgenson	1 + pub. sch.	1910-1914 (as teacher); 1914-1918 (as clerk) [8]	4 (as clerk)	13
Emery Hazel	N/A	1911-	N/A	1 minimum
Emma Hetrick	2	1905**/1908**-1910 [2-5]	0 (Puerto Rico) check	3

<sup>172</sup> Table 2 based on teachers' individual files held at the National Personnel Record Center. Information on Clara Donaldson was also drawn from her file at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland. See Clara R. Donaldson Folder, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 365, NAMD. Information regarding Verna Dunagan's service are drawn from her September 1976 interview. See Mrs. Edward L. Whistler (Verna Dunagan), interview by Dewitt C. Smith, September 1976, transcript, 29-30, Carlisle Indian School Papers, Box 1, Folder 13, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (WDC). For information regarding Nellie Denny's tenure at Carlisle, see Personal Record of Nellie R. Denny, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A Records Relating to Carlisle School – Personnel, Nellie Robertson Denny Folder, NADC. For information regarding Angel DeCora's tenure at Carlisle, see Suzanne Alene Shope, "American Indian Artist Angel DeCora: Aesthetics, Power, and Transcultural Pedagogy in the Progressive Era" (EdD dissertation, University of Montana, 2009). For information regarding the years Gertrude Simmons (or Zitkala-Sa) taught at Carlisle, see Kevin Claesgens, "Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) Biography," Pennsylvania Center for the Book, Penn State University, Fall 2005, [http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/Zitkala\\_Sa.html](http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/Zitkala_Sa.html).

<b>Table 2 (continued): Indian Service Employment Records of Teachers Who Worked at Carlisle Between 1900 and 1918</b>				
Lida Johnston	1 +pub sch.	1907-1912=? [5]	NA	6 minimum
Elizabeth Jones	pub. sch. (6 yrs)	1913-1914 [1]	pub. sch.	1
Mattie Lane	N/A	1911-1912 [1]	N/A	1
Dora LeCrone	0	1904-1911 [7]	1 (Alaska)	8
Emma Lovewell	3	1909-1914 [5]	0	8
Royal Mann	0	1913-1915 [2]	1 +	3 minimum
Hattie McDowell	1	1904-1918 [4]	2 + pub. sch.	7
Amelia McMichael	2	1906-1909 [3]	0 (Alaska)	5
Marianna Moore	0	1911-1914 [3]	0	3
Adelaide Reichel	N/A	1907-1918 [11]	N/A	11
Margaret Roberts	1	1900-1904; 1914-1916 [6]	3	10
Frances Scales	3	1902-1908 [6]	1	10
Gertrude Simmons (Zitkala-Sa)	0	1898-1900[2]	0	2
Clara Snoddy	2 min.	1914-1918 [4]	1 + pub. sch.	7
Margaret Sweeney	1 + pub. sch.	1909-1918 [9]	NA	10 minimum
Katherine Bingley Tranbarger	2	1908-1911 [3]	NA	5 minimum
Fernando Tranbarger	0 (Phils)	1909-1911[2]	Approx. 16	18 minimum
John Whitwell	3 + pub. sch.	1907-1914 [7]	2	12
Gwen Williams	1 + pub. sch.	1914-1918 [4]	Clerk?	5
Idilla Wilson	0	1912-1918 [6]	War Dept.	6
Mariette Wood	3	1889-1891; 1897-1906** or 1909** [11-14]	NA	14 minimum

\*Nellie R. Denny's time at Carlisle as teacher then clerk. She arrived at the school in 1880 as a student.

\*\*conflicting records

volunteering through the Episcopal church to work with Shoshone Indians before being widowed, suggesting that her experience and religious sentiments initially led her to a

career in Indian education.<sup>173</sup> Verna Dunagan took the civil service exam on a bet with her sister, passed, and a week later left her native Indiana, where she was teaching music, and took the train to Carlisle.<sup>174</sup> Gwen Williams wrote in her “Request for Transfer” application that Carlisle’s “locality is more convenient for me.”<sup>175</sup> Similarly, Emma Lovewell wanted to live closer to her son and move out of Montana because of “climatic conditions.”<sup>176</sup> Margaret Sweeney had, on more than one occasion, been called home to Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania to help care for ailing relatives, and found it more convenient to work closer to home.<sup>177</sup> Similarly, Emma Hetrick and Clara Donaldson missed being near family and felt the need to visit and assist their elderly parents.<sup>178</sup> Clearly, the Indian bureaucracy did sometimes cater to teachers’ preferences, showing that even as the Bureau grew, teachers demonstrated significant agency.

Although most of Carlisle’s teachers were white, Nellie Robertson Denny (listed above) was one of the few teachers at the school who was of Indian descent. Prior to teaching, Nellie Robertson was a student at Carlisle, having arrived in 1880 and

---

<sup>173</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Reverend F.S. Spalding, 7 September 1909, Jessie Cook Folder, NPRC. Jessie’s husband was an Episcopal minister who worked among the Shoshone Indians.

<sup>174</sup> “Teaching Music Can Fill Your Life; At the Indian School the Pupils Wanted to Sing with their Mouths Closed,” untitled newspaper, n.d., Mrs. Edward Whistler Folder, WDC.

<sup>175</sup> Gwen Williams, “Request for Transfer, 21 May 1913, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

<sup>176</sup> Emma C. Lovewell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp, 28 February 1908, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>177</sup> Margaret M. Sweeney to U.S. Senator Boies Penrose, 13 January 1913, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC; Sweeney to Superintendent of Mount Pleasant Indian School R.A. Cochran, 10 June 1909, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>178</sup> Emma K. Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 20 September 1909, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC; Superintendent of Tomah Indian School L.M. Compton to R.H. Pratt, 18 April 1909, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC; U.S. Representative Simeon D. Fess to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 11 May 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; May D. McKittrick to Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs E.B. Merritt, 15 May 1914 and 5 July 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

graduated in 1890. A Sioux Indian, Nellie Robertson became a teacher at Carlisle in July 1896, switched to clerical work by 1900, and married another former Carlisle student, Wallace Denny who graduated in 1906. By 1908, she served as the Outing Manager, remaining with the school until its doors closed in 1918.<sup>179</sup> Pratt held Nellie Denny in high regard, as did successive supervisors. In 1916, Interim supervisor, O.H. Lipps, wrote, “I regard her as the most reliable, competent and dependable educated Indian I have ever known. As manager of the Outing Department she displays a quality of good sense and judgment that would do credit to a captain of industry. I regard her as one of the most valuable employees at this school.”<sup>180</sup> Perhaps more than any other teacher, Nellie Robertson Denny embodied Carlisle and its “spirit.” She represented what Pratt and Lipps might consider the ideal Carlisle student, one who demonstrated her profound commitment to the school’s mission as she dedicated her life to its service. Arriving at Carlisle at the age of ten, Nellie grew up in the institution, became a teacher, married another Carlisle graduate, and remained to work and raise her family there until it closed in 1918. Although the details regarding her initial journey to Carlisle as a child are unknown, she was among the first groups of students removed from their homes and brought to the school, likely a shocking and in many ways traumatic experience. While Nellie did not elect to go to Carlisle in 1880, she later chose to teach in the Indian Service and remained at the school. Thus, her cross-country move, from reservation to boarding

---

<sup>179</sup> Personal Record of Nellie R. Denny, 1 May 1914 and “Efficiency Report of Nellie R. Denny,” 1 November 1916, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A Records Relating to Carlisle School–Personnel, Nellie Robertson Denny Folder, NADC; Wallace Denny Personal Information Card, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A Records Relating to Carlisle School–Personnel, Wallace Denny Folder, NADC. Wallace Denny, Nellie’s husband and an Oneida Indian from Wisconsin, was also a Carlisle graduate (1906) and later served as an Assistant Disciplinarian at the school.

<sup>180</sup> “Efficiency Report of Nellie R. Denny,” 1 November 1916.

school, changed her life, for better or worse. Ultimately, she lived and worked at the school for thirty-five years, longer than any other teacher.

Other teachers of American Indian descent taught at Carlisle, although not as long as Nellie Robertson Denny. As mentioned above, Nellie Denny's husband, Wallace Denny (Oneida), graduated from Carlisle and remained at the school as a disciplinarian. Former Carlisle student, Dennison Wheelock (Oneida), returned to teach music, and William Dietz (Dakota) who, along with his wife Angel DeCora (Winnebago), taught Native Arts in the early 1900s. Elizabeth Bender (Chippewa), educated at the Hampton Institute, worked elsewhere in the Indian Service before teaching at Carlisle for just over a year.<sup>181</sup>

One of the most well-known Indian teachers at the boarding school was Gertrude Simmons who adopted the pen name Zitkala-Sa (a Lakota word which translates to Red Bird) and became a noted writer and Indian activist. Much of her early work is autobiographical and reflects on her childhood, coming-of-age, and the struggles she faced as she mediated between Sioux and white cultures. Born on a Sioux reservation in South Dakota, she left home and attended an off-reservation Indian boarding before

---

<sup>181</sup> Wallace Denny, "Personal Information Card," Wallace Denny Folder, Entry 1344A, Record Group 75, NADC; Elizabeth Bender, "Service Record Card" and "Report of Edgar A. Allen, Special Indian Agent: General Inspection of Blackfeet, Agency, Montana," 23 February 1910, Elizabeth Bender Folder, NPRC; Dietz, DeCora, Wheelock, and Nellie and Wallace Denny are discussed in Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 83, 90, 108-110, 158; For more on Angel DeCora's teaching career at Carlisle, see Shope, "American Indian Artist Angel DeCora," 117-118, 130-131, 247.



enrolling at Earlham College in Indiana. There she excelled at music and earned a place at the Boston Conservatory before moving to Carlisle to teach.<sup>182</sup>

While working at the Pennsylvania boarding school, Zitkala-Sa published her first series of short stories in *The Atlantic Monthly*, revealing her personal journey toward questioning and then rejecting her assimilation into white culture.<sup>183</sup> In the last of these autobiographical vignettes, Zitkala-Sa reflected on her work as a teacher at Carlisle. She described how, soon after arriving at the school, Superintendent Pratt sent her west to secure more students from reservations.<sup>184</sup> During this expedition, she visited with her mother who warned her repeatedly to “beware of the paleface” who had brought the Sioux both personal and community suffering.<sup>185</sup> When Zitkala-Sa returned to Carlisle, she started to doubt the intentions of many of her white colleagues. She recounted:

As months passed over me, I slowly comprehended that the large army of white teachers in Indian schools had a larger missionary creed than I had suspected.

It was one which included self-preservation quite as much as Indian education. When I saw an opium-eater holding a position as teacher of Indians, I did not understand what good was expected until a Christian in power replied that this pumpkin-colored creature had a feeble mother to support...

I find it hard to count that white man a teacher who tortured an ambitious Indian youth by frequently reminding the brave changeling that he was nothing but a ‘government pauper.’

Though I burned with indignation upon discovering on every side instances no less shameful than those I have mentioned, there was no present help. Even the

---

<sup>182</sup> Ellen Carol Dubois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women’s Eyes: An American History, Volume One*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boston: Bedford St/ Martin’s), 421; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 311-313; Claesgens, “Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) Biography.”

<sup>183</sup> Zitkala-Sa, “Impressions of an Indian Childhood,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 85, no. 507, January 1900, 37-47; “School Days of an Indian Girl,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 85, no. 508, February 1900, 185-194; “An Indian Teacher among Indians,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 85, no. 509, March 1900, 381-387.

<sup>184</sup> Zitkala Sa, “An Indian Teacher among Indians,” 383

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 385.

few rare ones who have worked nobly for my race were powerless to choose workmen like themselves.<sup>186</sup>

The publication of Zitkala-Sa's stories and their condemnations of Carlisle faculty was devastating for the school and the larger assimilation movement, and it encapsulated one of the key criticisms of off-reservation boarding schools that percolated over the first two decades of the twentieth century: that the "eradication of children's native identities" was misguided.<sup>187</sup> Although she acknowledged the good character of a few white colleagues, she unabashedly denounced the majority whose intentions and practices she fundamentally questioned. Whether she left the Indian boarding school of her own accord or was fired, Zitkala-Sa committed the rest of her life to fighting on behalf of Indians. Indeed, she used her western education and powerful writing and oratory skills to push for Indian rights and condemn the corruption that plagued federal Indian policy.<sup>188</sup>

In spite of the critiques later voiced by Zitkala-Sa, many of the school's white founding teachers respected Superintendent Pratt and valued their colleagues, persuading close friends to join the school's endeavors. In contrast, teachers in the school's last twenty years were more likely to be assigned to Carlisle by administrators much less familiar with the intimate workings of the school. Historical evidence suggests that for many teachers, their journey to Carlisle, Pennsylvania were not as meaningful as their work at the school. Indeed, the evidence left by Carlisle teachers reveals little about their efforts to reach the old army barracks in the small Pennsylvania town. The U.S.

---

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 385-386.

<sup>187</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 313, 308-313.

<sup>188</sup> Dubois and Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes* 421; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 311-313; Claesgens, "Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) Biography."

government's call for teachers to join Pratt at Carlisle in 1879 produced a small cohort of teachers, and most made their journeys alone, only becoming part of a collective endeavor once they reached the school. For those who taught in the Indian Service for their entire careers, moving from one station to another seems to have become rather mundane. And for those who sought a posting at Carlisle to be nearer family, the journey home did not stand out in their lives. Thus, the significance of teachers' journey to Carlisle reveals more about the change from the importance of social networks to the centrality of a federal bureaucracy, from personal to impersonal hiring practices, rather than on teachers' physical movement to the school. This signaled a profound shift in Carlisle as an imperial structure, from one largely controlled by its local supervisor to one much more dependent on bureaucratic authorities. Still, whether joining Pratt or later superintendents in the small Pennsylvania town, teachers exhibited agency even before arriving at the school's doorstep, or, in Nellie and Wally Denny's case, in choosing to remain.<sup>189</sup>

Still, the experiences of a few teachers headed to Carlisle are worth noting. Among the more dramatic accounts, a flood wrecked Annie Hamilton's train ride in 1889, though she managed to arrive safely at school.<sup>190</sup> In 1914, profound uncertainty preceded Clara Donaldson's appointment, as her Indian Service assignment was debated during her month-long journey from the Philippines, and she was forced to take a detour to

---

<sup>189</sup> Zitkala-Sa's move to the Pennsylvania Indian boarding school was significant in that it helped to inspire her feelings of ambivalence about having rejected much of her Sioux heritage, and ultimately led her to campaign against Carlisle and white efforts to assimilate Indians.

<sup>190</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 43 (June 14, 1889), 3 CCHS.

Minnesota before she reached Carlisle.<sup>191</sup> Demonstrative of the haste in which she had to move and in which the Indian Service sometimes made its decisions, she had little time to re-acclimate herself to living in the States before beginning work at the Pennsylvania boarding school. Similarly, Verna Dunagan's story attests to the quickness of her move, as she was expected at Carlisle within one week of passing her exam in 1915. Moreover, Dunagan admitted that until arriving at the Pennsylvania train station she had never interacted with people of different racial backgrounds, having grown up in a segregated Indiana town. She remembered being confused upon her arrival as she did not think that the young man who picked her up appeared Indian, thinking at the time, "[A]m I coming to an Indian School or is this a colored school?" She further explained, "We had no colored people at all in our town...in the town I was born in nor in the County Seat where we did business...I just wondered what kind of a school I was coming to."<sup>192</sup> Thus, for Dunagan, her move from a homogenous community to a school that served a non-white population proved somewhat shocking, as she did not quite know what to expect. Considering that the vast majority of Carlisle faculty were white women from other small towns and unaccustomed to being around people of different races, many of them likely had similar reactions when they reached the school. Together, these few stories illuminate the swiftness in which the Indian boarding school was staffed and its effects on individuals while also highlighting the significance of race in this imperial project. Other teachers may well have had noteworthy trips to the first federally funded Indian boarding school, but no further accounts have yet been uncovered.

---

<sup>191</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to Clara R. Donaldson, 26 August 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>192</sup> Mrs. Edward L. Whistler (Verna Dunagan), interview, 29-30, WDC.

In contrast to these rare noteworthy trips to the first federally funded Indian boarding school, teachers' physical journey to the Philippines proved memorable and meaningful. The call for teachers to go to the Philippines in 1901 generated a mass migration of American men and women to the West Coast and then across the Pacific. Many of these teachers left evidence of their journeys via diaries and letters home and several saw themselves as part of something larger even before their journeys began. Responding to a call for duty at a time of war, teachers often travelled to the islands by the hundreds, taking trains and buses to decommissioned naval vessels at west coast ports. They met one another along this journey and increasingly felt the gravity of their mission as they made their way to the islands, likely convincing some to keep a record of their experiences. Thus, for teachers headed to the Philippines, their journey to the islands had both personal and symbolic meaning.

Of the thirty-three Thomasites examined here, a few kept detailed accounts as they headed west and across the Pacific, and still others made noteworthy comments about the journey. Norman Cameron left a thorough account of his tenure in the Philippines through a series of five diaries, dating from 1901 to 1904, that reveal both the mundane and bizarre, including ample commentary as he ventured to the islands.<sup>193</sup> Harrie Cole and his wife, Mary, both of the University of Michigan, enjoyed their westward journey in the summer of 1901, initially attracted by the high salaries as well as the allure of travel. Along the way, they regularly described their experiences in letters to

---

<sup>193</sup> Norman W. Cameron, Diaries 1-5, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan (SCLM); Norman Cameron (grandson), "The U.S. Military Occupation of Bohol: 1900-1902," George Percival Scriven: An American in Bohol, The Philippines, 1899-1901, An On-line Archival Collection, Special Collections Library, Duke University, May 1997, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/scriven/bohol-history.html>.

their families.<sup>194</sup> Jules Frelin and Blaine Moore also wrote about their travels to the islands in 1901, as did teachers like H.O. Whiting and Herman Hespelt years later.<sup>195</sup> These and other accounts illustrate the significance of the journey for the teachers and, for many of the teachers, their sense of mission as they witnessed and experienced new things, formed a collective identity, and established new relationships with other U.S. teachers and with students and Filipino communities.

For most teachers, the trip to the Philippines—beginning with the journey to the West Coast—offered new sights and experiences, some more welcome than others. Norman Cameron, travelling away from home for the first time, commented at length on the landscape, particularly the wide plains, snow-capped mountains, and vegetation along the way.<sup>196</sup> The landscape made a similar impression on H.O. Whiting several years later, as he, too, wrote of agriculture, tunnels and mountains that blended in with the clouds.<sup>197</sup> It was also Harrie and Mary Cole's first trip across the vast deserts of the Southwest. Harrie wrote to his mother about the almost suffocating heat as they travelled through the seemingly never-ending desert of sagebrush and sand. And though he did not envy those living in the sparse landscape, Harrie marveled at the "cow-boys herding horses...and Indian wigwams."<sup>198</sup>

---

<sup>194</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 16 March 1902, January to March 1902 Folder, Harry Newton Cole Papers, BHL; Mary Cole to Brother Leon and Mother, n.d. (likely November or December 1901), Undated Folder, Harry Newton Cole Papers, BHL.

<sup>195</sup> Blaine Free Moore Papers, LOC; Jules Theophile Frelin, Diaries, University Archives, University of Minnesota, (UAUM); Herman Hespelt Papers, Special Collections Library, Binghamton University (SCLB); H.O. Whiting Letters in James Hardy Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis (ISL).

<sup>196</sup> Cameron, Diary 1, SCLM.

<sup>197</sup> H.O. Whiting to Dear ones in America, 24 October 1906, James Hardy Papers, ISL.

<sup>198</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 20 July 1901, Harry Newton Cole Papers, July 1901 Folder, BHL.

For several teachers, leaving home challenged their norms and values before they even left the country's shores. As Blaine Moore made his way across the vast western deserts, he wrote, "My opinion regarding this country – If I owned New Mexico, Arizona and h-ll I would rent the two former and live in the latter." Beyond finding the landscape uninhabitable, Moore was suspicious of the people he saw out west. He wrote about people whom he described as "Indians" although "not all full blooded by any means. They're a mixture of Indian, Spanish, with some white and negro blood thrown in and & some of them are villainous looking specimens."<sup>199</sup> Clearly Moore was unaccustomed to people who looked different from himself, and he did not trust anyone with such a mixed heritage, particularly those who were not predominantly white. Cameron was similarly wary of some of the people he encountered along the way. After having witnessed two women arrested for drunkenness in San Francisco as well as legalized gambling, he came to the conclusion, "[A]s we go westward the civilization becomes lower and lower."<sup>200</sup> Although alcohol and gambling were often condemned at the turn of the twentieth century for being sinful and corrupting, such activities were more socially acceptable among men. Women, on the other hand, were deemed unsexed by such behavior, as codes of proper femininity forbade such unbecoming conduct. For some teachers heading to the Philippines, the line of thinking that equated the western United States and beyond with notions of backwardness and barbarity became increasingly apparent as they made their way to the Philippine Islands.

---

<sup>199</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 15 July 1901, Box 1, Correspondence 1901 Folder, LOC.

<sup>200</sup> Cameron, Diary 1, SCLM.

Still, many teachers forged close bonds with each other as they confronted different peoples and landscapes, and some cemented serious relationships. Cameron wrote, “On my way west, I fell in with several other men also wending their way to Manila.”<sup>201</sup> They made acquaintances and friends aboard trains, forming opinions of their future colleagues. Harrie Cole claimed that a group identity began to form as they bumped into one another along the way: “Our trip so far has been quite pleasant as our car is made up of ‘Philippinos’ as we call ourselves.”<sup>202</sup> A decade later, Philippine-bound teachers developed similar camaraderie. In May 1911, Herman Hespelt wrote to his family of meeting “three fellows,” then six, and then eighteen all headed to the Philippines aboard the westbound train; his group of “Philippinites, as we chose to call ourselves,” grew as they travelled westward and formed “a pretty jolly crowd.”<sup>203</sup>

For many, the importance of personal relationships intensified as they prepared to leave familiar surroundings. A couple aboard the train with the Coles confessed that they “hurried up things,” marrying sooner than originally planned in order to take advantage of the offer to teach in the Philippines. Other couples married just prior to boarding the *USS Thomas* to ensure that they would be appointed to the same stations once in the islands.<sup>204</sup> Middle class customs regarding courtship and family weddings were thus cut short as the opportunity of work in the Philippines forced men and women to marry sooner and often far from home. As the teachers learned, they would have to make other swift decisions once their work in the Philippines began.

---

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 20 and 29 July 1901, July 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>203</sup> Herman Hespelt to Parents and Willie, 2 May 1911, SCLB.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. Hespelt also met “two newly married couples also going to the Philippines” although about a decade after the first Thomasites ventured overseas; Harrie Cole to Mother, 20 July 1901; Harrie Cole to Mother, 29 July 1901, BHL.



But, for some teachers, the journey itself proved to be a leisurely affair. This was particularly true for teachers who found others with shared backgrounds. In a July 24, 1901 letter to her family from aboard the *USS Thomas*, Mary Cole wrote, “O, but this is a lazy life. One doesn’t have a spark of ambition; We get up for breakfast and then after that, wait for dinner and after dinner, wait for supper and thus the days go by.”<sup>205</sup> Similarly, her husband, Harrie, wrote to his mother, “It is so enjoyable to watch the water and visit with others on board that it seems almost impossible to write, read, or do anything but lie around.”<sup>206</sup> Although teachers largely enjoyed the relaxing nature of ship life, they engaged in a variety of activities during the month-long journey. They formed entertainment committees and put on shows, published a newspaper, went to dances, sang college and American songs, and formed clubs. Mary served on one such entertainment committee along with thirteen other men and women. In a letter to her family, she noted, “In the evening, crowds get together and sing college songs, give their yells etc. and have a gay time.”<sup>207</sup> Thus, as teachers ventured westward, they recounted the nostalgia of their college days, making new connections with one another based on such familiarity.

However, some teachers, including Blaine Moore, felt increasingly lonely along the journey. According to Moore, Kansas was not as well represented as some of the other states and colleges aboard, including the Coles’ native Michigan. And, while some people enjoyed the freer life aboard, others were offended by card games and gambling,

---

<sup>205</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 24 July 1901, July 1901 Folder, Harry Newton Cole Papers, BHL.

<sup>206</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 29 July 1901, BHL.

<sup>207</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 24 July 1901, BHL; Although years later teachers did not travel in as large of groups, they, too, wrote of games like deck sports, which involved obstacle courses and pillow fights. For example, see H.O. Whiting to Dear ones in America, 24 October 1906, ISL.

or felt further isolated as they watched others go dancing.<sup>208</sup> Nevertheless, many of the teachers reveled in the camaraderie aboard the ship, in spite of challenges created by loneliness, debilitating bouts of seasickness, or other circumstances.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, their activities and performances enacted and reinforced whiteness while preparing them for their impending work, that of conveying the benefits of the dominant U.S. culture to “others.”

In addition to establishing friendships, some teachers apparently engaged in more than friendly alliances while aboard the *Thomas*; and some passengers wrote and performed songs that reflected the resulting sexual tensions as they crossed the Pacific. On August 21, 1901, Cameron recited the lyrics of “two songs frequently sung by the ‘boys.’”<sup>210</sup> The first of these two songs, “Just Because She Made Them Goo-Goo Eyes,” was performed on August 7, 1901 by a Mr. Sullivan and was described as “his parody on ‘Goo-Goo Eyes.’” The original song “Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes” (1900) was a popular minstrel song by John Queen and Hughie Cannon about a black man in a minstrel show who, attracted to a wealthy black woman in the audience, forgot his lines and ultimately lost both his job and the girl.<sup>211</sup> Sullivan’s parody on this song,

---

<sup>208</sup> Blaine Free Moore, 27 and 29 July 1901, Box 1, Diary 1/4 Folder, LOC.

<sup>209</sup> Blaine Free Moore, 22 July 1901, Box 1, Diary 1/4 Folder, LOC; H.O. Whiting to Ones in America, 24 October 1906, ISL; Mary to Dear Folks at home, 24 July 1901, BHL.

<sup>210</sup> Cameron, 21 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM. Considering the accuracy in which the first of the two songs is remembered by Cameron, when compared to the version recorded elsewhere, it is reasonable to assume that he participated in the singing and was one of the “‘boys’” (or, at least, heard them often enough to remember the lyrics verbatim).

<sup>211</sup> “Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes,” Charles Templeton Sheet Music Collection, Mississippi State University Libraries, 1900.  
<http://cdm16631.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/SheetMusic/id/26074>.

as recorded in a book compiled by teachers aboard the *USS Thomas* (known as *The Log of Thomas*), similarly depicts a deceptive girl who takes advantage of an innocent man:

In a hammock on the upper deck a couple like to swing  
 They ne'er had known of love before—to them 'twas a novel thing;  
     'Twas very sad—  
     They had it bad!  
 They sat and goo-gooed all the day, at night they goo-gooed more;  
 His arm was in a place where many an arm had been before;  
     But he knew it not,  
     This easy lad!  
 ...  
 Just because she made those goo-goo eyes—  
 And all the while he thought he had a prize!  
 But she'd played the game before—  
 When he finds out he'll be sore,  
 He's not the first to see those goo-goo eyes.<sup>212</sup>

Whether or not this song reflected actual behavior aboard ship, it entertained the teachers and was regularly sung by Cameron and “the ‘boys.’” It suggests that intimacy among the Philippine-bound teachers was at least imagined, if not actualized. And, like the original minstrel song, its portrayal of a sexually experienced girl who takes advantage of a boy in love warned both men and women to beware of behavior unbefitting their sex. Men had to protect their masculinity and avoid being blinded by desire as they sought a sexually pure woman, and avoid becoming “sore” or infected with a sexually transmitted disease through casual sex. Women, on the other hand, were expected to remain chaste until marriage in order to ensure proper femininity.

For some teachers aboard the *Thomas*, it seems that love, or at least intimacy, did bloom. Considering the predominant demographic of the passengers—many of whom were single, young, recent college graduates—romantic relationships were likely to

---

<sup>212</sup> *Log of the Thomas*, 49; Cameron, 21 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM.

emerge. The second song recorded by Cameron in his diary depicts such romance aboard the *Thomas*. Titled, “Home, Boys, Home,” the last stanza goes:

Two, there were, a man and a maid, who’d been lonely all these years,  
Waiting for a kiss to sooth, a hand to dry their tears,  
They met upon the “Thomas,” they are happy now for life,  
For the maid has found a husband, the man has found a wife.<sup>213</sup>

Similarly, an article in *The Log of Thomas*, “The Voyage of the ‘Thomas’” by C.H.

Maxson, uses playful language and euphemism to describe the relationships formed between men and women on their way to the Philippines. Maxson claimed:

We are a happy family on board the *Thomas* and not without evidences of natural affection. Honeymoons by the dozen glow with a soft effulgence fore and aft, while romance spoons in sheltered places, and Cupid whispers his secrets under the lee of the life boat. Goo-goo eyes look unutterable things to eyes that look again, and love, beautiful to behold, flourishes upon the teacher transport like the royal palms in the queen’s gardens.<sup>214</sup>

Although difficult to ascertain the extent to which romance actually blossomed among *Thomas*’ passengers during the month-long journey across the Pacific, it is clear that, at least in the realm of imagination, love seemed ubiquitous.

Jules Frelin, who served in the Philippines during the War of 1898, returned to the archipelago to teach in 1901 and recounted both romantic and unromantic ideas during his voyage aboard the *Thomas*. In an August 14, 1901 diary entry, Frelin reported that the YMCA called a meeting to warn the men that syphilis might be contracted aboard the ship, indicating that its members harbored concerns about sexual relationships. Frelin doubted such warnings, ending this long, meandering entry with more romantic thoughts: “That a man’s arms about a woman’s waist is very pleasant for the arm –That of woman’s arms round a man’s neck....even if gloved, just resting on the back of his neck

---

<sup>213</sup> Cameron, 21 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM.

<sup>214</sup> *Log of the Thomas*, 25.

is very satisfying.”<sup>215</sup> Whether Frelin experienced such cuddling onboard or dreamt of it, the sexual tensions intensified during the long voyage across the Pacific, particularly as men and women—including married couples—were housed in separate parts of the ship.<sup>216</sup> Overall, teachers had a unique experience as they journeyed westward, and many fostered new relationships, both real and imagined, along the way.

For some Thomasites, their trip to the islands was one of two momentous voyages. After working for several years in the islands, at least five Thomasites transferred from the Philippine to the Indian Service, ending up at Carlisle. Other Thomasites probably also joined the Indian Service. In fact, such crossover between stateside and island teaching occurred in both directions, as some Thomasites wrote about colleagues of theirs who ventured to the Philippines *after* having taught at Indian schools.<sup>217</sup> Some teachers viewed work with Filipinos as preparation for teaching American Indians, and vice versa. For example, Blaine Moore wrote that while aboard the *Thomas*, “A couple of teachers from the Black Feet Indian School of Montana talked this morning telling of their experience with the Indians – many of whom could not speak English.”<sup>218</sup> Having worked with non-English speaking American Indians, these teachers spoke with some authority on teaching “others,” and in this sense helped to prime their fellow Thomasites for what they imagined it might be like working with Filipinos.

---

<sup>215</sup> Jules Theophile Frelin, 14 August 1901, Diary 1899, University of Minnesota Archives, Minneapolis (UMA).

<sup>216</sup> Men and women were housed in separate parts of the ship (including married couples), perhaps further heightening the sexual tension.

<sup>217</sup> Taylor to Mother, 1 January 1908, Taylor family Correspondence 1908 Folder, BHL: “Their house party included the Armes of Cavite, the Cushmands of Zambales, an unmarried woman who had taught in the same Indian school with them, and half a dozen bachelors of the province.”

<sup>218</sup> Blaine Free Moore, 14 August 1901, Box 1, Diary 1/4, LOC.

The crossover teachers in this study—including Clara Donaldson, John DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, Fernando Tranbarger, and Moses Friedman—similarly envisioned the Philippines and Carlisle as comparable projects, believing that their experience in the islands prepared them for working at an Indian school. For some, this proved to be true, including those who formed relationships with one another while in the Philippines. Others met challenges at Carlisle that they could not overcome. And in all cases, teachers moved from one assignment to the next rather hurriedly and without much respite in-between.

Clara Donaldson gained valuable teaching experience in the Philippines and proved her drive and independence, defying the Philippine Bureau of Education's expectations of a single woman sent to the islands' interior. Recall that by 1904, the Bureau declared that differences between men and women's capabilities meant that men were better prepared to work without the comforts of "American society." Donaldson crossed the Pacific with the original Thomasites in July 1901 and taught in the islands through 1914, with only a few leaves of absence spent in the mainland U.S.<sup>219</sup> She first worked in a remote village on the island of Luzon, reportedly the only white woman on the island for the first several months, and spent the last few years teaching high school in Manila.<sup>220</sup> Like the stalwart "maiden" Muerman described in his dissertation, Donaldson proved to be a strong woman "who withstood the hardships [in the Philippines] with the most fortitude."<sup>221</sup> In fact, Donaldson proved to be a very successful teacher who thrived

---

<sup>219</sup> Clara R. Donaldson to Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, 18 September 1920, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 365, Clara R. Donaldson Folder, NAMD.

<sup>220</sup> McKittrick, 15 May 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 2 (September 11, 1914), CCHS.

<sup>221</sup> Muerman, "The Philippine School Under the Americans," 54.

in some of the most challenging and isolating circumstances before earning a promotion to teach older students in the nation's capital.

In spite of bureaucratic obstacles, Donaldson's teaching experience and the social connections she made in the Philippines ultimately helped her receive an appointment at Carlisle. When Donaldson sought transfer to the Indian Service, she, like many of her soon-to-be-colleagues, requested Carlisle specifically due to its location closer to her family, particularly her aging father.<sup>222</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells originally rejected her appointment on account of her advanced age—fifty-two years—and explained, “My objection to the transfer of Miss Donaldson was her age, as I believe that it is a proper policy to maintain the age limit for entrance to the Indian Service at fifty years.”<sup>223</sup> While Pratt had hired teachers of such advanced ages when Carlisle first opened, privileging teaching experience over youth, Indian service bureaucrats instituted maximum age policies around the turn of the century.<sup>224</sup> Thus, even with more than a decade of successful teaching in the Philippines, Donaldson was officially ineligible to teach in the Indian Service. However, she was already on her way to the United States in June 1914, having earlier received affirmation from the Commissioner's office that she would receive an appointment to teach in the Indian Service.<sup>225</sup> This in addition to two

---

<sup>222</sup> McKittrick, 15 May 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>223</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to U.S. Representative Frank B. Willis, 27 July 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>224</sup> At their time of hire, Anne Ely was forty-six years old: *FWProgrammer* 82, no. 2 (December/March 1982), 2, Carlisle Barracks, PA, PI-2-8-10 Folder, CCHS; Sarah Mathers was sixty-three years old: *Battlefield and Classroom*, 220; Marianna Burgess was in her twenties but had years of experience teaching among the Pawnee: Burgess to Richard Henry Pratt, 21 October 1879, BRBML.

<sup>225</sup> U.S. Representative Frank B. Willis to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 24 July 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; May D. McKittrick to Commissioner Sells, 17 July 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

recommendation letters—one written by Carlisle Principal Teacher (and former Thomasite) John DeHuff and the other a prominent politician—swayed Commissioner Sells to reverse his decision.<sup>226</sup> While U.S. Representative Frank Willis wrote at the urging of Donaldson's sister, DeHuff made a personal plea for Clara's appointment at Carlisle because he knew her to be an accomplished and capable teacher, having worked with her in the Philippines. And, as Principal Teacher at Carlisle, DeHuff knew what qualities would make a teacher successful at the Pennsylvania Indian School. While Donaldson ultimately found a placement at Carlisle in September 1914, she did not fully know for sure that she would be working there until she reached the States.<sup>227</sup> Having proven herself one of the most highly rated teachers in the Philippines, she became invaluable at Carlisle as well, staying for the final four years of the school's existence.<sup>228</sup> Still, despite of her years of experience, Donaldson likely would not have received a position at Carlisle without having met De Huff in the Philippines.

Serving as the Principal Teacher at Carlisle by 1914, John DeHuff had already proven himself an effective educator, rising through the ranks during his twelve years in the Philippines, where he also made lifelong personal connections. Like Donaldson, DeHuff was an original Thomasite, having arrived in the islands in August 1901. He first worked as a classroom teacher in "one of the far inland towns," and by 1904 was

---

<sup>226</sup> Principal Teacher John D. DeHuff to Supervisor O.H. Lipps Carlisle Indian School, 21 August 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; U.S. Representative Simeon D. Fess, 11 May 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>227</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to U.S. Representative Frank B. Willis, 18 August 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; Clara R. Donaldson to Commissioner Sells, 22 August 1914, telegram, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC: was first offered a position at the Pipestone Indian School in Minnesota, which she accepted; Commissioner Sells to Clara R. Donaldson, 26 August 1914, telegram, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>228</sup> John D. DeHuff to Supervisor Lipps, 21 August, 1914, NPRC.



promoted to be “Head Teacher” of a province where he proved to be a dedicated supervisor and administrator. He worked as a Division Superintendent of Schools in Bohol and Iloilo from 1906 to 1911 and as Superintendent of the Manila City Schools from 1911 to 1913. Purported to embody “superior intellectual equipment and energy,” his last position in the islands was as second in command of the Bureau of Education.<sup>229</sup> In addition to his professional duties, DeHuff acted as head of “Apoyao,” a society of Philippine leaders, and was described by one of the organization’s members as “scholarly...honest, reliable, and true in every way.”<sup>230</sup> In applying for a position in the Indian Service, De Huff wrote that while he found his twelve years working in the Philippines “most gratifying...I believe it to be my duty to myself and to those for whom I may become responsible that I establish myself now in my native country and climate.”<sup>231</sup> Here, DeHuff was likely referencing his fiancé, Elizabeth Willis, whom he met in the archipelago and the family they hoped to have together. While the Principal Teacher position put him in a leadership role at Carlisle, he sacrificed the prestige he had achieved in the Philippines in addition to accepting a severe salary cut, in part, because he believed it better to start a family stateside.

For some teachers, including John DeHuff and Elizabeth Willis, the relationship they formed in the Philippines shaped both their professional and personal lives. Willis’ tenure in the islands was much shorter than that of her future husband’s, lasting from October 1910 to March 1913, after which she was granted a leave of absence until June

---

<sup>229</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 20 January 1913, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC; Supervisor in the Philippines William R. Rosenhaus to Commissioner Sells, 19 January 1914, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>230</sup> Edwin A. Schell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 5 February 1914, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>231</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 20 January 1913, NPRC.

1914.<sup>232</sup> Prior to their marriage that spring, John helped to secure Elizabeth a teaching position at Carlisle, which she filled from late spring through July 1914, at which time she resigned. Although her work at Carlisle only amounted to a few months, and the reason for her resignation is not evident, Acting Supervisor O.H. Lipps considered her to be “a very desirable and competent employee in every way.”<sup>233</sup> Considering her recent marriage to John and the fact that they soon had two children, Elizabeth likely resigned in order to care for their growing family.

John served as Principal Teacher at Carlisle for two years before the family relocated to Santa Fe in 1916, due in part to his health. Diagnosed with tuberculosis, he received a promotion and became Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School where Elizabeth likely served as a substitute teacher and later worked outside of the school system.<sup>234</sup> Although evidence shows that John brought his wife to Carlisle and later to Santa Fe, Elizabeth effectively persuaded her husband to move back to the States where they established a life and family together. In this way, the intimate relationship that began in the Philippines brought them back to the U.S. where they dedicated their lives to working with its indigenous populations.

Of course, relationships between teachers were not always symbiotic, as Fernando Tranbarger and Moses Friedman experienced after transferring from the Philippines to the Indian Service. Both Fernando Tranbarger and Moses Friedman received positive

---

<sup>232</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 23 April 1914, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>233</sup> Supervisor of Carlisle O.H. Lipps to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 31 July 1914, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>234</sup> Record of J.D. DeHuff, 5 June 1918, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC; John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 24 July 1916, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC; Superintendent of Santa Fe Indian School C.E. Faris to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 December 1934, Elizabeth DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

evaluations regarding their work in the Philippines. Tranbarger first served in the Philippines as a volunteer in Company “I” during the Spanish-American War, and after passing the Philippine teacher examination, taught in the islands from June 1906 to November 1909.<sup>235</sup> He was one of several military personnel who gladly sought reinstatement in the Philippines following the war, though under a different guise, suggesting that he felt drawn to the islands. Immediately following his service there, Tranbarger taught at Carlisle from November 1909 through August 1911, when he resigned.<sup>236</sup>

Unlike the other crossover teachers discussed above, Moses Friedman taught in the Indian Service both before and after his stint in the Philippines. Friedman first taught manual training at the Phoenix Indian School from 1901 to 1903, where his supervisor evaluated his work as exhibiting “eminent satisfaction” and described Friedman “[a]s a young man of excellent character, enthusiastic, inspiring.”<sup>237</sup> Transferring to the Philippine Service in January 1904, Friedman spent the next several years teaching manual training at the secondary and then high school on the island of Cebu. According to the principal of the Cebu Secondary School, Friedman quickly gained his students’ interest and the community’s support, even though he had to “overcome many

---

<sup>235</sup> Record of Fernando G. Tranbarger, 11 May 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>236</sup> Fernando G. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 30 September 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>237</sup> Recommendation Letter for Moses Friedman, Superintendent C.W. Goodman (US Indian School, Phoenix, Arizona) to Whom It May Concern, 6 April 1903, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

difficulties,” the nature of which are not clear.<sup>238</sup> The Division Superintendent of Cebu commended Friedman for helping to organize the manual training department at the Provincial High School and for his “willingness to do any outside work that came up, e.g., the making of plans for the barrio school houses and the preparing of an exhaustive report on industrial education in the Philippines.”<sup>239</sup> When Friedman finished his contract with the Philippine Service in April 1906, he returned to the States, becoming the Assistant Superintendent at the Haskell Institute in Kansas, an Indian boarding school.<sup>240</sup> In March 1908, Friedman transferred to Carlisle and became the school’s newest superintendent.<sup>241</sup>

During Friedman’s six years as Carlisle’s Superintendent, he was both commended and criticized by teachers, the Carlisle community, and the Bureau of Indian Education. In fact, Fernando Tranbarger and his wife Katherine Bingley, whom he met at Carlisle, became some of Friedman’s severest critics.<sup>242</sup> Tranbarger worked in the Philippines Service from 1906 to 1909, beginning his work in the islands only days after Friedman had resigned.<sup>243</sup> After the Tranbargers’ resignation in August 1911, a series of

---

<sup>238</sup> Principal J. Frank Daniel (Secondary School Cebu, Philippine Islands) to General Superintendent of Education Manila, 23 September, 1904, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>239</sup> Division Superintendent Samuel McClintock to Moses Friedman, 13 February 1906, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>240</sup> Moses Friedman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 23 June 1906, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>241</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs F.E. Leupp to Secretary of the Interior, 7 March 1908, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>242</sup> *The Carlisle Arrow* 7, no. 1 (September 9, 1910): 4, CCHS: “Announcement has been received of the marriage, on August 3, of Miss Katharine C. Bingley to Mr. Fernando G. Tranbarger, the wedding taking place at Greensboro, North Carolina. Both Mr. and Mrs. Tranbarger were teachers here last year, and we extend them our heartiest congratulations and best wishes.”

<sup>243</sup> Commissioner Jose Fill to Secretary of the President (Manila), 12 June 1906, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 215, Moses Friedman Folder, NAMD: Moses Friedman served as a teacher from January 13, 1904 to June 9, 1906; Record of Fernando G. Tranbarger,

letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs detailed their complaints against the Superintendent and his policies, which included unfair treatment regarding payment, unsanitary classrooms, and general mistreatment (see Chapter 2).<sup>244</sup> In February 1914, Friedman was suspended from the superintendency after a federal investigation found him unfit to serve as Carlisle's leader, due in part to suspected financial fraud.<sup>245</sup>

Although Tranbarger and Friedman's work in the Philippines may have better prepared them for working in Indian schools, this common background was not enough to prevent personal conflicts from developing between them at Carlisle. Of course, Carlisle suffered from other interpersonal rivalries among teachers who had only served in the Indian Service, as the next chapter will show.

Although the Carlisle and Philippines experiments relied upon teachers to meet a similar goal—to assimilate “other” peoples into the dominant white culture—the U.S. government approached the Indian and Filipino “problems” in distinctly different ways. In the case of Carlisle, students were brought east to the teachers. Thomasites, on the other hand, were sent west to their students in the Philippines. In both cases, location mattered. Carlisle was purposefully established far removed from the “uncivilizing” influence of reservations and traditional Indian customs, with the hope that a group of white women teachers, committed to the cause of Indian education, could uplift and

---

Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder, NPRC: Tranbarger taught in the Philippine Service from June 12, 1906 to November 17, 1909.

<sup>244</sup> Fernando G. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 30 August 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC; Fernando G. Tranbarger to Superintendent Moses Friedman, 30 September 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC; Fernando G. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 October 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>245</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to Moses Friedman, 18 May 1914, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

“save” the race. The Philippines, however, was gained as a bounty of war, and the U.S. sent hundreds of American men and women to the archipelago, hoping that they would use their educational expertise and example to civilize the uncivilized. Overall, although the projects began somewhat hastily—with little time to carefully plan out logistics—they each had lasting impacts upon the individuals involved and the broader American Indian and Filipino societies, for better and worse. The journeys that often began with such high hopes and idealistic visions of the educational mission did not always fulfill teachers’ expectations as they moved from the excitement of gaining an appointment and arriving in Carlisle or the Philippines to the day-to-day work of implementing government policy on the ground. Furthermore, examining the details of teachers’ efforts and negotiations exposes both the intimacy and vulnerability of building empire.

## CHAPTER 2: LIFE AT CARLISLE, 1879-1918

In 1901, over twenty years after the civilizing efforts at Carlisle had begun, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote in his Annual Report:

[T]he qualifications that bring success in a white school are not an absolute criterion of the success a public school-teacher will have in this branch.

Employees are required to look carefully after the culture and morality of the pupils in the class rooms, dormitories, and at the workbenches. The Indian's education does not comprise the circle of classroom duties alone, but the wider one of home life in all its features.

The term at Indian schools is practically twelve months. During all this time the watchful eye of the employee must be upon the pupils committed to his charge.<sup>246</sup>

Assuming that white children did not need as much guidance in terms of “culture and morality,” Commissioner William Jones used race to explain the demanding and unique work required of employees at Indian schools. In addition to fulfilling classroom duties, he suggested that teachers must also serve as general stewards of all that shaped mainstream “white” culture and civilization. At an off-reservation boarding school, work proved more strenuous than in public schools since employees lived with students and served as their caretakers inside and outside of the classroom. Like parents in a household, teachers at Carlisle were responsible for the constant care of the children—around the clock, every day of the year—and expected to keep an ever “watchful eye,” not trusting the children unsupervised. However, unlike parents, Indian school teachers were hired to correct the children's perceived flaws—that of “being Indian.”<sup>247</sup>

---

<sup>246</sup> “Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,” 1901, 31-32.

<sup>247</sup> Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): Deloria explores the historical significance of moments when white Americans have donned disguises, performing or “playing Indian,” as a means of both rejecting the “other” and claiming a unique identity. Following Deloria's example, I use the term “being

During Carlisle's existence, from 1879 to 1918, "being Indian" was considered problematic for reasons that changed over time. In the school's earliest years, Richard Henry Pratt strongly believed that Indians could and should be "saved" and only needed a new environment—away from "uncivilized" tribal lifestyles. In this way, Pratt hoped to change what it meant to "be Indian" by taking children east to Carlisle where they could learn and adopt new cultural norms, thus becoming "less" Indian. By the turn of the century, education leaders in Washington, DC, who had gained increasing control over Carlisle, shifted away from such an environmental perspective and faulted Indians' "race" for their perceived failings. So, while Pratt believed assimilation could happen quickly—within a generation—early twentieth-century reformers adopted an evolutionary vision of change, believing that Indian assimilation would take many generations. In this way, "being Indian" was constructed as a permanent racial category and "progress" or "uplift" could not be rushed.<sup>248</sup> Although such visions of Indianness guided Carlisle on different tracks over the course of its almost forty-year history, one constant remained: how white reformers fused the diversity of North American indigenous peoples into one identity, Indian. In this way, Carlisle and all Indian schools worked simultaneously to create and destroy an "Indian" identity, ultimately relying upon teachers to do the dirty work.<sup>249</sup>

---

Indian" to illustrate how Carlisle teachers sought to erase students' Indian identities. The term acknowledges the fluidity of students' identities (what it meant to "be Indian") as well as how white reformers beliefs and tactics changed over time.

<sup>248</sup> Trafzer, et al., "Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System," 15; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 122, 160-161.

<sup>249</sup> Of course American Indian peoples, including the children at boarding schools like Carlisle, have created their own identities as well as varied meanings of "Indian" or "being Indian," demonstrating their agency. As my study focuses on teachers' agency, I defer to the following scholars to better understand "Indian" agency from a native's perspective. See: Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Adams, "Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940" in Clifford. E. Trafzer, Jean A.



This chapter explores both the institutional history of Carlisle and the social history of its teachers in order to better understand how the work of assimilation played out on an individual, school, and national level. It is important, first, to situate Carlisle's roots into a broader imperial framework and show the central role played by the school's founding superintendent and teachers. Equally significant are the ways reformers' beliefs about "civilization" and "race" were used to justify establishing this boarding school in the East, far removed from western "backwardness." The work of cultural transformation at Carlisle—performed by teachers and backed by school leaders and the Indian Bureau—reinforced norms of the dominant society, both inside and outside of the classroom. As part of this work, teachers taught English and other subjects to expose students to new ideas and attended professional development programs to invigorate their work in the classroom. Outside of the classroom, teachers substituted as parental figures in students' lives and set moral and behavioral guidelines through extracurricular and social activities, often promoting gendered notions of "respectability," as well as affirming the importance of Christianity. Moreover, in order to facilitate cultural change, teachers relied on the threat of punishment to persuade (and often demand) students follow the rules. In this environment, both teachers and students faced severe challenges, including illness and death, yet some managed to have fun and form sustaining friendships. In addition, teachers were not always satisfied with Carlisle's leaders and some demonstrated their own agency by helping to bring down two school administrations plagued by scandal. By 1918, with the advent of World War I, Carlisle

---

Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School"; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*.

closed, no doubt inspiring many teachers to reflect on their work there and the part it played in transforming Indian life, for better or worse.

Although many aspects of life at Carlisle changed over time, the school consistently demanded that its staff and students work hard for long hours suggesting that complete assimilation required the full commitment of everyone involved. Those hired as classroom teachers were, with few exceptions, single, white women without children; and they were expected to do much more than teach reading, writing, and other subjects. Of course, vocational education also played an important role in the school's assimilation efforts, as it aimed to prepare students to be productive citizens in a "civilized," white society, and men were often hired to educate students in trades as varied as bakers, band leaders, and coaches. But these male teachers were usually married with children and were not necessarily expected to spend time with Indian students outside their classes.<sup>250</sup>

The staff and students at Carlisle left many types of sources through which we can track teachers' lives, including personal letters, interviews, student and superintendent memoirs, institutional reports, personnel files, and school publications. Although the intended audience for most of these sources is clear, it is important to note the wide readership of the school's newspapers as well as their greater purpose. These publications, of which there were several different versions over the years, were intended for Indian students and school staff as well as people interested in Indian education across the nation. The school's first newspaper, *Eadle Keatah Toh* (later known by its English translation, "Morning Star,") was distributed within a few months of Carlisle's opening. By 1893, there were two publications: *The Red Man*, a monthly with a circulation of

---

<sup>250</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 158.

2,000 to 3,000, and a weekly, *The Indian Helper*, with a circulation of 9,000.<sup>251</sup> Other publications also circulated within and beyond Carlisle over the years, including *The Craftsmen*, *The Arrow*, and *The Carlisle Arrow*.<sup>252</sup> As historian Jacqueline Fear-Segal argues, “These periodicals were the public voice of Carlisle, which sought to inform whites about the goals, activities and achievements of the school.”<sup>253</sup> Serving in part as propaganda, they reported on school events and achievements while reminding readers about the importance of the school’s mission.

Carlisle was, of course, part of a much longer history of Indian education in North America. As Fear-Segal claims, “Education had been intrinsic to Indian-white relations since the days of first contact and also inseparable from native subjugation and dispossession.”<sup>254</sup> Christian missionaries founded schools to “save” Indian souls soon after white settlers came to North America and continued to do so through the nineteenth century. In order to effectively spread Christianity, missionaries taught English and developed a curriculum that emphasized both basic academic skills and hard physical labor. By the early nineteenth century, for example, Protestant missionaries across the continent (mirroring efforts in foreign countries) instituted a “half-and-half” pattern, where students spent part of each day in a classroom and the rest of their time tending the fields or learning domestic skills, depending upon their sex. Thus, the combination of vocational and academic training associated with Armstrong’s Hampton Institute and Pratt’s Carlisle had its roots in missionary work. And while Carlisle was the first

---

<sup>251</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 65; Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education*, 141.

<sup>252</sup> “Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Periodicals and Newspapers,” CCHS website, accessed September 25, 2015, [http://www.historicalsociety.com/CIIS\\_Newspapers.html](http://www.historicalsociety.com/CIIS_Newspapers.html).

<sup>253</sup> Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club*, 206.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

federally funded off-reservation Indian boarding school, the U.S. government had been subsidizing educational missionary work—including half-and-half programs—throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>255</sup>

By the 1870s, the government shifted its funding from missionary schools to their own Indian education operations, and the number of government-run Indian schools rose dramatically. Between 1870 and 1900, government appropriations for Indian schooling increased from approximately \$20,000 to almost \$3 million. In 1877, one hundred fifty government schools targeted 3,000 Indian students while in 1900, over three hundred schools enrolled more than 21,000 Indian pupils.<sup>256</sup> The difference, of course, between government schools and their Christian predecessors was that while missionary schools aimed to mold Indians into “good Christians,” government schools sought to prepare them to be “good citizens.” Thus, the government invested in Carlisle at a critical time, hoping the school would create a generation of Indian youth loyal to the United States.

This “long history” of white intervention in Indian education was part of a broader process of Anglo-American subjugation of native peoples. As white settlement and westward expansion increasingly took indigenous people’s lands, missionaries and reformers sought to influence native people’s way of thinking. Historian Cathleen Cahill explains, “[T]he process of conquest and dispossession had a long history, [and] it accelerated and intensified in the decades after the Civil War” when the federal government strove to sever native people’s “emotional and legal claims to land,” in part,

---

<sup>255</sup> Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 38-40.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

by breaking treaties and implementing assimilation policies.<sup>257</sup> In this way, settler colonialism continually redefined the U.S. borders as white Americans endeavored to occupy native people's lands *and* minds. Pratt's experiment at Carlisle played a key role in this project of conquest and dispossession working to break Indian children's ties to their cultural heritage. Its apparent success ultimately spawned more than twenty-five other off-reservation boarding schools by the turn of the twentieth century.

Like his missionary predecessors who believed "that Indians must civilize or die," Pratt founded Carlisle because he wanted to "save" the Indian from extinction.<sup>258</sup> He had witnessed the devastation western tribes suffered when white settlers continued to demand access to western lands and the U.S. government went to war to ensure their success. And he felt redeemed when he successfully "civilized" Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida. Nevertheless, Pratt's professional background, the site chosen for the school, and the government department that approved the project were fundamentally inseparable from the U.S. military, the force behind Indian removal and imperial desire. In fact, four of the five superintendents who oversaw the school during its forty-year existence, including Pratt, were military men; and, the one exception had direct experience with the U.S. conquest of the Philippines. Although some of Carlisle's leaders maintained stronger ties to the U.S. military and government than others, they all symbolized U.S. imperial power.

With approval from the War Department in August 1879, imperial education began at the old army barracks in rural Pennsylvania under the direction of eager army

---

<sup>257</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 3-6; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 38-40.

<sup>258</sup> Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 40. See chapter 1 for discussion of real threats that faced American Indians in the nineteenth century.

captain Richard Henry Pratt who looked to experienced teachers to help him in his mission. Sixty-three year old Sarah A. Mather wrote to Captain Pratt on August 21, 1879:

Your trip has been constantly in my mind...and the more I think of it the more I think I should like to go anywhere you go. I know I should be taken good care of and as for the fatigue I could stand that...I hope no old fogey will say I can't go. Why I'll help you make good selections! You know I have been studying children all my life.<sup>259</sup>

When Pratt invited Mather to assist him in recruiting the first class of students for the school, she jumped at the chance to travel through Indian territory and was thrilled to use her expertise as an educator to help select students for the first off-reservation Indian boarding school. Mather had become an enthusiastic supporter of Pratt's work educating Indians, having taught English to the prisoners under his charge at Fort Marion a few years earlier.<sup>260</sup>

Still, Mather and Pratt faced many obstacles throughout their westward journey, and their perseverance serves as one of the earliest examples of the commitment and dedication Carlisle's teachers exhibited to help the school thrive. Demonstrative of some of the physical challenges they faced, Pratt recalled that Mather became "wretchedly seasick" as she travelled overland by wagon. At night, she slept on the floor of the wagon with a few blankets, while Pratt scared away wolves with his revolver. Upon arrival in mid-September 1879, Mather accompanied Pratt and an interpreter to the council house to convince the Indian chief, Spotted Tail, and other Sioux to allow their children to return to Carlisle, Pennsylvania with them—not an easy task. At first, Spotted

---

<sup>259</sup> Sarah A. Mather to Richard Henry Pratt, Letter, 21 August 1879, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 6, Folder 195, BRBML.

<sup>260</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 121, 220.

Tail fervently resisted Pratt's pitch and declared, "'The white people are all thieves and liars. We do not want our children to learn such things.'" Mather, whom Pratt introduced as the "good lady [who would]... look after the girls," spoke next and softened Pratt's proposal, helping to secure five of Spotted Tail's dozen children and several other children from the tribe. In all, Pratt and Mather recruited over eighty children from three reservations to bring back to Carlisle, overcoming parents' resistance.<sup>261</sup> Together, they persuaded American Indian mothers and fathers—who felt profound personal and historic distrust of whites—to put their children's lives into Pratt and Mather's hands. Thus they successfully enrolled the first class of Indian students at Carlisle.

Transporting eighty-four Sioux children east to Carlisle in the fall of 1879 caused quite a spectacle, drawing crowds of people at railroad stations along the route. The numbers were even greater than Pratt had seen when he chaperoned Indian children to the Hampton Institute in 1878 or Indian prisoners to Florida in 1875. He noted "crowds of people assembled at the railroad stations" and craned their necks to glimpse the Indian children. They hoped to witness these "others" moving from west to east, the children dressed in tribal garb as they approached "civilization." To limit the number of ogling eyes, Pratt arranged to arrive in the children's new hometown of Carlisle at midnight on October 6, 1879.<sup>262</sup> Even then, scores of people met them at the train station and walked alongside them to their new "home." In this way, local residents participated in and contributed to the significance of the occasion—the arrival of students to the nation's first Indian boarding school established outside of a reservation.

---

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 220, 222-228.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 228-229; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 181.

One of the most radical elements of the Carlisle experiment was its location, considered by Pratt and others to be critical for the school's success. A year into the experiment, Pratt remained optimistic about the speed at which Indian children could imbibe the lessons of civilization in their new, eastern home. In January 1881, Pratt wrote to U.S. Representative Thaddeaus C. Pound:

I am sure that if we could bring to bear such training as this upon all our Indian children for only three years that savagery among the Indians in this country would be at an end. This bringing their children east among the whites is to many of them now, and would be to all in time, an open door by which they can migrate into civilization.<sup>263</sup>

In Pratt's view Carlisle served as a vital step in the Indian's journey from West to East, from barbarity to civilization, and from living by Indian custom to adopting the ways of white men and women. Other people of Indian heritage had made such "migrations" before, but an eastern boarding school ensured their distance from reservation life for an extended period, which, it was thought, would allow masses of Indian children to enter civilization and give them a chance to fit into the dominant culture. For Pratt and other reformers, complete assimilation and the removal of Indian children from the corrupting influences of reservation life was, ironically, believed to be the only way to save the Indian race.

Underscoring the rhetoric about civilization and savagery, Carlisle emerged from and was part of a larger culture whose dominant voices heralded and naturalized racial inequality. An August 1879 letter from a U.S. Indian agent in the Dakota Territory, republished in Carlisle's school newspaper the next May recognized this disparity: "The reason that Indians are not educated and civilized is not because they do not want to be,

---

<sup>263</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to U.S. Representative Thaddeaus C. Pound, reprinted letter, 13 January 1881, 258-260.



but because we do not want them to be.”<sup>264</sup> Rather than placing blame solely on the Indian, the agent boldly declared his own role, and that of the larger white society, in preventing native populations from assimilating into an educated, civilized life. Reprinting this letter in the school newspaper was a relatively subtle way for leaders at Carlisle to acknowledge early in the school’s endeavors the role that white society played in exacerbating, and even, perpetuating Indian isolation and “backwardness.” Eighteen years later when Pratt was asked in a *N.Y. Sun* interview to describe the biggest obstacle he faced in his work, he echoed the Indian agent’s sentiment: “Well, I think I should say it is the prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the unwillingness to give the man a chance, or to believe that he can be educated.”<sup>265</sup> Although it is easy from a twenty-first century perspective to demonize both Pratt and white society for their profound and destructive prejudice, it is significant that Pratt recognized how Carlisle was constrained by the biases of the dominant society. Modern scholars often define Pratt and the work at Carlisle simply as racist and degrading for Indian cultures.<sup>266</sup> Yet, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Carlisle and its work represented a rather radical and benevolent, if problematic, means of “saving” the Indian. Historian David Wallace Adams recognizes Pratt’s oversimplification of the “Indian problem” in which the choice seemed to be “education or extinction.” Nevertheless, he also gives some credence to the belief that for reformers like Pratt, education seemed the best means to help the Indian

---

<sup>264</sup> “Letter from Theo Schwan, Capt. 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry, Acting U.S. Indian Agent dated 20 August 1879,” *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 3 (May 1880): 1-2, CCHS.

<sup>265</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview by Mr. Spears (*N.Y. Sun*), October 7, 1896, transcript, 6, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 19, Folder 679, BRBML.

<sup>266</sup> Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club*; Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000).

within a society seemingly driven to destroy “others.”<sup>267</sup> Viewing these ideas within an imperial framework demonstrates how race motivated reform at both high and low levels, among national policymakers and local superintendents and teachers.

Of course, beliefs regarding a racialized hierarchy continued to guide Carlisle’s mission into the twentieth century. For example, a March 2, 1900 school newspaper article described the recent visit of a “civilized” Indian, Mr. Richard Heyl, as “an educated Apache Indian who knows more about the white man than he does about his own people.”<sup>268</sup> This made him “a perfect exemplification of the Carlisle idea although he never saw Carlisle before.” Clearly, the ideal Carlisle student would forever abandon his Indian heritage and assimilate into white culture as fully as possible. The article continued:

There is only one way to bring the Indian up to the superior race and that is to give him all the advantages of the superior race in the midst of the people of the superior race. No race distinction can be traced between Mr. Heyl and any cultivated gentleman you may meet anywhere, except the dark complexion.<sup>269</sup>

These words hammer away at the idea of whites being a “superior race,” repeating this phrase *three times* within one sentence. A relentless reminder of the goal at Carlisle—“to bring the Indian up” to a standard of cultivation and refinement as displayed by Heyl—the visitor’s success came despite the “dark complexion” that hinted at his inferior heritage. Furthermore, the article credits Heyl’s “cultivated” achievement to his immersion in white culture, suggesting that students at Carlisle, similarly saturated in white societal norms had a unique opportunity that enabled them to reach similar greatness. Such racialized “reasoning” was not intimated delicately here but rather

---

<sup>267</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*.

<sup>268</sup> *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 18 (March 2, 1900), CCHS.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

declared quite boldly. The article assumed that its readership—of students, staff, and interested reformers—would (or should) be sympathetic to such ideas since the fundamental mission of Carlisle—to save Indians through complete assimilation in white culture—was never hidden but rather proudly celebrated.

The solution to the “Indian problem,” as proposed by Carlisle, lay in the possibility of cultural transformation, and the school’s pioneers did envision at least some exchange between native and dominant cultures. As remembered by founding teacher, Emma Cutter, Pratt insisted on a dualistic purpose at Carlisle: “The aim of Gen. R.H. Pratt in establishing the school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was to give the Indians a chance to show that they are human and capable of receiving an education. He also wished to educate the people of the East and of the West to believe in the despised race.”<sup>270</sup> Having worked with Pratt for over two decades at Carlisle, Cutter was intimately familiar with the founder’s purpose. Sympathetic with his ideals, she recognized how white society demeaned the Indian—even dismissing their humanity—and trusted that the school was established to correct such notions. By implementing and enforcing cultural change among the school’s Indian students—including dramatic re-education efforts regarding dress, language, and gender norms—Carlisle aimed to prove native people’s adaptability, and at the same time, counter biases held by the dominant society, an agenda that suited Pratt’s personal goals as well as that of a burgeoning imperial power. The school, like the nation, relied on teachers to facilitate this transformation.

Still, when Carlisle opened its doors to the first students in October 1879, a distinct school culture was in the making even though a complete faculty was notably

---

<sup>270</sup> Emma A. Cutter to R.L. Brunhouse, 29 March 1933, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 13, Folder 450, BRBML.

absent. On their journey to the school that fall, Pratt and Mather had already divided the first group of over eighty schoolchildren by sex, and when they arrived at the school, these gendered divisions continued. Pratt recalled, “The matron who was to take charge of the girls was on hand to camp them in the unfurnished north tier of officer quarters, while the boys went into the north barracks under Interpreter Tackett’s care.”<sup>271</sup> With only Pratt, Mather, the matron, two interpreters, and Pratt’s wife, Laura, in charge of the students, a fundamental component of the school culture had already been instituted before most of the teachers arrived on campus: this deliberate division of labor and living according to sex set “appropriate” boundaries between boys and girls. Establishing these separate spheres for the children came to be a central component of the work in civilizing the Indian.

In addition to dividing the children by sex, staff members learned early on that they would have to “make do” with less, creating a culture that admired frugality and hard work. When Pratt and Mather brought a second group of over fifty Indian children to Carlisle in November 1879, the school had still not received the food, clothing, and school supplies requested from the Indian Bureau. Thus, for the first several weeks at the school, staff members utilized the sparse material provisions as best they could and came to rely upon the children’s labor as well as local volunteers and philanthropists to meet the school’s basic needs.<sup>272</sup> In this way, students, teachers, and others built the school from the ground up, together creating an institution intended to produce profound cultural change, although some participated more eagerly than others.

---

<sup>271</sup> Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 229-236, 274-475.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 229-236, 274-475, 232: Mrs. Platt, a former missionary teacher, volunteered her services, and was hired to work the kitchen and dining room for school’s first five years; Emma A. Cutter to R.L. Brunhouse, 29 March 1933, BRBML.

One of the earliest, most dramatic and infamous acts of cultural transformation involved re-naming students, and this task fell to teachers. Teachers approached this in different ways, and as with most of the cultural changes imposed on children at the school, students accepted these new names to varying degrees. In fact, several students vividly recalled their renaming, suggesting the significance of the experience: for some, it proved traumatic. Luther Standing Bear—who described himself as “the first Indian boy to step inside the Carlisle Indian school grounds” in October 1879—recounted how his teacher, Miss Marianna Burgess, helped him “choose” a new name, revealing both the careful planning on the part of his teacher as well as the great meaning he associated with his new name:

The teacher had a long pointed stick in her hand, and the interpreter told the boy in the front seat to come up...Finally he pointed out one of the names written on the blackboard. Then the teacher took a piece of white tape and wrote the name on it. Then she cut off the length of the tape and sewed it on the back of the boy's shirt. Then that name was erased from the board...Soon we all had the names of white men sewn on our backs...I had selected the name ‘Luther.’<sup>273</sup>

Here, Luther painted a powerful image of Indian children wearing shirts whose backs literally bore “the names of white men” at the behest of their teacher. Yet, he also reveals that Burgess allowed her students to “choose” their Americanized names, although students, of course, had no real choice as to whether they could instead maintain their Indian names. Nevertheless, Luther suggested that such naming could not rid the boys of their heritage even as he suggested this ritual helped transform young Indian boys into

---

<sup>273</sup> Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*. E.A. Brininstool, ed. (1928; repr., Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 137-138.

white men.<sup>274</sup> Another student, Jason Betzinez, explained in plainer language how his teacher modified his name, “Batsinas,” and gave him a first name as well. He explained, “Miss Low...changed the spelling ...to Betzinez...[and] selected for me the name of Jason. She said that Jason was some man who hunted the golden fleece but never found it.”<sup>275</sup> Unlike Miss Burgess, who fostered a sense of choice, Miss Low reportedly bestowed a name upon her student, one that she, rather than they, found meaningful. Still, another student resented his re-naming and “always hated that name forced on me by white people.” Apache student Asa Daklugie explained of his Americanized name, “It was forced on me as though I had been an animal.”<sup>276</sup> Ultimately, teachers’ responsibility to rename students served both symbolic and practical purposes. It enabled white teachers to create names that they could easily pronounce and spell while also suggesting to students and whites alike that new “civilized” identities would be created at Carlisle.

In addition to new names, students were given western-style clothes and hairstyles, changes admired by Pratt and his staff and used to further the cause of Indian assimilation. As Pratt had done at Hampton, he arranged for Carlisle students to have their photographs taken in their traditional garb with long hair and then as “civilized” young men and women, wearing school uniforms with boys’ hair cut short and girls’ pulled back. Pratt used these photographs as propaganda, to prove that Indians could be

---

<sup>274</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*. While Luther Standing Bear’s memoir offers insights into his experiences at Carlisle, it also reflects the romanticization of memory that often occurs decades after an event.

<sup>275</sup> Jason Betzinez (with Wilber Sturtevant Nye), *I Fought With Geronimo* (1959; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 154.

<sup>276</sup> Asa Daklugie memoir in Eve Ball with Nora Henn and Lynda A. Sánchez, *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 150, 144.

civilized. As anthropologist Genevieve Bell argues in her 1998 dissertation, “At the time, these photographs were seen and sold as irrefutable proof that it was possible to raise Indians out of savagery and transform them into model pupils and citizens. A century later, those same photographs seem shocking, serving as an enduring reminder of the power and brutality of the American State.”<sup>277</sup> Bell’s observation points to a critical historical question concerning the extent to which teachers and other whites viewed their work as part of something larger. Did teachers, for instance, see themselves as working on behalf of the “American State,” or does Bell’s comment reflect more modern sentiments? Evidence suggests that while some teachers cared deeply about “saving” the Indian race and thought broadly about the “Indian problem,” most believed that their efforts to “civilize” Indian students were benevolent. Rather than considering their work in terms of its cultural (or imperial) implications, most teachers instead worked eagerly to fulfill the school’s mission of “killing the Indian but saving the man,” a goal that they thought would help students participate more fully in society.<sup>278</sup>

Regardless of present day beliefs, these photographs and the physical transformation that made Indian children look more like “proper” white children were purported to have a practical purpose in the school’s early days. As declared in the first issue of Carlisle’s school’s newspaper: “All [students] were eager to learn, but it was soon evident that the barber and tailor must take precedence in the work of civilization. The daily sessions were short, and not much was effected until blankets had disappeared.”<sup>279</sup> Thus, changing the hairstyles and clothing of the students was believed

---

<sup>277</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 5.

<sup>278</sup> Bentley, ““Kill the Indian, Save the Man.””

<sup>279</sup> “The Indian Training School,” *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 1 (January 1880): 1, CCHS.

to enable better learning. Perhaps with fewer distractions and visible reminders of their heritage, students and teachers could remain more focused on the lesson.

Of course, students themselves did not necessarily appreciate their new appearance. Mrs. Pratt explained how pupils wailed after having their hair cut. Asa Daklugie likened getting his braids cut off to torture. Luther Standing Bear explained how he felt ashamed, less Indian, “an imitation of a white man” after having his haircut, though he was eager to receive “white man’s clothes.” Whatever the effect on the students, teachers and other white staff members at Carlisle most likely felt more comfortable, and perhaps in more control of their students as the “Indian” appearance was shorn away. As Luther remembers it, “[O]ur teachers and the other white people were greatly pleased at our new appearance.”<sup>280</sup>

Once students appeared “civilized” to “White Eyes,” teachers’ primary academic task involved teaching the English language.<sup>281</sup> Over time, methods of teaching English at Carlisle changed, although one constant remained throughout almost the entirety of the school’s existence: a prohibition on speaking native languages. This rule did not exist in early October 1879, however, when the first cohort of Sioux girls and boys arrived at the school accompanied by interpreters, a luxury not available for most successive groups of students. The next group, who arrived a month later, were from various Oklahoma tribes, and they could not communicate well with one another, let alone with the students and staff members already at the school. Not surprisingly, one teacher remembered this latter

---

<sup>280</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 141-142, 144.

<sup>281</sup> Asa Daklugie memoir in Ball et al., *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey*, 149, 151: Ball’s interview with Asa Daklugie includes his use of the term, “White Eyes,” a derogatory term that describes white people who took lands away from his people, white authorities at the Carlisle, and suggests the constant sense of white surveillance of Indian children at the school.



group of children as “very timid.” Moreover, she recalled that these children, along with the school’s earliest teachers, learned a bit of the Sioux language.<sup>282</sup> Thus, in the school’s nascent stages, teachers and students *both* learned some “foreign” languages to facilitate understanding in their everyday lives. However, soon after this grace period in which multiple languages were tolerated, students were forbidden from using any language except English, and teachers were encouraged to do the same. This English-only policy endured until the school closed in 1918. As remembered by Luther Standing Bear, within his first couple of months at the school, children arrived “from various tribes in other States and from other reservations. We were not allowed to converse in the Indian tongue, and we knew so little English that we had a hard time to get along.”<sup>283</sup> Even if Sioux words and phrases were sometimes used to facilitate communication, the overarching English-only policy limited the use of most native languages throughout the school’s forty years.

Perhaps the diversity of Indian languages made it easier for Pratt to institute an English-only policy since he needed students and staff to understand one another and furthered students’ assimilation into the dominant culture at the same time. But not all supporters of the school were happy with this policy. In 1896 when asked, “Why is it necessary to make these children forget their mother tongue,” Pratt responded, “It is not the policy to make them forget their mother tongue. But we make them learn English...English is the language of this country. The wall that separates the Indian from the other population of the country is the wall of language to begin with.”<sup>284</sup> Thus, Pratt

---

<sup>282</sup> Emma A. Cutter to R.L. Brunhouse, 29 March 29 1933, BRBML.

<sup>283</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 133, 146.

<sup>284</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 13, BRBML.

justified the English-only policy as a means of better integrating his students into the larger society, denying that the policy was intended to make them “forget” their native language.

Carlisle’s English-only efforts also reflected the broader terms of nineteenth century Indian education reform. In 1887, U.S. government officials forbade teachers at Indian schools from teaching any language besides English, which reportedly upset some missionaries who had used both English and indigenous languages in their work.<sup>285</sup> With this decree, the Department of Indian Affairs sided with Pratt and other boarding school leaders who privileged English above all other languages. By 1889, ten years into Carlisle’s efforts, the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs lauded boarding schools where, “They hear and use only the English language, are removed from the contaminating influences of camp life, become accustomed to the usages of civilization, and are trained to habits of industry, thrift, and self-reliance.”<sup>286</sup> In this way, authorities in Indian education considered English-only policies as part of a broader curriculum designed to impart lessons of “civilization” to its pupils. From the top down, education officials believed such immersive policies to be the best way to uplift the Indian to “white” standards of citizenship.

At least one Carlisle student echoed this sentiment. In an 1887 essay contest that proclaimed Carlisle a place where “[e]very opportunity is given for free and independent thought,” students were asked to analyze the English-only teaching policy from their own personal experiences:

---

<sup>285</sup> “Is It Right,” *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 4 (September 2, 1887): 2, CCHS.

<sup>286</sup> 58<sup>th</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* 1889, 6.

You have been home, some of you, after studying nothing but English at Carlisle. How did you succeed? Did you wish you knew less English and more Indian? Some of you have tried the other way studying English with the Indian. Did you get along any faster? YOU know whether the work among your people by the native missionaries who were taught in Indian is good work or not.<sup>287</sup>

The winning essay appears limited in the amount of “free and independent thought” it exhibited with student Dennison Wheelock proclaiming, “The Indian language...is...the cord that pulls down the race who have been bound by the same cord to ignorance and barbarism for centuries.”<sup>288</sup> Still, Wheelock’s winning words did reflect the culture of living and learning at Carlisle. Both the assignment and the “winning” response suggest that Carlisle aimed to convince its students that reservation life and Indian cultural traditions prevented them from succeeding in American society.

But Carlisle also aimed to prove to itself that removing children from the influences of “ignorance and barbarism” was the only way for the Indian population to advance, indeed to survive. Years after winning the essay contest, Wheelock became an attorney and an active member of the Society of American Indians, founded in 1911 for “the purpose and protection and advancement of [the] race.” A member of the Oneida, Wheelock had been a serious music student at Carlisle. He graduated in 1890 and returned to the school as bandleader several years later, having become a world-renowned musician. Ultimately, Wheelock committed himself to Indian advancement through both music and legal work, and continued to praise the promise of Carlisle while remaining an Indian rights activist for the rest of his life.<sup>289</sup> Whatever his true childhood

---

<sup>287</sup> “Is It Right,” 2.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>289</sup> Dennison Wheelock to Richard Henry Pratt, 11 August 1922, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 9, Folder 323, BRBML; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 229; Clarke

or adult beliefs were regarding English-only language policies, his life testifies to the transformative culture at Carlisle, perhaps for better *and* worse.

Yet, for at least one teacher who worked at Carlisle in its final years, enforcing an English-only policy seemed cruel. Verna Dunagan, who taught music at Carlisle from 1915 to 1918, explained that teachers were supposed to “report” students every time they spoke in their native tongues. However, she admitted, “I closed my ears – every time. I never squealed on them, I just couldn’t do it...[T]hey’d feel so badly because they couldn’t speak their language and there’s where I think they made a mistake at the school.”<sup>290</sup> Dunagan believed in the mission of Carlisle, but she did not support—or abide by—all of its rules, particularly its English-only policy. She resisted simply by refusing to enforce the policy outside the classroom, a tactic that other teachers also must have used to grant students more freedom than the official Carlisle rules allowed. Such actions expose the imperial mission’s vulnerability, as it depended upon teachers’ adherence to its policies, and at the same time demonstrates its strength—evident, in part, by its flexibility and tolerance of teachers’ varied perspectives.

Other curricular policies and teaching methods used at Carlisle were much less controversial and reflected progressive education ideals championed more broadly in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. One such trend included the so-called “objective methods” of learning, inspired, in part, by Swiss education reformer Johann Pestalozzi. Many American teachers in this time period believed that children learned best from experience and by their senses. Rather than relying on textbooks, they

---

Garrett, *In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County* (Cumberland County Historical Society, 1997), 97-98.

<sup>290</sup> Mrs. Edward L. Whistler (Verna Dunagan), interview, 4, 34.

implemented object-oriented lessons and utilized materials from everyday life to enhance student learning.<sup>291</sup> Teaching English to non-native speakers required lessons that, at least partially, mimicked aspects of this progressive-style education. Teacher Emma Cutter described the early teaching methods at Carlisle as the “natural or conversational one,” whereby teachers showed students an object and had students recite the English word before teaching them to write it in script on the blackboard. According to Cutter: “When about twenty or thirty words had been learned, verbs were introduced, at first only such as could be illustrated by action and could follow the nouns already known. We walked, we ran, we jumped.” Cutter explained how other words and adjectives, the easiest of which to teach were colors, were then taught to aid students in helping to pronounce, write, and read simple sentences.<sup>292</sup> While the repetitive recitation served to teach correct pronunciation, spelling, and writing, the use of objects and of everyday activities to familiarize students with English vocabulary drew on progressive pedagogy.

Cutter’s description suggests that teachers at Carlisle approached their lessons with deliberation, breaking the learning of the English language into smaller steps to make the task more manageable. Beyond rote memorization, considered anathema to Pestalozzi-inspired education reformers, Carlisle faculty relied upon objects and the immediate surroundings to aid student learning. Similar “objective” or “natural” lessons were used to teach numbers and counting, where faculty relied upon objects and the senses to teach basic skills that catered to students’ needs.<sup>293</sup> While some credited Miss

---

<sup>291</sup> Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 85-89.

<sup>292</sup> Emma A. Cutter to R.L. Brunhouse, 29 March 1933, BRBML.

<sup>293</sup> “First Annual Report,” 5 October 1880, *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 7 (November 1880), CCHS; Levi Seeley, *Grube’s Method of Teaching Arithmetic* (New York: E.L. Kellogg and Co., 1891), 11-16, <https://archive.org/details/grubsmethodofte00seelrich>.

Semple—who worked with Pratt at Fort Marion—with developing these “objective methods,” others suggested that it was teacher Sarah Mather who first used the “natural method.”<sup>294</sup> As advisory teachers and Carlisle pioneers with significant classroom experience, Semple and Mather may have worked together to introduce such progressive pedagogy at the school. Regardless of who first introduced such methods at Carlisle, teachers embraced a pedagogy that they believed would help their Indian students.

For some students and teachers, learning and teaching a new language proved laborious. Nevertheless, teachers’ diligence and dedication sometimes paid off, as evident by students’ recollections. Although the pedagogy reflected “common sense methods,” its pace was sometimes challenging for everyone involved.<sup>295</sup> Student Jason Betzinez remembered:

It was extremely difficult for me to learn to speak English...I progressed very slowly, so slowly, in fact, that for the first three years it didn’t seem that I would ever learn...I was helped by my teachers, who patiently went over with me again and again the words and phrases I was trying to say. Finally I was pleased to have my teacher, a Miss F.G. Paull, of Blairsville, Pennsylvania, compliment me by saying, ‘Jason, you have made quite an advance. You are beginning to show improvement in your English.’ Thus encouraged I began to make better progress not only in English but in my other subjects.<sup>296</sup>

For Betzinez, learning English took years of repetition and only then was he able to advance in other subject areas. His teachers’ patience and encouragement made a strong impact on him, and he attributed his learning to their painstaking efforts and guidance. Although other teachers certainly helped Betzinez as he struggled with the new language, he credited Miss Paull with giving him confidence. Like many teachers at Carlisle during its early years, Miss Paull demonstrated great dedication to her students and the school,

---

<sup>294</sup> Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses*, 85.

<sup>295</sup> Emma A. Cutter to Nana Pratt, 15 February 1937, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 15, Folder 505, BRBML.

<sup>296</sup> Betzinez, *I Fought With Geronimo*, 154.

facilitating extracurricular performances, advising literary societies, and hosting Sunday school events.<sup>297</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that Betzinez identified Miss Paull for helping him learn English, as she tended students' academic and moral interests inside and outside of the classroom.

For Asa Daklugie, while learning English was not as arduous, he, too, described his teacher fondly. Daklugie recalled:

Learning English wasn't too bad. There was a necessity for memorizing everything because we could neither read nor write. Before the winter was over I was learning to read. My teacher was a white lady and she was very patient and kind to us. She taught us to write, too, and she was not bossy as most white ladies are. She was polite. She seemed to know without being told that I wanted desperately to be able to read and she helped me.<sup>298</sup>

Daklugie picked up English rather quickly, and he appreciated his teacher's work, manners, and insights. He does, however, contrast his teacher with "most white ladies" who he describes as "bossy," suggesting that he did not bond easily with all of his Carlisle teachers. Much like Betzinez, Daklugie believed that this teacher instinctually knew his academic desires, and he appreciated her guidance. Luther Standing Bear also admired his teacher, Marianna Burgess, and kept in touch with her for years. He even visited her at her California home to "ask her any question which may come up in my mind." When Standing Bear was a new student, Miss Burgess had taught him to write the alphabet, initially communicating through a translator and facial expressions. When he became frustrated and overwhelmed, she adjusted his assignments accordingly.<sup>299</sup>

Thus, some students—even those like Asa Daklugie who often resented and resisted the

---

<sup>297</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 21 (January 11, 1889); *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 29 (March 8, 1889); *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 18 (March 2, 1900); *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 23 (April 6, 1900); *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 24 (April 13, 1900).

<sup>298</sup> Asa Daklugie memoir in Ball et al., *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey*, 144.

<sup>299</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 138.

“new education” at Carlisle—sometimes appreciated the efforts of individual teachers and their commitment to student learning.

While teaching English had particular challenges, other subjects exposed students to what must have seemed radical approaches to education. Subjects like science and geography could transform the way students viewed the world in which they lived, generating both skepticism and wonder, and ultimately earning teachers greater respect. Luther Standing Bear believed the world was flat and “didn’t believe [his] teacher with globe presentation” until she invited an astronomer to class who accurately predicted an upcoming lunar eclipse. Standing Bear remembered, “After that, we readily believed everything our teacher told us about geography and astronomy.”<sup>300</sup> Similarly, Asa Daklugie was also impressed by geography. He explained:

One day she [his teacher] opened a big book to show me Arizona, and for the first time in my life I saw a map. I was fascinated. When she showed me mountains and rivers I could tell their names in my language. I knew the Spanish for some of them and a few in English. She let me take that geography book to the dormitory and Frank Mangus and I almost wore it out.<sup>301</sup>

Just as Standing Bear came to appreciate the miracles of science, Daklugie relished seeing maps of his homeland and looking at visual representations of a region with which he was intimately familiar. He used memories of his own experiences to engage the maps in geography books more fully, and perhaps, to re-imagine his old life.<sup>302</sup>

Of course, as Jason Betzinez had made clear, students often had to gain a firm understanding of English before they could understand other subjects. This early emphasis on teaching English and other introductory subjects changed over time as the

---

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>301</sup> Asa Daklugie memoir in Ball et al., *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey*, 144-145.

<sup>302</sup> “First Annual Report,” 5 October 1880, *Eadle Keatah Toh*: Teachers used maps, oral lessons, and drawing to teach geography.



needs of the institution and its students changed and as larger societal trends transformed education as a whole. As importantly, the student population grew steadily over Carlisle's first two decades, reaching its height in 1904—the same year Pratt left—and did not decline significantly until the school's last few years.<sup>303</sup> Early on, teachers mixed primary skills—speaking, reading, writing, and arithmetic—with a few other subjects and an industrial training program.<sup>304</sup> This curriculum was intended to target students' basic needs since most of them—including Luther, Jason, and Asa—did not know English and had not had much experience with western-style schooling. In contrast, by the 1910s, many Carlisle students, often the children of the school's alumni, had attended day schools close to their reservation before heading east to boarding school. They were better prepared for an academic program that emphasized specialized subjects.<sup>305</sup> As a result, sometime in 1915, plans were made to eliminate the lower grades at Carlisle, which were already declining numbers.<sup>306</sup> This shift to emphasize a high school curriculum followed a national trend, evident in the increasing popularity of freestanding

---

<sup>303</sup> See Table 3: Student Attendance at Carlisle on page 131.

<sup>304</sup> Although this dissertation focuses on the teachers of academic subjects and will discuss this work in greater detail below, industrial training held a particular significance in the nineteenth century imagination. Following the Civil War, industrial training like that developed at Carlisle was heralded by champions of the “new education” who believed that public schools should teach students' skills that would help them in the so-called “real world.” Northern reformers targeted immigrant communities while southern educators focused on blacks, both believing that these groups were particularly suited for industrial training. Of course, racial biases regarding immigrant and blacks' capabilities largely influenced such beliefs, as they did for Indians at Carlisle. Just as missionaries had instituted both academic and manual training with their Indian students utilizing a “half-and-half” day model years before Carlisle opened, the industrial training program at Carlisle reflected larger educational trends that developed over the course of the nineteenth century. See Reese, *America's Public Schools*, 99-107.

<sup>305</sup> Hattie M. McDowell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 20 July 1918, Hattie McDowell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>306</sup> Carlisle Supervisor O.H. Lipps to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 13 April 1915, Lucy Case Folder, NPRC.

high schools, which were established in huge numbers across the country. According to historian William J. Reese, “Americans built an average of one new high school per day between 1890 and 1920.” The popular demand for what people referred to as “people’s colleges” reflected progressive era reforms that advocated the development of expert knowledge and the rise of a professional class. But it also catered to the needs of at least some of Carlisle’s more advanced students.<sup>307</sup>

Yet, even by the 1910s, not all students were able to meet Carlisle’s higher standards of learning, ultimately adding to teachers’ stress. In fact, low graduation rates at the school suggest that most students did not demonstrate mastery in key areas at Carlisle. Still, greater emphasis on upper level courses in the school’s last several years increased the pressure on many teachers, including those who had initially taught the lower grades. In 1914, Emma Lovewell who had taught fourth grade for two years was moved up to seventh grade. The challenges involved both the expectations of other teachers and the lack of preparedness among pupils. Lovewell argued that seventh grade “has always been considered undesirable because one has to promote to please four department teachers. Therefore, one has to be doubly conscientious. As the pupils are weak in both language and arithmetic when they come to me a great deal devolves on me.”<sup>308</sup> For Lovewell and teachers in similar situations, the challenge of preparing students who lacked basic skills for more advanced level classes proved almost impossible. In 1912, Mattie Lane left Carlisle after teaching for one year, in part because

---

<sup>307</sup> Reese, *America’s Public Schools*, 181-183.

<sup>308</sup> Emma Lovewell to E.B. Linnen, 5 September 1914, Emma C. Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

she felt overwhelmed by students' lack of preparedness, disinterest in studying, and a learning environment she found lacked rigor. She complained:

I had sixth room work and there were pupils in my room that could not subtract to save their souls nor divide, in arithmetic. They had simply been put there by the former teacher I supposed to look like she had "done something." I complained of this fact to the Principal but he seemed to think it was "all right." No pupil was required to study, and even come into school...without even having looked at his or her lessons and with only half a day in school I could not see any chance for much advancement.<sup>309</sup>

For Lane and perhaps other teachers accustomed to working outside of the Indian Service, teaching at Carlisle proved overwhelming. Ultimately, cultivating an academic culture, whether geared toward low or high achieving students, created a trying task for many Carlisle teachers throughout the school's history.

One way teachers countered the amount of stress they experienced in the classroom was to rekindle their own learning. In the school's first couple of decades, Pratt encouraged his teachers to take time over the summer to learn something new in a field that interested them, and he pushed teachers to look for programs other than summer institutes geared specifically to Indian Education. In his 1898 annual report for Carlisle, Pratt pointed to the inspiration teachers found at progressive summer schools and argued,

---

<sup>309</sup> Mattie Lane to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1912, Mattie Lane Folder, NPRC.

<b>Table 3: Student Attendance at Carlisle<sup>310</sup></b>					
Year	Average Number of Students/Year*	Average Age of Student/Year (Male)	Average Age of Student/Year (Female)	Number of Students who Graduated/Year	Number of Student Deaths/Year
1879	158	16.44	14.6		1
1880	239	13.35	11.76		6
1881	295	14.21	12.33		8
1882	393	14.73	12.48		10
1883	368	16.71	14.91		8
1884	421	15.25	13.33		4
1885	494	16.11	14.37		9
1886	484	15.24	13.87		8
1887	547	15.1	15.12		11
1888	563	16.12	13.92		21
1889	595	16.43	14.52	14	13
1890	702	15.7	13.59	18	10
1891	754	15.57	14.84	11	8
1892	779	16.32	16.13	3	5
1893	731	17.47	15.48	6	5
1894	656	15.75	14.94	19	4
1895	668	17.01	14.52	20	11
1896	741	16.38	14.12	25	6
1897	790	15.81	14.42	26	3
1898	851	16.32	14.88	24	3
1899	878	16.83	15.49	31	6
1900	981	14.91	15.40	37	7
1901	970	17.1	14.93	29	3
1902	1023	16.67	15.8	42	0
1903	963	16.3	14.73	47	5
1904	1025	16.68	14.51	43	6
1905	898	16.44	14.58	43	7
1906	981	15.7	15.08	30	4
1907	984	18.46	15.47	23	3
1908	970	17.62	16.75	27	3
1909	967	18.02	15.81	25	2
1910	NA	17.85	17.04	23	6
1911	932	17.75	16.7	23	3
1912	792	17.51	16.56	21	4
1913	NA	17.48	15.97	15	4
1914	668	17.5	16.49	18	2
1915	~661	17.95	17.02	30	1
1916	~661	17.39	16.24		4
1917	~246	16.74	15.87	56	2
1918	~246	16.4	16.6	25	1
TOTAL				758	220

~ Refers to numbers that are averaged according to superintendent administrations (See Bell's Figure 2: Total Number of Students who attended Carlisle organized by tenure of Superintendents, page 77)

<sup>310</sup> Adapted from Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School": 45, 77, 333, 400, 402.

“It is a mistake to parochialize Indian schools into a system, or to consider Indian nature as different from human nature.”<sup>311</sup> Just as Pratt refuted the notion that Indian students were incapable of learning as much as white children, he did not want Carlisle teachers to have a narrow view of their students’ capabilities, nor did he want to limit teachers’ experiences because they were working in Indian education. Thus, in the late 1890s teachers attended a variety of courses held across the country to advance their professional development and energize their teaching. These included Dr. Parker’s Institute at Chicago as well as programs in Chautauqua, New York, Marblehead, Massachusetts, Mt. Gretna, Pennsylvania, and Martha’s Vineyard.<sup>312</sup> Many of these teachers reportedly cherished their experiences, having been exposed to new fields. For example, in 1899, one teacher wrote after studying “cryptogrammic botany” at the Cold Spring Laboratory in Long Island, ““I never saw so many sea animals alive.””<sup>313</sup>

The tradition of teachers expanding their own education over the summer continued throughout Carlisle’s history.<sup>314</sup> In summer 1913, for example, teachers participated in numerous institutes, many of which were conveniently located close to their hometowns. Miss Wilson studied grammar and Mrs. Dietz studied designing and arts and crafts at Chautauqua; Mrs. Lovewell and Miss Hagan studied at the Teachers’ Institute at Luray in Virginia; Miss Reichel studied history at Allegheny, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Foster studied English and mathematics at Strayer’s Business College in Washington, D.C.; and Miss Case studied grammar-grade methods, English literature,

---

<sup>311</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 28 September 1898, *19<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 391.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> *The Indian Helper* 14, no. 39 (July 21, 1899): 2.

<sup>314</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 158. According to Bell, the Bureau of Indian Affairs defunded teachers’ summer leave in 1911.

and history at Mt. Gretna, Pennsylvania where Miss Kaup studied primary methods, nature study, and elementary agriculture.<sup>315</sup> Such summer courses prepared teachers for their work and hopefully inspired them to apply their new knowledge in the classroom. Of course, these professional development programs were also indicative of the progressive era, as education reformers increasingly pushed teachers to become experts in their field.

Another progressive era reform introduced in Carlisle's later years involved "Efficiency Reports," used to assess teachers' overall fitness for their work.<sup>316</sup> Like other progressive innovations that advocated meticulous record keeping, these evaluations tracked employees and their work over time. More than demonstrating teachers' actual productivity, close readings of these reports reveal the qualities that Indian education officials valued. Each evaluation form included a standardized section where an administrator graded teachers in over twenty categories and rated them as "Excellent," "Good," "Satisfactory," or "Not Satisfactory." The most objective categories tracked teachers' position and salary as well as race, sex, age, years in service, marital status and health. Monitoring employees' age and overall physical condition reassured school officials that teachers would be physically fit to meet what was deemed to be the particularly demanding work of Indian education. The categories also suggest that administrators wanted employees to be well-kempt, polite, well-spoken, courteous and kind, likely in an effort to maintain a civilized, cultivated faculty who served as model citizens for Indian students.

---

<sup>315</sup> "Personals About Educational Leave," *The Carlisle Arrow* 10, no. 1 (September 5, 1913), John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>316</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 220: In 1912, the Efficiency Report forms were revised.

Other categories to be assessed, like “loyalty,” are vague but intimate a certain anxiety among education officials concerning teachers’ allegiance to Indian education or administrative policies, or the specific school. In addition to these personal categories, authorities kept track of professional qualities, ostensibly deemed relevant to their capacity as teachers, including initiative, openness to suggestion, adaptability, industry, interest in work, native ability, and acquired ability. These categories also suggest that officials wanted to assess teachers’ innate versus learned skills as well as their flexibility and dedication to their work. Of course, most of these categories were quite subjective and assessments thus likely reflected administrators’ preferences and prejudices. Overall, then, these “Efficiency Reports” tell more about Indian officials’ beliefs regarding an ideal working culture—one that valued progress and improvement— than about teachers’ skills and effectiveness.

<b>Table 4: Categories from Indian Service “Efficiency Reports” used at Carlisle, 1909-1918</b>		
Identifiers	Personal	Work
Position	Habits as to Appearance	Native ability
Salary	Courtesy to Others	Acquired ability
Race	Manners and speech	Initiative
Sex	Kindness to pupils	Openness to suggestion
Age	Loyalty	Adaptability
Years in service		Interest in work
Married or single		Industry
Physical condition		Musical ability (Vocal, Instrumental)
		General efficiency

As suggested by the scope of the Efficiency Reports, Carlisle teachers were expected to do much more than tend to students’ academic needs, even serving as parental figures. Of course, students had been taken away from their own family

structures and norms, which were devalued by “civilized” authorities at Carlisle. To make up for this loss, Pratt described one of Carlisle’s unique roles: “An Indian school differs from most others in that there is so much to teach in regard to manners that with others come naturally in the course of family life. One of these necessary features is that of association of the sexes on a proper footing.”<sup>317</sup> However, most of the school’s teachers lived outside of the idealized roles that the dominant society held for women. The majority of teachers at Carlisle were single women who had neither children nor a household to run. In fact, in 1885 all twelve teachers were single women between the ages of twenty-two and fifty-five. By 1904, seventeen of the twenty-one teachers were women, all white, of whom one had been at the school since its opening.<sup>318</sup> Some married couples did teach at Carlisle—including Elizabeth and John DeHuff and Fernando and Katharine Tranbarger—as the broader Indian Service sought by the late 1890s to hire married couples to model traditional gender roles for students and limit teacher turnover.<sup>319</sup> However, within a couple of decades, the Service found this to be problematic in terms of hiring spouses of superintendents as explained in a 1925 letter: “It was found that there was no one feature of the Service which caused more trouble than the employment of the wives of superintendents and other administrative officials, and for sometime past it has been the policy of the Office to discontinue the practice and to eliminate from time to time as occasion demands the services of those who are yet

---

<sup>317</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 25 August 1894, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1894* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 48, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>.

<sup>318</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 158.

<sup>319</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 84-98.



fulfilling positions in the Indian Field Service.”<sup>320</sup> Regardless of the benefits or problems associated with a superintendent and wife officially working together, the Pratts both worked at Carlisle, Richard as superintendent, supported by his wife, Laura, although she was not officially a school employee. The rest of the Carlisle teaching staff was composed mostly of single, white women which made it more difficult for them to model ideal behaviors related to domestic life and the proper “association of the sexes.”

<b>Table 5: Marital Status by Gender/Year Hired</b>					
Year Hired	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	Total
Female Single	9	6	9	14	38
Female Married	0	0	1	1	2
Female Widow	1	1	2	0	4
Male Single	0	0	0	2	2
Male Married	0	0	3	1	4

Even with large numbers of single employees, boarding school staff served as a substitute family for Indian children, demonstrating the intimacy involved in this imperial education project. As historian Cathleen Cahill argues, Indian boarding school superintendents, usually male, served as a father figure for the children while his wife, matrons, or other female employees took on a maternal role.<sup>321</sup> At Carlisle, Pratt assumed the role of school father with pride and viewed his wife as the school’s mother, but several other Carlisle teachers also played maternal roles. Complicating this scenario, teachers—like many students—also looked up to Pratt like a father figure. Upon Pratt’s dismissal in June 1904, twenty-two Carlisle employees—most of whom were teachers—signed the following:

<sup>320</sup> Commissioner Chas. H. Burke to Superintendent Port Apache Agency Charles L. Davis, 29 September 1925, Lydia A. Dittes Folder, NPRC.

<sup>321</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 84-85.

Dear General Pratt,

We, the employes[sic] of the Carlisle school wish to express our deep regret and heartfelt sorrow in parting with you as our leader.

We feel that we are better for having known you intimately, and are proud to have been associated with you. You have been like a kind father to us –taking us into your confidence – guiding us in our daily work. These thoughts of our relations with you will ever be glad memories to us.<sup>322</sup>

Among teachers who signed the letter were Marianna Burgess, Ann Ely, Fannie Paull, and Katherine Bowersox. More than losing a supervisor, these and other teachers felt that they were losing the guidance of a parent, and Pratt likely reciprocated such sentiment. More than a decade later, a school newspaper reported on the visit of the founding superintendent and his wife: “General Pratt presented a picture of himself and his wife to the girls for their new reception room. He said, ‘If I am the father of Carlisle, Mrs. Pratt is the mother.’”<sup>323</sup> Whether students imagined the Pratts in these roles is harder to gauge. Nevertheless, many school employees, particularly in its early decades, largely considered their work in familial terms.

Teachers took on parental roles in several ways. They regularly offered advice, cared for sick students, scolded the children when they acted out, and acted as role models, all as real mothers would have.<sup>324</sup> In a rare instance, one teacher became a student’s adoptive mother. Sarah Mather formed a special bond with a Carlisle student, “Jack,” ultimately adopting him as her own son and taking him to live with her in Florida

---

<sup>322</sup> Carlisle Co-workers to Richard Henry Pratt, 20 June 1904, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 9, Folder 332, BRBML.

<sup>323</sup> “Notes From Room No. 8,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 30 (April 2, 1915), CCHS.

<sup>324</sup> *Battlefield and Classroom*, 233; *The Morning Star* 4, no. 2 (September 1883), CCHS; Richard Henry Pratt to Chief S. Bear Rosebud, 15 December 1880, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 10-4, Bound Letters (24 December 1879 to 28 June 1881): 203; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 22 (January 13, 1888), CCHS.

when she retired.<sup>325</sup> In lieu of formal adoption, most teachers simply thought of themselves as mothers or “motherly.” As Emma Lovewell boasted in 1914, “The motherly talks which I have given the children have been appreciated by them and I trust have been helpful.”<sup>326</sup>

Other teachers also took their unofficial parental roles very seriously, including Marianna Burgess. As noted above, Marianna Burgess was a founding teacher, known for her forthright manner and strong will. Soon after she began work at the school she took charge of the printing press, helping to publish the school newspapers for the next twenty years. In this capacity, she had an even greater influence than most classroom teachers. In 1889, a decade after joining the staff, Burgess wrote a story, *Stiya, A Carlisle Indian Girl at Home: Founded on the Author's Actual Observations*. It was first published in *The Indian Helper* as a serial and later as a book. Her story depicted a young Pueblo girl, “Stiya,” educated in the East who returned “home” to her reservation, only to feel disgusted at her people’s customs. Ostensibly based on Burgess’ observations while visiting several reservations to recruit students for Carlisle, the story’s protagonist ultimately triumphs, leading her family to embrace a “civilized” lifestyle fit with tablecloths and silverware in spite of opposition from her tribe. Stiya proclaims,

---

<sup>325</sup> Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 258-263: The school separated “Jack” (Mather) from his biological sister when they arrived at the school; “Daily Morning Reports July 1, 1887 to July 1, 1891,” 5 February 1888: 16-17, Record Group 75, Entry 1331: “Jack Mather died 5 pm,” NADC.

<sup>326</sup> Emma Lovewell to E.B. Linnen, 5 September 1914, NPRC; *Battlefield and Classroom*, 233: Pratt described a former mission teacher employed at Carlisle “in charge of the dining room and kitchen” for the school’s first five years as “motherly to the individual students” and emphasized other teachers’ love for their students.

“they seemed so delighted that I felt more than repaid for the hard times I had passed through.”<sup>327</sup>

According to an 1891 article in *The Indian Helper*, likely penned by Burgess, Stiya served both as “encouragement” to Indian students to stand fast against the pressures to “return to the blanket” by their families and as “an apology” for “a system of Indian training, which does not and cannot guarantee” protection from the “circumstances and conditions of savage life.”<sup>328</sup> Of course, Stiya represented much more than encouragement or an apology. It spoke, in part, to the centrality that Burgess believed teachers *should* hold in students’ lives. Rather than working to please their parents, who the story suggested were disgusting and filthy, *Stiya* reflected the belief of Burgess and not doubt other teachers that students *should* maintain a “civilized” lifestyle, one that would even impress their Carlisle teachers.

While Burgess offered an exaggerated depiction of teachers’ influence on students, some pupils came to love and respect Carlisle staff members as they would family members, including Burgess and Pratt.<sup>329</sup> Luther Standing Bear recalled being one of a handful of students selected to return to the reservation in 1882 under Miss Burgess’ care to serve as her interpreter and “in order to show the Indians there that we were really learning the white man’s ways.” In describing this trip, Standing Bear wrote, “Although we knew but little of the English language, we were ready to do anything for Miss

---

<sup>327</sup> Embe, *Stiya, a Carlisle Indian Girl at Home; Founded on the Author’s Actual Observations* (1891; repr., Memphis: General Books, 2010), 30.

<sup>328</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 34 (May 1, 1891), CCHS.

<sup>329</sup> Good Bear to Ann Ely, 4 April 1894, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 13, Folder 456, BRBML.

Burgess.”<sup>330</sup> He claimed here and elsewhere in his memoir the great love and respect he felt for Miss Burgess, expressing a sense of devotion that children might show toward their parents. Similarly, Louis Paul of the class of 1906 thought of Pratt as a father figure even years after he left Carlisle. Upon Pratt’s death in 1924, Paul wrote a letter to his wife expressing his profound appreciation for having been one of Pratt’s “boys.” He wrote of his “School Father”: “He is gone? Yes, but he will ever be with his children.” Although not a devoted “son” while at Carlisle, when Louis thought white education was “wasted time,” years later, he came to value the lessons learned there and to admire Pratt’s “unswerving effort...of the Father who encountered more opposition than we have ever had to meet.”<sup>331</sup> Paul clearly came to respect Pratt as a paternal figure and a man with deep convictions.

In lieu of a true family structure, Carlisle sought to arrange students and staff in ways that would reinforce “association of the sexes on a proper footing.”<sup>332</sup> Part of raising respectable Indian children involved impressing upon them the importance of following Victorian gender roles as well as interacting appropriately with the opposite sex. Such norms were instituted prior to students’ arrival at Carlisle, and divisions between the sexes becoming more firmly entrenched once they entered the school’s gates. Boys and girls lived in separate quarters and learned different industrial trades. Like other schoolchildren of the time, boys learned trades like carpentry, blacksmithing, and

---

<sup>330</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 161.

<sup>331</sup> Louis J. Paul to Mrs. Laura Pratt, 30 May 1924, in *Indian Trails*, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 21, Folder 699, BRBML.

<sup>332</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 25 August 1894, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1894*, 408.

farming while girls practiced domestic skills like sewing, laundry, and cooking.<sup>333</sup>

Although girls and boys attended the same academic classes and dined together, Carlisle employees made deliberate efforts to separate the sexes whenever possible and maintained close surveillance of their behavior. Teachers monitored hallways, watching students as they came to or from class or returned to their room, purportedly for their own protection.

Historian Fear-Segal suggests that such surveillance at Indian boarding schools was crafted to seem omnipresent to students, scaring them into subordination. She discusses one of Carlisle's school newspapers, *The Indian Helper*, at length, and argues that its long-time editor, dubbed "the Man-on-the-Bandstand," served a particularly invasive and eerie role. She writes, "This anonymous, invisible, white, male persona brazenly located himself on the school bandstand [located in the center of school grounds], claiming it as both home and editorial site. From here he watched the children and commented on their activities."<sup>334</sup> For fifteen years, the-Man-on-the-Bandstand claimed to see and hear everything, and both praised and admonished students for their excellent or poor behavior. Fear-Segal as well as Carlisle Indian school biographer Barbara Landis believe that the teacher in charge of the printer and all school publications, Marianna Burgess, was likely the Man-on-the-Bandstand.<sup>335</sup> In this way, Burgess—one of Pratt's most beloved and loyal employees—ensured to the best of her ability that students knew they were always being watched. Such constant monitoring, whether by

---

<sup>333</sup> These skills often did not apply to students' lives after Carlisle, particularly if students returned to reservations. Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 147: Luther Standing Bear explained that he was trained to be a tinsmith while a student at Carlisle but that afterward "this trade did not benefit me any."

<sup>334</sup> Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 207.

<sup>335</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 65-66.

teachers' watchful eyes in classrooms and hallways or behind an amorphous literary figure, surely exhibited a certain level of distrust by authorities for their pupils. Perhaps teachers considered the constant surveillance normal, as they largely did not mention it explicitly in the historical record, except for more oblique complaints regarding the consuming or exhausting nature of working in an Indian boarding school. Or, perhaps they, like their students, had little space to make their ideas known. As anthropologist Genevieve Bell argues, "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was a place with extraordinarily strict discipline, remarkable surveillance, and an inflexible moral code that, unlike schools today, was not open to student, parental, or community dialog."<sup>336</sup> Yet even seemingly constant surveillance could only reach so far, even for an imperial project reliant upon its intimate relationships to effect cultural change.

Of course, authority figures—real or imagined—could not fully control student behaviors, particularly when it came to love and attraction. Some students passed notes or "exchang[ed] a silent greeting," as Asa Daklugie described his flirting with his beloved, Ramona.<sup>337</sup> Other students met behind closed doors to have sex. Such behavior convinced some teachers and administrators that vigilant surveillance was necessary to keep students in line. In November 1912, Superintendent Moses Friedman expressed shock and disappointment when he learned that two well-regarded Carlisle students had "illicit intercourse." To prevent other students from making such grave errors, Friedman expelled the two students and ordered that "the boys and girls of this school should take

---

<sup>336</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 115.

<sup>337</sup> Asa Daklugie memoir in Ball et al., *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey*, 147.

heed of the miserable ending in this case.”<sup>338</sup> A few weeks later, Friedman detailed another account of a sexual relationship between students that resulted in pregnancy, marriage and their leaving Carlisle.<sup>339</sup> In September 1913, Friedman admonished Principal Teacher John Whitwell, strongly advising that he watch the halls more carefully for the “safety of the girls” and to stop the boys from lingering around waiting for them.<sup>340</sup> By 1914, a former Carlisle nurse was “said to have knowledge of a number of girls being sent home from Carlisle on account of being in a delicate condition.”<sup>341</sup> Other unreported or unnoticed instances of sexual intercourse undoubtedly took place, revealing both the existence of students’ romantic activity as well as teachers’ inability to monitor all of their actions.

To counter such transgressions and promote “decent” behavior, teachers oversaw extracurricular activities to occupy students’ downtime and model proper etiquette for young men and women.<sup>342</sup> The goal was to enable them to interact in a respectable manner, a goal that was seen as increasingly important in public schools as well in this period. Still at Carlisle, teachers and staff had more control over students’ free time than in most public schools. Throughout much of Carlisle’s history, Friday nights were reserved as “society night,” referring to the literary and debating societies that formed

---

<sup>338</sup> Moses Friedman to Matron Gaither, 22 November 1912, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>339</sup> Moses Friedman to Major James McLaughlin, Indian Inspector, Department of the Interior, 5 December 1912, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>340</sup> Moses Friedman to John Whitwell, 9 September 1913, John Whitwell Folder 1, NPRC.

<sup>341</sup> Supervisor John B. Brown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 23 January 1914, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>342</sup> Teachers oversaw many clubs and extracurricular activities outside of their classroom duties. For examples, see *The Carlisle Arrow* 10, no. 1 (September 5, 1913), CCHS: Young Women’s Christian Association; *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 11 (October 26, 1888), CCHS: Missionary Society, “to help the Indian children of Alaska who have not yet as many advantages as we have in Education’s Road.”



and met from the 1880s through the 1910s. These groups, like much student life at Carlisle, were segregated by sex. In 1896, the boys had two debating societies while the girls were involved with the Susan Longstreth Literary society, “under the direction of some of the ladies, but they keep themselves in the background.”<sup>343</sup> By 1898, two teachers were required to visit meetings of the school’s three literary societies and provide “helpful criticisms” to these student-managed groups.<sup>344</sup> *The Indian Helper* reported that the responsibility imposed “no strain upon faculty” and was even enjoyable when the discussions were lively.<sup>345</sup>

One debate focused on women’s rights and occurred more than once over the years. In January 1890, the Girls’ Literary Society and the Standard Debating Club, open only to boys, sparred on “the question of the privilege which should be granted to women.” *The Indian Helper* reported that it was a “masterly effort on the part of both societies...[and t]he judges decided that the girls advanced the best argument” in favor of expanding women’s rights.<sup>346</sup> Many years later, in December 1914, the literary society known as “The Mercers” debated a similar question: “That woman suffrage should be granted throughout the United States,” and “[t]he negative side won.”<sup>347</sup> It is unknown what teachers felt about the outcomes of such debates, although they likely had firm beliefs regarding their own access to voting. Still with their oversight, these sex-

---

<sup>343</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 9, BRBML.

<sup>344</sup> *The Indian Helper* 13, no. 51 (October 7, 1898): 4, CCHS.

<sup>345</sup> Teachers also served as “official visitors” and advisors of debate clubs and reportedly “gave helpful remarks,” some of which could be quite critical of students’ “lack of conformity to parliamentary usage” at meetings. See: *The Indian Helper*, 14, no. 11 (January 6, 1899); *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 18 (March 2, 1900); *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 6 (October 9, 1914); *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 30 (April 2, 1915), CCHS.

<sup>346</sup> *The Indian Helper* 5, no. 21 (January 24, 1890), CCHS.

<sup>347</sup> *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 17 (January 1, 1915), CCHS.

segregated, student-run societies sometimes grappled with issues concerning the place women should hold in society, all while reinforcing dominant cultural norms concerning male and female respectability.

While Friday nights were reserved as society night, Saturday nights often involved a sociable or other entertainment that helped underscore the importance of proper behavior while letting the students have some fun. At the monthly sociable, teachers supervised the students during the “two hours... spent in social visiting, games, etc.”<sup>348</sup> In September 1898, *The Indian Helper* reported:

The sociable on Saturday night seemed like old times. It was the first of the season and there were many happy comings-together of brothers and sisters, and sisters of other peoples' brothers with brothers of other peoples' sisters. The band played its best pieces, while the throng promenaded or played games. It was a good time for the new students to get acquainted. There were very few "wall flowers," for the entertainment committee kept things lively.<sup>349</sup>

Making light of the “sisters and brothers” who enjoyed each others’ company, a vague reference perhaps to playful but well-monitored flirting between the sexes, this first sociable of the year was reported as a resounding success. Bell found that such rules regarding respectability were not enforced equally under all of the school’s administrations, arguing that Pratt’s successor Superintendent “Mercer relaxed many of the social restrictions that had been common practice...permitting male and female pupils ‘to dance as many as two to three times a week and just have a general good time,’” as revealed in the 1914 Congressional investigation discussed at length later in this

---

<sup>348</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 25 August 1894, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1894*, 408; Adams, “Beyond Bleakness,” 51: “Other than in the classroom, and perhaps the dining room, the sexes were generally kept apart, except in carefully monitored moments, such as on Saturday evenings when smaller children tossed bean bags and played other innocent games and older ones came together for waltzes, square dances, and Virginia reels.”

<sup>349</sup> *The Indian Helper* 13, no. 50 (September 30, 1898), CCHS.

chapter.<sup>350</sup> After Mercer, the next several superintendents instituted greater surveillance over students at social events, achieving varying degrees of success at controlling their behavior.

Throughout the school's history, students looked forward to social events, often held on weekends. Student Jason Betzinez recalled enjoying such "a Saturday night sociable and other entertainment which was provided for us."<sup>351</sup> The "other entertainment" on Saturday evenings often involved student performances of songs, recitations, and readings that teachers helped students prepare. Several years after Betzinez's time at Carlisle, Superintendent Friedman hoped to enliven this type of Saturday evening entertainment to better "enthuse and inspire the entire student body." To do so, he requested greater teacher participation in guiding and preparing students for these events.<sup>352</sup> While public school teachers might be expected to help students prepare for musical or other performances, those at Carlisle guided students' behavior and performance inside and outside of the classroom on a weekly basis.

Beyond reinforcing dominant cultural norms around sex and respectability at weekend gatherings, teachers helped to guide students' moral compass toward Christianity, sometimes in very overt ways. As a government-sponsored school, Carlisle

---

<sup>350</sup> As cited in Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 84: United States Congressional Inquiry, *Carlisle Indian School, Hearings before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States to Investigate Indian Affairs, Feb. 6-8 and March 25, 1914*. 63rd Congress, 2nd Session. Part II. (Washington: Government Printing Office 1914): 1047-48.

<sup>351</sup> Betzinez, *I Fought With Geronimo*, 155.

<sup>352</sup> Moses Friedman to John Whitwell, 29 September 1913, John Whitwell Folder, NPRC; Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 84. Genevieve Bell found that such rules regarding respectability were not enforced equally under all of the school's administrations. She argued, "Seemingly at odds with this adherence to military discipline, Mercer relaxed many of the social restrictions that had been common practice ... permitting male and female pupils 'to dance as many as two to three times a week and just have a general good time' (US Congress 1914: 1047-48)."

did not have an official religious affiliation nor did it include religious education classes as part of its curriculum. Nevertheless, even more than public schools in the late nineteenth century that promoted Protestant ideals while claiming to be secular, Carlisle openly embraced and promoted Christianity. In January 1880, only a couple of months after the school opened its doors, its newspaper, *Eadle Keatah Toh* declared, “God Helps Those Who Help Themselves.” A front-page article described students’ daily gatherings in the chapel, weekday singing and prayer sessions, as well as Sunday services. The writer then proclaimed, “The pupils...are beginning to respond to the earnest and kindly efforts of the teachers to instill into their darkened minds Christian truths, and a desire to seek God and to know His world.”<sup>353</sup> Thus, from the school’s inception, teachers were responsible for “saving” Indian “heathens” by making them “good Christians.” Years later government officials, including Superintendent of Indian Schools Estelle Reel, publicly claimed that the course of study designed for Indian students should lead to “better morals, a more patriotic and Christian citizenship, and ability for self-support.”<sup>354</sup> While the extent of teachers’ overt proselytizing undoubtedly changed over time and differed depending upon the individual, Carlisle relied upon its teachers to influence students’ beliefs, and the behaviors that reflected those beliefs. In this way, work at the Pennsylvania boarding school mimicked that of Christian missionaries in its reliance upon an intimate network to spread the gospels, or in the case of imperial education, in replacing indigenous norms with those of the dominant culture.

---

<sup>353</sup> *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 1 (January 1880): 1, CCHS.

<sup>354</sup> Estelle Reel (Superintendent of Indian Schools), 10 August 1901, in *Course of Study for Indian Schools of the United States; Industrial and Literary* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901): 5-6, CCHS.

Tasked with “saving” Indian children or simply serving as models of Christian behavior, teachers’ religious convictions and way of life certainly shaped their work and the lives of many of their students. Teachers chaperoned students who “chose” to leave campus and attend church in town and encouraged other students to “voluntarily” attend nondenominational services held at school.<sup>355</sup> While the language suggests students decided whether to attend religious services, some students, like Jason Betzinez, remembered churchgoing as mandatory.<sup>356</sup> Whether church attendance was mandated, coerced or encouraged, teachers clearly influenced students’ religious inclinations through their own example and leadership. They led Sunday School small group discussions, read Bible verses at or advised the school’s Y.W.C.A group, took students to Y.M.C.A meetings, and demonstrated their personal Christian devotion. They both directly and indirectly demonstrated to students what it meant to “be a good Christian.”<sup>357</sup>

Of course, outsiders did not always praise overt evangelizing, particularly in the decades after Carlisle closed its doors. Into the 1920s, reformers continued to promote Christianity in Indian schools, although by the end of the decade, the U.S. government began to reconsider this and other assimilationist practices after the 1928 release of *The Problem of Indian Administration*, most often referred to as the Meriam Report, named after its lead investigator, Lewis Meriam. Among other problems that largely condemned conditions on reservations and boarding schools, the report blamed the government and

---

<sup>355</sup> *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 2, (September 11, 1914), CCHS.

<sup>356</sup> Betzinez, *I Fought With Geronimo*, 156.

<sup>357</sup> *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 18 (March 2, 1900), CCHS; “General School News,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 11 (November 13, 1914): “Miss Snoddy, Mrs. Ewing, and Miss Roberts have been chosen to act as an advisory committee for the Y.W.C.A.”, CCHS; *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 14, (December 4, 1914), CCHS; R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 25 August 1894, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1894*, 406; Eastman, Pratt: *The Red Man’s Moses*, 85.

missionaries for failing “to study, understand, and take a sympathetic attitude toward Indian ways, Indian ethics, and Indian religion.”<sup>358</sup> By 1933, Commissioner John Collier ordered all superintendents to forbid “interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression.”<sup>359</sup> Likely referring to this shift in Indian reform, Elaine Goodale Eastman published *Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses* in 1935 where she defended the founding superintendent and Carlisle against accusations of obligatory conversions. She argued, “[I]n reference to recent charges of forcible proselyting ...the main factors of spiritual growth were to be found in the unconscious influence and example of a devoted group of high-minded teachers, and that such young people as formally accepted Christianity...did so quite voluntarily.”<sup>360</sup> Although Eastman agreed with some reformers—believing that Indian schools should be closer to reservations and that students should interact with their families and communities—she still valued the means of persuasion embodied by Carlisle.<sup>361</sup>

Despite Eastman’s claims concerning students’ “voluntary” conversions, evidence demonstrates that evangelizing was very much a conscious decision made by school officials and teachers. For example, in contemplating a promotion, teacher Katherine Bowersox wrote a series of letters in 1902 to Superintendent Pratt where she admitted

---

<sup>358</sup> Institute for Government Research with Technical Director, Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928), 16, <http://books.google.com>.

<sup>359</sup> Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-determination Since 1928* (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press), 67.

<sup>360</sup> Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses*, 85

<sup>361</sup> Theodore D. Sargent, *The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

feeling “in entire sympathy in the religious and moral life of the school.”<sup>362</sup> She

explained, “I regard the work of teaching the boys and girls directly as just as deserving of honor – in fact more so. After all – we serve the Lord God in any position.”<sup>363</sup>

Bowersox was one of many teachers who believed that Indian education had holy, as well as a practical, purposes. In June 1904, she and almost twenty other teachers wrote to Pratt upon his dismissal from the superintendency:

The idea which God entrusted to your care twenty five years ago has carried conviction into the hearts of all thinking men and women...Long after you shall have passed away, our red brother will bless the man who made the ‘Brotherhood of Man’ a reality...out of our momentary defeats God brings eternal victory...We are confident that the spirit which has so nobly striven to overcome ignorance and oppression will continue to be the guiding star that shall lead the Indian into noble self-support and citizenship.<sup>364</sup>

In addition to revealing their thanks and praise of Pratt’s godly devotion, teachers believed that their work to uplift Indians was mandated by God and, therefore, destined to succeed, a belief that continued well after Pratt left. This sense of divine purpose enhanced the imperial education mission, inspiring many teachers to fully commit to their work, and justified these intimate yet expansive efforts.

Teachers helped to reinforce the importance of Christianity by hosting elaborate Christian holiday celebrations, notably Christmas. Luther Standing Bear fondly remembered his first Christmas at Carlisle. He was “marched down to the chapel” in December 1879 and was surprised to find it filled with a big, decorated tree and presents for all of the students. His presents included gifts from Marianna Burgess as well as his

---

<sup>362</sup> Katherine S. Bowersox to Richard Henry Pratt, 20 August 1902, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 1, Folder 36, BRBML.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> Carlisle Co-workers to Richard Henry Pratt, 20 June 1904, BRBML.

Sunday School teacher, Miss Eggee.<sup>365</sup> Christmas celebrations, often held over several days, regularly included grand feasts, a church service, and a sociable. Teachers facilitated these festivities, providing food for the turkey dinner, attending the holiday service, and chaperoning social gatherings.<sup>366</sup> They handed out gifts, encouraged students to make gifts for one another, prepared the children for Santa's visit, received presents from their students, and enjoyed a festive meal with their colleagues.<sup>367</sup> Of course, not all teachers remained on school grounds during the holidays; some returned home to celebrate with their own families for a few days.<sup>368</sup> Still, whether Carlisle teachers were on campus or visiting relatives, they showed Indian students both the joy and solemnity of the holiday.

For many Carlisle students, Christianity had a profound influence on their lives and they attributed their conversions to the school's culture and teachers' Christian spirit. Former student Paul Good Bear wrote to his teacher, Ann Ely, on April 4, 1894, sending her seventy-five cents that he had borrowed four years earlier and suggested that, as a Quaker, he wanted to repay her.<sup>369</sup> As Betzinez recalled: "The most powerful influence on my life at this or any other time was my introduction to the teachings of

---

<sup>365</sup> Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 146-147.

<sup>366</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 19 (December 23, 1887): 2, CCHS; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 21 (January 6, 1888): 3, CCHS; *The Indian Helper* 4, 20 (January 4, 1889): 1, 4, CCHS.

<sup>367</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 19 (December 23, 1887): 2, CCHS; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 21 (January 6, 1888): 3, CCHS; *The Indian Helper* 4, 20 (January 4, 1889): 1, 4, CCHS; "Chips from Christmas '99," *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 10 (January 5, 1900), CCHS.

<sup>368</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, 20 (January 4, 1889), CCHS; *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 10 (January 5, 1900), CCHS; *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 17 (January 1, 1915), CCHS; John Whitwell to Moses Friedman, 29 December 1910, John Whitwell Folder 1, NPRC.

<sup>369</sup> Good Bear to Ely, 4 April 1894, BRBML.



Christianity...It changed my whole life.”<sup>370</sup> He attributed his conversion, in part, to the powerful influence of the superintendent and his teachers:

Pratt had the wisdom to select teachers who were mature, experienced, and possessed of firm religious convictions. Although he intended for disciplinary and other reasons to make the school military in its outward appearance, at the core it was to be strongly religious in character. Pratt believed that discipline, kindness, and religion were the three foremost elements in rehabilitating these primitive children.<sup>371</sup>

Although other Carlisle graduates may not have remembered the religious influence from with such fondness, Betzinez highlighted the profound impact that it played at the boarding school, particularly among the many teachers who held “firm religious convictions.” Indeed, it is hard to imagine Pratt or the Indian Service hiring teachers who did not embrace Christianity with fervor.

Carlisle teachers’ “mission” to help assimilate and prepare Indian students for responsible citizenship was both subtly and overtly affected by their faith. Indeed Betzinez suggested that religion, softened by kindness, served in a sense as a form of discipline—even more than the military structure of the school. Thus, while military drilling “outwardly appeared” to control students’ behavior, according to Betzinez, Christianity made a deeper impression on students’ conduct by teaching them the importance of internal control. The extent to which this proved true for other students, of course, was variable. Nevertheless, Christianity played a critical role at Carlisle, in large part due to teachers’ efforts to influence students spiritually as they taught them the dominant culture’s norms and rules.

---

<sup>370</sup> Betzinez, *I Fought With Geronimo*, 156.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

While Christianity imbued a sense of discipline in some students, Carlisle instituted other methods to maintain order, some of which were also used at other Indian schools. Some modern scholars cite these diverse methods of punishment and emphasize their cruelty. In *Boarding School Blues*, for example, historian Clifford Trafzer detailed the many options teachers and staff had to discipline pupils they considered unruly:

When students spoke their own languages, lied, used obscene language, fought, stole, destroyed property, acted stubbornly, or misbehaved, teachers, disciplinarians, matrons, and superintendents could inflict corporal punishment or imprison the child. School officials withheld food, restricted student privileges, or forced children to march, mop floors, paint walls, clean filthy bathrooms, and perform other distasteful jobs. Teachers slapped the palms of students' hands, made students stand in the corner, lie on the floor in front of classmates, wear dunce hats, stand on one foot, and clean the mortar between bricks with a toothbrush.<sup>372</sup>

In addition, he claims, “Teachers and administrators sometimes ordered older students to perform the punishment of their classmates. This included whipping the backs, buttocks, and thighs of boys and girls.” Finally, “company officers and others also confined children to stockades, jails, or guardhouses—often hidden from plain view of curious visitors to the schools.”<sup>373</sup> Here, the varied nature of the punishments, as well as the punishments themselves, suggest the severe, violent, even sadistic nature of discipline implemented at Indian schools. Trafzer points to the ubiquity of such punishments, reinforced by all individuals at the schools—administrators, teachers, even students. Regardless of the specific disciplinary methods used at Carlisle, which changed over time, the school’s mission, “to take the Indian out,” suggests a culture that tolerated a certain level of violence to “help” Indians learn the ways of the dominant culture.

---

<sup>372</sup> Trafzer, et al., “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System,” 21.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

In 1890, the federal government did determine that for on-reservation boarding schools, “Corporal punishment must be resorted to only in cases of grave violations of rules, and in no instances shall any person inflict it except under the direction of the superintendent, to whom all serious questions of discipline must be referred. Employés may correct pupils for slight misdemeanors only.”<sup>374</sup> It is likely that such rules also applied to Carlisle, although they may have been even less enforceable at an off-reservation boarding school. By 1895, the federal government banned corporal punishment at Indian schools altogether, although ensuring adherence to such policies was difficult, and the practice continued at Indian schools throughout the country.<sup>375</sup> Still, attempts were made to corral the use of severe punishment. Ultimately, the idea of discipline was central to imperial education, as it aimed to control and redirect the behavior and beliefs of cultures deemed “uncivilized” or wayward.

Although similar punishments were used at all Indian schools at the turn of the century, understanding its particular forms and uses at Carlisle helps to show the intimacy and discipline of imperial power in operation. Its teachers employed a wide range of measures to maintain control over student learning and behavior, including at times corporal punishment. To redress mild insubordination, some ordered students to repetitively write a phrase on the chalkboard, stand in a corner, or scrub the floors. When their authority and tactics were not enough to redirect an unruly student, they often

---

<sup>374</sup> “Rules for Indian Schools,” 59<sup>th</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1890* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890), CLII, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>; Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School.”

<sup>375</sup> David Wallace Adams, “The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918,” (EdD dissertation, Indiana University, 1975), 124.

sought the help of a supervising teacher or, if violations were severe, the superintendent. Thus, teachers relied upon the hierarchy of power within the school to ensure student compliance, but sometimes even this was not enough. Although some students thrived in the structures imposed at Carlisle, others did not, resulting in extra disciplinary measures. For some teachers, at least, particular forms of discipline must have tested their Christian principles. Others clearly believed that the ends justified the means, even if those means seemed cruel in practice.

From its earliest years, Carlisle promoted a culture that valued self-discipline. Although not officially a military school, Pratt implemented military-style drilling and marching and grouped students into squads soon after they arrived at the school.<sup>376</sup> Beyond organizing classes as if they were in a military academy, Pratt explained that when he established the school, “I concluded I would relieve myself and my faculty of the responsibility of determining punishments so far as I could, and inaugurated a system of courts composed of the pupils themselves, and throughout the whole period of the School we have managed our punishments in that way with greatest success.”<sup>377</sup> Such student-run courts were used at only “some more advanced schools” where it was deemed “practical and advisable to have material offenses arbitrated by a school court composed of advanced students, with school employés added to such court in very aggravated cases.” The federal government advised that while these courts could rule on a student’s guilt and determine the punishment, that “the approval of the superintendent shall be necessary before the punishment is inflicted, and the superintendent may modify

---

<sup>376</sup> Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 86-88; Mrs. Edward L. Whistler (Verna Dunagan), interview, 3-4.

<sup>377</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 1, BRBML.

or remit but may not increase the sentence.”<sup>378</sup> Used at Carlisle and other “advanced schools,” this measure of self-discipline—where students were responsible for moderating one another’s behavior—gave the appearance of a less hierarchical disciplinary system than those used at other schools. However, overseen by Pratt and other employees, these courts worked within a larger structure of discipline and behavior expectations. Although the superintendent could not increase a sentence, his oversight suggests that these courts were not as autonomous as they appeared. Still, sometimes student sentences were harsher than those employed by Pratt.

In addition to student-run courts, students also watched over one another and served as guards, responsible for students locked up for severe rule violations. Jason Betzinez recalled, “I myself was on guard duty on many occasions and had the job of guarding some of my fellow Indians who had gotten drunk or committed offenses of a more serious nature.”<sup>379</sup> Some Indian students took pride in their role reinforcing school policies. Ultimately, the success of imperial education relied upon students internalizing and reproducing behaviors admired by the dominant culture, and this was sometimes successful.

Carlisle also employed public humiliation or shaming tactics to further emphasize student conformity. Pratt reported, “Walking in the band stand for one or two or three hours, in sight of all the other pupils, is excellent punishment.”<sup>380</sup> Students sometimes wore a sign that pointed to their offense, i.e. “Drunk,” as was determined by the student-

---

<sup>378</sup> 59<sup>th</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* 1890, CLII.

<sup>379</sup> Betzinez, *I Fought With Geronimo*, 50.

<sup>380</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 1.

run court, as in one particular case.<sup>381</sup> The school newspaper affected other forms of public shaming, even before the Man-on-the-Bandstand emerged as an all-knowing character featured in *The Indian Helper* in 1885. For example, in March 1880, *Eadle Keatah Toh* reprinted a letter Sioux Chief White Thunder originally had written to his son:

You did not listen to the school teacher, and for that reason you were schooled...I send you there to be like a white man and I want you to do what the teacher tells you...I hope you will listen to your teachers for it makes me feel bad when I hear you do not...When you get this letter take it to Capt. Pratt and have him read it and I hope he will rite[sic] to me. That is all. Your father, WHITE THUNDER.<sup>382</sup>

By publishing the letter, school officials used the voice of the Sioux chief to remind *all* students that they were obligated to listen to teachers. In this and other ways, staff also suggested that students essentially spy on one another. And, of course, the letter simultaneously shamed White Thunder's son and threatened to shame other students if they disrespected school authorities.

Of course, some students invariably broke the rules and serious infractions could lead to solitary confinement and corporal punishment, reinforcing a school culture based at least in part on fear. Although teachers did not usually mete out such punishments themselves, some likely relied upon it as a threat to counter serious misbehavior. Pratt admitted to sometimes using the facilities particular to an army barracks, the two light and four dark cells "for the confinement for the young men to a limited extent...It is one of the best methods that can be administered to a criminal to let him have only his own company."<sup>383</sup> Eastman recalled that although Pratt "approved of corporal punishment on

---

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 2. (April 1880), CCHS.

<sup>383</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 1, BRBML.

occasion,” he judged each case individually.<sup>384</sup> She thus defended him against “enemies [that] called him a ‘martinet, harsh, arrogant, arbitrary.’” Admitting that some supporters considered such methods “severe,” Eastman concluded that the disciplinary system ultimately worked, earning the respect of many students.<sup>385</sup> Years after Pratt left Carlisle, some methods of confinement continued to be used to punish wayward students. For example, in 1906, four students stole and ate twenty pies from the bakery. Three of the four accused were subsequently locked in the guardhouse with “privileges taken away and...given extra work” while the ringleader was given unspecified “special punishment or dismissal” from the school.<sup>386</sup> Thus, the offense of stealing food led to severe consequences suggesting that the reign of discipline and punishment continued, perhaps even heightened by later superintendents.

Like other aspects of the school’s culture, discipline was often viewed, and punishment given, according to gendered beliefs, a practice followed in most public schools as well. The case of Mary Gray sheds some light on this process and also shows how teachers instituted their own forms of punishment to maintain classroom control. In 1914 under Superintendent Friedman’s administration, student Mary Gray complained that the Principal Teacher John Whitwell had treated her too harshly. Whitwell defended himself against accusations of slapping Gray “as hard as I could in the face,” claiming that he may have “slapped her lightly in the face” as he had done a couple of times to other impudent girls over the course of his thirty year teaching career.<sup>387</sup> However, he

---

<sup>384</sup> Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses*, 209.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

<sup>386</sup> John Whitwell to Moses Friedman, 31 July 1913, John Whitwell Folder 1, NPRC.

<sup>387</sup> John Whitwell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 April 1914, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

claimed that otherwise he was “unqualifiedly opposed to corporal punishment for girls under any circumstances, aside from the fact that I know it is a violation of the regulations.”<sup>388</sup> While the Indian Service had outlawed corporal punishment at their schools in 1895, Whitwell apparently believed it was only unacceptable “for girls.”<sup>389</sup> He likely disagreed with the larger ban, particularly in cases of boys’ insubordination. And even with girls, Whitwell deemed light slapping acceptable in cases of female students’ absolute defiance. He also admitted to standing Gray in a corner while denying that he treated her roughly on this or other occasions. To justify his own behavior, moreover, he noted Gray’s history of troublemaking and reported that other teachers had made her “get down on her knees” for being “so bad.”<sup>390</sup>

Emma Lovewell, who had taught Gray three years earlier, testified that:

When gentle reprimands and good motherly talks proved to be of no avail, I resorted to putting her in the bookroom...I made her do scrubbing which seemed to work well for a few days, but her bad nature would assert itself. However, the attacks were less frequent, for she had the scrubbing hanging over her which she very much disliked.

When asked about her conduct she would state positively that she did not do a thing when it was done right before my eyes. She was so much improved that I had hopes of her but my heart was made sad when I learned from the next teacher that the reform was not lasting.<sup>391</sup>

While a boy who displayed such insolence likely would have received more severe punishment, Lovewell listed what she clearly considered more “acceptable” methods employed to corral Gray’s behavior—kneeling, separation from the class, motherly talks, scrubbing. All of these were apparently intended to maintain the girl’s feminine dignity

---

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School,” 23.

<sup>390</sup> John Whitwell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 April 1914, NPRC.

<sup>391</sup> Emma C. Lovewell to John Whitwell, 9 April 1914, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.



while punishing her insolence. As with most cases of discipline at the school, when questions arose it was often one person's word against another, usually teacher versus student. Not surprisingly, teachers' authority generally won out.

While Whitwell clearly pushed the boundaries of physical punishment and Lovewell used methods she hoped would persuade the students to improve his or her behavior, at least one teacher believed the culture of punishment at Carlisle did not go far enough. In July 1912, again under Friedman's administration, teacher Mattie Lane abruptly left Carlisle and justified her actions by arguing, "[I]t is supposed to be a military school, yet there is no such thing as discipline."<sup>392</sup> Lane expected Carlisle to have a much stricter code of conduct because of its reputation as a military school, although, of course, it was in actuality simply an Indian boarding school. When students refused to do work or were otherwise insolent to teachers, Lane believed the "punishment" to "scrub some floor or else give such 'light diet'" only encouraged other acts of insubordination.<sup>393</sup> Rather than tolerating such a work environment, Lane left the school without any notice, in part, to reinforce her absolute disapproval of what she viewed as the school's leniency against student unruliness.

Over the school's forty-year history, administrations enforced discipline to different degrees. Drawing from his military background, Pratt founded a school environment that mimicked the structures and expectations held by the armed services, including its reliance upon students, like soldiers, to reinforce the rules. Less is known about Mercer's administration, although historical evidence suggests that his oversight was much less strict than his predecessor's, leading to several years where students

---

<sup>392</sup> Mattie Lane to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1912, NPRC.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

became more accustomed to slightly greater freedoms and less risk of punishment. In 1908, Superintendent Friedman inherited a school that had experienced great decline. He spent his six years at the school working to reinstitute some of the structures known under the school's founder, including strict rules regarding drinking and socializing, however, he ultimately faced great resistance from students, teachers, and the Indian Office. Carlisle's last two superintendents, like Friedman, attempted to bring more order to the school but ultimately struggled to return the school to its former ways. Much of the change in discipline can be attributed to the individuals in charge and the expectations they set for students and staff members.

However, Carlisle functioned within a society that experienced great change over forty years, including beliefs regarding the speed at which Indians could be assimilated. Perhaps the school's lax discipline in later years drew, in part, from the racially held beliefs regarding Indian capabilities. While Pratt worked under the assumption that with a change of environment, Indians could adapt to dominant culture, within a generation, later superintendents, including Mercer, reflected beliefs held by the twentieth century Indian bureaucracy, that Indians' progress toward "civilization" would be slow because of their racial inferiority. Moreover, Pratt was personally and professionally invested in Carlisle; it was his school, design, and vision, and his successors did not have the same level of commitment or stake in its success. Thus, for various reasons, Carlisle's disciplinary methods changed over time. Still, throughout the school's history, students, teachers, and administrators created a school culture that reflected norms held by the dominant society, including disciplinary actions. Although Trafzer is correct in listing the seemingly countless means by which Indian boarding schools generally enforced

student obedience, it is also important to understand Carlisle's particular methods and how these, too, changed. Moreover, placing such disciplinary methods into a broader historical context—including those used at non-Indian boarding, public, and parochial schools—suggests that Indian students, like other students throughout the country, experienced a range of punishments, some harsher than others; some, perhaps, were racially or culturally motivated and others were intended to align student behavior to school and societal expectations.<sup>394</sup> At Carlisle, these methods demonstrated the power of U.S. imperial ambition, used to assimilate Indian youth to the dominant culture.

Although discipline was clearly distinct from another harsh reality Carlisle faced—disease—one article in *The Indian Helper* conflated the two. In January 1900, an article noted the following:

The state of Pennsylvania, and the West are full of small pox, so it is reported. A runaway boy who was brought back to the school was the first to come down with it, and he was noticed before he came down. We are safer here than almost any place in the state or country, for we have a systematic watch, and a suspicious pimple is at once spotted.<sup>395</sup>

The article served to simultaneously defuse the threat of disease and a student runaway, making light of both by representing small pox as a problem facing people living outside of Carlisle and insinuating that students would be safer if they remained at the school. Only a runaway, the report suggested, was at risk of the disease, subtly reminding students that deserting school was dangerous. The mocking tone in this passage minimized the threat posed by disease and student runaways, although both posed real risks to the school. In fact, student runaways were a problem throughout Carlisle's

---

<sup>394</sup> Reese, *America's Public Schools*; John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2016); Tyack, *The One Best System*; Quincy Adams Kuehner, "The Evolution of the Modern Concept of School Discipline," (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1913).

<sup>395</sup> *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 13 (January 26, 1900), CCHS.

history and that of all Indian schools, although such desertions and the resulting punishments are largely unmentioned in the historical record.<sup>396</sup> Disease, however, was more difficult to hide, although certainly measures were sometimes taken to minimize its damage to the school's reputation.

Diseases like consumption, measles, tuberculosis, and trachoma plagued all Indian schools, including Carlisle. At the Phoenix Indian School, a boarding school that opened just two years after Carlisle, all of these diseases struck in the late 1890s and early 1900s. A December 1899 measles outbreak was particularly vicious, infecting over three hundred individuals, of whom nine died within ten days. A large-scale measles outbreak occurred in 1907 that also proved deadly for many.<sup>397</sup> Tuberculosis proved more common than outbreaks of diseases like measles. Indeed, Trafzer wrote, "Many children at the Indian schools contracted tuberculosis, the foremost infectious disease among American Indian children during the first half of the twentieth century."<sup>398</sup> Historian Cathleen Cahill also noted the "atrocious health conditions in the boarding schools, especially the high rates of tuberculosis and the eye disease trachoma" that, by 1908, "spurred the Indian Office to try to improve Indian health" by addressing issues of sanitation, building hospitals and introducing health education programs.<sup>399</sup> According to Genevieve Bell, "Carlisle reported an average of nine to ten deaths a year" although she argues that the actual number of deaths was higher since "all of the Industrial Schools

---

<sup>396</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs to U.S. Representative Arthur R. Rupley, November 1913, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC; Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 211-220; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 223; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 167, 195.

<sup>397</sup> Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 77, 102

<sup>398</sup> Trafzer, et al., "Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System," 20.

<sup>399</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 222.

engaged in a policy of returning sick and dying students to their reservations so that they would not die at school and thus increase the perception of health risks.”<sup>400</sup> Whether Carlisle officials sent students back to the reservation to protect the school’s reputation, prevent contagious diseases from spreading, or to reunite sick children with their families, the fact is that it—like other Indian schools—suffered from disease. Dealing with death and disease thus became part of the Carlisle culture.

Disease could not be ignored as it posed a serious threat to Carlisle and other Indian schools, and its effects were felt deeply. In his autobiographic ethnology, Francis La Flesche recounted his experience at a mid-nineteenth century mission school that too many Indian children later encountered. The title of his book, *The Middle Five*, referred to a group of five close friends he made while a student at the mission school. He wrote of one friend in particular, lost to disease:

We did not know how fondly we were attached to Brush, how truly he had become our leader, until we four, left alone, lingered around his grave in the shadowy darkness of night, each one reluctant to leave.

The Mission bell rang for evening service, and with slow steps we moved toward the school – no longer “The Middle Five.”<sup>401</sup>

Here, La Flesche captures the brutal reality that he faced at the death of his friend and the way that even in the face of such devastation, the mission bell continued to ring and the work of assimilation continued. Although Carlisle opened many years after La Flesche had graduated, disease affected the students there just the same.

Students died of disease from Carlisle’s earliest days, often devastating students and faculty alike. In January 1880, Cheyenne student Abraham Lincoln died of

---

<sup>400</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 64.

<sup>401</sup> Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* (1900; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 152.

pneumonia complicated by meningitis; and that March, Iowan Henry Jones died less than three weeks after arriving at the school. After Jones' death, *Eadle Keatah Toh* reported, "Although here so short a time he had won the love of both teachers and scholars, and his death cast a gloom over our usually happy community."<sup>402</sup> Pratt reported that a total of six boys had died over the course of the school's first year with four more dying after returning to their reservation homes.<sup>403</sup> In December 1880, Pratt wrote a series of heartfelt letters to Chief Swift Bear and Chief White Thunder, both of the Rosebud Agency in Dakota, about the death of their children. In addition to relaying his own grief, Pratt detailed how the deaths affected the entire school community. He reassured Chief Swift Bear that "lady teachers" visited his daughter, Maud, and brought her gifts while she was in the hospital. Upon her death, the teachers were "full of grief" and "the ladies put a new shawl around her and she had many flowers...about her" for her burial. He made a point of adding, "Maud's teacher says to tell you she loved your daughter because she was so good in school, and because she was gentle in her ways."<sup>404</sup> Relating to Chief White Thunder as the father of an only son, Pratt described how sorry and sad the teachers and children felt upon Ernest's illness and death, noting that they "cried a great

---

<sup>402</sup> *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 1 (January 1880), CCHS; *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 2 (April 1880), CCHS.

<sup>403</sup> *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1, no. 7 (November 1880), CCHS; "First Annual Report," 5 October 1880, *Eadle Keatah Toh*, CCHS.

<sup>404</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Chief S. Bear Rosebud, 13 December 1880, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 10-4, Bound Letters (24 December 1879 to 28 June 1881): 190; Richard Henry Pratt to Chief S. Bear Rosebud, 15 December 1880, 203-205, BRBML.

deal.”<sup>405</sup> Recounting both deaths, Pratt wrote, “[M]y heart is sad because my children are dead.”<sup>406</sup>

A decade later, disease continued to ravage the school, although it seems that Pratt had, at least to a certain extent, come to expect it. He wrote in the 1889 Annual School Report, “With the exception of a number of chronic cases of scrofula and consumption ... the sanitary conditions of the school has been good.” He then stated that over the course of the preceding school year, “There were 18 deaths; of these, 14 were Apaches who arrived here tainted with hereditary consumption.”<sup>407</sup> By this time, Pratt may have become more accustomed to death at the school or more hesitant to reveal too much about health conditions at Carlisle.

Not only Pratt’s students but also his employees fell ill, as was the case with a measles outbreak in 1891 that burdened teachers with a heavier workload as well as threat of sickness. That December Pratt wrote to his daughter, Nana Hawkings, and admitted that forty students had the measles and listed several teachers—Misses Botsford, Paull, and Merritt—who “have been in bed and off duty.” To manage the outbreak, one teacher took the boys to the gymnasium and another took the girls to the old chapel where

---

<sup>405</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Chief White Thunder, 14 December 1880, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 10-4, Bound Letters (24 December 1879 to 28 June 1881): 195-197; Richard Henry Pratt to Chief White Thunder, 15 December 1880, 199-200, BRBML.

<sup>406</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Chief Swift Bear, 14 December 1880, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 10-4, Bound Letters (24 December 1879 to 28 June 1881): 193-194, BRBML.

<sup>407</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 1 September 1889, *58<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1889* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889), 367; University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History>.

they watched closely for others becoming sick.<sup>408</sup> When Pratt sent his letter, “the worst of the measles epidemic” was thought to be over and the gymnasium was “cleared of patients”; but ten days later, six new cases were identified.<sup>409</sup> Teachers filled in for their co-workers while also nursing the afflicted. To recover from illness and overwork, some employees went “to the mountains for a few days’ rest.”<sup>410</sup>

When teachers could not tend to their classes, their colleagues covered for them. Indeed, teachers regularly served as substitutes, often while still maintaining their regular responsibilities.<sup>411</sup> This sense of mutual responsibility and obligation no doubt helped to forge tighter bonds among the teachers who spent lengthy terms at Carlisle, although it could also engender ill will if a teacher was seen taking advantage of others’ largesse. Clearly the demands on teachers to be available to students twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week reflected the distinctive role they played at Indian boarding schools. Such an intimate yet intense atmosphere reflected the immersive nature of imperial education in action, often magnified in times of difficulty.

In addition to frequent and prolonged outbreaks of disease, Carlisle students faced other illnesses and injuries. In 1896, Pratt identified “chronic troubles of...consumption and scrofula” as “the two great health enemies of the Indians” both on the reservations and at the school.<sup>412</sup> In 1898, a year described as exhibiting “unusual good health among our pupils,” only four of the 1,080 students sent to Carlisle died, although Pratt reported

---

<sup>408</sup> Richard Henry Pratt to Nana Hawkins, 12 April 12 1891, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 17, Folder 584, BRBML.

<sup>409</sup> *The Indian Helper* 6, no. 33 (April 24, 1891), CCHS.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>411</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 39 (May 11, 1888): 3, CCHS.

<sup>412</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 9, BRBML. Although “scrofula” does not always indicate a tuberculosis infection, here, Pratt likely used “scrofula” in reference to tuberculosis.



that “a number of students sent to us in bad health have had to be returned to their homes.”<sup>413</sup> Varioloid, a mild type of smallpox, infected a few boys in 1900, who were quickly “quarantined in a comfortable house at a remote corner of the farm.”<sup>414</sup> In later years, students were operated upon for trachoma and other eye troubles. Unfortunately, students also suffered accidents like severed fingers, problems that were witnessed and tended to by teachers.<sup>415</sup>

While disease, injury, and death combined with a range of punishments creates a sense of Indian boarding schools as sites of violence, most teachers and students highlighted moments of leisure and fun during their tenure at Carlisle. In addition to the Friday and Saturday evening entertainments discussed earlier, scholars have documented “day-to-day humorous moments that served to lighten students’ hearts and spirits” as well as the opportunity “to create a social world of their own making.”<sup>416</sup> Students played pranks on their teachers, and school newspapers sometimes noted the humor in such acts. For example, in January 1888, *The Indian Helper* reported, “One of the teachers found a dead mouse on her school-room desk. It is very evident that the pupils of that room would like to study natural history.”<sup>417</sup> Pratt described another incident where boys tricked a matron into holding a string attached to a rat before explaining that such pranks “constitute a great deal of the life and fun of the place. If you will ask any of the teachers

---

<sup>413</sup> R.H. Pratt, “Report of School at Carlisle, PA,” 28 September 1898, *19<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 392.

<sup>414</sup> *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 13 (January 26, 1900): 3, CCHS.

<sup>415</sup> J.E. Henderson (Disciplinarian) to John Whitwell, 19 December 1910, John Whitwell Folder 1, NPRC.

<sup>416</sup> Adams, “Beyond Bleakness,” 53-57.

<sup>417</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 23 (January 20, 1888): 3, CCHS.

they can tell you instances.”<sup>418</sup> In addition to practical jokes, students also formed close friendships with one another. Bell writes of several such relationships including two girls who regularly locked themselves in a closet to speak in their own language, boys who snuck out of their dormitories to steal apples from the orchard, friends missing one another when no longer together at the school. In fact, several students formed lifelong friendships, exchanging letters years after attending Carlisle.<sup>419</sup>

Of course, teachers had much more freedom of movement and opportunities to socialize than their students, although they, too, were limited by time and space. With little time off from work, teachers had to find ways to have fun on or close to school grounds. For recreation, teachers played tennis, went on sleigh rides, and enjoyed short hikes into the mountains.<sup>420</sup> They also attended lectures and exhibitions held at the school and elsewhere.<sup>421</sup> A tradition established in 1888 gave teachers a chance to socialize each Thursday night in the Teachers’ Club Parlor. Here employees provided one another with entertainment and enjoyed “[s]ocial games and free discussion of matters outside of Indian affairs.”<sup>422</sup> A year later the Teachers’ Club became a place where members enjoyed pleasant meals and “spicy conversations.”<sup>423</sup> Employees took other breaks from their regular routines to build relationships with their colleagues. School newspapers detail teachers’ comings and goings, listing the people who teachers visited or where they journeyed for a day excursion or a short trip. Oftentimes teachers

---

<sup>418</sup> Richard Henry Pratt, interview, 5, BRBML.

<sup>419</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 138, 140, 143-144, 197.

<sup>420</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 39 (May 11, 1888): 3; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 23 (January 20, 1888): 3; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 37 (April 27, 1888): 3.

<sup>421</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 15 (November 23, 1888): 3; *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 39 (May 11, 1888), CCHS.

<sup>422</sup> *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 41 (May 25, 1888): 2, CCHS.

<sup>423</sup> *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 21 (January 11, 1889): 3, CCHS.

visited family close by or spent weekends visiting with guests at the school.<sup>424</sup> Although work at Carlisle was serious business, teachers found some reprieve from the school's tightly controlled schedule, fulfilling some of their own needs and desires while meeting the school's strict expectations. Even this moderate level of flexibility helped to reinvigorate teachers' work ethic, effectively reinforcing the momentum and structures of imperial education policy.

Still, teachers' everyday lives consisted mostly of working, eating, and sleeping on school grounds, a lifestyle that some found fulfilling. Indeed, several teachers prided themselves on the consuming nature of their work. After teaching at Carlisle for nine years, Katherine Bowersox explained, "My reputation and success as a teacher are of first importance to me. It is my life work."<sup>425</sup> She later wrote to Pratt, "Your unbounded faith in the Indian and your courageous fight against the degrading conditions have inspired me many times to do the little I am able to do to help redeem a few of them. Carlisle has done much for me and the school deserves my whole-souled devotion to its interests."<sup>426</sup> Humbled by Pratt's commitment to uplifting the Indian, Bowersox proclaimed her deep dedication to his school, however small her contribution might be. By exemplifying such total commitment to her work, she reflected her understanding of both the practical and moral obligations that teachers and reformers believed were inherent in Indian education. Although not as emotional as Bowersox, teacher Emma Lovewell also acknowledged her "willingness to help out in extra work, like decorating on special occasions, taking part in

---

<sup>424</sup> For examples, see: *The Indian Helper* 3, no. 37 (April 27, 1888): 3; *The Indian Helper* 6, no. 33 (April 24, 1891): 3; *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 14 (February 2, 1900): 3.

<sup>425</sup> Katherine S. Bowersox to Richard Henry Pratt, 20 August 1902, BRBML.

<sup>426</sup> Katherine S. Bowersox to Richard Henry Pratt, 22 August 1902, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 1, Folder 36, BRBML.

Sunday School work, drilling for entertainments and the like.”<sup>427</sup> For most Carlisle teachers, the “extra work” was simply part of the job, an expectation as well as a duty.

Ultimately, many teachers embraced a culture of “life work” that did not differentiate between one’s personal or professional time. Of course, some exceptions existed, such as one employee, Marianne Moore, who chose to live off campus during her three years at Carlisle. To make sure Moore recognized that she would still “be guided by the same regulations governing other teachers,” Superintendent Friedman advised her, “While it is not absolutely essential that you live on the grounds, you will take your turn regularly in all matters such as study hour, acting as chaperone at various times, etc.”<sup>428</sup> Thus, Friedman made clear that the teachers’ duties went well beyond the classroom regardless of their residence. Even with such exceptions, the vast majority of teachers lived on school property and devoted much of their time to their “life work.” Some withstood the intense work and living environment while others thrived in it, but all contributed to the making of imperial education. In so doing, they demonstrated a certain flexibility and diversity of experience that, although exposing the mission to some vulnerability, ultimately helped to strengthen the cause.

With so much time and energy devoted to working at Carlisle, it is not surprising that many teachers cemented lifelong friendships, particularly those who remained at the school for several years. Founding teachers Marianna Burgess and Ann Ely worked together, traveled together, and sustained a strong bond long after their twenty-plus years

---

<sup>427</sup> Emma Lovewell to E.B. Linnen, 5 September 1914, NPRC.

<sup>428</sup> Moses Friedman to Marianna Moore, 26 May 1913, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC; Record of Marianne Craig Moore, 3 June 1913, Marianna C Moore Folder, NPRC; “Biographical Note,” Archives and Special Collections Dickinson College Carlisle, PA, Marianne Craig Moore Collection, WDC.

at the school. Having met before arriving at Carlisle, they were “constant companions” during their tenure there, rooming next door to one another and vacationing and visiting family and friends together in their free time. Genevieve Bell, writing in 1998, noted the lengthy and intimate relationship between the two: “[W]ith late 20<sup>th</sup> century sensibilities, we might be tempted to suggest that Marianna and Annie were lovers. They certainly arrived together, lived together at Carlisle, and afterwards they vacationed together. They were known to be inseparable, so much so that when Marianna was absent from Carlisle, Annie was teased for her absent-mindedness.”<sup>429</sup> In the late nineteenth-century, intimate bonds between female friends were not necessarily viewed from this perspective, however; and teachers were particularly likely to form domestic attachments that may or may not have included sexual relations.<sup>430</sup> Of course, Burgess and Ely also fostered friendships with other teachers while at Carlisle. Emma Cutter considered Burgess a

---

<sup>429</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 107-108; Prior to Carlisle, Sarah Mather and her friend, Miss Perritt, moved to St. Augustine, Florida and opened a boarding school for young ladies before teaching Pratt’s Indian prisoners (see Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club*, 262). Like Burgess and Ely, Mather and Perritt also had a close relationship. Such female relationships were not unusual in the nineteenth century and were referred to as “Boston marriages.” Women lived together, vacationed together, and had deep friendships, although it is not known whether they had intimate sexual relationships. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

<sup>430</sup> Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual,” 203. Smith-Rosenberg draws from “the correspondence and diaries of (middle class) women and men in thirty-five families between the 1760s and the 1880s” and analyzes same-sex friendships “within a cultural and social setting rather than from an exclusively individual psychosexual perspective”; Also see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles Over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002).

longtime “intimate friend.”<sup>431</sup> And other Carlisle teachers also forged strong bonds as they committed themselves to shared work and helped one another achieve their best.

Some teachers also formed close ties with other Carlisle employees. Katherine Bowersox pleaded to have the laundress, Miss Hill, move with her to a new building, having spent “seven happy years together.” Bowersox wrote to Pratt, “I need Miss Hill. She is like a mother to me in many ways. She looks after my health and comfort since I was sick, five years ago, thus relieving me in my ways and enabling me to give my whole time to my work and study.”<sup>432</sup> Other employees must certainly have relied upon one another as friends and companions. As the Indian Bureau gained control over hiring in the school’s last decades, fewer staff members may have formed lifelong friendships since they were transferred among schools with greater frequency. Still, even then, friendships helped teachers perform their best and enjoy their time at the school. Moreover, such personal bonds between workers strengthened the school’s mission as well as the reach of empire, helping them withstand the rigors of work and fulfill their roles as cultural translators.

Of course, teachers were not always enamored with their fellow employees or employers. One of the few male academic teachers at Carlisle over the course of its forty-year history (and the only male teacher in 1914 besides the principal teacher, John Whitwell), Royal Mann requested a transfer “[b]ecause of no co-operation among employees.”<sup>433</sup> The Supervisor in Charge, O.H. Lipps, handwrote on Mann’s application

---

<sup>431</sup> Emma Cutter to Nana Pratt Hawkins, 11 December 1934, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Box 15, Folder 505, BRBML.

<sup>432</sup> Katherine S. Bowersox to Richard Henry Pratt, 22 August 1902.

<sup>433</sup> Royal L. Mann, “Request for Transfer,” 4 March 1914, Royal L. Mann Folder, NPRC.

that “being a young man he does not find his associates as congenial as he would like.”<sup>434</sup>

It is difficult to assess the extent to which Mann was treated unfairly or just differently treated by his mainly female co-workers, and his age—he was in his early twenties—may have been as problematic as his sex. Certainly, it is possible that his older female colleagues considered it unfair that Mr. Mann received a higher salary than many of them, particularly since Carlisle was his first teaching job in the Indian Service.<sup>435</sup>

A few women also found the atmosphere at Carlisle challenging. In 1912 Mattie Lane complained that many of her fellow teachers had given up on their work. She wrote that some of them had “‘gone to seed’ mentally years ago,” and indicated that they gave her a hard time.<sup>436</sup> In some ways, teachers had to earn respect from one another, proving their dedication—even loyalty—to their work, one another, and the school, all while adapting to the specific social norms at Carlisle.

While other teachers likely experienced strained relationships with one another, some of the most destructive relationships developed between teachers and two of Pratt’s successors, Superintendents Mercer and Friedman. During their tenures, according to historian David Wallace Adams, “Carlisle entered a period of general decline.”<sup>437</sup> While records indicate that the school’s first two decades were reasonably free of scandal, the two administrations following Pratt were not. Under the troubled leadership of Mercer and Friedman, teachers continued to demonstrate their agency by speaking out against and resisting what they considered unjust policies and practices, ultimately helping to carry the work of imperial education forward.

---

<sup>434</sup> Ibid.

<sup>435</sup> Personal Record of Royal LeBau Mann, Royal L. Mann Folder, NPRC.

<sup>436</sup> Mattie Lane to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1912, NPRC.

<sup>437</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 323.

In June 1904, the Indian Office abruptly relieved Pratt of his duties at Carlisle and appointed Captain William A. Mercer superintendent.<sup>438</sup> Mercer had worked as an Indian agent and, like Pratt, was an army man. Many teachers, loyal to Pratt, resented Mercer, leading to high staff turnover in his first year. Yet, Mercer pleased Indian Office authorities as he aligned the school's curriculum with federal standards, something Pratt had resisted.<sup>439</sup>

However, in April 1907, Mercer was discovered having an affair with a Carlisle student, Dora Shongo. Mrs. Anna Hoffman, likely an employee or spouse of an employee, was sitting quietly in her room embroidering as her baby slept when she heard the superintendent and Shongo next door. She recalled, "I heard them on the bed and I know they had Sexual Intercourse and I heard him rattle money-coins, and she said, Don't be so stingy and I know he gave her money."<sup>440</sup> Dora's friend, Marie MacCloud, also knew of the relationship. In a confrontation with Mercer in December 1907, MacCloud told the superintendent that other staff members knew of the affair, including the school nurse, Lucretia Ross. According to sworn statements, Mercer then exclaimed, "My God! I am a ruined man. She [Nurse Lucretia Ross] is the one woman on the post I wouldn't want to know it. She is my enemy and the enemy of my family."<sup>441</sup>

---

<sup>438</sup> "Special Orders, No. 137," War Department, 11 June 1904, Records Relating to Carlisle School – Personnel, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, William A. Mercer File, NADC.

<sup>439</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 78-86.

<sup>440</sup> Anna Hoffman, "Notarized Statement," 14 December 1907, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs Papers, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), Haverford College (QSCH).

<sup>441</sup> Marie MacCloud, "Notarized Letter," 16 December 1907, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.



Soon after, Mercer transferred Ross to the Haskell Institute, another Indian boarding school, and wrote her, “I trust that you will like your new field of work, and regret exceedingly that untoward events and unfortunate conditions should have caused Carlisle the loss of your services.”<sup>442</sup> Under his signature, Mercer wrote, “In Haste – so excuse imperfections,” admitting at least some wrongdoing and level of guilt.<sup>443</sup> Although it is not clear why Ross was Mercer’s “enemy,” her removal did not save the superintendent’s job. By the end of December, Mercer wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking to be “relieved from duty.” He explained:

Though in good physical health, I have, for several months past, experienced at frequent intervals severe loss of brain power, and I find the daily annoying responsibilities all more than I can stand and am advised by my physicians that I should have relief from them, and take a few months leave of absence. Such a course, followed by a change back to the more out of door military life, I am convinced is a necessity, and that relief as above all will best suit the conditions.<sup>444</sup>

Mercer left Carlisle in January 1908, never to return.

However, a year later, rumors surfaced that Washington officials were considering reinstating Mercer as Carlisle’s superintendent or appointing him elsewhere in the Indian Service. At this point, former teacher Ann Ely spoke up. Although retired, she pleaded with Lucretia Ross, still serving as a nurse at Haskell, to use “any ammunition left” to prevent Mercer’s return. Ely wrote, “What a calamity it would be to the School. The School that so many of us are interested in.”<sup>445</sup> Soon after, Ross wrote a

---

<sup>442</sup> William A. Mercer to Lucretia Ross, 31 December 1907, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

<sup>444</sup> Commissioner F.E. Leupp to William A. Mercer, 24 December 1907, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.

<sup>445</sup> Anne S. Ely to Lucretia Ross, 2 February 1909, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.

letter to the Indian Rights Association divulging some of the evidence of Mercer's sexual affair and threatening that she would "publish the whole story," as per an agreement she had made with the former superintendent if he attempted to re-enter the Indian Service.<sup>446</sup> The Indian Rights Association subsequently wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Interior claiming to be "in possession of charges of a very serious nature reflecting upon Major Mercer, which, if true, show him to be absolutely unfit for the position named, or any other position in the Indian Service."<sup>447</sup> Although the Mercer sex scandal did surface during a 1914 Congressional investigation of deplorable medical conditions at Indian schools, it was buried in this much larger investigation.<sup>448</sup> While working largely behind the scenes, teachers and other staff members ultimately wielded tremendous power over their superior, helping to prevent his reinstatement.

Clearly Ann Ely and Lucretia Ross did not respect Mercer, nor did many other Carlisle staff members. In the context of revelations about the scandal, Marie MacCloud noted that Mercer intended to fire several employees, including Misses Cutter, Bowersox, Hill, Robertson, and Mr. Thompson.<sup>449</sup> Several of these were veteran teachers of Carlisle and, and Mercer may have viewed them as obstructing his vision for the school. Certainly some teachers were dissatisfied with Mercer's leadership who did not know about the sex scandal. For example, teacher Emma Hetrick pointed to shady dealings

---

<sup>446</sup> Lucretia Ross to Mr. Herbert Welsh (Haskell Institute, Kansas), 11 March 1909, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.

<sup>447</sup> S.M. Brosino (Agent Indian Rights Association) to Honorable Secretary of the Interior, 27 March 1909, Box 5, Folder 3 (Letters 1909 January to March), QSCH.

<sup>448</sup> Medical Service, Bureau Indian Affairs, *Serial Two: Hearings Before the Joint Commission of Congress of the United States, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session to Investigate Indian Affairs*, July 15, 1914, Part 16-A, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914): 2219-2236, <http://books.google.com>.

<sup>449</sup> MacCloud, 16 December 1907, QSCH.

under Mercer's administration, reporting that money had been illegally exchanged while he was in charge.<sup>450</sup> Clearly, Mercer's corrupt leadership frustrated many of his employees and appears to have poisoned the work environment at Carlisle. Although the existence of such dishonorable behavior at the level of school leadership weakened the moral cause or "benevolence" of assimilation, teachers' intolerance of such depravity effectively strengthened the process of imperial education through its reliance upon the many (teachers) rather than the few (school leaders).

Unfortunately, the next superintendent fared even worse. Moses Friedman served as Carlisle's superintendent from 1908 to 1914. He had a vastly different background from his predecessors, having worked as a teacher in the Indian and Philippine Services before becoming an administrator at the Haskell Institute in Kansas.<sup>451</sup> After Mercer's dismissal, Friedman assumed leadership at Carlisle but was largely unable to prevent the school from further decline.

In particular, several teachers clashed with Friedman. For example, in 1909, Superintendent Friedman transferred teacher Mariette Wood elsewhere, claiming she was "not in sympathy with his policies, and...a disturbing element."<sup>452</sup> Yet other teachers knew Wood in her almost ten years at the school and never considered a "disturber."<sup>453</sup> When Emma Hetrick substituted as a temporary clerk beginning in 1909, she witnessed and refused to participate in corrupt bookkeeping under Friedman's watch, ultimately characterizing work at the school as poisoned by favoritism. She resigned in 1910 and

---

<sup>450</sup> Emma Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1912, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

<sup>451</sup> Jose Gill, 21 June 1939, NAMD.

<sup>452</sup> Memorandum: Mariette Wood, 17 June 1909, Mariette Wood Folder, NPRC.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

spent the next several years writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in an effort to clear her name, believing that Friedman was “downing me all around.”<sup>454</sup> As noted earlier, Katherine and Fernando Tranbarger accused Friedman of threatening them and believed that the superintendent purposefully withheld their full salary as well as sick and vacation time and also attributed their inadequate living space to Friedman’s antipathy. After exchanging a “wordy war” with Friedman, Fernando accused the superintendent of displaying “conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman.”<sup>455</sup> In 1911, they, too, resigned from Carlisle, followed a year later by the rushed departure of teacher Mattie Lane who, as noted above, was disgusted by the lack of discipline at the school.<sup>456</sup>

Tensions between the superintendent and his staff worsened over time as illustrated by Friedman’s relationship with John Whitwell. Whitwell initially supported his superior’s authority and decision-making. Claiming to be compelled by “duty...[and an] interest in the general welfare of the school,” the principal teacher notified Friedman in September 1909 of employees who he believed purposefully thwarted the superintendent’s rules. A year later, he continued to support the superintendent although by the summer of 1911, their relationship started to deteriorate.<sup>457</sup> Whitwell believed that Friedman was asking too much of him, as the superintendent continued to add more and more duties to his workload, a trend that Whitwell noted hampered other teachers as

---

<sup>454</sup> Hetrick to Commissioner, 5 February 1912, NPRC.

<sup>455</sup> Fernando G. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 December 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>456</sup> Mattie Lane to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 22 July 1912, Mattie Lane Folder, NPRC; Fernando G. Tranbarger to Superintendent Moses Friedman, 30 September 1911, Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 2, NPRC; Frances Scales to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 December 1910, Frances Scales Folder, NPRC.

<sup>457</sup> John Whitwell to Moses Friedman, 29 December 1910, John Whitwell Folder 1, NPRC.

well.<sup>458</sup> Finally, in October 1913, the principal teacher engaged in a heated exchange with his superior where he admitted calling him a “dirty skunk,” leading Friedman to formally charge the Principal Teacher with being “incompetent” and “disloyal.”<sup>459</sup> Whitwell was immediately notified that he would be transferred to another school, but he did not leave for six months. Due, in part, to his “long service” (and probably Friedman’s imperfect record), Whitwell was even given a promotion and raise, proving that his transfer could hardly be considered punishment.<sup>460</sup> In at least some cases of insubordination, teachers demonstrated power over their supervisors and were able to move within the Service to find more agreeable work environments. In this way, teachers demonstrated their agency within the hierarchical structure. For Whitwell, he lashed back at and in a sense had the final word against Friedman when he testified against the former superintendent in the 1914 Congressional investigation of Carlisle.

Testimony at the February and March 1914 Congressional hearings revealed a profound level of discord among Carlisle faculty members as well as a long list of complaints against the superintendent. Of the ten teachers who testified at the hearings, seven spoke against Friedman, including John Whitwell, and three defended him.<sup>461</sup>

---

<sup>458</sup> John Whitwell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 15 October 1913, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>459</sup> Moses Friedman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 17 October 1913, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>460</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to John Whitwell, 25 November 1913, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC; Sells to John Whitwell, 20 March 1914, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>461</sup> *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings Before the Joint Commission of Congress of the United States, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session to Investigate Indian Affairs*, February 6, 7, 8, and March 25, 1914, Part 11 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914): 949-1390, <http://books.google.com>. Teachers’ testimonies against Friedman include: Bertha D. Canfield, 1058-1062; John Whitwell, 1063-1100; Angel Dietz, 1106-1111; Lydia E. Kaup, 1112-1114; Emma C. Lovewell, 1182-1185; Hattie M.

Those who opposed his leadership accused Friedman of neglecting the school's "moral standing," citing cases of student pregnancies and drunkenness, creating an unpleasant, divisive work environment, and enabling the misappropriation of funds.<sup>462</sup> Teachers who defended the superintendent claimed that the school environment had been stable until a few months prior, when it seemed, perhaps, that the personal disagreement between Whitwell and Friedman had spilled over to the student body and staff.<sup>463</sup> After the first three days of testimony, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs suspended Friedman's superintendency at Carlisle, and his formal resignation was accepted a few months later.<sup>464</sup> Anthropologist Alice Kehoe argues that Friedman was largely a victim of anti-Semitism, and some teacher and student testimonies suggest that this may have been true.<sup>465</sup> Genevieve Bell writes of some student testimony:

When asked how students treated Friedman, one Lakota student replied: "Well about the boys throwing shoes at Mr. Friedman. They told him to get out, and 'Who let him loose?' and everything. They called him 'Christ-killer' and 'Pork-Dodger' and 'Jew.'"...This anti-Semitism provoked no response from the senators who went on with their questions about dietary inadequacies and accommodations. They seemed more concerned that students did not respect authority than with the form that such disrespect took."<sup>466</sup>

---

McDowell, 1185-1186; Margaret M. Sweeney, 1193-1195. Testimonies defending Friedman include: Emma H. Foster, 1219-1222; Lelah Burns, 1280-1285; Adelaide B. Reichel, 1285-1292.

<sup>462</sup> *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings*, Testimonies of Bertha D. Canfield, 1058-1062; John Whitwell, 1063-1100; Angel Dietz, 1106-1111; Lydia E. Kaup, 1112-1114; Emma C. Lovewell, 1182-1185; Hattie M. McDowell, 1185-1186; Miss Margaret M. Sweeney, 1193-1195.

<sup>463</sup> *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings*, Emma H. Foster, 1219-1222; other testimony defending Friedman: Lelah Burns, 1280-1285; Adelaide B. Reichel, 1285-1292.

<sup>464</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells to Moses Friedman, 18 May 1914, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC; Sergeant A.A. Jones (First Assistant Secretary) to Samuel J. Graham (Assistant Attorney General), 23 March 1914, Moses Friedman Folder, NPRC.

<sup>465</sup> Alice Beck Kehoe, *A Passion for the True and Just: Felix and Lucy Kramer Cohen and the Indian New Deal* (University of Arizona Press, 2014), 127; *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings*, 985, 1000, 1066, 1158, 1189, 1245, 1335, 1360, 1388.

<sup>466</sup> Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 94-95

Clearly, Friedman encountered severe discrimination at various levels—from students all the way up to the Senators conducting the hearings. In addition to such anti-Semitism, Bell suggests that the investigation may have also been “about finding a scapegoat for the Jim Thorpe medal debacle,” in which the former Carlisle student was stripped of his gold medals once it was discovered that he had earned money as a semi-professional baseball player before competing in the 1912 Olympics.<sup>467</sup> Most likely, there is some truth in both theories, but there were also serious problems at Carlisle during Friedman’s tenure. And clearly after Pratt’s departure, teachers at Carlisle had to navigate their way through uncertain and troublesome times during, at least, the last year of Friedman’s administration. Adding to the difficulties faculty faced under Friedman was the scandal that disrupted Mercer’s administration. Teachers had thus experienced a decade of unprecedented upheaval and anxiety. Still, the work of assimilation continued through it all.

Over the next four years, before Carlisle’s closing in 1918, two new superintendents stabilized the situation of Carlisle, but their short tenures ultimately undermined efforts to re-establish the school’s reputation. Still, during its final years, the school returned to many of the policies familiar under Pratt.<sup>468</sup> Oscar Lipps filled in as Carlisle’s temporary superintendent beginning in February 1914 and was made the school’s permanent superintendent in May 1915, credited with bringing “the institution up to a high standard of efficiency.”<sup>469</sup> However, he only served a couple of years before

---

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., 99-100.

<sup>469</sup> Memorandum Concerning Oscar A. Lipps, 11 May 1915, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, Oscar Lipps Folder, NADC.

John Francis, Jr. replaced him in 1917.<sup>470</sup> Soon after Francis' appointment, former student Dennison Wheelock, now an accomplished attorney, commended the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for moving Lipps to become Supervisor of Education and selecting Francis as superintendent. Wheelock wrote, "With a man like Mr. Lipps to devise educational methods and prescribe courses of study, and with a militray[sic]-trained man like Mr. Francis to compel obedience[sic] to the demands and requirements of such methods and courses of study so prescribed, I can see a bright future for the Carlisle Indian School."<sup>471</sup> Interestingly, the personnel records indicate that Francis did not serve in the military prior to Carlisle, though he did attend St. John's Military School in Manlius, New York, while Lipps served as a private in the U.S. army for two years before teaching at Indian schools beginning in 1890.<sup>472</sup>

Nevertheless, Wheelock's sentiment is clear. By 1917, this former alum believed Carlisle needed greater discipline, perhaps similar to what he had experienced under Pratt years before. In spite of such confidence, Superintendent Francis admitted that he was not as assured in his position. In January 1918, Francis wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells explaining, "I have been at Carlisle for almost a year now. The complete change of work and point of view naturally made it a very strenuous time for me. The war has brought difficulties to us too...I now understand my difficulties here and there are several matters regarding the school about which I would be glad to have

---

<sup>470</sup> Dennison Wheelock to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 March 1917, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, John Francis, Jr. Folder, NADC..

<sup>471</sup> Dennison Wheelock to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 March 1917, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, John Francis, Jr. Folder, NADC.

<sup>472</sup> Record of John Francis Jr., 1 July 1911, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, John Francis Jr. Folder; Record of Oscar H. Lipps, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, Oscar Lipps Folder, NADC.



your advice if you would feel justified in permitting me to come to Washington.”<sup>473</sup> Prior to his appointment at Carlisle, Francis had been a Washington bureaucrat, not a school administrator.<sup>474</sup> Although it is not known if Francis and Sells ever met in Washington, six months after writing to the commissioner, Francis was relieved of his duties at Carlisle, and the first off-reservation Indian boarding school soon closed its doors.<sup>475</sup>

Ultimately, war determined Carlisle’s fate, returning the old army barracks to their original owner, the U.S. military, as a hospital for returning veterans, and scattering Carlisle teachers all over the country. By this time, Carlisle’s student population had dwindled, from a peak of over one thousand to around two hundred fifty, and the staff had been reduced from its maximum of ninety employees to around sixty. Of the remaining teachers, none had been founding members of the school and few retained any memory of its first superintendent, Richard Henry Pratt. Still, several were committed to Indian education, choosing to remain in the Indian Service and teach at other schools. Other teachers went to work for the Indian Bureau in Washington, D.C., and still others left Indian education altogether.

Although few teachers were as invested in Carlisle as its founder, the vast majority of those who spent some time at the school believed in their work. Most of those who worked there for several years or more cared about their students even as they sought to replace native customs with the ways and means of the dominant culture. They taught English and other academic subjects, enforced certain gender roles, and promoted

---

<sup>473</sup> John Francis, Dr. to Commissioner Cato Sells, 28 January 1918, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, John Francis, Jr. Folder, NADC.

<sup>474</sup> Employment Record, 11 February 1917, Record Group 75, Entry 1344A, John Francis Jr. Folder, NADC.

<sup>475</sup> E.B. Merritt (Assistant Commissioner) to Secretary of the Treasury, 17 July 1918, John Francis, Jr. Folder, NADC.

Christian values all in an effort to “uplift” the Indian. Their endeavors reflected the race-based Indian education movement that attempted to “civilize” the “uncivilized.” Yet, unlike the bureaucracy they represented, teachers interacted with students at a personal level and strove to create an environment they believed would improve lives. Most did not teach to advance a national or imperial agenda or to punish the wicked. Instead, they sought to teach Indian children the ways and norms that they held in highest regard, and many took pride in trying to make their students into ladies and gentlemen. Still, their work had both national and imperial implications, as it was part of a larger system that privileged the few, concentrating power among the already powerful at the expense of those living on the margins. Ultimately, the Carlisle and Indian Service model was reproduced in other U.S. imperial operations outside of the continental United States, and in one case, at an ambitious scale: when, beginning in 1901, the government sent hundreds of teachers overseas on the heels of military servicemen to indoctrinate the newest wards of the state—Filipinos.

### CHAPTER 3: LIFE AND DEATH IN THE ISLANDS

In July 1901 Mary Fee waited aboard the *USS Buford* in Manila Harbor watching her friends, including other teachers and U.S. soldiers, head to shore. Years later she recalled: “They had gone out of our lives after a few brief days of idleness, but they would take up, as we should, the work of building a nation in a strange land and out of a reluctant people.”<sup>476</sup> This work, “building a nation” in the Philippines, fell to American soldiers and teachers alike, both tasked with using their unique expertise to pacify a “reluctant” Filipino people and cultivate a western “civilization” in the archipelago. U.S. policy makers were certain that such a society could be built if the government established a public school system modeled on that in the U.S. in the Philippines. This project would effectively turn U.S. President William McKinley’s mission of “benevolent assimilation” into reality. Focused on such a grand educational goal—and believing their mission to be exceptional, altruistic, and morally grounded—most teachers who joined the venture did not anticipate the extent to which the U.S. military presence would impact their mission and their very survival. Nor were they fully cognizant of other threats and obstacles, such as disease, corruption, and environmental disaster. Over time their experiences, both shared and individual, forced them to rethink the role of education in the American imperial project in the Philippines.

The United States gained the Philippines from Spain, who had occupied the archipelago since the mid-sixteenth century. During Spanish rule, colonial authorities instituted a schooling system backed by the Roman Catholic Church. By the time American teachers arrived, they found that students were accustomed to a form of

---

<sup>476</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 42.

education that valued recitation based on biblical teachings, usually under the direction of priests. U.S. authorities largely considered these schools as an extension of the church, with, therefore, little educational value. Teachers worked to replace the existing structure with one that reflected more “American” values. As teachers reached their posts scattered throughout the vast archipelago, they encountered various types of schools and traditions, and sometimes none at all—at least nothing akin what they considered to be “education.” Ultimately, their work involved replacing the norms of the former colonial power with those of the United States.

Scholars have recently argued that missions like the U.S. government’s educational project in the Philippines should be seen as part of a century-long tradition in which schools strengthened the elite, reinforcing a hierarchical and racist power structure in conquered lands. Yet this compelling work on imperial education focuses generally on educational institutions and their relationship with government sponsors and agendas.<sup>477</sup> The experiences of educators who were expected to implement grand policy on the ground illuminate a more complex story in which teachers, imperialism, and Filipinos were all transformed.

Voluminous first-person accounts of experiences in the Philippines, along with other rich sources, allow us to trace teachers’ journeys through the islands and examine some of the profound challenges they faced as they set up schools. Drawing primarily from the records of thirty-three Thomasites, the chapter explores teachers’ changing ideas regarding race, sex, and civilization over the course of their tenure in the Philippines. It begins with the spectacle of their arrival in the islands and their stay in Manila, as they

---

<sup>477</sup> Justice, “Education at the End of a Gun”; Angulo, *Empire and Education*.

awaited their teaching assignments and prepared for the next leg of their journey. Once settled in their teaching stations, which often involved arduous treks to remote locations, many teachers were exposed to a level of violence that was unexpected. They responded in various ways to this situation, adjusting their expectations and behaviors as they settled into their new way of life. Most teachers faced significant obstacles in setting up functional classrooms, including for some, the profound effects of the ongoing military conflict, which threatened their lives and inspired some to take up arms against Filipino rebels. Beyond such manmade violence, teachers and the communities in which they lived confronted the biological violence of disease—turning teachers into de facto doctors, sanitation workers, and patients. At the same time, environmental crises in the region, such as famine, intensified as a result of widespread political corruption. Teachers captured all of these experiences in their diaries, letters, interviews, and memoirs. Whatever particular experiences individuals faced in the islands, they all struggled to make sense of their surroundings, and ultimately exposed the fragility of the benevolent empire.

When the first contingent of five hundred teachers arrived in Manila on August 23, 1901, their disembarkation from the *USS Thomas* caused quite a spectacle.<sup>478</sup> As Thomasite Norman Cameron recorded in his diary: “The Filipinos gazed at us with much curiosity, wondering, I suppose, what is our purpose here in so large numbers.”<sup>479</sup> His colleague, Ralph Taylor, similarly commented on the scene caused by the arrival of hundreds of U.S. civilians: “At the wharf there were a great many soldiers and citizens

---

<sup>478</sup> Soon all American teachers came to be known as “Thomasites” regardless of how they arrived in the islands.

<sup>479</sup> Cameron, 21 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM.

who were apparently amused as they watched the fresh pedagogues advance.”<sup>480</sup> The Thomasites’ speculation as to what their onlookers were thinking indicates, if nothing else, that they felt the gravity and novelty of the situation.

For others, including Elizabeth Mitchell, the welcome from U.S. soldiers in Manila was more memorable than that of Filipinos, or in her words, “the brown skinned natives.” Writing a long letter to the ladies of the La Crosse, Wisconsin Twentieth Century Club, she wrote, “I shall never forget that landing, when on the dock the soldiers crowded for just a glimpse...of more white women than they had seen in three years, nor shall I forget the courtesy with which they made room for us to pass through this their midst.”<sup>481</sup> Appealing to her white countrywomen at home, perhaps Mitchell exaggerated her reception in Manila. Nevertheless, she intimated that U.S. soldiers felt a racialized form of desire, maybe revealing more about her own longings than those of the troops. Although it is reasonable to think that some (or many) soldiers felt aroused at the rare sight of white women, Mitchell’s observation indicates that in that moment, she felt more excited or anxious about her relations with white soldiers than her future work with Filipinos.

Once disembarked from their ships, many teachers eagerly awaited settlement into their new homes. Whether they arrived in 1901 or a decade later, once in Manila it usually took over a week to receive specific assignments within the vast archipelago, and several more weeks before they began the trip there. During the lull, teachers went sightseeing, visited with one another, and on many evenings, gathered at “The Luneta,” a

---

<sup>480</sup> Taylor to Mother, 21 August 21 1901, BHL.

<sup>481</sup> Elizabeth Winifred Mitchell (Campbell) to Twentieth Century Club, n.d., 1901 File, Wisconsin Historical Society.

seashore park where the army band played concerts, always ending with the “Star-Spangled Banner.”<sup>482</sup> Teachers also gathered supplies for their impending assignment—including food, tailored suits, and whatever else was rumored to be useful. They attended lectures given by U.S. education experts to prepare for their assignment and heard tales, sometimes contradictory to information they had earlier received from American soldiers about life in the Philippines.<sup>483</sup> They also adjusted to simple living, such as sleeping on cots covered in mosquito netting in the army barracks on the Exposition Grounds. As Harrie Cole described this period, “It is lots of fun, especially when we are paid for it, and...like a camping expedition.”<sup>484</sup>

For some, including Elizabeth Mitchell, the city also provided an opportunity to express (again) notions of racial, gender, and class exceptionalism. She quickly separated herself from local people who hurried along the streets of Manila observing, “As one watches the crowd as it jostles along the narrow sidewalks – Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, East Indian – old and young, clad and half clad – all chattering in strange exciting gibberish – one is thankful it is not the custom of ladies to walk along the streets of Manila.”<sup>485</sup> Mitchell’s audience, the Wisconsin clubwomen, engaged in community service as part of a national women’s club movement that emerged in the late

---

<sup>482</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 28 August 1901, Harry Newton Cole Papers, August to September 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>483</sup> Cameron, 27 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM.

<sup>484</sup> Cameron, 23 August 1901, Diary 1, SCLM; Ralph W. Taylor to Mother, 6 September 1901, Taylor Family Papers, Box 1, Correspondence June to Dec. 1901 Folder, BHL; Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 28 August 1901; Harrie Cole to Mother, 12 September 1901, Harrie Newton Cole Papers, August to September 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>485</sup> Mitchell to Twentieth Century Club.

nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>486</sup> Although critically important in U.S. women's political and social activism, most clubs reinforced dominant cultural and social norms as they sought to uplift and improve their local communities.<sup>487</sup> Thus, Mitchell's letter reassured the "ladies" of La Crosse that even in the foreign city of Manila, white American women embodied a level of refinement and privilege that separated them from people of other cultures, even when they simply walked on the city streets.

Of course, Mitchell was not the only Thomasite whose personal writings suggested their unfamiliarity with people different from themselves. In fact, many other teachers wrote about brown bodies, Chinese business owners, and numerous "others," indicating that they had spent most of their lives in fairly homogenous white communities. For these teachers, whiteness had defined their cultural norms and expectations and bolstered their beliefs regarding the righteousness of a race-based hierarchy. For example, soon after arriving in Manila, Mary Cole, Harrie's wife, used race to help describe her work to her family back home in August 1901. Making clear distinctions among non-white races, she wrote:

Our business will be to establish schools and teach the native teachers English...The teacher (American) will be the power behind the throne, so to speak. I think we are going to like it very much. The people are a very bright intelligent race and nothing like the negro race.<sup>488</sup>

In this short passage, Mary clearly revels in the power she will have as a white teacher in a foreign land. Given the casual way in which she discusses her prospective work

---

<sup>486</sup> "Guide to Twentieth Century Club Records, 1920-1982," La Crosse Public Library Archives, La Crosse, Wisconsin, accessed September 25, 2015, <http://archives.lacrosselibrary.org/collections/sports-and-recreation/mss-142/>.

<sup>487</sup> Scott, *Natural Allies*; Nancy Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

<sup>488</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 28 August 1901.



coupled with her ready assumption of racial differences, she was clearly comfortable with understanding herself and the world in terms of a racial order. While Mary privileged white over black, she also made clear distinctions among people of color. At the same time, by writing in this way to the “folks at home,” she assumed that they shared her racist views and likely her beliefs regarding “the negro race.” For Mary (and likely other Thomasites) skin color connoted significant meaning and induced race-based judgments about her work well before she entered a classroom.<sup>489</sup>

As Mary and other teachers awaited their assignments in Manila—sometimes for several weeks—they experienced various types and levels of anxiety. Mary and Harrie Cole had been given a few false leads as to when they would be leaving for their final destination. And of the over five hundred original Thomasites, they were among the few teachers left in the barracks by mid-September 1901—over a month after having arrived in the islands. While they enjoyed their time in the city, they were ready to move on. Mary was particularly eager to leave Manila and explore other ports in the archipelago, explaining “that’s one of the things we came for.”<sup>490</sup> Norman Cameron also likely felt some apprehension during his weeks of waiting in the capital city, particularly since he encountered violence soon after his arrival. Like the Coles, Cameron was one of the last teachers sent to his station although unlike the Coles, he learned early on that he would be sent to the island of Bohol. However, this was not a reassuring assignment since Bohol was “reported to be in insurrection.”<sup>491</sup> Although he did not dwell on the island’s

---

<sup>489</sup> For information on U.S. soldiers racial prejudices, see Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*.

<sup>490</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 12 September 12 1901; Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 17 September 1901, Harry Newton Cole Papers, August to September 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>491</sup> Cameron, September 1, Diary 1, SCLM.

conflict in his diary while in Manila, Cameron wrote about several violent incidents in the city: a “scrap in Barrack B” between teachers because one man would not stop talking, a story he heard of a town where American soldiers advised a teacher to leave for his own safety, and the murder of an American soldier at the Luneta apparently by a Filipino weapon, a bolo. Thus, almost immediately upon his arrival, Cameron felt the presence of violence.<sup>492</sup> Most other teachers would not realize their close proximity to bloodshed until they left the capital city and began settling into their new homes.

Of course, violence well preceded Cameron and the other Thomasites’ arrival and continued throughout teachers’ early years in the islands. The United States occupied the archipelago as a result of a war against Spain in 1898, only to have to continue fighting to retain control of the territory in the Philippine-American War.<sup>493</sup> Filipino rebels resisted the transfer of the islands from Spanish to American authority almost as soon as the two imperial powers signed their treaty and insisted instead on complete independence. By early 1899, U.S. soldiers were battling the people they had recently “freed” from Spanish occupation. While the Americans were well armed and had other important military advantages, Filipinos relied upon their knowledge of the land and skill at guerilla warfare to gain the upper hand in some parts of the archipelago. To crush the Filipino resistance, American soldiers resorted to brutal military tactics. They implemented torture, burned entire towns, and corralled civilians into concentration camps. At the same time, the U.S. government’s belief in the power of education to win over Filipinos was so great that it sent American civilians into known combat zones.

---

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.; 31 August and 6 September 1901.

<sup>493</sup> David Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), xvii. Also see Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House, 1989.

Thomasites thus entered an occupied Philippines in the summer of 1901 as fighting continued and as the U.S. military increased its harsh treatment against rebel fighters. Although the war was declared officially over a year later, insurgent uprisings erupted for several more years.<sup>494</sup>

U.S. newspapers had covered the Philippines since U.S. involvement in the Pacific islands, suggesting that the first teachers sent there likely knew they were heading into a challenging environment. Newspapers had detailed reasons for and against occupying the islands in 1898, with imperial-minded editors emphasizing the military necessity and inevitability of U.S. power in the region while anti-imperial editors pressed for a “moral course” and general good will in deciding how to treat the islands. Still, even though the press covered the wars in the Philippines, the American public was not privy to the atrocious details of U.S. military methods since censorship forbade any such reports. Then, just as teachers were recruited for the educational experiment in the archipelago, the ferocity of U.S. military methods intensified and again remained largely unreported. By this point, Americans had become tired of the war, which was reflected in newspaper editorials, low army enrollment, and government debates over military appropriations.<sup>495</sup> Thus, Thomasites were cognizant of the larger war but generally unaware of the harsh realities on the ground until their arrival in specific outposts scattered around the vast archipelago. As Harrie Cole wrote to his brother on October 21, 1901 soon after arriving on the island of Leyte, “This country is not what it is reported to

---

<sup>494</sup> Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*, xxv-xxvi; Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, chapter 9. The same racism that shaped teachers’ sense of benevolent purpose similarly influenced soldiers’ beliefs regarding the justifiability of violence.

<sup>495</sup> Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, chapters 2 and 9, particularly 14-17 and 174-176.

be in the papers at home. Only the bright side of things is put forward in reports there. The truth is, one is not entirely safe in many of the towns, and it is out of the question to attempt to make an excursion out into the country alone.”<sup>496</sup> Teachers new to the islands often noted the fragility of U.S. occupation soon after their arrival, with many noting their own vulnerability to violence. Later, some noted the tenuous nature of the education mission.

For the most part, unless teachers volunteered for an undesirable location, they had little say about where they might be stationed. Urged to write a memoir after more than twenty-five years of service in the islands, John Early recalled that back in 1906 he “received a round of applause” from his colleagues when he volunteered to work with “the Kalingas, then reputed the worst head-hunters in Northern Luzon.”<sup>497</sup> Though the danger may have been exaggerated, many places and peoples in the Philippines remained far removed from the American occupation—even five years into the U.S. educational experiment. Early was among those eager to venture into a faraway and perhaps dangerous post. In contrast, in 1909, George Carrothers thought he would be teaching chemistry in Manila, but upon his arrival was ordered to go to “the far north in Samar...the wildest part of that wild, undeveloped island.”<sup>498</sup> Not pleased with this new assignment, he attempted to return to the States, submitting his resignation multiple times to educational authorities. However, his resignations were rejected. Finally, feeling that

---

<sup>496</sup> Harrie to Leon Cole (brother), 21 October 1901, Harry Newton Cole Papers, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>497</sup> Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” BHL.

<sup>498</sup> Carrothers, “A Sojourn in the Philippines,” 4, Biographical Reminiscences 1952-1955 and 1964 Folder, BHL.

he had little choice in the matter, he packed up and prepared to go to Samar.<sup>499</sup> Though teachers could make their preferences known, more often than not, bureaucrats assigned them where they thought the need was greatest.

Still, in making their decisions, U.S. authorities assumed that teachers' potential for success rested, in part, upon their sex. The issue of gender loomed large in the world of education at the turn of the twentieth century. By then, most schoolteachers in the United States were women, a shift that had been commented on and justified in multiple ways. As noted earlier, government recruiters imagined male teachers better suited for the more rustic conditions of island living and for supervisory positions.<sup>500</sup> While such assumptions regarding the gendered nature of work largely guided teachers' job assignments, "exceptions" certainly existed in the Philippines.

All three of the single women featured in this study—Mary Fee, Alice Hollister, and Clara Donaldson—initially taught in remote parts of the archipelago. Fee, sent to the village of Capiz on the island of Panay, explained in her memoir that she “was willing to go anywhere” and preferred to be assigned alone, hoping to avoid any unnecessary social quarrels.<sup>501</sup> Alice Maude Hollister, another “exception” to the Philippine Board of Education ideal, was reportedly the first white woman to visit Dagami in seven years. Her arrival caused great interest among the Filipinos, and even six weeks later, the natives still “flocked out to see her.” Indeed, an American lieutenant

---

<sup>499</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>500</sup> “The Bureau of Education: A Statement of organization and aims published for general information,” NAMD.

<sup>501</sup> Fee, *A Woman's Impressions*, 61.

“finally detailed two soldiers to chase them away from the house.”<sup>502</sup> Clara Donaldson (who later taught at the Carlisle Indian School) was originally assigned to a remote province on the Island of Luzon and “for many months was the only white woman in a population of many thousand.” Only years later did she teach at a high school in the more “civilized” Manila.<sup>503</sup> Other cases of single women assigned to remote locations undoubtedly exist, though the archival records of such placements are harder to find than those of their male counterparts. At the same time, the record suggests that American women were not appointed as supervisors, even when they acted as such, and there were many men who served only as barrio (village) teachers, rather than as supervisors.

For many teachers, whether men or women, reaching their posts in isolated parts of the archipelago proved arduous, although some considered this all part of the adventure. Unless stationed in Manila, most teachers had to utilize several modes of transportation to reach their destinations: small and large boats, pony or caribou rides, significant hiking up hillsides and through rivers, and, for a lucky few, a train. Teachers usually travelled with their American colleagues for at least part of the journey: some seemed to thrive in the chaos they encountered, or at least remembered their arrival as particularly spectacular. John Early, who reportedly volunteered to work in a village of headhunters, provides perhaps the most extreme story of a teacher’s journey to his village. He recalled traveling aboard a small boat where a drunken man broke his paddle over another man’s head, and the boat filled with water forcing him to swim ashore.<sup>504</sup> The village that he reached put him to work while the incumbent teacher was absent on a six-

---

<sup>502</sup> Walter W. Marquardt to unknown, 19 August 1901 (edited transcription), Walter W. Marquardt Papers, Box 7, Bound Papers: 19-20, BHL.

<sup>503</sup> May D. McKittrick to Mr. E.B. Merritt, 15 May 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>504</sup> Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” 7-8, BHL.

week vacation. On the next leg of his journey, Early rode a runaway carabao through thorny bamboo, covering him with scratches before he spent another day climbing up a mountain. He then encountered a Bontoc man in little clothing, who after a time, “lowered his lance and came forward with a grin on his face and his hand extended.”<sup>505</sup> Although the outlandishness of such an account raises questions about its veracity, placed in the context of other teachers’ journeys to their stations, it is likely that Early endured a great adventure to reach his post. Perhaps teachers embellished their accounts to create livelier stories or emphasize the significance of their trips. For example, Mary Fee recalled that as her boat approached the town of Capiz, she heard “cries of La Maestra!” as a crowd eagerly waited to meet the new woman teacher.<sup>506</sup> It is hard to imagine that Filipinos were so excited about their teacher’s arrival that they chanted her title, literally cheering her on as she came to town. Whether exaggerated or not, such stories make clear that teachers viewed their journeys to island villages as exciting, and for Early and Fee at least, worthwhile adventures. Oftentimes these rigorous journeys often exposed teachers to danger and symbolized the vulnerability of the entire imperial education venture.

Many teachers first encountered the risks of living in a war-torn country when they left Manila and several traveled under guard for protection, but some appeared unfazed by such challenges. Traveling to Bonton in September 1901, Frederick Behner initially travelled with twenty other teachers, including two women, and reported that they had a “delightful” eighteen-hour journey together aboard a small boat. He wrote, “The sea was exceptionally calm and last evening’s sunset was the prettiest I have ever

---

<sup>505</sup> Ibid., 10-11; “carabao” refers to water buffalo that live in the Philippines.

<sup>506</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 73.

witnessed.”<sup>507</sup> He seemed equally enamored with his new home in the mountains, which had a view of the sea, and only slightly concerned that upon his arrival in the village, he and his American colleague, Mr. Blakeslee, had to be ushered out under guard until Bonton was deemed safe enough for them to return. Behner exclaimed, “Such experiences truly seems like pioneering.”<sup>508</sup> A couple of days later, the two Americans, escorted by soldiers, returned to Bonton and settled into the convent, which was to be their home and school. There, Behner and Blakeslee remained under the protection of ten Constabulary men, assigned to “insure us of our safety.”<sup>509</sup> For Behner, traveling to unknown and unstable environments, at least initially, seemed exciting and new.

For Harvey Bordner, traveling through the bush became particularly arduous as he had three different teaching assignments in one year, each requiring a difficult journey. To reach his first post at Nueva Vizcaya, Bordner initially traveled with seven other teachers about eighty miles by railroad from Manila and then alone another one hundred forty miles by foot, pony, and caribou, under guard of one hundred native soldiers for protection from insurgents.<sup>510</sup> Six months later, having been reassigned to Nueva Eciha Province, Bordner noted, “My trip across the mountain was certainly very interesting and one I shall not soon forget, because I was water-bound for about five days...had to ford no less than 30 rivers...Of course I had plenty to eat and 5 soldiers for a body guard so that I felt very comfortably at all times.”<sup>511</sup> Uncertain as to the reason for his transfer,

---

<sup>507</sup> Behner, 21-22 September 1901, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>508</sup> Behner, 26 September 1901, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>509</sup> Behner, 30 September 1901, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>510</sup> Harvey Bordner to brother, 6 May 1902, Harvey A. Bordner papers, Box 1, Personal Correspondence 1902, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington (IUA).

<sup>511</sup> Bordner to brother, 2 December 1902, IUA.



Bordner learned shortly after arriving at his new post that he would probably be moved again.

Considering the strenuous nature of the journey between posts, it is difficult to imagine why educational authorities ordered such transfers as often as they did. Of the thirty-three teachers surveyed in this study, only a few remained in the same post for more than one or two years, with a few, like Bordner, transferred several times in one year. Perhaps authorities were eager to reach remote areas in the islands and purposefully looked to teachers experienced in arduous travel to extend the mission's reach. It is likely that they believed men like Bordner were best prepared to withstand the taxing treks and resettlement. Or, perhaps the authorities making these decisions had little sense of the practical difficulties such reassignments involved. In either case, the teachers themselves quickly tired of the transfers; Bordner certainly hoped to settle down somewhere more permanently.

Of course, teachers' arrival at their posts was merely the beginning of their ventures. For most teachers, there was little risk of losing touch with American norms and sentiments, even as they adjusted to new customs. The vast majority maintained a respectable distance between their lives and those of their students and neighbors. Although American teachers attended local dances and feasts held by their town's Presidente, or mayor, they did so only occasionally. While most teachers made the best of their housing, they often noted that it was not up to the standard they were accustomed to back in the States. H.O. Whiting wrote to his parents regarding the antiquated technology and claimed sarcastically that "Arkansas is very modern and up to date compared to Siquifor. Thousands of people [have] never seen a stove, fire place, or any

thing of the kind.”<sup>512</sup> Mary Fee seemed a bit more adaptable. Soon after arriving in the fall of 1901, she adapted to the crude showering system of using a coconut shell to pour water over herself and resolved that she was “beginning to look upon a bath from the native standpoint as a means of coolness, and incidentally of cleanliness.”<sup>513</sup> She and others wrote also about the pigs that often rooted below the house and elsewhere in the streets, eating the refuse and serving as a makeshift sewage system. Similar conditions persisted decades later, as Laura Gibson Smith described the town of Iloilo where “chickens and pigs are the sewer system.”<sup>514</sup>

Although the teachers did their best to maintain a certain level of hygiene—including boiling their drinking water—they also had to adjust their expectations, especially in more remote barrios. Carrothers complained in an interview years later:

One of the crimes that Uncle Sam committed against American teachers was to send them off into some primitive barrio where there were no conveniences. Americans didn’t know anything about what they would need. A little medicine, useful clothing, a few cooking utensils – these things would have been of very great help to me.<sup>515</sup>

The extent to which he remembered the feeling of being so unprepared eight years after the first Thomasites arrived in the Philippines, coupled with Smith’s observation concerning the lack of a sewage system a decade after that, shows how difficult conditions were for many teachers in the islands. For some, their sense of being ill equipped exposed them—and the imperial operation—to tangible and symbolic vulnerabilities.

---

<sup>512</sup> Whiting to Home Folks, 4 August 1907, ISL.

<sup>513</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 75.

<sup>514</sup> Laura Gibson Smith, “Point of View,” Box 2, Writings Notes on Philippines Folder, Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (IWA)

<sup>515</sup> Carrothers, interview, 6, BHL.

Still, some teachers initially welcomed other local customs, including that of hiring servants. The Coles learned even before landing in Manila that “unless we have servants to wait upon us, that the natives will not respect us, so servants we must have.”<sup>516</sup> Whiting also realized the importance of this custom early on. He hired a cook soon after arriving in the village of Larena on the island of Oriental Negros and explained to his mother that the act of hiring a servant was more a matter of respecting local expectations than gaining help with household chores: “I dare not live alone and do my work for work is considered disgraceful.”<sup>517</sup>

However, living with servants proved to be more difficult than the Coles or Whiting had anticipated. A few months into her tenure, Mary wrote home:

I got sick of my dirty servants and “fired” them...Lieut. Eames told us when we first came that we couldn’t teach them to do anything our way but I said we could...but I thoroughly agree with him now. The habits of 500 yrs cannot be over come in a day and especially when they don’t care to over come them. Some times I get disgusted with the whole race and think it is useless to try to teach them any thing. But I suppose with patience and perseverance they will progress little by little until within 2 or 300 years they maybe quite Americanistic.<sup>518</sup>

Clearly, Mary was frustrated by more than just her servants’ inability to keep house “our way.” Here, she conflated her servants’ housekeeping shortcomings with problems she considered endemic to the “whole race,” most likely as a result of the little “progress” she felt she was making with her students. By February 1902, she came to believe—at least in her worst moments—that building U.S.-style civilization in a place as ostensibly uncivilized as the Philippines would take hundreds of years. Lieutenant Eames had warned her of the impossibility of enacting quick cultural change, suggesting that at least

---

<sup>516</sup> Mary and Harry Cole to Dear Folks at home, 4 August 1901, August to September 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>517</sup> H.O. Whiting to Mother, 25 December 25 1906, ISA.

<sup>518</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at home, 17 February 1902, January to March 1902 Folder, BHL.

some military personnel believed the “benevolent” U.S. mission was futile. Although some teachers, at times, came to agree with such sentiments, others felt differently.

Whiting, for example, almost lost his job for refusing to conform to Philippine expectations of a “civilized” life, in part by refusing to hire more help. Although he hired a cook upon his arrival in 1906 to keep up appearances, a year later he wrote his mother that he was being transferred, in part, for not having servants. He insisted, “I will not be a slave to fashion nor will I depend on servants for every thing. I must be independent and being dependent on servants, is worse than serving.”<sup>519</sup> Whiting valued doing good work and saving money above upholding appearances. He believed it was not the natives who disrespected him but white officials who disapproved of his “‘Strict economy in small matters’ and ‘Peculiar habits.’” Upon meeting with the Director of Education, Whiting understood this to mean that he did not spend enough money on servants or accommodations since he chose “living with natives at Normal [training school for Filipino teachers] instead of paying more than four times as much to live with the ‘mess.’” He also did not present a sufficiently civilized appearance either, eschewing white suits and a shaven face for more comfortable clothes and whiskers.<sup>520</sup> But for education officials who sought to maintain borders between what they considered “civilized” and “uncivilized,” Thomasites who did not draw a strict enough line between themselves and their subjects undermined the entire experiment and thus risked losing their jobs.

These and other cases demonstrate how imperial culture worked in various ways and directions. Translators and recipients of the dominant culture interpreted and utilized its effectiveness differently, alternately reinforcing and rejecting its ideals. Within this

---

<sup>519</sup> Whiting to Mother, November 1907, ISL.

<sup>520</sup> Ibid.

fragile environment—where individuals’ and imperial needs, desires, and standards conflicted—certain privileges exposed an imbalance and inconsistency in the distribution of power.

Of course, the stakes were not always so high. In some cases, teachers risked the scorn of their colleagues or local people rather than U.S. authorities. For example, in August 1903 Blaine Moore privately censured white American women for not wearing hats or corsets, finding them “careless in dress” and dismissing one woman’s explanation that in the islands “women had to sacrifice looks for comfort.”<sup>521</sup> In September 1918, Harvey Bordner, who had risen through the ranks in his many years in the islands, gave a speech on “Teacher Qualifications Sought by Superintendents.” He explained, “A teacher’s personal appearance is...of tremendous moment. A teacher may not be beautiful, but he or she should look beautiful to the children.”<sup>522</sup> Thus, regardless of personal comfort, teachers were to exhibit a beautiful, “civilized” appearance in order to earn their colleagues and their students’ respect.

Of course, violations against “civilized behavior”—more severe than unkempt dress—also plagued some Americans’ conscience. George Carrothers remembered:

Gambling, drinking to excess, promiscuity everywhere and other vicious practices were so generally accepted that it was distinctly difficult not to indulge a bit occasionally... Passions and emotions of white foreigners seemed to carry them to depths into which natives seldom descended. As one man put it: “When a white man goes down he goes lower than the native.”<sup>523</sup>

---

<sup>521</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 15 August 1903, Box 1, Correspondence July to December 1903 Folder, LOC

<sup>522</sup> Bordner, “Discipline,” July 1916, Box 1; Bordner, “Teacher Qualifications Sought by Superintendents,” 30 September 1918, Box 1, IUA.

<sup>523</sup> Carrothers, “A Sojourn in the Philippines,” 23.

No longer under watchful eyes at home, some teachers engaged in behaviors they would not have dreamed of doing back home. Although teachers were careful not to admit their own sexual indiscretions, several reported the promiscuity of others or the temptations they resisted. One teacher, Jules T. Frelin, sometimes used code in his diary or wrote with purposefully vague language in detailing relations with local women. On September 10, 1901, he asked, “Will God forgive a man whose repentance is brought about only by a corporal fear of hell. – In tropical countries a girl becomes a woman at thirteen, like a plant which buds at night and blooms the following morning.” Three months later he pondered, “Do you think your daughter can change lovers as easily as she changes dresses – Gross hand were playing with her heart ignorant of the delicacy of its fibers.”<sup>524</sup> Whether Frelin was referring to his own or other Americans’ sexual exploits, U.S. teachers clearly did engage in improprieties.<sup>525</sup> In fact, some reportedly had families with Filipino women despite having wives and families back in the States. As recorded by Frederick Behner in June 1904, “Just the other day Mr. Molvor told me his story of how a teacher in whom he had confidence, and whom his daughter tho’t single had outraged his daughter only to tell her that since he already had a wife in America it would be impossible for him to allay or soothe her troubles by a wedding.”<sup>526</sup> Some teachers held contempt for fellow countrymen who violated norms of “civilization,” although they often viewed these as isolated events—not representative of broader U.S. cultural failings. In contrast, many Americans believed that cases of Filipino “incivility” signaled the “backwardness” of an entire race.

---

<sup>524</sup> Jules Theophile Frelin, 8 December 1901, Diary 1899, UMA.

<sup>525</sup> Frelin, 22 December 1901, Diary 1899, UMA: Frelin wrote of an American who was “lost” with a woman as a euphemism to his sexual encounter.

<sup>526</sup> Behner, 14 June 1904, Diaries 1903 to 1905 Folder, BHL.

Burdened by preconceptions of proper behavior, many teachers struggled to decide whether they should participate in local social events, including Filipino dances. Some teachers rarely gave in to temptation or altogether resisted it. Several described these dances held in the local barrios, and some chose to participate. Early remembered that in the town of Old Cervantes, “Nearly every week there was a baile in the Provincial Building, at which many Ilocanos [local people] and Americans assembled,” although he recalled a group of U.S. teachers choosing not to partake in the fun.<sup>527</sup> Yet for many teachers, life in the islands offered opportunities unavailable or seen as improper at home. On December 13, 1902, Frederick Behner wrote in his diary about a big dance with over one hundred people, including Americans from other villages, where he “danced for the first time in my life. First trial a failure but second, with Bacilia, went a little better.”<sup>528</sup> Back in the States, Behner had never set foot on a dance floor, but in the Philippines he felt freer to participate in such festivities.

Teachers’ beliefs regarding respectability and race also affected their choices regarding the extent to which they engaged in or avoided intimate relationships with Filipinos. In April 1908, J.W. Cheesborough, then living in Manila, received a letter from former teaching colleague Isaac Adams, then an assistant attorney in the Philippines Bureau of Justice, who had recently visited their “old district” in Batangas. Adams wrote:

Your friend Señora Catalina and her two tall daughters are still in waiting, and when you come back I think you had better go down there and enjoy some of the good things of life that you are missing on account of your present abstemious habits...It is a confounded pity that you have so much race prejudice and are so high-toned; otherwise you could come back and dance your life away with one of

---

<sup>527</sup> Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” 14-15, BHL.

<sup>528</sup> Behner, 13 December 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

Catalina's tall daughters, and you would have the best mother in law in the world.<sup>529</sup>

Although the letter's playful tone suggests that Adams was only being half serious, it suggests that some teachers held to certain standards of respectability—including not dancing, particularly with non-white people—while others, including perhaps Adams himself, bent such rules. While most American teachers ultimately blamed the negative influences of Filipinos for their own or their colleagues' uncivilized behavior, Adams' letter suggests that racist views of Filipinos had as much to do with some teachers' choices as their concerns with maintaining respectability.

In fact, teachers' writings abound with accounts that they thought proved Filipino incivility and backwardness, sometimes rationalizing accusations with vehement, racially charged language. Their charges include laziness, thievery, uncleanness, and promiscuity.<sup>530</sup> Toward the end of her three years in the islands, Mary Cole wrote to her mother, "Our cook was such an old thief...But these people are just like the niggers. They got to steal for some how it seems to [be] born in 'em. I knew he was stealing a little all along but tho't we'd just put up with it if he didn't go too far and get to stealing commissaries again."<sup>531</sup> Here, Mary extended her charges of thievery against her servant to the entire population, believing that race somehow explained depraved actions like stealing. Other teachers also wrote of what they viewed as particularly egregious conduct, including Filipino priests whose sexual relationships with young women produced many

---

<sup>529</sup> Isaac Adams (Office of the Attorney-General) to Mr. John Cheesborough, 1 April 1908, John Cheesborough Papers, 1886-1914 Folder, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University (RDU).

<sup>530</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Ma and Pa, 6 November 1901, Box 1, Correspondence 1901, LOC.

<sup>531</sup> Mary Cole to Mother, May 1904, 1904 Folder, BHL; Harrie Cole, n.d., Folder 706, BHL.



“children of God.”<sup>532</sup> For those Americans who believed that a traditional family structure grounded in monogamous marriage was sacred and foundational to society, Filipinos’ indiscretions—whether with a priest or those living in an unsanctified relationship—indicated that the possibilities for developing a robust civilization in the islands were fraught. Still, others blamed Filipino children for being immoral. On August 4, 1902, Norman Cameron wrote in his diary, “I notice just how little morals the children posses as I teach from day [to day]. They have no scruples about doing the dirtiest little things. They make a filth[y] house of the playground in front of the school buildings, and the most immoral language when talking to boys or among themselves.”<sup>533</sup> Thus, whether servants, priests, or children, some U.S. teachers derided Filipinos for depraved behavior—often pointing to racial or cultural inferiority—and withheld similar scorn for their countrymen’s misbehavior, only laying blame in cases deemed too disgraceful.

Several teachers’ race-based, or racist, beliefs intensified over the course of their work in the islands. Although Norman Cameron noted the lessening of civilized behavior as early as his cross-country trip to meet the *USS Thomas* in July 1901, diary entries during his time in the Philippines increasingly referred to Filipinos with racial epithets, including “googoo” and “nigger.”<sup>534</sup> His earliest usages of the term “googoo” describe Filipino rebels who attacked or killed American soldiers, but later on Cameron employed

---

<sup>532</sup> Bordner to Brother, 6 May 1902, IUA.

<sup>533</sup> Cameron, 4 August 1902, Diary 3, SCLM.

<sup>534</sup> Cameron, Diary 1, SCLM.

the racial slur to describe Filipino civilians as well.<sup>535</sup> He used “nigger” more sparingly in his diaries, in one instance resorting to the term to describe the individual who killed his supervisor.<sup>536</sup> Other American teachers similarly used hateful language in situations where they felt afraid or to emphasize what they perceived as fundamental differences between themselves and “others.” These teachers rationalized their anger and anxiety concerning both real and imagined threats of Filipino attacks or to explain what they viewed as the “backward” ways of Filipinos.<sup>537</sup>

Other teachers wrote about a racial hierarchy to contrast “white superiority” with Filipino inferiority. In March 1903, Blaine Moore questioned the effectiveness of policies that sought to govern a “half civilized Oriental race” in the same ways as “an American or European white race,” believing Filipinos not yet ready for a “civilized” rule of law.<sup>538</sup> A few months later, Moore wrote to his parents how he and his white colleagues had to demonstrate “an endless amount of patience and shrewdness” to determine whether a Filipino’s actions or words were sincere, as he attributed a certain level of deceitfulness to the entire race.<sup>539</sup>

---

<sup>535</sup> Describing soldiers: Cameron, 15 October 1901 and 16 January 1902, Diary 2. Describing civilians: Cameron, 2 February 1902, Diary 2; Cameron, 19 January 1903 and 16 February 1903, Diary 4, SCLM.

<sup>536</sup> Cameron, 25 and 28 January 1902, Diary 2, SCLM.

<sup>537</sup> Marquardt, 30 September 1902, Box 6, Diaries and Notes 1900 to 1935, BHL; Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 30 June 1902, June 1902 Folder, BHL; Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 24 August 1902, July to August 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>538</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 1 March 1903, Correspondence January to June 1903 Folder, LOC.

<sup>539</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 25 July 1903, Correspondence July to December 1903 Folder, LOC.

Having taught just over a year in the islands, Harrie Cole had also come to believe that Filipinos' intellectual capacity was inferior to whites. Exposing his frustrations, Harrie rationalized in a letter to his mother:

Anglo-Saxons have, with the greater capacity, struggled for hundreds and thousands of years to attain the present imperfect standard of government. How can we expect a colored race with the baser natures and the natural tendencies to evil, to attain without years and years, or even generations, of training, even to a crude imitation of a good form of government?<sup>540</sup>

Harrie naturalized Filipinos' abilities, placing this "colored race" well below the standard that he argued Anglo-Saxons had achieved, however "imperfectly." With this bias in mind, he questioned the entire policy of "benevolent assimilation" as an effective way of transforming a people, at least within a reasonable amount of time. Yet, the same prejudice ironically justified imperial expansion. Such debased people as Filipinos, Harrie assumed, desperately needed a more experienced, superior hand to guide the way to civility. His belief in white superiority only strengthened over the course of his term in the Philippines.<sup>541</sup> In October 1903, he wrote to his mother, "[W]hen I get home, I want to forget about this country and people about as soon as possible. I shall probably hate the sight of anything but a white man the rest of my life (and some of these are none too lovable.)"<sup>542</sup> By the following April, he explained how he thought he had changed since he had last seen his mother, admitting, "I guess there is not much change only in my pride for our own race as compared with others – and I really do not think that is bad in itself."<sup>543</sup>

---

<sup>540</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 17 November 1902, September to December 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>541</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 8 April 1904, 1904 Folder, BHL.

<sup>542</sup> Harrie to Mother, 17 October 1903, 1903 Folder, BHL.

<sup>543</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 8 April 1904, 1904 Folder, BHL.

Many teachers, whatever their views of Filipinos as a group, became frustrated with the crude accommodations they confronted but sought to acclimate themselves to the school environment and work to improve conditions gradually. Particularly in the experiment's earliest years, teachers found schools to be in an appalling state. Most village school buildings, if they existed at all, did not have adequate space or seating to accommodate all of the students, evidence of the material fragility of this imperial endeavor. Some villages had buildings with dirt floors and a few benches while others had no building designated for a schoolhouse. Having received a promotion to Division Superintendent of a province of forty thousand Filipinos, Harvey Bordner felt overwhelmed yet optimistic regarding the present and future educational work, declaring that his first order of business would be to "build a schoolhouse."<sup>544</sup> In most cases, teachers worked with local officials to build suitable accommodations, though some complained that such construction was too slow. In classrooms furnished with desks, several students sometimes squeezed into one.<sup>545</sup> On February 4, 1902, Frederick Behner recorded in his diary:

School filled up to about fifty girls and which gives me about 75 on roll with 82 boys. Presidente still aids us as much as possible but we need seats very badly. Every box on the premise, all our room chairs etc. are in use now. Still there are many boys and girls so I do not know what will do if all come. The work is interesting with those who have room, and seats but certainly confusing when all are packed together like we get them.<sup>546</sup>

Moreover, working in an unhealthy environment sometimes exacerbated the chaos of overcrowded classrooms. Perhaps Harrie Cole's dissatisfaction in teaching Filipinos was

---

<sup>544</sup> Bordner to Mr. Tilon D. Bordner, 17 April 1903, IUA.

<sup>545</sup> Mary Cole to Brother and Sister, 15 October 15 1901, Harry Newton Cole Papers, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL; Fee, *A Woman's Impressions*; Behner, 4 February 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>546</sup> Behner, 4 February 1902, Diaries 1901-1902 Folder, BHL.

worsened by his classroom conditions, where he described how dirt from the room above his fell through the cracked ceiling, creating dusty air in a room packed with over 235 students.<sup>547</sup> Other potential health hazards involved students spitting on the floor or blowing their noses without handkerchiefs. As Glen Evans wrote in August 1904, only a few days into the term, “Am trying to teach kids to stop spitting and blowing their noses out the windows.”<sup>548</sup> Further distractions in the classroom involved animals. Fee recalled, “The school was popular not only with boys but with goats,” and soon learned that it would cause fewer disruptions in class to allow the goats to wander in and out than try to keep them outside.<sup>549</sup>

For many teachers, students’ learning habits proved to be even more troublesome. Their biggest complaint was generally related to students’ practice of studying “out loud”—reciting passages and thoughts orally, but not in unison.<sup>550</sup> Having been in the islands for almost two years, Blaine Moore settled into a new teaching station in 1903 at Moncada, a village that reportedly had a “good school” the year before. Yet, in describing it to his parents he wrote, “Unless you have seen a newly organized Filipino school you can have no idea of the lack of discipline. The scholars will get up, run around the room or out doors, laugh, talk, in fact everything contrary to discipline. They are inveterate talkers and this habit is the hardest of all to control. They will talk to their neighbors, study ‘out loud’ and think the same way.”<sup>551</sup> Considering the lack of seating

---

<sup>547</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 18 November 1901, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>548</sup> Glen Evans, 3 August 1904, Diary of G.W. Evans, 1904-1905 Folder, Evans Family Papers, BHL.

<sup>549</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 81.

<sup>550</sup> Harrie and Mary Cole; Glen Evans; Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*; Blaine Free Moore.

<sup>551</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 23 August 1903, Box 1, Correspondence July to December 1903 Folder, LOC.

and proper equipment, overcrowded classrooms, noise, even goats, the chaos of teachers' first encounters with schooling in the Philippines cannot be underestimated. In a sense, the performance of empire within the colonial space of the classroom exhibited, at times, the ridiculousness of Americans' attempts to gain full authority in this vibrant, foreign environment.

In addition to changing students' habits inside the classroom, teachers also struggled with altering village norms regarding attendance. American teachers were instructed to respect the Filipinos many feast and religious holidays. Many teachers noted the high number of holidays, not fully understanding the meaning of these celebrations but ultimately respecting the natives' traditions by not holding school. The real problem was attrition. Although some teachers reported increasing attendance in their first several months of work, maintaining students' participation over time proved difficult. Many resorted to engaging local law enforcement authorities to round up students or sought the mayor's help in fining families who did not send their children to school.<sup>552</sup>

For teachers assigned to work in one barrio, work and life in the small village sometimes became monotonous. Their days included anywhere from two to five hours of teaching, with some choosing to teach night school two or three nights a week to make extra money.<sup>553</sup> Despite the exotic location, several found the days blurred from one to

---

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.; Marquardt, 12 September 1901, Box 7, Untitled bound book of transcribed letters and personal documents, 25, BHL.

<sup>553</sup> Marquardt, 18 July and 3 August 1901 Box 7, Untitled bound book of transcribed letters and personal documents, 14, 17; Behner, January to April 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL; Harrie Cole to Mother, 20 October 1901, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

the next. Only five weeks into his first assignment on the islands, Harrie Cole wrote, “I find this work very monotonous trying to teach these monkeys to talk.”<sup>554</sup> Likely frustrated with the little progress his students were making, Harrie resorted to name-calling, in part blaming the students for their slow English acquisition. As a result, he found the work uninteresting. Others found vacation days to be more tedious. Frederick Behner claimed during one holiday that “Day after day without work is truly monotonous and the only bearable thing is that our pay continues.”<sup>555</sup> Blaine Moore felt similarly and advised his brother to stay in college back in the states rather than venture to the Philippines, in part, arguing:

[T]his country soon becomes a most monotonous place to live in. Absolutely no entertainments or amusements of any kind. Shut up in a little 2x4 nipa shack town with no communication & no means of transportation the novelty wears off after a time and then it is what the soldiers call hell... You have no reference books, no leading people of your own profession to come in contact with and you are doing well if you stand still and do not go backward. This last is especially true!<sup>556</sup>

In addition to viewing everyday life as boring and isolating, Moore admitted that after having taught basic skills in the islands, he felt incapable of doing much else and even struggled at this. He believed his work in the islands to be beneath the skills of a college-educated man, and without any contact with a larger intellectual or professional community, he felt his own capabilities were greatly hampered. He like Cole, Behner, and other teachers, found the work to be increasingly dull as time passed.

Supervising teachers had more varied experiences, although they, too, sometimes became tired. They spent much of their time traveling between schools, trekking several

---

<sup>554</sup> Harrie Cole to Folks at Home, 5 November 1901, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>555</sup> Behner, 24 January 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>556</sup> Blaine Free Moore to brother, 17 January 1903, Box 1, January to June 1903 Folder, LOC.

hours at a minimum to visit or establish a new school in a barrio. Before being demoted back to a classroom teacher, Whiting traveled extensively:

We are having rain almost every day. Sometimes I have to ride 6 or 8 kilometers (to my furthest school) and back thru the rain. I have three barrio schools and a central one. Employ 13 teachers. Have about 900 children enrolled. The clay is so slick and the mountains so steep that the horse can hardly climb them. I can go (on horse) only about 2 miles an hour. I make one visit to each school each week.<sup>557</sup>

The physical rigor and independence required to hike or ride between barrios proved exhausting. Other supervising teachers had even larger territories and greater numbers of teachers and schools to manage. Harvey A. Bordner wrote to his siblings on October 15, 1905:

To look after the schools of a province with a population of more than 223000 people with cities of 30000 people is no small job...I have at present close to 200 teachers who must all be examined and licensed, hired and paid by the month...To visit all the schools requires not less than two months during the year. I have already visited more than half of the schools this year but the half that are still to be visited are those situated in the more out-of-the-way places and will require more time.<sup>558</sup>

For those with similar responsibilities, the scope of the work was enormous and the expectations almost impossible to fulfill. Overseeing hundreds of employees and multiple schools scattered around the province required constant vigilance, leaving little time for anything but work. Needless to say, both local and supervising teachers had profound responsibilities as they worked to establish a U.S.-style school system in the islands. For many, the concept of civilizing the Philippines by educating young people must have seemed increasingly utopian, if not hopeless.

Those teachers who lived and taught in Manila were often more optimistic about the potential for American education to transform the nation. And even for some, who

---

<sup>557</sup> Whiting to "Loved Ones," 12 August 1907, ISL.

<sup>558</sup> Bordner to Sister and Brother, 15 October 1905, IUA.



regularly taught in rugged outposts, the city came to represent a modest bastion of civilization, filled with white bodies and more familiar activities. Upon returning to Manila after teaching for a year on the remote island of Banton, Frederick Behner noted that the city “looked as natural as ever and it seems like civilization again to get back into a place where white faces are common and noise and bustle are all about.”<sup>559</sup> Other Americans echoed his sentiments. After spending just over half a year working in a small village on Masbate Island, Blaine Moore visited the capital and wrote to his parents in April 1902, “I’ve enjoyed this week in Manila. Been resting around in all sorts of deals & things & it seems like doing something instead of being shut up with a lot of little brown kids...Also saw a couple of baseball games between the army & marines & it seemed a little like civilization again.”<sup>560</sup> Characterizing his work as racially and intellectually confining, the leisure and level of “civilization” in the city seemed more remarkable than it might have when he first arrived in the Philippines.

Of course, a friendly game of baseball between the U.S. army and marines may have mocked the idea of “civilization” for some Filipinos who had been terrorized by their forces for the past several years. Many teachers, too, despite their pleasure in visiting or working in Manila, felt threatened by the violence around them, particularly in remote parts of the archipelago. Teachers worked within an extremely hostile environment, as U.S. military and civilian authorities both instituted and rationalized the violence that plagued the islands. For example, in September 1901, just as the majority of Thomasites were settling into their new homes, a particularly gruesome massacre

---

<sup>559</sup> Behner, 13 October 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>560</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 2 April 1902, Correspondence January to June 1902 Folder, LOC.

occurred on the island of Samar when Filipino insurgents attacked U.S. soldiers mourning the recent assassination of President McKinley. But U.S. military retaliation proved extreme: American soldiers were authorized to kill without orders, shoot Filipino boys over ten years of age, kill wounded Filipinos, and attack Filipinos even as they surrendered. U.S. soldiers plundered towns, established concentration camps, and confined prisoners to overcrowded jails. Scattered reports of such violence reached Washington, DC, and by January 1902, Congress launched hearings to investigate the ongoing war in the Philippines. Soon after, military tribunals tried officers accused of operating outside the rules of war. The hearings and trials revealed further horrors in the islands and the general acceptance of such brutality by non-military personnel. The Education Director in the Philippines, David Barrows, testified at the hearings. He defended use of the “water cure” to elicit information from prisoners of war, minimized the inhumanity of concentration camps, and suggested that Filipinos ultimately benefitted from the war.<sup>561</sup> Barrows was not alone in making such justifications; missionaries in the islands similarly defended the morality of torture. Unfortunately, the hearings did not lead to the end of fighting or acts of inhumanity in the archipelago. Even as President Roosevelt declared the war officially over on July 4, 1902, the U.S. military was planning an offensive on the island of Mindanao. Indeed, the violence continued for several more years.<sup>562</sup>

For many teachers, the responsibilities of educating students and supervising schools was often overshadowed by the reality of military violence. The majority of the

---

<sup>561</sup> Today, the “water cure” is known as “water boarding,” and classified as a method of torture.

<sup>562</sup> Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 210-230.

thirty-three teachers examined here discussed the threat of violence in diary entries and in letters home to loved ones. A third of the teachers wrote extensively about the violence while several others discussed it briefly, perhaps so as not to worry friends and family members back home. For some, especially those in volatile areas, the violence consumed their lives. While others did not seem as concerned, everyone was aware of the ongoing conflict.

It is clear that the U.S.-Philippine hostilities greatly hampered teachers' work and affected their lives and sense of well being even though they responded in disparate ways to violence they encountered in the islands, heightening the fragility of the imperial experiment. Among the pioneer teachers, the Coles certainly faced one of the most frightening situations. Early on, Mary Cole found the military conflict overwhelming. Within a few weeks after arriving in Palo on the island of Leyte, Mary recorded in her diary that she heard that ten American soldiers had been killed on the nearby island of Samar. The next day, she reported that officers' wives had been ordered to leave the islands of Leyte and Samar and to seek safety in Manila, including the only other white woman in her town, the wife of Lieutenant Eames. On October 28 Mary admitted, "We are very much worried to day about the state of affairs here," and two weeks later noted her concerns yet again. Her husband had returned home late from a walk to the seashore, and as she "tho't the bolomen had found him maybe."<sup>563</sup> When U.S. soldiers left for another station on December 9, the Coles were the only Americans who remained in Palo. Writing in her diary three weeks later Mary confessed, "I do feel sorry for the home folks, not knowing but any time we may be killed but it seems very peaceable about here

---

<sup>563</sup> Mary Cole, 11 November 1901, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL.

now.”<sup>564</sup> Not knowing where the next violent outbreak would occur, Mary lived in almost constant fear that she or her husband would be among the targets.

Although Mary’s husband Harrie experienced similar threats of violence, he reacted very differently to the instability of their surroundings. While Mary frequently expressed her anxiety and fear, an almost relentless sense of worry, Harrie positioned himself offensively. In June 1902, he unapologetically confessed in a letter to his mother and brother, “And I guess it is a good thing I am not a soldier, for I am afraid I should shoot every ‘dirty nigger’ I should come across if I were out on a ‘hike.’ Too many American lives have already been sacrificed to the treachery of these people.”<sup>565</sup> Revealing the immense stress that living amid such omnipresent violence brought, Harrie expressed his absolute terror using racially charged, hateful language. While Mary repeatedly confessed to feeling afraid, she did not suggest she developed any fantasies about participating in violence herself. Harrie, however, imagined that if he were more directly involved in the warfare, he would kill Filipinos indiscriminately. Still, a year into his contract, his letters increasingly disclosed his anxiety as he tried to deal with his own emotions in a severely unstable, foreign environment. He coped through fantasies of manly strength where he aggressively protected himself and his wife through brute force.

While Harrie only imagined taking up arms, Norman Cameron ultimately engaged in military style missions to kill insurgents. As early as October 15, 1901—just over a week after his first day of teaching in the Philippines—Cameron wrote, “I find that

---

<sup>564</sup> Mary Cole, 24 and 28 October, 12 November 1901 and 2 January 1902, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL.

a gun and one man has been able to go—almost anywhere in the islands. But beware of these people at night,—at least for the present.”<sup>566</sup> A month later, Cameron recounted, “Went to Dauis loaded to kill, one Ives-Johnson and one Colts Model 96 and 60 rounds of ammunition or more.”<sup>567</sup> Two days before Christmas, he rejoiced that the *insurrectos* had surrendered, and it was “a red-letter day.”<sup>568</sup> Yet, at the end of January 1902, he lamented, “Well, if I go by the board, I want to empty my gun into the carcass of some Filipinos... If I am killed here, I shall feel contented that I have not died in vain, but that I have fallen trying to do my duty.”<sup>569</sup> Certainly American teachers in the Philippines were not expected to engage in armed conflict, which had the potential to undermine the goal of using education to pacify and civilize Filipinos. Yet Cameron believed that arming himself was necessary for survival. Feeling his life threatened, he not only visualized himself brutally killing Filipinos as a measure of self-defense, but also carried the weapons to do so.

Like Cameron, Glen Evans armed himself and joined the fight against the Filipino rebels. Years after the 1901 bloodshed on Samar, the island continued to experience great violence. Evans experienced it throughout his tenure there, from August 1904 through May 1905, as did Carrothers, who taught there in 1909. On the same day that Glen reported opening his school in the town of Barongau—August 1, 1904—he also noted the killing of twenty-seven men, women, and children by the insurgents a week earlier in a nearby town. Thus, from his first day teaching in the Philippines, he was on guard, aware of the violence surrounding him as Filipino rebels threatened the village.

---

<sup>566</sup> Cameron, 15 October 1901, Diary 1, SCLM.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 13 November 1901.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., 23 December 1901.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., 27 January 1902.

He recorded other accounts of violence in his diary during his first month in Barongau and on August 30 received word from then head superintendent for schools in the Philippines, David P. Barrows, that “No more teachers will be sent out till the trouble is over.”<sup>570</sup>

Feeling further isolated and increasingly at risk of losing his life, Evans took up arms less than a month after his arrival. On September 22, he desperately reported:

Three bands riflemen burning coast towns north and south...Many natives killed & prisoners. Entire barrios deserting to poulahaus [Filipino insurgent groups]. Situation grave & alarming. Immediate assistance urgent.<sup>571</sup>

That evening, Glen armed himself and joined fifty bolomen volunteers to intercept the approaching rebels. Over the next several months, he recorded several incidents where he participated in fighting, capturing, and sometimes killing men, women, and children. In one such incident on October 1, Glen wrote that he and a friend saw a boat with five people approaching them in the river. He loaded his Winchester shotgun, the people in the other boat jumped overboard and, “We opened up on them and got them all. 2 boys 3 men.”<sup>572</sup> Although the U.S. government, given its stated policy of “benevolent assimilation,” did not intend for Thomasites to engage in military combat, some teachers—like Cameron and Evans—used guns to defend themselves or their villages and books to teach Filipinos more amenable to the U.S. occupation.

Other teachers armed themselves but did not engage directly in fighting.

Throughout his tenure in the islands, Blaine Moore noted the proximity of military violence to where he lived and considered it a necessity to have guns. Stationed on the

---

<sup>570</sup> Glen Evans, 1, 22-25 and 30 August 1904, Diary 1904 to 1905 Folder, BHL.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid., 22 September 1904.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid., 22 September, 1 October, 4 November 1904, 22 January and 24 February 1905.

island of Catangan in January 1902, Moore wrote to his parents, “Scarcely a day goes by now but we can hear the gun boats throwing shells into Samar.”<sup>573</sup> In August 1902, he specified the guns he procured for self-defense in a letter to his brother: “I have two revolvers now. One is a handy .38 double action Colt’s used by the army officers. The other is a .45 Colt’s and is an old gun. Believe us I guess we can protect ourselves.”<sup>574</sup> Reading Moore’s tone here is difficult; it is not clear whether he believed that he could effectively defend himself given his dismissive “I guess.” But it is clear that he felt the need to arm himself as a measure of protection. Among items Moore believed essential in the Philippines, he listed a shotgun and ammunition as well as a revolver, “almost a necessity here,” in a January 1903 letter to his brother.<sup>575</sup> A month later, Moore wrote to his parents and explained why he felt the need to be armed, detailing a story of insurgents raiding a nearby town. Although Moore recognized the real threat of violence, he also poked fun at some Americans’ over-reaction given the presence of local police, U.S. soldiers, and guns in every American household in the town:

It’s rather peculiar and amusing too to note the effect of this [the recent raid] on the Americans. Lamb the treasurer got a rifle from the military and always carries a big six shooter stuffed in his pants. Leperd the provincial doctor won’t go out of the house without a six shooter strapped on him. This is all nonsense here in town for with the American soldiers, the constabulary, and every civilian American in town with two or three guns in his house there will be no ladrone [insurgent] attack here. A man that carries a gun in sight in town in the day time only invites ridicule from the natives.<sup>576</sup>

---

<sup>573</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 28 January 1902, Correspondence January to June 1902 Folder, LOC.

<sup>574</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Brother, 20 August 1902, Correspondence July to December 1902 Folder, LOC.

<sup>575</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Brother, 17 January 1903, Correspondence January to June 1903 Folder, LOC.

<sup>576</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Ma and Pa, 15 February 1903, Correspondence January to June 1903 Folder, LOC.

After laughing at the nervous Americans in his village, Moore then reconsidered his audience and assured his parents, “Don’t worry about this Ladrone business, I’m safe enough.”<sup>577</sup> While Moore saw at least some humor in living with other civilians amid a military conflict, he, too, chose to arm himself, although perhaps not as ostentatiously.

Still, other teachers dealt with threats of violence without arming themselves. American women in the islands seem to have remained largely unarmed. While their male counterparts usually owned a gun—whether for protection or sport—women never suggested they did so in their letters and diaries.<sup>578</sup> Instead, women largely relied upon native or U.S. guards for protection. Writing from Tanauan, a town close to Alice Hollister’s station at Dagami, Walter Marquardt reported on the violence that threatened both himself and Hollister. On July 20, 1901, he wrote, “NO American goes from town to town without an armed escort. The towns are safe but these bolo men are unknown quantities.”<sup>579</sup> As the only American woman in a remote outpost, Hollister faced dangers similar to those of her colleagues elsewhere. Indeed, she may have been more vulnerable given rebel outrage at U.S. soldiers who killed women and children. A couple of years later, Marquardt and Hollister married and violence continued to affect their lives, in once case frightening Alice in particular. On February 17, 1903, Marquardt reported that an unknown person rang the “church bell at 9 P.M. [and] [s]ix police jumped out of tribunal tore across plaza like mad, (yelling) and...Alice thought pulahans had entered

---

<sup>577</sup> Ibid.

<sup>578</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 213: Mary Fee’s memoir reveals that during a trip to explore an abandoned mine, she was given a gun to “to see that the excavating department kept busy.”

<sup>579</sup> Marquardt, 20 July 1901, Box 7, Untitled Bound Documents, 15, BHL.



sure.”<sup>580</sup> Thus, a year and a half into her tenure, Alice remained on guard, still fearful of the possibility of attack even with the presence of local law enforcement, not to mention her husband. Although Marquardt sometimes carried a gun, he learned through the experiences of colleagues that it could increase the danger since Filipinos might attack you to capture the weapons.<sup>581</sup> Carrothers learned the same lesson. In an interview, he discussed the violence that continued to rampage the island of Samar in 1909 and explained, “One day to a Filipino teacher way up in the mountains in Mugton, I said: ‘The constabulary think I ought to carry a gun. What do you think about it?’ He said, ‘If I were you, I wouldn’t. The Filipinos are not allowed to have guns. They’d see you with the gun and they might kill you to get your gun.’”<sup>582</sup> For his own safety, Carrothers took this local teacher’s advice and decided never to carry a weapon.

Whether or not teachers chose to arm themselves against the threat of Filipino insurgents, several Thomasites condemned the brutality implemented by U.S. soldiers. Even teachers who had directly engaged in or imagined combat criticized their country’s use of torture to defeat the Filipino insurgency. Teachers became aware that some U.S. military officers were known for their expertise in extracting information from Filipinos by using unsavory methods taught others how to do the same. Desperate to obtain hints of the next attack, American soldiers used the “water-cure” and other forms of abuse on Filipino insurgents and civilians alike. While some U.S. soldiers disapproved of and reported such heinous acts, officers and soldiers were rarely held accountable for such

---

<sup>580</sup> Ibid.; Marquardt, 17 February 1903, Box 6, Bound Diaries and Notes 1900-1935, 24, BHL.

<sup>581</sup> Marquardt, “Dangers,” Box 7, Biographical, Questionnaire Folder, BHL.

<sup>582</sup> Carrothers, interview, BHL.

actions.<sup>583</sup> The U.S. military's practice of torturing Filipino prisoners sickened many teachers, causing some to doubt whether any Americans in the islands could appear "civilized" in light of such barbaric behavior. In January 1902, the Coles spoke at length with a Filipino priest who had endured five days of torture. Harrie, who often used racist language to describe the Filipinos, nonetheless wrote, "The prisoners of Samar, and especially the padres, were given the 'water cure'—and this term ought to bring the blush of shame to the face of every American...I have seen the terrible mutilations with my own eyes, as has Mary."<sup>584</sup> In separate accounts, Harrie and Mary described the terrible sores on the priest's neck and wrists, the awful bruises on his body and the steps of the "water-cure" in detail. They also recounted how soldiers had cut the chord under his tongue and refused him food. Mary wrote in her diary, "It isn't civilized warfare when the[y] act like savages. If they were to judge the American people as a race from the soldiers, they must surely think we are their inferiors.... It makes my blood boil when I think that any American would do such a thing. It is a disgrace to the Nation."<sup>585</sup> Seeing the bruises and cuts of torture first-hand disturbed the Coles, who certainly had no idea when they left U.S. soil that they would become witnesses to such brutality. To know that such cruelty was wrought by American hands shook their worldview and pointed to profound imperfections and, at times, the desperation of imperial authority.

Later that year, Norman Cameron also questioned the efficacy of such vicious methods. In October 1902, he wrote in detail about techniques of torture and reported, "Learned the 'water-cure' as applied to Googoos to force their secrets from them...I

---

<sup>583</sup> Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 227-238.

<sup>584</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 16 February 1902, January to March 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>585</sup> Mary Cole, 20 January 1902, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL.

would not put much dependence in the information thus extracted...The ways of extracting information are various and severe.”<sup>586</sup> Although Cameron had used guns in self-defense, demonstrating that he was hardly a pacifist, he doubted that American methods of torture were necessary or worthwhile. Even as he readily adopted racist terminology in referring to the native population, his negative views about Filipinos did not lead him to believe that they deserved such abuse or that it would be productive. He, too, recognized the flaws of such tactics, if not the entire “benevolent” endeavor.

Beyond the devastation wrought by man-made violence, disease further threatened teachers’ lives and their work, adding yet another layer to the fragility of empire. Prior to entering the islands, American teachers were quite aware of the risks that foreign viruses might pose. In fact, the idea that tropical places were ridden with disease and that white people were more susceptible to such illnesses was, in part, the reason that members of the Philippine Commission investigated the mountain region of Baguio as early as August 1900 to consider “the possibility of establishing a ‘summer resort’ for people living in the lowlands.”<sup>587</sup> A retreat was soon built there and attended by many Americans, including teachers, throughout the U.S. occupation of the islands. Many visited Baguio for respite from the oppressive heat and to attend teacher conferences.<sup>588</sup> While hysteria caused some whites to fear the tropics in general, disease proved to be a devastating reality in the Philippine Islands, killing Filipinos and Americans alike.<sup>589</sup> Moreover, the prevalence of a wide variety of illnesses required

---

<sup>586</sup> Cameron, 20 October 1902, Diary 2, SCLM.

<sup>587</sup> Daniel Roderick Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1913), 71-72.

<sup>588</sup> Bordner, January 1914, News clipping about Indiana University Alumni, Box 3, IUA.

<sup>589</sup> For more on disease and empire, see Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

teachers to engage in work well outside of their educational expertise. During the worst of the epidemics, U.S. authorities officially recruited teachers to engage in sanitation work. At other times, teachers tended their sick colleagues and Filipino neighbors, while others faced disease alone.

As with military violence, teachers faced the threat of disease from the very beginning of their stay in the islands. For Mary and Harrie Cole, the onslaught of disease seemed relentless and became almost commonplace. Yet they did not accept it as a given but blamed education authorities for their slow and inadequate response. Only a few weeks after their arrival in Palo in fall 1901, Mary wrote home that “funerals occur every day or so.”<sup>590</sup> By January, Mary was losing count. In writing about the low attendance at school in a letter home late that month she explained, “Our attendance is not so large now as there is so much sickness in town. There were 7 funerals Fri; a half doz or more Sat., and 10 yesterday. I don’t know how many to day.”<sup>591</sup> While Mary initially blamed consumption for the high mortality, by January 1902, small pox had invaded the region. By mid February, the scourge seemed so ordinary that even after one of Mary’s students told her that she would no longer be able to attend school because her entire family was infected with small pox, Mary wrote, “At home I would have been scared to death to have had such a thing happen but here we seem to think nothing about it.”<sup>592</sup> With the death toll from small pox sharply rising—the priest in Palo having counted eighty dead from small pox, and another forty-five from other maladies in the month of January alone—the provincial governor of Leyte had ordered the local mayor to quarantine those

---

<sup>590</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 17 October 1901, October to November 1901 Folder, BHL.

<sup>591</sup> Mary Cole to Mother and Leon, 27 January 1902, January to March Folder 1902, BHL.

<sup>592</sup> Mary Cole, 15 February 1902, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL.

exposed to the disease.<sup>593</sup> Yet, to Harrie and Mary's dismay, Superintendent Sherman ordered schools in Palo to remain open into March even though elsewhere—including in Tanauan, where Alice Hollister taught—schools were closed on account of small pox.<sup>594</sup> This irresponsible decision astounded Harrie, who expressed his rage at the carelessness with which American civilian leaders in the Philippines treated the needs of teachers, ignoring the most basic precautions for their safety.<sup>595</sup> In early March Harrie's fears were realized when he fell ill with a fever and general aches and pains. Fortunately, he recovered, only to hear by the end of the month that cholera had made its way into Manila and killed thirteen people.<sup>596</sup>

Although the small pox epidemic closed some schools and not others, the spread of cholera in the spring of 1902 forced more widespread school closures, quarantines, and rigorous sanitation efforts. As with small pox, cholera initially only infected Filipinos, yet it still caused great stress among teachers. By May 1902, both Tanauan Palo had been quarantined to help prevent the spread of the disease.<sup>597</sup> In June, Harrie revealed a sense of despair in a letter to his family writing, "If we all keep well, and Mary and I return with good health and our pockets full of money, we may not be sorry that we came, at least I hope that all will be well."<sup>598</sup> A few days later, he tried to reassure them, explaining how they disinfected the house, boiled water, and regularly saw a visiting

---

<sup>593</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 16 February 1902, January to March Folder 1902, BHL; Mary Cole, 11 February 1902, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL.

<sup>594</sup> Mary Cole, 13 February 1902, Diary 1901-1902, Harry Cole Papers, BHL; Mary to Mother, 10 March 1902, January to March Folder 1902, BHL.

<sup>595</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 16 February 1902, January to March Folder 1902, BHL.

<sup>596</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 24 March 24 1902, January to March Folder 1902, BHL.

<sup>597</sup> Mary Cole to Folks at Home, 11 May 1902, April to May 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>598</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 11 June 1902, June 1902 Folder, BHL.

doctor to be sure that the town was following orders to keep things sanitary.<sup>599</sup> For the Coles, their first year in the Philippines proved extremely challenging, with the threat of death very real to them, and from multiple sources. And while they longed to keep in close contact with loved ones at home, they did not want to cause them unnecessary anxiety. For the Coles as for so many teachers in the Philippines, figuring out how to communicate honestly about the threat of disease without creating panic back home was difficult.

Some teachers seemed genuinely less fearful of cholera and other diseases and were careful to reassure family members of their safety, some more delicately than others.

In May 1902, Blaine Moore wrote to his parents from Manila:

There is but little or any danger from cholera here to an American who lives right. There have only been about a half dozen Americans die and these were either disreputable fellows living with the natives or else become [sick] while working for the sanitation Dept. in the dirty infected districts. Of course I wouldn't go on the Sanitary force unless I had a clean district to work in. Hardly think I shall any way though I would like something to help pay expenses.<sup>600</sup>

Here, Moore claimed to be living “right,” away from the filth of disease and sin. Unlike his “disreputable” counterparts whom, he implied, succumbed to the disease for living too closely, even intimately, with Filipinos, Moore presented himself as a more moral, careful, clean man. In this way, he conflated disease and morality, refusing to admit that cholera could infect anyone. He also refused to risk his life by joining other teachers who worked for the sanitation department in regions contaminated by the disease, despite the additional pay. In spite of Moore’s seemingly cavalier stance on disease, he still took precautions and tried to minimize his exposure.

---

<sup>599</sup> Ibid., 15 June 1902.

<sup>600</sup> Blaine Free Moore to Pa and Ma, 15 May 15 1902, Correspondence January to June 1902 Folder, LOC.

Ralph Taylor, living in the town of San Fernando on the island of Union in August of 1902, also took special care to not worry his mother about disease in the islands. Indeed, he voiced a rather optimistic perspective. Rather than focusing on the deaths from cholera that he had witnessed in his own pueblo and neighboring barrios—which came “as close as our second door neighbor”—Taylor emphasized the “very social time” he and his colleagues were having on account of the schools being closed. They played games, sang college songs, engaged in “general rough house” and had great discussions.<sup>601</sup> Taylor opened a subsequent letter, “I hope you are not worrying about what I said as to cholera someweeks[sic] ago:if I haven’t mentioned it in a later letter it is because there was nothing doing.”<sup>602</sup> A year later, in April 1903, Ralph explained that a small pox epidemic prevented the American teachers from being able to hold their classes for native teachers.<sup>603</sup> Although the extent of the disease in Ralph’s experience was probably similar to that of other teachers in the islands, he seems to have deliberately limited candor on this issue in his letters home. In sharp contrast to the Coles’ fear and Moore’s cynicism Taylor’s letters consistently reflected his love for the islands, work, and life in general—in spite of risks like disease.

Of course, some teachers were personally afflicted by disease and wrote about it extensively. Frederick Behner suffered from bouts of illness during his first year in the island. Sometimes illness forced him to stay home from teaching though other times he managed to work through his aches and pains. During his first year, Behner suffered from Breakbone Fever, terrible headaches, and dysentery, which he recorded throughout

---

<sup>601</sup> Taylor to Mother, 7 August 1902, Correspondence 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>602</sup> Taylor to Mother, 17 October 1903, Correspondence 1903 Folder, BHL.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid.; Taylor to Mother, 1 April 1903, Correspondence 1903 Folder, BHL.

his diary.<sup>604</sup> Beyond being infected himself, Behner was recruited to help limit the spread of disease and tend to many other duties as well. Just into his second year of teaching, in September 1902, Behner declared, “To be Dr., teacher, Sanitary officer, and do the work of insp of cargo and papers of boats is too much.”<sup>605</sup> Still, having witnessed almost one hundred deaths in his small village due to cholera that fall, he took on the increased responsibilities. One of two Americans in the village, he had been asked to take on tasks akin to a health official—deciding which boats to quarantine, how best to promote good hygiene in the town, how to assist local villagers suffering illness and injury—all while continuing his official obligations to the school. By mid-December, Behner wrote in his diary, “Am getting as strong as I was before I had the cholera and enjoy my food again.”<sup>606</sup> Apparently, having worked to protect his Philippine village from the worst that an outbreak of cholera could bring, he had succumbed to the disease himself.

Harvey Bordner also suffered personally from profound illness. Although he claimed perfect health for his first six months on the island, Bordner wrote home to his brother in February 1903, “Yes the holiday season is passed and mine were spent in the hospital under strict quarantine...Of course I am out now and am perfectly well and sound. I was in the hospital about 49 days but at present I weigh 190 lbs so you can imagine that I must be feeling rather well.”<sup>607</sup> A couple of months later, he clarified the nature of his illness, “While I was in Nampicuan or in Anao I was exposed to smallpox, which kept me off duty for fortyeight[sic] days, beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> of December

---

<sup>604</sup> Behner, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid., 12 September 1902.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid., 17 December 1902.

<sup>607</sup> Bordner to Brother, 20 February 1903, IUA.



1902.”<sup>608</sup> While most American teachers in the Philippines did not contract serious illnesses like cholera or small pox, some did. Most of these teachers survived, some were sent home, and others died. Yet even if not directly afflicted, teachers felt suffocated at times by the omnipresence of such diseases.

When not ill themselves, Thomasites also spent much of their time nursing one another back to health, sometimes at great risk. As the only two Americans in the region, Behner and Blakeslee regularly tended to one another’s health needs. They sat by one another’s bedside and procured medicines, until a serious illness forced Blakeslee to head back to the States in the fall of 1902. Other friends and loved ones also assisted one another. In May 1902, Alice Hollister’s fiancée, Walter Marquardt, had been hospitalized for a high fever due to dengue fever before she, too, contracted the disease.<sup>609</sup> By July, Alice was the fifth American teacher that the Coles knew who were taken ill with dengue. Due to its high level of contagion, Harrie and Mary were reluctant to visit Alice while she was ill, though they ultimately heeded her request and went to Tanauan to assist her.<sup>610</sup> Six months later, Alice’s husband was hospitalized again, and after returning home he experienced a high fever—perhaps another bout of dengue.<sup>611</sup> Thus, for some teachers, the onset of disease seemed relentless, requiring constant vigilance and care.

Still, other Thomasites lived too remotely to receive help from their colleagues. Carrothers recalled suffering alone from severe illnesses like dengue fever or amoebic

---

<sup>608</sup> Bordner to Mr. Tilon D. Bordner, 17 April 1903, IUA.

<sup>609</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 26 May 1902, April to May 1902 Folder; Marquardt to unknown (transcription), 12 June 1902, 52, untitled Book, Box 7, Walter W. Marquardt, BHL.

<sup>610</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother and Leon, 21 July 1902, July to August 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>611</sup> Marquardt, January 1903, Box 6, Bound Diaries and Notes 1900 to 1935, 21, BHL.

dysentery. “I had to ‘doctor’ myself and suffer the excruciating pains alone...

Occasionally in those days I wrote in my diary, ‘This may be the last.’... ‘If I die now as young as I am I will have accomplished very little in life.’<sup>612</sup> For those serving alone in very rural parts of the islands, illness clearly threatened teachers’ emotional as well as physical well-being.

In addition to doctoring themselves, American teachers also helped Filipinos who suffered from illness and injury, sometimes at a significant cost. As Carrothers recounted regarding Samar, “About 400,000 people and no doctor anywhere. The primitive conditions were worse than anybody can conceive unless they’ve been through such themselves. ... When children were injured or got hurt in some way, they called on the American teacher to doctor them.”<sup>613</sup> Other teachers, including Behner and Blakeslee, also discussed the high level of doctoring that they were unofficially asked to undertake. In January 1902, Behner recounted, they “were called to the side of a young man who had dropped from a mountain and whose head was badly broken besides internal injuries. We dressed his wounds as best we could but chances are he is not long for this world.”<sup>614</sup> A few weeks later he wrote, “All this month we have had from 2 to 6 calls to help the sick, each day. We charge nothing for tis God’s cause, but it costs us quite a little.”<sup>615</sup> Though teachers did not charge for their medical services, the cost of procuring medicines and treatment added up, both economically and emotionally. To some, it seemed that the same people who sought their help, at other times wished them gone. In many ways, teachers were both feared and revered: feared, as they resembled U.S.

---

<sup>612</sup> Carrothers, “Incidents in the Life of a Hoosier Schoolmaster,” 1963, 3-4.

<sup>613</sup> Carrothers, interview, 7, BHL.

<sup>614</sup> Behner, 30 January 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 22 February, 1902.

soldiers who ravaged their country and represented an occupying force and revered for their knowledge, skills, and access to greater resources.

Even less predictable than an outbreak of military violence or disease, environmental crises, too, wreaked havoc in the islands, further demonstrating the education mission's vulnerabilities. Although several teachers reported mild earthquakes—that they either slept through or that barely shook the ground—the greater threat was the typhoon. Several teachers described a particularly bad typhoon in September 1905, characterized as a “terrible typhoon” which caused a great loss of life and wrought considerable damage to property and the crops.”<sup>616</sup> Another time, Walter Marquardt recalled that when transporting Filipino teachers to the Normal Institute during “typhoon season, a severe storm came up and a number of teachers were so frightened they ran from one side of the boat to the other...In spite of their fear they obeyed me and the boat weathered the typhoon.”<sup>617</sup> Perhaps Marquardt exaggerated his heroism, as Filipinos would have been more accustomed to weathering such storms. Still American teachers had witnessed terrible storms back in the United States, although few had experienced a storm of this type and severity. Moreover, they felt particularly vulnerable in the Philippines—isolated and far from modern conveniences to help in a recovery.

Mary Fee suggested that worse than any storm, or disease, was famine. This chapter began with Fee's characterization of teachers' work as “building a nation in a

---

<sup>616</sup> Bordner to Sister and Brother, 15 October 1905, IUA.

<sup>617</sup> Marquardt, “Questionnaire Re: ‘Thomasites,’” Box 7, Biographical Folder, BHL; Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans,” 71: “A destructive typhoon in 1905 damaged and destroyed many school houses but it taught the American engineers valuable lessons in school house construction.”

strange land.”<sup>618</sup> Thus, it is fitting to end the chapter with her account of the many obstacles that she and other teachers faced in the islands. She wrote:

If we lived in a slightly hysterical state as concerns the possibilities of war and bloodshed, we soon learned to be phlegmatic enough about disease and pestilence. Nearly five hundred starving people had gathered in Capiz, and their emaciated bodies and cavernous eyes mocked all talk of the brotherhood of man...a certain Capiz politician with his eyes on the future caused word to be sent out through the province that if the needy would come into Capiz he would see that they were fed. Of course he did no such thing. They came and starved to death; but meanwhile the report of his generosity was spread abroad.<sup>619</sup>

Fee found it devastating to live among people suffering from extreme hunger, but felt even further burdened knowing that a politician used people's desperation to his own advantage at the expense of human lives. She was not the only teacher who witnessed cruelty that “mocked all talk of the brotherhood of man.” In March 1902, Behner reported, “Town has been destitute of rice for a month...Have learned that the Constabulary, or four of them have been forcing the country people to give them food at the point of the gun.”<sup>620</sup> In a country where corrupt politicians ruled in the worst of times, the devastation wrought by environmental crises was too often worsened by human greed. American teachers bore witness to this and other instances of Filipino suffering and death, sometimes by the hands of their own countrymen. While they certainly realized that corruption existed in the United States and some may have wondered whether U.S. intervention had only worsened the problem in the Philippines, they did not directly connect the U.S. mission and Filipino corruption, at least in their letters and diaries.

In order to carry on, teachers like Fee emotionally detached themselves from their surroundings. To a certain extent, they allowed themselves to fear bullets and “bolos”

---

<sup>618</sup> Fee, *A Woman's Impressions*, 42.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>620</sup> Behner, 14 and 18 March 1902, Diaries 1901 to 1902 Folder, BHL.

which they could, at least theoretically, try to evade. However, the misery of such things as disease and famine, further exacerbated by inhumane acts of cruelty, at times seemed ubiquitous and overwhelming, causing American teachers to protect themselves with a kind of numbness to ease the pain. At times, the idea of teachers “building a nation” simply became impossible.

The making or breaking of empires is often discussed in terms of state actions and policies, but people are central to building, and destroying, them. In the case of turn-of-the-century Philippines, U.S. officials appointed teachers to construct a western-educated Filipino polity, recreating an American schooling system in a land that had not fully accepted U.S. authority. In their haste to extend the American empire into the Pacific, U.S. decision-makers underestimated the extent to which military, biological, and environmental violence continued to wreak havoc throughout the islands. Teachers witnessed this violence, and most survived it. Yet, as these optimistic pioneers confronted the many obstacles to their mission, including the harsh realities of armed conflict, torture, disease, and disaster, they struggled to make their work meaningful, at both a personal and political level. Some teachers managed to remain focused on their educational mission. Others, understandably overwhelmed, did not. Most teachers remained in the archipelago for only a few years—or even less time—although a few spent several decades there. In the end, teachers did help to build an educational structure in the Philippines modeled on the U.S. system, however fragile; and, in doing so, they helped extend and create the American empire. But few felt the same way about that goal at the end of their tenure as they had at the beginning. While many teachers voiced concerns and anxieties during their time in the Philippines, it was only after they

returned home that they could begin to make meaning of their time abroad, or at the least, move on with their lives.

## CHAPTER 4: AFTER THE(IR) SERVICE

In July 1930, former teacher and superintendent John DeHuff wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in hopes of returning to the Indian Service:

I feel that there are some good special reasons why I should be considered for reinstatement. I have had twenty-five years of experience in educational work among the so-called “primitive peoples,” twelve years in the Philippines and thirteen among the Indians. I feel that I have a knowledge of the Indian people and their problems...It was my life work that I left; and now...I sincerely want to resume it and go on to the finish. I can be of real assistance to the Indian Service and the Indian people.<sup>621</sup>

John DeHuff and his wife, Elizabeth, had labored in the Philippines for several years before working at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School from 1914 to 1916 and then relocating to the Santa Fe Indian School, where John served as superintendent and Elizabeth likely worked as a teacher.<sup>622</sup> In 1927, John left the Indian Service, in his words, “[not] because I wanted to, but because I felt that it was the correct thing for me to do,” as he and one of the school’s teachers were reported to have been in “almost constant friction.”<sup>623</sup> After the Indian Service, John worked for the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce and Elizabeth worked as a lecturer and instructor for Harvey Detours, teaching the couriers—in charge of driving tourists around the Santa Fe area—about the local culture, including that of the Pueblo Indians.<sup>624</sup> Despite John’s personal and

---

<sup>621</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads, 21 July 1930, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid.; C.E. Faris (Superintendent Santa Fe Indian School) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 December 1934, Elizabeth DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>623</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads, 21 July 1930; General Superintendent H.B. Peairs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 July 1926, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>624</sup> John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads, 21 July 1930; Faris to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 December 1934; *Indian Detours* Pamphlet,

professional investment in Indian education—which he considered his “life work”—he was not reappointed to the Service. In 1934, Elizabeth declined a teaching position at the Santa Fe Indian School, though she hoped to fill a new position of her own creation: as a “Supervisor of Domestic and Commercial Indian Arts and Crafts.”<sup>625</sup> The historical record suggests that Elizabeth, like her husband, never rejoined the Indian Service.

Over the course of their careers, both John and Elizabeth claimed a deep commitment to Filipino and American Indian peoples and the U.S. educational mission, considering themselves uniquely qualified for such work. In their letters to Indian education administrators in the 1930s, they positioned themselves as professionals equipped with an intimate understanding of their own culture’s flaws and that of the Indian Service as well as Indians’ needs. When John sought reinstatement in the Indian Service in 1930, he qualified the term “primitive peoples” with the phrase “so-called,” so as to distance himself from such a derogatory classification, one generally promoted by the dominant culture.

Elizabeth similarly presented herself as different from other whites in a November 1934 letter. In it she explained her particular “interest in working with” Indians in the region and envisioned herself acting as a mediator between Indians and Whites:

It seems to me that one of the most distressing features connected with the Indians’ contact with the so-called “civilization” of the White man is his lack of judgment as to what of our “culture” to adopt for himself and what to avoid...I believe it is generally felt that we of the White race have made our lives too complex...It seems too bad to allow these Pueblo Indians to change from a simple, happy life to one that is unhappily complicated and governed by greed of material things...I would like to have frequent visits in the Indians’ homes as a simple caller and friend, to become acquainted and to advise...Finding out, unobtrusively, at these

---

n.d., University of Arizona Library, accessed September 25, 2015, <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/pams/pdfs/detsanfe.pdf>.

<sup>625</sup> Faris to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 December 1934.



times their ambitions and desires, I would try indirectly and thus most effectively to convince them of what is best for them to adopt from us.<sup>626</sup>

Like John before her, Elizabeth expressed ambivalence about the assumptions held by most white Americans and expressed skepticism about their attainment of “civilization.” However, at the same time, she essentialized white and Indian customs, declaring her own to be overly complex and the Pueblo’s as, perhaps, too simple. Moreover, while she viewed the two cultures as more different than alike—“them” and “us”—she saw herself as capable of preserving the best in both. Ultimately, both John and Elizabeth presented themselves as experienced educators invested in the welfare of Indian peoples. As insider-outsiders to the clash of cultures between Whites and Indians, the DeHuffs believed that they were peculiarly suited to continue working in the Indian Service. They sought to disrupt some of the norms and assumptions of the dominant society while improving the lives of the Pueblo, although neither was given the chance to resume such work.<sup>627</sup>

Many of the teachers who worked in the Philippines and at Carlisle gained new perspectives on their own culture and that of “others.” Serving as cultural translators and mediators, many developed a unique expertise while, at the same time, redefining their personal and professional missions. Some thrived in the difficult and demanding work environments, committing their careers to the education of conquered or colonial peoples.

---

<sup>626</sup> Elizabeth W. DeHuff to C.E. Faris (Superintendent of Northern Pueblos Indian Agency), 28 November 1934, Elizabeth DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>627</sup> Faris to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 December 1934; *Indian Detours* Pamphlet. Having lived in Santa Fe for almost twenty years, Elizabeth had become well acquainted with the Pueblo Indians and at one point served as a lecturer and instructor to the couriers who drove tourists around the Santa Fe area.

Others left the Philippines or Indian Service to pursue alternate vocations, though they too were undoubtedly influenced by their experiences in the islands and Carlisle.

Focusing on teachers' lives after they left Carlisle and the Philippines, this chapter demonstrates the significance of imperial education from the perspective of the intimate to the structural. Examining the experiences of "crossover" teachers—those, who like John and Elizabeth DeHuff, worked in both locations—reveals that, despite various challenges, all five of those studied here committed their "life work" to education and/or Indian affairs. Marrying another American teacher seems to have sustained other Thomasites in their efforts abroad as several couples made life-long careers in "imperial" education, remaining in the Philippines for over twenty years. Others who left after their initial commitment, made substantial contributions to their communities back home, with several pursuing higher degrees, some choosing careers inspired by their time overseas, and others, thriving in wartime situations. Former Carlisle teachers were also affected by war—especially World War I—exhibiting their patriotism and ongoing activism at home. Yet several Carlisle faculty agitated against the Indian bureaucracy and Indian Service authorities, while others secured alternative "foreign" teaching positions. Whatever occupations or activities they pursued once they left the Philippines or Indian Service, many teachers—especially women—remained close friends with their former colleagues, carried their experiences of caring for students and communities into their later careers, and left behind rich if complicated legacies. Tracing these stories beyond teachers' experiences in the Philippines and Carlisle reveals their part in a much larger story of American education and empire in the early twentieth century and complicates any simple concept of these ventures as either "benevolent assimilation" or "cultural

imperialism.” Moreover, such an analysis depicts imperial education as dynamic—one that changes over time and space; as a process dependent upon its many constituents that alternately expose and reinforce its strengths and vulnerabilities.

Crossover teachers seem to have thought of themselves more often as education experts, having worked for two U.S. missions. Like John and Elizabeth DeHuff, Moses Friedman claimed to have a critically distinct perspective on Indian and Filipino education, whether in spite of or because of the scandal he endured during his last couple of years at Carlisle. Aware that his position as Superintendent at Carlisle was insecure in the months leading up to his suspension in February 1914, Friedman wrote to the Bureau of Insular Affairs seeking reappointment to the Philippine Civil Service. He hoped to fill the vacancy left by the death of Frank White, the Philippines Director of Education.<sup>628</sup> The position had already been filled, but Friedman’s request illustrates one of several possibilities. Perhaps he wrote to the Bureau that January because he yearned to flee the controversy at Carlisle or to escape the anti-Semitism he experienced while working there.<sup>629</sup> Or, perhaps he longed to return to the Philippines, genuinely missing his work in the foreign service. Whether his outreach to the Bureau came out of despair, desperation, dedication, or even nostalgia, his interest in becoming the Director of Education in the Philippines suggests that he felt confident in his own abilities as an administrator, despite the scandal in which he was embroiled.

---

<sup>628</sup> Chas C. Walcutt (Assistant to Chief of Bureau) to Moses Friedman, 31 January 1914, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 215, Moses Friedman Folder, NAMD; Friedman to Major Shelton, n.d., Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 215, Moses Friedman Folder, NAMD.

<sup>629</sup> Kehoe, *A Passion for the True and Just*, 127-129.

After Friedman left Carlisle, rumors abounded regarding what happened to him. Teacher Verna Dunagan claimed that a friend of hers who taught English at Carlisle kept in touch with the Friedman family and thought they had escaped to the “Southwest someplace and established a private school for boys...[from] wealthy families and he made a lot of money.”<sup>630</sup> Although Friedman did move with his wife and two daughters to New Mexico, he did not become wealthy by setting up a private school. Rather, he served as superintendent at the Anchor Ranch School for Defective Boys near Valdez until 1921 and then moved to Pocono Pines, Pennsylvania to serve as that town’s vocational school superintendent.<sup>631</sup> In spite of the federal investigation into Friedman’s superintendency at Carlisle, the damage done to his career was limited. Still, even though Friedman remained a school administrator, the personal and professional insults he endured undoubtedly haunted Friedman and tainted his legacy, as well as that of the broader experiment of imperial education. His dismissal left teachers like Dunagan happy to avoid working under his authority. Moreover, for critics of Indian boarding schools who increasingly questioned the system’s benevolence—evident in the 1928 Meriam report and later Indian office policies—Friedman’s disgraced leadership symbolized problems inherent in methods of assimilation as a means of uplifting the Indian.<sup>632</sup>

Still, Friedman found success at two schools following Carlisle, although his former employee did not fare as well, at least initially. Fernando Tranbarger, who had also taught in the Philippines, and his wife, Katharine, left Carlisle in large part due to

---

<sup>630</sup> Mrs. Edward L. Whistler (Verna Dunagan), interview, 41.

<sup>631</sup> Kehoe, *A Passion for the True and Just*, 129.

<sup>632</sup> Meriam Lewis, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).

their mistrust of Superintendent Friedman. They believed he held a personal grudge against them but Katharine's health might also have been a factor, perhaps related to her pregnancy, since she gave birth to a daughter around that time.<sup>633</sup> It is not clear where the Tranbargers went immediately following their resignations in August 1911, but the family moved at least three more times between 1913 and 1918, and, for at least part of this period, faced financial instability.<sup>634</sup> As of August 1913, Fernando was teaching at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma while his wife unsuccessfully sought reinstatement in the Indian Service.<sup>635</sup> However, they found the accommodations at Chilocco too small—Katharine describing the one room as “neither ample nor healthful for my husband, little daughter and myself.”<sup>636</sup> By that December they moved to Albuquerque, New Mexico in anticipation of work there. For some teachers the expansiveness of the Indian Service offered welcome alternative work opportunities, although sometimes even these alternative environments were inadequate.

Upon their arrival, a position was only available for Fernando and their financial problems continued. Still, they were reassured by the Albuquerque Indian School superintendent that a position would be available to Katharine “in due time.” She explained, “As the Honorable Commissioner surely realizes that a man cannot support a

---

<sup>633</sup> Katherine Bingley Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 10 January 1914: While several letters from the Tranbargers to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reveal their strained relationship with Carlisle's superintendent, Katharine claimed in a letter a few years later that she had resigned from Carlisle due to her health. It is likely that she resigned, in part, due to pregnancy, as she would later write of her “little daughter.”

<sup>634</sup> Katherine Bingley Tranbarger, “Request for Reinstatement,” 11 August 1913; Telegraph, 4 September 1913; K.B. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 September 1913; K.B. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 9 January 1914, Katherine Bingley Tranbarger Folder, NPRC.

<sup>635</sup> K.B. Tranbarger, “Request for Reinstatement,” 11 August 1913.

<sup>636</sup> K.B. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 September 1913.

family on \$660 a year, especially in the West, I trust that the 'due time' will be in the very near future."<sup>637</sup> While Fernando knew he would face salary reductions as he moved from the Philippine to the Indian Service, he and his growing family were not prepared for a further cut following Carlisle. Nor was Katharine ready to give up her own career. Prior to marriage, Katharine Bingley had supported herself for over a decade, earning an income at least since 1896. Nevertheless, the couple was forced to manage only on one salary for several years. At least by 1918 Fernando was earning the same salary he had received at Carlisle—\$720 per annum—although now teaching at the Birdtown Day School in North Carolina.<sup>638</sup> In spite of Fernando's frequent moves and temporary pay reduction at Albuquerque, he taught for a total of eighteen years. By 1931, Fernando was employed as an Associate Attorney in the Interior Department's Indian Office in Washington, D.C., a move driven perhaps by financial circumstances, where he continued to work for the next decade.<sup>639</sup> Whether Katharine ever worked again is unknown, although it is clear that she never returned to the Indian Service. Their experiences reflect their personal vulnerabilities as well as those of the larger system, one that often did not pay its employees a proper living wage, causing it to rely upon a somewhat unstable or dissatisfied workforce.

Clara Donaldson, who also served in the Philippines before working at Carlisle, similarly tried to commit the remainder of her career to the Indian, although the

---

<sup>637</sup> K.B. Tranbarger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 9 January 1914.

<sup>638</sup> "Indian Schools Support, 1918," Letter from The Secretary of the Interior Transmitting Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918, Relating to the Appropriation "Indian Schools," Support, 1918, 2 December 1918, 4, <http://books.google.com>.

<sup>639</sup> Fernando G. Tranbarger, "Qualification Record," Fernando G. Tranbarger Folder 1, NPRC.

Pennsylvania boarding school's closure, financial circumstances, and systemic discrimination ultimately determined her career. Prior to Carlisle's official occupation by the Department of War in September 1918, government officials scrambled to reassign teachers to new positions within the Indian Service. According to a July 22, 1918 article in the *Carlisle Evening Sentinel*, Indian Commissioner Cato Sells visited the school and interviewed employees to ascertain their preferences, most of whom would be sent to work at Indian Schools out West.<sup>640</sup> Having been on leave from her teaching duties at Carlisle since April due to a severe case of pneumonia, Donaldson did not have a chance to meet with Sells. But upon reading the *Sentinel* article, she immediately wrote to the commissioner outlining her preferences. Confident in her teaching, Donaldson explained:

[I] trust that my work at Carlisle has been of such character as to merit transfer to a similar position elsewhere...I wish work in the advanced grade of the Vocational classes, and the subjects I prefer and therefore, teach the most successfully, are chemistry, physics, botany, and child study.<sup>641</sup>

---

<sup>640</sup> Clara Donaldson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 25 July 1918, containing "Indian Commissioner Plans Details of Transfer," *Carlisle Evening Herald* (July 22, 1918), Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; "Changes in Employees at U.S. Indian School Carlisle, PA, September 1918," in Monthly Time Book 1918, Record Group 75, Entry 1344, NADC; Commissioner Cato Sells to Clara A. Snoddy, 9 August 1918, Clara A. Snoddy Folder, NPRC. After Carlisle's closing, the majority of teachers either went west, like Donaldson, to work in various Indian schools or to Washington, DC to work for the Office of Indian Affairs or other government agencies. Alongside Donaldson, Principal Teacher Clyde M. Blaire was transferred to Chilocco while other teachers were sent to positions similar to those they held at Carlisle, including Sadie Robertson transferred to the Phoenix Indian School, Hattie McDowell to Chemawa, Rey Heagy to Mt. Pleasant, and Clara Snoddy to the Haskell Institute. Teachers sent to Washington, DC included Verna Dunagan, Gwen Williams, and Emma Foster.

<sup>641</sup> Donaldson to Sells, 25 July 1918, NPRC.

A few weeks later, Sells transferred this experienced teacher to a position at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma.<sup>642</sup>

Although Donaldson consistently received glowing work evaluations—as she had in both the Philippines and at Carlisle—age discrimination and wages limited her employment options. As noted earlier, Donaldson was almost refused a job in the Indian Service in 1914 due to her “advanced” age of fifty-two despite over a decade of experience in the Philippines.<sup>643</sup> After four successful years at Carlisle, she transferred to the Chilocco Indian School without incident in 1918. Two years later, however, she reluctantly resigned her position to teach in her native Ohio to ensure her eligibility for retirement.<sup>644</sup> Responding to her decision, the Assistant Superintendent-in-charge at Chilocco, C.M. Blair, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, “I regard Miss Donaldson as one of the best, if not the best teacher I have known in the Indian Service, and regret exceedingly that she is leaving us, yet, under all the circumstances I can appreciate her situation, and recommend that her resignation be accepted.”<sup>645</sup> Having left Chilocco reluctantly—and despite receiving almost a fifty percent pay raise in relocating to the Greenwich, Ohio—after one year in the public school and at sixty years of age,

---

<sup>642</sup> Commissioner Sells to Donaldson, 15 August 1918, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>643</sup> Commissioner Sells to U.S. Representative Frank B. Willis, 27 July 1918, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>644</sup> C.M. Blair (Chilocco Assistant Superintendent In Charge) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 August 1920, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC; Elizabeth Jones to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1925, Elizabeth Jones Folder, NPRC. Other teachers, like Donaldson and Jones, sought verification from the Office of Indian Affairs regarding their work in the Indian Service for the purpose of receiving teacher retirement benefits. Jones, who taught at Carlisle 1913-1914, sought such verification in order to receive retirement benefits (which she would receive from the state of North Dakota after proving her twenty-five years of teaching service).

<sup>645</sup> C.M. Blair (Chilocco Assistant Superintendent in Charge) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 August 1920, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.



Donaldson sought reinstatement in the Indian Service.<sup>646</sup> Her request to return to Chilocco suggests that in spite of lower pay she was either deeply committed to Indian education and/or at least felt more confident in her work there, as she was consistently valued as an expert and asset to the Service. But no positions were then available at Chilocco.<sup>647</sup>

Commissioner E.B. Meritt then looked to the Haskell Institute whose Superintendent, H.B. Peairs replied:

I respectfully state that while I know that Miss Clara R. Donaldson is an exceptionally well-qualified teacher, I doubt the advisability of bringing persons of her age back into the Service. The fact is that we have too many teachers in the Service who have passed the half-century mark. I realize that Miss Donaldson is an exceptionally strong teacher and, as a teacher of chemistry, she certainly would be very valuable. It happens that we do not need her for that particular work.<sup>648</sup>

Thus despite recognizing Donaldson's expertise and glowing reputation, Peairs focused more on the fact that she was well over "the half-century mark." The Indian Service had instituted a policy by the 1910s that prevented teachers over fifty from joining the Indian Service; but by the early 1920s, the issue seems to have become more about how many older teachers continued to work in Indian schools, which clearly some superintendents considered a problem. Unable to secure Donaldson a position anywhere in the Indian Service, Commissioner Meritt informed her in September 1921, "[Y]ou are advised that

---

<sup>646</sup> Donaldson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 23 August 1921, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>647</sup> Donaldson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 September 1921, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC. Donaldson's letter suggests that she received a late appointment elsewhere in the Indian Service but as she had already begun teaching high school Latin and Spanish (presumably in Ohio public schools) that she could "not professionally resign until the close of the school year in May." The historical record suggests that Donaldson never returned to the Indian Service.

<sup>648</sup> H.B. Peairs (Superintendent at the Haskell Institute) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 September 1921, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

owing to age limitations...and in the absence of a suitable teacher vacancy which specializes in chemistry, etc., no encouragement can be given you regarding re-appointment in the Indian Service.”<sup>649</sup> Thus, one of the most lauded teachers in the Philippine and Indian school programs was ultimately refused a job. In spite of her prior success and preference to teach Indians, Donaldson remained in the Ohio public school system for the remainder of her career. Her story reveals some of the vulnerabilities teachers faced working for a system that had, by then, become a large, established bureaucracy. In spite of her personal connections, she was unable return to the Service. At the same time, such an account reflects a weakness of system unable to reap the benefits of an experienced employee due to inflexible policies and its impersonal structure.

While the five teachers who taught both in the Philippines and at Carlisle faced challenges in their careers, they persisted in finding work conducive to their personal needs and those dictated by the broader system. All of them continued in the field of education upon leaving Carlisle, and a few tried to return to the classroom after pursuing other opportunities. John DeHuff and Clara Donaldson sought reinstatement in the Indian Service but were denied positions while Elizabeth DeHuff was willing to return, though only in a supervisory role. Moses Friedman remained in education, although not on behalf of Filipinos or Indians. After a long teaching career, Fernando Tranbarger continued to work for the Office of Indian Affairs, although as an attorney rather than an educator. The trajectory of these crossover teachers’ careers suggests either their long-term dedication to education—perhaps a genuine interest in working on behalf of “so-

---

<sup>649</sup> E.B. Merritt (Assistant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Clara Donaldson, 19 September 1921, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

called primitive peoples”—or their entrenchment in vocations that, due to personal and structural barriers, were difficult to change. While it is not clear whether Donaldson, Tranbarger, and Friedman questioned the superiority of the dominant culture, as Elizabeth and John DeHuff did, they remained in education or Indian affairs. Whether they also fully embraced that system’s imperial mission or strove to empower their students through a US-style education system is less clear. Perhaps, like the DeHuffs, some of them came to see real value in Filipino or Indian ways and hoped to merge the best of each culture rather than simply replace “primitive” with “civilized” customs.

In addition to teachers who taught in both locations, several other faculty featured in this study also spent many years in the Philippines or Indian Service before seeking teaching opportunities elsewhere. Although some individuals examined here worked in the Philippines or at Carlisle for less than a year, leaving little evidence about the remainder of their careers, the vast majority taught for several years within the context of the growing American empire or remained in complementary fields. Of the fifty-five Carlisle teachers, eighteen worked elsewhere in the Indian Service and ten others worked in the Indian Office or the War Department in Washington, DC after Carlisle. Of the thirty-three Thomasites, six remained in education in the islands, seven sought higher degrees, and five others joined the Indian Service. These numbers suggest teachers’ long-term ties to this work, whether due to personal interest, necessity, or structural causes.

Clearly, both Carlisle and the Philippines produced some teachers that spent the majority of their careers in Indian and Filipino education. Four of the Carlisle teachers worked at the school for over twenty years, including founding teachers Marianna

Burgess, Emma Cutter, and Ann Ely, as well as student-turned-teacher, Nellie Robertson Denny. Still, others worked for as many years in the broader Indian Service, including Emma Foster who began in 1891 and retired in 1929 at the age of seventy-one, after thirty-eight years of government service.

<b>Table 6: Teachers' Work Experiences In Years Immediately Following Carlisle</b>	
<b>Work Immediately After Carlisle</b>	<b>Number of Teachers</b>
Elsewhere in Indian Service	18
Washington, D.C. (Indian Office, War Department)	10
Unknown	11
Teaching Service outside continental U.S.	4
Retired	2
Education outside of Indian Service	3
Other work with/on behalf of American Indian	2
Died	1
Other	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55</b>

<b>Table 7: Teachers' Work Experiences In Years Immediately Following the Philippines Civil Service</b>	
<b>Work Immediately After the Philippines</b>	<b>Number of Teachers</b>
Pursued higher education degree	7
Remained in the Philippines for career	6
Unknown	6
Joined Indian Service	5
Field outside of education	7
Other education work	1
Other	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>33</b>

Similarly, Jessie Cook was forced to retire when she reached seventy after teaching for thirty-two years in the Indian Service.<sup>650</sup> Other teachers, including Mariette Wood and

---

<sup>650</sup> "Mrs. Foster Ends 38 Years of Duty," *The Washington Post* (July 31, 1929) in Emma H. Foster Folder, NPRC: Foster spent sixteen years at Carlisle until its closing in 1918 before going to Washington, DC to work for the Indian Office and later the War Department; Jessie Cooke to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Burke, 7 June 1924, Jessie Cook Folder, NPRC.

Margaret Sweeney, each worked for the Indian Service for over a decade. Similarly, several Thomasites made work in the islands their career, including Alice and Walter Marquardt, Harvey and Maude Bordner, and John and Willa Early, all of whom worked in the islands for twenty-five years or more. Several others spent over a decade teaching in the islands, including John DeHuff, Clara Donaldson, John Evans, Mary Fee, and Frank Cheney.

Interestingly, of those teachers who remained in the Philippines for virtually their entire careers, all were married. It is likely that marriage provided a support system that enabled Thomasites to endure the many hardships they faced while in the islands, even though other married couples left when their initial contracts expired. The Coles, for example, eagerly returned to the States after three years of service, and the DeHuffs left because they wanted to begin a family closer to home. Nevertheless, it is telling that of the thirty-three Thomasites in this study, those who remained the longest were not only married but wed either before venturing to the Philippines or shortly after their arrival.<sup>651</sup>

Of the married couples who spent the bulk of their careers in the islands, Alice Hollister and Walter Marquardt remained the longest—forty years. Alice and Walter met sometime in 1901 while teaching in the Philippines. They married in December 1902 at the home of Mary and Harrie Cole and celebrated the day with sixteen American

---

<sup>651</sup> Other Thomasites who married while in the islands, including John Evans, left due to illness. In fact, although high marriage rates were not found at Carlisle, Cathleen Cahill argues that in addition to the Indian Service: “Significantly, the only other federal agency that was similar in terms of the marital status and racial make-up of its workforce was the Philippine Civil Service Commission, founded in 1900. The personnel of this agency—whose goals were similarly colonial—mirrored that of the Indian Service.” See Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 88.

friends.<sup>652</sup> When their first son was born in 1904, Alice continued to teach though her husband helped by taking on some of her classes.<sup>653</sup> They spent their first nine years in various towns on the island of Leyte and the next nine in Manila, where in 1916 Walter began a three-year term as Director of Education of the Philippine school system.<sup>654</sup> By 1919, Walter oversaw Filipino students sent to the U.S. for college under the “pensianado system,” and in 1923 he became a representative of the American Book Company in the Philippines, helping to prepare textbooks for use in island schools. After forty years of service, the Marquardts permanently returned to the mainland U.S in 1941. Walter retired in 1948 and the couple traveled around the U.S. and Mexico for three years before settling in California.<sup>655</sup>

Although ample records exist of Walter’s career in the Philippines, Alice’s story is more difficult to trace, particularly beyond the early years. This difficulty, coupled with other evidence, indicates a gendered bias in the archives. Walter’s voluminous records detail his professional achievements, while accounts of Alice’s life and work are revealed only through careful reading of other teachers’ personal papers, including her husband’s and the Coles. Absent any of letters, diaries, or other personal writing, Alice’s voice is almost silenced in the historical record. Perhaps she did not write to loved-ones back home. More likely, such letters are held privately and not archived like her husband’s, or were not preserved by relatives and friends. While having a family

---

<sup>652</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 22 December 1902, September to December 1902 Folder, BHL.

<sup>653</sup> Mary to Mother, n.d., 1904 Folder, BHL; Marquardt, March 18 and 1 April, 1904, Box 6, Bound Book Diaries and Notes 1900 to 1935, 87, BHL.

<sup>654</sup> Marquardt, 15 March and 1 April 1904, Box 6, Bound Book Diaries and Notes 1900 to 1935, 87, BHL; Marquardt, “Questionnaire Re: ‘Thomasites,’” Box 7, Biographical Folder, BHL.

<sup>655</sup> Marquardt, “Places of Service,” Box 7, Biographical Folder, 2.

interrupted Alice's professional career, even details regarding her arrival and first year in the islands can only be gleaned through other teachers' files. And her records are not the only ones missing or buried in the historical record. Of the four married couples discussed in this study, the archives of only one of the wives—Mary Cole—have been preserved. And, even Mary's letters are housed in her husband's file. This bias in record keeping clearly shapes the histories we can tell and the conclusions we can draw, raising questions about other ways that gender informed the experiences of teachers in the Philippines and Indian Services. Still, it is clear that long careers in the Philippines, at least, depended on the mutual support of husbands and wives.

Like the Marquardts' many years in the islands, Harvey and Maude Bordner lived and worked there for thirty-four years, during which time they relied upon one another for comfort and support. Although, as in the Marquardts' case, only Harvey's personal papers are archived, his letters suggest the importance of their companionship.<sup>656</sup> Writing to family members during their first few years in the islands, Harvey regularly complained about threats of disease and insurrection, detailing some of the less pleasant aspects of his work. After three years in the islands—October 1905—Harvey intimated that he and his wife might “go to the United States for good or for a visit.”<sup>657</sup> Yet, the Bordners stayed for thirty more years, and Harvey made it clear that Maude was crucial to their long-term service in the islands. Commenting to his brother in 1907 on his wife's temporary return to the States, Harvey noted, “Men cannot manage a house without a

---

<sup>656</sup> Bordner, January 1914, News clipping about Indiana University Alumni, Box 3, IUA. Maude was in the class of 1899 and Harvey in the class of 1896 at Indiana University.

<sup>657</sup> Harvey Bordner to Sister and Brother, 15 October 1905, IUA.

wife even though there is a cook and a house servant besides.”<sup>658</sup> For Harvey and likely other men in his position, servants maintained the house but a wife made it a home and offered irreplaceable companionship. A decade later, the tables turned. In September 1918, Harvey was serving as the Superintendent of the City Schools of Manila, and it was Maude who complained of his absence, at least according to Harvey’s recollections.

Detailing his increasing responsibilities. Harvey noted:

Maude often complains that all I do is to eat, sleep, attend to my office duties, and read. She says I have no time for calls, for recreation, for cines, or for other social affairs... You see with 715 teachers, 35 principals, 68 school buildings, more than 30, 000 pupils, 12 special supervisors... I have enough to keep me busy all of the time, in fact I have so much going on all of the time that I never get all of things accomplished which I think ought to be done. However, the more fully one keeps occupied, the less time one has for brooding and for lonesomeness and usually this keeps a person happy and contented.<sup>659</sup>

Developing and overseeing such a large school system proved to be all consuming for Harvey, whose efforts and vision were widely praised. Yet such devotion to his work also led to criticism from his wife. Although Maude was teaching at the time, and had been for several years, her work apparently did not keep her as busy or contented as her husband, and it is unclear whether the couple had any children of their own.<sup>660</sup>

Nonetheless the couple remained in the Philippines until 1936 when Harvey’s failing health forced them to return to the States.<sup>661</sup> Clearly, the Bordners both participated in building a school system in the Philippines, though to varying degrees and with distinct successes and sacrifices.

---

<sup>658</sup> H. Bordner to Brother and Sister, 16 August 1907, IUA.

<sup>659</sup> H. Bordner to Brother, 11 September 1918, IUA.

<sup>660</sup> “P.I. Official Gazette,” 25 December 1918, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 71, Harvey A Bordner and wife Maude M. Bordner Folder; “Biographical Note,” Harvey A. Bordner Papers Finding Aid, Indiana University Archives.

<sup>661</sup> Bordner, “Biographical Note.”



John Early and his wife, Willa, also committed their lives to the Philippines, spending almost thirty years in the islands, although the historical records again leave little information as to Willa's life or work there. However, a potential mistake in the employment records raises an interesting question concerning Willa's service. According to John's personal papers (and verified by employment records), he began teaching in the islands in 1906 and Willa joined him in 1912 upon their marriage. But, Willa's employment record indicates that she resigned from a teaching position in the islands a decade earlier—in November 1902—due to "ill health," although no other records discuss her earlier work in the Philippines.<sup>662</sup> While this reference may be in error, it is at least more likely, knowing the high rates of illness recorded in 1901 and 1902, that Willa had worked in the islands well before John ever set foot there but was forced to leave after becoming ill. Whatever the case in 1902, Willa served as a temporary teacher beginning in 1917, was appointed a probational teacher in 1923, and resigned in 1932 after her husband's death.<sup>663</sup> Like Alice Marquardt and Maude Bordner, information concerning Willa's life and work in the Philippines is incomplete, with only scant evidence embedded in her husband's files.<sup>664</sup>

In contrast, John Early's varied career is well documented. John worked in the islands until the day he died, with only a few trips home. Although the Earlys intended to

---

<sup>662</sup> Willa Rhode Early, "For P.I report for the month of June, 1932," Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 173, John C. Early and wife Folder, NAMD.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>664</sup> Miscellanea of Willa R. Early Folder, John C. Early Papers, BHL: In John Early's personal papers held at the University of Michigan's Bentley Library, Willa has a thin folder dedicated to her alone, and at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, she is referred to on the label of her husband's file titled "John C Early and wife." Both of these sources, however, simply list dates of employment and salaries and are void of anything more personal about Willa.

move back to the States permanently on a couple of occasions—in 1922 and again in 1929—they returned to the Philippines when John received promotions he could not refuse.<sup>665</sup> Beginning as a teacher in 1906, by 1909 he was raised to the position of Lieutenant Governor in the Mountain Province and a year later in Bontoc, where he was given permission to conduct his “experiment in extending education to the nearby barrios.”<sup>666</sup> Over the next two decades, John received other promotions including Division Superintendent, Governor of the Mountain Provinces, and finally, Governor-General of non-Christian Affairs, a position that gave him “a wider scope of work than previously because I now have not only the Mountain Province but also the Special Provinces in Mindanao and Sulu in my wards.”<sup>667</sup>

In addition to teaching and establishing schools, John’s work included mapping unexplored terrain, molding bricks and building solid structures, and, as an administrator, overseeing schools, towns, and provinces.<sup>668</sup> As a leader in the “warring” Mountain Provinces, he earned the reputation of being “not a chieftan of war, but of peace.”<sup>669</sup> Sadly, in January 1932, John died of cancer in Baguio after suffering several years from the disease.<sup>670</sup> In a grand memorial service, he was remembered fondly for his dedication

---

<sup>665</sup> “Address of the Honorable Joseph Ralston Hayden, Vice-Governor of the Philippine Islands, upon the dedication of a memorial window in the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John, Manila,” 1 September 1935, Miscellanea Folder, John C. Early Papers, BHL.

<sup>666</sup> Early, “Reminiscences of John C. Early,” BHL; “Summary: Early, John C., For Vice Governor of the Philippine Islands,” Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 173, John C. Early and wife Folder, NAMD.

<sup>667</sup> J.C. Early to Dr. J. Paul Goode (Department of Geography, University of Chicago), 3 January 1931, BHL.

<sup>668</sup> “Address of the Honorable Joseph Ralston Hayden,” John C. Early Papers, BHL;

<sup>669</sup> Walter Robb, “A Brief Tribute to John C. Early,” Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 173, John C. Early and wife Folder, NAMD.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid.; Certificate of Death: John C. Early, 2 January 1932, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 173, John C. Early and wife Folder, NAMD.

to his work and the Filipino people.<sup>671</sup> Six months after John's death, Willa left the Philippine Service, although little is known about the rest of her life.<sup>672</sup>

The experiences of these six individuals who worked in the islands for decades suggests the importance of intimate relationships in sustaining their work, and thus, the work of imperial education. Although the broader movement relied on hundreds of employees to implement imperial policy, the long-term endurance of such a schooling experiment also rested upon the commitment of a few individuals who provided at least a modicum of stability to an ever-changing and often fragile endeavor. Moreover, changes in their work responsibilities reflected the dynamic character of imperial education, a process that embodied change at both an individual and structural level. Yet for some individuals, intimacy did not sustain their work abroad but perhaps reinforced desires to return a more familiar environment.

Unlike the other married couples, Harrie and Mary Cole served in the islands for only three years, and Mary's personal writing is archived within her husband's papers. Although the couple supported one another throughout their time in the islands, they were eager to return to the States. By the end of their initial contract, the Coles felt desperate to leave, unable to cope with the uncertain and often dangerous conditions that defined their experiences. In May 1903, they took a rejuvenating trip to Japan, which enabled Mary to recover from a "break down" due to over work.<sup>673</sup> But, when they returned to teaching that September, she and Harrie resumed their countdown of the number of days

---

<sup>671</sup> "Address of the Honorable Joseph Ralston Hayden."

<sup>672</sup> Willa Rhode Early, "For P.I report for the month of June, 1932," NAMD.

<sup>673</sup> Harrie Cole to Mother, 14 May 1903, 1903 Folder, BHL.

remaining in the Philippines.<sup>674</sup> Two weeks before their departure, Harrie wondered if he could last any longer, but wrote with profound relief on July 12, 1904 from Victoria, Canada, “Expect to leave for Seattle this Eve ...It seems mighty good to get a glimpse of America.”<sup>675</sup>

Although Mary became a mother after returning to the States, little else is known about her. We do know, however, that Harrie shifted his professional interests back to those he had nurtured prior to his departure for the Philippines in 1901. The couple moved back to their native Michigan in 1904 and had at least one child, Margaret Cole.<sup>676</sup> Many years later, Margaret remembered her mother telling her when she was a child, “I just finished the dishes – but I was really climbing Mt. Fuji again.”<sup>677</sup> Although much of Mary’s writing during her stay in the islands suggested her contempt for the Filipino people and the islands—apparent in her many racially-charged rants and desperate pleas to return to “civilization”—years later she remembered her travels abroad more fondly, at least the part of her journey that took her outside of the Philippines. While Mary reminisced over dishes, her husband went on to have a prestigious career. In 1904, Harrie returned to graduate school at the University of Michigan, studying chemical engineering and physics. By 1907, Harrie was hired as an Instructor in Analytical Chemistry, remaining in the University of Michigan’s chemistry department until

---

<sup>674</sup> Mary Cole to Mother, 23 September 1903, 1903 Folder, BHL.

<sup>675</sup> Mary Cole to Mother, May 1904, 1904 Folder, BHL; Harrie Cole to Leon, 25 June 1904, 1904 Folder, BHL.

<sup>676</sup> Margaret Jolly Cole, 20 August 1980, Harry Newton Cole Papers, BHL.

<sup>677</sup> Ibid., Margaret Cole claims to have preserved the entire historical record of her parents’ writings from the Philippines and wrote, “The temptation to edit was almost overpowering. It was with a great deal of self-control that I am able to give them to you intact. Warts and all.”

1935.<sup>678</sup> For him, teaching in the Philippines served mostly as a brief interruption of his life work as a scientist. Although he and Mary ventured to the islands voluntarily, Harrie thrived in his native land, rising to become a well-known professor at his alma mater.

Like Harrie Cole, several other Thomasites sought degrees in higher education after working in the Philippines, many becoming leaders in their chosen fields. In a sense, this is not surprising considering that the vast majority of Thomasites had already graduated from college, an achievement attained only by the most privileged young adults living in the United States at the time. One Thomasite, John Muerman, relied in part on his experiences teaching in the islands to write his doctoral dissertation, “The Philippine School Under the Americans,” completed at George Washington University in 1922.<sup>679</sup> Philippine coworkers who attained higher degrees included George Carrothers, Norman Cameron, Herman Hespelt, Jules Frelin, Blaine Moore, and Frederick Behner. Their experiences after the islands illustrate how their time abroad influenced their scholarly interests. Moreover, their pursuit of higher education reinforces the idea that the structures of empire in part relied upon and shaped the paths of the elite, at least for several educators involved in the Philippines.<sup>680</sup>

Like Harrie Cole, Carrothers had studied and taught chemistry prior joining the Thomasites, but he shifted his academic interests to education after his experiences in the Philippines. Carrothers had been hired to teach chemistry in the College of Education in

---

<sup>678</sup> “4,000 Know Him As a Thorough Teacher,” *The Michigan Alumnus* 38, no. 34 (July 9, 1932): 671; Wilfred B. Shaw, ed., *The University of Michigan Encyclopedic Survey: Volume II* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1951): 524.

<sup>679</sup> Muerman, “The Philippine School Under the Americans.”

<sup>680</sup> Contrasting this with Carlisle teachers, few of whom pursued higher education after their years in the Indian Service, suggests the unique qualifications of the Thomasites—even their elite status within the field of education—and sometimes beyond.

Manila, but, upon his arrival in 1909, he was instead sent to teach high school science on the remote island of Samar.<sup>681</sup> Rising to assistant superintendent of Samar in 1913, he briefly served as the academic assistant to the Director of Education for the Philippine Islands, where he worked on curriculum and education administration. Later that year, he returned to the States to attend graduate school at Columbia University's Teachers College, receiving a Masters in 1915.<sup>682</sup> Ultimately, Carrothers earned a PhD and worked in higher education for thirty-five years. Working at several universities, he specialized in school administration and spent the majority of his career, 1928-1950, at the University of Michigan.<sup>683</sup> His professional experiences in the Philippines and his growing belief in the effectiveness of U.S.-style schooling in the islands led him to become an authority on education administration in the United States.

Like Carrothers, Norman Cameron dedicated his career to education after teaching in the Philippines and also sought a higher degree. As discussed earlier, Cameron recorded ample evidence of the violence and disease that he faced in the islands, yet he remained committed to the mission. Still, after fulfilling his three-year contract with the U.S. government, he concluded, "I believe there is little use of my returning."<sup>684</sup> Cameron moved from the Philippines back to the States confident that he had completed his personal and professional mission abroad and ready to advance education within U.S. borders. In the spring of 1904, Cameron was hired to teach at Western State Teachers College in Kalamazoo, Michigan, later earning his doctorate from the University of

---

<sup>681</sup> Carrothers, interview, 1-2.

<sup>682</sup> Carrothers, "Incidents in the Life of a Hoosier Schoolmaster," 12.

<sup>683</sup> Carrothers, "Record of some events in the life of George E. Carrothers," March 1964, BHL.

<sup>684</sup> Cameron, 4 August and 20 May 1903, Diary 3; Diary 5.

Pennsylvania. He served as Principal of the Baltimore Teachers Training School in the 1920s and then as President of Pennsylvania's West Chester Normal School from 1927 to 1935. From there, he was appointed Superintendent of Schools in Cecil County, Maryland and then in Garfield, New Jersey, from which he retired in 1941.<sup>685</sup> Ultimately, teaching in the Philippines helped prepare Cameron for a lifetime devoted to American education.

Other Thomasites became academics outside the field of education, including Jules Frelin and Herman Hespelt, both of whom also served in the military prior to becoming professors of foreign language. Frelin served as a soldier in the Philippines during the War of 1898 before returning to the islands as a teacher, where he worked from 1901 to 1904. After this unusual transition from wartime to peacetime service in the islands, he devoted his life to academia. He became a professor of Romance Languages at the University of Minnesota, where he worked until he retired in 1938.<sup>686</sup> Hespelt, on the other hand, taught in the islands for five years, from 1911 to 1916, before taking a leave of absence. The outbreak of World War I, extended his leave of absence, although he was not drafted until fall 1918. During this period of limbo, Hespelt earned his Masters degree at Cornell. With the end of the war in November 1918, Hespelt's military service ended shortly after it began, and over the next several years he earned his

---

<sup>685</sup> Norman Cameron (grandson), "The U.S. Military Occupation of Bohol: 1900-1902"; "School Superintendent Appointed," *The Midland Journal*, LXII, no. 31 (February 14, 1936); *Indiana Evening Gazette*, November 21, 1935.

<sup>686</sup> "Biographical Sketch of Jules Theophile Frelin" in Finding Aid: Jules Theophile Frelin Diaries, 1899, 1918, University of Minnesota Archives, <http://special.lib.umn.edu/findaid/xml/uarc00724.xml>.

doctoral degree from Cornell, graduating in 1925.<sup>687</sup> Hespelt devoted his scholarly career to Spanish literature and spent the majority of his career at New York University.<sup>688</sup> For both Frelin and Hespelt, it is likely that their earlier teaching experience in a foreign environment fostered their interest in languages but did not otherwise appear to shape their later careers.

In addition to these scholars, Thomasites Blaine Moore and Frederick Behner, also inspired in part by their time overseas, pursued higher degrees that reflected their broadened interests. After having taught in the Philippines from 1901 to 1906, Moore studied political science, writing on topics as varied as the U.S. Supreme Court, commerce in the Netherlands, voting in Illinois, trade in Japan, and international banking. A professor at George Washington University, Moore's interests in foreign affairs remained central to his professional identity, although he never published on the political or economic situation of the Philippines.<sup>689</sup> For Behner, his exposure to other cultures and worldviews as a Thomasite helped him find his calling. In addition to teaching in the islands, Behner spent three summers in Japan and China studying their educational systems and became increasingly interested in mission schools. Drawn to religion, in the spring of 1905, Behner left the Philippines and visited thirty countries on his way home.

---

<sup>687</sup> Ernest H. Hespelt to the War Department, Washington DC (Telegram), 31 July 1919, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 281, Ernest H Hespelt Folder, NAMD; Ernest H. Hespelt to Governor-General, Manila P.I., 2 May 1919, Record Group 350, Entry 21, Box 281, Ernest H Hespelt Folder, NAMD.

<sup>688</sup> James O. Swain, "E. Herman Hespelt (1886-1961)," *Hispania* 45, no. 1 (March 1962): 19-21; Hespelt married another Spanish language academic, Miriam Hespelt.

<sup>689</sup> Blaine Free Moore, "The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation," (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1913); The Law Book Exchange, "The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation, Blaine Free Moore," accessed September 27, 2015, <http://www.lawbookexchange.com/pages/books/27935/blaine-free-moore/the-supreme-court-and-unconstitutional-legislation>.



He then attended seminary in Ohio and dedicated more than fifty years to the Presbyterian ministry, serving as pastor in several states including Ohio, North Dakota, Missouri, West Virginia, and Michigan. Upon his retirement, Behner continued to study the gospels while again traveling the world.<sup>690</sup> Moved by more than the U.S. geo-political mission in the Philippines, Behner embraced a Christian mission to spread the gospel.

Of course, several Thomasites chose career paths that did not include graduate school although they were otherwise inspired by their time in the Philippines. As discussed earlier, some teachers joined the Indian Service while others remained in the islands and made Filipino education their career. Other Thomasites also remained abroad, including one drawn by the desire to travel and others whose decisions were shaped by the outbreak of war. Although teachers pursued various vocations after the Philippines, their oftentimes intense yet sometimes monotonous experiences in the islands influenced their subsequent work ventures.

For Frank Cheney, teaching in the Philippines was his first experience overseas and led him to yearn for further work in foreign environments. He spent twelve years teaching and then served as a superintendent in the Philippines—the longest time he spent anywhere during his fifty-six year career. While in the Philippines, he traveled to “nearly all the outports in the islands.”<sup>691</sup> Perhaps the vastness and diversity of the archipelago, with the possibilities of always seeing new things, lured him to remain longer in the islands. After the Philippines, Cheney taught in California before

---

<sup>690</sup> Frederick G. Behner, “Rags to Riches in the Ministry,” 4-6, BHL.

<sup>691</sup> James T. Golden, “Colorful, Versatile ‘Unk’ Cheney,” newspaper clipping (September 2, 1956), Frank W. Cheney Papers, Frank Cheney Folder, BHL.

requesting in 1927 to teach in South America, which he explained “is not made thru curiosity to see what foreign service is like but because I have had a lot of it and want to go back for more.”<sup>692</sup> Although Cheney never did teach in South America, he ventured abroad again by 1931, teaching in Turkey, China, and India. In China during World War II, Cheney was held in a Japanese internment camp (1941-1945), yet even this horrific experience did not inspire him to return home immediately. Instead, following the war he taught in India for a year. He did, however, return to the States in 1947, spending the last nine years of his career teaching in Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>693</sup>

Cheney’s frequent moves suggest a certain restlessness and a desire to travel and see the world, in spite of the risks sometimes entailed. Overall, teaching enabled him to embrace a sense of autonomy and catered to his whimsical side, as he once explained, partly in jest, “The chief reason that impelled me to stick with the teaching profession was the long vacations which enabled me to change the subject annually.”<sup>694</sup>

Whether or not Cheney ultimately returned stateside because he suffered during the war, other Thomasites felt compelled to be closer to battlefields, one as a journalist and another a soldier. Mary Fee arrived in the Philippines in 1901 to teach, and within a few years she proved to be a leader in the curricular and literary worlds. She helped create textbooks specifically geared toward Filipinos and published two memoirs on her experiences in the islands.<sup>695</sup> By 1918, Fee had left the islands to continue her writing career by covering the war in Europe. She published an article in *The Forum*, “Night

---

<sup>692</sup> Frank W. Cheney to Director Bureau of Insular Affairs, 18 April 1927, RG 350 Entry 21, Box 113, Frank W. Cheney Folder, NAMD.

<sup>693</sup> James T. Golden, “Colorful, Versatile ‘Unk’ Cheney,” Frank Cheney Folder, BHL.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid.

<sup>695</sup> Fee, *The Locusts Years* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1912).

Raids from the Air,” which described her experiences in Northern France during World War I where she officially worked as an American canteen accountant and lived in a small three-bedroom apartment. Claiming, “I would not for anything leave the war zone,” Fee lived through bombings and served in many roles as she helped to house, feed, and nurse the injured.<sup>696</sup> In addition to defying gender stereotypes, Fee embodied the pioneer spirit, venturing to live and work in new and challenging environments throughout her career.

Like Fee, Reece Oliver joined the U.S. military, though in World War II, where he engaged in combat. Originally from Indiana, Oliver taught in the Philippines from 1914 to the 1930s. When Japan invaded the Philippines in the early 1940s, he became an army officer and fought alongside Filipinos. Armed with personal knowledge of the islands and invested in the lives and livelihoods of his fellow soldiers, Oliver defended his adopted homeland, exhibiting his dual patriotism. Following the war, he remained abroad for almost his entire career, working at one time for the American Red Cross in its China Famine Relief Operation.<sup>697</sup> Thus, for Oliver, teaching in the Philippines led to a life devoted to U.S. missions abroad, helping and uplifting others in times of war and peace.

Of course, war also affected teachers at Carlisle, although not as directly as their Philippine counterparts. Most significantly, as the U.S. became increasingly embroiled in World War I, the Carlisle school was forced to close its doors. Injured soldiers returning

---

<sup>696</sup> Mary Helen Fee, “Night Raids from the Air,” *The Forum* (1918) in *World's War Events, Volume III Recorded by Statesmen, Commanders, Historians and by Men Who Fought or Saw the Great Campaigns*. edited by Francis J. Reynolds and Allen L. Churchill, Gutenberg Ebook, August 12, 2005, 229, [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16513/16513-h/16513-h.htm#Page\\_229](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16513/16513-h/16513-h.htm#Page_229).

<sup>697</sup> “Finding Aid: Reece A. Oliver,” Oliver family letters, Indiana State Library.

to the States needed rehabilitation and the then Secretary of War, N.C. Baker, invoked the department's right to repossess the facilities at Carlisle for this purpose. On September 1, 1918, the U.S. Department of War reabsorbed the Carlisle Indian Industrial School buildings and property, it having only been leased to the Department of the Interior in 1879.<sup>698</sup> With the school's closure, many Carlisle teachers were sent to teach in other Indian schools or to work in the Indian Bureau and other government offices in Washington, D.C. In a sense, the closure of the first federally funded off-reservation Indian boarding school symbolized the changing needs of the U.S. empire, suggesting that the devastation posed by the war in Europe threatened its power more than the persistence of the "Indian problem." By 1918, some government officials had tired of the growing and increasingly unmanageable Indian bureaucracy at the same time that the "Indian problem" seemed less poignant for white reformers than it had in the nineteenth century, as Anglos had successfully populated many formerly Indian lands, the bloodshed wrought by Indian wars had ended, and the demise of the entire race had not proved imminent. Still, other Indian Service schools continued to function well into the next decades, indicating both the entrenchment of the system and the continued value held in a separate schools for those living outside of the dominant culture.<sup>699</sup>

In addition to forcing Carlisle teachers to relocate or retire, World War I inspired some to express their patriotism, including two firmly committed to Indian affairs. For example, in 1917 John Whitwell was eager to participate in the U.S. war efforts.

Whitwell had taught at Carlisle for seven years and that April he was still working as the

---

<sup>698</sup> Donaldson to Commissioner Sells, 25 July 1918, containing "Indian Commissioner Plans Details of Transfer," *Carlisle Evening Herald* (July 22, 1918).

<sup>699</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 328-333; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 146-147.

Assistant Superintendent and Principal at the Cushman Indian School when he asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to transfer him to the Department of Justice for the purpose of “procuring and preparing...confidential reports, e.g. I know the general feeling (good and bad) of foreigners towards this Government.”<sup>700</sup> Although denied this position, Whitwell apparently considered his work with American Indians to be similar to engaging with “foreigners,” sensitizing him to better understanding patriotic or unpatriotic sentiments. Instead, he was transferred to the Phoenix Indian School as Principal where he worked until he retired in 1929.<sup>701</sup>

Similar to Whitwell, Marianna Burgess—who had dedicated twenty-five years to Carlisle—volunteered her expertise to aid the war effort. In the spring of 1918, she applied to join fellow Quakers who volunteered to the aid in European reconstruction, emphasizing her skills, which defied gender and age stereotypes. She wrote Pratt, whom she was sure could testify to her fitness for such work, that she was accustomed to “office work such as men usually perform” but “was not altogether helpless in occupations usual to my sex.”<sup>702</sup> Clearly, Burgess hoped that Pratt would help her secure a position alongside men, although she was also willing to do “women’s work.” At the same time, she hoped that testimony regarding her youthful energy and moral leadership would counteract any doubts about her capacity to fill such a role at the advanced age of sixty-five. Vincent Nicholson, chairman of the committee responsible for recommending Quakers fit for reconstruction work in Europe, described Burgess in the following way:

---

<sup>700</sup> John Whitwell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 20 April 1917, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

<sup>701</sup> Employment Record: John Whitwell, John Whitwell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>702</sup> Marianne Burgess to R.H. Pratt, 14 March 1918, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

“Now I don’t know Marianna Burgess’ age but I know she is very young in spirit...entirely free from family ties...very healthy and strong... She is bright, breezy, vigorous, strong, tough and motherly, and her moral and social influence would be a great adjunct to the Friends’ Service Work, and a good deal more.”<sup>703</sup> This recommender described her as a candidate who defied age and gender stereotypes. Minimizing her advanced years, he emphasized instead her independence, good health, and strength as well as her maternal and moral sensibility. Nevertheless, such confident recommendations were not enough to allow Burgess to gain a place abroad.

Instead, Burgess remained very active at home as she continued to promote Indian rights. Working alongside other Quakers, Burgess lamented the continued failure of white society, particularly her fellow Friends, to recognize its own role in ignoring the problems of American Indians and allowing inequities to persist. In a survey that she had been assigned to conduct, Burgess found a profound difference between the Quaker community’s commitment to the uplift of African Americans and “our Brother-in-Red,” finding the relative inactivity and indifference regarding the latter inexcusable. In an August 9, 1917 letter to a fellow Quaker activist, Burgess recounted:

[T]he [Quaker] membership...are not aware of the appalling conditions of poverty, disease, crime, filth and other disheartening and hopeless situations now prevalent on most of the Indian reservations...Yet a Friend, a Friend, I repeat, said the other day, ‘They do nothing to help themselves, let them rot.’...My heart bleeds for these people whom I had arduously served for three decades, and under favorable environment[sic] and incentive, away from the tribes, with the hopes that are found in civilization, succeeded in arousing hundreds to desire to be and to do, but who under the present iniquitous system are powerless to change conditions for the better.<sup>704</sup>

---

<sup>703</sup> Ibid.

<sup>704</sup> Burgess (unsigned) to Lucretia S. Franklin (Chairman of the Committee for Philanthropic Labor, Illinois Yearly Meeting of Friends), 9 August 1917, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

Fueled in part by an encounter with a Quaker unsympathetic to the hardships faced by Indians, Burgess recalled, Carlisle as a place where hopes and dreams of civilization were instilled in students. However, after decades of service, she recognized that this was not enough. The “iniquitous system” continued to prevent American Indians from attaining equal rights and dignity. By the 1910s, Burgess recognized the structural inequalities constraining Indians, particularly on reservations, despite the influence of schools like Carlisle. She pleaded for attention from more sympathetic Quakers while continuing to value the Indian boarding school model of assimilation through immersion.

Burgess’ activism was not limited to arousing fellow Quakers to action but also pointed to flaws within the federal Indian bureaucracy. In 1919 she felt honored to be considered for editor of the *Magazine of the Society of American Indians*. Once again seeking advice from Pratt, she recounted how members of the magazine’s Advisory Board felt “there is no other person as free as I, who knows as much of real Indian characteristics and the full Indian situation and at the same time on the right side of the fence as far as the Bureau is concerned...They also feel that I am better able to reflect General’s [Pratt’s] ideas than any other person, and they know I’m not afraid to do so.”<sup>705</sup> Although she did not accept the position, Burgess remained as strong-willed as the pioneering Carlisle Superintendent. Later in 1919, she joined former student Luther Standing Bear on stage at a conference of a new Indian organization in Riverside, California. Here, she underscored Luther’s claims regarding the limits of the Indian Bureau and its employees by speaking honestly about the needs and conditions of

---

<sup>705</sup> Burgess to Mason Pratt, 25 November 1919, Box 17, Folder 570, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

American Indians.<sup>706</sup> Along with Pratt and other activists, Burgess had come to believe that the Bureau—with all its excesses and inefficiencies—should be abolished.

As noted earlier, Pratt had parted ways with leaders in the Indian Bureau prior to his forced retirement in 1904, and some of his most loyal teachers, including Burgess, harbored similar negative sentiments, particularly as the Bureau's leaders implemented increasingly invasive or otherwise flawed policies. By the 1910s, they had instituted reforms typical of the Progressive Era, intended to increase professionalism and efficiency. These included regular reports regarding teachers' performance and other forms, one that even surveyed teachers' reading habits. In this, as in other areas, "Progressive Era thinking also had a darker side, from which flowed lowered expectations of Indian people's capacity."<sup>707</sup> Pointing to popular beliefs that emerged after Reconstruction regarding the need for a permanent working class and to expanded white settlement in the West, Cathleen Cahill notes, "Beginning with Commissioner Jones (1897-1905) and gathering strength under his successor, Commissioner Leupp, policy makers began to move the Indian Office away from its goal of rapid and full assimilation and toward a racialized vision of a people destined by heredity for permanent manual labor."<sup>708</sup> To meet these new goals, Indian schools increasingly stressed vocational education at the expense of liberal arts learning. At the same time,

---

<sup>706</sup> Burgess to Richard Henry Pratt, 27 January 1920, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML; Burgess to Richard and Laura Pratt, 30 August 1921, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

<sup>707</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 223.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.



federal policies continued to change regarding requirements needed for American Indians to qualify for citizenship, which was not granted for all Native peoples until 1924.<sup>709</sup>

To counter the negative stereotypes that both fueled and were reinforced by these policies and to effect positive change, Indians from various tribes banded together and formed organizations, including the Society of American Indians, founded in 1911 “to promote a positive image of Indianness to white Americans and address a variety of concerns shared by Native people, especially federal policy.”<sup>710</sup> Although Indian Service teachers did not form any equivalent organizations—which would have put their jobs at risk—some criticized the Indian Bureau just the same. Having worked within the system, they formed unique perspectives regarding the bureaucracy’s failings.

Emma Lovewell was one teacher who condemned the leadership appointed by the Indian Bureau. Having taught for several years in the public schools and in the Service for eight more years, Lovewell was forced to resign from Carlisle due to poor health in December 1914.<sup>711</sup> At the time, the Supervisor in Charge, O.H. Lipps, described Lovewell as “quite old and [who] will probably not again be in proper physical condition to perform the arduous duties required of an employee in the Indian School Service.”<sup>712</sup> In spite of such a diagnosis, the sixty-one year old teacher sought reinstatement in the Indian School Service within the year, although she subsequently cancelled her request, believing the service’s leadership to be inept. Writing to Commissioner Sells in December 1915, Lovewell explained, “The Indian Service will never be a success while

---

<sup>709</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 145-146.

<sup>710</sup> Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 229.

<sup>711</sup> O.H. Lipps (Supervisor in Charge at Carlisle) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 30 December 1914, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid.

young frivolous incompetent persons of influence are appointed, (I say this advisedly) and promoted over those of sterling worth and experience.”<sup>713</sup> Although the particular individuals whom Lovewell believed incompetent are unknown, clearly the Indian Service had deteriorated and she was unwilling to return to a poorly managed bureaucracy. In this way, she firmly resisted the leadership and made sure her opinions were heard even as she left the profession.

Several teachers who remained in the Indian Service after working at Carlisle were noted as agitators in other ways, with some able to take advantage of larger problems in the Service. As discussed earlier, high rates of turnover and frequent transfers were common in the Indian Service, giving teachers a certain level of freedom to stand their ground or act in ways that would otherwise not be tolerated.<sup>714</sup> Although similar problems faced public schools at the time, the Indian Service included fewer schools and teachers, creating particularly high rates of turnover within individual schools.<sup>715</sup> Some of the high teacher turnover in education more broadly can be explained by the strenuous work conditions and low pay, exacerbated by teachers’ youth and gender, as women were not permitted to continue working once married. Similar conditions were true in the Indian Service, although transferring within the system was a unique characteristic. For many years, the Service faced the problem of finding and keeping quality teachers, which may have added to teacher unrest, intentionally or not. Among those who clashed with supervisors and colleagues or who otherwise agitated for

---

<sup>713</sup> Lovewell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 10 December 1915, Emma Lovewell Folder, NPRC.

<sup>714</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 87-93; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 89.

<sup>715</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 87.

change were Lucy Case, Margaret Sweeney, and Gwen Williams. Of these three, Sweeney and Williams nonetheless remained in the Service for the rest of their careers.<sup>716</sup>

Lucy Case worked in the Indian Service for three years prior to her time at Carlisle—from 1913 to 1915—and reportedly caused conflict in her subsequent teaching assignments. Case moved from Carlisle to the Fort Apache Agency in Arizona, where Superintendent Peterson’s initial evaluation described her as “very peculiar in her personal appearance” and evaluated her work ethic as limited as “[s]he takes no part in the social development of the pupils, in short, she does nothing outside of the classroom.”<sup>717</sup> A few years later, Case apparently admitted to displaying “disloyal activity against Superintendent Peterson,” helping to justify her transfer to the Tulalip Indian Agency, where she antagonized fellow workers at the Swinomish Day School.<sup>718</sup> Superintendent Charles Buchanan blamed Case for the school’s deterioration, describing her manner as “extremely queer and odd” and alleging that she “destroyed” the Indian Women’s Improvement Club.<sup>719</sup> Despite her bad reputation, the vastness of the Indian Service and its continued demand for teachers enabled individuals like Case to remain in

---

<sup>716</sup> Also see record of Mabel E. Curtis. Curtis sought to transfer elsewhere in the Indian Service but was likely not missed by school authorities or may even have been pushed out. Prior to her time at Carlisle, she transferred three times within six years at her “own request.” But, her supervisors at Carlisle gave her mediocre, even damaging teacher evaluations. One described Curtis as “a fairly good teacher, but she is lacking in life and energy in the school room. She is pleasant, kind and patient with pupils, but is inclined to do too much of the reciting herself. She is not of a happy, contented disposition and is inclined to see the dark or unfavorable side of others.” Curtis soon after transferred again to another Indian school. See “Request for Transfer: Mabel E. Curtis, 14 June 1910, Efficiency Report: Mabel Curtis, 20 February 1911, and Commissioner of Indian Affairs R.G. Valentine to Mabel Curtis, 2 August 1911, Mabel E. Curtis Folder, NPRC.

<sup>717</sup> Efficiency Report: Lucy Case, 1 November 1915, Lucy A. Case Folder, NPRC.

<sup>718</sup> Superintendent Charles W. Buchanan (Tulalip Indian Agency, Washington) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 16 September 1918, Lucy A. Case Folder, NPRC.

<sup>719</sup> Efficiency Report: Lucy Case, 1 May 1918, Lucy A. Case Folder, NPRC.

its employ. Finally, after eight years of problematic service, Case left to teach at a boys' school in Vermont.<sup>720</sup> Whether she was any more successful there is unknown.

Like Case, Margaret Sweeney was characterized as uncooperative, although she was sometimes unaware of this and ultimately worked for the Indian Service for her entire career. After Carlisle closed in 1918, Sweeney moved to Washington, D.C. to work in the War Department but was laid off in June 1920 due to “a reduction in force.”<sup>721</sup> Sweeney was then reinstated in the Indian Service and transferred to the Sherman Institute.<sup>722</sup> Three years into her time there, Sweeney was in the midst of being transferred elsewhere when she discovered that she had been accused of causing a “lack of harmony” between the principal and other employees, prompting her to request an investigation into the matter.<sup>723</sup> In the meantime, Sweeney asked to be sent to a school close enough to a Catholic Church to “attend to my religious duties” and soon after transferred to the Carson Indian School in Nevada.<sup>724</sup> After three years at Carson, she was described as “not tak[ing] suggestions and instructions from the principal as well as she should. She likes to argue.”<sup>725</sup> Several months later, an evaluation reported that Sweeney’s “attitude toward the principal has changed, and she appears to be getting

---

<sup>720</sup> Lucy Case to Sirs of the United States Indian Service, 25 July 1921, Lucy A. Case Folder, NPRC.

<sup>721</sup> Assistant Commissioner E.B. Merritt to Civil Service Commission, 27 September 1920, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid.

<sup>723</sup> Commissioner Chas. H. Burke to Margaret Sweeney, 23 May 1923 and Sweeney to Commissioner Burke, 28 May 1923, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>724</sup> Margaret M. Sweeney to Commissioner Charles H. Burke, 13 June 1923, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>725</sup> Efficiency Report: Margaret Sweeney, 1 May 1926, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

along better in her school work.”<sup>726</sup> In spite of some setbacks, Sweeney worked at the Carson Indian School as a fourth grade teacher for nine more years. In March 1935, she died at the age of fifty-eight, having worked in the Indian Service for nearly three decades.<sup>727</sup> Although she had clashed with her supervisors at a couple of schools, she remained in the service for several more years without further incident.

Sent to Washington, DC alongside Sweeney, former Carlisle teacher Gwen Williams agitated for change on her own behalf.<sup>728</sup> As early as 1919, she demanded higher wages to match those of her colleagues in the Indian Office.<sup>729</sup> Persistent in her request for an increased salary, Gwen wrote to her Superior Officers in April 1922, “I have lived here in Washington under conditions other women, as old as I am, have not been required to live, because their salaries were increased regularly.”<sup>730</sup> Responsible for taking care of her sister as well as herself, Gwen ran a “rooming house” to supplement her income.<sup>731</sup> She had intended to return to teaching in the Indian Service, but without giving specific details, refused a teaching appointment due to a traumatic experience in the D.C. Government office “during the winter of 1918 and 1919.” She explained, “I have kept silence not because I am too dull to talk. I am not in the Field to day because my spirit is not dead, nor do I intend it shall [I] die while my body is stalking on

---

<sup>726</sup> Ibid.; Efficiency Report: Margaret Sweeney, 1 November 1926, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>727</sup> Superintendent (Carson School) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Collier, 29 March 1935, Margaret M. Sweeney Folder, NPRC.

<sup>728</sup> Employment Record Notecard: Gwen Williams, n.d., Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

<sup>729</sup> B. Garber (Chief Education Division) to C.F. Hauke, 3 January 1920, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

<sup>730</sup> Gwen Williams to My Superior Officers, 8 April 1922, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

<sup>731</sup> B. Garber (Chief Education Division) to C.F. Hauke, 3 January 1920, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

earth.”<sup>732</sup> Although the historical record does not clarify the nature of Williams’ trauma, considering her coded language and documented problems of sexual improprieties in the Indian Service, she may have been referring to an unwanted advance by a male peer. Sexual harassment was a significant problem in the Indian Service, although women who presented accusations were generally ignored or otherwise penalized. Historian David Wallace Adams cites several other examples of teachers who complained to the Indian Office and the Indian Rights Association of supervisors that made unwanted sexual advances.<sup>733</sup> In addition to these cases, of course, is Superintendent Mercer’s sex scandal. Yet another Indian school superintendent, Charles Davis—who married Lydia Dittes after her time at Carlisle—was accused of “immoral conduct” for having taken “improper liberties” with at least three employees at different schools, one of whom “died of an abortion,” and the charges found “substantially proved.”<sup>734</sup> Ultimately, whatever the cause of Williams’ unease, she remained in the Office of Indian Affairs for twenty more years until her retirement in February 1939, at which point she was commended for her work.<sup>735</sup>

Whether or not these agitators and others remained working for the Indian bureaucracy or moved on, their noncompliance reflected their individual agency and, in

---

<sup>732</sup> Gwen Williams to My Superior Officers, 8 April 1922, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC.

<sup>733</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 91-93.

<sup>734</sup> “Brief of charges filed by Major G. L. Scott, U.S. Indian Agent, Lake Leech Agency, Minnesota, against Charles L. Davis, Superintendent of the Red Lake School and his answer to the same,” November 1903, Charles L. Davis Folder 1, NPRC.

<sup>735</sup> Memorandum: Retirement of Miss Gwen Williams (Office of Indian Affairs), 27 February 1939, Gwen Williams Folder, NPRC. Adelaide Reichel refused a similar transfer from Carlisle to DC in 1918 believing that the increase in salary “would be insufficient to enable her to live in Washington under present conditions.” See: Chief Clerk to Secretary of the Interior, 12 April 1918, Adelaide Reichel Folder, NPRC; “Changes in Employees at U.S. Indian School Carlisle, PA, September 1918,” in Monthly Time Book 1918, Record Group 75, Entry 1344, NADC.

some cases, their intention to make change. Although they disrupted institutional norms for personal reasons, their individual actions threatened the status quo and cautioned greater consequences. Some of the Indian Service's greatest strengths lay in its vastness, its large number of employees who ostensibly worked toward complementary goals and likely reinforced one another's conformity. Yet, the size of such a network also guaranteed that in certain moments people would defy its rules and norms, while others would simply leave.

Other Carlisle teachers left the Indian Service for more promising teaching opportunities abroad, including some, perhaps, eager to find a more comfortable lifestyle. U.S. expansion around the turn of the twentieth century opened up opportunities beyond continental borders that still offered some of the reassurances associated with working for the U.S. government. Although no teachers in this study left Carlisle to head to the Philippines, other teachers from the Indian Service joined the U.S. teaching force in the archipelago. One draw of the Philippines and other places, including Alaska and Puerto Rico, was higher pay. At a time when women teachers were paid well below their male colleagues, some could not resist higher salaries. Still, other teachers sought less stressful work conditions, believing an island lifestyle more suited to their desires.

Committed to and valued by the Indian Service, Carlisle teacher Dora LeCrone was unable to resist the higher salary offered for working abroad. LeCrone expressed enthusiasm for Indian education and taught at Carlisle for seven years, beginning at age twenty-one in 1904. She resigned in 1911 to tend to "conditions at my home," but soon after sought reinstatement in the Indian Service explaining, "I am much interested in the cause of Indian education and I feel that the opportunities for usefulness are greatest in an

Indian school.”<sup>736</sup> While LeCrone was hired at the Salem Indian Training School in 1912 where she received high accolades, she resigned after one year to teach in the public schools in Unga, Alaska, unwilling to turn down the significant raise from \$600 a year to \$175 a month.<sup>737</sup> As explained by the Salem School’s superintendent, “She regrets exceedingly her leaving this school but in justice to herself could not decline the position offered to her.”<sup>738</sup> In addition to higher compensation, LeCrone likely believed that teaching in Alaskan schools would offer similar “opportunities for usefulness.” Whether they did is, unfortunately, unknown.<sup>739</sup>

Another teacher who ventured abroad was a Miss Ericson who left Carlisle for Puerto Rico in 1899. The island had been recently transferred from Spanish to U.S. authority as a bounty of the War of 1898. Ericson corresponded regularly with her former colleagues and students about her experiences in the Caribbean. In a letter published in *The Indian Helper* in January 1900, she reported enjoying her new work, even though the pupils gave her “a good deal more to do as far as discipline is concerned than the Indians.” Nevertheless, she explained, “I am very happy here. I like the new life exceedingly. I do not know what homesickness is, and hope never to learn it.”<sup>740</sup>

---

<sup>736</sup> Dora LeCrone to Commissioner of Indian Affairs R.G. Valentine, 20 July 1912, Dora S. LeCrone Folder, NPRC.

<sup>737</sup> H.E. Wadsworth (Superintendent Salem Indian Training School) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 4 January 1913, Dora S. LeCrone Folder, NPRC.

<sup>738</sup> Wadsworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 4 Aug 1913, Dora S. LeCrone Folder, NPRC.

<sup>739</sup> In 1909, Amelia McMichael transferred from Carlisle to teach in the Alaskan Educational Service, and like LeCrone, also received a raise in salary (from \$660 to \$900). See F.H. Abbott (Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Amelia McMichael, 31 August 1909 and McMichael to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 8 August 1912, Amelia McMichael Folder, NPRC.

<sup>740</sup> “A Christmas Letter From Miss Ericson in Porto Rico,” *The Indian Helper* 15, no. 10 (January 5, 1900): 4, CCHS.



Ensuring her readers that she had adapted well to her new position, Ericson also tried to reinforce continued good behavior among the Indians. She described how she kept tabs on a Carlisle student who was now a U.S. soldier stationed on the island:

Russell Whitebear has been to see me several times. He is a nice, gentlemanly, sober boy, with the best reputation. Such a name means a great deal here where the soldiers so often disgrace themselves in one way or another. I am proud of Russell and find from my talks with him that he is making good use of what he learned at Carlisle, and that he is very fond of his old school. He looks well and it has done him good to be out and to have seen the world a little.<sup>741</sup>

Praising Whitebear for his upstanding behavior in contrast to other U.S. soldiers' depravity, Ericson emphasized how important the Carlisle experience proved for him. While acknowledging the advantages that Carlisle offered students—helping to create upstanding, well-adapted citizens like Whitebear—she also encouraged her former students to explore “the world a little” beyond the school and the reservation.<sup>742</sup>

A decade after Ericson's move from Carlisle to the Caribbean, Emma Hetrick made a similar move, leaving Carlisle for the “Porto Rican Service” in 1910. However, she left the States under unfavorable circumstances and soon longed for home. Hetrick reportedly enjoyed teaching in Puerto Rico but within a month requested to be transferred back to Carlisle or Washington, DC as a clerk. Her request was apparently related to accusations concerning her unfitness for such work.<sup>743</sup> In a series of letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hetrick defended her conduct while clerking at Carlisle

---

<sup>741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>742</sup> For information regarding Carlisle's involvement with Puerto Rico, see: Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 163-174.

<sup>743</sup> Emma Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 October 1910 and 21 November 1910, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

and sought to clear her name against any charges against her.<sup>744</sup> Meanwhile, the Acting Principal of Schools in Toa Alta, Puerto Rico praised Hetrick who was a fifth/sixth grade teacher: “Her great activity, her kindness to the pupils, her valuable disciplinary power and loyal behaviour to her fellow teachers make her worthy of esteem.”<sup>745</sup> Despite such high regard, Hetrick continued to seek clerical work back in the Indian Service. Perhaps she felt homesick, missing her family or the more familiar work environment. In November 1911, she explained that she and her sister “should like to be together somewhere among the civilized tribes,” believing they were superior to Puerto Ricans.<sup>746</sup> Whether such claims were simply intended to ensure her return or heartfelt sentiments, Hetrick remained in Puerto Rico and continued to receive praise for adapting to the local conditions and being “a loyal, faithful and conscientious teacher.” She was also described as being able to thrive even “under difficulties.”<sup>747</sup> The “difficulties” Hetrick faced may have included poor student behavior, as experienced by Ericson, or may have involved serious problems with disease. In July 1912, Hetrick expressed fear of an outbreak of bubonic plague on the island and finally secured a clerkship in Washington, D.C.’s Pension Bureau that August.<sup>748</sup> Happy to leave the “difficulties” she faced in

---

<sup>744</sup> Emma Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs 17 July 1911, 5 February 1912, and 12 July 1912, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

<sup>745</sup> Felix Periva (Acting Principal of Schools, Porto Rico) to Office of Indian Affairs, 31 January 1911, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

<sup>746</sup> Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 27 November 1911, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

<sup>747</sup> Carey Hickie (Secretary, Porto Rico Commissioner of Education) to Whom It May Concern, 1 February 1912, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

<sup>748</sup> Hetrick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 12 July 1912, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC; C.F. Hauke (Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Mr. J.F. House (Superintendent Rapid City School, South Dakota) 29 August 1912, Emma Hetrick Folder, NPRC.

Puerto Rico, Hetrick returned to the States, having managed to successfully defend her reputation at home.

The Indian Service prepared some Carlisle teachers for the unique challenges that they would face working for similar institutions overseas, although not in all cases. The existence of these parallel teaching services suggests that U.S. government officials continued to attribute great power to education's potential for effecting positive change as the nation occupied new territory. Of course, its effectiveness varied over time and space and to different degrees, though education as panacea offered an attractive tool for expanding the empire, even as grave problems including disease impacted individuals on the ground.

While illness did not end Hetrick's career, it did have that effect on a number of other teachers. This was even especially true in the Philippines. Cholera, small pox, and other diseases devastated local Filipino populations and burdened U.S. teachers in the islands with more work and additional anxieties. Not surprisingly, sickness also cut some Thomasites' careers short, as it did for Blakeslee, Frederick Behner's colleague who was sent home. Other teachers were also forced to leave the Philippines after contracting diseases, including John Evans and Edward Sharp. Evans, who arrived in the Philippines aboard the *Thomas* in July 1901, rose from teacher to Governor General of the Mountain Province by the 1910s. But a few years later, tuberculosis sent him home. He relocated to New Mexico due to the drier climate, working there as a postmaster for many years. He spent his last years living with family in Coldwater, Michigan, dying in 1949.<sup>749</sup>

---

<sup>749</sup> "John H. Evans Dies Today At Home of Son: Was Formerly Governor of Mountain Provinces in Philippines" and "A sense of humor," n.d., newspaper clipping, Clips about Evans Family Folder, Evans Family Papers, BHL.

Sharp taught in Bohol from 1902 to 1904, but was forced to return to the States after contracting malaria. He soon moved to the capital of the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Indian Territory (Oklahoma) where he opened a business, married, and remained for sixty years, until his death in 1965.<sup>750</sup> In returning to the States, both Evans and Sharp took up new careers, severing their ties with education, but, interestingly, continuing to work among native peoples.

Of course, exposure to disease was also a risk in the United States, and a career working among peoples afflicted by communicable diseases, including tuberculosis, increased that risk and ended the careers of a number of teachers. After thirty-two years in the Indian Service, John Whitwell was forced to retire in 1929, aged sixty-one, due to illness likely contracted on the job. Whitwell, who worked at Carlisle from 1907 to 1914 and then at the Cushman School, was finally transferred to the Phoenix Indian school where he spent the remainder of his career as Principal. By 1929, Whitwell suffered from heart disease, a tremor, and fibrosis in his chest. As explained in his June 1929 Application for Retirement: “The cause probably dates back to the years 1897 to 1903 when as teacher and Superintendent I was in almost daily contact with both young and old Indians suffering from Tuberculosis...Twenty six more years as Principal in the large boarding schools of the Service has completed the physical breakdown.”<sup>751</sup> Thus, Whitwell believed that a career dedicated to Indian education had led to his physical

---

<sup>750</sup> “Edward Sharp,” n.d., Edward Sharp Papers (General) 1901-1904 Folder, Edward Sharp Papers, RDU.

<sup>751</sup> “Application for Retirement from the Civil Service on Account of Total Disability: John Whitwell,” 19 June 1929, John Whitwell Folder 2, NPRC.

debilitation. Other Carlisle teachers, too, contracted tuberculosis, forcing them to leave the school and relocate to drier climates.<sup>752</sup>

Still others found the work itself debilitating. For example, Idilla Wilson joined the Indian Service in 1912 and held her first and only position as a teacher at Carlisle until 1918. During her final year there, however, Wilson took a yearlong unpaid leave of absence due to a “physical breakdown.”<sup>753</sup> In June 1918, Carlisle Superintendent Francis Jr. expressed his respect for Wilson after she requested a transfer to a non-teaching position: “She is a most kind, conscientious teacher who has the respect and love of her student[sic]. She is capable and valuable to the school and I regret exceedingly to see her go, both from personal reasons and for the welfare of the school.”<sup>754</sup>

Unlike some teachers whose difficulties to sustain their work were met by condemnation from their superiors, Wilson continued to have her superintendent’s support. In her own words, Wilson explained:

It has been a rule of my life to put my very best and most earnest effort into my work and that has its effect on physical strength... You well know there is not the mental and nervous strain in clerical work that there is in teaching and the realization of this fact was the reason why our generous hearted Supt., Mr. Francis, so heartily approved of my request... Pardon me for persisting in this matter but it vitally concerns me for [I] have to earn my living and want to secure the employment best suited to my physical ability.<sup>755</sup>

Due in part, perhaps, to Wilson’s work ethic, she found teaching too stressful, both physically and mentally. Perhaps Wilson found clerking in the U.S. War Department less

---

<sup>752</sup> Similarly, John DeHuff, one of the crossover teachers, had left Carlisle due to tuberculosis in 1916: John DeHuff to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 July 1916, John DeHuff Folder, NPRC.

<sup>753</sup> Idilla Wilson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 3 August 1918, Idilla Wilson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>754</sup> John Francis, Jr. to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 18 June 1918, Idilla Wilson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>755</sup> Idilla Wilson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, 3 August 1918.

taxing to her health than teaching at an Indian boarding school, although sometime before 1922, she apparently transferred to the Department of the Interior, which oversaw Indian affairs.<sup>756</sup> The strength of the empire rested upon that of its workers, and the straining demands that such work often placed on individuals contributed to its fragility. Yet, for Wilson and others who relied upon the Service for a paycheck, their personal vulnerabilities contributed to the power of the bureaucracy, as they were bound to a job in order to earn a living, sometimes despite working conditions or debility.

Even when not afflicted with illness themselves, several Carlisle teachers resigned temporarily or permanently from the Indian Service to help loved ones who needed care. As noted earlier, some teachers had responsibilities for aging, ailing, or otherwise dependent relatives.<sup>757</sup> Still, others could not manage work and familial obligations and left the service. These included Dora LeCrone as well as Frances Scales, Clara Snoddy and Hattie McDowell. A teacher in the service since 1894, Scales worked at Carlisle from 1902 to 1908, at which point she was transferred to the Phoenix Indian School. However, she soon requested “to be located as near home as possible on account of the precarious condition of my father’s health” and was subsequently given the opportunity to teach at the Cherokee Indian School in North Carolina, much closer to her parents. However, she did not initially accept this position, preferring to return to Carlisle.

---

<sup>756</sup> U.S. Civil Service Commission (Department of Interior), “Abstract of Official Record of Employee: Idilla Wilson,” 29 December 1922, Idilla Wilson Folder, NPRC.

<sup>757</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding teachers Margaret Sweeney, Emma Hetrick, and Clara Donaldson who assisted elderly parents or other dependent family members.

Unable to do so and having resigned in August 1909, Scales apparently never again worked in the Indian Service.<sup>758</sup>

Like Scales, Clara Snoddy's career in the Indian Service ended abruptly due to familial obligations, although she managed to continue teaching outside of the service. Snoddy dedicated fourteen years to teaching in the Indian Service, moving to the Haskell Institute following Carlisle's closing in 1918. Three years later, Snoddy transferred to the public schools in Topeka, Kansas to be closer to her recently widowed mother. There she taught English and Social Studies in the Topeka Kansas Junior High School for two decades. "[S]eeking a change" after her mother's death in 1941, Snoddy sought reinstatement in the Indian Service, having enjoyed her work years earlier and learning of a "shortage of teachers in the Indian Schools." Unfortunately, Snoddy was denied a position.<sup>759</sup> Another Carlisle teacher, Hattie McDowell, also made career decisions to best suit her family's needs but was able to remain in the Service. McDowell was responsible for caring for her fifty-three year old brother who suffered from a weak heart. She worked at Carlisle from 1904 to 1918, at which point she was transferred to the Chemawa Indian School in Oregon. However, by 1924 McDowell realized that her brother would have to move in with her and requested a transfer to a day school in southern California so that he could live more comfortably at a lower altitude. She moved to the Pala Mission School in California, working there until she retired in 1928 at

---

<sup>758</sup> Employee Card: Frances Scales; Scales to Mr. Goodman, 24 July 1909; F.H. Abbott (Acting Commissioner to Frances), 1 September 1909; Scales to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 17 December 1910, all in Frances Scales Folder, NPRC.

<sup>759</sup> Efficiency Report: Clara A. Snoddy, 1 May 1921; Snoddy to Superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School, 29 September 1941; Paul L. Fickinger (Associate Director of Education, Office of Indian Affairs) to Snoddy, 20 October 1941, all in Clara A. Snoddy Folder, NPRC.

the age of sixty-seven.<sup>760</sup> While these three women had very different experiences regarding their ability to help family members and remain in the Indian Service, they all seemed to value their familial obligations above their work, or at least felt compelled to make it their priority.

Other teachers, including Margaret Sweeney, Emma Hetrick, and Gwen Williams, also gave up work for family members. Although their specific familial circumstances are unknown, it is likely that as women—particularly single, wage-earning women—they adhered to societal norms that assumed that they, rather than their brothers or other male kin, should sacrifice their careers to minister to family members. Although these women worked outside the home, they were assumed to be more nurturing and “maternal” because of their sex. Of course, these and other women may have felt a personal obligation to tend to family members regardless of their sex. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that it was mainly women who altered their careers to help their ailing relatives.

Gender norms affected Carlisle teachers in other important ways, including promotions and salaries within the Indian Service. Transferred to teach at the Wahpeton Indian School in North Dakota following budget cuts at Carlisle in 1916, Margaret Roberts was then recommended to become Principal Teacher at the Lake Leech Boarding School in Minnesota.<sup>761</sup> She was nominated for the latter position due to her presumed

---

<sup>760</sup> Hattie McDowell to Mrs. Harper, 6 February 1924 and Employee Card: Hattie McDowell, Hattie McDowell Folder, NPRC; Emma Cutter to Nana Pratt, 15 February 1937 (Round Robin letter, original date 30 January 1935), Box 13, Folder 450, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML: “While Sister Charlotte was living, we had several Carlisle parties, but later, owing to Sister Ruth’s condition, I was not able to entertain much.”

<sup>761</sup> C.F. Hauke (Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Mr. Peyton Carter (Superintendent Wahpeton), 6 June 1918, Margaret Roberts Folder, NPRC.



ability to “direct the home care of the children” as well as her “experience in the Indian School Service which could not be secured in a male appointee at the salary now available and while there is so great a demand for good men.”<sup>762</sup> Thus, Roberts’ sex rendered her more capable of guiding children’s development and, at the same time, allowed the Indian Service to pay her a lower salary. In spite (or perhaps because) of such a recommendation, Roberts did not accept the position.<sup>763</sup> Her situation was typical in that she was presumed to need less money than a man, and at the same time, that she was more capable of tending to domestic duties because of her sex. Most women apparently accepted that they would earn lower wages for the same work as men in the Indian Service and as they did in other situations and professions, although they were not always prepared to tend to domestic tasks.<sup>764</sup>

While Roberts rejected a promotion to principal teacher, Mariette Wood’s poor performance in such a position led that school’s superintendent to prefer male principals in the future. Having taught at Carlisle from 1897 to 1909, Wood intended to retire after a year at her next school, the Santa Fe Indian School. Suffering from altitude sickness, she in fact resigned only a couple of months into the school year. Without further explanation, when the Santa Fe superintendent sought to replace Wood, he noted his preference for “a man teacher to a woman for principal.”<sup>765</sup> In a subsequent letter, he explained that Wood had never truly embraced the principal teacher position and “found

---

<sup>762</sup> Superintendent Harvey K. Meyer (Leech Lake Agency, Minnesota) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 May 1918, Margaret Roberts Folder, NPRC.

<sup>763</sup> Margaret Roberts to Mr. Peyton Carter (Superintendent Wahpeton), 11 August 1918, Margaret Roberts Folder, NPRC.

<sup>764</sup> Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School,” 158; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 91.

<sup>765</sup> Superintendent Crandall (Santa Fe) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 October 1909, Mariette Wood Folder, NPRC.

the work arduous and difficult.” Perhaps, the superintendent believed that a man would be better able to handle the responsibilities.<sup>766</sup>

Of course, being a man did not guarantee that one would be successful in a particular position. Having left Carlisle due, in part, to his inability to get along with other teachers, Royal Mann became a Principal teacher at the Southern Ute Boarding School, where in December 1915 he was criticized for being “without tact” and having “a way of irritating employees.”<sup>767</sup> Mann found more success as a teacher at the Rosebud Agency in South Dakota, where he later became a clerk. He was then promoted to chief clerk at the Seneca Agency in Oklahoma, a position that might have required fewer interpersonal skills.<sup>768</sup>

While Mann’s social awkwardness affected his success as a teacher and prevented him from making friends with his colleagues, for many other teachers, friendships proved to be invaluable, and many lasted a lifetime. As Fannie Peter wrote after leaving Carlisle for Washington, DC in 1904, “I have more friends at the school than anywhere else that being my home for so long.”<sup>769</sup> Teachers like her, who remained at Carlisle for several years, often developed deep and lasting bonds. Other Carlisle teachers reunited years

---

<sup>766</sup> Efficiency Report: Mariette Wood, 1 November 1909, Mariette Wood Folder, NPRC. Gendered assumptions similarly guided hiring practices in the Philippines, as discussed in chapter 3. In addition, the gender bias in historical preservation also limits the amount of information on women who worked and/or were married to American educators in the islands. Of the married couples discussed above, relatively little is revealed about women’s work experiences. Thus, the minimal records of Alice Hollister Marquardt, Maude Bordner, and Willa Early are literally hidden in their husbands’ files.

<sup>767</sup> Efficiency Report: Royal Man, 1 December 1915, Royal L. Mann Folder, NPRC.

<sup>768</sup> Efficiency Report: Royal Mann, 19 December 1916, and E.B. Merritt (Assistant to Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to Royal Mann, 28 July 1920, Royal Mann Folder, NPRC.

<sup>769</sup> Fannie Peter to Richard Henry Pratt, 2 October 1904, Box 7, Folder 248, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

later and reminisced about the “good ole days,” creating new memories. For teachers sent to Washington, D.C., social gatherings were far easier than for their counterparts scattered across the country. Peter maintained friendships with her fellow teachers, occasionally socializing with Emma Cutter, Della Botsford, Anna Luckenback and Bessie Harper in D.C.<sup>770</sup> Cutter, having begun her work at the school’s inception, wrote over fifty-five years later of recent visits and conversations with old Carlisle friends, like Miss Bowersox and Miss Hill. They talked “all about Carlisle” and the many school employees with whom she had kept in touch over the years.<sup>771</sup> Even teachers sent to other schools in the Indian Service oftentimes found themselves working alongside former Carlisle colleagues and were able to maintain relationships, though evidence of such friendships is scarcer. Thus, a certain level of intimacy developed among many workers at Carlisle, drawing friends to remain in touch years after they left. Moreover, employees’ unique experiences at the school ultimately reinforced these friendships, and for many, strengthened their belief in Carlisle’s righteous mission well after their tenure and even following the school’s closure.

Among the strongest friendships cemented at Carlisle, and one that continued for the rest of their lives, was that between Marianna Burgess and Ann Ely. As discussed earlier, Ely and Burgess were friends for decades, having met before their twenty years

---

<sup>770</sup> Ibid.

<sup>771</sup> Emma Cutter to Nana Pratt, 10 June 1934, 15 February 1937, Box 15, Folder, 505, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML. In addition to maintaining ties with fellow teachers, some Carlisle teachers also kept in touch with former students. Emma Cutter “enjoyed many letters from returned students” while still at Carlisle. She explained, “During my fifteen years in Washington, I saw many Carlisle students who came to do business for their tribe, at the Indian Bureau.” (See Cutter to Nana Pratt, 15 Feb 1937.) Similarly, Fannie Peter wrote of being in touch with former students when working in Washington, DC. See Peter to Richard Henry Pratt, 27 December 1916, Box 7, Folder 248, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

together at Carlisle. A unique friendship, Burgess and Ely respected one another as colleagues, friends, and constant companions, and their love and devotion to one another lasted well beyond their years teaching. When eighty-one-year-old Ely suffered a stroke, she “rallied sufficiently to travel alone to New York State to spend six weeks at a summer resort with her long-time friend, Miss Burgess.”<sup>772</sup> She died on July 27, 1914, and Burgess penned a long, loving obituary which was published in *The Carlisle Arrow*, explaining the depth and breadth of Ely’s influence at Carlisle and beyond: “To hundreds of co-workers in the Indian Service, and to thousands of ex-students of Carlisle scattered throughout the Indian reservations of our country, the name of Miss Ely is a synonym for repose and readiness to serve as a cup of strength in distress, and is ever uttered with emotions of esteem and grateful remembrance.”<sup>773</sup> More than reflecting what others may have thought of Ely, the obituary revealed Burgess’ deep pain and continued admiration for her friend. In a heartfelt letter to Pratt soon after her friend’s death, Burgess wrote, “I’m nearly prostrate with grief. Never was devotion more unselfish, more persistent, more beautiful and pure than she gave to unworthy me.”<sup>774</sup> Four years later, Burgess wrote to Pratt again, noting that Ely appeared in a dream, “And I shall never get over missing her.”<sup>775</sup> Although others probably did not feel the personal devastation that Burgess suffered, years later, Ely was fondly remembered along with the institution she helped to create.

---

<sup>772</sup> *The Carlisle Arrow* 11, no. 1, 4 September 1914, CCHS.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>774</sup> Marianne Burgess to Richard Henry Pratt and Laura Pratt, 24 July 1914, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

<sup>775</sup> Burgess to R.H. Pratt, 14 March 1918, Box 2, Folder 42, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBML.

Honored years after their service at Carlisle and the Philippines, Carlisle teacher Ann Ely and Thomasite Walter Marquardt represented the benevolence of U.S. imperial ambitions and those who worked on its behalf. In 1982, over one hundred years after Ely began her work at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, a building at the Carlisle Barracks was named “Ann Ely Hall.” Noted as “the first building on Carlisle Barracks to be named after a civilian and a woman,” the hall’s renaming symbolized the work of all the teachers who dedicated their lives to teaching Indians on the barrack grounds.<sup>776</sup> Similarly, in 1987, a monument was dedicated to the life and work of Walter Marquardt, celebrating his commitment to establishing a public school system in the Philippines. The “first memorial to a foreigner, an early American school teacher,” a bust and plaque of Marquardt was erected in front of an old schoolhouse to symbolize the work of all American teachers who ventured to the archipelago over eighty years earlier.<sup>777</sup> Having devoted their life’s work to educating American Indians and Filipinos, Ely and Marquardt—and their hundreds of colleagues—should be honored and remembered for their dedicated service and commitment to improving people’s lives. Yet, they should not be valorized without also acknowledging both the faults of the larger system in which they worked, as well as, in some cases, their own shortsightedness.

Of course, education improved the lives of many colonized individuals, giving them opportunities that they otherwise would not have had. At the same time, such schooling stripped away indigenous knowledge, privileging modern, “civilized” norms and values. Individual teachers, like Ely, Marquardt, and others, made daily decisions in

---

<sup>776</sup> *FWProgrammer* 82, no. 2 (December/March 1982), PI 2-8-10, Miscellaneous FWProgrammer Folder, CCHS.

<sup>777</sup> Walter William Marquardt Plaque at dedication (photograph), 4 April 1987, Box 7, Biographical Folder, Walter W. Marquardt Papers, BHL.

the classroom that impacted their students, sometimes for better and others for worse. Guided by their own biases, they, like their students, worked within a system perverted by structural inequalities. Serving on the front lines of this educational experiment, teachers ultimately determined much about the successes and failures of U.S. imperial policies. Those who became critics of the programs could not overcome fundamental flaws in those policies, and many clearly embraced the racist and elitist views embedded in the educational mission of the Indian and Philippines Service. Nonetheless, teachers' professional choices during and after working at Carlisle and the Philippines overwhelmingly suggest their collective investment in education as a means of improving the lives of Filipinos and Indians rather than simply their dependence upon a system they helped to create. While most seem to have supported the U.S. government's mission to assimilate colonized populations, others came to criticize the larger bureaucracy and the dominant culture over time. Moreover, even those who embraced imperial education may have provided their students with skills and means that allowed them to increase their autonomy and that of their family members and communities. Certainly the debate over "benevolent assimilation" and "imperial education" cannot be complete without recognizing the influence teachers, individually and as a group, had over the implementation of the nation's educational policies.

## CONCLUSION: LEGACIES OF IMPERIAL EDUCATION

On June 7, 1924, former Carlisle teacher Jessie Cook wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Before severing my connection with the Indian service I want to thank you for your heartening letter, commending my working during more than thirty years of teaching in Indian schools.

The highways and byways of the service are not thickly sprinkled with words of praise, and, while I have not missed them, finding ample reward in the love of the girls and boys with whom I have come in contact, your letter makes me realize that it is very pleasant to be commended.

I leave the service with regret, and shall watch with keenest interest the progress of the Indians, towards understanding citizenship, which, though slow, I believe to be sure.<sup>778</sup>

Cook's enthusiasm regarding her work and her confidence in American Indians'

"progress...towards understanding citizenship" can partially be explained by the fact that just five days before she wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, President Calvin Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. It guaranteed that "all non citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be...declared...citizens of the United States."<sup>779</sup> Of course, not all people shared Cook's apparent excitement about the new legislation, nor were all Indians actually given the full rights of citizenship until decades later.<sup>780</sup> Nevertheless, Cook's optimism regarding Indian advancement appears genuine, having dedicated thirty-two years to teaching Indian youth, whom she credited with sustaining her long career given the otherwise ways thankless character of the job.

---

<sup>778</sup> Jessie Cook to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Burke, 7 June 1924, Jessie Cook Folder, NPRC.

<sup>779</sup> Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, Pub. L. No. 68-175, 43 Stat. 253 (1924).

<sup>780</sup> For more on controversy over amendment, see Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 221.

Years before her retirement, Cook expressed her particular commitment to Carlisle, writing to Superintendent Friedman in 1912 that she hoped to return to the school to teach because she “believe[d] in Carlisle” where she thought Indian students could “acquire a broader outlook and more power from their fuller life there.”<sup>781</sup> Although she never returned to the Pennsylvania Indian school, where she had taught between 1898 and 1903, Cook remained in the Service for twelve more years, ultimately expressing her faith in Indian “progress,” however “slow.”

Like Cook, some of the most effective teachers in the Philippines believed in their work, enabling them to bear the multiple challenges that threatened their success. In 1909, eight years into his three-decade career in the Philippines, then superintendent Walter Marquardt explained that teachers new to the islands must be confident in their long-term ability to make positive change in order to withstand the stresses they would encounter. Addressing teachers recently appointed under his supervision, he advised:

In order to prevent despondency and fear of imaginary ills, he [the teacher] must throw himself body and soul into his work so that each night he can retire ready for a night’s repose and each morning arise ready for the day’s problem and work. He must have sufficient faith in the ultimate outcome of his efforts and sufficient enthusiasm in his work to meet all obstacles cheerfully. He must learn to consider broken promises, cholera, dysentery, and typhoons as part of the regular work...He must do a certain amount of reading in order to retain his vocabulary and to maintain his mental balance...keep himself well informed on school affairs both here and current events at home.<sup>782</sup>

Marquardt instructed new teachers to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to their work but to expect multiple problems that would test their physical and mental health. He suggested that teachers maintain ties to home and pursue intellectual activities to

---

<sup>781</sup> Jessie Cook to Moses Friedman, 12 December 1912, Jessie Cook Folder, NPRC.

<sup>782</sup> Marquardt, “Advice to New Teachers” and “Mental Degeneracy,” Scrap Book, Talks and Papers, By W.W. Marquardt, 1896-1916,” 156, 160, Box 5, Walter W. Marquardt Papers, BHL.



counterbalance the chaos and mental anguish that they would inevitably have to manage while in the islands. Clearly, teachers in the Philippines experienced severe hardships, sometimes making their work impossible. Still, some found “success,” perhaps because they, like Marquardt, maintained their “faith” and “enthusiasm” in their work, even in the face of grave adversity.

“The Teachers’ Dilemma” explores the myriad challenges that teachers faced in their efforts to educate indigenous peoples living within U.S. territories at the turn of the twentieth century. Similar to the persistent problems noted by Marquardt in the Philippines, teachers at Carlisle also faced obstacles inside and outside of the classroom. In both projects, they dealt with structural inequities that often made their work nearly impossible, cultural assumptions and prejudices that made it more challenging, and disease and violence that made it dangerous. In addition, they dealt with students unable or unwilling to adapt to new norms and flawed (even abusive) leaders unable to provide support or guidance. At the same time, teachers dealt with personal crises and traumas—death or illness of loved ones, sexual harassment, financial hardship—all while enduring the sometimes monotonous, yet all-consuming lifestyle that characterized imperial education. Nonetheless, the U.S. government’s charge to teachers—to acculturate peoples who, in various ways, resisted federal authority—suggests that policymakers and educators alike believed in the power of schooling to affect profound change.

In some ways, Indian and Philippine Service teachers managed to transform indigenous cultures and structures. They introduced new ways of living and communicating, disrupting familial and social norms, and put into place a schooling system that represented U.S. power. In the process, they disrupted familial and social

norms and sometimes reinforced anti-U.S. sentiments in the populations they claimed to serve. Yet they also gave Indians and Filipinos knowledge and skills to develop more sophisticated responses to colonial and imperial ventures, whether they sought to assimilate or resist government efforts. In these and other ways, schoolhouses served as micro sites of empire; teachers—representing U.S. interests and western ideals of civilization—passed along knowledge in an attempt to assimilate students to the dominant culture, reproducing gendered and raced hierarchies of power. They taught boys and girls skills according to their gender and how to embody norms of respectability, all while emphasizing white superiority and native inferiority. Yet, in other ways, they challenged norms of the larger society, provided some students with the means to reshape their own futures, and demanded respect from their superiors, shaping their own and their students' experiences.

Although many teachers reflected upon their work—their successes, failures, strengths, and weaknesses—only a few, set their efforts in a broader context, at least in their writings. Some considered teaching, particularly education of native peoples, their life's work, while many others likely deemed it just a job. Most teachers came to recognize—willingly or not—that their vocation involved reciprocal learning and that they, as well as their students, demonstrated agency. Even in extreme situations where, as philosopher Paulo Freire describes, teachers only attempted to “pour in” knowledge and dismiss students' contributions, they still learned about native cultures, which some came to respect.<sup>783</sup> Indeed, a few romanticized indigenous ways of life in ways that ultimately challenged their mission. Still, even teachers dedicated to Indian or Filipino

---

<sup>783</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1971; repr., New York: Continuum Press, 2001).

uplift often did not see much value in the cultures that their work sought to replace or destroy. Indeed, many of the most ardent education activists continued to devalue their colonial subjects' autonomy and way of life. Even so, many genuinely believed that their work would ultimately help native peoples and prepare them to be productive citizens. Others learned that without full societal investment, education was not a panacea, that it could not counter the devastation wrought by social ills like poverty or racism. While some of these teachers were committed to Indian and Filipino rights they did not always understand those rights in the same ways as did their students or the communities from which they came.

Ultimately, the business of imperial education was serious. After leaving the Philippines Service and before working at Carlisle, Clara Donaldson pledged on September 8, 1914:

I Clara R. Donaldson do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter: So help me GOD.<sup>784</sup>

In joining the Indian School Service, Donaldson—and hundreds of other teachers—were required to declare their loyalty to the U.S. rule of law as represented by the Constitution. Teachers headed to the Philippines took similar oaths. Largely a symbolic gesture, taking such an oath did not, in fact, ensure teachers' patriotism. However, writing and mandating such an oath suggests that policymakers envisioned these individuals' work as critical to the security of the United States. It bound civil service teachers together, at

---

<sup>784</sup> Oath: Clara Donaldson, Form 1-280, 8 September 1914, Clara Donaldson Folder, NPRC.

least in the realm of imagination, even when reality—such as the horror some teachers felt at the U.S. use of torture in the Philippines—undercut such unity.<sup>785</sup>

Still, many teachers did embrace a sense of national purpose, and most felt that they represented a force larger than themselves, even as on-the-ground work of imperial education was sometimes fragile. In reminiscing about her venture to the Philippines, recall that Thomasite Mary Fee characterized herself as “one of an army of enthusiasts enlisted to instruct our little brown brother.”<sup>786</sup> In many ways, such a description can also apply to Carlisle teachers who were hired to “pass the torch of Occidental knowledge,” although in their case of American Indians, such knowledge was disseminated within the borders of the continental United States rather than, as Fee described, “several degrees east of the international date-line.”<sup>787</sup> Although not organized as part of an official military operation, the Carlisle and Philippines projects were authorized by the U.S. Department of War and sought to take over where soldiers left off. In the nineteenth century American West, U.S. soldiers decimated Indian peoples and lands, forcing them onto reservations before the Indian wars moved into classrooms. In the Philippines, U.S. soldiers continued to suppress Filipino resistance as teachers established schools to quell unrest and disseminate American culture, again shifting the war for people’s hearts and minds into the schoolhouse. Yet such work was vulnerable to both material and more elusive threats: from violence, disease, and initial lack of infrastructure to poor or stressful working conditions, teachers’ agitation, and outside criticism. Further complicating our understanding of how empires work, some of

---

<sup>785</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; repr., London: Verso, 2006).

<sup>786</sup> Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions*, 12.

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid.*

these same hazards, at times, strengthened the broader mission—for example, bolstering teachers’ and education leaders’ resolve—while the, at the same time revealing its weakness, including the overgrowth of bureaucracy.

While the history of teachers involved in building the U.S. empire has largely gone untold, the legacy of their labor remains. Within the continental U.S., American Indian boarding schools continue to exist nearly a century after Carlisle’s demise. As of 2015, the oldest boarding school still standing—the Riverside Indian School in Oklahoma, initially founded in the 1870s—continues to teach American Indian children. Its current mission statement reads: “We, the Riverside Indian School community, will create and maintain a safe, positive learning environment to ensure the holistic development of each student and staff member through cultural, spiritual, physical, technological, and academic experiences.”<sup>788</sup> In many ways, such a mission statement seems anathema to Carlisle’s nineteenth century slogan: “To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay.”<sup>789</sup> Like Carlisle of a century ago, Riverside also sought to “take the Indian out” of its students, although today the school honors students’ heritage. In many ways, Indian schools are a product of their time, reflecting the biases and ideals of the broader society. Carlisle marked the beginning of a new era in Indian assimilation, one that still marks efforts at integrating American Indians into U.S. society.

Twenty years after Carlisle opened, the Thomasites’ departure for the Philippines signaled a similar strategy overseas. 2001 marked the centennial celebration of their arrival in the islands. The United States Embassy, the American Studies Association, and

---

<sup>788</sup> Mission Statement, Riverside Indian School, accessed June 20, 2015, <http://www.ris.bie.edu/mission.html>.

<sup>789</sup> Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education*, 143.

the Phil-Am Educational Foundation held events throughout the year including a memorial ceremony, art exhibition, and academic conference.<sup>790</sup> Such commemorations honored the original Thomasites, attributing much of the Philippines's modern school system to their hard work. In some ways, the Indian and Philippine schools systems of today—with all of their achievements and flaws—can be attributed to teachers' labors of a century past. Of course, American Indians and Filipinos shaped these structures as well, supporting and resisting U.S. intervention in their children's education. Many other actors—from government leaders to students—also played key roles. Ultimately, it was teachers who implemented, negotiated and mediated U.S. government policies and Indian and Filipino responses to them, helping to make meaning of imperial experiments and ambitions.

A decade into the U.S. education experiment in the Philippines, Mary Fee wrote, "Twenty or thirty years from now, when the American school system will have aided certain sons of the people, men of elemental strength, to bully and fight their way to the front, and they will have become the evidence that we were telling the truth—then the results will be visible in more things than in annual school commencements and in an increase in the output of stenographers and bookkeepers."<sup>791</sup> Although Fee supported U.S. intervention in Filipino schooling, she believed that "progress" would take time. More than statistics, she believed that full success lay in Filipinos benefiting from and buying into American schooling, ultimately becoming its leaders. She believed in the "truth" of the mission but also recognized its limitations. In the Philippines as in Carlisle,

---

<sup>790</sup> Rosalinda L. Oroso, "The Thomasites Remembered," *The Philippine Star*, September 16, 2001, <http://www.philstar.com/starweek-magazine/133925/thomasites-remembered>.

<sup>791</sup> Fee, *A Woman's Impressions*, 101.

policymakers hoped that teachers would be able to effect rapid and “benevolent” cultural transformation and force colonized peoples to accept a new way of thinking and being. Teachers like Fee knew from experience that true change was not as simple; it required careful negotiation and time, was messy, chaotic and complex, and ultimately dependent upon the will and agency of colonized peoples.

### Appendix 1: Carlisle Teachers, including Work Immediately After Carlisle

Alphabetical List Carlisle Teachers	M/F	Marital Status at Carlisle	Race	Years at Carlisle	Work After Carlisle
Elizabeth Bender	F	Single	American Indian	1915-1916	nurse
Della Botsford	F	Single	White	1890s	DC
Katharine Bowersox	F	Single	White	1890s-1910s	Unknown
Marianna Burgess	F	Single	White	1879-1904	activist/other
Lucy Case	F	Single	White	1910/1913- 1915*	Indian Service
Jessie Cook	F	Widow	White	1898-1903	Indian Service
Mabel Curtis	F	Single	White	1910-911	Indian Service
Emma Cutter	F	Single	White	1879-1907	DC
Elizabeth DeHuff	F	Married	White	1914	Other
John DeHuff	M	Married	White	1914-1916	Indian Service
Nellie Robertson Denny	F	Married	American Indian	1894-1918 (as teacher/clerk)	Other
Lydia Dittes	F	Single/ Married**	White	1885-1886 (1890-2 matron)	Indian Service
Clara Donaldson	F	Single	White	1914-1918	Indian Service
Verna Dunagan	F	Single	White	1915-1918	DC
Clara May Ellis	F	Single	White	1908	Unknown
Ann Ely	F	Single	White	1879-1903	Retired
Miss Ericson	F	Single	White	1890s-1899	Puerto Rico Service
Emma Foster	F	Widow	White	1902-1918	DC
Moses Friedman	M	Married	White	1908-1914	Education
Lottie Georgenson	F	Single	White	1910-1914	Indian Service
J.W. Gibbs	F	Widow	White	1880s	Unknown
Sallie Hagan	F	Single	White	1911-1914	Unknown
Annie Hamilton	F	Single	White	1889-1896(?)	died (1898)
Miss Haskins	F	Single	White	1879	Unknown
Emery Hazel	F	N/A	White	1911	Indian Service
Rey Heagy	M	N/A	White	1918	Indian Service



<b>Alphabetical List Carlisle Teachers</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>Marital Status at Carlisle</b>	<b>Race</b>	<b>Years at Carlisle</b>	<b>Work After Carlisle</b>
Emma Hetrick	F	Single	White	1905-1910	Puerto Rico Service
Mary Hyde	F	Single	White	1879 (soon became matron)	Unknown
Lida Johnston	F	Single	White	1907-1912	DC
Elizabeth Jones	F	Single	White	1913-1914	Education
Mattie Lane	F	Single	White	1911-1912	Education
Dora LeCrone	F	Single	White	1904-1911	Alaska Service
Jerome Lilly	M	Single	White	1916	Unknown
Emma Lovewell	F	Widow	White	1909-1914	Unknown
Anna Luckenback	F	Single	White	1890s	DC
Sarah Mather	F	Single	White	1879	Retired
Royal Mann	M	Single/ Married	White	1913-1915	Indian Service
Hattie McDowell	F	Single	White	1904-1918	Indian Service
Amelia McMichael	F	Single	White	1906-1909	Alaska Service
Marianna Moore	F	Single	White	1911-1914	Writer
Fannie Peter	F	Single	White	1890s-1904	DC
Adelaide Reichel	F	Single	White	1907-1918	Unknown
Margaret Roberts	F	Single	White	1900-1904; 1914-1916	Indian Service
Sadie Robertson	F	Single	White	1918	Indian Service
Frances Scales	F	N/A	White	1902-1908	Indian Service
Miss Semple	F	Single	White	1879	Unknown
Clara Snoddy	F	Single	White	1914-1918	Indian Service
Laura Spencer	F	Single	White	1879 (soon became matron)	Unknown
Margaret Sweeney	F	Single	White	1909-1918	Indian Service
Fernando Tranbarger	M	Single/ Married	White	1909-1911	Indian Service
Katherine Tranbarger	F	Single/ Married	White	1908-1911	Other

<b>Alphabetical List Carlisle Teachers</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>Marital Status at Carlisle</b>	<b>Race</b>	<b>Years at Carlisle</b>	<b>Work After Carlisle</b>
John Whitwell	M	Married	White	1907-1914	Indian Service
Gwen Williams	F	Single	White	1914-1918	DC
Idilla Wilson	F	Single	White	1912-1918	DC
Mariette Wood	F	Single	White	1889-1891; 1897- 1906/1909*	DC

**Appendix 2: Philippines Teachers (Thomasites), Including Work Immediately After Philippines**

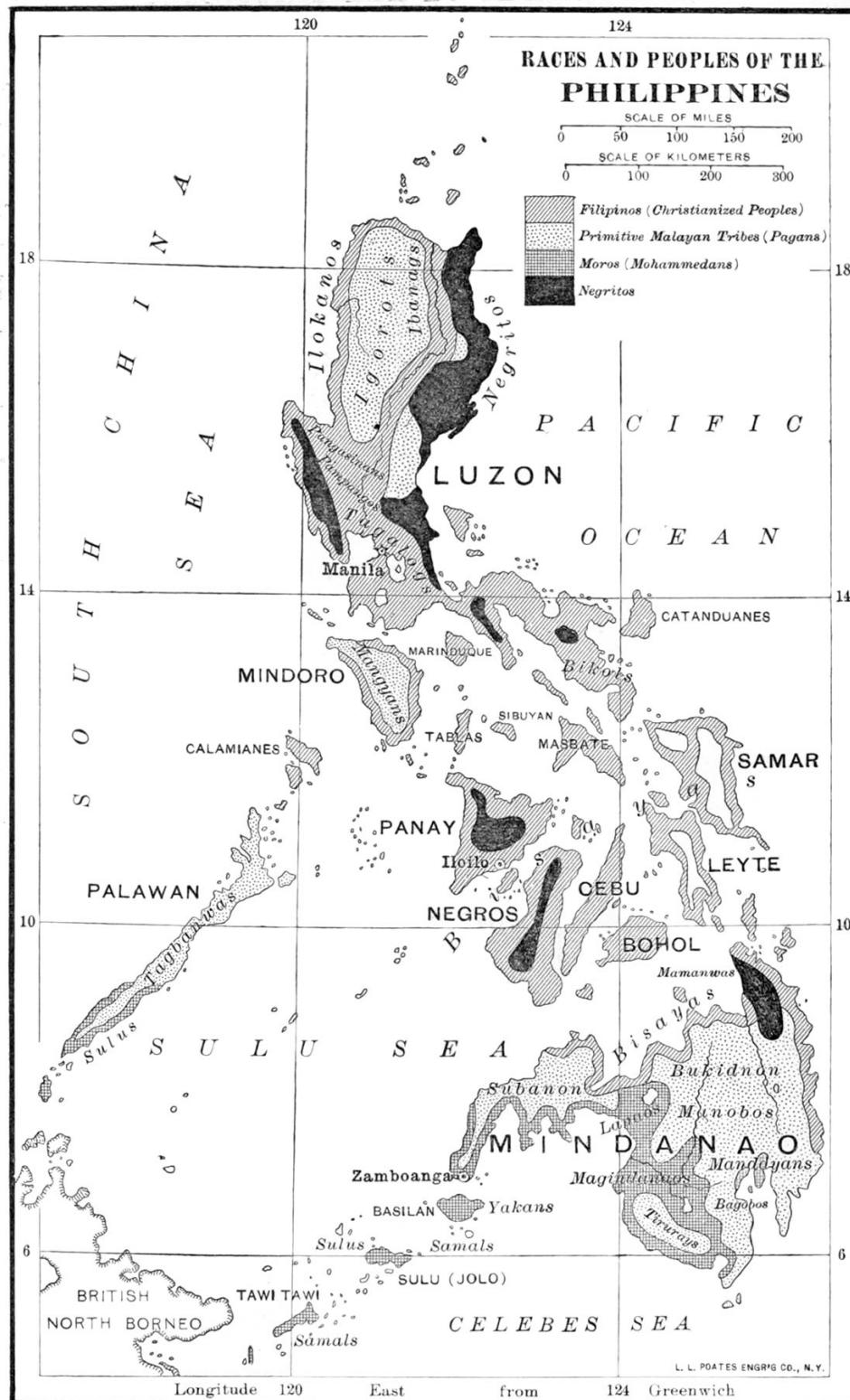
<b>Alphabetical List Thomasites</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>Marital Status (in Philippines)</b>	<b>Race</b>	<b>Years in Philippines</b>	<b>Work After Philippines</b>
Frederick G. Behner	M	Single	W	1901-1905	Minister
B.N. Blakeslee	M	Single	W	1901-1902	Unknown
Harvey A. Bordner	M	Married	W	1902-1936	Philippines
Maude Ethel Martin Bordner	F	Married	W	1902-1936	Philippines
Norman W. Cameron	M	Single	W	1901-1904	higher ed.
George E. Carrothers	M	Single	W	1909-1913	higher ed.
J.W. Cheesborough	M	Single	W	1903-1908(?)	Unknown
Frank W. Cheney	M	Single	W	1908-1920	Education
Harrie Newton Cole	M	Married	W	1901-1904	higher ed.
Mary Cole	F	Married	W	1901-1904	Homemaker
John DeHuff	M	Single	W	1901-1913	Indian Service
Elizabeth Willis DeHuff	F	Single	W	1910-1913	Indian Service
Clara R. Donaldson	F	Single	W	1901-1914	Indian Service
John C. Early	M	Single/ Married	W	1906-1931	Philippines
Willa Rhodes Early	F	Single/ Married	W	1902?; 1912-1932	Philippines
Glen Evans	M	Single	W	1904-1905	Unknown
John Evans	M	Single/ Married	W	1901-1915	Postmaster
Mary H. Fee	F	Single	W	1901-1917(?)	Writer
Jules Theophile Frelin	M	Single	W	1901-1904	higher ed.
Moses Friedman	M	Single	W	1904-1906	Indian Service
Herman Hespelt	M	Single	W	1911-1916	higher ed.
Alice Hollister	F	Single/ Married	W	1901-1941	Philippines
Walter W. Marquardt	M	Single/ Married	W	1901-1941	Philippines
Elizabeth Winifred Mitchell (Campbell)	F	Single	W	1901-	Unknown
Blaine Free Moore	M	Single	W	1901-1906	higher ed.
John Muerman	M	Single	W	1901-1915(?)	higher ed.
Reece A. Oliver	M	Single	W	1914-1930s	war/relief
Edward Sharp	M	Single	W	1902-1904	Business

<b>Alphabetical List Thomasites</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>Marital Status (in Philippines)</b>	<b>Race</b>	<b>Years in Philippines</b>	<b>Work After Philippines</b>
Earl Smith	M	Married	W	1917-1920	Lawyer
Laura Gibson Smith	F	Married	W	1917-1920; 1923-1925	Writer
Ralph Wendell Taylor	M	Single	W	1901-1908(?)	Unknown
Fernando G. Tranbarger	M	Single	W	1906-1909	Indian Service
H.O. Whiting	M	Single	W	1906-1908	Unknown





Appendix 4: Races and Peoples of the Philippines in David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines*. New York: American Book Co., 1905, 30.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### *Archives*

Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs Collection. Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania (QSCH).

Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan (BHL).

Behner, Frederick G. Papers.

Carrothers, George E. Papers.

Cheney, Frank W. Papers.

Cole, Harry (Harrie) Newton. Papers.

Early, John C. Papers.

Evans, Glen. Evans Family Papers.

Marquardt, Walter W. Papers.

Taylor, Ralph Wendell. Taylor Family Papers.

Worcester, Dean C. Papers

Bordner, Harvey A. Papers. Office of University Archives and Records Management, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (IUA).

Cameron, Norman W. Diaries. Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (SCLM).

Campbell, Elizabeth Winifred (Mitchell). File. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Carlisle Indian Industrial School Collection. Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (CCHS).

Carlisle School Newspapers

*Eadle Keatah Toh* (1880)

*The Morning Star* (1883)

*The Indian Helper* (1887-1891; 1900)

*The Carlisle Arrow* (1910, 1913-1915)

Carlisle Indian School Papers. Archives and Special Collections, Waidner-Spahr Library, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (WDC).

Cheesborough, John. Papers. Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina (RDU).

Frelin, Jules Theophile. Diaries. University Archives, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, Minnesota (UAUM).

Hespelt, Herman. Papers. Special Collections Library, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York (SCLB).

Moore, Blaine Free. Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC (LOC).

Moore, Marianne Craig. Collection. Archives and Special Collections Dickinson College Carlisle, Pennsylvania (WDC).

National Archives, Washington, DC (NADC).

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Record Group 75, Entry 1331.

Records relating to Carlisle School Personnel, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Entries 1344 and 1344A.

Denny, Nellie Robertson. Folder.

Denny, Wallace. Folder.

Francis Jr., John. Folder.

Lipps, Oscar A. Folder.

Mercer, William A. Folder.

National Archives at College Park, Maryland (NAMD).

Philippine Civil Service, Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Record Group 350.

Bordner, Harvey A. and wife (Maude M. Bordner). File.

Cheney, Frank W. Cheney. File.

Donaldson, Clara R. File.

Early, John C. and wife (Willa Rhodes Early). File.

Friedman, Moses. File.

Hespelt, Ernest Herman. File.

National Personnel Records Center, Indian School Service, Carlisle Indian Industrial School Collection, St. Louis, Missouri (NPRC).

Case, Lucy A. File.

Cook, Jessie W. File.

Bender, Elizabeth. File.

Curtis, Mabel E. File.

Davis, Charles L. File.



DeHuff, Elizabeth. File.  
 DeHuff, John. File.  
 Dittes, Lydia E. File.  
 Donaldson, Clara. File.  
 Ely, Ann S. Record Card.  
 Foster, Emma H. File.  
 Friedman, Moses. File.  
 Hetrick, Emma K. File.  
 Jones, Elizabeth. File.  
 Lane, Mattie. File.  
 LeCrone, Dora S. File.  
 Lovewell, Emma C. File.  
 Mann, Royal LeBau. File.  
 McDowell, Hattie. File.  
 McMichael, Amelia. File.  
 Reichel, Adelaide B. File.  
 Roberts, Margaret. File.  
 Scales, Frances. File.  
 Snoddy, Clara A. File.  
 Sweeney, Margaret M. File.  
 Tranbarger, Fernando G. File.  
 Tranbarger, Katherine Bingley. File.  
 Whitwell, John. File.  
 Williams, Gwen. File.  
 Wilson, Idilla. File.  
 Wood, Mariette. File.

Oliver, Reese (Reece) A. Oliver Family Papers. Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana (ISL).

Pratt, Richard Henry. Papers. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. New Haven, Connecticut (BRBML).

Sharp, Edward. Papers. Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina (RDU).

Smith, Laura Gibson. Papers. Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa (IWA).

Whiting, H.O. Letters. Hardy, James. Papers. Indiana State Library. Indianapolis, Indiana (ISL).

Whistler, Mrs. Edward L. Folder. Carlisle Indian School Papers. Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (WDC).

### ***Memoirs***

Betzinez, Jason with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. *I Fought With Geronimo*. 1959; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.

Daklugie, Asa in Eve Ball with Nora Henn and Lynda A. Sánchez. *Indeh: An Apahe Odyssey*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Fee, Mary Helen. *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1910.

----- . *The Locusts Years*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1912.

La Flesche, Francis. *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe*. 1900; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963.

Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley. 1964; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

Standing Bear, Luther. *My People the Sioux*. 1928; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

Williams, Daniel Roderick. *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1913.

Zitkala-Sa, "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," *The Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 85, Issue 507, January 1900, 37-47.

----- . "School Days of an Indian Girl," *The Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 85, Issue 508, February 1900, 185-194.

----- . "An Indian Teacher among Indians," *The Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 85, Issue 509, March 1900, 381-387.

### ***Government Documents***

*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Office of Indian Affairs, Washington DC, 1889, 1890, 1894, 1898, 1901. University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History> and The Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org> <http://www.archive.gov>.

*Course of Study for Indian Schools of the United States; Industrial and Literary*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901.

Hearings Before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States, 63rd Cong., Second Session to Investigate Indian Affairs, February 6, 7, 8, and March 25, 1914, Part 11. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914.

Hearings Before the Joint Commission of Congress of the United States, 63rd Cong., Second Session to Investigate Indian Affairs, July 15, 1914, Part 16-A. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914.

House of Representatives Report No. 1502, Indian Schools Support 1918, 65th Congress, Third Session, December 3, 1918. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918.

Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, Pub. L. No. 68-175, 43 Stat. 253 (1924).

Meriam, Lewis (Institute for Government Research with Technical Director). *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

### ***Other Primary Sources***

“The Bureau of Education: A Statement of organization and aims published for general information,” *The Philippine Teacher* 1, no. 1. December 15, 1904. Library Materials Vol. 674, Record Group 350, Philippines Miscellaneous, NAMD.

“In the Spotlight,” *FWProgrammer* 82, no. 2. December/March 1982. PI-2-8-10 Folder, CCHS.

Norman Cameron (grandson), “The U.S. Military Occupation of Bohol: 1900-1902,” George Percival Scriven: An American in Bohol, The Philippines, 1899-1901. An On-line Archival Collection, Special Collections Library, Duke University. May 1997. <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/scriven/bohol-history.html>.

*Indian Detours Roundabout Old Santa Fe New Mexico*, Chicago: Rand McNally repr. 1940. Southwestern Wonderland University of Arizona Library Special Collections Pamphlet. <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/pams/pdfs/detsanfe.pdf>

Embe. *Stiya, A Carlisle Indian Girl at Home; Founded on the Author's Actual Observations*. 1891; repr. Memphis: General Books, 2010.

Fee, Mary Helen, “Night Raids from the Air,” *The Forum* (1918). In *World's War Events, Volume III Recorded by Statesmen, Commanders, Historians and by Men Who Fought or Saw the Great Campaigns*. edited by Francis J. Reynolds and Allen L. Churchill, Ebook, August 12, 2005, [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16513/16513-h/16513-h.htm#Page\\_229](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16513/16513-h/16513-h.htm#Page_229).

“Just Because She Made Dem Goo-Goo Eyes,” Charles Templeton Sheet Music Collection, Mississippi State University Libraries (1900)  
<http://cdm16631.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/SheetMusic/id/26074>.

*The Log of the “Thomas,” July 23 – August 21, 1901*, Ronald P. Gleason, ed., 67-68, accessed June 25, 2013, [http://openlibrary.org/books/OL25302238M/The\\_log\\_of\\_the\\_Thomas\\_July\\_23\\_to\\_August\\_21\\_1901](http://openlibrary.org/books/OL25302238M/The_log_of_the_Thomas_July_23_to_August_21_1901)

Seeley, Levi. *Grube’s Method of Teaching Arithmetic*. New York: E.L. Kellogg and Co., 1891, 11-16, <https://archive.org/details/grubsmethodofte00seelrich>.

## Secondary Sources

### *Books and Book Chapters*

Angulo, A.J. *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1983; repr., London: Verso, 2006.

Archuleta, Margaret L., Brenda Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away From Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*. Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000.

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

-----, “Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940.” In *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, edited by Clifford. E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Cahill, Cathleen D. *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Longman, 1974.

Coleman, Michael C. *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.

- Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience 1876-1980*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- , *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Deloria, Vine and Clifford M. Lytle. *American Indians, American Justice*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- Dubois, Ellen Carol and Lynn Dumenil. *Through Women's Eyes: An American History, Volume I* 3rd ed. Boston: Bedford St. Martin, 2012.
- Eastman, Elaine Goodale. *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.
- Ellis, Clyde. *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press, 1967.
- Fear-Segal, Jacqueline. *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2007.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 1971; repr., New York: Continuum Press, 2001.
- Garrett, Clarke. *In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County*. Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1997.
- Go, Julian. "Imperial Power and Its Limits: America's Colonial Empire in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin W. Moore. New York: Social Science Research Council, 2006.
- , "Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. State in the Philippines." In *The American Colonial State in the Philippines*, edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, 1-42. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Gordon, Linda. *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

- Herbst, Jurgen. *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Hewitt, Nancy A. and Suzanne Lebsock, eds. *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Hinsdale, B.A. *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*. New York: Vintage Books, 1987.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform*. New York: Knopf, 1955.
- Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Rereading Sex: Battles Over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Vintage Books, 2002.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Hyer, Sally. *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School, 1890-1990*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990.
- Justice, Benjamin. "Education at the End of a Gun: The Origins of American Imperial Education and the Case of the Philippines." In *American Post-Conflict Educational Reform: From the Spanish-American War to Iraq*, edited by Noah W. Sobe, 19-52. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Kaestle, Carl. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Left Alone in America." In *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, 3-21. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Karnow, Stanley. *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House, 1989.
- Katz, Michael B. *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America*. New York: Praeger, 1971.

-----, *Reconstructing American Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. *A Passion for the True and Just: Felix and Lucy Kramer Cohen and the Indian New Deal*. Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2014.

Kliebard, Herbert M. *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Kramer, Paul. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

May, Ernest. *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of the United States as Great Power*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973.

May, Glenn Anthony. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Miller, Stuart Creighton. *Benevolent Assimilation: the American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.

Navarro-Rivera, Pablo. "The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico." In *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009, 163-174.

Ninkovich, Frank. "The United States and Imperialism." In *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, edited by Robert D. Schulzinger, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Nugent, Walter. *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1987.

Pascoe, Peggy. *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Pomeroy, William J. *American Neo-colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia*. New York: International Publishers, 1970.

- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- , *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, Vol. 2*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Recchiuti, John Louis. *Civic Engagement: Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Reese, William J. *America's Public Schools: From the Common School to 'No Child Left Behind,' 2nd ed.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Reyhner, Jon and Jeanne Eder. *American Indian Education: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Rury, John L. *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*, 5th ed. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Sargent, Theodore D. *The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Scott, Anne Firor. *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Shaw, Wilfred B. ed., *The University of Michigan Encyclopedic Survey: Volume II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951.
- Silbey, David. *A War of Frontier and Empire: the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.
- Skopcol, Theda. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Spring, Joel. *The American School: 1642-1985*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-determination Since 1928*. Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press.
- Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.



Trafzer, Clifford E., Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, and Clifford E. Trafzer, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Trennert, Robert A., Jr. *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Tyack, David and Elisabeth Hansot. *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

Tyack, David. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Warren, Kim Cary. *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Williams, William Appleman. *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. 1959; repr., New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1988.

Wolff, Leon. *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961.

Zimmerman, Jonathan. *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

### ***Dissertations and Theses***

Adams, David Wallace, "The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918." EdD dissertation, Indiana University, 1975.

Bell, Genevieve, "Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918." PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1998.

Bentley, Matthew, "'Kill the Indian, Save the Man': Manhood at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918." PhD dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2012.

Bonnell, Sonciray, "Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880 to 1980." PhD dissertation, Dartmouth College, 1997.

Kuehner, Quincy Adams, "The Evolution of the Modern Concept of School Discipline." PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1913.

Lardizabal, Amparo Santamaria, "Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education." PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1956.

Moore, Blaine Free, "The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation." PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1913.

Muerman, John Charles, "The Philippine School Under the Americans." PhD dissertation, George Washington University, 1922.

Shope, Suzanne Alene, "American Indian Artist Angel DeCora: Aesthetics, Power, and Transcultural Pedagogy in the Progressive Era." EdD dissertation, University of Montana, 2009.

### ***Journal and Magazine Articles***

"4,000 Know Him As a Thorough Teacher," *The Michigan Alumnus* 38, no. 34 (July 9, 1932).

Iriye, Akira. "Exceptionalism Revisited," *Reviews in American History* 93, no. 3 (June 1988): 291-297.

Granovetter, Mark S. "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (May 1973): 1360-1380.

Hacker, David J. and Michael R. Haines, "American Indian Mortality in the Late Nineteenth Century: the Impact of Federal Assimilation Policies on a Vulnerable Population," *Annales de Démographie Historique* 2 (2005): 17-45.

McLean, Paul. "Using Network Analysis in Comparative-Historical Research," *Trajectories: Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology Section* 22, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 10-14.

Rogers, Daniel T. "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (December 1982): 113-132.

Swain, James O. "E. Herman Hespelt (1886-1961)," *Hispania* 45, no. 1 (Mar. 1962): 19-21.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

"School Superintendent Appointed," *The Midland Journal* LXII, no. 31 (February 14, 1936).

### ***Other Secondary Sources***

Barritt, Marjorie. "American-Philippine Relations: A Guide to the Resources in the Michigan Historical Collections." Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Kevin Claesgens, "Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin Biography)," Pennsylvania Center for the Book, Penn State University, Fall 2005,  
[http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/Zitkala\\_Sa.html](http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/Zitkala_Sa.html).

La Crosse Public Library Archives. "Guide to the Twentieth Century Club Records, 1920-1982," La Cross, Wisconsin,  
<http://archives.lacrosselibrary.org/collections/sports-and-recreation/mss-142/>.

The Law Book Exchange, "The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation, Blaine Free Moore," accessed September 27, 2015,  
<http://www.lawbookexchange.com/pages/books/27935/blaine-free-moore/the-supreme-court-and-unconstitutional-legislation>.

Oroso, Rosalinda L. "The Thomasites Remembered," *The Philippine Star*, September 16, 2001, <http://www.philstar.com/starweek-magazine/133925/thomasites-remembered>.

Riverside Indian School, Mission Statement, accessed June 20, 2015,  
<http://www.ris.bie.edu/mission.html> (This page is no longer available. A shorter version of the mission statement is available on the website homepage as of September 27, 2015).